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REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

OF THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE

FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS OF THE FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS,

1879-'80.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

Volume 1 contains Nos. 1 to 9, 1st session, and Nos. 10 to 340,

2d session, except Nos. 277 and 303, parts 1 and 2.

Volume 2 contains Nos. 277 and 303, parts 1 and 2.

Volume 3 contains Nos. 341 to 487, except No. 388.

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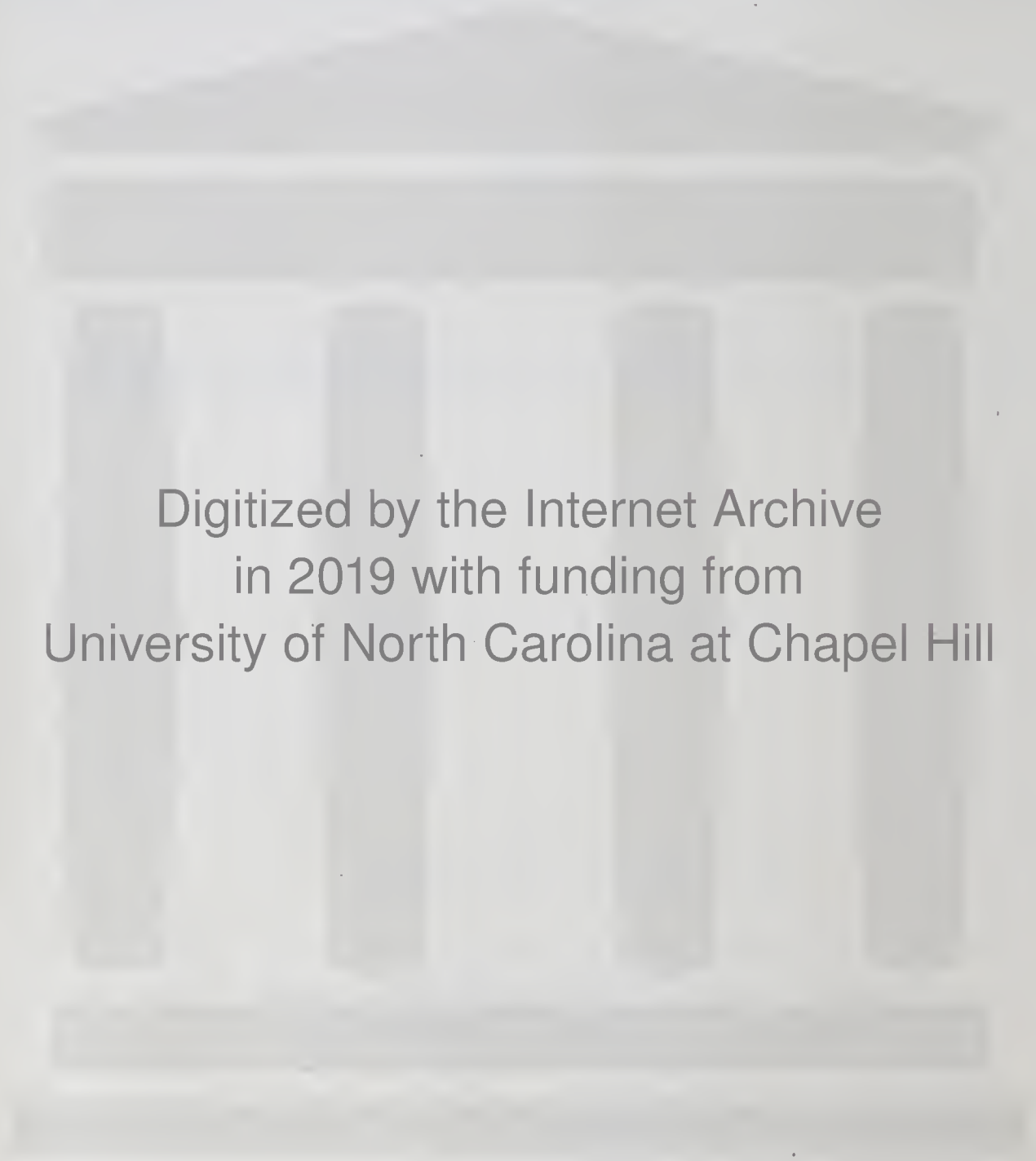
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TO THE

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

OF THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

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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.

PART II.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

TO INVESTIGATE THE CAUSES OF THE

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

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

PART II.

TWENTIETH DAY.

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 car-load, 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

had refused to do so. That is the impression he left on my mind by what he said. I cannot attempt to repeat in his language what he said.

Q. What, if anything, have you heard of the colonization of white voters—Democratic white voters from Kentucky into Southern Indiana?—A. I have received letters on that subject from persons living in the southern counties of the State and one from Mr. Langsdale, in Putnam County.

Q. What is the character of that communication?—A. Mr. Langsdale says in his letter—If you will allow me, however, as I have the letter in my pocket, I will read it to you, that you may know exactly what he said.

Mr. WINDOM. Certainly.

The WITNESS (reading). "There was a communication from Greencastle in the Cincinnati Gazette which was of rather an alarming character, and my attention was called to it. It spoke about ex-convicts of the Kentucky penitentiary being sent there, and the dispatch stated that they had in their possession—or they came through on half-fare tickets, and that transportation was furnished them by the governor of the State of Kentucky." I wrote to Langsdale to know who the correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette at Greencastle was. His reply was, "the name of the correspondent here is Charley Donnelly, my head clerk." "I have a notion that these fellows are the same who were recently released from the Kentucky penitentiary." That is what he said on the subject.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Have you had communications from any one else on the subject?—A. Yes, sir; I received a letter from the county superintendent of Crawford County.

Q. What information did you receive from him, if any?—A. I can read you that letter also if you desire it.

Q. We will hear the letter.—A. I have also had a conversation with him of later date than the letter.

Q. Well you may read the letter.—A. Part of the letter is of a private nature. I have no objection, however, to reading it, or having any one read it, but I would not like to have it go entirely upon the record, as part of it is private matter.

Q. You may read such parts of the letter as bear upon the subject we are inquiring into.

The WITNESS (reading). "In regard to the importation of white voters from Kentucky to this State"—I will say right here that this letter is written from Leavenworth, Ind.—"we have wanted no importations. But I had occasion to visit Evansville not long since, and while there heard and saw enough to convince any one that such is the case. Professor Bloss remarked to several of the county superintendents that he never saw such an influx of people into the State from Kentucky before. 'Are they negroes?' asked a Democratic superintendent. 'No' said Mr. Bloss, 'they are white men, nearly every one of them.' Why the Evansville papers don't ventilate the matter is a mystery to me. On my way home I had occasion to stop at Grandview, in Spencer County. While there Mr. Gudgeon, my brother-in-law, pointed out six or eight shiftless-looking fellows, 'who,' said he, 'are doing nothing under the sun for a livelihood. And' said 'he, there are twenty just such fellows in this small town, who have recently moved here from Kentucky.' I could not ascertain what they were doing for a living for their families. No one seems to know why they are there, nor what they expect to do

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, Colonel 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 known 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. Huestis—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 Tipton, 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 Greenback 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 frequent 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 got 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 prejudge 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 cattie 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 Bouanchaud, 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 Isam 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 severed, 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 Bouanchaud 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 23th 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 columns 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 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, and 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, " "	Cea. 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 Mytrs, "
Gus. Mitchell, "	Z. H. Carter, "
Valeve Meretz, "	Ephraim Gillard, "
Mitchell Garst, "	J. J. Johnson "
Joe Recd, "	Dave Harper, Webster.
Levi Christian, "	Abe Burden, "
Edward Reuben, "	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 Semmes, "	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 Tensas; you spoke of some trouble in Tensas; 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. Windom 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 406,428 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.....15,680

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 293 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 lappel 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.

It is 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 obdurate 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 128,000; 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 fusilade, 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 stong 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 year—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. Was 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.

T W E N T Y - T H I R D D A Y .

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 be 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 he ever 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 doggedness 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-

tend?—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 Covenanters 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-dozing 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-dozing."

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 politicianers didn't belong to it, because we didn't allow them to know nothing about it, because we was afraid that if we allowed the colored politicianer to belong to it he would tell it to the Republican politicianers, and from that the men that was doing all this to us would get hold of it, too, and then get after us.

Q. 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 all 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. Scudder, 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 Kausas 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. BLAIR:

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. BLAIR:

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. BLAIR. 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 here. 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. BLAIR. 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. BLAIR. 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; since 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 peoole 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 subpœnaed?—A. I don't know.

Q. Didn't you tell anybody to have you subpœnaed?—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 subpœnaed?—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 ave 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

oving 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 here—

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 renter 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 worsen.

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 knowed that the colored people was in the majority, they knowed that if they let them vote just as they pleased, the colored man or the Republican 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 here before that, had they?—A. I say I don't know what they did do here 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.?—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 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 here 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 in 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." I 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 money; 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 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-

red?—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 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 30th 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 your 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 unmistakable language the enforcement of the Constitution relative to the amendments that guarantee 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 plunged 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 could 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 "taieving 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 Weinstock 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 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 pay 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 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; Alexander, E. Johnson, Aaron Williams, J. M. Mitchell, R. L. Cook, Chas. Wilson, 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, bunk, 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.

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. 20, 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 quandered 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, at 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 Fredshaw, 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 have 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 cow-hide, 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, 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 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 on 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 here?—A. I have heard of colored men killing white men down there.

Q. Do you remember hearing of Billy Brownlee 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 of it.

Q. Well, do you believe it now?—A. No, sir, not exactly; I don't believe 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 now.

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, Levissee, and Johnson, in Caddo, are counted in over Vaughan, Horan and Land, then let Johnson, Tyler, Keating, Levissee, 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.]

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 i

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 scalawagers, 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-

-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. 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 a 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 on 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 rebuke 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 their lot with the African. The infamous record should be as conspicuous for all 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 ink 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 people. Let all who adhere to the negro party in this political contest be reckoned as rogues 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? I 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 do no good. 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 no 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, or the die is surely cast.

Words cannot express our abhorrence of the man or men who would thus aid our enemies. 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 sympathy you have, so that living they may only encumber the earth, and dying descend well 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 employés 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 errors 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 unanimously 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 employés 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 Levissee 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 Levissee 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 reseat 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 proscription 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; I 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 weren't to preach such doctrines as was snitable 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 whiskey, 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 Sote. 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 1865 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 1868, 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 is 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 while, 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 stamp on 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 be 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 in our town that a boat load of discharged Union soldiers had come, and the whites could 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 could 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 devilment 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 Yankees 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 employés 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 makes, 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 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, and 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 gins, 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 long 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 been 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 annt 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 for 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 the colored 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

r 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 15 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 5 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 she 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 going 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 Kintung, 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. Greagars, 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 of these 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 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, for his bravery, he backed them out. He was a Republican, and the white men says a 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

d 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 about 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 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 politics 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 votes 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 own 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 could 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 one 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." I 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 was in charge of us. So, after they shot him, Joe Calvin took charge of us, and we went to Homer, and these agreed to vote the straight Republican ticket in full. After that 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 the r 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 somewheres 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

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 would not free us, and now they do not want us to vote the Republican ticket; but they intend to do everything the Democrats don't want us to do; because they had us free 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 are 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 between 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 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 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 everywhere 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 leave 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 would do me not; but I could call a meeting in the public road, and would then tell them 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 that 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 Milton & Co.'s plantation; as I happen to know you, and that you are a good negro 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 in 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 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 on 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 meetings 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 as 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 Benton, 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 even 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 the 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, 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 or 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

en 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 the another, they would come fifty or more white men to help kill you, against the that you would find who would help fight for you and your colored race. So you 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 you 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. 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, 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 Manuel 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 here. 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 could 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 come 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 our 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 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 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 \$200 in goods and money by a large crowd of white men with Henry Smith and George Smith 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 a 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 slave. 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.

- 10th. 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.
- 11th. 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.
- 12th. 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.
- 13th. Pete, was killed by white men on _____, in the year 1870. No cause assigned for the killing.
- 14th. Two colored men, names unknown, were killed on Barde David's place, by white men, in the year 1870.
- 15th. Charles Edward, shot by white men, on Bige David's plantation, in the year 1870.
- 16th. Henry, a colored man, was killed by white men on Bill Crowsby's place, at or near Mansfield, in 1867.

BOSSIER PARISH.

- 17th. 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.
- 18th. Louis Eaton, colored, was killed by white men on Eaton place, about six or seven miles from Columbus, in 1866.
- 19th. Selern, colored, killed by James McCalled, a white man, on Leek's plantation, in the year 1868.
- 20th. Cicero Simmons badly beaten by Johnny Naterson, a white man, on Captain Penishbon's place, in the year 1870.
- 21st. Bill Melton, 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.
- 22nd. Miss Matilda Johnson was beaten and badly whipped by white men at or near Cotton Valley, in the year 1871.

CADDO PARISH.

- 23rd. Donahoue, colored, was killed by a white man on Nick Marchu's place, in the year 1873.
- 24th. Miss Delia Young, beat and severely whipped by James Robinson (white) on Payne's place, or, as called, Levee Bend, and also all her crop taken from her, in the year 1872.
- 25th. Margaret Bates, badly whipped by John Brown, a white man, on Levee Bend plantation, in the year 1873.
- 26th. Henry Hard (colored) killed by a white man, in the year 1874.
- 27th. Dick, a colored man, was killed by a white man, in the year 1874.
- 28th. Caesar Johnson (colored) killed by Milton, a colored man, in the year 1872.
- 29th. Harden, a white man, killed by a white man named Oakley Rust, in 1871 or 1872.
- 30th. Anderson, a colored man, killed by Starks Wells, a colored man, in the year 1874.
- 31st. John Williams, colored, badly whipped by a white man named Mack Marchards, in the year 1873.
- 32nd. Fred, a colored man, killed by being burnt up at the stake, on Joe Bealey's place, in the year 1872.

DE SOTO PARISH.

- 33rd. William Monroe, colored, was shot and badly wounded for voting a Republican ticket; was shot by armed white men, in the year 1874.
- 34th. Francis Pigion, colored, killed at or near Greenwood, by Bill Bateman, white, in the year 1865.
- 35th. Henry Foster, colored, killed by Halworthe, a white man, at or near Keachie, in the year 1866.
- 36th. Frank Weaver, colored, killed by Daniel Worker, a white man, in Caddo Parish, in the year 1873.
- 37th. John Beden, white, killed by Mr. Dryfufe, white, in the year 1874.
- 38th. Manuel Oakart, colored, killed by Bateman, white, at Greenwood, La., in the year 1865.
- 39th. Annie Gray, colored, killed by a white man, in 1871.
- 40th. Frank Tucker, colored, killed by a white man, 1866.
- 41st. Aaron Williams, whipped badly by Albert Grester, at or near Greenwood, in the year 1871.

- 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 1869.
 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 Goble (colored), killed by Bud Bloepes 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 Carter (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.

- 7th. Hector Hawkins (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 8th. Joe Louis, shot by white men, in 1868.
 9th. Bill Connelly (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 10th. George Brown (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 11st. Manuel Johnson (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 12d. Dick Long (colored), killed by white men in 1868; accused of raising armies against the white people.

BOSSIER PARISH.

- 13d. January Toll (colored), killed by white men on Joe Briant's place, in 1868.
 14th. Gaunt Hunter (colored), shot by white men on Joe Briant's place, in 1868.
 15th. Joe Squire (colored), shot by white men on Joe Briant's place, in 1868.
 16th. Willey Hunter (colored), shot by white men on Joe Briant's place, in 1868.
 17th. Hunter did the shooting.
 18th. Reuben William (colored), shot by Dr. Hunter (white) on his, Hunter's, place, in 1868.
 19th. Pink Jameson (colored), badly whipped and stripped by William Alborn and brother (white men) on his, Alborn's, place, in 1868.
 20th. Benton Louis (colored), badly whipped by Milton and William Alborn, brothers, on his, Benton's, place, in 1868.
 21st. Thomas Lee (colored), beaten badly by the same white men on the same place, in 1868.
 22d. Miss Caroline Lewis (colored), badly whipped by Capt. William Alborn, brother, and white men, in 1868.
 23d. Miss Sarah Allen (colored), badly whipped by the captain and William Alborn, brother (white men), on Alborn's place, in 1868.
 24th. Elie Lee (colored), beaten near unto death by William Alborn and brother, on William Alborn's place, in 1868.
 25th. George Nash (colored), killed by James Acres, white, at or near Benton, on Carley's place, in 1872.
 26th. Miller Gidston, killed by Butcher Gilmore, white, in 1868.
 27th. Aaron Gidston, killed by Butcher Gilmore, white, in 1868.
 28th. Edward Worley, killed by Bnd Chochus on Gilmore's place, in 1868.
 29th. Marshal Bodly, killed by white men on Gilmore's place, in 1874.
 30th. Flowers Worley, whipped by white men on Gilmore's place, in 1875.
 31th. Madison and Davidson, whipped by white men on Gilmore's place, in 1874.
 32th. Toney (colored), shot by old man Winn (white) on his place, in 1868.
 33th. Mack Smith (colored), killed by Sam Sawyer (colored) on Douglass's place, near Benton, in 1868.
 34th. Willis Richardson (colored), badly shot by a white man at or near Shreveport, with his gin screaming, in November, 1875.
 35th. My name is Wash. Douglas. I was badly beaten over the head by Bloody Bill Gage with a six-shooter because I told him he could not come in my house, and he tore 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.
 36th. Big Charley (colored), killed by John Aramel (white), on Be Been place, 1868.
 37th. Nick Johnson (colored), killed on Be Been place by armed white men, 1868.
 38th. Amos Lee (colored), killed on Be Been place by armed white men, 1868.
 39th. Rev. Meen (colored), was killed by old man Dillard, on Sandy Grove's place; he was run from there and killed near Shreveport, 1868.
 40th. 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.
 41th. Vorden (colored), lived in Grela Place; was killed by white men, in 1868.
 42st. Miss Nancy Carroway (colored), whipped by Captain Dority almost to death, and all of her clothes taken from her, in 1874.
 43d. Bladly Evan (colored), shot at by white men; Gibson and Hamilton gave them guns and ammunition to shoot with.
 44th. Lee Jones (colored), killed by Charley Scott, colored, who got a white man to shoot him, in 1873; they went from Shreveport to kill him.
 45th. 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.
 46th. Primus Jones (colored), was badly cut and wounded in the head by colored men on the Buckhorn place, in 1873.
 47th. Robert Brooks (colored), was badly beaten by a white man, named John Gay, on the Buckhorn place, 1875, in March.
 48th. 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 Bristol Plates, a white man, 1871.
- 135th. Rose Cooper (colored), beaten by a white man on Mr. ——— Blndsau place near Fillmore, in 1878.
- 136th. Frank Jeffrew (colored), killed by white men on Seward Angrel's place, 1868.
- 137th. Isaac Louis (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, 1872; 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 Case (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 Homles (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 Oriol'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 Flanagin (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 23th 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, 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, about 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 Ladreuse, 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 Hall'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, 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, 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 five 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 Bishop, 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 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, '70, '71, '72, and 1873.

219th. Miss Louise was badly whipped by Wash. Samples, on his place, in 1868, '70, '71, '72, and 1873; also whipped my brother. We have lived with Mr. Samples 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, Louisiana, 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, Louisiana, November 2d, 1874, and since beat him near to death.

223d. An old man (colored) was killed by Hersel ———, a white man, about five miles from Mansfield, 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.

228th. Old man Jack Horse and son was badly beat and shot at by white men because they were as bloody as hogs—at or near Jack Horse's place, going to the election in 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, Holmworth, 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 Draggs, 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 the wound, at or near Lick Kittles, in 1868.

- 39th. Reeves Lake, shot by John Lake on his place, and has since died from his wound, in the year 1867.
- 40th. Dick Lakes, killed by white men at or near Lickskillet, in 1867.
- 41st. Edmond Adams, shot by armed white men on Mr. Robinson's place, in 1867.
- 42d. Rufe Hunter, shot by Luke Marks, white, on Marks's place, at or near Summer Grove, in 1868.
- 43d. Bob Owen Hinges, killed by white men on J. W. Pickens' place, in 1867.
- 44th. Gustaves Guse, badly whipped by Mack Marion, white, at or near his place, at Sunny Groves, in 1873.
- 45th. Willis Rogers, badly whipped and throat cut and nearly killed by Capt. Wm. Harts, on Andrew Pickens' place, at or near Sunny Grove, in 1871.
- 46th. Friday Ward had his arm broke by Mack Moring, white, at or near Sunny Grove, in 1872.
- 47th. Walton Goss, badly whipped by Dr. Harris, white, on his place; also David Goss, whipped badly by Dr. Harris on his place, in 1874.
- 48th. 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.
- 49th. Peter McCrary was badly beaten by Cicen Steven and Davis Lee. He was kicked out by his feet and hands in front of a grocery store on Widow Pickens' place, or near Keachie, because he said they were drabs, 1874.
- 50th. Jones, colored, killed by a white man, in 1872.
- 51st. Able Johnson, killed at or near Shreveport, by a colored man, in 1871.
- 52d. John Lebanon, killed by a white man, in 1874.
- 53d. Albert Gifford, killed by a white boy, in 1872.
- 54th. Members, a colored man, taken from John Johnson's brick-yard, and killed by John Johnson and other white men, in 1868.
- 56th. Jim Jinkins, killed about six miles from Shreveport, by Joe Bowls, David Simpson, and Sandy Jones, white men, in 1874.
- 57th. Old man Mead (colored), killed by Thomas Coots, in De Soto Parish, in 1868.
- 58th. Lamm, a colored man, wounded by Jules Pomner and Thomas Coots, white men, 1866.
- 59th. Frances Moses, whipped nearly to death by John Gambles (white), September, 1865.
- 60th. Alsee, a colored boy about 14 years of age, was beaten nearly to death on Mrs. M. Wilson's place, about or near Shreveport, Louisiana, by Neal Wilson (white), October 15 or 16, 1875.
- 61st. 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.
- 62d. Hartman Jones, killed by white men on Dr. Corres' plantation, in 1868.

CADDO PARISH.

- 63d. Henry Clay, killed by John Harris (white), on the lake, about three or four miles from Morning Port, near Mr. Jackson's plantation, in 1873.
- 64th. Manuel Watley, killed by Dick Harrison and brother, on John Hamilton's plantation, 1868.
- 65th. Samuel Betman, killed by Dave Bithloman (white), at Albany Landing, on Caddo Lake, in 1868.
- 66th. George Carter, badly whipped by Bill Longley (white), on his place, in 1874.
- 67th. Sally Kimmon, badly beaten and her arm broken by Sam Patterson (white), in 1871.
- 68th. Milles Simm, 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.
- 69th. Adam Thomas, badly whipped by Nathan Harris (white), at Parnell's store, in 1875.
- 70th. Pete Marlow, badly whipped by white men on Mrs. Pickens's plantation, at or near Sunny Grove, 1874.
- 71st. Bob Richmond, badly whipped by armed white men, at or near Harrell plantation, and his clothes taken off, 1870.
- 72d. Ben. Harris, killed by white men on Bill Acres' plantation, in the year 1874.
- 73d. Harvey Cornell, killed by white men on Samuel Edmond's plantation, in 1869.
- 74th. Simon (colored), killed by white men on Sam Acres' plantation, in 1870.
- 75th. Frances Anderson, badly whipped by white men on Bill Simpson's plantation, on Bill Simpson and others, 1870.
- 76th. 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, 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 1868.
- 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 1000 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, 1870.
- 302d. Dick Jackson, shot by armed white men near Greenwood, Caddo, in 1865.
- 303d. Rufus Bowles, badly whipped by Caspen Cottess, white, in 1873.
- 304th. Alex. Hamilton, badly whipped by Little Marks, on his plantation, in 1872.
- 305th. Toney Lee, badly whipped by Caspen Cottess, white, on his plantation, 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 Feastor'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 living, 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 Triton 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 Dimrice 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, 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 Bili Young, shot by Wash. Young on Page's plantation, in 1873.
- 336th. Dick Jackson, whipped, tied hand and feet, and then shot near Caddo Lake, 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 brickyard, 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. Bruin'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 section, 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, 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, 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.

NATCHITOCHEES PARISH.

- 377th. Henry Hunter, badly whipped by Charley Chase, white, on his plantation, 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 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, 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 Brook white men, because she refused to live with Armstrong any longer. This was on J. Wood's plantation, in 1870.
 384th. Miss Morris, colored, severely beaten by Thomas Armstrong, white, on a 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, 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 owner. His old master was instrumental in having him killed, Mr. Gibbs doing the deed, 1867.
 392d. George Camby, hung by white men on Jeff. Villman's plantation, in 1863, on a 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 Bolts, white, on his place, in 1871.
 400th. Aaron Marsh, badly whipped by George Cowers, white, and brother, on a plantation, in 1874, near Spring Ridge.

101st. Elijah Swanson, badly whipped by John Caldwell, white, in his stable, in 1874.

DE SOTO PARISH.

102d. Ross Hall, killed by B. S. Horton and his company, white men, on Ned Edmond's place, in 1865.

103d. Silas Fuller, beat with a six-shooter by John Fisher, white, on Nat More's plantation, in 1873.

104th. Peter Hunter, killed by Sam Hopgood, white, on B. Davidson's plantation, in 1869.

105th. Ben. Green, killed by Sam Hopgood and others, whites, on B. Davidson's plantation, in 1870.

106th. Asa Hogan, badly whipped by a white man, name unknown, at or near Mansfield, in 1874.

107th. Asa, colored, killed by Thomas Hopgood on B. Davidson's, at or near Grand Prairie, in 1870.

CADDO PARISH.

108th. Solomon Simms, killed by white men at or near Maekkidge Johnson's plantation, because he held club meetings, in 1868.

109th. Silvia Brown Lee, colored, badly whipped by Jaek Ward and his men, all white, to make her tell where they would find her husband. This was in 1868.

110th. Rube Williams, colored, shot at by Doctor Blackwell, white, in Shreveport, in 1874.

111th. John McGruer, colored, killed by whites in election times. Ed. Stringer did the killing, in 1868.

112th. Bob Gray, killed by Charley Washington, white, in 1868.

113th. John Miplass, colored, killed by Daniel Adams, colored, at Shreveport, in 1870.

114th. Meams Fielas, colored, badly whipped by some party, 1870.

115th. David Robinson, colored, whipped by Diek Vineent, white, in Bossier Parish, in 1874.

116th. Thomas Reason, colored, badly whipped by Thomas Johnson, white, in Maeky's backyard, Shreveport, 1874.

117th. Albert Bates, colored, badly whipped by Thomas Anderson, white, at Shreveport, in 1875.

118th. William Gaine's, colored, killed by Jim Stewart, colored, at or near Shreveport, in 1870.

119th. Newton Stevens, colored, killed by white men, on John Page's place, in 1868.

120th. Henry Dixon, colored, killed by armed white men, on John Page's plantation, in 1868.

121st. Anderson, white, killed at Bean's place, in 1868.

122d. Marshall Davis, killed at Bean's place, in 1868.

123d. Henry Allen, killed by William Harris, white, on his father's plantation, in 1873.

124th. Ralph Murrell, killed by Dan Curvis, white, an old man, Langley Plantation, about 9 miles from Mourningport, 1873.

125th. Lizzie Coleman, badly whipped by Langers Bigaman and Borington, white men, in 1875.

126th. John Semmes, badly beat, then hung by armed white men, in 1869.

127th. Davis Jackson, badly whipped, hung afterward, but not killed, by armed white men, in 1869, on public road.

128th. Ellen Jones, badly whipped by Large Thomasson, white, on his plantation, in 1869.

129th. Mary Camps, beat badly over the head by James Fullgroves, jr., in 1873.

130th. George Rogers, badly whipped by Jaek Hollingsworth, white, on his plantation, in 1870.

131st. Hiram Smith, whipped by William Davis, white, on Mrs. Walker's plantation, in 1875.

132d. Eliza Flood, badly beat over the head with a Derringer, by John Fisher, white, in 1874.

133d. Lonisa Jones, whipped by D. A. Simpson, white, on Aleek Simpson's plantation, in the year 1867.

134th. Giles Gibbs (colored), badly whipped, and then tied to a horse and dragged out 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.

135th. 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 Lards 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 Rachal, 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, 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 Hayneville.
 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 1870.
 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 B. 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 Gleeten (colored), badly whipped by white men, on Doctor Macedon's plantation, in 1870.
 457th. David Lane (colored), wounded by Lock Fleston (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 he 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 Calquhar 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, 1868.
 468th. Harris Payne and Emily Payne, colored, beat by white men on Aston Payne's plantation, in 1867.
 469th. Penscy 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' plantation, in 1872.
 471st. James Hill, colored, beaten by Louis Bowen and other whites, George Price's plantation, in 1871.

- 472d. George Hill, colored, badly beat by white men on Westley Grater's plantation, 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 Glenner, white, on Mrs. Norman's plantation, 1870.
- 475th. Jerry Hamilton, colored, cut with an axe on the head by Ben Adkins and early killed. Adkins was a colored man; done at Homer, in 1875.
- 476th. Thomas Willis, colored, badly whipped and laid up three months by Joe Gally and other whites, 1874.
- 477th. Morris Brown, colored, badly beat by Mark and Park Shaw, white, on J. Garter'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 Edmonds, 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 Tungles, white, on his plantation, 1870.
- 493d. Loriania Parks, colored, badly whipped and beat with a six-shooter over the head by J. Tungle, white, in 1870.
- 494th. Wiley Morgan, colored, badly beat and his eyes knocked out by Joe Tungles, 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 ———, 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 work 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 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, 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 Louis, 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, 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, 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 plantation, 1873; was sent to penitentiary.

531st. Isaac Newton (colored), was killed by whites carrying his children from J. 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 Luntun (white) shot and killed Thomas Washington (colored) on Thomas 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 Kingling plantation, 1868.

542d. Jane Hawkins, badly whipped by Lurchford and Runson, on Plump's plantation, both white, because she refused to live with them, 1868.

- 43d. Unknown colored man killed and thrown in a well by Mack and Thomas (white), on Crow's plantation, ten miles from Minden, 1868.
- 44th. Andrew Williams (colored), whipped by Marzenia and other whites on his plantation, 1868.
- 45th. Dennis Cornelia (colored), badly beat by armed white men in the road three miles from Minden, 1872.
- 46th. Henry Wilson (colored), badly whipped by armed white men; year unknown.
- 47th. Jourdan Miles (colored), badly whipped by Louis Morrey and brother, white men, on McDonald's plantation, 1868.
- 48th. Albert Hanson (colored), whipped by Mr. Long (white), in 1868, on Cotter's plantation.
- 49th. Calvin, a colored man, whipped by armed white men about nine miles from Minden, 1871.

JACKSON PARISH.

- 50th. Dick Harrow (colored), beaten by Squato Hopless in Vainville, 1871.
- 51st. Mason Harrison (colored), killed by white men in Trenton, 1872.
- 52d. Dick Hamilton (white), killed by Beales Turner (colored) on B. Shoulder's plantation, 1872.
- 53d. Dock Harris (colored), beaten by Sid Morcanery in Vinandrass Town, 1874.
- 54th. George Harris (colored), whipped by Dobe Axford (white) in Minville, 1874.
- 55th. Frank Lenington, beaten by James W——— (white) in Vainville, 1872.
- 56th. Henry 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.
- 57th. Toney Smith, burnt to death because he looked and laughed at a white girl Lawes or Claly plantation, 1867.
- 58th. Harrison, colored, shot by white men on Rankins Thomas plantation, 1867.
- 59th. Elie Hamilton, colored, badly whipped by white men, because he voted a Republican ticket, 1868.
- 60th. Abram Shoulders, colored, and his three daughters badly whipped by white men, concerning his cotton and potato crop, 1868.
- 61st. Park Richards, colored, badly beaten, because he voted as he chose, by white men, on old man Richards' place, 1868.
- 62d. Aunt Polly Richards, badly whipped by John Shoulders, white, on his plantation, 1867.
- 63d. Peter Jones, colored, killed by Albert Pormoles, while moving from his to J. C. Jones's plantation, 1874.
- 64th. Cansson Tarleton, colored, beaten half to death, by Neute Smith, on plantation, 1874.
- 65th. Jim Whifleton, colored, beaten severely by white men; he will not recover. One on Mr. Kide's plantation, in Trenton City, 1873.
- 66th. Morgan Shephard, colored, beaten by Buck Shoulders, a white man, on his father's plantation, 1874.
- 67th. Jessie Warrick, colored, killed by a white man named James Whorns, on Arkilky plantation, in the year 1873.
- 68th. Mary Ann Harrow, badly whipped, and died from the wounds, on Mr. Tedd's plantation, 1866.
- 69th. Toney Walker, colored, killed by white men on Mr. Walker's plantation, 1873. Killed about a colored woman.
- 70th. Harris Romes, colored, badly whipped by white men, on Frank Price's plantation, 1872.
- 71st. John Coots, colored, badly beaten by white men, because he was president of club, 1870.
- 72d. Wash Tarvers, colored, beat severely by white men, on Mrs. McLane's plantation, 1874.
- 73d. Bob Williams, colored, shot badly by Bill Casson, white, on his plantation, 187.
- 74th. Jerry Kidd, colored, badly beat by white men, on Mr. Simpson's plantation, 186.
- 75th. Jerry Simms, colored, badly beaten by white men, in the town of Trenton, 1872.
- 76th. Standford, a colored man, badly beaten by armed white men, on Mr. Jack Simms's plantation, 1874.
- 77th. Isaac Pearson, colored, badly whipped by armed white men, 1868.
- 78th. Mary Toade, colored, badly beaten by B. T. Kidd, on his plantation (white), 187, in Claiborne Parish.
- 79th. John Domkins, colored, killed by white men, about five miles from Painville, 186.

- 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, 1868.
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.

BIENVILLE 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 Bistenean, 1868.
592d. Jasper Smith, colored, killed by white men on Vance's plantation, 1863.
593d. Henry Parker, colored, killed by a colored man named Martin Siplers, on Hester'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, 1871.

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 Stain 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 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.

07th. 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.

08th. 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 a note being posted on the roadside; done about five miles from Bayou Sara, on Alex. Smith's plantation. September, 1875.

HENRY ADAMS,
U. S. Scout.

BOSSIER PARISH.

- 09th. Ishman Bob (colored), killed at Benton, by white men, 1868.
 10th. Marshall Davis (colored), killed at Greely's plantation, 1868.
 11th. Lonis Heftt (colored), killed at M. Ball's plantation, 1868.
 12th. Rev. B. Membs (colored), killed at Dillard's plantation, 1868.
 13th. Henry Harris (colored), drove from home to the woods for four months, 1874.
 14th. A colored woman, name unknown, killed by white men. She was cut open, her child taken out of her, and set side of her, being cut open while she was alive. Done by Ed. Stugles and another white man, near Dixiscé plantation, 1868.
 15th. 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.

- 16th. Simms Riggs (colored), whipped near to death; arm broke by Dick Riggs and son, white men; done 1874.
 17th. John Clinton (colored), runned off from Robert Scott's plantation, and his life threatened, 1875.
 18th. Robert Parks (colored), beaten near to death over the head with a six-shooter, Irvin Premins, a white man, in a grocery called McCracken, at or near Kingston, 1875.
 19th. Silas Moore (colored), badly beat by Bill Samples, (white), on his plantation, because he refused to vote the Democratic tickèt, November, 1874.
 20th. Simon Blandley (colored), beaten by white men, at or near Mansfield, because he voted the Republican ticket, November, 1874.
 21st. 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.
 22d. 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.
 23. Andrew Johnson, colored: I was badly beaten and my arm broken by James H. Hinton, a white man, at or near Keachie, in August, 1874, and my wife was run off from the plantation and our things taken from us, also our child's things.

CADDO PARISH.

24. 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.
 25th. 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 August 5, 1878.
 26th. Patsy McCready, colored, badly whipped by John Ellis, white, on his place; accused of pulling a watermelon. Done June, 1875.
 27th. Jesse, colored, killed by Sam Coleman, white, and all his crops taken from his family. Done in June, 1875.
 28th. Asa Giggs, colored, killed by white men on John Harris's place, over the lake, about eight miles from Mourningport, 1868.
 29th. Wilson Parker, killed on John Harris's plantation by white men.
 30th. Simmon Hunter, colored, killed by white men in the woods, 1868.
 31st. John Jackson, colored, killed by Dr. Harris on John Harris's plantation; had his head shot off and cut open, 1868.
 32d. 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 place, 1868.

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 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 the 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 swamps 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 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 man, in 1870.

670th. Tim Taylor, killed by a white man in Caddo, in 1868.

671st. Miss Mandy Jackson, colored, whipped by two white men named William in 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. Caesar 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 Wingart, 1871.
 681st. Henry Nichols, badly beaten by James Noll, white, in the year 1871.
 682d. Miss Salena Jetts, colored, whipped by Bill Alburt, 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 McColloine 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 any one 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.

his
 EDMOND + JONES.
 mark.

Witness :
 HENRY ADAMS.

No. 2.

DE SOTO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

My name 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.

his
 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 done. This was in 1872.

her
 MARY × JOHNSON.
 mark.

Susanah Williams was badly beaten and whipped by a white man named Bill Allen, on his place, in the year 1863.

MARY JOHNSON.

No. 4.

MONROE, CADDO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

I, Caesar Robinson, make the following statement : I am a colored man. I settled a

place on overflow land about three and a half miles west of Shreveport, at or near 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. 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 I 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. 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, I have a wife and one child. I had a good garden, but they have turned the stock in 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 × 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 Col. 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 go 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 way 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 Catahoula, and took passage in Red River Parish, and took passage to Grand Ecore, 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 the boat for me to get off it was at Alexandria, and he then told me if I did not get off there, I would 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 was on February 8th, 1876.

REV. HENRY ALBIT

No. 7.

CADDO PARISH,
State of Louisiana:

We, George Underwood and Bellun Harris and Isaiah 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

th. But they told us no judges should come to see the crops, and we did not want sign the paper. But they beat me (Isaiah), and then we got afraid and we signed 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 needed. We worked just as hard as if we were slaves, and in return was treated like a slave.

his
GEORGE + UNDERWOOD.
mark.

his
BELLUN + HARRISS.
mark.

his
ISAIAH + 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.

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 twenty-five dollars he had taken away from me, what another man had paid me. He whipped 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.

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 much like a slave.

PRIMUS ALBERT.

No. 11.

DE SOTO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

My name is Simon Dickson; I worked for Miss Lizzie Dickson, on her place, about fifteen 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 for 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 took all of my crop every year, for what she claimed I owed her, yet she would never give me what anything cost. In 1875 I asked her to tell me what such and such things were worth, 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 Mr. 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, Windom, and Blair.

JOHN HENRI BURCH (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM :

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 1868 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; and

st the colored people have refused to make these contracts, and the ne has passed really when these contracts should have been made; d also a large number of colored people in several of the parishes at lived in the country have moved from their places in which they ed last year and have largely moved into the cities and towns along e river with their goods and families in order to take any transporta- n which may come to hand to carry them away from there. I am also are of the fact, by correspondence with parties and otherwise, that e colored people, of the river parishes especially, have made up their nds generally that they would leave the several States along the ssissippi Valley and go west.

Q. Tell us, as nearly as you can, what is the cause of this movement, d of this increase that you speak of last year.—A. If I might be per- tted, Mr. Senator, to give it in my own way, I would like to tell ay there is any exodus at all.

Q. Well, take your own way, Mr. Burch, to inform us as to the causes the exodus, and give us any information upon it you may have.—A. s to the causes of the exodus and what has brought it about, I suppose e causes of this exodus, so far as the colored people are concerned, ay be grouped under the head of a fear on their part of class legisla- n against them by Democratic legislators, and fear of interference th their educational privileges; the uncertainty of their obtaining eans for themselves and their families; the interference with their re- ious and personal rights, together with the fear of disfranchisement. suppose the causes that have brought about this exodus may be aced under this group.

Q. What do you mean when you speak of their fear of interference th their religious rights?—A. When I speak of interference with their ous rights, I would refer the committee to the case in several of e parishes, one of which was mentioned, I think, by the witness from reveport, and I would refer to the actions of the authorities in New leans. I do not think that the case in Shreveport was the first one. hink there were a great many cases where the people have been in- fered with in their churches and in their religious worship.

Q. Well, name any cases that you know of.—A. In the city of New leans, in 1878, just after the Democratic State council took their seats d the new mayor was installed into office, that council issued an or- r in the city of New Orleans closing every colored church in the city ten o'clock, ordering the police to close those churches, and if those urches were opened after ten o'clock to arrest the ministers and carry em to prison. I believe one of the ministers was arrested under this ler. Several of the leading colored men of the city of New Orleans, o were more or less connected with the churches as trustees and embers, called upon the mayor and asked him why he issued that or- r closing the colored churches; because in the city of New Orleans ere are all denominations of churches, Presbyterian, Congregational, iscopal, Baptist, A. M. E. Church, Methodist Episcopal Church rth, one or two Zion churches, &c., of all denominations. These col- ed men desired to know why an order had been issued closing the urches. I will state here, however, that before the order had been is- ed several articles appeared in Democratic papers, complaining as to e noise made by some of the colored churches in the city, and charg- g that they disturbed the neighborhood.

Q. Disturbed the peace of the neighborhood while in worship?—A. es, sir, in their church worship; charging that they held their urches very late and disturbed the neighborhood. I saw these

articles in the Democratic papers, and upon the appearance of the 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 the 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. We 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 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 title 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 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 no 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 horse 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

ate, 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 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 put 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 no 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 presented 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 here, 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 law 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 such things; 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 of the government 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 the land and take away his goods and implements of agriculture.

Q. It is generally believed now among the colored people that their property is 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 induce 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 just 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 so 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 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 any 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 bread 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 the 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 No. 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 could still remain ignorant of the existence of this law.

Suppose that there may be personal or private reasons why the laborer desires to go 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 has raised a storm of indignation by it among that very class which it ostensibly tends 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 employé 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 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 serfdom. 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 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 free 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

ould 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 ready 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, 1831, 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 McEnery. 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, long 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, 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 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 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. Each parish 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 get 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 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 was elected five; what were the original five or seven?—A. O, they were all 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 present.—A. I suppose that the country is aware of the troubles we had here. 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. Now the gentleman who claims to represent that district in Congress says 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 here; I believe some of their generals have been permitted to serve a term in Congress, and some of them are here to-day, but they can be easily go back if they are wanted. To expect these negroes, who

certainly showed bravery on the battle-field, with the musket in the 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 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 ardent 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 friend 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 parish 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

at 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 to 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 come 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 at New Orleans at that time were not natives of the State of Louisiana or 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 joining; 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 one 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 out 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 is 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 we 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 abused 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 running 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?—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 the papers published in that State, the character of the opposition against

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 tracts 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 tracts.

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 take 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.

NAPOLEONVILLE, 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 bullying 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 what 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 reads "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 P. Mix and demanded the keys of the jail.

After the keys were obtained, the mob then took six negroes who were confined in jail, about half a mile from town, on what is known as "The Avenue," and hung them 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 a 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 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 has 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, 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 so 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 votes 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 have 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 would 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 go away if they can for fear of the yellow fever. These colored men down here 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—but 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 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 masters went into the rebellion to continue and strengthen their system of slavery, the 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

le. 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. The 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 freedom 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 could be made. It may stop an exodus which is undoubtedly subject to the impulses which 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 do 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 colored men 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 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

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; 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 don'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, and 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 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 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, they can visit by the legislature, and put such laws as they please

upon the statute-books, and thereby subject him to greater outrage 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 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 the "all" manners of outrages and wrongs were perpetrated upon the people during the time that the Republicans were in the ascendant. I would like to know how much more the Democratic party could do to inflict outrages and wrongs than that, whether by the legislature in any other way?—A. Well, I will plead guilty to an extravagance in 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; 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 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?—I will give you the parishes and names of some of them: Mr. Raby, Natchitoches; Mr. Blount, of Natchitoches; Mr. John G. Lewis, 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 of 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 1879, and who was prevented personally by white men from speaking 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 we 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. I 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 bull-dog 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 meet 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 heated consultations they meant business. As soon as Mr. Bobe commenced to speak, he was interrupted by several white men. They hurrahed 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 the present 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. He told me 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 New Orleans 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 intelligent people have not been in vain. When did the Jew free himself from the stigma of oppression 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 a 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, 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, Ang. 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

ce all persons who have or who may hereafter be guilty of said unlawful and vicious 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 courts.

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 feeling of friendship will exist on both sides.
Respectfully submitted.

SAMUEL P. GREVES,
Chairman.

J. C. CHARROTTE,
J. D. DOUGHERTY,
IVEY PATTERSON,
E. L. WOODSIDE,
DANIEL MORGAN,
W. C. ANNIS,
A. WILLIAMS,
JESSE MAGEE.

On reading a motion by Mr. Jackson to adopt the report, Maj. R. L. Pruyn arose and 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 was seconded 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 hinderance or discrimination 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 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.

A meeting of the said society, held at the residence of the chairman on the 30th 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 States 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 apprehension 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 peaceably 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

When 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 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, 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 depicting 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 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 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, 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 South-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 Winston 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 earnest endeavor to secure home in the West for those of our race who are denied the 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; 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 in endorsement 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 on 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.

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; Ward Pope, Samuel Lowery, D. S. Brandon, W. H. Conceil, Huntsville; Rev. W. O. Onch, Rev. W. H. McAlpine, Marion; David Wilson, Rev. J. M. Goodloe, Huntsville; S. W. Lewis, Uniontown; W. J. Stephens, Selma; J. H. Thomaston, Athens; S. Smith, Stephenson, Jackson County; Rev. Peter C. Murphy, Mobile; David Ripley, v. 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. wland, Rev. J. T. Jenifer, Little Rock; H. W. Wadkins, Arkadelphia; George N. rkins, Campbell; G. B. Antoine, Isaac Gillem, Little Rock; David A. Robinson, Pine ff; M. G. Turner, H. B. Robiusion, Helena; S. H. Holland, Lake Village, Chicot unty.

GEORGIA.—Rev. L. H. Holsey, Augusta; C. C. Wimbush, Rev. J. H. Wood, S. C. Up- aw, Atlanta; W. B. Higginbotham, Rome; Madison Blount, J. H. Delamotta, At- ata; Rev. Toby Stewart, Clinton; Rev. George Valentine, Atlanta; J. W. Brooks, eon; 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. Morton, 701 Chestnut street, Evansville; Rev. W. H. Anderson, pastor Third Bap- t Church, Terre Haute; Rev. Greene McFarland, Evansville; S. Daniels, Terre ante; Rev. P. W. Johnson, Indianapolis; J. A. Braboy, Kokomo; G. L. Knox, West- ld; J. H. Clay, Greencastle; J. H. Walker, Terre Haute; Emmet Stewart, Brazil; W. Stewart.

KANSAS.—Rev. T. W. Henderson, Topeka.

KENTUCKY.—Allan Allansworth, W. H. Nicholl, Horace Lewis, Bowling Green; G. Gentry, G. W. Darden, Rev. Bishop Miles, Louisville; John Garnett, Glasgow; J. C. Snarden.

LOUISIANA.—P. B. S. Pichback, James Lewis, Naval office; J. Henri Burch, Lewis 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 chardson, Port Gibson; Rev. J. H. Bufford, Stormsville; David Wilson, W. H. rry, B. G. Booth, Water Valley; S. P. Cheers, Water Valley; J. C. Mathews, Holly rings.

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, io; 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. mner, T. A. Sykes, Nashville; Rev. Isaac Lane, Rev. R. F. Boyd, Pulaski; J. H. endricks, Goodlettsville; Rev. G. H. Shafer, J. W. Grant, Nashville; T. W. Lott, eckson; D. W. Williams, Brentwood; L. A. Roberts, Grand Junction; J. H. Kelley, umberia; Dr. J. F. McKinley, Nashville; W. C. Hodge, Chattanooga; H. H. Thomp- n, Pulaski; Randall Brown; Nashville; J. M. Smith, La Grange, Fayette County; J. Carr, B. A. J. Nixon, Pulaski; M. F. Womack, A. F. A. Polk, A. N. C. Williams, A. Henderson, jr., Chattanooga; B. J. Hadley, J. H. Burrens, Rev. D. Wadkins, W. Yardley, Rev. G. W. Le Vere, J. C. Napier, Rev. C. O. H. Thomas, W. F. Anderson, shville.

TEXAS.—Richard Allen, Houston; Rev. B. F. Williams, East Bernard Station; J. R. ylor, San Antonio; N. W. Cuney, Galveston; E. H. Anderson, Fisk University, shville, Tenn.

VIRGINIA.—R. A. Perkins, Lynchburgh; J. W. Cromwell, Washington, D. C.; John 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 'exodusting 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"—each 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	\$220, 446, 288	5 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, 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

erate scholars, as successful cultivators of general science, as refined and intelligent men 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 attention of this audience to a few historic facts with which many individuals must be as familiar as I am. We are many of us proud, and justly proud, of 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 at the present 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 eyes in this transatlantic region, so prolific of wonders of every description, among 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 fairer hue and of more aristocratic surroundings. I personally know men of the same race 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 the Roman pen, might have added new charms to his essay on *Old Age*. Jurists are 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 live 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 is about to have to fall out of the category of civilization":

"We live in a section of this broad country where every 'prospect pleases, and only the reverse is vile.' The ferocious tiger does not roam his native jungles of India more at home 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 their victims, unprepared and unknelled, 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 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 occasion 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 party, which see in these violent infractions of law and the reckless slaughter of colored 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 to the North, where their lives can be given the regard due to that of a dog. It is not a mere 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 respect 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 the 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, till until Louisiana suppresses her white savages, and protects her black yeoman 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 factious 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 offenses 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 benefit 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 silent 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 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 he is forced 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 were sought to reach, "the character and resources of the State," are thoroughly known and ready.

There is not a German, Irish, or English point of departure at which immigrants were not long since fully debated—as frugal men will debate, who are about to cross the 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 potent recruiting instrumentality; the frequent letter from friend or relative—all that the 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 no man 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 voracious 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 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 columns of her laborers who are seeking other and bleaker parts of the country, will trample 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 Waldsonville 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 Ibioula 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 regions 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 the 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.

ere is an editorial from the Kansas Herald, published by colored men at Topeka, at State:

ne exodus from the South continues, and while we favor our people coming from section, we must be allowed to say that we do not favor the idea that they should 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 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 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 managing 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 the 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 lives; 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; indeed is not looked upon by the chivalrous Southron, as constituting a part of the State's polity; because he is not allowed representation in the councils of his State, and 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 stand, the shot-gun Democracy have captured the State governments, and are determined 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 fact 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 and young politicians they think themselves—who have no interest in peace and order, and who 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 hire 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 five hundred going thus, leisurely and comfortably. On the International Railroad two hundred tickets were sold at a small station in one day. The company had several days gathering at that point. We went into one ear and counted ninety men, women, and children. They all had first-class tickets—the railroad will sell no more to them, and the fare of that company in that one ear amounted to over \$1,000. 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 ignore the "exodus," 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 a 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 fruit of their labor throughout the North.

The efforts thus far made in the South to prevent this movement have been of 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, 1850.]

There is talk of an exodus movement in Texas 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 Wabaunsee 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

tion 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 simply a duty to a much abused people. The white people of the South could not stop to this exodus at once by simply extending to the blacks the equal rights guaranteed by the law that the whites enjoy."

R. 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 relations with each other. If one is in prosperity the other will be also, and neither can prosper without dragging the other with it.

On motion, the committee stood adjourned to Wednesday, March 17,

TWENTY-SIXTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Wednesday, March 17, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded with the reading 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.

How long have you resided there?—A. Since 1874.

What has been your occupation for the last few years?—A. I have been a special agent for the Southern Claims Commission, but when I came to Bay Saint Louis, I went there to edit and publish a newspaper.

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.

What part of the State is Bay Saint Louis in?—A. It is on the Mississippi River, 50 miles east of New Orleans.

How long have you been an agent of the Southern Claims Commission?—A. I was appointed in the spring of 1877.

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-

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 Natchez, 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 it 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 Louisiana friends there. I went there in 1865 as a Democrat. I was abused much as any carpet-bagger who was there. I thought I was abused 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, never owned anything there, and made the canvass for the governor with him.

Q. Who was that?—A. That was Judge Louis Dent, and they headed the 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 sticks his nose out of politics he is treated all right until his money is gone, 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 threats 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 canoes, which they dragged round with them. I didn't see them, but I heard 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, and 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 large majority.

Q. And the State went Democratic that year?—A. Yes, sir; by 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 they

and be no trouble, and they held a meeting, and during the services about 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 going on 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 carried with to Jefferson County, but in seven or eight miles he was seized by a crowd of men and hung, and I understood that his bones were lying there months afterwards.

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.

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.

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 of 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 much tea, and who had an office near, determined to break up the 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 recognizance bond, and the negroes took exceptions to it, and assembled in order that he should be put back in jail. They got the news of it in the country, and word came that the negroes were in a church at Austin, 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 Kansas 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.

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 committee 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. I heard from the newspapers at the time, and it will show you that 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 town 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 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 back, and after a while a young man named Anderson, 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 have no desire to make a speech; that I had business there." I also met two men, Casy 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 Sunday 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 the 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

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 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 worked as 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 place very near Gordon on the Central Railroad near Milledgeville where I 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 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 "varmint," 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 a dollar since the surrender." In Butts County I went to examine the claim of Mrs. 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 DESPERADOES.

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 desperadoes 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. The Summit is in Pike County, Mississippi. The Times admits that the 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 weight and 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 band 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

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 Bogne 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 could

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 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 here, 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 pecnliarly scarce in his immediate vicinity. Listen to his manly notice:

"I hereby warn the anthors 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 rnderstand that his honor Judge Chrisman, in empaneling a grand jury for Amite Couuty, 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 exeluding 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 conuty, 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 connty of Amite the public record of the lawlessness committed in her borders, and with equal justice we record an act of the same lawless character, 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 occpied 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 log-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 he 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 28, 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 and large in promoting the interests of personal aggrandizement, it does us good to throw 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. Tickers, 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 rights 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.

TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY.

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 act 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 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 upon 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 punished 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—most 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 a few 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?—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 1868.

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, 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 elected once.

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 own 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 1st 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, of 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, will you ask me 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 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 claim 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 here; 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 felon 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 finable, 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 bulldozing 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 any 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 vicillating 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 Tyler?—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 exensed 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. BLAIR. 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 infliction I may suffer, nor hear 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 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 have 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 out 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 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 bring 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; when 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 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 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 of 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

ey 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 10 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 me 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. General 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 a 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, 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

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 came to 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 subjected to, they had decided to leave. That was their unanimous sentiment.

Q. Do you know what became of them after leaving your city?—A. The moment they began to arrive in such large numbers, Governor Stanton, and others, organized a board of relief, and it worked in harmony with our board; and the emigrants that we shipped there 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 thereby 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

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 we 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, you 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,

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 the 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 here, 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 got 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

nothing 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 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 could 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 to 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 asamble I was request to write you to find out if it would agreable in accordin to your Sistom of doning 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 womman with children and there ar pleanty of work of men we will meat A gan on the 16 for the prorps of contrbution 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 pepl 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 meat-inge. 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 months 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 namesake 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.

T W E N T Y - N I N T H D A Y .

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

majority of the votes in that State ; but after the election is over they 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 any longer. I asked him in regard to the origin of the idea of leaving here, 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 guarded ? 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, the clubs, and bowie-knives reign supreme ; no free expression of sentiment aversive 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 law. 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 the 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 the 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 his little homes, school-houses, churches, and also ministers of the gospel, to go to the 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, 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 untrammelled, 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 the country, and that they have been pushed back by the white people, and are now forced by the government?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes, sir; the Indians did at one period occupy all the Territories, 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 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 negroes, are a working people. Should we emigrate we would endeavor to clear the forests, 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 quickly encountered difficulties. Disease, starvation, and death met their every step, but they all overcame.

At the time of the Revolution, when Patrick Henry dared to raise his voice against British oppressions, he and those who sympathized with him were styled traitors. 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 world.

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, 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 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 in 1856 was the unconstitutionality of the acts of Congress conferring these rights. Now, we have demanded our rights and they have regarded our demands by passing counter bills demanding property qualifications for negroes; by passing laws cutting 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 rights."

Look at the bill now before us looking to the reorganization of county governments; look at 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 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 when 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 out 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 driven 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 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 motive 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, 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 Greenville castle 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

the \$20 a month cash, every week if I want it, and I board myself. They so 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 \$5 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 milk 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 a good garden as there is in the country when spring opens. My firewood 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 now 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 country 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, afterwards 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 and 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 Bennett 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 Simons, 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

fore. I am treated so well in this country by white people that I want of my friends in North Carolina to come to the Northern and West-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 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. Say, come one, come all, of my color, and as many others as want to do

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 who amount to anything are down on such scalawags 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 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 landlord 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. Sparke'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 camplaint 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,

s 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 on foot. 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 homes 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. 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

ir 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 for \$15 a month in cash, with house-rent, firewood, and a cow to milk, and fuel 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. 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 Lodoga. 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.*

W. 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

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 BLAIR:

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 Ottoberlin, 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—work 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 :

GREENCASLE, 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

n 75 cents per hundred, and cut a parcel of four-foot cord wood at 80 cents per cord 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 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 the following statement, which I shall read next.

Q. (By Senator BLAIR.) Where does he live now?—A. He lives in Greeneville. 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 about that 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 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 town. 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. I would put the farm in grass and raise cattle. By that means the country 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 production might be almost doubled. The labor is the thing needed. It is not material about the color of the laborer.

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

s 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 coming may come here making labor cheap is a great mistake. When there were not one of 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 work. 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 men 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 very 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 here, 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 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 farms.

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-

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—

ought 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 wages 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 land 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 I 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 this 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 what 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, and 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 I 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 *Voorhees* 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 wages, by the year, and a good home. Now, send me a good one.

B. F. Cawthon, 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 one in Indianapolis, I will go there.

The next is from M. Krebs, of Petersburg, Ind., in Pike County, that same 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.,

A. 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 for 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 and 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 Kentucky, 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 fear 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 another 1876.

By Senator BLAIR :

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 BLAIR :

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
w—

The CHAIRMAN. No, you had better go through with the point you are

Senator BLAIR. Why not take it now ? We are afraid we may forget

The CHAIRMAN. I have got to cross-examine the witness.

Senator BLAIR. 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; 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 burdens that are moving them in their coming there?—A. I have conversed with a good many of them, and some of them give that as a reason.

Q. About how many of the twenty-five hundred have you talked with in relation 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 the best thing for them to come there destitute, but since I have seen many of them, and heard them tell their stories, I thought, perhaps, I had better let them come.

Q. What stories did they tell?—A. Various stories; generally, that their families 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 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 back 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 Canton to Topeka. I saw a man by the name of Matthews, from Wapah 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 all 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 would 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 round 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 here, 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 or 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 decided 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 wa

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 here 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 mother 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 cotten-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 account 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. Do 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; it 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 lands.

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 wrote 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

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 countries, 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 do not 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 Coalhoun 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, no 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

large 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. Manning, 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 colouel 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.

About how many colored people were there together coming in 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 here 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. The 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 some miles away from town, but they were followed, I was told, and had to protect themselves.

They were followed by whom?—A. Yes; they were followed by the white people, but which fired first I do not know; the colored people said they were surrounded and fired upon.

How many were there that came in there from other counties to fight the whites?—A. There were four hundred and eighty that came from Popson's, one hundred and seventy-five from Cold Water, one hundred from Panola and Tunica Counties, and some from Arkansas. Again Bill Burke came in there and I saw him in the morning at the beginning 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.

When was the day of the election?—A. The election was the second Tuesday in November, and this was in October.

What was the strength of the two parties in your county?—A. The Republican party I think had from twelve to thirteen hundred majority.

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 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. John 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.

What had been the result of the election the years before?—A. In the years before the majority was nine hundred and seventy-two for the Republican party, but there had been a large increase in the vote, every planting ring in parties from Georgia and Alabama to work on their plantations.

What was your observation of the treatment of the colored people here 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 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.

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.

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 a boat and said that the colored people were going to take the whites 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 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 Moon'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 then 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

rd, 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 me, 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 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 that was true or not, but that was the statement that went abroad. The colored men in Tallahatchee gathered and went down there to demand arms. 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 H. P. Reed. I told him I was uneasy. I told him I had seen so many 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 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 from 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 necessaries of life. The matter began to become serious. So many gathered there that the people and the city authorities feared lest the 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. The following simply explains the purpose of the society (handing Mr. Windou's letter heading of the society, which read as follows):

HON. A. B. JETMORE, President.
 AURA S. HAVILAND, Secretary.
 T. 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 Wabaunsee 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 do take ten dollars rent he takes so much lint cotton, equivalent to This rent must be paid first, out of the crop; next in order comes merchant's lien, owing for supplies furnished; this is arranged so as 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 a 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. 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

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 bold 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 a 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 rail cars; 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

tion. In that canvass did you characterize Governor Alcorn as a
?—A. No, sir; not in that canvass—not in '73.

Well, in '75?—A. He called me a number of times a thief, but I
ly said of him what the newspapers said, and what other people
about him.

Well, that was an impeachment of Governor Alcorn's honesty.
you endorse what the papers said about him?—A. I simply stated
they had said. I did not say he was. I had no proof. I only
what was stated.

In 1875, didn't Governor Alcorn charge you with being a thief and
alter in Coahoma County for four or five thousand dollars?—A. He

Yes. Did the riot start from that?—A. No, sir; I don't think it
ed from that.

Didn't you send word to your friends in the country to come into
own, and for every one that had a gun to bring it if it could only
a cap?—A. No, sir.

Didn't you bring all these people into town?—A. No, I staid in
ity.

I ask you if you didn't send into the country to have them come
the town?—A. No, sir; I did not send to have them come into
—only this far, that I sent word that Judge Safford would speak
Monday night, and for them to come on that ground; but when I
d that there would be trouble, and that they were coming in, I
red them to go home, which they did before they got into the city.

Yes; Governor Alcorn objected to the ticket that was nominated
at county, didn't he?—A. I think he objected to parts of it. He
not have been with his party on that. I do not know what part he
outside.

Well, it was not true that you were a defaulter to the amount of
ten thousand dollars, was it?—A. No, sir; not a word of truth
in the world.

Didn't Governor Alcorn prove it against you when he made his
ch?—A. No, sir; he said that the county treasurer, who is now
—he died a little while afterwards—claimed that I had demanded
a thousand dollars from him, which I did not. He admitted after-
ls, as I understand, that he had the money he said I demanded of
and which I did not demand of him at all, sir. It was only on the
ement of the county treasurer, who is now dead, that Governor
rn based his charge upon; that is all the proof he had, and there
no truth whatever in the charge.

Now, the morning that these people came to the town, on the day
e riot, you say you met General Chalmers, and you had some con-
ation with him in reference to the disposition of these people?—A.
sir.

I will ask you if General Chalmers did not tell you there would be
ot, no trouble, if you refused to give ammunition to these people
had come into town that morning?—A. My understanding of what
General said was in substance that I went to the colored people
as I said, and then, on coming back to talk with the white people,
Ion. H. P. Reed, at that time a partner of the general's, came down.
general was sitting on his horse——

By Mr. PENDLETON:

You say Mr. Reed was General Chalmers's partner?—A. Yes, sir;
at time he was. I do not think he is now. I do not know. Maybe
e 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 he 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 buckshot 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 said 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 the 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 horse back 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?—
It was some time in October; if I am not mistaken, it was on the
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
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 sup-
pose 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
the 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 prom-
ised that.
- Q. Did you not make that promise to General Chalmers?—A. I didn't
make that promise to 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
the 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 informa-
tion 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
to be 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?—
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 dol-
lars—for that office alone.
- Q. And what was it for collector of taxes?—A. Then for collector I
had 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
dollars more.
- Q. Well, what was the whole amount of bonds you filed—some
twenty-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 made, there was C. W. Crowley, B. Harrington, H. P. Reed, and 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, 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 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 levy tax" collector. He 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 giving 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, I did 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, 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 at 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

ut 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 on 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 up, 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 the 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 the 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, 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 the riot 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 a short time 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 with them.

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 the

county?—A. The number I think must have been, probably, four or five
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
of 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
could not have to be encountered alone, but from the surrounding coun-
ties 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
ammunition; while the white men could have got all they wanted, both of am-
munition 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,
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
the 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
Oxford, 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 could 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
into 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 com-
pelled to leave on this ground. And the next morning after I had gone,
I 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
could 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 everbody 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.

Did you see any there that day who were from other counties?—
Yes; I saw some strangers there.

Who were they?—A. There was only one of them that I could
identify personally; he was from Arkansas.

What was his name?—A. It was Mr. Billy Burke, from Helena,

Was he not the only man you saw there that day whom you knew
could identify, with the exception of those from Coahoma county?—
No, sir; there were some strangers there, I know, but they didn't
go to the court-house; and I got down between the white men and
colored men and didn't have time to see them all; in an excitement
that, men didn't have time to see much.

Well, you ought not to tell us that you saw a number of people
if you did not see.—A. I could not see all, and could not identify
what I saw, but I know there was about that number from what I
heard of those that did see.

You heard it from those that were as badly scared as you were,
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
said that the number was about one hundred and seventy-five that
surrounded them beyond the bridge, and that about the same number
left back of them near the town, which I was told by a good many
people that did see them.

Did not the colored men run around the town the night before,
waving their pistols and firing them off?—A. In the city?

Yes.—A. Not a pistol was fired off. I never allowed that, as
far as I know, by either white or colored. I never allowed any one to do that
without arresting them.

Didn't they run round the town whooping and yelling, and making
great racket and noise?—A. No, sir; for white men guarded the
town that night, and had speaking there that day.

Were not some stores broken into and plundered?—A. No, sir;
the city was guarded by armed white men all night long.

Well, that was Austin?—A. Yes, sir; Austin, Miss., claimed that
stores were plundered. But talking afterwards with the white peo-
ple here, the merchants, they said not a thing was taken out.

But charges were made of that by responsible people there?—A.
They said that Memphis white people came down there to Austin and
steal. When I was in Austin they said that.

You were told that?—A. Yes, sir.

And you believed that?—A. Yes, sir.

But you did not believe that the colored people plundered the
stores?—A. No; so they told me.

Who told you?—A. Merchants there, who were Democrats, told
me that, and I took their word for truth.

What were the names of the merchants they said were robbed by
the people from Memphis?—A. One of them was the treasurer there,
Askew; he kept a drugstore, and was postmaster.

His store was robbed, was it?—A. No, sir; he did not say it was.

Any one else?—A. A Jew there, I can't think of his name now.

Was this Askew a Republican?—A. He was said to be a Repub-
lican.

Why did you say Democrats just now?—A. Well, there were
the Jews there and Democrats who said that their store was robbed,
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

y. He claimed to be a Republican, and voted with the Republicans 1873, and so did General Chalmers, who, I understand, voted for me.

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 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 was 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 given out. That is the kind of a Republican he was; he wanted my place.

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,

Q. What ticket was elected in that county at that election?—A. M. 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 what.

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 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 come in Brown and Smith. The negroes of the county, urged by the tax-payers, made stubborn resistance to Brown's programme to control the county.

"BROWN'S WILD PROCLAMATIONS.

To subdue opposition, Brown began haranguing the negroes six weeks 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 harm 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 farmers, 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 musketeers 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 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 1st 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 with 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 lead 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 retreated 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; 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.

With 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 hear 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 Burk 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 Chambers 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 go 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 today. 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 owner, 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 part 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 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 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, trouble with the lungs, and my child died with it. The climate was so 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; 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 one 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 the 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 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

- as he pleases?—A. No, sir; they permit them to do as they please on 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 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 constitution?—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 do 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 quietness 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. No, 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 are 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; when 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 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 a family, if they have a house, they let him have a house where his family is.

Q. Does he have a garden plot?—A. They allow a garden plot for 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 usually hire a large family, then. He would not be able to hire much for 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 the man 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, 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 in 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 white 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.

Q. That was the law in Mississippi, I know. I do not know what the law 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 eight dollars, or whatever it is, and then the merchant has to be paid for his supplies.

Q. Held 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 man can go to him and give a lien.

Q. That is a different matter; the lien lies against the landlord; it doesn'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 pay a man 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 pay 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 a certain 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 this country as they can in Kansas.

Q. How much would his share of the corn be worth in Kansas?—

at would be one hundred and twenty-five bushels as his share; at y 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 an Mississippi, not Kansas.

Q. Well, add that now to the price of his cotton, it would bring it up the amount he would make in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then you have got him about as well off in Missis ippi as you have in nsas?—A. Yes, sir; in reference to making money they can make re in the South, but it costs more for them to live. If they were pro- ted I think they would prefer to live in the South and they will do it enever they are given a fair chance. I expected to buy a plantation d stay there myself if it hadn't been for these troubles.

Q. Well, you admit that there is not much difference in favor of Kan- s in the matter of making money?—A. No, sir; if the price of cotton ds up at twelve and a half cents a pound; but they have to pay enty cents a pound at any time, or nearly that, for their meat, while Kansas it is only seven or eight cents a pound; and he pays twice as uch for sugar and all that; taking these things into consideration he ould come out in Kansas, I think, two hundred dollars ahead of what ould in Mississippi.

Q. How about the prices of land in Kansas?—A. If he buys near epeka, within five miles of a city, it will cost him about eight dollars acre, and from that on out. It is cheaper some twenty miles away m the city. He can find bottom lands heavily timbered at one dol- e to one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre, out of the public lands d school lands. They can have ample time to pay it in if they buy the railroad.

Q. What about buying lands in the South?—A. Well, sir; I saw ile 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 les. The colored people know very little about titles. One in Texas ught some land, and I know one named Robert Black who bought a ace, and he paid a part of the money on it and they got into law out it and he lost it all.

Q. Well, is not that true of transactions of the same kind in other aces?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What compensation do you receive as superintendent of the Emi- ation Relief Society?—A. Until within the last two months of the ar's work I got no pay except for my horse. I said I could not go on that way and they agreed to allow me for my expenses eight or nine undred dollars a year. That was for my work and all my time given it.

Q. How much money is passing through the hands of your associa- on?—A. As near as I can get at it, between thirty-five and forty ousand dollars have passed through for the year. We have a regu- r board with a president and secretary.

Q. How long has it been started?—A. Not quite a year. I have en a member since its organization but was not general superinten- ent until some time afterwards. I took charge of the colonies and the tling of them. I simply looked out and found cheaper lands and nt the colored men to look after them, and I go there myself and see at they get their deeds for it. We have built barracks for them; we ave one in Wabaunsee County about fifty miles from Topeka.

Q. Who own these lands that are on the market so cheap?—A. The gate 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 receipts, 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 them, 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

and 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 were none in the State now. I heard some were elected, but they fixed 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 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 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 life—except 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	988
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 Kuklux 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 Ku Klux 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 and oppress 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 people 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 enclosures 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 the jury, 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 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 prejudiced 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 and 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 conducted 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 people a spirit of marked bitterness, injustice, and vindictiveness which justly adds to the 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.

Oppressed 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 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 efficient remedies. But as we are by personal experience better informed of these evils, we respectfully suggest the following remedies:

1. 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 his 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 and 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 therefor 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 therefor 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 "wine 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 address; 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?—Yes, sir.
- Q. Did the committee ever take any action to present any facts to the colored people?—A. I think they did. Shortly after that, however, I went to Louisiana, and the most of the time since I have been there I have been 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 Bayou La Bata.
- 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 before and during it.—A. There was quite a party of men who came there from adjoining parishes. They were called, or said to be, bull-dozers, 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 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 know 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 to 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 and 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 here; 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 the 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 1,189.

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 and 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 the 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

law it was a little difficult for the Democratic employer to dictate to 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 precinct to 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 precinct duly sworn, who would challenge the voters, and when challenged they could take the oath, and the inspector was compelled to take his oath. Under the Democratic law anybody can challenge a voter, and when his vote is challenged after he takes the oath, the inspector can 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 difficult 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, 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 on 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.

Suppose that a negro were to make an assault on a white man for insult to himself or his family, would he be likely to be punished?—think he would.

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 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.

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.

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.

Do you know of any instances yourself?—A. Yes, I know of three or four.

Give us an idea of them?—A. They are white men as a general rule who commit these insults upon colored women.

What do they do?—A. In one case they went into a house of a colored man, 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. The colored man told them that those were his premises, and ordered them out. They replied by informing him that he had best have very good eyes to say, and accompanying their threats with oaths, and that if he did not shut up he would get his head shot off.

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.

Is there a general feeling of insecurity among the women of your race down there?—A. Yes, sir.

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 regard for the colored ladies.

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 conduct, I just think that they do not regard him as entitled to any rights that they are bound to respect.

Is that not one of the chief causes of complaint among your race?—A. Yes, sir.

And is not that one of the chief reasons for their determination to leave?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE :

1. 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 refer to?—A. From 1865 up to the writing of it.

2. 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.

3. How much did they lack of it?—A. They only lacked a governor and a majority of the legislature.

4. When did the governor of Alabama become Democratic?—A. In 1871, Mr. Lindsay was elected governor, and he was a simon-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 set 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 plantation to plantation, and are caused frequently to change their resi-

nee, 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 to the number of legal votes there 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 Republican 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 people 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

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.

There are a few thousand white majority?—A. I think so.

What is the poll-tax per capita in your State?—A. It was a dollar and a half.

Between what ages was it liable to be paid--between twenty-one and what?—A. Forty-five, I think.

That money, that poll-tax, was all devoted to common-school purposes?—A. Yes, sir.

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.

Cannot you give some idea?—A. No, sir; I never was tax-collector.

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 not Senators; there are some things that they do not know.

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 children at school?—A. It all comes out of the general fund.

Before you complain that the white people do not educate your colored children, would it not be well for you to inform yourself as to what your race are doing for the education of your children?—A. Yes, sir; I guess I have done it, too.

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.

How do you know that?—A. I know it because I have seen a good number of them pay their taxes; and a good many others have told me they had paid their taxes.

And, therefore, you think that all over the State they pay their taxes?—A. I have reason to believe that they do.

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.

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.

The poor man having nothing that the sheriff can seize, therefore he is obliged to pay his taxes?—A. I did not say that.

But that must be the case, according to your argument.—A. I did not know that I had made any argument.

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.

If he has no property what does the collector do?—A. If he has no property he is not assessed.

Is he not assessed for his poll-tax?—A. For his poll-tax his wages are garnisheed.

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 Texas, 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 expression now is, about 1870.

Q. You stated to Mr. Windom 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 very times.

Q. How many did they actually kill in Ouachita?—A. I do not know, 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 say; 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 the murder?—A. I can furnish you with a good many names, but I give 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—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 what 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 long—are they not kept the same for the colored people as for the white?

ple?—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 them 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 the 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 general information.

Q. On general information?—A. And particular information.

Q. And that information you got from the debtor—from the man 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 a large 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

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 bullied 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 they would 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 superior 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 State-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 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 Friars 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.

r. VANCE. Well, I think I would deserve it if I was eight men all 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 giving 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 far as I have been able to ascertain there have come to this 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 remained there remained mostly in the city.

Q. Are they generally families, or men without families?—A. Men with 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 obtained mostly by white men. The farmers there have not got on their feet separate houses or homes for their laborers to live in. The white people 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 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; he 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 here.

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 nothertwenty five or thirty miles, and I don't care what kind of horse-esh 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 bull-dozing?—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. BLAIR :

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 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 Nicholls'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 1865, in the riot in the city of New Orleans.

Q. In 1866? Well, that is still further back; but 1873 was the biggest riot that took place after reconstruction?—A. In 1873, yes, I can safely

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 Baton 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 see 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 round so that you would think they were roasting potatoes; but when we 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 resident 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 before 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 Natchitoches 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; our 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 wore 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; 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 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 in 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

Louisiana; but if the white people were wrong I do not think they could.

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 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 furnish?—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

R. 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.

M. 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, 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 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 cannot produce the vouchers and books as the treasurer of the school board of the parish of Natchitoches. That count has not been decided.

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. 1 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 any 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 treasury 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 spoliator 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 Barton.

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,

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

g to Kansas, or emigrating to any other State, was a political e. I also stated what those causes were. Now I am prepared to e that this fraud, this system of fraud and unjust dealing, has only taken effect in a single parish, but has permeated the entire e, and reached even the city of New Orleans, where prominent ocrats have arisen before the courts, and demanded that justice lone them, even against their own party. In the year 1878, a citi- s party was organized in opposition to the Bourbon Democracy. s party, taking the name of the Citizens' Conservative party, was posed of what you might term the commercial interests of the city ew Orleans and State of Louisiana. The colored people did not put ticket in the field. They had intended to nominate, and I believe ally did meet and nominate, what was known as a National ticket; as soon as the Citizens' Conservative amendment went into effect, colored people determined to cast their influence with the better ment of the Democracy, as represented on that ticket. After the elec- was over, the Citizens' Conservative Association filed a protest— here is the protest:

[New Orleans Times, November 14, 1878.]

THE CONTEST OF THE CITIZENS.—THE LETTER TO GOVERNOR NICHOLLS.

to a late hour last evening Governor Nicholls had not replied to the communica- of the Citizens' Association, but promised to do so at an early day. e following is the letter served on the governor on Tuesday :

is Excellency, Governor FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS :

re undersigned committee from the Citizens' Conservative Association have been ted to call your excellency's attention to facts connected with the election recently in this city, and to acts of fraud perpetrated and wrongs committed in that ion, which stand as a reproach against this city, and call for the intervention and on of its judicial officers.

re events which preceded and followed upon that election have passed into cur- history, are familiar to all, and have justified the pre-existing suspicion of the ex- ce of a combination of individuals in this city who control the machinery of local ies, and who are chargeable with the violation of the rights of the people.

re denial of proper representation to the Citizens' Association placed the manage- t and manipulation of the election entirely in the hands of those politicians who rol the primaries. Thus conducted, the election could not prove other than the re- has shown it to be—a travesty upon fairness and a mockery of justice.

ith scarcely a pretense at concealment, unsanctioned by any form of law, wrongs e been committed and the boldest frauds perpetrated by the officers at many of polls, in the following particulars :

In excluding from the polls citizens legally entitled to vote, and registered as the requires.

In knowingly permitting and conniving at the voting of men under assumed es and upon false registration certificates.

In receiving ballots cast upon papers of persons notoriously absent from the city.

In excluding from the polling booths citizens who claimed the right guaranteed n by the law, of witnessing a proper count and compilation of the votes as cast.

In falsely changing votes as cast and the substitution of others.

In counting for candidates votes cast for their opponents.

ese charges are based upon affidavits made voluntarily by numerous citizens, and ch will be duly produced to the proper tribunals.

re people are uneasy and dissatisfied. They feel that justice has been outraged a wrong committed which threatens the purity and sanctity of the ballot.

ese illegal acts, so much calculated to bring reproach upon the first popular ad- stration vouchsafed to us after so many years of misrule, are the more heinous, use the perpetrators claim to be acting in the name of the great party of the people, Democratic party, which has no more devoted adherents than those who compose ssociation which we represent.

e ask, therefore, that your excellency will give the matter your earnest considera- 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.

following gentlemen attached their names as witnesses to the petition already being the twenty citizens required by law :

s. G. Johnsen, H. S. Michel, H. C. McGuigin, M. B. Chilans, O. L. Putnam, W. k, Alf B. Barnett, E. T. Manning, P. M. Dann, J. M. Vance, M. Marigny, Clement nrose, John Fitzpatrick, R. Arnault, I. Tharp, O. H. Violet. J. Paris Childress, St. Ceran, J. B. Gervais Arnault, R. B. Pleasants, Geo. D. Hite, J. Aldige.

At a late hour last evening Judge Rightor returned into court, and securing from w library several books, consulted numerous authorities, but it was finally an eed that no order would be issued last evening, and the court adjourned unt y at ten o'clock.

THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.

At ten o'clock last evening the executive committee of the Citizens' Conservative iation had not received a reply from Governor Nicholls to their note, which has already published, and a reply was not expected during the night.

At four o'clock yesterday afternoon Governor Nicholls had partially completed a but it was still in an unfinished condition when a Times reporter left his office.

By Senator WINDOM .

Without going into the details of the trial, was that case ever l ?—A. Yes, sir.

What was the result, given in brief?—A. It amounted to Mr. theraux holding the sheriff's office.

Was any attention ever paid to that protest ?—A. Very little, sir ; little ; the courts there are all of one class.

By Senator VANCE :

That contest down there between the Conservatives and the Bour s, as you call them, was about city taxation, was it not?—A. I do think you can strictly style it so, sir.

What did these Conservative men fly off from the regular Dem- tic organization for?—A. Because in the regular Democratic or- zation there was not the class of men they wanted ; they wanted a s of men representing the commercial and financial interests of the and State.

The property-holders ?—A. Yes, sir.

Was not the Republican party pretty equally divided between n factions ?—A. I do not think so, sir.

Did not a portion of the Republicans vote for the "Bourbons," as call them ?—A. Some of the Republicans voted for some of the rbons.

Did you ever hear of any respectable number of Republicans pro- ing against the corruption of their own party ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I tell you how Republicans fight each other ; they fight each other he party, and not out of it.

They did not officially protest in public, charging each other with ad and corruption ?—A. No, sir ; not unless some of them got dis- sified because they did not get anything.

Did they ever sign a protest like that which you have just read ?

Against the action of a Republican administration ? No, sir. We d always settle our affairs at home, without parading them before 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 rt, from which Senator Vance has questioned the witness, is a re- for the year 1877, the year in which the transfer of power from the ublicans to the Democrats took place, and must, of necessity, in its of statistics and expenditures, represent the condition of things as by the Republicans.

Senator VANCE. The date of it is 1878, but it details the operation 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 of schools, for that they do give.

Senator VANCE. Well, the report will show for itself how that is; 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

pose 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 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; \$95 to \$100 is as much as a man 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 to 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:

100 pounds meat at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound.....	\$12 15 ; at 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents,	\$22 75
100 bushels corn at 40 cents per bushel.....	5 20 ; at \$1	13 00
10 hats at \$1	2 00 ; at \$2	4 00
1 pair shoes at \$1 25	2 50 ; at \$2 25,	4 50
10 yards jeans at 25 cents, for pants	1 50 ; at 50 cents,	3 00
10 yards jeans at 25 cents, for coat	1 00 ; at 50 cents,	2 00
10 yards shirting at 10 cents	90 ; at 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ cents,	1 50
10 yards Osnaburghs at 10 cents, for summer pants ..	60 ; at 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ cents,	1 00
10 bushels salt	25 ; at 50 cents,	50
100 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:

100 acres of land at 3.33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per acre	\$100 00
100 of mule.....	25 00
100 for mule.....	40 00
	165 00

blacksmithing, \$5.

When in shares the laborer's half would amount in round numbers \$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 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 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 1 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 than 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 charter 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 a 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. No; 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 :

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 tenancy 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 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 where the same is ginned, or to be ginned 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 apply to any cotton ginned by such public ginner, or one who gins for pay, when 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 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 the 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, I 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, Montgomery, 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 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 266 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, fill, mule, jack, jenny, cow, or animal of the cow kind, hog, sheep, goat, or any part of an 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 an 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

lence 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 a 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 take 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. Why they construe it into stealing there when it ought not to be. Now there 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:

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 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, required by law to be performed by the judges of probate, sheriffs, and clerks of 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 reaches in and covers those counties where the Republicans are likely to be a majority, and where they would draw the jurors. The proper wording of the law might have been, “An act to keep negroes off the benches.” 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 real suit. A white man had a black man’s crop attached, and he had to pay 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. On 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 the 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 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 was 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 changed 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

ly 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 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 Kelley'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 take 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 system, 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 here, 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 the law they say that, but the point is this: I say the law prevents me from going 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 some 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 do not know that you would admit it.

Q. Well, I do not think that you would admit that all the bad men are 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 unfair 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 they say they deprive the tenant of his constitutional right to enjoy the fruit 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

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 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 here 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?—

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 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 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 put 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 you 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;

ever saw anything about Mr. Haralson on that subject. I never
d 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
second district of Alabama. I am collector now.

Q. You have been a candidate for Congress, yourself, several times,
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.
ralson?—A. I cannot answer that; McDuffie said he was for Haral-
, and went around the country, I think, and promised to give him
support; but inasmuch as I have my doubts about the sincerity
the man, that forces me to the conclusion that I do not know what
did.

Q. You have spoken of your plantation a time or two.—A. No, sir;
eg pardon; you may have heard me speak about my being interested
planting, but I do not own a plantation at all; I advance on crops,
e other men; I am engaged in that business.

Q. Well, you did have a plantation, or an interest in one?—A. I have
interest in one, yes, sir.

Q. Well, how do you run that plantation; by renting it, or by hiring
n to work it?—A. The working would be on shares, or renting it;
ce 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
e bale of cotton.

Q. That is, so much without regard to what he makes?—A. Yes, sir.
e just pays that much rent.

Q. For twenty-five acres?—A. Yes, sir, for twenty five or thirty acres;
it is just half what my neighbors are charging, exactly. And I loan
em money at 22½ cents.

Q. You mean you loan them money at an interest of 22½ cents on the
llar?—A. Yes, sir; that is about one-quarter what my neighbors are
arging.

Q. Well, that is very reasonable.—A. It is, compared with those be-
le me.

Q. Yes.—A. That is only a little over bank rates, when they get good
curity.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do bank rates there come to twenty per cent.?—A. Bank rates
e according to the money market—from twelve to eighteen per cent.

Q. And with real estate security?—A. No, gilt-edged paper, as we
ll it; men that are known to be good.

Mr. PENDLETON. The banks ought to pay a pretty good dividend at
at 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
r the middle district of Alabama, came personally Moody H. May, known to me,
no, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he resides in Selma, in said county and
ate, and is a practicing attorney in said city; that in the month of November, 1878,
hort time after the Congressional election held in that month, he was in the city of
ntgomery, Alabama, in attendance on the United States circuit court, as a witness,
umoned 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 that 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 affidavit; 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, 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 kind 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 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 future. 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 the Ku-Klux times, there has been enough since 1874 and 1875—since the Democrats came into power—to increase the exodus of our people; put 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 put 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. Raper?—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 is 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 me, 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 do not remember 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 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 sending 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	0.62	2.70	5.73	11.80	2.45	4.70	1.98	6.51	1.55	1.25	6.70	50.66
1866	3.95	1.84	5.72	1.69	1.50	5.28	6.95	1.47	15.25	1.48	4.22	3.09	52.44
1867	6.18	7.34	5.52	1.70	4.25	3.20	3.95	4.09	0.77	1.64	3.50	6.40	42.54
1868	6.20	0.90	5.40	3.65	5.93	4.95	1.17	4.29	6.72	1.30	1.72	2.82	45.03
1869	1.87	4.05	5.40	3.94	5.95	4.54	0.90	2.10	3.05	2.97	4.74	3.47	42.95
1870	7.18	2.47	3.93	2.37	2.37	3.80	3.20	2.55	1.20	2.43	1.50	2.13	35.13
1871	2.52	4.39	4.74	2.77	3.16	2.30	3.82	4.06	0.47	1.00	3.07	3.75	36.05
1872	0.75	2.22	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	4.64	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	19.20	11.75	9.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20.25	39.95
1868	9.00	1.00	0.50	3.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.05	2.35	15.90
1869	2.00	1.30	0.90	0.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.00	3.35	6.75	16.40
1870	5.35	7.75	1.75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.00	.....	22.85
1871	5.90	0.25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.15	5.60	11.90
1872	4.95	9.00	0.20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	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 time 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, creates it a great diversity of climate; but everywhere it is marked by a 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.
.....	25.8	37.4	42.7	56.4	64.4	77.6	77.8	74.8	77.2	55.0	44.1	36.7	56.32
.....	32.3	33.6	42.1	61.8	64.4	77.8	84.7	75.9	68.9	58.9	45.3	31.9	56.46
.....	24.7	41.7	38.6	55.7	61.4	79.6	80.3	80.2	74.0	57.9	47.0	34.9	56.33
.....	29.2	33.7	50.3	53.1	67.6	76.9	84.8	76.3	65.8	54.9	44.1	30.1	55.56
.....	31.1	38.0	37.9	51.3	61.2	69.9	75.8	76.6	66.6	46.5	39.0	35.7	52.52
.....	34.7	34.4	39.1	55.4	66.8	72.8	77.9	75.4	71.4	58.1	44.1	32.1	55.25
.....	35.5	37.7	50.3	58.8	66.0	74.9	75.2	77.4	64.8	57.5	42.	30.5	55.89
.....	28.9	33.2	37.1	57.4	66.8	72.5	77.2	76.2	68.0	54.3	.....	.....	.....
Mean	30.27	36.21	43.01	56.24	64.82	75.25	79.21	76.60	69.59	55.39	43.8	33.13	55.68

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 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 park 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 mays), 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 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, 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, 2½ tons (2,000 pounds per ton) per acre; minimum, 1 ton per acre.

On the uncultivated prairie lands three or four species of native grasses completely monopolize the soil in its primitive state, but if these be pastured a few years they disappear, and blue grass (*Poa praeensis*) 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 or 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

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 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 \$50 per acre, the price being modified by quality of soil, facilities of market, nature 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 usually 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 established 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 were 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 lands thus reclaimed in a condition to be cultivated was a work of immense toil; but, with the assistance of fire, the backwoodsman increased the 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 12 feet in height, and covered with rough boards split from one of the great forest oaks which overshadowed the site where the cottage was being put up. The walls were made of logs hewn on two sides, and lashed 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 fatted 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 manufactures 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

a term of years may be obtained by securing them with mortgage 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— 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 made 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 178,000. From that date to 1870 the increase is as follows:

1820—343,031; increase.....	295,853
1830—685,866; increase.....	342,853
1840—988,416; increase.....	302,550
1850—1,350,428; increase.....	362,012
1860—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 for mutual improvement in methods of culture, &c., has taken deep root in Indiana, and if properly managed may do much to advance the interests 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. An 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 West Lafayette, 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	5,078,356 00
1868.....	8,403	5,828,501 00
1869.....	8,661	6,577,258 33
1870.....	8,827	7,282,639 30
1871.....	8,929	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 give 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 cere-

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 (*Phleune 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 northern 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 a 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

cultivation 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 Youghioghenny 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	\$481, 546	\$952, 714	\$2, 128, 794
Boats	9	301	56, 250	194, 853	166, 890	424, 390
Boots and shoes	88	689	327, 275	289, 892	445, 860	1, 001, 792
Bread and other bakery products ..	101	334	225, 300	946, 909	415, 586	685, 951
Brick	275	2, 009	536, 772	361, 598	207, 386	984, 264
Carriages and wagons	770	3, 326	2, 196, 485	1, 034, 146	1, 276, 833	3, 616, 068
Cars, freight and passenger	10	1, 403	625, 333	834, 124	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, 280	180, 034	289, 154
Cooperage	357	1, 868	641, 037	584, 241	950, 743	1, 920, 878
Cotton goods	4	504	551, 500	113, 200	542, 875	778, 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, 460
Iron, forged and rolled	9	989	1, 580, 050	519, 202	1, 984, 668	2, 845, 005
Iron, nails and spikes, cut and wrought	2	67	98, 000	37, 767	250, 000	304, 550
Iron, pig	4	189	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, curried	156	319	303, 810	84, 981	909, 778	1, 150, 397
Liquors, distilled	38	280	658, 838	126, 150	1, 358, 096	2, 038, 420
Liquors, malt	99	443	1, 117, 400	175, 730	627, 576	1, 305, 116
Lumber, planed	53	512	687, 600	212, 631	711, 704	1, 231, 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, 330
Marble and stone work, not specified	31	295	141, 900	145, 256	162, 855	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 linseed	7	75	386, 000	24, 022	534, 069	600, 912
Paper printing	10	294	393, 000	100, 145	327, 802	581, 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, 780	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, 118	354, 034
Tobacco, cigars	133	670	258, 565	235, 078	294, 304	790, 581
Wood, turned and carved	25	293	213, 823	81, 042	20, 068	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.

(Compiled by the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture.)

County statistics—1876.

Names of counties.	No. acres of land in the county.	No. of farms.	Value of farm land and improvements.	Total value of all taxables.	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	\$2,739,825	\$4,006,604	1 74	\$145,478	23.76	\$42,583	92	2,376	\$20,098.46
Allen	507,441.81	4,916	8,241,575	21,387,550	1 05	1,662,710	112.13	321,021	186	6,917	90,993.91
Bartholomew	253,373.21	1,846	6,789,575	11,141,778	78	353,696	41.36	133,985	101	3,325	34,492.92
Benton	256,783.49	631	4,857,036	6,575,069	1 00	375,384	45.90	46,118	70	1,472	19,890.27
Blackford	100,935.46	780	1,498,760	2,567,630	1 21	215,355	27.86	27,460	44	1,342	7,969.02
Boone	265,172.00	2,607	8,008,210	12,001,690	1 14	336,919	32.28	104,215	136	4,561	35,386.95
Brown	199,039.65	806	1,136,925	1,695,455	1 27	24,042	.....	25,625	69	1,905	10,656.16
Carroll	236,610.41	1,541	5,509,765	8,224,714	1 17	351,128	35.20	142,225	105	3,315	32,372.66
Cass	255,649.36	1,356	5,500,420	12,490,705	1 04	894,413	81.52	256,525	115	4,579	39,921.33
Clark	234,934.08	1,526	4,078,827	8,771,547	81	537,472	61.32	133,925	105	3,450	39,747.16
Clay	224,947.00	1,503	4,930,576	7,475,765	82	518,189	37.42	122,842	104	3,681	33,132.33
Clinton	258,466.00	2,585	5,290,625	8,488,890	1 21	268,975	63.27	97,800	114	3,224	38,261.91
Crawford	197,381.46	1,365	755,590	1,268,925	1 50	.....	.....	33,635	67	1,715	12,248.10
Daviess	268,509.96	1,871	4,129,224	6,603,880	86	208,808	18.20	63,875	113	2,500	28,021.01
Dearborn	192,528.37	1,879	4,070,580	8,748,060	1 27	538,430	52.09	113,015	102	3,669	37,291.54
Decatur	266,708.18	1,790	4,030,585	6,671,160	73	215,160	19.80	120,710	92	4,445	40,037.35
DeKalb	228,147.91	1,923	4,275,162	6,506,726	1 06	966,991	80.65	119,615	120	4,008	28,639.48
Delaware	252,018.65	1,855	6,496,942	10,087,587	1 06	512,500	50.78	133,160	129	3,912	42,901.80
Dubois	269,723.11	1,238	1,877,619	3,150,281	1 28	2,720	1.12	38,140	79	2,142	19,332.00
Elkhart	291,364.00	2,459	9,404,699	15,427,396	88	1,117,506	57.54	221,655	146	5,555	49,623.21
Fayette	135,047.67	951	4,754,385	8,220,959	68	242,617	41.46	70,275	50	1,504	23,472.38
Floyd	91,461.11	963	1,606,005	10,305,085	81	48,938	12.64	176,860	50	3,860	31,431.37
Fountain	249,051.30	1,511	6,567,225	9,270,955	1 58	435,073	51.05	129,525	101	3,192	27,109.84
Franklin	242,591.76	2,225	4,644,185	8,092,215	1 00	144,592	30.27	107,255	93	2,711	32,618.25
Fulton	230,977.71	1,429	3,163,120	4,747,315	91	61,017	13.27	59,045	89	2,667	22,481.65
Gibson	299,544.43	1,610	6,045,331	9,697,794	1 03	238,045	35.57	104,350	96	3,440	42,808.76
Grant	265,278.16	2,432	6,398,165	7,622,825	1 04	306,892	35.60	73,721	116	4,130	25,156.35
Greene	339,699.78	1,973	4,838,106	7,057,270	1 10	126,231	29.32	96,004	148	6,110	33,666.31
Hamilton	248,904.00	2,359	8,278,960	11,314,105	87	176,111	20.70	129,210	133	4,722	38,027.33
Hancock	196,117.37	1,674	5,876,090	7,734,303	70	380,830	34.40	97,123	92	2,533	27,267.54
Harrison	302,109.45	2,684	2,779,070	4,377,957	90	None	.....	67,425	144	3,750	27,062.59
Hendricks	255,728.21	2,093	9,632,051	13,333,024	87	746,304	58.15	115,975	105	3,615	36,587.70
Henry	247,471.74	2,147	8,926,390	14,201,090	45	541,886	62.18	115,798	116	4,113	37,945.72
Howard	185,188.24	1,325	3,908,610	6,978,860	1 43	251,571	30.39	110,265	99	3,139	29,473.19

County statistics—1876—Continued.

Names 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 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.
Huntington	239,944.36	2,116	\$4,636,735	\$19.32	\$757,825	\$7,292,719	\$0.96	\$341,568	20.25	\$135,794	112	3,950	\$24,460.00
Jackson	324,222.12	2,086	4,408,365	13.76	883,225	7,047,045	1.00	587,025	50.83	92,225	110	2,934	33,551.20
Jasper	369,222.88	832	2,642,535	7.00	260,787	4,249,762	1.97	87,363	8.83	39,560	71	1,584	28,836.00
Jay	242,773.58	1,919	3,816,825	15.72	465,620	5,916,830	1.12	203,563	27.28	95,561	111	3,268	22,284.22
Jefferson	236,173.70	2,486	3,114,090	13.18	990,250	8,757,845	3.57	126,939	22.00	132,270	114	4,054	41,536.51
Jennings	226,762.06	1,752	2,039,538	8.99	318,409	3,343,224	1.10	439,790	55.27	54,180	105	2,651	24,185.32
Johnson	196,081.55	1,706	7,435,130	37.91	919,050	11,624,442	1.73	295,977	41.23	152,500	87	3,169	36,518.48
Knox	315,971.62	1,824	5,049,065	15.65	287,030	10,678,660	0.91	595,003	78.00	102,675	103	3,339	37,506.49
Kosciusko	340,923.41	2,477	6,154,590	18.10	826,995	9,493,705	1.07	835,483	65.29	155,385	155	5,681	39,327.50
Lagrange	239,519.69	1,751	5,472,190	21.91	326,660	7,537,680	1.05	159,245	16.57	121,470	110	2,848	26,336.89
Lake	307,220.68	1,350	4,376,855	14.24	379,180	6,026,820	0.82	1,823,060	110.13	62,030	94	2,448	26,016.00
Laporte	366,454.80	2,118	6,194,160	16.92	776,960	11,747,715	1.10	1,782,062	156.09	238,739	119	5,463	54,518.72
Lawrence	383,041.30	1,255	4,187,968	10.50	639,540	7,016,518	1.02	354,807	50.93	71,560	95	3,091	25,419.41
Madison	282,562.00	2,258	7,707,795	27.32	1,106,275	11,972,905	1.11	654,834	57.79	109,130	136	4,449	35,711.54
Marion	235,062.52	2,318	20,170,757	85.81	61,042,915	100,050,277	0.69	1,607,927	125.01	1,042,900	136	11,499	67,682.91
Marshall	281,326.58	2,209	4,510,545	16.03	774,875	7,069,975	0.94	871,458	66.22	120,935	131	4,542	33,207.93
Martin	206,595.25	1,077	1,439,123	6.96	166,922	2,245,521	1.40	216,380	19.38	32,895	76	1,960	16,277.72
Miami	255,867.00	2,028	5,597,415	23.83	1,276,985	9,196,335	1.15	659,033	76.14	171,312	127	4,006	39,916.55
Monroe	318,887.80	1,556	3,452,840	13.49	896,975	6,479,410	1.00	75,092	29.32	92,102	89	2,217	22,158.41
Montgomery	254,552.93	2,397	10,013,610	31.08	1,560,190	15,106,495	0.98	439,877	82.11	170,750	127	4,252	42,656.76
Morgan	248,158.89	2,201	3,310,030	13.33	642,928	8,928,893	0.88	152,513	40.31	96,235	111	3,314	31,184.85
Noble	257,458.18	682	4,642,025	18.03	348,121	4,724,709	0.94	1,084,434	74.25	118,116	126	4,065	31,413.32
Newton	54,389.74	500	1,074,100	19.74	1,044,260	7,938,760	1.10	149,921	14.98	53,060	56	1,515	14,893.22
Ohio	243,966.07	1,705	2,220,785	9.51	201,060	1,825,980	1.20	None.	.....	35,420	30	983	7,814.07
Owen	246,320.00	1,821	3,607,145	14.64	2,275,585	3,877,096	1.33	24,505	9.61	81,245	92	2,459	18,112.34
Parke	279,313.03	2,041	7,350,312	26.31	468,740	5,775,080	0.62	138,179	35.09	76,260	108	2,846	24,944.43
Perry	237,036.09	1,416	1,058,650	4.59	540,904	10,757,918	1.15	166,520	29.68	126,625	132	3,445	46,286.48
Pike	207,360.00	1,694	2,290,271	11.04	816,770	2,869,370	1.16	None.	.....	90,075	94	2,570	25,027.30
Porter	258,742.85	1,380	4,030,735	15.57	263,780	3,826,750	1.01	None.	.....	53,150	90	2,541	20,166.72
Posey	247,569.00	1,733	4,582,583	18.51	961,655	7,978,357	0.71	1,450,109	90.01	97,315	92	2,631	33,828.50
Pulaski	265,868.00	1,102	2,025,950	7.62	928,710	7,290,523	1.16	164,579	25.81	113,440	89	3,284	32,385.22
Putnam	304,799.64	2,095	9,158,550	29.91	186,450	3,043,300	1.00	256,249	39.13	45,055	73	1,763	13,170.23
Randolph	284,177.85	3,099	7,628,856	22.85	1,525,625	14,754,605	0.53	690,747	72.06	122,837	132	3,916	40,872.39
Ripley	279,989.36	2,473	2,721,390	9.72	1,424,119	12,140,865	0.88	674,762	58.51	176,435	132	4,470	42,072.81
Rush	251,942.00	1,891	8,887,945	35.97	205,445	4,435,640	1.29	342,372	30.50	61,965	113	2,876	25,439.58
					533,030	13,339,675	0.70	245,948	39.07	119,725	106	3,624	38,863.83

Scott.....	111, 002. 00	966	971, 238	8 74	94, 705	1, 514, 888	1 73	219, 968	21. 51	24, 785	47	1, 268	9, 648 17
Shelby.....	251, 013. 85	2, 212	10, 190, 485	40 59	1, 070, 180	14, 079, 685	65	422, 707	58. 08	156, 265	122	3, 928	33, 121 64
Spencer.....	237, 815. 08	2, 233	3, 329, 000	13 99	106, 935	5, 684, 185	92	52, 190	22. 58	89, 171	129	4, 039	33, 193 25
Starke.....	188, 040. 00	351	904, 201	4 81	34, 651	1, 133, 059	1 94	384, 886	26. 67	20, 950	41	1, 357	7, 823 13
Saint Joseph.....	286, 107. 93	1, 693	6, 209, 085	19 00	3, 801, 390	13, 481, 843	70	136, 465	18. 38	267, 135	110	4, 800	43, 740 67
Steuben.....	192, 586. 35	2, 103	4, 118, 080	21 37	496, 045	5, 481, 122	72	789, 393	61. 27	74, 450	96	3, 246	19, 095 67
Sullivan.....	285, 451. 66	2, 125	4, 214, 155	14 37	601, 660	6, 803, 815	86	217, 468	25. 00	97, 690	117	3, 750	29, 768 91
Switzerland.....	139, 855. 98	1, 393	2, 563, 885	18 33	342, 060	3, 821, 595	1 13	None.	.....	75, 125	72	2, 142	17, 981 58
Tippecanoe.....	308, 955. 93	2, 264	6, 654, 376	31 33	620, 324	22, 157, 324	99	866, 515	92. 51	334, 945	138	5, 055	76, 894 15
Tipton.....	165, 127. 40	889	2, 820, 995	17 08	251, 975	4, 003, 090	1 07	291, 313	45. 11	53, 930	78	2, 854	19, 560 72
Union.....	104, 401. 94	672	3, 228, 065	30 92	186, 595	5, 144, 275	78	132, 080	16. 33	53, 810	41	1, 096	14, 604 16
Vanderburgh.....	145, 353. 98	1, 447	5, 232, 870	36 00	10, 734, 125	23, 133, 945	1 09	205, 870	28. 13	578, 833	69	5, 109	67, 210 71
Vermillion.....	157, 532. 25	910	3, 448, 585	21 89	403, 380	5, 619, 907	75	294, 919	45. 89	63, 125	59	1, 841	25, 865 32
Vigo.....	246, 332. 19	2, 109	7, 847, 687	36 50	9, 835, 885	23, 907, 187	1 03	825, 966	78. 74	318, 360	112	5, 293	73, 720 87
Wabash.....	255, 773. 48	2, 067	5, 971, 365	23 34	1, 392, 050	10, 418, 170	1 01	522, 246	62. 84	139, 810	141	4, 748	41, 153 75
Warren.....	228, 805. 08	804	5, 491, 990	24 00	237, 825	7, 594, 985	1 11	370, 600	28. 74	73, 640	90	1, 843	29, 952 34
Warrick.....	248, 505. 79	1, 832	3, 664, 555	14 74	539, 795	5, 964, 185	1 23	31, 968	10. 45	83, 575	116	3, 238	29, 546 63
Washington.....	325, 524. 20	2, 048	3, 644, 835	11 20	394, 015	6, 063, 760	48	70, 529	27. 61	66, 795	126	3, 278	25, 707 06
Wayne.....	250, 905. 14	1, 989	11, 154, 250	44 85	4, 570, 035	24, 882, 060	1 00	649, 844	83. 98	306, 938	122	5, 761	71, 568 48
Wells.....	234, 545. 46	1, 912	3, 902, 021	16 21	504, 340	6, 023, 535	86	139, 744	25. 12	68, 573	105	2, 863	20, 179 50
White.....	316, 019. 16	1, 063	4, 376, 630	13 84	466, 405	6, 545, 247	98	330, 689	51. 40	96, 797	98	2, 226	18, 766 63
Whitley.....	209, 295. 54	1, 161	3, 775, 410	18 00	597, 215	6, 397, 704	75	523, 110	40. 29	82, 350	100	3, 116	20, 857 83
Grand total.....	22, 564, 870. 06	176, 769	462, 006, 077	20 44	177, 877, 058	834, 205, 084	1 03	38, 203, 207	3, 791. 25	11, 993, 992	9, 434	314, 277	2, 952, 421 48

NOTE.—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

ust 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 is 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 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 afterward 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,” the

id, "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, though 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 fifty to seventy people from one plantation were in the woods, and they hid 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. Sul

ena 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 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 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 Democrats 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 here. 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 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 exhortation 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 her 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 have 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 his 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 were 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 minority 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 election 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 man 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 Whitens, 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

outh 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. This 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 could 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 residing 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 of a man who now, in consequence of that gigantic crime, presents 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 could 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. BLAIR :

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 here, 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 parish 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

bbed, 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 until 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; but 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 presume 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-

on 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 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 freedmen, 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 of 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 and 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 what 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. 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 from 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 it, little proceeds there seems to be left, but you attribute that result rather to their improvidence than to a lack of industry, do you not?—A. It is rather 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 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 now that 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 amount 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 then 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.

- . And you do not know particularly about that?—A. No, sir; I have not observed that particularly.
- . 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.
- . 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.
- . Well, won'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 of 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 the cash price, or perhaps 30 to 35 per cent.
- . 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.
- . The transportation from Shreveport is by wagon, I suppose?—A. Yes, by wagon when the roads are not very bad, and at other times by the river (which makes up into the river) by water; we send around in a day or two hours by a flat-boat.
- . How long have you had this store?—A. Only since December.
- . This last December?—A. Yes.
- . And very little has been done as yet through your store?—A. Not much; we have just established it.
- . Where they do not pay you a cash price your profit is twenty-five per cent. above the cost in Shreveport, you say?—A. Yes.
- . 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.
- . You buy it, however?—A. Yes, sir; I have bought, but I do not keep the run of prices.
- . 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.
- . That is about what you pay?—A. Yes.
- . Do you know anything about what the colored people pay for flour when 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.
- . You do not know to what extent they do it, however?—A. No; I do not know how they buy a great deal.
- . What does corn cost them in Shreveport?—A. I believe it is now about three dollars to three dollars and fifteen cents a barrel.
- . What does it cost on the plantation?—A. As I have sold it through my store on twelve months' time?
- . 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.
- . 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.
- . That would be thirty-three per cent.?—A. Well, we pay from three dollars to three dollars and twenty cents a barrel in Shreveport; 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

is 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 rented 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 case 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 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 seventy-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 or 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,

the 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 pay 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-

rence 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, 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 what. 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. Yes; 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 land?—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 lands, 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 California.

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 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 landed 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 I had 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 a man we sent there, he writ before we left Louisiana, and wanted to take up twelve dollars and eighty cents, I believe; that was what he wanted 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 me 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 huddle, 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 children?—A. Yes; and she was old and sick and I got dishearted. And I went round there and tried to rent houses around there, and every time I was goin' to rent a house the white people wanted to buy; 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 just 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 was 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'd 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 says, "Well, you ain't goin' to make that much money here." Well, I was 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 axin' 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' agiu 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.
- 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 themselves 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 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, he 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 my arm 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, feel about the country up there?—A. I tell you the truth; them colored people when they was 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 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 to Kansas to get back in time to make part of a crop, and make up my money and what 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 comfo'table.

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 each.

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 voted; 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, I never 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 a 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. Cain'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 round you?—A. Yes, sir; of course I did.
- Q. And you worked three years at Simpson's?—A. Yes; I worked here 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 here.
- 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 your 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 here 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 left 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 spender, 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 Breveport 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 every 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 dunno 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 here.
- 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?—A. 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 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 here 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 he 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 in a year if you get a good crop?—A. I won't make that much this year; I ain't 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 some 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 I 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 Kansas?—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 me 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 landed 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 what 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 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?—A. 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 ha 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 an back? How much has it cost you to find out that Kansas is not a good a place for you to live in as Louisiana?—A. I lost near about s hundred dollars.

Q. How old are your children, Mr. Walker?—A. There is one of the 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 sen my boy, and I have got a girl who will be seven years old on the 19t day of this coming May. I did send them to school a little over tw months last summer.

Q. Is there any want of opportunity to send them to school; hav you a chance to send them to school if you desired to do so?—A. I hav 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 look like it didn't do me much good. I 'came uninclined to vote for Presi dent 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 ha not with me or no one that I have heard of.

Q. Have you ever been to the court-house, Walker?—A. Yes; I wa 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 I think; sometimes the defendant would turn off different men and 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 on the jury there at the time I speak of, and I have never been a juror 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 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?—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 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, sir; it was all right; he made no objection.
- Q. And you made a satisfactory arrangement with him about the place 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 mule and a pony, about seventy-five head of cattle, and I reckon seven-fifty 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; some 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 broke out?—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 to-day, Mr. Myers?—A. I cannot tell you that exactly; I don't know how to value 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 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 one—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—and then go back again—first one and then another.

Q. But they generally go pretty well together, do they ?—A. Yes, ; 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, ; 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 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 had to 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 have been 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 not 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 my 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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39 N E



REPORT AND TESTIMONY

OF THE

ELECT 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 III.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1880.

PART III.

PROCEEDINGS.

OF THE

ELECT COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

TO INVESTIGATE THE CAUSES OF THE

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

Sessions held at Washington, beginning Monday, April 5, 1880.

PART THIRD.

THIRTY-SEVENTH DAY.

TESTIMONY OF B. J. WATERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 5, 1880.*

Committee met this day, at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Senator Voor-
ses, chairman; and Senators Vance, Windom, and Blair.

B. J. WATERS was sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. State your name and residence.—Answer. My name is B.
Waters; my residence is Fort Scott, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am an attorney by profession.

Q. Have you taken any notice of the arrival of colored people from
the Southern States into your part of the country?—A. I have to some
extent.

Q. How many have arrived within, say, the past year?—A. I think
fully three hundred.

Q. Have you talked with any of them as to the cause of their leaving
the South?—A. I have talked with a great many of them—with the
most of them, I think.

Q. What reason do they give for coming, as a general thing?—A.
The reasons generally given by them to me are, that they are defrauded
of their rights, denied school facilities, and interfered with in their
politics.

Q. Interfered with how? What did they say in regard to that?—A.
I have talked with men from Grimes County, Texas; from Washington
County, Texas; and from Tennessee; and with a very few from Missis-
sippi. They complained that their meetings were broken up, and their
school teachers whipped; at least, in Grimes County, Texas, a white
man, who went down there to teach school, was taken and whipped,
and compelled to leave the country. These things made it utterly im-
possible to live there with any satisfaction.

Q. Why was that man whipped and compelled to leave the country?

A. Only that he was teaching school.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Go on and state fully any further that they said to you as to their
reasons for leaving, and give any instances of ill-treatment mentioned
to them that occur to your recollection.—A. The only case of teacher-
whipping that I was told of, was this one that was reported as having
occurred in Grimes County, Texas. I had been in Texas considerably
myself, and regarded it as being a pretty good country, and was anxious
to understand why anybody having a home there should want to leave

it, so I used to make inquiry of these colored men from Texas in relation to the subject. They gave as a reason that they could not get fair compensation for their labor, and were cheated out of what they earned. Some were denied their political rights, meetings were broke up, several spoke of religious meetings being interfered with, on account of what had been said in them partaking somewhat of a political nature. These complaints were principally confined to the colored people from Grimes County, Texas. Those from Tennessee gave as their universal reason for wanting to get away, that they were not given the protection that they thought they were entitled to; that they were not afforded the school facilities that their children needed, and that they came to Kansas for the purpose of bettering their condition.

Q. What protection did they think they were entitled to that was not given them—protection in the exercise of their political rights?—A. Yes, sir; in the exercise of their political rights.

Q. The most of those whom you observed down there, at Fort Scott, came from Texas or Tennessee?—A. Yes, sir; from Texas or Tennessee.

Q. How many did you say there were in all?—A. Between three and four hundred.

Q. Were they mostly men, or were they men, women, and children in the usual population?—A. They were about in the same proportion as the other settlers that come through to Kansas—perhaps a few more women and children than the average of white settlers that come from the Eastern States to Kansas.

Q. What seems to be their pecuniary condition?—A. As a general thing they have gone into the country. There was a considerable colored population in that part of Kansas before the coming of these late emigrants; the number in that neighborhood must have been twelve or thirteen hundred prior to this exodus movement; some owned farms near there; but a large element remained in town, engaged in various kinds of employment. Those that came in during this exodus movement have mostly gone into the country. Some of them have purchased farms. Two of them, men from Texas, are running a grocery store there in Fort Scott.

Q. Do they seem to have become generally absorbed into the population of the State, the same as is the case with white immigration?—A. Yes, sir; they come suddenly, in squads; they are about town a few days and then appear to disappear. They strike out into the country, and that is the last we see of them.

Q. Then they seem to come there and to become absorbed among the population of the State, about like white settlers?—A. Yes, sir. Three weeks ago last Saturday, thirty-eight colored men arrived there from Middle Tennessee. There had been a member of the delegation out there before that, and purchased a couple of farms for them. They got in there at eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and before night, with the exception of perhaps half a dozen, they had all gone out onto those two farms.

Q. What is your position or occupation at Fort Scott?—A. I am a lawyer there.

Q. Do you observe in your intercourse with the people of that part of Kansas any feeling of hostility or aversion to this emigration on account of race?—A. I do not think there has been any, so far as I have been able to hear. I have not been through the city or country much.

Q. Do you know of any fact calculated to show that this exodus is stimulated by Republicans for political advantage?—A. No, sir. There is no necessity for that in Kansas, if it should be desired; every count-

the State, with possibly the exception of one or two, is a Republican county.

Q. If any other fact occurs to you bearing upon the subject of this investigation, you can state it.—A. I do not think of anything.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say it was in Grimes County, Texas, that this school-teacher was whipped and driven out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When, according to their statement, did it take place?—A. I made memorandum of that and some other cases, if I can find it.

Q. Did it occur within the last year or so?—A. Yes, sir; within the last year.

Q. I will not detain you to have you give the particulars. Was there any complaint that they were denied their political privileges in Grimes County, Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they complain that they were not allowed to vote?—A. They complained that they were not allowed to vote as they desired to vote.

Q. How many do you think came to Fort Scott from Texas, as nearly as you could ascertain?—A. From Texas? Really I could not tell you how many. One man from Texas, I was trying to get his name, told me that he was acting as agent in this exodus movement, and that he had been the means of taking into Kansas upward of five hundred men from Texas; some of them stopped at Parsons, and some pushed on to other parts of the State.

Q. From what part of Tennessee did those Tennesseans come from?—A. One of them, I know, was from Murray County; his name was Thomas Dodson.

Q. What was his grievance?—A. They generally complained that their political privileges and rights were interfered with; they could not vote.

Q. Do you mean to say that colored men cannot vote in Murray County, Tennessee?—A. They complained that they could not vote with the satisfaction and freedom they would like to have.

Q. Did Thomas Dodson tell you that he wanted to vote the Republican ticket in Murray County, Tennessee, and was not allowed to do so?—A. No, sir, I did not say that; but they complained of the general disposition of oppression against them.

Q. From what other points in Tennessee did any of those Tennesseans come?—A. Quite a number were from Murray County; and as for the rest, I could not say what counties they were from; all they said was that they were from Middle Tennessee.

Q. What condition did these people seem to be in; were they pretty well dressed, or were they destitute and ragged?—A. Well, their appearance was about the same as that of those you will find down there in the Southern States.

Q. Had they any money?—A. Some of them had some money; those thirty-eight that came from Tennessee purchased farms; whether by a combination of capital or not I do not know; they purchased two farms.

Q. How much land?—A. One place contained one hundred and sixty acres; the other I do not know how many, but I think about the same.

Q. Did they come there with that money, so far as you know?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not know of any charity being extended to them?—A. No, sir; they never asked for charity so far as our city or county was concerned.

Q. Still they complained that they could not enjoy their rights where they came from?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And said that they had been cheated out of their wages?—A. I do not think that they put it in just that way, but there was a general complaint that they had not been properly treated as to wages.

Q. Did you take some pains to inform yourself, by talking with those people, as to their reasons for leaving the Southern States?—A. Yes, sir, I did, as they came in; some of them would come into my office and ask me about the price of land—though I was not in the land business.

Q. Can you give us an idea as to how many immigrants have gone into Kansas up to this time?—A. I cannot tell you.

Q. Ten thousand?—A. I could not tell you.

Q. You think there is no opposition on the part of the people of Kansas to these colored people coming there in any numbers?—A. I do not know of any.

Q. Are they rather invited there?—A. I think not, sir; any more than that we have an emigration society there, inviting people from all parts of the United States and from Europe to come there.

Q. There is no more opposition to colored people coming there than anybody else?—A. Well, some people do talk and say that there are about as many of them there as there is work for, and that they do not want any more.

Q. O, then, some people *do* talk?—A. Yes, sir. I understood you to ask with reference to people generally. Taking them collectively, I say the people do not object; but individually, *some* people do.

Q. If many individuals talk in that way, that would make it rather a collective affair, wouldn't it?—A. The fact of the matter is, so far as I have observed, that it has created no particular sensation since the beginning; at the beginning, when it was a new thing, when they came in such numbers to Wyandotte, Leavenworth, Atchison, &c., there was considerable excitement; but since then it has become a matter of course; and these companies of colored men come, and drift out into the country, and nothing in particular is said or thought about it.

Q. You think that Kansas is a good country for them to come to?—A. Kansas is a good country for *anybody* to come to. But I will say this with reference to their coming there: I have asked them generally this question—whether, if they could have and exercise the rights they ought to have, they would prefer to live in Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, &c., to living in Kansas; and they have uniformly said that they would; that they were better acquainted with the mode of working there, liked the climate better, and from early associations preferred to live there.

Q. How many that came to Kansas have you known to return to the South?—A. I have known of some.

Q. About how many?—A. Very few.

Q. Where did they return to?—A. To Mississippi. They were among the earlier ones that came.

Q. You have not looked out for those that returned so much as for those that came?—A. I have not looked out for either especially.

TESTIMONY OF J. W. WHEELER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 5, 1880.

J. W. WHEELER (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Saint Louis, Mo.

- Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Since the 17th of July, 1867.
- Q. Where did you reside prior to that time, and how long?—A. I resided in Indianapolis, Ind., for three years.
- Q. And prior to that where?—A. I was in the Army for three years, a servant.
- Q. Where were you born?—A. In Lexington, Ky.
- Q. Were you ever a slave?—A. No, sir.
- Q. State whether you have any knowledge regarding this exodus movement; and, if so, what knowledge, and whence it is derived; if you have been connected with it in any way, state fully your connection with it, and all you know about it.—A. In February of last year, a number of refugees came to Saint Louis—the first that came there. I did not see them land. Their arrival caused a great deal of agitation in Saint Louis. Mr. Tandy, one of our committee—one of the philanthropic board—went and got a hundred dollars and shipped them to Kansas.
- Q. How many were there of them?—A. Fifty or seventy-five.
- Q. What were they; men alone, or men, women, and children?—A. They were mostly women and children.
- Q. How many of the men were heads of families?—A. I could not say how many.
- Q. Twelve or fifteen?—A. I should say twenty or twenty-five.
- Q. What seemed to be their condition pecuniarily?—A. Well, their condition in regard to clothing was very bad; some of them were almost naked. Some of them wore two or three coats that were so ragged as to constitute the equivalent of only one piece. Some of them looked as if they had been starving for three months.
- Q. Where were they from?—A. From Madison Parish, La.
- Q. You spoke of your committee; was there a committee existing before their arrival?—A. No, sir.
- Q. How did you come to know that they were there?—A. Through the papers, and through Mr. Tandy's applying to the philanthropic board. They came there like as if it were on Wednesday, and by Saturday they were shipped off to Kansas.
- Q. When did you first know of their being there?—A. The next day after they came there.
- Q. How came you to have knowledge of this; are you a member of any philanthropic board?—A. The board was not organized at that time.
- Q. What is your employment?—A. I am a contractor.
- Q. What for?—A. In tobacco—inspecting tobacco.
- Q. To what extent?—A. I employ from ten to thirty men a day.
- Q. Did you go where they were on their arrival?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Well, now, to confine our attention to the first batch, what did they say to you as to where they came from, why they came, their purpose, &c.?—A. As to the first batch, we did not have much talk with them; being the first that came they created quite a sensation.
- Q. Did you have any talk with them as to where they came from, and what made them leave?—A. I did, to some extent.
- Q. What did they say was the reason that made them leave?—A. They said the reason they left was because they could not possibly make a living. And another reason generally alleged was insecurity of life. Not one of them ever spoke of politics. Sometimes some of the women said that their husbands would not be in the houses, when election came, three or four nights in three or four months at a time.
- Q. Why not?—A. They were compelled to stay out of doors on ac-

count of the bulldozers. Any man that dare ask for his rights would be put out of the way. The manner in which they told me this convinced me that it must be true.

Q. Did they speak from their own knowledge?—A. Yes, sir; entirely.

Q. You talked with the parties who had experienced these outrages—A. Yes, sir; and with women who had protected their husbands, telling them when to go out; when it was not safe to stay in their houses.

Q. You say you did not have a great deal of talk with the first lot?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they have any property?—A. None at all; take the fifty or seventy-five, and you could put all that they had in a two-horse wagon.

Q. Did they say how they were enabled to get there?—A. We did not ask them that.

Q. They came by boat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They paid their way to Saint Louis?—A. I suppose so.

Q. Did they state how they got the means to pay their fare to that place?—A. Some of them said they had a cow, or a horse, which they sold for \$4 or \$5 apiece, and so got money to get that far.

Q. And on reaching there were absolutely penniless?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State now what you did for them.—A. As I said, Mr. Tandy went to the philanthropic board, and secured a hundred dollars; also the board gave them rations, on the levee there, and paid the money to the railroad company, and sent them to Topeka, Kans.

Q. Did they want to go to Topeka?—A. They wanted to go to Kansas.

Q. Did they state why they wanted to go to Kansas; what were the attractions to Kansas?—A. They did not say.

Q. In some way they had received the impression that Kansas was a good place to go to?—A. It seemed so.

Q. Did they say Topeka?—A. No, sir; they said "Kansas"; and we thought Topeka was a good place to land them.

Q. Had you friends or acquaintances in Kansas to whom you referred them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you open communication with parties there?—A. Not until the board was established.

Q. What is this philanthropic board?—A. I do not know the history of it.

Q. How long has it been in existence there?—A. Six or eight years.

Q. Was it established for the benefit of the colored people?—A. No, sir.

Q. It was not organized, then, with reference to this exodus?—A. No, sir; I understand it was organized to help white emigrants.

Q. The board had previously helped white emigrants?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, you have got the first lot to Topeka; if you have nothing more to tell in regard to them, you may tell us about the second lot.—A. About two weeks after that, one Sunday morning, about seven o'clock the news went all over the city that some more had arrived. I went down, and found about five hundred colored people on the levee. It was very cold—about the coldest day we had that winter. We did not know what to do with them. I was trustee of my church; I went to the elder and asked him to open the church, and let them go in. The members of the Baptist Church went to their elder; and the conclusion of the whole matter was that the Lower Baptist Church, the Eighth Street Church, and the Saint Paul Chapel Church opened their doors and they were kept open for two or three weeks, while the churches

ere occupied by between three and four hundred colored people. After they had been there about a week, a meeting was called, through the instrumentality of some of the leading men there, and a relief board was formed. I was one of the first members. They made me treasurer of the board. We made an appeal to the generosity of the public. The appeal was successful; money came in freely, and we paid off the debt which we had contracted, \$1,100, for the transportation of that first lot.

Q. Did you converse with any of them while they were there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, tell us where they came from, and what reason they gave for coming?—A. Many of them came from Louisiana; some of them from Madison Parish; some of them came from Mississippi; some from what is known as Hard Times Landing, and other points all along there; they got on the boat at almost every landing, as the boat came on.

Q. Did they give any reason for leaving their former homes and coming to Kansas?—A. They did; they gave as a reason that they were abused down there; that their rights were trampled upon; that there was continual insecurity of life; most of them placed their cause of leaving on the ground of insecurity of life. They said that they were not safe down there. I talked with, I suppose, about two hundred, and of them all not more than ten gave any political reason for leaving. Almost all gave as a reason that their lives were insecure down there. They said they had stood it so long, and could not stand it any longer; that from year to year their condition had grown worse and worse; that they were kept in debt, and could not get out of debt on account of the exorbitant prices which they had to pay for the necessities of life. I asked them why they came up there. I told them that they could not stand this weather. It was, to many of them, the coldest weather they had ever seen. I told them they could not live through such weather as that, clothed as they were; they would have to go back South. They said they had only one death to die, and they might as well die in the North as in the South.

Q. They spoke, you say, of insecurity of life as the principal cause of their leaving?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they state what insecurity of life—what danger they were subjected to or apprehended?—A. They complained of men going round through the country whipping, shooting, and bulldozing them.

Q. What for?—A. Some gave as a reason that the men who were whipped and bulldozed were leading men among the colored people, and advised them what to do; some were mere boys that could read papers, and that told the other colored people what was in the papers; such boys the bulldozers wanted out of the way.

Q. The class who were subjected to danger were the leading men and the intelligent boys; they were in special danger?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From what source—from what class of men—were they in danger? Who threatened them?—A. They termed them "bulldozers."

Q. Who were the bulldozers? Were they colored people?—A. No, sir; white men.

Q. What did they bulldoze them for?—A. That I cannot tell.

Q. Was it on account of their religious principles, did you understand?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was it because they worked hard all the time, and gave away the results of their toil?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was the cause then?—A. It seemed that the cause principally alleged was their desire to act as men.

Q. In what respect?—A. In any respect; to protect themselves against the wrongs perpetrated against them and their families.

Q. What wrongs?—A. They said that they would work a year, and when they went to make a settlement they were always in debt; and if they dare ask any questions about certain things they were misused and threatened.

Q. You say if they dare ask questions about certain things; what things did they ask questions about?—A. About how it came that they were in debt. They could not understand how it came that, from year to year, after working hard the whole year, they should be in debt and if they asked questions what they were in debt for, they were threatened with being driven off the place; or if you did not do what they desired about everything, they would say that you need not go back on that place any more.

Q. The threats, then, were from their employers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they ever threatened or ill treated by other men, not their employers?—A. Yes, sir; other men, who were not their employers went through the country and threatened them.

Q. Was the insecurity of life of which they complained on account of politics?—A. They never spoke of insecurity of life on account of politics; they just said "insecurity of life," and that nothing could be made down there.

Q. Did you talk with any of the women in regard to their ideas?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with a good many of them there in our church; I was at the church daily, because I was a trustee of the church, and I talked with the people that were there, all the time.

Q. What did the women use to say about these things?—A. Their complaints were just the same; they said they would rather die than go back south; they had been mistreated, and their husbands murdered or threatened.

Q. What was done to their husbands?—A. I can only say that they were run out of their houses—not allowed to stay in their houses.

Q. Why were they afraid to stay in the house?—A. They were afraid their lives would be taken.

Q. Did they give any instances of men being killed—of their husbands being threatened?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they give any particular instances that you can remember? If so, go on and state them.—A. I made a memorandum [taking several slips of paper from his pocket] of men that were killed or bull-dozed, one way or another.

Q. Where did you get the facts contained in that memorandum?—A. I got them from the persons I talked with there—from those emigrants.

Q. And you wrote down what they said to you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, go on, and state what you were told.—A. One of the men I talked with was a man named Frederick Marshall; he lived in Natchez, Miss.; he says that he saw a man killed, and also a boy. The boy was killed simply because he could read and write. That is all that was alleged against him. One man, a relation to one Walter Proof, was killed for political reasons—but for what political reason was not stated. Clarence Winn, of Madison Parish, Louisiana, he said that he paid four and five dollars for ginning cotton; he rented thirty acres of ground; at the end of the year he was in debt; when he went to get away, the man that he had been working for asked if he was going away; he said yes; the other asked him why he was going; he said that he had been

working there seven or eight years, renting twenty-five or thirty acres of ground, and paying four or five dollars for ginning, and getting on an average forty or fifty dollars a bale for cotton; and that he was not making anything. Then the man he was working for told him that if he had made up his determination to go, he need not go back onto his place. And he took him at his word and left. He said that they raised corn down there; they sold it for forty cents a bushel; but when they wanted to buy they had to pay seventy-five cents to a dollar a bushel for it. George Page, of Madison Parish, Louisiana, he stated that he left home because of the exorbitant prices charged for the necessaries of life down there. He said he had to pay twenty-five to thirty dollars a barrel for pork. He said he had worked there hard and steady for a number of years, but the best he could do he kept getting poorer and poorer. He was a man with a family. He left, he said, to better his condition. He told me that he saw masked men, in Franklin Parish, riding around through the country in disguise, whipping men.

Q. White men or colored men?—A. White men riding around whipping colored men. One man, named Curtis Pollard, was an ex-senator of the Louisiana legislature. We kept him there about two weeks. He spoke there nearly every day. He said he left Louisiana because his life was threatened for telling the colored people that they had better leave Louisiana and go to Kansas, or somewhere where their rights could be respected. That made the white people mad at him, and they threatened to kill him. Lewis Woods, of Madison Parish, Louisiana, said he paid \$10 an acre rent for land, and could not, under any circumstances, make a living. When he went to make a settlement at the end of every year, he found himself every year, five, or ten, or thirty, or fifty dollars deeper in debt than he was the year before.

Q. How much was that land worth, to purchase it?—A. He did not say. He said he had seen colored men whipped in his parish by disguised white men.

Rev. J. K. Daniels. He was a minister that staid in the church there a considerable time. After awhile we sent him along. He was a blacksmith. Now he is doing well.

Q. He was a preacher, you say, as well as a blacksmith?—A. Yes, sir; he preached at our church once. He also spoke at the mass-meetings we had there. He told the story how they got along down there.

Q. Do you know where he was from?—A. He was from Warren County, Mississippi.

Q. Did he tell why he left the South?—A. He said he left the South because he could not make a living there, and because he could not vote as he wanted to. He said (here witness read from his memorandum): "A man was killed, named Washington Davenport. I saw him killed. I would not return South for anything."

Q. What did he say this man Davenport was killed for?—A. He did not give the reason. He said he was killed by these men riding around the country.

Q. These masked white men?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Did he say *when* these disguised white men were riding around through the country?—A. He said generally it was just before election. They were all the time intimidated by the men that they rented from; there was no band of men riding through the country, making threats and killing colored people, until just before the time of election.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Go on with the statement you were making from that memorandum.—A. John Macey, of Hinds County, Mississippi, and Daniel Fox of Delta, La., gave the same story; that they left the South on account of these disguised men riding through the country killing and threatening people, and because they could not make a living down there.

Q. Go on.—A. That is all, I believe, that I had any intimate talk with. Of course I talked with a good many others, but I did not take down what they said. Of course I never thought that anything like this committee was coming up, or I might have got more. They talked all pretty much the same way.

Q. What became of this company of five hundred persons?—A. They staid there in the churches until we established our board. We organized it the next day about eleven o'clock. John Turner was made president. We got a good subscription. We got credit on the board there to the amount of \$1,100 before we paid a cent. We shipped these people to Leavenworth, Kans., and from there they were distributed through the country.

Q. Did they say anything with regard to their school privileges?—A. They said they had no schooling at all, except in some parishes four or five months schooling in the year; and in some places they had no schools at all. And the amount of intelligence that the children had demonstrated clearly that they could have had no schooling.

Q. Did you find among these children any that could read and write with facility?—A. None at all. They were very eager to learn their A, B, C's. Some of them knew that, and that was all they did know.

Q. What was the age of the children you are now speaking of?—A. Such children as usually attend school—from five to sixteen years old. They said their children had no school facilities; they felt very bad about that. We thought the only way we could find out whether they told the truth about it was to question the children; and so we did. Some we took into the Sunday school and put in the primary class, and they could not read at all.

Q. Of that company of five hundred how many were children?—A. Of that five hundred about one-third were men and two-thirds were women and children.

Q. Did I understand you to say that there were none of those children who could read or write?—A. Very few, and those who could were those who had parents that had some means in the South, and had sent them to private schools. None of them had been able to secure any education in the public schools—none whatever.

Q. Where did you say the most of them were from?—A. From various points in Louisiana, Mississippi, and all along the river. They came up on the steamer James Howard, which started from New Orleans, and it seemed as if somebody must have got on at almost every landing, they came from so many places.

Q. You found the children all ignorant, indicating that there were no school facilities at any of those localities?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you see bearing on the question of the disposition of the children to learn if they had a chance?—A. They were very eager to learn. We had about three hundred of those people in our church and on Sunday we got them together and found them very eager to learn the alphabet. Not only the young children but the older people.

Q. It could not have been, then, that they had had school facilities where they came from, or with this disposition to learn they would

Q. We known something?—A. We judged not. Certainly they were very ignorant, and they showed a very great desire to learn.

Q. Did the parents exhibit an anxiety to have their children learn?

A. They did, very much.

Q. I understood you to say that they gave that as one reason of their coming?—A. Yes, sir; that was one; they laid great stress on that—on the want of education and the insecurity of life.

Q. Do you remember whether any of them complained of any interference with their religious worship?—A. Not of the first batch. Later on that, in August, some of them complained of that, but we never had much talk with that batch that came in August, at least I did not, because I was going through the State then and was not in the country much. I went and received money and paid it out.

Q. You said you sent these five hundred to Leavenworth?—A. Yes,

Q. What became of them then?—A. We distributed them through the State wherever we could find employment for them.

Q. What kind of employment did you find for them?—A. Farming, mostly. We sent six or seven of the first boat loads to Leavenworth, Kansas, until that was blocked, then we sent some to Topeka, Kans.

Q. What do you mean by "blocked"?—A. There were too many there; they could not distribute them out fast enough. Then we sent them to Topeka; we sent a goodly number there, and the mayor and the city council came down to Saint Louis and had a consultation with our board for the purpose of working in harmony with each other. Then we arranged that when we were going to send a boat-load we sent a dispatch on ahead to prepare for them. The mayor said he would do everything he could to alleviate their wants.

Q. Do you know whether, as a matter of fact, those early emigrants were pretty generally distributed, so as to get comfortable situations?

A. Well, yes, sir; till about the next August, when they complained there being more there than they could find places for. Then we sent an agent, a member of our board, up there, to go out through the country and get them homes. He went up there and staid about three weeks, and succeeded in getting homes for them all.

Q. Go on and give us, in your own way, an account of the exodus from Leavenworth after the disposition of this second lot of five hundred.—A. Well, I can only say that load after load of them came up there; almost every boat brought some. We had our committee of transportation to receive them. We rented a house there, No. 618 North Levee street, and kept the emigrants in there until we could succeed in getting places for them. We contracted a big debt there, and managed to keep the house clean [of emigrants], until I believe they almost ceased to come. Then the matter was placed in the hands, or rather left in the hands, of Mr. Yeatman; he took control of it. We got in debt so much that we could not well get out, and so we put the matter into the hands of Mr. Yeatman, and he fed them and paid the boats what was required for transportation. So things went on until the beginning of this year; then we took it up again, and have been moving on and doing the best we can.

Q. Is the business still going on?—A. Yes, sir; O, yes; it opened again about the first of December, then a goodly number came in, and the work has been going on ever since.

Q. Where are they sent to?—A. Last year we sent them directly to Kansas. About that time we had a goodly number of applications from other States, particularly from Indiana, Nebraska, Illinois, and Ohio.

We sent some to Illinois. At one time we had about a hundred on hand and no place to send them to, and J. Milton Turner made application for sixty farming hands, which we let him have to ship to Indiana; whether he shipped them there or not we do not know.

Q. At what time was that?—A. I think it was some time about last August—maybe July. We turned over sixty of them to him, and that took the bulk of them off from our hands. We had not more than three or four families then, till we started again.

Q. When did you start again?—A. I think about December; but there was not a time during all the year that we had not three or four families on our hands.

Q. Did any of them find employment in Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir, a goodly number.

Q. What kind of employment?—A. Any kind that they could get; I have employed a goodly number myself; some are working on the levee.

Q. Did they seem to come with any wild and extravagant notions of the paradise they were to find in Kansas and other Northern States?—A. Some few of them had such notions of Kansas flowing with milk and honey, &c., but the majority of them had no such foolish notions at that.

Q. They came there expecting to work if they gained a living there?—A. Yes, sir; they say they can make a living; the only thing they want is a chance. Many of them hoot at the idea of being given anything. They have no expectation of receiving "forty acres of land and a mule," or anything of the sort.

Q. Please state, as near as you can, about how many, in your judgment, have come from the Southern States, and have been distributed through that Saint Louis association or board to various points where they have been employed?—A. I can only speak of the board till I left there. A good many have undoubtedly been sent on since I left. Up to that time, I should say, about twenty-one or twenty-two thousand.

Q. Up to the time you came here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they were still coming there and being sent out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did the migration seem to be increasing or lessening?—A. It was on the increase all the time.

Q. Would twenty-five thousand be a fair estimate of the number that has passed through there?—A. Through the hands of our board?

Q. Yes.—A. Perhaps not our board, but I should not wonder if that many had passed through Saint Louis. A good many went on the railroad directly through, and never stopped at all. Then a goodly number have gone to Kansas from Texas that never came to Saint Louis.

Q. Do you think, from your knowledge of the entire matter, that, up to this time, fifty thousand colored people have left the Southern States for the North?—A. From all that I can learn the immigrants to different parts of Kansas must have been between twenty-five and thirty thousand.

Q. To Kansas alone?—A. Yes, sir; to Kansas alone.

Q. In regard to the number that have gone to other parts of the North I suppose the estimate would be necessarily inaccurate if you should try to make it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of those people that have gone to Kansas, how many have you known to return to the Southern States?—A. Only one. He was a man that said he wanted us to give him money to go and get his wife and bring her to Kansas. He said she was at Holly Springs, Miss. I told him that I could not pay out money for any such purpose unless the chairman of the board said so. I went to see the chairman about it.

and he said I could do so; at that I paid the money to the man, and he went to Holly Springs after his wife, he said. We have never heard of him since. He may have come back with her, but we do not know anything about it; I heard it said that there was a boat-load of about two hundred that came down and went back South, and that Mr. Miles Sells did their way. How much truth there was in that I do not know.

Q. Who is Miles Sells?—A. A firm of cotton brokers there in Saint Louis.

Q. Do you know why they went back?—A. I do not know why they went back; I never saw them. It was reported that there was a boat on the levee with a couple of hundred colored people who were going back South, and I thought that if they had so little sense as to go back South I did not have any desire to see them.

Q. Those colored people that went back, were they from the vicinity of Saint Louis, or were they from the interior?—A. I understood that they came from Kansas. An agent had been sent up there, I disremember his name, to get them to go back South. I was told that he made them fine promises, and offered them a certain amount of things if they would go back, and I guess in that way he got those renegades up there to go back South.

Q. You mentioned that the Rev. J. Milton Turner applied to you for colored laborers?—A. Yes, sir; he wanted some sixty laborers.

Q. Was he engaged in conducting the exodus? State what you know regarding his connection with the exodus from first to last?—A. When our board was formed I was placed on the financial committee; but in the summer time I had so much other work to do that I could not attend, so I asked to be excused. They excused me, and J. Milton Turner was put on in my place, and he became secretary of the financial committee. About that time the chairman of the financial committee gave out several books to members of the financial committee to solicit subscriptions for aid. After three or four days had elapsed the chairman called in the books, called for those who had the books to bring them in, and to bring in the money that had been subscribed and paid. All the members brought in their books except Turner. We do not know whether he received any money or not, but he did not send his book in. The matter ran along for two or three weeks. The question came up in the board about Turner's book. During that time Turner had established another association, which he called the Refugee Aid Association, something of that kind, I think—I am not certain about the name; it was to help immigrants. Then a motion was made in our board that Turner be expelled from the board. The motion carried, and he was expelled from our board. After that he began to speak openly against the exodus. For what reason, I cannot tell.

Q. Up to that time he had been as much in favor of it as anybody?—A. Yes, sir. He made appeals in the colored churches, and white churches too, for money to aid the colored people.

Q. Had he expressed himself on the advisability of colored people leaving the South?—A. He had; he had said in public meetings that they were entirely right in leaving the South; he had indorsed the movement.

Q. It was not simply that he thought it a duty which they owed to the demands of charity to aid these people now that they were there, but that he thought they did right in leaving the South on account of the sufferings and outrages which they had endured?—A. He just thought that if they received such treatment as they said they had re-

ceived they ought to leave ; and he thought that they ought to be helped not only to the necessaries of life, but helped to a better country.

Q. Is there any other matter to which you desire to call our attention ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Your society is still in operation ?—A. It is.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Did you say that you were a tobacco inspector at Saint Louis ?

A. No, sir.

Q. What then ?—A. A tobacco contractor.

Q. Then you do not hold any position under the government ?—No, sir.

Q. When did you see Mayor Case, the mayor of Topeka, at the time you said that Topeka was blocked ?—A. I cannot say the date.

Q. Did you see him yourself ?—A. Yes, sir.

(Two or three remarks of this witness will be found interpolated into the testimony of the next witness.)

TESTIMONY OF M. H. CASE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 5, 1880*

M. H. CASE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside ?—Answer. At Topeka, Kans.

Q. What position do you occupy there ?—A. I am mayor of that city.

Q. State whether you went to Saint Louis some time last summer or fall, to see about getting emigrants up into your country.—A. I have never been there on that business.

Q. Were you there on any such business ?—A. I have not been to Saint Louis in eight years until last Saturday, when I came through there on my way to Washington.

Q. There is no truth, then, in the statement of the witness, Wheeler, who has just left the stand, that you—

Mr. WHEELER (interrupting). I wish to say, gentlemen, that I was mistaken ; it was Governor St. John, of Kansas, who was down there.

The CHAIRMAN. How came you to make such a mistake ?

Mr. WHEELER. I will say that I met the committee, and I was informed that the mayor of Topeka was to be there. It seems that the mayor did not come, but that Governor St. John did come.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made the mistake of confounding the governor of the State of Kansas with the mayor of the city of Topeka ?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Governor St. John ?

Mr. WHEELER. I would not know him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mayor Case, of Topeka ?

Mr. WHEELER. No, sir ; I will say I was in that company only about three-quarters of an hour ; and having heard it said that the mayor of Topeka was to be there, I have always supposed that the man that was there was the mayor of Topeka.

Q. Mr. Mayor, state whether you have had any experience on the subject of colored people coming into Kansas ; and, if so, what ?—A. I will say that at Topeka they have been looked after, mostly, by a committee that was organized, I think, about a year ago last February.

first batch that came there came while I was away from home, so I do not know so much about them.

Q. How many of them came into your county; what is the name of your county?—A. Shawnee.

Q. How many colored people have come into your county?—A. I could judge some eight or ten thousand.

Q. Into that county?—A. I should think so.

Q. Is that a large county?—A. No, sir; about the ordinary size of counties.

Q. Topeka is the State capital, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Governor St. John lives there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is your understanding that he has been active in getting these people into your State?—A. He certainly has been active in providing them after they got there. What he has done in the way of getting them into the State I am not prepared to say.

Q. You say that when these colored people came to your city they were cared for by a committee?—A. I so understand it; I have generally turned them over to that committee.

Q. How frequently, and to what extent, have applications been made to you, as mayor of the city, for help?—A. Well, for the past six or eight months, very seldom; only when they wished to get aid to leave here and go into the country.

Q. Was that because they were a class of immigrants that did not need support, or because the committee cared for them?—A. Because the committee being there, and having a large supply of goods.

Q. What is that association; is it a voluntary association?—A. Yes,

Q. How many constitute that committee?—A. I never was a member of it, and have taken little pains to inform myself.

Q. Comparatively few?—A. Yes, sir; half a dozen or so, more or less.

Q. You say you think that some eight or ten thousand colored people have come into that county; what proportion of them have needed charity upon their arrival there?—A. I can only guess at that; I have no means of knowing; I should say perhaps seven-tenths.

Q. Then it has been a pretty expensive matter?—A. Not so very expensive for the city; they have been taken care of by donations.

Q. As a matter of fact they have been expensive to somebody?—A. Yes, sir; a large amount of money has been expended there.

Q. On what source has this committee relied for its means to help these seven-tenths of all this great number of immigrants; has it relied on the people of Topeka?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where has the money come from?—A. All over the country, and some even from Europe; and not only money, but crates of crockery, and boxes and bales and barrels of goods and clothing, &c., from all parts of the country.

Q. This committee takes charge of these things?—A. Yes, sir; and distributes them.

Q. What has become of this large body of colored people? Where are they now?—A. I can hardly tell you; they have been sent in every direction.

Q. Scattered all over the State?—A. Yes, sir; and perhaps out of the State.

Q. Mr. Wheeler tells us that he thinks from twenty-five to thirty thousand emigrants have passed through Saint Louis to Kansas; do you estimate the number to be as many as that?—A. I have no means

of knowing, aside from my observation at Topeka; beyond that thing I could say would be simply guess-work—rumor.

Q. Is this immigration desired upon the part of the people of Kansas?—A. The people are divided upon that subject, apparently; by talk the division would seem to be more political than otherwise.

Q. You mean by that that our Republican friends favor it, and Democrats do not?—A. No; there is a large proportion of the Republicans who do not favor so much of it; they feel as if they are getting too much of a good thing.

Q. Getting a surfeit?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Being the mayor of Topeka, I take it that you are a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. Is it your fear, or feeling, that you are getting almost too much of it?—A. I think there is more in that vicinity, in that part of the State than is good for the colored people themselves.

Q. And the whites too?—A. And the whites too. There is a surplus of them; they cannot get work; at least they complain to me that they cannot get work to do, after they get there.

Q. Are many of them staying around Topeka?—A. There are a good many there all the time; but they are going and coming mostly.

Q. Are there colored agents connected with the business—bringing these people in there?—A. I have understood so; I do not know much about these matters as I would if this commission had not existed there, and done most of the work. They have put up some barracks there, outside of the city, and quarter them there.

Q. Would it not have been a hard time for these people this winter, if it had been a hard winter, instead of a soft and mild one?—A. Undoubtedly there would have been a great deal of suffering, sir.

Q. Do they keep healthy? Is there much sickness among them?—A. There has been quite a good deal of sickness among them, and a good many deaths.

Q. Has there been more than the ordinary death-rate?—A. I should say there had, in my judgment.

Q. From what you have heard on the subject, where do the most of these people come from; from what States?—A. Those that I have talked with seem to have come mostly from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee.

Q. Do they complain to you of bad treatment?—A. They do, sir.

Q. Do they state that they are not allowed to vote?—A. Yes, sir; that they are not allowed their political privileges; and various other complaints. Some of them complain that their lives are insecure. I have taken some pains, or did, for a while, take some pains, to inquire into that. I did not find but one, I believe, of those that I talked with that had any *personal* knowledge of shooting, whipping, and that sort of thing.

Q. The rest related what they had heard from some one else?—A. Yes, sir; I was quite particular to ascertain what they positively knew.

Q. So far as you inquired, you were able to find but one person who had any personal knowledge of these things?—A. Yes, sir; I made those inquiries in the earlier stages of the matter, when I was more serious about such things than I have been for the past few months.

Q. Were any of those immigrants from Texas?—A. There might have been some from that State; I think there were.

Q. Do you remember whether there were any from Grimes County, Texas?—A. I do not remember.

- . Some of them were from Mississippi, you say?—A. Yes, sir.
- . From what part of Mississippi?—A. From the vicinity of Vicksburg; I know I helped some from near that place to go back.
- . How many from near that place did you help go back?—A. I do not remember exactly—I think six or eight.
- . To what extent have they gone back, or seemed to desire to go back to their former homes?—A. Compared with the whole number, a very few; perhaps a hundred or two in all have been seeking means to go back. I have helped some of them get tickets a part of the way back. Mr. Strong, general manager of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, has helped me.
- . Then there is a vein of dissatisfaction running through them in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.
- . And some of them have actually gone back?—A. Yes, sir; we sent a party of them off to Tennessee; I think Mr. Strong gave a party of them passes to Kansas City.
- . What was the number of those that returned?—A. I saw but one or two; but I understood that they had families; I understood from them. They applied to me for assistance to get back.
- . You say that seven-tenths of them were objects of charity?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Did they seem willing to work, if work could have been obtained?—A. Yes, sir; the most of them seemed willing to work, and the rest seemed to be; but I have known of their having opportunities to work which they did not seem anxious to avail themselves of, or have seen them give up work instead of finishing it and getting paid for doing it.
- . Can they do farm labor, such as is done in Kansas?—A. I am not informed on that.
- . The farmers of Kansas do their farm work generally by machinery, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.
- . What is your profession?—A. I am a lawyer.
- . How long have you lived in Kansas?—A. About fifteen years; I came there in 1865.
- . You are a native of what State?—A. Pennsylvania.
- . What advice would you give, if you were asked to give advice to these people as to continuing to emigrate into Kansas?—A. I would mainly advise them to stay where they were; they can do better where they were than they can in Kansas. A great many of them have told me so, after being there two or three months. I sent a party to this grant association to see if they would assist them to get back, after they had been there three or four months.
- . Where were they from?—A. I think they were from Louisiana. The spokesman of the company—the man who acted as such during our conversation with me, told me that he had been there three or four months, and in all that time had earned only enough to buy him a pair of boots. The association had sent him to Manhattan, a place west of Topeka, about sixty miles; in the course of three or four months he had come back for aid to get home. I told him the association was assisting colored people, and no doubt would help him. He said he had been refused, and they would not do anything. I saw Mr. Hebard, then clerk of the board, and he did refuse; he said the board had no means to return them; he claimed that they had already assisted these men to get back. This colored man told me that he did better in the South. I am sure that thousands of the emigrants to that State are dissatisfied, and would go back to their homes if they could. But a good many were

ashamed to make application; and they were informed, besides, they could not obtain assistance to get back if they did apply.

Q. Then it is your deliberate judgment that it would be better for them to stay South than to come North?—A. It is my deliberate judgment that they had better stay there than to come to Kansas, unless they come so that they can buy farms and help themselves.

Q. A population seven-tenths of whom are objects of charity, is a very desirable acquisition to any State?—A. I think that when the time comes that this donation business ceases—I do not know what they will do in Kansas, if they continue coming as they have been coming. I do not know that the public will ever cease to donate; but if they should, the colored people in Kansas would be in a very bad condition.

Q. What is the population of Topeka?—A. Some fourteen or fifteen thousand, I think.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You say you helped a number of these immigrants back from Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you help them?—A. I helped them officially.

Q. Through the funds of the city?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what way?—A. I bought half-fare tickets for them.

Q. To what extent?—A. For about fifteen or twenty.

Q. Do you know of any persons offering to assist them South?—A. I did receive a circular to that effect, and had it published in a newspaper. Some society or company proposed to pay the transportation of those that wished to go back. I had it published, and in three days, seventy or eighty of these immigrants were looking for the means to get to Kansas City so that they could take advantage of this offer.

Q. How many responded to it?—A. I cannot say. I called on Mr. Strong, the general manager of the railroad, when I was starting to come here; but he was absent when I called, and I could not get the information on that point which I desired.

Q. From Kansas City to Topeka is how far?—A. About sixty miles.

Q. You say a vein of dissatisfaction seems to run through these immigrants?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Rather a slender vein, is it not, so far as you have been able to discover, in comparison with the entire "streak," as miners would say, in comparison with the twenty or thirty thousand colored people that have gone to Kansas?—A. Well, yes; it would seem so; though a very few of the whole number that were dissatisfied called on me, I suppose.

Q. You say you would advise them to stay where they are. Now you have had evidence here that in the State of Louisiana alone, since the close of the war, over two thousand colored persons have been murdered for political reasons, and immense numbers whipped, cheated out of the wages due them for their labor, &c. Assuming these things to be true, would you advise them to stay there and endure these things rather than to come to Kansas, even if they freeze?—A. As I understand their condition in the South, I think they had better stay there.

Q. You are taking into consideration the difficulties in Kansas. Looking at the difficulties they encounter in Kansas, if they were fairly treated in the South you think they had better stay South?—A. Yes.

Q. But assuming these stories of murder and maltreatment to be true, you would not advise them to stay there, would you?—A. I would not advise them to come to Kansas.

Q. Would you stay South yourself, under such circumstances?—A. I think I would, if I were not better adapted to make a living North than they are.

Q. You think you would prefer to be whipped or murdered than to live in Kansas without money?—A. I think if they will be quiet, and do their own business, in the South, they will not be whipped or murdered. A good many of them have told that story when they first came in; but when they want to get back South they tell *why* they told that story.

Q. Do you think that nobody has been maltreated or misused in the South?—A. They may have been to some extent, but not to the extent they represent; I think not.

Q. Would they better their condition, do you think, by going to Indiana?—A. I think they might better their condition by going to one of the older States; I should like to see them go to Indiana; it might change the politics of that State.

Q. You spoke of a large amount of funds being raised; that is not unusual, is it, for many purposes?—A. No, sir.

Q. A large amount has been raised for the relief of the suffering Irish, is there not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Probably ten times as much as for the suffering negroes?—A. I do not know just how they compare.

Q. Has there been one-twentieth as much raised to help the negroes to help the white people of the South during the yellow fever season?—A. I am not competent to judge; I do not know how much either of them were. I know the yellow fever sufferers received a great deal of assistance.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You spoke of some persons telling you stories of outrages, when they first came there to Kansas, but who told a different story when they wanted to get back South?—A. Yes, sir; in a few instances.

Q. They told a different story?—A. Yes, sir; they said the stories which they told when they first came were not true.

Q. Did they explain why they told them?—A. They said they had been informed that they must, in order to receive aid. They expected to receive money, and to get those old clothes and things.

Q. You don't know in how many more instances it may be true?—A. I don't know that it is true in these; I only give what they said.

Q. Still, they were wanting to go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They had told you about being put in peril of their lives by bull-dozers and all that sort of thing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And afterward told you that they did it to get the benefit of aid?

A. Yes, sir; one, who was the spokesman for several more, said to me, "Nobody but the no-account niggers get hurt down there."

Q. I see in the printed slip a call, headed by John P. St. John, your governor; your name also appears, as mayor of Topeka; also that of M. Brown; the description of him is given as a "negro politician"; do you know him—the C. M. Brown described in the printed explanation of this organization?—A. I think I have heard of the gentleman, and possibly seen him; I would not know him if I were to see him.

Q. Is he living in Topeka now?—A. I think he is, if I understand to whom it is that you are referring.

Q. State whether or not he has built a nice property there since he has been in this position.—A. I think—well, the fact is, his identity is so mixed with me, that I might make a mistake.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. About how many of those colored persons have told you changed story when they wanted to go back?—A. There was this little squad; one of them did the talking, and the rest stood by listening. Then, on another occasion there was a man and his wife and girl, eight or ten years old, and there were two or three more persons standing about the office door; they told pretty much the same story.

Q. You don't know whether they told the right story in this case whether they told the right story in the first place, and now told for the purpose of exciting somebody's sympathy in order to get back?—A. Of course I could not tell.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You said you thought the negroes could get along well enough in the South if they would mind their own business and attend to their own affairs?—A. I said I thought they might get along better in the South than in Kansas, if they would attend to their own affairs and keep quiet.

Q. In what regard did you understand that these colored people who had been misused and ill-treated had failed to attend to their own affairs and to keep quiet?—A. These two squads said that the colored ones that got into trouble were the no-account niggers who were always talking politics.

Q. Then all the information you have on that subject comes from these two persons or squads, who wanted to impose upon your sensibility, or something of that sort, in order to raise funds?—A. Well, you might put it in that way.

Q. Do you take the testimony of those two persons as counterbalancing all the evidence of murders and outrages coming from thousands of witnesses from all parts of the South?—A. No, sir; of course not.

Q. Do you have the impression that these stories of interference with the exercise of suffrage in the South are all false?—A. I think some of them are greatly exaggerated, but that many of them are true, to a greater extent than they ought to be, undoubtedly.

Q. If they are true to a greater extent than they ought to be, do you blame these people for seeking to escape from the perpetrators of such outrages?—A. No, sir; and I do not blame them.

Q. But you think Kansas is getting more than her proper share of more than she can assimilate?—A. Yes, sir; in such numbers as they are coming, and are liable to come.

TESTIMONY OF H. C. PARK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 5, 1880*

H. C. PARK sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Park, what is your residence?—Answer. Atchison, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am the publisher of a newspaper, the Atchison Daily Patriot.

Q. What is its politics?—A. Democratic.

Q. That is right. How long have you lived in Atchison?—A. For sixteen or eighteen years.

Q. Have any of these emigrants—colored emigrants from the South—come to your town, or passed through it? If so, in what numbers?—A. I would suppose that twelve or fifteen hundred, possibly two thousand of them, have come to and passed through our town.

Q. Where are they from?—A. Mainly from Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

Q. Have you talked with them?—A. I have talked with quite a number of them. I visited the boat that brought the first squad there.

Q. Have any of them gone back?—A. So I have heard; but I know personally of but one case; my particular attention was called to the case of a man who walked back to Kentucky.

Q. What part of Kentucky was he from?—A. I do not know.

Q. You say you have heard of others going back?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard that quite a number have gone back.

Q. Was a committee organized at your place to take care of these emigrants?—A. Yes, sir; all of the city council.

Q. What proportion of them were dependent upon charity?—A. Of the first lot that came there, numbering, perhaps, three hundred or three hundred and fifty, all were objects of charity; all of them had to be supported by the city and county. Our county overseer of the poor for the district, composed of the city of Atchison, has taken care of quite a number of those that have come there since.

Q. What is the public sentiment there in your part of Kansas in regard to the continuance of this emigration?—A. I do not believe that there is a man, woman, or child in Atchison that wants it.

Q. Do you speak of Republicans as well as Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; the papers in Atchison, Republican and Democratic, have spoken against it.

Q. What Republicans?—A. I speak of the Atchison Daily Champion, particularly.

Q. Is it opposed to the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; that paper has had quite a number of editorial articles opposing it, and advising the colored people to stay South.

Q. I have had little or no opportunity to speak to you. If you will mention and state any other matter that you think will be of interest in connection with this investigation I will be obliged to you.—A. I hardly know what to say more than I have.

Q. I will ask you this then: You have stated that the people were almost unanimously opposed, without respect to party, to the continued influx of these colored people. Do you think that there is any demand amongst the farmers for their labor?—A. No, sir; I think not. During the busy season some of them get employment for a while. Quite a number of those who were shipped west, on our railroads leading west, to the western counties, are now drifting back to the towns, as I am informed by the city officials. I do not think they understand our mode of farming.

Q. The farmers there mostly do their farm work by machinery, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these folks are not used to the kind of plows they have in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor reapers and mowers?—A. No, sir.

Q. They have all that to learn?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did I understand you to express the opinion that there is as much available labor in Kansas as the demand calls for?—A. There seems to be. I have heard no complaint about any scarcity of labor.

Q. Have you heard any expression from the farming community of

that county of any desire for black labor?—A. No, sir; they prefer white labor.

Q. By the way, what county is that?—A. Atchison County. We have in our county a little colony, you might call it, of colored farmers who have been there for a good many years, and I think it has not proved a success by any means.

Q. How large a colony is it?—A. There are ten or twenty colored families in that immediate settlement.

Q. How long have they been there?—A. Some ten or fifteen years.

Q. And you think they have not proved a success as farmers?—A. No, sir; the last time I passed through there I saw no particular change in the appearance of things from what it was ten or fifteen years ago. They do not seem to improve and get ahead as our white farmers do.

Q. You do not raise cotton in that county?—A. No, sir.

Q. Your crops are corn and wheat?—A. Yes, sir; corn and wheat and vegetables of various kinds, and fruit.

Q. Do you raise tobacco?—A. No, sir; there may be a small patch here and there, where farmers raise enough for their own use, but none is raised there for sale.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Have you any information that would indicate that these colored people were brought to Kansas for political motives?—A. When they first came there there seemed to be an idea on the part of some that the exodus would result in reducing the Congressional representation of the South.

Q. My question was—what I meant by my question was—whether they were brought to Kansas for the purpose of carrying the State of Kansas?—A. Well, no, sir; I think not.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you think Kansas will go Republican this next fall?—A. I am inclined to think so.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. It begins to look doubtful, if they put many more of these colored people in there?—A. I am afraid the Republicans will carry Kansas this year.

Q. Do you think the Republicans are more in favor of this immigration than the Democrats in Kansas?—A. Neither Republicans nor Democrats favor it in my part of the State.

TESTIMONY OF H. C. SOLOMON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 6, 1880.*

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

H. C. SOLOMON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Give the reporter your name and residence.—Answer. My name is H. C. Solomon, and I live in the city of Atchison, Kans.

Q. What position do you occupy there, Mr. Solomon?—A. I am city attorney, sir, of the city of Atchison.

1. Since when?—A. For the past three years. This is my second year.
2. Is it an elective office?—A. It is.
3. Elected by the people?—A. Yes, sir; elected by the people.
4. What are your politics, Mr. Solomon?—A. I am a Democrat, sir.
5. Now, Mr. Solomon, please state what you know about these folks coming into your city and county at Atchison.—A. Well, for the past years—or perhaps a year and a half—they have been coming into the city of Atchison and the county in large numbers. About March—middle of March, I think—of 1879, there was a boat-load came in, consisting of about three hundred people. I think they were from Mississippi and Louisiana. They consisted principally of old men, women, and children, and were in a state of the most abject poverty, with no clothes, ragged, filthy, and dirty. They were taken charge of by the authorities. The colored people were called upon by myself and other officers of the State. We thought that perhaps it would be as well to have the colored people, who were in large numbers there, take charge of them. They at first refused to have anything to do with them, but the mayor and city council met in special meeting and appointed a committee of citizens to take charge of them. The colored people who were in the town were finally induced to open their churches, and the whites were put in there temporarily, and provided for by the city. They were, some of them, diseased, having the measles, and it was feared that they had the cholera, and for that reason a large part of their old buildings were destroyed.
6. What is the general feeling of your people in regard to the desirability of this immigration into their midst?—A. I am positive that it is the universal sentiment, not only in the city of Atchison and the county, but in the northern part of the State of Kansas, where they have come in in large numbers, that they are a detriment to the State, because they are paupers; they do not produce anything, and the large proportion of those who are able to work will not work; and I say that both Republicans and Democrats in the city and county of Atchison are opposed to it; and all support that sentiment. I will say that, after the boat-load of colored people came to the town, there was a meeting called, by some of the most prominent citizens—I think the large proportion of them were Republicans—for the purpose of devising some means to prevent them from coming into the city; and the city council had a meeting, and passed an ordinance prohibiting the railroad companies, packet companies, steamboats, and all transportation companies, or any person whatever, from bringing into the city any paupers. The object was to make it an offense for railroad companies or transportation companies generally to bring any of these colored people in there. I have the original ordinance passed at the time, making it an offense (reading) for any steamboat, packet company, or conductor of any railroad train, or the managers or agents of any railroad, steamboat, or other means of public transportation, or their officers, agents, managers, servants, or employés, or persons having charge of any such railway or transportation companies, or steamboat, or packet companies, either directly or indirectly, to transport, send, or carry, or to be instrumental in giving aid or assistance to the transportation, sending, or carrying into the corporate limits of the city, any pauper or paupers, or any person who is, or who is likely to become, an object of public charity or public charge, making it an offense to do this.
7. How large a place is Atchison?—A. It is a town of between fifteen thousand and sixteen thousand inhabitants.

Q. It is in Atchison County, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; Atchison County, Kansas.

Q. That is one of the old thickly-settled counties of Kansas, is not it?—A. Yes, sir; one of the oldest counties in the State, perhaps the oldest.

Q. Is the soil of that county fertile, and well adapted for agriculture?—A. Yes, sir; it is a fine agricultural country.

Q. What do you say as to the demand for this kind of labor in that part of the State?—A. There is no demand for such labor at all; and for this reason Kansas has, for many years, been receiving a large immigration of white people, and they have fully kept up with the demand for labor; so that there is no demand whatever for these colored people. That part of the State does not need agricultural laborers.

Q. What proportion of these people, that came there, should you say were needing help; that is, were dependent upon charity?—A. I should say fully nine-tenths of them were.

Q. Mr. Solomon, was there a committee organized to extend charitable aid to these comers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did this committee get their resources from, by which they extended this aid to these colored people?—A. They obtained it from the public treasury. Under the laws of our State, the board of commissioners of the county and the cities—cities of the first and second class—bear the expenses of the support of paupers, and of getting rid of them; and there was a committee appointed, in connection with the overseer of the poor, that took charge of this matter; and that committee took measures to send them out to the interior of the State, and also to get them out of the State, if possible; and wherever they could find a man who was willing to go out into the country, say about fifty or a hundred miles, they would buy him a ticket and send him off.

Q. Now, that was done at the public expense, was it?—A. Yes, sir, at the county expense.

Q. You have spoken of an ordinance; did that ordinance embody the public sentiment of Atchison, or was it a party movement?—A. It was not a party movement; because it came about through the instrumentality of a meeting held by the people generally, irrespective of party.

Q. Did leading men of both parties participate in the meeting?—A. Yes, sir. The leading men of the city generally; it was a large meeting.

Q. Composed of Republicans as well as of Democrats?—A. Yes, sir, there were more Republicans there than Democrats.

Q. How is your city council composed, politically?—A. We have eight councilmen—two Republicans and six Democrats.

Q. Did the Republicans pass that ordinance?—A. They did; it was passed unanimously.

Q. Who is mayor of your city?—A. John C. Tomlinson.

Q. Mr. Solomon, what is the geographical position of Atchison? I am not as familiar as I should be with the map of Kansas.—A. Atchison is bounded on the east by the State of Missouri; it is on the Missouri River.

Q. Then it is in the northeastern corner?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The Missouri River touches you?—A. Yes, sir; Atchison is on the river.

Q. I have never been in that part of the country; did those people come by water—by steamboat?—A. Not all of them, but the principal

crowd came on a steamboat, up the Missouri River—a crowd of perhaps three hundred and fifty, men, women and children.

Q. How many people did you say had landed there, one way or another, by river or by rail?—A. About two thousand.

Q. What proportion of them are still in your county?—A. I suppose about twelve or fifteen hundred.

Q. How are they employed now?—A. They nearly all staid around the town, and they stand on the street corners, a large portion of them, mending themselves, and waiting for some one to hire them to do some little job or other; but I know of my own experience, and from that of others, that it has been very difficult to get them to go out into the country, even in harvest time, at a dollar and a half a day (last harvest I heard many complaints of this kind), to cut wheat and corn; they would not go out of the town. Of course there were some exceptions; there were some able bodied and willing men—men who were willing to work; but I speak of the large portion of them. They have the reputation of being very lazy.

Q. Did you know about any of them desiring to go back?—A. I know from personal conversation with a number of them, that if they had the money they would go back.

Q. Have any of them gone back?—A. Personally, I know of no cases.

Q. But you have heard them express a desire to go back?—A. I have, many of them, but as a general thing they are poor; they have no money, and they cannot get back unless they receive some assistance.

Q. What do they say about danger to their life, and all that, when they talk of going back?—A. Well, sir, I have talked with a great many of them, and for curiosity have inquired; and they all seem to have heard of some cases where colored people were whipped and killed; but I have never yet met a man who received any of that punishment. I have never met a man—and I have asked some fifty the question—I have never met one yet that has been bulldozed or whipped.

Q. Do they seem afraid to go back if they could get the means to do so?—A. I never met with any one who said that. I have met with a great many who have said that they would like to go back if they could get the means.

Q. Now, Mr. Solomon, we all want to do the best that can be done for both the white race and the black race; they ought to be protected under the laws wherever they are. Now, from your observation, for the last two years, nearly, that this has been going on in your part of Kansas, and from what you have heard them say as to their condition down home, and about their willingness to go back home, do you think that the condition of those people has been bettered by their coming there from the South? What would you say on that point?—A. Well, I do not think that their circumstances are bettered, for the reason that they do not seem to improve any. Now, there are some who have been there at Atchison City, and in the county, that I know personally, have been here since the first of last March, and they are poorer, if possible, today, and more needy, than when they landed there. They have not a cent in the world.

Q. Have they not been able to get work, or to pick up, in any respect?—A. Not a particle; they do not take to the class of work there.

Q. I was going to ask you about that; your people there farm with machinery a great deal?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And with the latest improvements of plows, and so on?—A. Yes,

Q. Do these colored folks seem to understand how to handle that kind of farming implements?—A. From my observation they seem to know nothing about it. I have been out in the country a great deal. They can cut corn with a corn-knife and wheat with a scythe; but when it comes to handling farm implements, improved as these implements now are, they seem to be totally ignorant of the manner of using them. All the farmers I have ever talked with say that they are not able to do the work; that they do not understand it; and they all want white labor if they can get it.

Q. How is their health in that climate; you had a very soft winter this last season?—A. Yes, sir; but I never observed much about that. I know that when that boat-load came there a very large portion of them were sick with divers diseases and many of them, a great many of them, died.

Q. Have you any information as to whether you will get a good deal more of this immigration or is it about stopped, so far as Kansas is concerned?—A. Well, the only information I have is from observation; I am satisfied that the immigration is increasing and that it will be very great this year unless some stop is put to it; I am satisfied that all these colored people that I have talked with expect large numbers to come into the State from their old homes in the South this coming spring, as soon as the weather will permit; this is the understanding that there will very large numbers come in the spring.

Q. Do you think, then, that the coming season will witness a still greater influx of these folks into Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; I am thoroughly satisfied of that fact.

Q. So far as you know, is there any public sentiment in either party inviting them into the State?—A. There is no public sentiment; what I term public sentiment is the universal opinion of the people. There is no public sentiment that wants them to come to Kansas.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You think, then, that these colored people would be better off where they were than in Kansas?—A. Well, I do not know what their condition was in the South; I am satisfied, however, that they are not bettering their condition in Kansas.

Q. Judging from what you saw of the wretchedness of their condition on their arrival, do you think it would be very easy to make their condition worse?—A. Well, so far as appearances are concerned, I suppose not.

Q. So that, in coming to Kansas, however bad it may be for the colored people there, there is not much danger that they could be worse off than they were when you saw them, as they came up from the South?—A. So far as their clothing and general wretched condition was concerned, no.

Q. You told us that when they came there they were in a state of abject poverty and wretchedness; you used language as strong as you could to describe that they were utterly wretched, poor, degraded people, without anything in the world?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think it possible for them to come to be in a worse condition in Kansas than they were when they landed there?—A. Probably not; not much worse.

Q. And you say that they are not improving a particle?—A. Not a particle, so far as I can see.

Q. Well, would you judge, from what you saw when they came, that it was an Eden where they came from?—A. I should think not; I do not think they brought much money with them.

Q. Atchison is a Democratic town, is it not?—A. It fluctuates; it is generally Democratic; sometimes Republican. The administration now Democratic.

Q. Pretty largely Democratic, is it not?—A. No, sir; it is pretty

Q. Out of eight members of your city council, you said six were Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; the majority there—that is of the officers—are Democratic, but the vote is very small, that is, the majority.

Q. You said that, at the public meeting held there, more Republicans than Democrats were in attendance?—A. I should say that there were.

Q. What Republicans made speeches or said anything against the immigration?—A. There were no speeches made; it was a meeting held in the city clerk's office, a large room.

Q. It was a sort of conference then and not a mass meeting?—A. Not a mass meeting exactly, but a conference among the business men and citizens.

Q. Such men as somebody had invited to drop into the meeting?—A. Yes, sir; the matter had been published in the papers.

Q. Do you mean to say that in a town or city of the size of Atchison you could have a public meeting, called by notice, and nobody made a speech?—A. There may have been some speeches made, but they were of the nature of spread-eagle speeches.

Q. What Republicans did you hear talk at that meeting? Give their names.—A. I do not think I could give any names at this time; it has been more than a year ago. I know that there was a large number of people there.

Q. But you seem to remember, even though it was a year ago, that the majority in attendance were Republicans. Did you count them at that time?—A. No; but I know nearly every one; I have lived in Atchison many years.

Q. If you remember the preponderance of politics in those who spoke, do you not remember who made speeches there?—A. There were no set speeches made, I think.

Q. But who talked?—A. A great many talked.

Q. Who passed the ordinance to prevent their coming there, and were opposed to their coming?—A. Mr. Kelsey, a very strong Republican, a business man in the furniture business.

Q. Where did he come from?—A. He has lived there a great many years; I do not know the place of his nativity. He took some part in the meeting, made some remarks, but I am unable to remember the names distinctly of those who took part in the conversation.

Q. You say that these people will not work?—A. As a general thing it is difficult to get them to do any hard work; that is, to get them to go out into the country and go to work, and rent farms, like other poor people do, or to go on to farms. They seem to prefer to stay around the towns.

Q. How many, on the whole, remain in the towns; two thousand, do you think?—A. I said, I think, about twelve hundred staid in the town.

Q. What are they mostly doing—you say they are standing around?

A. Yes, sir; a large portion are hanging around the city.

Q. Are they still supported by charity?—A. Well, a great many of them have been taken charge of, as vagrants, and set to work on the work-pile; a large portion of them are now doing that kind of work; they live around in a precarious manner that it is almost impossible to

name.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. From what you see of the shiftless disposition of these men who stand about on the street corners, do you not suppose that their wretched appearance, that Mr. Windom has laid so much stress upon, was due to the fact that they had not worked industriously at home, in their place of residence at the South?—A. Well, my observation of these men afterward would indicate that. I am satisfied that they are naturally lazy. Their indigent circumstances and their wretched condition are due, I believe, to their laziness.

Q. And their wretched appearance and condition you think are due to that, more than to their oppression in the places from which they came?—A. Yes, sir; I think that.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You do not believe in the Democratic oppression of the negro in the South?—A. I certainly am not in favor of it; but I do not believe that ninety-nine out of a hundred reported cases of that kind are true.

Q. Well, if you believed that one case out of a hundred was true, it would be your solemn duty to protest against it, would it not? Have you any faith whatever in the negro?—A. Yes, sir, I have great faith in him. I admire the race in some respects.

Q. You believe that he is better off now than when in slavery?—A. I never believed in slavery.

Mr. WINDOM. Well, you are a queer Democrat.

WITNESS. Well, I never believed in slavery.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD S. MILLS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 6, 1880.*

EDWARD S. MILLS sworn and examined:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Mills?—Answer. In Atchison, Kans.

Q. What are you doing there, Mr. Mills?—A. I am dealing in grain at present, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there for fifteen years, sir.

Q. I may as well ask you now, as at any other time, what your politics are?—A. Republican.

Q. Rather prominent?—A. I am one of the Republican members of our council.

Q. O, yes; you are a member of the city council of Atchison?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Mills, I want to know your view of this question; that is to say, whether these people that have come to your city and county appear to be bettering their condition there; whether they are prospering at all; whether there is a demand for their labor; and whether you think it best for them to come to your city or State?—A. There is certainly no demand for them, and I do not think they are prospering. As to bettering their condition, of course I do not know whether they are or not, as I do not know what their previous condition was; they certainly came there in a very wretched condition.

Q. Have they picked up, in any respect, since they came there?—A. Not as a class; some individual cases have.

- Q. Where were they from, mainly?—A. Those I have seen and conversed with and helped get out of our city were nearly, if not all, from Mississippi and Louisiana.
- Q. You speak of helping to get some of them out of the city; where did you help them to get to?—A. At the time, I was general passenger agent of the Central Branch Railroad. We shipped a great many out on that line of road, and gave them a free ticket if they had nothing to buy their ticket with—to get rid of them.
- Q. The railroad company gave them free transportation out of the city?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And of course you did not know what became of them after that?—A. Well, a good many of them have drifted back into the city again, and quite a number of them.
- Q. Have those that remained behind improved any since their first coming?—A. I do not think that they have; certainly not as a class, sir; some few individuals of them probably have.
- Q. Do they seem adapted to the kind of labor that is required in that part of the country?—A. Not generally; there are some few of them that are farming. I have in my mind now one or two cases where they are engaged in farming; but as a class they are loafing around the city, and a good many of them; as Mr. Solomon has said, put in a good deal of time on our rock pile.
- Q. Kansas has been quite a field for immigration for years past, for the white race, has it not?—A. Yes, sir; it has had that reputation, I believe, for years.
- Q. Well, has that supplied measurably, or fully, the demand for labor?—A. I think it has, sir.
- Q. What do you know, if anything, about a willingness on the part of some of these people, so far as you have talked with them, to go back, if they had the means to get back?—A. I have not heard them express a desire to return.
- Q. Have you talked with any of them on the subject?—A. I have; some, sir.
- Q. Did they bring with them anything to work with?—A. No, sir; the boat load that Mr. Solomon spoke of did not. Some have come in since then that seemed to be of a little better class.
- Q. Did they seem to be arriving in your State by arrangement with agents, or anything of that sort?—A. Well, that boat load came in by arrangement of the city of Leavenworth; they would not let them land there, and so they sent them on up to us; we thought that was a pretty sharp trick on their part.
- Q. You say they would not let them land at Leavenworth; who would not?—A. Citizens, I suppose. I know that the captain of the boat was paid several hundred dollars to bring them on to Atchison.
- Q. Who were engaged in that?—A. I do not know. We knew nothing of their coming till the boat landed. She came up very quietly and put a good many ashore before we knew of it. Some parties went down to try to induce the captain to load them up and take them away again, but could not prevail upon him to do so.
- Q. You would have sent them on very gladly, if you could have done so?—A. Very gladly indeed, yes, sir; for we had to support them there some time, in the city.
- Q. Did not the city authorities of Leavenworth take some action to keep them from landing?—A. They did not know of their coming, at all.
- Q. Well, in our testimony here we have been admitting what the witnesses have heard, what they supposed, what they think, and what their cousins and aunts have told them; so, if you know, in any of these

various ways, where that load was shipped from, and under whose auspices it started, and how it came to go on up there, let us know.—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. You never heard how that was?—A. No, sir.

Q. What part of Mississippi are these people from?—A. I could not tell you that, either.

Q. How far below you is the city of Leavenworth?—A. Twenty miles, sir, southeast.

Q. Is it a Democratic city, too?—A. No, sir; well, it is about like Atchison; sometimes we have a Republican administration, sometimes a Democratic.

Q. Was there any politics about the opposition to these people coming there?—A. No, sir; it seemed to be universal; it is the universal sentiment of our people that we don't want any more of them to come that we have our share.

Q. The captain of that boat got a little the start of you in unloading, or you would have tried to persuade him to go on and not leave these people with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you vote for the ordinance Mr. Solomon has spoken of here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was an ordinance, as you supposed, to protect your people from an influx of pauper immigrants that would have to be supported by charity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, I believe I never heard of any country being in favor of such an immigration as that into the midst of their population.—A. No, sir, I don't believe any country ever was in favor of it.

Mr. VANCE. Not for itself, at least; they are generally in favor of it for other places.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You apprehend a still further influx of this class of people into your State, do you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think the public sentiment of your State, without regard to party feelings, is not in favor of it?—A. That is my idea; yes, sir.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is the usual character and condition of the emigrants you have been accustomed to receive in Kansas?—A. Whites, do you refer to?

Q. Yes; all kinds.—A. We have all kinds; men sometimes who are worth a great deal of money, and some who come in are quite poor.

Q. You do not have a great many to come who are not able to support themselves for a short time, do you?—A. Very few but are able to do that.

Q. Nearly all the white emigrants who come bring some means with them, and are able to take land and break it, and subdue it, and make homes for themselves and children?—A. Yes, sir; and that class of emigration passes on to the west and southwest of us some two hundred miles.

Q. And the great stream of emigration to Kansas is made up of that class, bringing some capital and intelligence, and adding really, in the first instance, to the wealth of the State and its productive power, developing its resources, &c.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, this negro immigration differs from that in this, that it is not self-supporting, and cannot be for the time being, but must depend upon charity, and therefore you object to it; is that your view of the question?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in your State you have such inducements in the soil and other temptations to agriculture that there is a great immigration of the poorer class, almost as much as you can absorb and assimilate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you would be glad, for that reason, to confine the immigration into your State to this white and better class of immigrants?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, these colored people, as I understand you, are in condition to be simply laborers, and nothing more—laborers by the day for wages?—A. There are but very few skilled mechanics among them.

Q. They are, therefore, fit for agricultural laborers and house and field servants only?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are a class of people, then, that would most rapidly find employment in older and more thickly settled States, where capital has accumulated, and where there is a greater amount of capital to employ labor; is not that so?—A. Yes, sir; that would be my idea.

Q. Would it not, then, be your impression that it is much better for negroes, if they cannot live in the South, and must seek an outlet elsewhere, to go to the older States where there is more capital, and where there is a greater demand for this class of people—a State like Indiana, for instance?—A. Well, I should think they could be more readily absorbed in an older and wealthier community.

Q. I do not know when you arrived here, but if you were here a few years ago, you perhaps heard the testimony of a witness from Indiana, that in his opinion there was a call for forty or fifty thousand of this class of laborers in Indiana to day. He had letters, many of which he produced here, and he had verbal information to a large extent, calling for this class of labor from various parts of the State, from nearly every county. Did you hear his testimony on that?—A. No, sir; I have just come here.

Q. Well, such testimony, with your own observation of affairs in Kansas, would corroborate the opinion that if the negro must go north it would be better for him to go to the older States of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and the like?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, if these negroes that are coming into Kansas, and some five, ten, or fifteen thousand have already come, were like the white class of immigrants we have been describing, you would not object to their coming, would you?—A. No, sir; I would be glad to see them coming.

Q. You have no antipathy against them because of their color?—A. No, sir; none at all.

Q. And the feeling in Kansas in relation to them is precisely the same as it would be toward white people coming in the same condition and in similar circumstances?—A. Yes, sir; exactly.

Q. Now this committee, I think, by the resolution constituting it, is appointed to investigate the causes of the exodus. This testimony that you have given, so far, doesn't throw much light upon the causes why these people come there, does it?—A. No, sir.

Q. I would like to ask your attention, then, to the causes of the exodus as you have learned them, from what these people have said to you, what you have heard, or from any other sources of information you may have?—A. Of course I have read some on the subject, and I have heard some of them talk about others being bulldozed, but I have never known one that was.

Q. But all of them talk about it?—A. It seems to be a matter of common information and belief among them.

Q. And that is the impression among them now, you think?—A.

Well, they give that very generally as the reason for their leaving the South and coming north.

* Q. And of course human beings always act from some motive, do they not?—A. Generally.

Q. And you never heard but that the negro preferred to remain in the South, so far as his associations and the climate and all that are concerned?—A. I do not know that I have heard that.

Q. Well, you never heard a negro say that he came up to the North because the climate was too hot for him in the South, did you?—No, sir.

Q. Or that he wanted to go into a cooler climate, did you?—No, sir.

Q. You never heard him complain that the soil was not productive in the South, did you?—A. I never heard one express an opinion on that subject.

Q. You never did?—A. No, sir.

Q. You never heard him give a reason why he could not get a living down there, except that he was abused and deprived of his rights, did you?—A. Only in the way of the general belief among them that I have referred to.

Q. Now these people have acted upon this general information which they believe, have they?—A. Well, I should judge that they have, yes, sir.

Q. They have left their homes and gone to a colder climate, haven't they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And from a place they are naturally adapted to and prefer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now can it be possible that they don't believe the stories that they have heard of wrongs, and oppression, and outrage that they tell of?—A. They evidently believe them.

Q. Then do you think it possible that a whole race is deceived in regard to what is going on among them in the place of their residence?—A. I hardly think it possible that they could be deceived as to the general condition, though they possibly might, and probably do, magnify their wrongs.

Q. Yes, they might, perhaps, some of them, get exaggerated ideas as to the extent to which the abuses of which they have heard have been carried; but you do not doubt, yourself, that there are many authenticated instances of outrages and abuse upon these people down there, do you?—A. O, I think there are, sir, many authenticated cases of the kind.

Q. I suppose that, so far as you can, in entire consistence with the truth, you would be glad to give to the public, through the notoriety of this investigation, the impression that these people had better not come to Kansas in such large numbers, would you not?—A. Yes, sir; we would be very glad to have that impression go abroad.

Q. For the reason that they are a poor, illiterate class of people, and you don't want any more of them?—A. Largely for that reason—they are paupers and become immediate objects of charity.

Q. But if they had a little money, and could add to the wealth, and contribute to the productiveness and development of your State, you would be very glad to receive them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have some twenty-five to fifty thousand of them?—A. I do not know how many in the State; there were fifteen hundred of them in our city.

Q. And Kansas, you think, has her share of this emigration?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. In view of the fact that these people seem to believe that they are abused and maltreated by the Democratic party of the South, don't you think that if the Democratic party wants to protect the labor interests of Kansas they had better stop the abuse of these people in the South, and keep them at home?—A. I think they had better keep them at home.

Q. Do you believe they can do that, if these people are abused there?—A. No.

Q. Then the only way to stop their coming is for the Democratic party in the South to stop the abuse and change their tactics?—A. Yes; if they are responsible for it.

Q. And if they don't change their tactics, don't you believe you are going to be flooded by these refugees?—A. Yes, sir.

Redirect examination of the witness by the CHAIRMAN :

Q. I observed from your manner in answering Mr. Blair, a moment ago, a hesitancy that leads me to ask you whether or not, in your conversation with these people, and from the statements they have made to what they have heard, it has been testimony of a kind that has satisfied your mind that all they were telling was true—that all that happened down South that they seemed to have heard of?—A. I have no means of knowing whether they were telling the truth or not; I have conversed with a good many of them; in fact, I have had a good many of them employed during the last six months, laboring; and I have talked with them, more or less, from time to time.

Q. You stated, I believe, that you had seen only one man—or did you mean that you had ever found one—that had been in any way the subject of abuse and maltreatment?—A. I never have seen one.

Q. It has all been what others have said that they have reported to you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All hearsay?—A. Yes, sir; all hearsay.

Recross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR :

Q. What do you mean by their being "abused"? Do you mean knocked down, or whipped, or outraged by personal violence?—A. Yes; I have never seen one who has said that he was whipped, or hung up by the thumbs, or otherwise abused personally.

Q. Or killed outright?—A. No.

Q. But didn't some of them complain of something else, for instance, that after they had worked for years down there they came out as poor as they began, because they had been in some way deprived of the just returns for their labor; and did they not complain that there was little or no chance for them to educate their children?—A. Never on the score of education, but I have heard some of them say that they could not collect what was coming to them.

Q. You have seen those that have complained of that sort of treatment in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, don't you think that that is a grievance, for men as poor as they are, to be unable to collect the wages on which they must depend for a livelihood?—A. Yes.

Q. And do you not consider that a laborer is worthy of his hire; and therefore that hire is a man's only means of living, would you not think it to deprive him of it is an "abuse"? In other words, would not the withholding of wages earned and due be doing all that an employer would do to starve them out?—A. Well, the negro there would certainly

have the same recourse and remedy in the South as in the North, and collecting the debts owing to him.

Q. And are you quite sure that they have had, and have, that remedy? Don't they complain that the courts fail to do them justice in that particular?—A. I think not.

Q. What chance has a pauper in the courts, in a matter of that kind?—A. Not much.

Q. Well, these people are paupers?—A. Yes.

Q. Then they are robbed of their dues with impunity; if they are unable to go to the courts and if their wages are taken away or withheld from them, what remedy have they?—A. Well, it would be robbery with impunity in all such cases.

Q. Well, on the whole, setting aside the knocking down and dragging out style of abuse, do you not think that as a class these you have come in contact with have complained of injury done to them in withholding their just dues, and in preventing them from the free exercise of all their rights as free men and citizens?—A. I do not think I have heard of any complaints of that kind, sir.

Q. Why, I understood you to say that they complained to you that they could not get their pay.—A. Yes, sir; I said that I had heard of such complaints.

Q. Do you not consider that as a grievance on their part?—A. Certainly I do.

Q. And a very great grievance?—A. Certainly.

Q. Would you expect these people to remain happy and contented, or to remain at all, in a community where they were obliged to work for years and years, and were yet deprived of their just compensation?—A. Why, no.

Q. They may have come to Kansas in too large numbers, and it seems to me that it would be better for them to turn their attention to Indiana, for the reasons you have given; and this investigation is altogether wide of the mark in excusing Indiana when there is so great a demand for them there.

The CHAIRMAN. I would not advise a negro to go to New Hampshire.

Mr. BLAIR. Well, I would; and I will tell you another thing: twenty thousand negroes could do well in New Hampshire. I have known a good many negroes up in New Hampshire, and I never saw one that had any trouble in getting along with the climate. I extend a personal invitation to them to come to New Hampshire; twenty thousand of them could get along there and have a chance to make a living, and they will not be defrauded of their honest and just claims for labor performed.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, boys (addressing the negroes present) I advise you not to go. I have been up there myself.

Mr. BLAIR. Well, we do not calculate to invite *everybody* into New Hampshire; and if you are all like Mr. Voorhees, of course we do not advise you to come, nor invite you.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Mr. Blair asked you, Mr. Mills, if these people, being paupers, could sue in the courts in the South. Can they sue in the courts in your State?—A. I am not a lawyer; I do not know whether paupers have any rights in the courts or not.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. The difficulty is in getting their suit in?—A. Yes, sir; I presume that is the trouble.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Well, a pauper can file his petition as a pauper, to bring his suit?

A. I believe that is so.

Q. Now let me ask you if most of these men who told you that they had not been paid their wages were not the same men who were to be seen standing in the streets, and on the corners, and breaking rock on the rock pile?—A. No; the particular case I have reference to was a man who was at work for me.

Q. He was at work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear Mr. Solomon tell of that—of the men who were standing idle about town, and that had to be sent to work on the rock pile; or did you see anything of that yourself?—A. I know we have a good deal of that—yes, sir.

Q. Well, how long would it take a man to make a fortune in that way in Kansas?—A. A good while, sir, for any one with such habits, to make a living anywhere.

Q. So that you would advise such not to come to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; if they had the same kind of habits at the South, I certainly would not advise them, every time.

TESTIMONY OF RICHARD B. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 6, 1880.*

RICHARD B. MORRIS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Please state your full name and residence.—Answer. Richard B. Morris, Atchison, Kansas.

Q. What do you do there, Mr. Morris?—A. I am a banker there, sir.

Q. A national bank?—A. No, sir; I am connected with the Atchison Savings Bank.

Q. Banking on your own account?—A. Yes, sir; it is an incorporated company.

Q. Your politics are Democratic, perhaps?—A. Yes, sir; in politics I am a Democrat.

Q. How long have you lived in Atchison, Mr. Morris?—A. I have lived there about fifteen years.

Q. What do you say as to the probability of these people bettering their condition that are coming into your State at that point?—A. As a general thing, I do not think they are bettering themselves much.

Q. Have they got employment there?—A. Some of them have got employment, sir.

Q. Is there any demand there for this kind of labor?—A. Well, I think the supply for that kind of labor exceeds the demand; at least, at the present time it does, certainly.

Q. What is the public sentiment there, so far as you know, without respect to party, as to these people coming there?—A. It is universally against the exodus, regardless of party.

Q. And the public sentiment there upholds this order of your council?—A. Yes, sir; it does.

Q. You have never heard a person in Atchison speak against that order?—A. Not that I remember.

Q. Have you given this matter much attention, Mr. Morris?—A. Not a great deal, sir.

Q. Have you talked much, or any, with these people?—A. I had conversation with some of them—with only a few of those that came on that boat.

Q. That boat-load seemed to you to be a hard lot, did it?—A. Yes, sir; taken altogether.

Q. Where were they from, Mr. Morris?—A. From Mississippi, most some were from Louisiana; it was from Warren County, Mississippi where most of the Mississippians came from.

Q. Do you know who had chartered that boat that brought up that load to your town?—A. I do not know; we did not know anything about it till it got to Leavenworth, and I heard that there a city commissioner said he would not let the boat land, and offered \$250, I heard, to take the boat to Atchison. The boat came up, and did not even whistle, and dumped them off and pulled out. A lawyer brought suit, I understand, and some officers went down and tried to get the captain of the boat to take the load back, but he said that he had got his good money for landing them at Atchison, and he backed off and pulled out.

Q. And you have not seen that captain since?—A. O, yes; he has been up several times since.

Q. And brought more such boat loads?—A. O, no, sir; no more such cargoes.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLTON H. TANDY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 6, 1880*

CHARLTON H. TANDY (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. What is your full name, Mr. Tandy?—Answer. C. H. Charlton H., Tandy.

Q. Where do you reside, Mr. Tandy?—A. I reside in Saint Louis, Mo., sir.

Q. What connection, if any, have you had, Mr. Tandy, with this emigration of colored people from the Southern States into and through Saint Louis?—A. The first boat that landed at the wharf at Saint Louis landed in the latter part of February; I do not know the exact date in February when they landed.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. February of what year?—A. It was February of last year, sir, February, 1879.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was your attention called to it then?—A. I think I was the first colored man that paid any attention to it.

Q. How was your attention called to it?—A. I heard that there was a boat-load of about two hundred and fifty persons that had landed on the levee from Louisiana, and I was taken somewhat by surprise, not knowing of any such thing as an exodus, or that the colored people intended to leave, and naturally my attention was attracted in that direction as soon as I heard of their being there. I went down to the levee and it was in the afternoon then, I think, about between three and four o'clock. The snow was on the ground; it was very cold; I found two hundred and fifty of these people landed there, as it was reported to me. I did not actually count them; I asked parties in the company who

ere their numbers, and they said there were two hundred and fifty of em. A great many of them were very ill-clad; some of them had scarcely any shoes on their feet, and some of the children were bare-footed and just as they came off the cotton-fields, in their cotton clothes, very ill-prepared to meet the weather we then had in the city Saint Louis.

Q. What sort of weather was it?—A. It was cold. There was snow on the ground; the ground was covered with snow, and ice was in the streets, and it was very cold.

Q. What steps, if any, did you take with reference to these people?—
I went to work to get them in houses, and in the wharf boats, for the night, that they might have protection from the inclement weather, and made the best arrangements I could for them, for the time being. And the next morning I set about seeing what I could do to ameliorate their condition. They were without money; a good many of them in a destitute condition and suffering for the want of proper clothing to keep them warm and comfortable. A gentleman who was formerly secretary of the Mullanphey board wrote me a letter after finding out that these negroes were there, stating that under Mr. Mullanphey's will, bona fide emigrants, regardless of color, were entitled to some help from that board. I took twenty-five of these men and went to the board. I went and saw the secretary and the president, Mr. Hill, and he told me he didn't think under the will of Mr. Mullanphey that these men could receive any benefit from that board, and I persisted in seeing the board myself; and Mr. Hill told me if I would come back at three o'clock that I would have a chance to see the board. I told these men that I couldn't do anything for them then, but that I would come to the levee again at three o'clock, and then go with them up to this ward; and promptly at that time I went down to the levee, and went back to the board again. We sat there for about two hours. The board was just in session; and after the session was over, I expected to hear them broach the question of doing something for these people; and I found out they were about to adjourn the board; and I think Mr. Scruggs was a member of that board, and a Democrat, and I called Mr. Scruggs to the railing that divided the board and these men that I had with me, and I said to him, "Mr. Scruggs, I would like to say something to your board"; and he said, "I don't know, Mr. Tandy, whether you can or no; I will speak to the gentlemen and see if they will hear you." I said, "I only want five minutes to say something." Mr. Scruggs went back to ask the board not to adjourn till they had given me an opportunity to say something. I looked Mr. Scruggs right in the face, and with his eye right in mine he said, "Why do you look at me?" and I said, "I am reading the contour of the expression of your face; and I propose, sir, to direct my remarks directly to you, because I think I can approach you and get some help for these men that are in suffering condition." After I spoke to him, he said, "Sir, you have read my character correctly"; and he said, "Gentlemen, we must hear what he has to say." The ex-secretary of the board then stated that according to the will of Mr. Mullanphey these men were entitled, as bona fide emigrants, to some relief, and that the board had a right to succor them in the hour of their temptation; and they voted before that board adjourned, and I think the credit is due to Mr. Scruggs; I have no disposition to take from him what belongs to him. We got \$100 for their immediate necessities, and altogether we got some \$450 out of that board.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I desire to say

that after a careful examination, without being biased on one side or the other, it naturally led me to investigate the causes of this general emigration from the South—why it was that these people so suddenly came upon us, without our having any warning, and with no preparations to receive them whatever; and what were the causes that led to it. And I said to General Noble, who is ex-United States district attorney, that these people were coming here in such numbers, and it seemed that the thing was not going to stop and it was going to increase all the time—that I would like to know what the causes were. And Mr. Yeatmann of the sanitary commission during the war—a man known all over the United States—said that he had talked with many influential men and Mr. Yeatmann, I am authorized to say, was opposed to the exodus, but, in common with others, they wanted to find out the cause of the people coming. So I said to Mr. Yeatmann, “What must be done” and he said, “I don’t know, Tandy; but this thing ought to be investigated, that we may see why these people are coming. It is cold and a chilly weather here; the snow is on the ground; the weather is very inclement, and these people are only half clad, and seeing they have come to us thinking that we will receive them hospitably, I would like to know the cause of it all.” And that led me to investigate the cause of it. And I wish now to read to you gentlemen a memorial—

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. A memorial from whom?—A. From many of the best citizens who have in the city of Saint Louis.

Q. That don’t quite answer my question; I did not question the character of the citizens of Saint Louis. I wanted to know simply from whom the memorial comes.—A. It is from white citizens, reputable men of the city of Saint Louis.

Q. Well, that is an answer. To whom is the memorial addressed?—A. To Congress, and you, gentlemen, to investigate the causes of the exodus, to learn all about the reasons for it.

Q. Have you had this memorial presented to Congress?—A. No, sir; it has not been presented to Congress.

Q. Is it very lengthy?—A. No, sir; it is very short, and I will read it, if you will permit me.

(Witness reading:)

MEMORIAL OF CITIZENS OF SAINT LOUIS.

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

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

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

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

The weather from the first advent of these people in this northern city has been unusually cold, attended with ice and snow, so that the

erings have been greatly increased, and if there was in their hearts
ngle kind remembrance of their sunny southern homes, they would
urally give it expression now.

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

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

In the small number of affidavits taken the following murders are
ntioned:

Page (a smart man), killed at Waterproof, Miss., before Christmas,
8.

Witness, F. Marshall.

Boy (smart and could read the papers), shot to pieces in Franklin
ish.

Witness, Geo. Rogers.

Man of Washington Davenport killed at Vicksburg, at Republican club;
cksmith killed by Henderson in 1872.

Witness, R. D. Daniels.

Harry Curtis killed for hearing Radical speeches in 1876.

Witness, John Massey.

Negroes shot in the fields in Tensas Parish, La., after compromise,
8.

Killing in Franklin, Washington, and Tensas parishes. Not much in
dison.

Witness, Jet Gibbs.

Man by the name of Haffer and also the father and brother of Jacob
vens were killed in Hinds County, Mississippi, about two years ago.

Witness, Jacob Stevens.

The threats of personal violence by shooting and hanging are detailed
each witness.

Those who mention the political parties unite in calling the negroes
ublicans, and their oppressors Democrats.

Marshall states that when they went to the polls to vote, the white
n would not let the colored men vote, and said, if you go to the box to
the ballot in we will shoot you.

Clarence Winn says, if we voted the Republican ticket the Democrats
uld get up in a mob and kill us off. At last Presidential election,
er voting was done at Ravia, doors were broken open and ballots
en, and colored men in charge driven off.

James Brown says the agent of the place he rented of said, "Jim, we
going to carry this thing our own way; you — niggers had things
ur own way long enough, and we white folks are going to have it our
n way, or kill all you g—— d—— Republican niggers."

Lewis Wood says, "In Madison Parish, at the election last fall, we
re allowed to vote as we pleased, because the whites were afraid to
ne there on account of *the yellow fever*. In the adjoining parishes the
ored people were not allowed to vote the Republican ticket."

J. D. Daniels speaks of the Democrats throwing ballot-boxes in river in 1874, and says negroes could not hold their club meetings; negroes were Republicans.

John Massey says Democrats would give them tickets and say if they did not vote it they would kill us; times so bad colored man dare speak above his breath.

Daniel Parker says, Ed. Darby was a preacher, and was told if he told the people how to vote, he would be shot.

T. J. Watts says, "No Republican ticket nominated in June, 1878, cause Democrats would not allow it."

Jet Gibbs says, "Colored men were killed to prevent their voting Republican ticket."

Jacob Stevens says, "The condition of the colored people in South is awful bad; they are treated awful bad by the whites. My father and brother were killed by the whites about two years ago, cause they were Radicals. On election day if a black man got a Republican ticket to vote they would say he was spotted, and that meant they were going to kill him; they would not allow the colored people to vote as they wanted. After the men had killed my brother they went to the well to get a drink of water, and the water was muddy and they said to my mother, 'This water smells as if it had strychnine, and if it has you will smell hell for it.' The poor white people in the South are in just as bad condition as negroes, except being killed. Could I carry me back South again unless they would chain me."

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

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

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

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

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

The occasion is, we think, a fit one for us to protest against a state of affairs thus exhibited in those parts of the Union from which these

oes come, which is not only most barbarous toward the negro, but is destructive to the constitutional rights of all citizens of our common country.

The WITNESS. Now this memorial is signed by the following-named citizens of Saint Louis: Hon. L. S. Metcalfe, ex member of Congress; Hon. Gustavus St. Gem, surveyor of customs, at Saint Louis, Mo.; Hon. John F. Long, ex-surveyor of customs; Hon. Samuel Hays, postmaster Saint Louis; Hon. Enos Clarke, judge in bankruptcy; Hon. Nathaniel, ex-member of Congress and ex-mayor of Saint Louis; Hon. Henry Wyman, deputy collector at Saint Louis; Hon. William H. Bliss, United States district attorney; Hon. C. B. Drummoud, assistant district attorney; Hon. H. W. Leffingwell, United States marshal; Hon. J. A. Rosenblatt, collector of State, city, and school revenues; Hon. David P. Dyer, ex member of Congress; Hon. David Wagner, judge of supreme court of the State of Missouri (after which "Wagner's States" are named); Hon. J. B. Henderson, ex-United States Senator; George H. Shields, a prominent man in the city.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Missouri, he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. These are all Republicans that you have named?—A. O, no, sir; there are many Democrats here that have signed this memorial—prominent men of both parties, sir. Rev. T. M. Post, one of the most prominent ministers in the city and State; Samuel Knox, a prominent lawyer Saint Louis; B. R. Bonner; Jacob S. Merrell, a very wealthy man in the city, worth, it is said, about two millions of dollars; M. Dwight Coler, another very wealthy gentleman there, whom nearly everybody in Saint Louis knows, and who is said to be worth about six millions of dollars; W. F. Cozzens—you know him, Mr. Chairman; I had the pleasure of hearing you on the case with him and Judge McKimm there; Daniel O'Connor, J. H. Clark, William S. Pope, Henry Hitchcock, Isaac T. Sturgeon, collector of internal revenue for the first district of Missouri; Allen Shepard, J. M. Semple, Edward T. Sturgeon, Robert J. Tomboner, John M. Krumm, C. W. Vord, J. H. Lightner, president of city council of Saint Louis; Thomas C. Fletcher, ex-governor of Missouri; A. G. Edwards, assistant United States treasurer; L. S. Metcalfe, jr., John W. Noble, ex-United States district attorney; W. S. Woods, Rufus Champion—he is the United States pension agent there, and a Democrat, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Not much of a Democrat, I judge, if he is United States pension agent.

Mr. BLAIR. I rather think not.

The WITNESS. Hon. John F. Dillon, judge of the United States circuit court; everybody knows him.

The CHAIRMAN. We all know who he is, only he is not district judge now; he has resigned.

Mr. WINDOM. He was when he signed the memorial.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are almost all office holders, Mr. Tandy, in the list you have got there.

The WITNESS. O, no, sir; here is the editor of a German paper in Saint Louis, E. Feiltvieller, and Henry Feuerbach, and Hon. G. A. Inkelburg, ex-member of Congress, and Wm. McKee, president of the Globe Printing Company, and Hon. Louis Gottschalk, a German, ex-member of Congress; J. B. Brehfolshem, Truman A. Post, James B. Reggie, deputy United States marshal; Chester H. Krum, David Powers,

president board of assessors; A. Vallee, C. W. Irwin, recorder of deeds; William Patrick, Edward Morrison, Henry G. Isaacs, superintendent of the new custom-house and post-office; Joseph Crawshaw, member of the city council; and Frank Backot, member of the city council; Mayor Henry Overholtz, a Democratic mayor of the city of Saint Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. O, no; he isn't. Go on.

The WITNESS. Well, he was nominated for mayor. I was there when he was nominated. A. J. Smith, George Kissel, William E. Raymond, Isaac M. Mason, Frank J. Conway, D. T. Jewett, J. L. Griswold, J. Carter, of the Pullman Palace-Car Company; Charles Pryor, N. Harris, D. M. Houser, one of the proprietors of the Globe-Democrat of Saint Louis.

Mr. VANCE. A Republican paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Grant's paper.

John C. Orrick, Fred. W. Schaurte, Frank Burnett, Chas. H. Wymore, John R. Shepley, a conservative, and one of the most wealthy and prominent men in the city; Charles E. Yeatman, N. C. Hudson, Nelson Young, Jno. C. H. D. Bloch, James E. Withrow, E. L. Adreon, comptroller of the city of Saint Louis; A. R. Easton, Dr. I. H. McLean, Lewis B. Beach, circuit attorney; Emory S. Foster, Eugene Weiget, Wills H. Blodgett, Charles Parsons, J. H. Blair, W. L. Hunt, John S. Cavindio, George McCosh, M. D.; W. Patrick, E. H. Long, C. N. Harris, Rev. John Turner, Rev. Moses Dickson, John William Taylor, William P. Dye.

And then follows a list of prominent colored men, Parker, and Prentiss, and Carter, and Fields, and Wilson, editor of the Saint Louis Tribune, and other names that I will not detain you in reading now, but they can go with the memorial. You can see from the names I have read the character of the memorialists.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. How many names in all are signed to this memorial?—A. I should judge there are about seventy to eighty names there, and all signed by each one for himself; there is the original memorial and there are the men's own signatures.

(The remaining names signed to the memorial follow :) John H. Johnson, C. E. Parker, Rev. Simon P. Anderson, pastor of the Eighth street Baptist Church; J. H. Jones, grand master of the United Brotherhood of Friendship; Chas. W. Prentice, Sandy Mix, D. Prince, Charlton Tandy, J. W. Wheeler, W. H. Stanton, J. Milton Turner, J. W. Wilson, J. A. Sampson, M. T. Teackle, George Tanner, David D. Goin, James W. Grant, Charles H. Wheeler, Anthony Brown, H. C. Lannier, R. Watson, James W. Johnson, Col. Frank Robeson, James S. Cole, Bever Jackson, Anthony Lawson, A. Johnson.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You say that the statement of the signers of that memorial is based upon affidavits taken at the time?—A. Yes, sir; I have here the affidavits themselves as taken by these persons, and if the chairman desires I would like to put these affidavits in. I came here basing my opinion on a very careful investigation, as I have just said, and without being prejudiced one way or the other, to find out the cause that produced the effect; and I hold in my hand the affidavits of these men sworn and subscribed to, with the seal of the State of Missouri upon each one of them, and you gentlemen of the committee can examine them for yourselves, or I will read them.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as the affidavits are concerned, whatever Mr. Windom or Mr. Blair want to have in shall go in; I have no objection.

t; but as they cover the same points, I do object to the reading of
 m all on account of the time it will consume.

Mr. BLAIR Suppose, Mr. Tandy, that you select one or two of these
 lavits and read them to give us an idea of what they are, and then
 will let them all go in.

The WITNESS. Here is one that I will read as a sample of the whole
 them.

Witness reading :)

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss :

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before
 the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State
 resaid, came Edward Parlor, who, being duly sworn, gave the follow-
 statement of facts :

My name is Edward Parlor; my age is sixty-three years. I have been
 ing in Warren County, Mississippi, for the past few years. Made a
 y poor living. All that I made the white folks took from me. The
 ored people could not vote there as they pleased; could not vote the
 ublican ticket. Last year in cotton-ginning time on Berge's place a
 n by the name of Phil. Taylor got in a dispute about his cotton at the
 -house and a man by the name of Groom shot him dead right at the
 -house door. I have heard of colored people being shot there. At
 and Gulf I was informed that a white club there was stopping the
 ored people from going to Kansas, and that there was 35 white men
 the club. They went to the house of a colored man at Grand Gulf
 om they heard was going to Kansas, and were going to kill him, but
 made his escape. The man's wife was there at the house in a deli-
 e state of health, and they asked her if she was going to Kansas, and
 e said she was, and they took her and hung her, and while she was
 aging she had a baby right under the gallows. Two of the men who
 onged to the club when they saw this turned to the others and said,
 "This is too bad," and went and reported the men who did it. I would
 t go back to the South again. Before I would do it I would walk up
 d down the streets here and pick up the crusts. I have this year
 lked up and down the yard at my house hungry and with nothing in
 e house, and prayed the Lord to send me something to eat. I have
 r wife with me. I don't think I have money enough to get to Kansas.
 vant to go to Kansas because I want to go to a free country where I
 n be free. I want to farm it there. I don't know where in Kansas I
 all go.

his
 EDWARD + PARLOR.
 mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D., at
 int Louis, Mo.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

The WITNESS. I desire, Mr. Chairman, to state that I have gone into
 is matter with the desire to investigate it without bias and prejudice,
 ply to get at the truth, and I make this remark directly to you, be-
 use I have noticed your spirit of fair dealing with the witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. I have tried to deal fairly with them.

The WITNESS. And I pay you that compliment, sir. I have taken a
 eat deal of pains to get at the truth in this matter, and I do not think

it can be said of me successfully that I have in any way entered into anything with a spirit of prejudice. I have desired only the truth, and I have desired that my race should live on amicable terms with the white people, and I have always tried to help the white man and the colored man to come to an understanding, and I think the Democrats of my city and State will bear me out in this. General Cockrell, in the United States Senate, and General Hatch in the House, will bear me out in my statements that I make to you, and I don't make them for any other reason than I believe without gainsaying that the outrages that have been perpetrated upon the colored people of the South have been inhuman and are a blur upon the escutcheon of this country. I do not propose to say here, sir, that there are not honorable men in the Democratic party in the North and in the South. There are honorable men in the Democratic party, and I want it distinctly understood that I make this assertion here, and I undertook to investigate this thing in order to find out where the cause was, and if the cause lies at the door of the Democratic party that you will lay it there. Therefore I propose to offer the affidavits and to make these statements and give you my impressions and belief.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You wish to put all these affidavits in ?—A. Yes, sir ; for they are all sworn and subscribed to. I was with every man when he made an affidavit, and Mr. Smith here will testify to that, for he was with me when they did it.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. I will ask you whether all the parties making these affidavits were with you when they were sworn to, and whether they understood the contents of them and knew them to be substantially their own statements ?—A. O, yes, sir ; they are given in their own language, without having them say one thing or another, without insisting on their speaking on one side or another, but to give just the facts as they knew them and could swear to them, and these are the affidavits they made :

AFFIDAVITS OF REFUGEES.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, Charles Rogers, and, being duly sworn, made the following statement :

My name is George Rogers ; my age is thirty years ; I have been living for the last few years in Madison Parish, La. ; moved there in 1875. I was farming there ; I rented the land and paid 90 pounds of lint cotton to the acre ; that was equal to about \$10 an acre ; I rented from 15 to 20 acres ; I would usually raise a bale of cotton to the acre, 450 pounds a bale ; I didn't make anything at all. The white people would take all I raised. I have a wife and three children with me ; I scarcely make enough to feed them ; if I did, the white folks would get it. I left the South because I was afraid of the white people ; afraid of being shot or killed or badly wounded ; I have seen white people going around at night in Franklin Parish in disguise killing the colored people and robbing them ; a lady in Franklin who had a son about eighteen years of age whom I saw, had her son murdered ; I went past her house the next morning and saw the son ; he was shot all to pieces and was dead ; he was a smart boy and read the papers, and the white people there would

ow that; she said there was about 25 or 30 people come in there that
ht, and when they first came in, as this was the only man kind in
re, they made after him first, and she hallared when they made after
a and told them he was the only son she had, and do not kill him;
y paid no attention to her, but went and shot him right down; the
n were disguised in kluklux form. When they first shot him he
and was not killed, and they went off a little ways and his mother
menced to talk to him and he said, "Don't talk so much; they will
r you and come back and kill me." They heard the talking and came
k, and found the door locked and burst it in, and this time they shot
e and shot him all to pieces and made sure of it.

I intend to go to Kansas, to Topeka; I have not the means to get
re; I only had money enough to get to Saint Louis. I want to go to
nsas because I heard it was a good country and I could get my own
ng; I had hardly the showing of a dog in the South; about 50 came
he crowd I came; we came by boat. I intend to go to Kansas when
an get money enough to get there or get help to get there. While I
s in Madison Parish I lived two years on Major Lucas' place, presi-
nt of the board of police, and I made good crops on his place both
rs, but he would take the cotton to his gin to gin it and would never
urn it. I never made the price of a bale of cotton on his place; I
d to have the cotton ginned at his gin; couldn't have it done at any
er place. When you rent land in the South you have to have it
ned at the gin of the owners of the land; that is the rule all through
South, and in this way they take all the cotton from the colored
ple. I never got a bale of cotton ginned for less than \$6.

his
GEORGE + ROGERS.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, Saint Louis, Mo.

My name is Jet Gibbs; I have lived at Madison Parish, La., below
cksburg; lived there fifteen years; my occupation was making cotton
d corn to get something to eat. I rented land from land-owners—
ite gentlemen. I paid \$10 an acre last year and the year before; I
d more than \$10 an acre. When I picked out a bale of cotton and
ought it to his gin he charged me \$4 for ginning one bale of it. A
od year we would turn out a bale or a bale and a quarter to an acre,
d in real good seasons, when not too much rain, turn out a bale and
half to an acre. If we had to pay \$10 per year and got poor crops
had hard work to live. Last year I had only four bales on 16 acres;
erybody's crop failed; I didn't make one-third of a crop. My object
coming from the South was, we had been renting the land from the
d-owners; some years we could make a good crop and could clear
nothing; and then again we could make nothing and they would
ke it all—I mean, that when we realized enough from the cotton we
id the rent in money, but when there was not cotton enough the land-
ners took all the cotton and left us nothing. Last year the land-
ner took all the cotton I raised and left me nothing and I still owed
n \$23.38, and he told me he would wait for that until the coming fall.
ad a wagon and team, and some hogs, chickens, and a couple of

milk-cows; I had corn that I raised and took it to the mill and ground, and that made my flour, and sometimes, when I wanted more I would take my team and go to Delta and cut wood and sell it, and that is the only way I could get it. We tried to have the rent of the land reduced to \$5 or \$6 an acre, but they would consent only to a reduction of \$2—that is, \$8 per acre; and we said it wasn't low enough, and they said they would put us out on the levee, and we said we would go.

The place where I lived in Louisiana there wasn't much killing there, but in Franklin Parish, Ouachita Parish, Tensas Parish, all in Louisiana, there was a heap of killing done there—white men killing colored men to prevent their voting the Republican ticket. I know of a great deal of killing, because so many colored men came from those places to Morehouse Parish, where I lived, who said they left because they were afraid of their lives. There was a man come from Ouachita Parish right after Christmas, or before Christmas, '78, named Tom McClendon. I had to board him at my house during the biggest snow we had in winter. He was afraid to go back home, and had run off and left his wife and three children, and crop of cotton and corn, because of being afraid of being killed.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 19th day of March, 1876, before me, the undersigned, appeared Jet Gibbs, and, being duly sworn, gave the statement hereinabove contained.

his
JET + GIBBS
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 19th day of March, 1879, at Saint Louis,
[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, notary public within and for the city and State above named, appeared Clarence Winn, and, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Clarence Winn. I have lived for the past few years around Delta, about 3 miles back on Crane's place, in Madison Parish, La. I rented from 10 to 12 to 20 acres of land; paid \$10 an acre rent per year. For the last three or four years I have rented no more than 10 acres; raised cotton and corn mostly. I didn't scarcely make a living at all; the price of cotton being so low and the rent so high. I have to pay \$4 a bale for ginning the cotton. We paid the person we rented the land of \$4 a bale for ginning the cotton. We had been paying \$5 per bale for ginning, but they had recently reduced it one dollar. The expense of the acre of ground there was from \$15.50 to \$16 expense. We were getting not more than \$25 to \$31 to \$32 a bale for the cotton. A good crop year would yield a bale to the acre; but lately it got so we could not raise a bale to the acre.

The reason I left the South was I could make nothing. If I had stayed there I would have starved, and I was afraid of my life. I have never seen any shooting, but have seen men who had come right from the South. The shooting was mostly done in Franklin and Morehouse Parishes.

Louisiana, adjoining the Parish of Madison. I have talked with these men who had run away from these parishes. One of the men's names was Erin Jackson. We could never vote as we wanted. If we voted the Republican ticket the Democrats would get up a mob and kill us off. At the last Presidential election, after the voting was done at Ravia, a little station about 35 or 40 miles from Delta, in Morehouse Parish, 25 or 30 men burst in the doors and took the ballots and would have killed the colored men—H. W. Jackson, Nathan Brooks, and H. P. Palmer—who had charge of the ballot-boxes, if they could have caught them; but they ran off; they got the pistols away from them.

My aim is to go to Kansas if I can get away and get there. I have not a little money, I guess enough to pay my way. I want to go to Topeka. I have a wife and two children along with me. I heard people in the South say we could make a good living in Kansas. The land-owners didn't want us to leave the South, and did all they could to prevent us. They would take the bedding and anything they could get a hold of, and say they held them for rent. I was never able to buy anything to eat, for didn't have any money.

his
CLARENCE + WINN.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss :

On this 19th day of March, 1879, before me, a notary public, appeared Curtis Pollard, who, being first duly sworn, made the following statement of facts :

My name is Curtis Pollard. My age, sixty-nine years. I have lived in Madison Parish, Louisiana, for fifteen years. My occupation was farming, and during the fifteen years I served six years in the senate and legislature. I rented land at \$10 an acre. I raised cotton and corn and vegetables. For four years I made a very good living. The last few years, the big rains and overflows, didn't make anything; not enough to make rent. The land-owners made no reduction; made us pay the rent if it took everything we had.

My object in leaving the South was on account of threats of my life; I was accused of teaching the people to immigrate to Kansas. Several of the Democratic citizens, John Bradfield, a seed broker, living in the town of Delta, told me if that could be proven to be the fact, on March 1, 1879, that my neck would be broke! He told me that right on the streets before a large crowd. Dr. Hamilton made his threats right in presence of the captain of the boat when I was getting my ticket to go aboard. Dr. Gibbs, in Delta, advised me to leave there, for I would certainly sure be killed. About the middle of February, 1879, two men came to my house, one of them cut very bad, from Richland Parish; they were cut to pieces, pretty bad; they said the bulldozers had got a hold of them for wanting to go to Kansas, and had pretty nearly killed them, and I asked them how many men was there, and they said twelve; I asked them if they knew any of the white men in the company, and they said they did; he said their names were one Joe Thomson and

John France, and they finally succeeded in getting away from them and come on down to Delta; one of them had a wife and four children the other a wife and two children.

The talk about going to Kansas where I lived, I supposed, was caused by my getting hold of a couple of maps and showing them to the people. I intend to go to Kansas, to Topeka; I intend to go there on a farm.

The condition of the colored people down South for the past few years has been very bad, the ill-treatment by the white men; no matter how good a crop you made, you can't make anything.

CURTIS POLLARD

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19th day of March, 1878.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,

Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss :

On the 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came Levi Childs, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of fact:

My name is Levi Childs; my age is thirty-three years; I have been living at Madison Parish, Louisiana, for the past six years; I was a huntsman; for the last two or three years made a very rough living. The white people down in that part of the country allowed the colored people no showing at all; what you brought them they paid you no money for at all, nothing but trade, and charged big prices for the things they gave in trade.

I left the South because I couldn't make a living there, and because I was afraid of being shot. I saw a man they were after in the next morning to where I lived; they had been in a fuss with him the day before that night; I saw them when they came to his house; it was about five months before Christmas, 1878; there was about seventy-five men; they surrounded the house; they were armed, I suppose, with muskets, from what I could see—it was dark. I heard the noise before they got there, and with some other men went into the man's house (his name was George Page), and took him away down to the swamp and hid him in a brush pile; after we got him away we went to the house and went to the door, and they asked us if he was there, and we told them no, and they told us to tell him they would give him 12 hours to leave the parish, and 24 hours to leave the State. He had been farming there and they wanted to attach his yoke of oxen for debts, they said, and he wasn't willing to give them up, and they told him if he wasn't willing to give them up they would kill him; he said he didn't owe them anything. I haven't seen him since. He left there right away, and I suppose he got away. They were making up companies and killing men in different places, and I thought if I didn't leave they would kill me too. I intend to go to Kansas; I have no means to get there with me; I have no family along with me; I have a wife and two children down South; I brought my parents along with me; I would not go back to the South again.

his
LEVI + CHILDS
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,

Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, James Brown, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is James Brown; my age is about thirty years; have been living in Madison Parish, Louisiana, since 1873; have been farming on land for the first year, and balance of time I leased forty acres and paid twenty pounds lint cotton per acre; I paid \$9 per bale for ginning and hauling to the man I rented from; I made a poor living, and had to pay from \$25 to \$30 per barrel for pork; we raised our own corn, but if we were short of corn we had to pay from seventy-five cents to a dollar per bushel; they would give us from thirty-five to forty cents a bushel for our own and charge us seventy-five cents to a dollar for it when buying; from 1873 to seven to eight and a half cents per pound was paid us for cotton; in all we made a very poor living; never could make any money; could just live and that was all.

I left the South because I didn't have the privilege of voting as I desired to; because we would go to the polls and they would tell us if we voted the Republican ticket we never would come back on their place any more. Mr. Bradley, the agent on the place I rented, told me in June and July, 1878, he said, "Brown, by God, if you go to the polls I want you to cast the right ticket"; and I asked him what ticket he wanted me to vote, and, says he, "Jim, we are going to carry this thing our way, and God damn niggers have had this thing your own way long enough, but we white folks are going to have it our own way or kill out all you damned dam Republican niggers," and told me I was one of the leading niggers. We were always scared to speak for our rights; we would speak up for it, and if they didn't give it we didn't dare try and get it; if we went against the law with them they would beat us in spite of all we could do. We saw papers down South stating the government had furnished land for settlement in Kansas, and was giving us free transportation from Saint Louis and charging us \$4 a head from Vicksburg to Saint Louis, and that some railroads in Kansas would furnish us land and allow us four payments, but the government would allow us five payments; that is, allow us four and five years to pay for it. I would never go South again; I never intend to go there again; I had enough money to get here with, but I have no money to get to Kansas with; I have a wife and three orphan children; I can't say what portion of Kansas I will go to. I have my mother-in-law with me, and she has five or six children with her; she has no husband.

his
JAMES + BROWN
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, a notary public

within and for the city and State above mentioned, came J. D. Daniel, who, being duly sworn, made the following statement of facts:

My name is J. D. Daniel; my age is forty-five years; I am from Warren County, Mississippi; I was a blacksmith, and sometimes farmed it; I made two crops down there; couldn't make a living—I got along the hardest way; didn't have clothes to wear; I have a wife and five children along with me. I left the South because I couldn't make a living there, and couldn't vote as I wanted to; because the planters on whose lands we were made us vote as they wanted, or we would have to leave their places; we couldn't hold our club meetings on account of the white people coming in on us, and they had come on us several times; when in Vicksburg, they came in on our club and killed Washington Davenport's son; it was in the night, and they shot him and then burned him; I was out in the street at the time; my mother took us in the next morning and showed us where they had killed him and burned him up and carried him out; Andrews and Grimes were the men who did it, who live in Vicksburg; the mother of the young man said they did it; they were not disguised at the time; they were the only men who went into the house, but there were more men on the outside; it was dark at the time, and I could only just see the men passing; we all got scared and broke and run; I was constantly afraid of my life; I was threatened a week ago Friday night, a week from last Friday night; Mr. George Simerell told me if I was going to Kansas, he would move me out of his room, and I took him at his word and went; he went to Newtown, and some of my friends came and told me I had better hurry or I wouldn't get off. Mr. Bob Henderson killed a colored blacksmith there in 1872; never known what for; killed him in a store. The colored men can't make anything there, for the white owners have their own stores and gin houses on their own plantations in order to catch all the cotton on each place, and the tillers of the soil can't get their cotton ginned at any other place or buy their supplies at any other place; paying from 80 pounds of lint to 90 pounds per acre; selling the barrels of pork from \$15 to \$30 per barrel; have known them to sell it as high as \$40 per barrel, and have bought it at that price; corn meal \$6.50 per barrel on time; flour \$13 and \$14 per barrel, and everything else in that proportion; so they keep the colored men in a low condition all the time.

In 1874, in the third district of Warren County, Mississippi, the colored people held a meeting to instruct each other how to vote, two days before the voting, and we all voted the Republican ticket, as we had been generally doing, and the other party robbed the ballot-box, going to Vicksburg, and threw it in the river. It was found in the river between Newtown and Davis' Bend, and then we were not allowed from that time to now to use our own judgment in voting. I want to go to Kansas because I think we can do better there. I have some papers from Kansas that tells us that we can do better. I would not go back to the South again. I have not the means to get to Kansas. I will have to work here until I get the money or my friends help me. I have been stopping with friends on Cherry street since coming here.

J. D. DANIEL

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS.

Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss :

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, Notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, Daniel Parker, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts :

My name is Daniel Parker; my age is about twenty-nine years; I have been living for the last few years on Widow Crane's place, about 3 miles from Delta, La.; made a very bad living; paying \$10 an acre rent; colored people in the South received no favors at all from the white people; the reason I left the South was we had organized a club to get reduction in rent, and I had been made president of the club, on Widow Crane's place; I was accused of teaching the people to leave the South, and I heard that threats had been made against my life; I was afraid they would make way with me at night; a young man who had lived next me moved in Tensas Parish, told me that the bulldozers along August or September, 1878, came into that parish and killed and mangled men there just for fun; his name was Ed. Dabny; I said, "do you go round there now and tell the people how to vote?" and he said no, he had taken to preaching now—if he told the people how to vote there would be a man short there." I asked him if there wasn't enough colored men there to keep the white people from bullying them, and he said no, they had no protection at all. After the war in Tensas Parish he said the Democrats compromised the matter with the colored people and the colored men went to work again, and while they were in the fields the white men, to the number of 200, mounted on horses, went around and broke into their houses and took their guns and came into the fields and shot and hung some of the men, and they were all scared to stay there, because they have got no protection. I want to go to Topeka, Kans.; my wife and two children are now in Madison Parish; I had to leave without them; if I had tried to start with them there would have been a fuss; there was a large crowd of people on the bank, and after they found out the colored people were going to leave they took all the bedclothes and things they could find from them; the land-owners in the South did everything they could to prevent us from leaving; if they see you leaving they will make you give an account of yourself, where you are going and when you are coming back.

DANIEL PARKER.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, at Saint Louis, Mo.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,

Notary Public, City of St Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of St. Louis, ss :

On this 20th day of March, 1879, before me, the undersigned, a Notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, came Lewis Woods, who, being duly sworn, made the following statement of facts :

My name is Lewis Woods; my age, about forty-two years old; I have been living in Madison Parish, La., for the past eight years; I have been farming the best part of the time; I paid \$10 an acre for 10 acres,

and the last year I only rented 8 acres; I was constable there for two years; I made a very bad living there, because I was charged so high for rent and provisions that at the end of the year the land-owners had it all; the colored men received very bad treatment from the white; it was becoming so the colored people dare not express an opinion against the whites. About two weeks before I started, they asked if I was going away, and I told them I was; I was talking to D Gibbs, who I owed \$4 for medicine and wasn't able to pay, and he said "If you don't mind you will be put to trouble before you get away from here." I told him I couldn't help it; and I was told a week ago last Sunday night by some of my friends that I had better go to Vicksburg; I went over to Vicksburg on Sunday and staid there all night, and I went to Delta on Monday morning, and the sheriff was there with a warrant for my arrest; he arrested me and I went before the squire, and they failed to prove their charge; I was released and moved my family aboard the boat as quick as I could and staid aboard the boat.

About four weeks ago, two colored men, Lee and Foreman Crossby were told to leave the place, and they went away; they said they were persuading the blacks to move away from there.

In Madison Parish, at the election last fall, we were all allowed to vote as we pleased, because the whites were afraid to come there on account of the yellow fever; in the adjoining parishes the colored people were not allowed to vote the Republican ticket.

I left the South because I didn't feel myself safe and couldn't make a living; I would by no means go back to the South; I want to go to Kansas; I haven't got the means to go there; I have a wife and four little children with me. We had to carry the cotton to the gin of the man who owned the land we rented, and he would take it all from us. I have seen people from Franklin Parish who said that it was a very common thing to see a colored man killed and hung to a tree; that they had seen it themselves.

LEWIS WOODS.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss ;

On this 22d day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned came Emile Auspitz, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Emile Auspitz; my age is thirty-two years. For the past few years I have been living in the State of Texas and Louisiana. I was clerking and peddling through the country, so I had a good opportunity of seeing the treatment received by the colored people down South. The condition of the colored people there is very low; if they go into a store they get cheated, and if they deal with the planters they get cheated. On election days the Democrats are at the polls with arms and prevent the colored men from voting. During the past year through the different parishes in Louisiana colored people have been killed by the white people; I have seen it with my own eyes. During the last Presidential election at Columbus, Tex., one stock dealer killed two

ored men, and was never arrested; killed them for not voting the
ket he gave them; they were in his employ. I saw these men killed
self. I was standing next to the white man.

Last fall in Saint James Parish, Louisiana, I saw white men standing
the polls with cocked revolvers, and they wouldn't let the niggers
ne there. I have seen shooting there at Saint James Parish during
t same election; white men shooting niggers. When a colored man
rks a plantation on shares, and raises, say, eight bales of cotton, the
nter sells it, and not the negro, and he will cheat him in saying the
ight of the bales were less than they really were; and when he goes
get his money from the store of the planter he buys his provisions
d other articles, and is cheated in the weight, &c.

My opinion is that the colored people are doing right in leaving the
uth, and that the South will be ruined when they do go, because the
ite men can't do the work the niggers do in the field. There are
ousands of acres in Louisiana lying idle without any crops, because
e owners won't rent the land at reasonable rates. The planters charge
o much rent to the niggers, and before giving it to them cheaper they
d let the land lay idle. I left from New Orleans about three weeks
o. I intend to return to the South again in the winter.

EMILE AUSPITZ.

Subscribed and sworn to this 22d day of March, 1879.

[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss :

On this 20th day of March, 1879, before me came Frederick Marshall,
no, being duly sworn, made the following statement of facts :

My name is Frederick Marshall; my age is fifty-three years. I have
en living the past few years at Natchez, Miss.; been living there
out six years, making cotton; rented about 10 acres of land of a
dow woman; paid two bales of cotton to ten acres, 450 pounds in
e bale; this would be equal to about \$10 per acre. We made a tol-
able good living for a while, until the bushwackers came in and com-
enced shooting.

Just before Christmas, 1878, three or four men came to my house
kill me, and I run out of the way; just before daylight they came
ere and wanted matches; after they came in the house I ran out doors
d staid out the rest of the night; they went away; didn't know the
en; they said they would kill me, and had a rope round my neck, and
id they were going to kill all the smart men, and I told them I didn't
now anything.

I know a man by the name of Page who was killed at Water Proof,
a. I was there at the time he was shot, and saw him shot; they shot
boy off the house, some relation of Page; that was in the morning;
ey said Page was one of the smart men; there were some fifteen or
enty white men in the crowd who did the killing; I was afraid of my
e all the time, and that is the reason I left the South. When you get
the polls to vote the white men won't let the colored men vote, and say
we go to the box to put the ballot in they will shoot us. I had to go
me place where I could work without being afraid of my life, and
ard Kansas was a good place; I have a wife along with me; no
ildren; I want to go wherever they send me; some place to work.

I have a little money ; not enough to get there. I wouldn't go back to the South again.

FREDERICK ^{his} + MARSHALL
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of March, A. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came T. Watts, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is T. J. Watts ; my age is twenty-nine years ; I have lived Vicksburg, Miss., during the past two years ; kept a saloon, 243 Washington street ; the condition of the colored people down there, as far as I know, was very bad. I was the first man who called a meeting of the colored people, over my saloon, in June, 1878, and I organized a club called the "Auxiliary Club," and I was elected president, and it came out in the Herald to brighten up their needle guns ; they knew not what reason the niggers were organizing ; and from the tone of the paper I wrote a letter the next day to C. E. Wright, editor of the Vicksburg Herald, and took it down there personally, to let him know I didn't intend to organize a Republican party because I was afraid. A few days after W. H. Andrews, a merchant down there, called a meeting to strike the colored people and not allow them to vote in the coming election. There was no Republican ticket nominated for the city election in June, because the Democrats would allow no ticket to be nominated ; they would not even allow a caucus to be held, and the colored people were afraid to attempt it. I heard of the riot over in Tensas Parish in the fall of 1878, at the abatement of the yellow fever. I heard that there was a meeting of the colored people over there to get a reduction in the rent, and the white people heard of the meeting and tried to get away with those who attended the meeting, and some of the colored men were killed. A colored lady named Laura Lewis, who taught school about 7 miles from Bovina, told me that she had to fly for her life, and left her bonnet and shawl in the school room, and her dress was torn and wet with dew by coming through the cotton fields ; all occasioned by her expressing her opinion of the grievances of the colored people. A person in the South dare not express an opinion against the Democrats.

My object is to go to Kansas, to Topeka. My purpose in leaving the South now was occasioned by an advertisement I saw in the Vicksburg Herald, to the effect notifying all parties that furnished information to encourage immigration to Kansas if they were not spotted they would be, and when they were found out they would find that that climate would be made too hot for them. The date was between the third and ninth of this month. I read it myself in the Herald. I have the means to go to Kansas.

T. J. WATTS.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss :

On this 24th day of March, 1879, before me came Jacob Stevens, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts :

My name is Jacob Stevens. I reckon I am about twenty-two years old. Last year I lived in Hinds County, Mississippi. I have been working there raising cotton and corn. I rented, together with my oldest brother and sister, about forty acres. We paid about \$10 an acre in rent. We just lived and breathed along. Could barely live and that was all. The condition of the colored people in the South is awful bad. They are treated awful bad by the white people. I left the South because I couldn't make a living and was treated so badly by the whites, and the white people got so they would kill the colored people up. I think about two years ago, in September, on Sidney Whitehead's place, Orange County, Mississippi, my brother Ike and my father were shot in my presence. The white people had been over to a Mr. Hoffer's place and killed him on the same place; I reckon about good daylight. They killed him because he held in with the black people. He was a white man, and I and my brother were over to Mr. Hoffer's house that day, and as we came home, going across a little cotton patch, and as we got near to the house, some of the women who were with us said "here comes the white folks;" and as they said that my brother walked ahead of me and I followed on after him pretty pertly, and we got within about ten steps of the door, I suppose, when they said "Halt, you damn sons of bitches;" and we didn't exactly halt, and stepped a few steps further, and the white folks commenced shooting, and they shot my brother in the neck and burnt his shirt collar, he was so close to the ground; and after they shot him he fell and raised and went a step further, and they shot him right through the side and killed him; he said, "O, Lord;" that was all he said. The white folks came up and turned him over with their feet after he was dead. My father was in the house and they made him open the door and come out; they led him out to about the middle of the yard, and told him to stop there and told him to tell them all he knowed (I reckon they meant the club), and he told them he didn't know nothing about it; and the captain or man who had him said, "I don't believe he knows anything about it," and said, "Bring the old Radical son of a bitch out here in the road," and got him out there and led him on the bank, right side of the fence, and the captain said, "If I don't know anything about it, he is the damndest old son of a bitch in this country." At this time my mother was crying and begging them, so they told her to go away, and took my father on up the road, I think about 125 yards, and took him into the woods on the right-hand side of the road, and I heard the guns, and the people went up there and found my father lying right side of the stump; he was dead. He was shot all through the head and side with bullets and buckshot. He was shot to pieces. There were some seventy-five white men in the crowd. They had no disguises. I think it was about the middle of the day. They shot my father because he was a Radical. There was nothing ever done about the shooting. I knew John Whitehead and Ross Whitehead, who were in the crowd. On election days if a black man got a Republican ticket to vote they would say he was spotted, and that meant they were going to kill you. They wouldn't allow the colored people to vote as they wanted. About a year ago my brother-in-law was shot in Orange County, Mississippi. He got talking with a man who owed him four dollars, and he told the man he owed him 50 cents, and he said he didn't

and went on, and about 3 miles from home my brother was shot by him. He came right up along side of my brother, on horseback, and did not say anything at all, but shot him right in the side and broke two ribs but didn't kill him. There was nothing ever said to him for the shooting. After the men had killed my brother, they went to the well and got a drink of water and the water was muddy, and they said this water smells as if it had strychnine, and if it has you will smell hell for it, they said that to my mother.

The poor white people in the South are in just as bad a condition as the negroes, except the whites won't kill them.

Reason I leave the South is because I can't make a living there, and I can't get my rights. What I mean by that is, if I owe a man a dollar I am to pay, and if a man owes me a dollar he is to pay me; and if I owe a man a dollar, he is not to take everything I have for it; and if a man owes me, he isn't to kill me for it.

I am going to Kansas. I understand Kansas is a country part timber and part prairie, and that you will have a hard time for the first year, and that there are government and railroad lands there; that they don't take much to keep me. I can manage to work and earn something, and have earned something already since I left Mississippi. I think I am too good a man to stay down there and be killed, and I do intend to do it.

Couldn't carry me back South again unless they would chain me and carry me back. My people are there, and I would like to see them, but I can't go back. I don't think my people will ever get out of the South because the people are getting so bad.

The white people at first said they didn't care how many negroes left the South, but when they saw so many leaving they are doing everything in their power to prevent it. I left the South about seven weeks ago.

his
JACOB + STEVENS
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss :

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned notary public within and for the city of Saint Louis, State of Missouri, came John Massey, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts :

My name is John Massey. I have lived for the last ten years west of Edwards depot, Hines County, Mississippi. I farmed it; for the last three years I leased 25 acres of land; for the last year I paid two barrels of cotton for it. I didn't make anything but make out a living. The general treatment received by the colored people from the whites is bad. I left the South because I couldn't make a living there, and because we had no rights. On election days we were compelled to vote the Democratic ticket; they would come to us and give us a ticket, and told us if we didn't vote it they would kill us. Times were getting so bad that

colored man dare not speak above his breath for fear of being killed; it was impossible for us to vote the Republican ticket.

I know Harry Curtis, who lived about three miles from Auburn, was taken out and killed some three years ago because he went to hear Radical speeches.

I intend to go to Kansas. I have no money to get there with; I have a wife and five children with me. I wouldn't go back to the South again.

JOHN MASSEY.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came Thomas Carroll, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Thomas Carroll; my age fifty-nine years. I have been living for the past few years in Washington County, Mississippi. Didn't like no living down there; was farming; the white folks treated me so bad that I left there and came up here. The white people down there are all Democrats.

About two weeks ago two colored men were sitting on the bank of the Mississippi River, not far from Greenville, in Mississippi, waiting for the boat to come to take them up the river, to go to Kansas; a good number of white people came along and commenced to talk to them about their going away; the leading man among the whites was one Charlie Smith; and they killed one of the colored men and the other ran off; they killed him because he wanted to go to Kansas.

After the colored people make a crop the whites hold meetings and say "We won't let Mr. Nigger have anything," so as to keep them tied down.

The whites would not let the colored people vote the Republican ticket; would not let us come to the polls, and would use arms to prevent us coming there. About six months ago the senator from Washington County died and we tried to get a colored man in place of him, but the whites would not allow us to vote unless we voted the Democratic ticket; they bulldozed the colored men at that election to a great extent. I am going to Kansas to live on a farm. I am not going back to the South, because I can't get my rights there. In 1878 I raised 48 bales of cotton and only got \$30 for it because the whites cheated me out of it. They would not allow us to express our rights even when they knew them. Two colored men in Greenville, Miss., were waiting to take the Helena along with some of us, and some white men came up with a constable and said to them "You owe us," and they said they didn't, but they took them along back with them; and when the Helena came up the white folks persuaded the captain of the boat so they would not allow us on the boat and went off without us, when a Cincinnati packet came along and took us to Cairo; I have a wife and nine children along with me. I have not money to get to Kansas.

his
THOMAS + CARROLL.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss :

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came George Weeks, who, being duly sworn, gave me the following statement of facts :

My name is George Weeks ; my age is about thirty-nine. I have been living at Warren County, Mississippi, for the past few years ; farming it there. I didn't make a good living there. I could not make a living there. I had to run away on account of the Kansas question. I had been up to Vicksburg for about a week, and on the 12th day of March of this present month, I went back to my plantation and met the man whom I rented from, by the name of Davis, and he said to me, " George, are you going to remain on my place this year ?" and I told him I didn't know whether I was or not, and he said " Well, that means going," and then he said " George, I have heard some God dam bad things about you," and I said " Well, Mr. Davis, what are they ?" and he said " Some God dam bad things that made me mad ;" and he said " We boys," that is to say white men, " are going to hold a meeting this evening, but I ain't got time to tell you now, but will tell you to-morrow what you did." And I said " Where shall I see you to-morrow ?" and he said " Come up to the house between ten and eleven o'clock ;" and from his rash speaking I would not meet him. And I took the boat on the 13th instant and went off for Vicksburg, and Mr. Davis and two other men were standing on the river bank when the boat landed at Brunswick Point, with Navy revolvers, to prevent my getting on the boat, but I went on up the shore and came down to the boat below them, so they didn't see me ; they expected me to pass by them to get on the boat. And Mr. Davis and these two men spent all day on the 14th and 15th hunting for me. I went up to Vicksburg without my wife, and had to get a colored man, a constable by the name of Andrew Jackson, to bring my wife to Saint Louis for me. I want to go to Kansas. When the Presidential election was they would not allow me to vote, because I would not vote the Democratic ticket. I would not go back to the South. I have no use for the South. I have the money to get to Kansas.

his
GEORGE + WEEKS.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss :

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came John Cummings, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts :

My name is John Cummings ; my age is about thirty-one years ; I have

living in Warren County, Mississippi, for the past eight years, farming. I made a very poor living; I received bad treatment there from the whites; everything is so high, and could not vote; they would not let me vote; the men at the polls told me they would shoot me if I voted Republican ticket; they said if I did not vote the right ticket I could vote none at all. The white people had pistols with them at the polls. I saw four men killed at a Republican speech at Vicksburg; we had been in the house hearing speeches and four men came in the back door and said, "Get out of here all you dam sons of bitches," and they ran right into the crowd and killed four of the colored men; don't know who they were; that was in December, 1877. I was afraid to vote Republican ticket. All the negroes South are Republicans, or most of them. I have heard of other colored men being killed for political reasons. About forty killed out on the Jackson road, and about twenty out on the Valley road; these four I know of myself; one of them was a minister; after they were killed they would not be allowed to be buried, but they were left there and the buzzards ate them up. This was about the same time, in 1877.

I want to go to Kansas on a farm. The white people stopped all the colored people they could from leaving the South. They use force to prevent them getting away. There are four or five hundred up on Little River Creek who cannot get out; they won't let them come on the boats; they won't let them leave without a pass; the boat will not take them unless they have a pass; they will be killed if they try to get out without a pass. I have a family with me. I won't go back to the South again, because there is no living for me there and I can't get my rights there.

JOHN CUMMINGS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. A. DUNDAS,

Notary Public within and for the City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me the undersigned, a notary public, within and for the city and State aforesaid, came Thomas Wallace, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Thomas Wallace. My age is about twenty-eight years. I have been living in Warren County, Mississippi, for the past few years, farming it there. We could not make a living there by our labor, because they charge us so much for land and for other things. We could not vote the Republican ticket; they would intimidate us; we could not vote. I know of some colored people being shot; I didn't see them killed, but I saw the blood where they had been killed at Vicksburg. The white folks or Democrats in Vicksburg issued circulars for the colored people to come to town, and they came, and they stopped us on the way there, and commenced shooting at us, but didn't shoot any of the men who were with us; they had the sixteen shooters and hadn't learned how to use them; we didn't reach Vicksburg, that is the men who were going with me. A man in Warren County, Mississippi, by the name of William Taylor, was shot and killed by the whites for having some words with a white man about his cotton. I am going to Kansas. The white

people are trying to stop the colored people from leaving. The wh
say they will wade in blood up to their waists before they will let
more niggers go away. I would not go back to the South. I hav
wife and three children with me. I have the money to get to Kan

TOM WALLACE

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.
[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,

Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss :

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, be
me, the undersigned, a notary public in and for the city and State of
said, appeared Henry Jackson, who, being by me duly sworn, gave
following statement of facts :

My name is Henry Jackson. My age is about seventy-five years.
I have been living for the past years at Carroll Parish, Louisiana; b
farming there; never made any kind of living there; received very p
treatment from the white folks from there. I left the South becau
could not make a living. Year before last I made ten bales of cotton,
never got a cent for it. The man whom I rented from said he would s
it and when he was paid for it, he would pay me; but he never paid
anything for it. I sued for it, but could not get anything. They wa
me to pawn my horse, and begin over again, but I told them I would
do it; and they asked me what I was going to do, and I told them I
going to sell my horse and going away. The colored people were s
and killed there for being Republicans because they would not vote
the white folks wanted them to. The best of the negroes down th
are Republicans. I know there was some colored people shot al
about last Christmas down at Water Proof, La., for political reasons
think some five or six. I want to go up to Kansas; I want to go th
to farm it. The white people don't want the colored people to leave
South, and do every thing to stop them. They came down to the b
and rowed with the captain of the boat for taking us. If it had
been for the captain of the boat, they would have shot some of us;
captain hollered out, "None of that! come aboard; come aboar
They had pistols with them. I saw the pistols. I would not go b
to the South again, because I could not live; cannot live there and g
\$2 for meal, and \$30 for a barrel of pork, and \$10 an acre for land, a
\$5 for ginning cotton, and then be cheated out of everything aft
have made it. My wife is along me. I reckon I have enough money
get to Kansas.

his
HENRY + JACKSON
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.
[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,

Notary Public within and for the City of Saint Louis, Mo

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss :

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, be

he undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State
said, came Edward Leonard, who, being duly sworn, gave the fol-
g statement of facts:

My name is Edward Leonard; my age is twenty four years. I have
living in Warren County, Mississippi, for the past few years, farm-
I made a pretty good living there if I had got; but I didn't get it;
white people take all of it away. I had 20 acres of land. I paid 1,200
ds of lint cotton for the whole 20 acres. The treatment received
the whites down there is bad; if the colored people talked back to
whites they would shoot them down. I left the South because I
l not make a living; if I got half a barrel of meat and some flour
would take all my cotton for it and still leave me in debt. They
d not let me vote there unless I voted as they wanted me to; they
d kill me if I voted the Republican ticket. They said to me, "By
if you don't walk close and do what you are told to do, you will
e up missing." Bill Cushing, a white man, made this threat to me
74. On the 7th of December they put out a report for all the col-
people to come in town on Monday, in Vicksburg, and the men all
in a , and about ten o'clock in the morning the whites came
their 16 shooters and just shot and killed every negro they saw. I
them shoot a number of colored people myself. I think they killed
t a dozen or so; they killed them because they were Republicans.
ing was ever done to them for the killing; never arrested. In
, on the 5th of July, the colored people were going to speak at the
t-house in Vicksburg, and when they had got together the white
le came and raised a row there, and the colored people ran out of
court-house and the whites commenced shooting at them and killed
I saw them myself; and the whites went out on the street and
d shoot at every colored man they saw. A colored man was afraid
ay at his house after night came, for being afraid they would come
kill him; this is all on account of being Republicans. It is impos-
for a negro to vote the Republican ticket down there. I am going
ansas. The white people didn't want us to come away; tried to
us; they took away everything they could from 'em. I had a horse
some hogs, and they took my horse away; I didn't owe them any-
g; they claimed I owed. A man came and took my horse away by
e; he was not an officer of the law. They tried to stop me getting
he boat; five or six of the whites came and told the captain of the
not to take any away from that place, and the captain told them
were free people, and if they had the money he would take them
t along. I would not go back to the South again; they would kill
here if I went back. I have a wife and two children with me. I
e not money with me to get to Kansas.

his
EDWARD + LEONARD,
mark.

ubscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D.

AL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

TE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

e it remembered that on this 29th day of March, before the under-
ed, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid,

came William Jones, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is William Jones; my age is about thirty-four years. I have been living in Warren County, Miss., for the past few years; been farming; been living there like a dog; received so bad treatment from the whites. I left the South because I had no privilege of voting, nothing to eat, and what little I did make the white folks would take from me. I rented six acres. I paid 100 pounds of lint-cotton to the acre. I raised five bales of cotton on the six acres. When election time came on we went to the court-house to vote. This was in the spring of 1878, and the colored people were going to make speeches, and the white people, Democrats, came and commenced shooting, I think some 20 or 30, with pistols. They did not kill any of them, but wounded the colored men; their names one of them was Ben Adam, and the other name I can't call. And when we got out of the court-house the white people went out in the streets with their needle guns, and were shooting at all colored people they saw. I saw all this with my own eyes; I was at the court-house myself. A colored man down there can't vote the Republican ticket. The negroes in the South are about all Republicans. I am to go to Kansas if I can get there. I have my wife with me. I never will go back to the South again; I would die first. They didn't want us to leave the South. They went to the captain of the boat and offered him money not to take us. I have my wife and two children with me. I have not the money to get to Kansas.

his
WILLIAM + JONES
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

The WITNESS. Now, I was careful to say to the gentleman who examined these men to ask them whether or not circulars were sent South to know whether railroad agents and men, both white and colored, for mercenary motives had not attempted to induce them to leave the South, and they said, "No, sir; nothing of the kind; it was not any circulars." I took pains to investigate whether these circulars had come, and in all the time that I have talked with, and I think I can safely say I talked with a thousand of them, I made it a point to ask them about this.

I am president of the refugee board of the city of Saint Louis, and I defy a man to bring a cent against me that ever I took from one of these refugees; and I have raised and issued ten thousand dollars for them, and didn't take a cent. The white men of Saint Louis gave me money to pay my expenses, and to try to help these people. And I may say that the white people, irrespective of party, when we had quartered there five or six hundred at a time in the churches and halls and in every available place, assisted in taking care of them.

And I went among these people and asked them what the causes were of their leaving; and I have here some itemized bills that were given to storekeepers.

Mr. BLAIR. Well, we can put them in, as that bears on the labor question we have been inquiring into.

THE WITNESS. For instance, they charged in Mississippi for a gallon of molasses that we could buy for 25 cents in Saint Louis \$1.50 and \$2. For a bushel of meal that we buy for 50 cents a bushel they charged \$2 a bushel in the South. And I am not taking this from hearsay, I am taking it from their own writing as showing that the statement I have made can be corroborated by witnesses in their own handwriting.

MR. BLAIR. Read us some of these items showing the differences in prices. I want to hear them, and our friends from Kansas can hear of the causes that brought these people there.

THE WITNESS handing an abstract to Mr. Blair. Mr. Blair reading):

EXCERPTS FROM THE EXODUS.—OUTRAGEOUS EXTORTION BY MERCHANTS.—
PROVISIONS CHARGED AT DOUBLE THEIR VALUE.

[By telegraph to the Tribune.]

WASHINGTON, April 8.

MR. TANDY, of Saint Louis, who brought to Washington yesterday a memorial in regard to the exodus of negroes from the South, has some interesting documentary evidence of the unfair treatment of which the colored refugees complain, and which they declare makes it impossible for them to live longer in their old homes. Among the papers referred to are original contracts and accounts current brought in from Madison Parish, Louisiana, not far from Vicksburg, and other sections. These contracts show that the negroes are charged ten dollars a year rent for land which would hardly sell at that price if put on the market. In the accounts current the prices of provisions are outrageously extortionate, and there is hardly a single article for which the negroes are not required to pay at least twice its actual value. The price of meal is put down at \$2 a bushel, although it has rarely been sold for more than \$1 even in the summer. Molasses is charged at \$1.50 a gallon, for which 75 cents would be a large price, and tobacco at 50 cents a plug (one-third of a pound), which is worth about 60 cents a pound at retail in the country in the Southern States. To fill out a contract the charge was \$2.50. A notary would do the same in New York or New England at a price ranging from 25 cents to \$1. The payment for these advances was in every case secured by a mortgage on, or a bill of sale of, the crop of cotton to be raised by the negro, and the proceeds of the cotton are entered on the credit side of the account. In almost every instance there was a small balance against the colored man, although if only fair prices had been charged for the provisions a considerable balance would have appeared on the other side of the account.

THE WITNESS. Here are two contracts also, in form, filled in and signed by the parties to them, showing the way labor contracts are made. I should like to put them in also.

MR. BLAIR. As they bear directly upon this labor question we will put them in (examining them).

They follow:

This agreement, made and entered into this thirty-first day of January, 1877, between D. O'Brien, party of the first part, and Louis Woods, party of the second part, witnesseth: That the said part of the first part for and in consideration of one hundred dollars, to be paid to the said D. O'Brien as hereinafter expressed, hereby leases to said Louis Woods for the year A. D. 1877, a certain tract of land, the boundaries

of which are well understood by the parties hereto, and the area which the said parties hereby agree to be ten acres, being a portion of the O'Brien plantation in Madison Parish, La.

The said Louis Woods is to cultivate said land in a proper manner under the general superintendence of the said D. O'Brien or his agent or manager, and is to surrender to said lessor peaceable possession of said leased premises at the expiration of this lease without notice or quit. All ditches, turn-rows, bridges, fences, etc., on said land shall be kept in proper condition by said Louis Woods or at his expense. Said plantation, and no goods of any kind shall be kept for sale on said land, unless by consent of said lessor.

If said lessor shall furnish to said lessee money, or necessary supplies or stock, or material, or either or all of them, during this lease to enable him to make a crop, the amount of said advances, not to exceed seventy-five dollars, the said lessee agrees to pay for the supplies and advances so furnished out of the first cotton picked and saved on said land from the crop of said year, and to deliver said cotton of the first picking to said lessor where he may designate, to be by him bought or shipped at his option, the proceeds to be applied to payment of said supply bill, which is to be fully paid on or before the first day of October, 1877. After payment of said supply bill, the said lessee is to pay to said lessor, where he may designate, the rent cotton hereinbefore stipulated, said rent to be fully paid on or before the first day of October, 1877. All cotton raised on said land is to be ginned where he may designate, — dollars per bale for ginning same. To secure payment of said rent and supply bill, the said lessee grants unto said lessor special privilege and right of pledge on all the products raised on said land, and on all his stock, farming implements, and personal property and hereby waives in favor of said lessor the benefit of any and all homestead laws and exemption laws now in force or which may be in force in Louisiana, and agrees that all his property shall be seized and sold to pay said rent and supply bill in default of payment thereof herein agreed. Any violation of this contract shall render the lease void.

D. O'BRIEN.
LEWIS WOODS.

Witness:

S. KAHN.

JOHN WALKER.

Memorandum of an agreement made this first day of January, A. D. 1874, witnesseth:

That Wm. Riley, of Davis Bend, county of Warren, State of Mississippi, has this day leased of Montgomery & Sons, of the said county and State, $11 \frac{34}{100}$ (eleven and $\frac{34}{100}$) acres of land, situated on Hurricane plantation, exclusively for agricultural purposes, designated as part plot No. 17, and bounded as follows: East by Dock Jenkins, north by plot No. 16, south by Briarfield, west by K. Johnson, for the term of one year, ending December 31st, 1874, at the rate of \$8.00 per acre and one-half of the cotton-seed produced on said land. One-half of the rent to be paid on signing this lease, or interest on the same at the rate of five per cent. per annum. The balance to be paid on or before the 15th day of October, 1874, for the true payment of which the lessor shall have prior lien upon all the productions of said land.

The said William Riley agrees to clean, plow, plant, and otherwise

ivate the said parcel of land in a husbandlike manner, and to bind
 self to obey all general rules of the plantation, and abide by any
 laws that may be made by a majority of this community, not in
 flict with the laws of this State.

he said Wm. Riley further covenants that he will not assign, let or
 let the whole or any part of said land, or harbor any idle or va-
 ant persons thereon.

The conditions of this lease are such, that if the said lessee shall fail
 fulfill its requirements it shall be null and void. Otherwise to remain
 full force.

1 $\frac{34}{100}$ acres land @ \$8, \$90.72.

his
 WM. + RILEY. [L. S.]

mark.
 MONTGOMERY & SONS. [L. S.]

igned in duplicate and delivered in the presence of—

B. L. HICKMAN.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Now Mr. Tandy, please state generally, and then give any specific
 tances, as to any treatment these people allege that they received
 ere they came from, in addition to the affidavits you have submitted,
 d the reasons which they gave you in their conversations with you
 their leaving.—A. Well, I will give you some of their own words:
 oke to some twelve or fifteen there on the levee, and they said that
 ut two hundred of them had come down to the river bank and were
 ting for a boat, and while they were there, several boats passed up
 river and would not land to take them on. I asked them why the
 ts would not land to take them on, and they said that the planters
 men in the South, whoever they may be—the lower strata, I suppose,
 men—for I cannot conceive that the better class of white men there,
 ocrats or Republicans, would attempt anything of the kind; but
 n what I could gather, there is a class of men there that maraud
 ough the country and have no visible means of living except by
 ndering through the country—a bad class of white men—and they
 e down to the river bank and began simultaneously to fire upon
 m, and drove them to the woods; and, as they ran back, they said
 e five or six of them were killed; and they dispersed through the
 ods; and to give their own language, “Their dead bodies,” they said,
 id in the woods till the buzzards made a prey of them.” Naturally
 y laid there unkenneled, and the buzzards came there and ate their
 lies. Now, I can’t say as to the truth of all their stories, in every
 ticular, but as a general rule I know—I do believe—that there is
 re truth in their stories than fiction, although some men say there is
 . I believe the cause of this exodus is the bad treatment that these
 ple have received; and after I have talked with them and examined
 h man carefully, I have found that there is not one single instance
 hich I have talked with them, but they all gave the same story,
 stantially. Ignorant as many of them are, not having had the ad-
 tages of school facilities, and all those kind of things, they give a
 versal opinion. Hence I ascribe the cause of their leaving to this:
 First. They are denied their civil rights as free men and citizens.
 Second. They are denied their personal and religious privileges; and,
 Third. They are deprived of their political rights.
 And I will instance: In the city of New Orleans—and if any one has

read and noticed the papers there they will see that it is so—the churches were closed at ten o'clock, and the newspapers published notice that if any of their ministers kept their churches open after ten o'clock their ministers would be arrested, and some of them were. They ascribe as their first reason that their civil rights are not granted them; and, secondly, that their religious rights are disregarded—the right of worshipping God under their own vine and fig tree with no one to molest or make them afraid; and, third, that their political rights are tampered with, and that they are forced to vote against their opinions and convictions.

Q. What did they say as to the means used to prevent the expression of their honest convictions?—A. They said that bulldozing was used to prevent them. One man that I talked with personally kept a store there, and he said he was worth in actual cash ten thousand dollars, and he told me he had gone to the city of Saint Louis, and that he had ordered there five to six thousand dollars in groceries or dry goods to stock his store; and he said they went around to the wards, the different wards, you know; he said they went around to every colored man's house, and if these colored men did not sign a paper to vote as they wanted him to, he was spotted—that meant that they meant to get away with him; and all those that signed it they gave certificates to; that is to say, that John, George, or Bob, whoever he is, belongs to the white men's party, and their names are enrolled on the list of the Democrats. He said he signed that and voted the Democratic ticket a long while, but after a while he said he made up his mind that he was not going to vote the Democratic ticket any more under such circumstances. And two other men he had as associates, were barbers, I think, and he said after he had come to that resolve, not to vote the Democratic ticket any more, he was spotted, and they were spotted; and they went to the house of the two other men that were his associates, and they killed them. And while they were killing them, he said he pulled the beard off of his face and crept into the yard of a widow lady and laid down under the jimson weeds until the cover of night came, and under the cover of darkness he stole away and slipped off to the woods and made his way on foot until he could get to some point where he could get a boat, and then he said he worked his way to Saint Louis and had on all the clothes on his back. He said he had owned property there and now he owned it. I asked him to give me his name, but he refused, for he said if he was to give me his name the result would be that they would murder his family. I said to him, "If you will make this statement—I have been" I told him, "examining into some of the causes of your people leaving the South, and if you will make this statement that you have made to me, I can get a notary public to take your evidence down, and it can thus be authenticated and published to the world." But he said "No, sir; if I gave this evidence in that way over my own name, my family would be murdered that are left behind, and I dare not do it."

And others I have talked with gave similar statements to me, about why they left there. And without any design or any idea to exaggerate or add to what these men gave to me, I simply give it truthfully to you. I have no disposition to enlarge upon it at all, in any way, but only to give what they stated to me.

They go on to say that in the running of their plantations advantage was taken of them in many ways. If they remonstrated, they were considered insolent, in which these affidavits bear out my testimony, and then for some cause or other in little while they are missing. If they vote the Republican ticket—I will give you one man's language to me

says: "If I vote the Republican ticket, the result is, I will wake up the next morning, and find myself in the graveyard." I said to him "This is not certainly true; you must exaggerate this thing; I don't think anything can be so fearful as you put it." He confirmed it. He held his arm and vowed before the living God that it was the whole truth and nothing else but the truth.

In these affidavits I have submitted, you will find men that have been in the legislature seven or eight years are refugees. One told me he got on the deck of a steamboat, and they came to the boat to take him off, but the captain saved his life, and said to the men who came to him, "Gentlemen, you cannot come to my boat and take any man without killing me first—Pollard, I think that captain's name is. I know others among the refugees have been sheriffs or constables, and they have fled from their homes.

Q. Did you talk with any of the women there as to whether they had any complaints to make as to ill treatment?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with a number of them.

Q. What did they say as to their treatment?—A. Well, I thought it was not advisable to speak with the women alone about it, and I wanted to get some of the women's affidavits, and their husbands said, "No, they thought it was sufficient to have their own." I wanted to get them mixed with men and women—but they said, "No." They told me that there were a great many colored women in the South who were desirous of being virtuous and living a pure life, for they regarded their virtue as much as the Anglo-Saxon did, and they wanted to rear their children up—their girls—to live a virtuous and industrious life; and they said that the white men sought the girls, and it seemed like they had taken a liking to the negro women down South—the white men, more particularly. And it is plain to every one's eyes that if you go South, you can see them there ring-streaked like the cattle in olden times, by thousands. Those that have been used to having the white house on the southern plantations and the negro quarters, if they saw a likely, intelligent, and buxom colored girl, these men would have them, and it has become innate to pursue that course in having negro women, and they said to me that while they were desirous of being virtuous and all that kind of thing, that yet they were overawed with fear with these men. I make this statement of just what those women stated to me.

Q. Well, have they made that complaint as one of the causes, among other things, that have led them to leave?—A. Yes, sir; and another thing they said to me. I asked them about their schools and the facilities for educating their children, and they said that in certain localities, such as the towns and cities, they would manage to give them schooling for two or three months in the year, but out in the country, and around on their plantations the people were growing up in ignorance and stupidity with no school facilities whatever.

I asked them touching all these questions, and only as points are put to me could I answer you with regard to them all. I will say that a great many of these women rose up and said that if their husbands did not leave, they would. They seemed more determined, and spoke more boldly than the men; the men seemed more reticent to tell the whole story than the women did; the women came right out, and stated that these outrages were being perpetrated.

Q. Did you have a talk with the women about any abuse or cruelty that was practiced upon them?—A. Yes, sir; and I think they said that they were not so bad after killing the women as killing the men; there wasn't any case of that kind occur.

Q. Did any of them tell you of any violence used towards them coming away from there?—A. One woman, who was passing through the city of Saint Louis, in the presence of three witnesses, stated that some of these men took her child right out of her arms and dashed brains out on a tree, and she showed the blood on her apron to prove that they killed her child right in her presence.

Q. What did she say they did that for?—A. She said it was because they were leaving.

Q. What had they said to her, did she say?—A. They came up, and said, and asked her where she was going, and they told them they were going to Kansas or some other point.

Q. What sort of people were they, did she say, that did this?—A. White men, she said.

Q. How many of these people that you talked with in Saint Louis expressed a desire to go back?—A. I have not talked with a single one. I don't think with a single one, with the exception of only one man who said that he wanted to go back South. He came to the office to see me, but he could not get some money to go back, and I instructed the secretary and had an order made out for him, and gave him \$5.

Q. And he went back?—A. He went back, I suppose, to get his work, and whether he ever returned or no I don't know. I never heard about him after that.

Q. He was the only one, then, that ever expressed to you a desire to go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with any of them about whether they desired to go back?—A. Oh, yes, sir; I have talked with them about it, and I wanted to be impartial, and to see whether there were not designing men, white men and colored men, who wanted to take advantage of the case of this kind in some way or other, but they did not express a desire to go back at all.

Q. When in this suffering condition, exposed to cold, with ice and snow on the ground, and in the midst of all their uncomfortable surroundings, you did not hear them express any desire to go back?—A. No, sir; I can only tell you what I saw to give you their feeling on that. I went to the Street Baptist Church, Saint Louis, and Saint Paul's, and Wesley Church, and the lower Baptist Church, I would go in these places where they were, and see little children lying on the floor with nothing but a quilt under them, and their parents looking on them with affection and a complacent smile, and it touched my heart, as it would any man who had any feeling in his heart, and unless he was brass or iron inside, and it would have touched any one to see these little children lying on the floor and looking up into the eyes of their parents, with the idea that now at last they were breathing God's free air, and they did not feel any oppression on them whatever.

Q. So that they had no desire to go back, so far as you saw?—A. None whatever.

Q. How many of them passed through your city, Mr. Tandy?—A. Our books show how many. The corresponding secretary shows our books over twenty thousand names.

Q. What is your judgment as to the future of this movement?—A. My judgment is that this exodus, with the feeling that exists in the Southern States, caused by the wrongs done to the colored men, will never stop, unless the Southern white men—the white men in the Southern States—will in some way put a stop to the cruelty that these colored people are undergoing there.

Q. Well, do you think that the exodus is going to increase or decrease?

the future?—A. I think it will increase and continue, unless some steps are taken by the white men to put a stop to it.

Q. Well, if these Northern States object to an inundation of this "super labor," as they call it, into them, the only way to settle this question is for the white people in the South to put a stop to the bullying of the colored people—is that your understanding of it?—A. I don't understand the way they put it—they are always talking about the colored people being "paupers."

Q. I am putting it as they put it?—A. Well, a great many that I have seen have had actual cash with them, and some of them had horses and mules and wagons, and a few of them had two and three thousand dollars on their persons; I don't think that is much like being a pauper; it shows industry and thrift on their part.

Q. Well, I use the language as they put it; they made great complaint in Kansas and elsewhere that they are being inundated with a class of "paupers," that these people who come there are paupers, and I want your judgment on the question whether there is any way to stop this inundation but by stopping their ill-treatment at the South?—A. I will tell you what I think; I have talked with prominent Democrats, honest men, and men that want to do right by the negro—and I have a great many friends among this class of Democrats, I can tell you that—and these men say, in common with me, that it is all wrong; that if these Southern States want the negro to vote the Democratic ticket they ought to do what the Republicans do, enlarge his liberty and give him all his rights, encourage him in his way up; for, as the expression is, "one man can lead a horse to water, but a thousand can't make him drink." That is the way they have talked about it. They say "give him all his civil, religious, and political rights and liberties, and treat him, kindly, and there will be no trouble."

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 7, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman, and Senators Vance and Windom.

ANDY'S examination continued.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. I will ask you this general question, Do you know of anything further in connection with this matter tending to throw light upon the movement of the colored people from the South to the North; if so, state it as briefly as you can, and give a distinct understanding of it?—Answer. In connection with what I said yesterday, another cause of complaint the colored people have—another reason they gave for removal to the North—is that for the least petty offense that is committed by them, in the South, they were tried and convicted and sent to the penitentiary sometimes for seven or eight years. That is slavery in another form. And after they are sent there—to the penitentiary—they are hired out to the plantations, to railroad companies, or to do any other kind of work that laborers do. In short, a system of peonage has been established.

Q. What did they say about that?—A. I quizzed them pretty closely touching these matters. I have not the letter with me, but I have received a letter from a gentleman who holds a position—well, I will only give the substance of it; I do not know whether it is true or not; but it says that in some cases they have been convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for stealing an ear of corn.

Q. What did they say, if anything, as to the administration of justice as between the colored people and the white people down there?—A. As far as the law is concerned, if the law was meted out as it stands on the statute-book there would be little to complain of, with the exception of the laws that they are attempting to enact now—I believe they already have such a law in North Carolina, and are attempting to inaugurate it in Mississippi and Louisiana, that any person instigating or assisting another, whether white or black, to leave the State, shall be fined so many dollars, or sent to jail for so many days.

Q. The complaint is not so much of discrimination in the law itself as in the execution of the laws?—A. Yes, sir; no matter what laws are on the statute-books, the law of prejudice always remains; prejudice against the colored man. If they were judged according to an impartial judgment, and if that judgment were rendered according to the law on the statute-book, they would make no complaints, so far as the law goes. But they think that in the execution of the law—

Q. I asked about the execution of the law?—A. They say that the law of prejudice is the only law that they are tried by.

Q. They claim to be discriminated against in the execution of the law?—A. Yes, sir; they claim to be discriminated against on account of their former condition of slavery, and the disadvantages under which they have labored ever since.

Q. If they gave any other reasons for leaving the South, state briefly what they were?—A. I read a letter from a school teacher, I think from Fort Gibson. She stated that a colored man named Page, a man worth considerable money, was the owner of one or two plantations down there; he had been taught, from his earliest infancy, that he was a man; that God had created him the same as other men, though differing in color. Some killing had been done down there, and old man Page had taught his boys to respect themselves, and to respect the laws. This letter states that some white man was killed; and without any evidence that one of the Page boys killed him, they were coming to kill him; and he ran away; one of the Page boys, who was accused, without any evidence whatever of having killed this white man, ran away. After a little the thing subsided, and he returned. He wrote a letter to the sheriff that if he would give him his promise to arrest him in the daytime he would give himself up for a fair trial, but that he would not submit to arrest in the night. The sheriff gave his promise to the young man that he should not be arrested in the night, and the Page boy returned home. Then they went to his house—to old man Page's house—in the night, without warrant. I think, from what the school teacher says; she does not give her name because she says she is afraid of her life.

The CHAIRMAN. O, well, then we will omit that.

The WITNESS. I think you will have witnesses to prove it. I do not wish to state anything more than I have seen with my own eyes.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Where were you born?—A. In the blue-grass region, sir; in Lexington, Ky.

Q. When did you leave there?—A. In 1857.

Q. Have you ever been down in Mississippi and those Southern States?—A. Yes, sir; I have been all through there.

Q. When?—A. Before and during the war.

Q. The last remark you made to Mr. Windom was that you do not want to state anything but what you have seen with your own eyes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you seen *anything* of what you have been testifying to, yesterday and to-day, with your own eyes?—A. I have said just what other people have told me.

Q. I asked whether anything that you have been testifying to here what you had seen with your own eyes?—A. I answer that by saying that the evidence I am giving here is from compiled testimony that I heard with my own ears.

Q. Just so; it is all hearsay testimony. So you have not testified to what you have seen with your own eyes at all. You said that there were laws in the Southern States—among others North Carolina—providing for the fine and imprisonment in jail of anybody that should advise or persuade colored people to leave the State. Do you mean to say that you know something whatever on that subject?—A. I think it is true.

Q. Is that a thing that you have actually seen with your own eyes?—A. No, sir.

Q. What have you seen with your own eyes in regard to that?—A. I have read in a paper that a colored man convicted of assisting somebody to leave—I think it was in North Carolina; I will not be positive; at any rate there was a man convicted and fined \$200, and sent to prison for two or three—(some confusion in the committee room rendered the conclusion of the sentence inaudible).

Q. For two or three years, did you say?—A. No, sir; for two or three months, or something like that, I think; I will not be certain how long.

Q. If you knew positively that there was no such law in North Carolina—if you knew that no such conviction could possibly take place here, any more than it could in this room—would that make any change in your opinion on the subject? If you knew from Governor Vance and from the books in the libraries here that neither North Carolina nor any other Southern State has any such law, would that make any difference in your testimony?—A. I say that in the Constitution of the country it is declared that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Mr. VANCE. Don't you know that that is not in the Constitution?

WITNESS. I want to answer Mr. Voorhees as nearly as possible. I was reading this morning where they took a cadet, simply because he was a negro boy, and bound him and cut his ears and marked him like a dog. The law of prejudice did that, when there was no law of the country to give anybody a right to do it.

Q. Where was that?—A. It was where they train them cadets.

Q. Who has control of that institution now?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you not know that that institution is not in the South, but way up North—at West Point—in the State of New York? Do you know that that is an institution under the control and management of the Government of the United States? Do you not know that every man connected with its management is a Republican?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you not know that there is not a Democrat connected with its management?—A. I do not know.

Q. Well, sir, that is the fact. And I say now that no greater outrage was ever committed on the face of the earth, and the infamous rascals that did it ought to be hanged; but it has been their custom here to treat white boys in that way, as well as negroes; and I would soon send a son of mine into a nest of bears or boars as to send him there. It is a disgrace to the country, and has been ever since it has been in existence, in that respect. Now, I ask you again, if you

knew that there was no such law as that which you spoke of, in North Carolina or any other State, would it make you change your testimony? If you knew that to be a fact, would you be willing to correct it?—A. I would be willing to correct it so far as to agree that there was no such law. But I am convinced of one fact, that there is a law of prejudice in this country against the negro. Of that I am positive.

Q. And to that extent, wherever it is, it ought not to prevail. But you are testifying as if the Southern people were the ones that were mainly hostile to the negro, and you instance a case at West Point, New York, where are probably not a half dozen southern young men being educated for the Army. It is under Republican control—and the control of Mr. Hayes, the Republican President; do you not think it would be more reasonable to charge that the Republicans were prejudiced against the negroes?—A. I do not care who did it, it is a villainous act, a barbarous act, a beastly act, unbecoming anybody but a set of savages.

Q. I agree with you in that fully, and I sincerely hope that the Republican President, and the Republican Secretary of War, and the Republican superintendent of that institution at West Point, will have the decency to thoroughly investigate it and discover the guilty parties and punish them to the utmost severity of the law. But perhaps we have spent as much time on that subject as is practicable. Now, Mr. Taud, I believe you are president of the relief board at Saint Louis?—A. I am.

Q. How long have you been chairman of that board?—A. About seven or eight months; may be not quite that long.

Q. Is that a board that receives donations of money, goods, clothing, &c.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have the disbursement of them?—A. No, sir; the disbursing agent does that. I am the president; I preside at every meeting and see that the rules are carried out.

Q. How much of the means do you handle?—A. None.

Q. What is the salary?—A. Not a cent.

Q. Do you mean to say that you give your time and labor to the work and receive nothing in the way of salary, and no compensation in any other way?—A. Not a single, solitary copper cent, sir.

Q. Do you bear your own expenses when you travel?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who does bear them, the board?—A. No, sir; not a colored man has given a copper cent.

Q. Do the white folks bear your expenses?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you understand that the white people of Saint Louis are in favor of moving the colored people of the South?—A. No, sir; I do not understand that; I do not understand that they are in favor of removing the colored people at all; but when they came there at the time they did, in mid-winter, with the cold ice and snow on the ground when they came there ragged and penniless and helpless, the people of Saint Louis have a heart in them, they have sympathy for colored people when they see them in that condition; they do not care whether they are white or black; they recognized them as creatures in need and they went to work to help them.

Q. Who was chairman before you?—A. There were two chairmen before me, Moses Dixon and the Rev. John Turner.

Q. Is the Rev. John Turner any relation to J. Milton Turner?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. Something has been said about the Rev. J. Milton Turner's being connected with this matter; what is his standing with your people?—A. Mr. Turner has stood as a representative man there, sir; he is a fine

or; he is capable of going on to the stump and measuring arms with speaker.

. Of any color?—A. Yes, sir. When he was in the House of Representatives he met Mr. Schurz and held his own with him, and a man can do that must be pretty smart.

. How does he compare in standing and character with Mr. Wheeler, treasurer of your board?—A. In point of ability there is a very large difference.

. In whose favor?—A. In Mr. Turner's favor.

. You say "in point of ability"; do you mean by that to make some reservation as to his character otherwise?—A. No, sir; I am speaking of what you asked me.

. Speaking of the Rev. John Turner, the former chairman, do you know how much money was received when he was chairman of the board?—A. I do not.

. How much did he report to you, as his successor?—A. He reported an empty treasury.

. Did you know of money being appropriated by that board for the benefit of Mr. Turner's church?—A. I have heard it reported that a hundred dollars were appropriated for the benefit of his church, for his services in his absence.

. How long have you known the Rev. Moses Dixon?—A. Twenty years or more.

. Of what denomination is he?—A. Methodist.

. What connection has he with your board now?—A. None.

. Was he connected with the board before you were?—A. He was the first president of the board.

. Was any complaint ever made against him in regard to his not accounting for funds?—A. I understand that there was.

. About how much was he charged with appropriating?—A. In order to explain this matter fully, I wish to say that in all the meetings of the city of Saint Louis in connection with this matter I was chairman. In that capacity I appointed a committee of fifteen to look after those people coming into Saint Louis, and to make all necessary provision for them. After a while I left Saint Louis and went East, to try to raise money, so that all the burden would not fall on the people of Saint Louis. Then they organized this board in my absence; they formed the Refugee Relief Board, and Moses Dixon was elected president.

. What are the duties of the traveling agent of your board?—A. We have no traveling agent.

. For what purpose was the Southern agent of your board appointed?

. To look after the people as they came up; to take charge of them, and see that they were not robbed by the sharks on the levee there.

. Does his duty require him to travel through the Southern States?

. No, sir. Nobody connected with our board does anything of that kind; it is the policy of our board not to encourage anybody to leave the South; only to take steps, as far as possible, to ameliorate the condition of those that arrive there.

. Have you ever seen a communication in the Globe-Democrat charging Mr. Dixon with having appropriated some of the funds of the Society to his own purpose?—A. I think I read that in that paper.

. Was that matter ever satisfactorily explained?—A. I understood that somebody—a preacher at some point—wrote to the board that he had sent Dixon ninety-odd dollars, and had never heard from it; and that Dixon had never accounted to the board for it.

. Do you keep an office at Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you employ a clerk?—A. Yes, sir; a clerk and a corresponding secretary.

Q. How much are they paid?—A. I think a dollar a day, if I am not mistaken.

Q. How much do you pay for your office?—A. Twenty-five dollars a month.

Q. You pay for all these things out of the funds you raise?—A. Yes, sir; we have to have a place to do business.

Q. You have not been in the South since the war closed?—A. No, sir.

Q. Somebody has handed me a paper called *The National Tribune* printed at St. Louis, and dated March 28, 1880. Are you connected with that paper in any way?—A. No, sir.

Q. I see by this that somebody, strange as it may seem, is not pleased with you, Mr. Tandy. An editorial in this paper says:

Mr. Daniel Prince, the Southern agent of the once refugee board, is not sparing of language in denouncing C. H. Tandy as the president of the ex-refugee finance committee. He says the letter written to the *Globe-Democrat's* column, termed "St. Louis in Splinters," is a willful lie, and he will remind the messenger of his fault on his arrival home.

Q. Mr. Tandy, who is Daniel Prince?—A. He is one of our agents, sir.

Q. Did you know that he was pitching into you in that way?—A. No, until I saw it in that paper.

Q. Did you not know that he was finding fault with your management of things?—A. Nobody could find fault with me except about being honest.

Q. Do people often find fault with you on that account?—A. People will get jealous.

Q. Daniel Prince is one of your agents, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does he live in Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a good man?—A. Yes, sir; so far as I know; I do not know anything wrong of him.

Q. Is this a respectable paper?—A. It has been considered a respectable paper.

Q. It is a colored paper, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Here is another statement in this paper that I should like to read to you:

We understand from responsible authorities that the furniture owned by the refugee committee has been seized by Mr. Charles Starkes for the rent of his room at 813 Christy avenue, and that Charles Prentice, Daniel Prince, and Robert Kimbrough are the only persons whom the city authorities respect and regard as persons connected with the board.

Who is Charles Prentice?—A. He is one of the board.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. He is.

Q. And Robert Kimbrough; is he a colored man, too?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who is he?—A. He is corresponding secretary for our board. I want to say here that the statement is false; the furniture of the board has not been seized. The fact of the matter is that Prince and Prentice rented a place down on the levee. We thought it was not necessary to occupy two places, and we stored our furniture at Starkes's place.

Q. So you think it possible that a falsehood may be published in a respectable paper?—A. I do not wish to say anything against the man that edits that paper. I did not come here to malign or say anything against anybody—only to testify in regard to this exodus business. I will tell you how this whole thing originated. When these men—the

red people—came there, persons representing themselves to be
 ts would go to them and tell them lies, and get away from them
 t little they had, under one pretext and another, and so made a
 t deal of trouble. Daniel Prince and Charles Prentiss were ap-
 ted as the proper men to receive them when they came. They coun-
 ned that other men, white men and colored men, interfered with
 n on the levee. So I told them to come up to the office and I would
 p with them and see Mayor Overstall, and get him to give them
 ething to protect them against these unauthorized men who were
 rfering with them. Prince came at the time designated, and I went
 ee Mr. Overstall with him, and asked him to give these men a paper
 ome kind which would show that they were the legally authorized
 ts to receive these people when they came. That is all they had to
 ith the matter. And I suppose that in my absence they have pub-
 ed that; but it is not true, and I denounce it as an infamous lie.

This paper does not publish the truth?—A. No, sir.

So you will agree with me in reference to another item. But I
 t to read to you something else from this paper:

SHIPPING WOMEN IN VIRGINIA.—An exchange says that a colored woman who
 detected stealing fifty cents was recently taken before the sitting magistrate at
 nond, who, after lecturing her on the wickedness of stealing, ordered that she be
 a to the penitentiary and seventy-eight lashes administered; in addition, she was
 mitted to hard labor for two years. The action of the judge has aroused indigna-
 meetings throughout the city. It is thought that the vengeance of the people
 be administered to the judge, who is preparing to leave the country for parts un-
 n.

o you think that is true?—A. A good many things are published
 e papers that are not true.

You do not quite swallow that?—A. No, sir; I do not know as I
 e swallow that.

he CHAIRMAN. Nor I either; and I am glad to find at last that
 e is something too monstrously unreasonable for even you to swal-

Now, Mr. Tandy, I do not know of anything more that I want to
 you; and unless some of these other gentlemen have something
 e to ask you, you can be dismissed.

he WITNESS. I desire to say something more first. I think I can
 d up here and say that I am broad and liberal; I did not come
 , and have not attempted since I came here, to say anything against
 one. I think every man who knows me will say that is the truth.
 ll let persons judge for themselves; I do not think they can bring
 hing against me; I can get men whose standing is the highest in
 community where they live to contradict anything that can be
 ght against me.

he CHAIRMAN. Do not misunderstand me, Mr. Tandy; I am not
 cking you; I am only letting you know what they were saying
 ust you in Saint Louis, and giving you an opportunity to defend
 self.

By Mr. WINDOM:

You spoke of \$100 being given to Mr. Turner's church; why was
 done?—A. Because they gave him leave of absence to go out and
 it funds for our board.

He was working for your society?—A. Yes, sir.

For the purpose of raising means to carry on its operations?—A.
 sir.

And this was to bear the expense of supplying his place while he
 gone?—A. I do not know; I suppose it was to remunerate the
 ch for his services to us in this business while he was absent.

Q. Do you think of anything more that you would like to say in reference to this exodus?—A. I would like to express myself before the committee as touching these matters. I think the Democratic party made a fatal mistake in not treating the negro just as the Republicans have done. I reckon them in the same lot that I do the five wise virgins and the five foolish virgins in scripture—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Tandy, we will take the religious part of this matter some other time; our time is too precious to be kept by anything not directly in the line of evidence.

The WITNESS. I have but little more to say, and it will not take long to say it. When they went out to meet the bridegroom, the wise virgins had oil in their lamps, but the foolish ones had none. So, when it comes to voting, if the Democrats had treated the negro as a man, they ought to have treated him, then they might be worthy of some consideration and respectation. And I hold that all the papers that colored men can write in this country will not stop the exodus till the Democrats of the South come to treat the negro properly, so that he can have the same rights by staying there that he can get by going anywhere else. That is the only way to stop the exodus.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not treat them much worse down in North Carolina than they do up at West Point. No doubt there is injustice more or less, everywhere, but we all aim to improve as fast as we can.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW CURRIE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 7, 1880.*

ANDREW CURRIE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Give the stenographer your name in full and your place of residence.—Answer. My name is Andrew Currie, and my residence is at Shreveport, La.

Q. What official position do you hold at Shreveport, if any?—A. I am mayor of that city, and have been since April of 1878.

Q. How long is the term of the mayoralty in your city?—A. It has heretofore been two years, but under the new constitution it has been extended to four. My term holds until 1884, unless a new election is ordered. I have just been re-elected.

Q. What is the population of Shreveport?—A. It is variously estimated at from seven to ten thousand. I think the real population is about nine thousand five hundred.

Q. I wish you would state now what the condition of your country is down there between the black and the white people as to peace and social order—whether a friendly feeling exists between them or otherwise.—A. Well, sir, with the exception of a few isolated cases, that have been brought about by extraneous circumstances outside of politics, and may be to some extent in politics, the relations between the blacks and the whites is of the most friendly character. I believe there is no country on the globe, where the blacks preponderate, where such friendly relations exist.

Q. How is your labor system working at this time?—A. There is no trouble or difficulty that I am aware of. I am told by the planters that their contracts are renewed; they have plenty of labor—well, perhaps

‘plenty’; some have left; in fact, there is a demand for labor; but black people generally are renewing their contracts and settling on to their year’s work again. The exodus from my section does not amount to one per cent. of the colored population.

Are you acquainted with Colonel Foster?—A. I am.

How does his plantation system compare with that of the large plantations in your part of the country generally?—A. The system of his is about the same as on the other plantations in that part of the country, but I am told that Colonel Foster is far more rigorous than any other man in that section of the country.

Do you mean by that that he abuses them in any way, or simply that he requires them to live up to their contracts, and lives up to his own absolutely?—A. He is a man that is considered of the very highest integrity, and stands up to all his contracts. At the same time he is a man of great firmness and decision of character, and requires his employees to stand up to their contracts.

Do you know of any denial of political rights to anybody in the parish of Caddo?—A. Denial of political rights?

Yes, sir; of the right to vote or the right to be elected to an office?—A. The only denial that I know of, since the military restriction act, is that denied under the test oath. The blacks and whites alike enjoy the privilege of voting, and do vote alike. If there is any restriction, it is owing to the changes constantly taking place in the names of the colored people down there.

Changes in their names?—A. Yes, sir; they often register under one name and come to the polls under another; they will register under a lengthy name, and when they come to vote will give a briefer name, or nickname, and the devil could not drive it out of their heads if they did not register under that name. So they are very often excluded away from the polls on account of mistakes of their own; they give their votes in that way, a great many of them, unless the commissioners are very indulgent, and let them vote without regard to law.

The same law would be applied and the same thing would happen to white men, too, under the same circumstances, would it not?—A. Certainly, sir; I have heard white men complain about mistakes in registration, and have known them to lose their votes by it.

Do you know of any system under which that exclusion is applied to one political party more than to another, on the part of the officers of election?—A. I could not imagine any sir.

It is never applied to men who want to vote the Republican ticket, and not to men who want to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. No, sir; I know of no such system. I was a commissioner of election the last time myself, and I know there was no such idea as having a system of any kind to exclude anybody from voting.

But where a man registers under one name and proposes to vote under another, whether he be white or black, Republican or Democrat, the commissioners of election could not receive his vote?—A. Of course

Did you ever know of any movement to drive colored men away from the polls to keep them from voting?—A. No, sir; on the contrary, I know of movements on the part of Democrats, and I joined in such a movement myself, to prevail on them to vote. I believe that was in the election of 1868; at least, it was the first registration after Sheridan’s command in our district. At that time there were thirty-six hundred registered voters in my parish, of whom seven hundred were white and the balance blacks. When election day came, about twenty-eight hundred

votes were polled in the parish; but in the city of Shreveport there was a steady effort made to claim that the election went by default that the colored men were intimidated. When the whites discovered that this was the plan, they made every effort to induce the colored people to come to the polls and vote. I know that half a dozen of them were rented from me; I went to the place where they lived and offered them my personal protection. I pledged my life that they would not be harmed nor interfered with in any way; but it was of no use; it was a systematic and understood thing among them that they were not to go to the polls, but to claim intimidation and violence. To show that the election was peaceable, I will read an extract from a local paper there and a certificate from the supervisors of registration there in Shreveport.

We, the undersigned, supervisors of registration, do certify that the election for President and Vice-President and Congressmen for the fourth Congressional district on Tuesday, the third of November, in the city of Shreveport, La., passed off quietly and peaceably; to our personal knowledge no obstructions were offered to voters Democratic or Republican, white or black.

W. P. HUNNICUTT,

F. O. SETH,

T. F. MONROE,

Chairman of Board of Supervisors

SHREVEPORT, LA., November 4, 1868.

The men whose names are signed to that certificate are all Republicans; at least, I know that Hunnicutt and Monroe were Republicans and Seth, I am not certain what he was.

Q. State how the election passed off there in Caddo Parish in 1876?
A. That was the Presidential election, I believe?

Q. Yes.—A. I do not remember any violence at that election, except in one portion of the parish. On the Red River there are several large plantations rented out to the colored people. When the cotton is soiled they come to Shreveport and pay their rent. According to the State law, the rent is the first lien on the crop down there. These colored men that I am speaking of lived on a place with no white men on the place to control them. They organized political clubs and armed themselves. In fact, they picked out men from the various plantations and swore them in, and formed a picked club of fifty men. They went to the polling-place the night before election and took possession of some quarters in the rear of the place of election. They had their arms there. I endeavored to get this matter before the Teller committee when it was in session at New Orleans; but the boat that I was going down there on was sunk, in accordance with the wishes of the negroes there, and so I got to New Orleans too late to produce it before the committee; but the affidavits were published in the New Orleans Observer. It seems that in the course of the afternoon some white men noticing the peculiar maneuvers there in those quarters back of the place of election, went back to examine the cause of this gathering, and just as they entered the gate they were fired upon from the door by the colored men with their guns; that was what caused the riot that occurred at that precinct. It was brought about in that way. That is a matter of history, I suppose. The Teller committee examined into it thoroughly, with the exception of the affidavits that I had to present them, made by colored people who were the participants, and some of them members of this picked colored club. Come to think, however, that was not in 1876; it must have been—I cannot remember the date very well—I think it was in 1878. I do not remember any instance of trouble or disturbance of any kind in connection with the election of 1876.

What jurisdiction have you as a court, as mayor?—A. I am police magistrate.

Do you know of any discrimination against the colored people in courts—either your own or anybody else's?—A. In my court, it becomes simply having jurisdiction over minor police cases, it is impossible to have any distinction. So far as distinction is concerned, the persons may have different views. I try not to be partial at all. So far as the other courts are concerned, I can only say that they have been in the hands of Republicans. If there are any complaints, the colored people have only their own party friends to complain of. As a matter of fact, instead of the colored people being discriminated against—negroes—I do know that they are shielded very much by the white people. For instance, a negro is charged with stealing something; it may be a wagon-load of corn, at night. He is brought before the police court, and tried, and convicted. Maybe it is for stealing a cow, or a mule; affidavits are made against him; he is arraigned, and brought before the court. The judge almost invariably binds him in some very small amount; whereupon some planter, anxious for his horse, will come in and go on his bond, take him out, and pay the thing in full, and use his best efforts to protect him from further prosecution. This is, I might say, the universal system.

If the colored man were put in jail, the planter would be deprived of his hand?—A. Yes, sir; labor is scarce down there, so every man is anxious to keep his labor.

The planters have no interest in putting their laboring population in jail or in the penitentiary?—A. No, sir; of course not; they can have no interest in that direction.

You say the judiciary is in the hands of the Republicans in Caddo parish?—A. Yes, sir; and in most of the parishes of Louisiana. It has been so ever since the election of 1874, or 1876, I forget which; it was given to them then.

You mean the year in which the returning board made some little alterations down there?—A. Yes, sir; the year in which it terminated its career in the State; then Hayes came in, and gave the government of the State to Nicholls.

How about the schools down there; are there any schools for the colored people?—A. In the city of Shreveport there are three colored schools and three public schools—every one of them public schools. The means for keeping up the schools are very limited. Up to 1876 the State was in the hands of the Republicans; and if there are any complaints to be made in reference to school matters, they must fall on them rather than upon the Democrats, for the reason that the annual expenses amounted to a little over four millions of dollars, and the appropriation for the school fund was stolen, the most of it; there was not a treasurer in the State that was not charged with being in default.

That was during the ascendancy of the Republican party in Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir; up to 1876. Since then the State has been in the hands of the Democrats; and every cent has been spent that could be collected and appropriated for that purpose.

You think that a considerable amount of this school money was taken from the treasury when the government of the State was in the hands of our Republican friends?—A. Yes, sir; I venture to think so; I most positively know it. I have got here an extract showing the manner in which the school money was appropriated under the Repub-

lian administration (witness reading an extract from a New Orleans paper, as follows) :

Having itemized expenditures of the State from Radical bills, we now pick up and take a look at one (more particularly than the others) of the individuals for whose benefit these enormous and useless sums are taken from the people; that is the Parson Conway, clothed in heavenly garb to cheat Satan of that which rightfully longs to him, and the people of that which they have spent days and months of toil and sweat to accumulate. For sitting in his office, with his feet elevated to a level with his head during the day, and paying his respects to a few of the inmates of his cell of ill-fame during the night (for whom his respects are only appropriate), he obtains a salary of \$5,000, besides \$2,000 for contingent expenses, \$1,000 for traveling expenses, \$500 for the rent of his office; total, \$8,500. His secretary gets \$3,000 per annum. (Conway) has the appointing, and the people have to do the paying, by taxation of five division superintendents, who each receive a salary of \$2,500. Another at New Orleans gets a salary of \$4,000. He has to be assisted by a pet secretary and messenger, who draws \$2,500. Thus we find the public robbed of \$30,800, for which the State is not benefited \$100 worth. In Democratic days, when Louisiana could well afford to have spent the total amount mentioned, the educational system was supported by \$2,500, and was far more beneficial and effective.

The luxuries in which the parish judges of this State indulge cost the taxpayer \$119,000.

The clerical force in the auditor's office costs \$22,300.

The contingent fund of the supreme court amounts to \$2,000.

The State printer (Republican Printing Company) gets \$125,000, and country smaller journals get as much more.

I have here a more elaborate statement of the cost of public printing for the year above referred to :

Printing and advertising, State printer.....	\$122,000
Printing and advertising in official journals throughout the State.....	124,750
Printing and advertising under act No. 69, extra session of 1870.....	63,930
Outstanding warrants for printing and advertising in 1867.....	16,090
Outstanding warrants for printing and advertising in 1869.....	3,820
Outstanding warrants for printing and advertising in 1870.....	72,040
Outstanding warrants for printing and advertising in 1871.....	65,050
Certificates of indebtedness to the New Orleans Republican Printing Company.....	84,430
Certificates of indebtedness to Republican country journals.....	63,830
	619,980

Of this amount, \$253,649.84 has been paid the country press, and the balance of \$360,332.34 went to the New Orleans Republican Printing Company.

I have the journal of the constitutional convention with me; I will compare the expenses of printing with the expenses for the public schools. That shows that expenses for printing amounted to \$1,867,067. I do not find the item of public schools recapitulated at all; it is under the head of "miscellaneous," which amounts to \$14,501,000. I presume it is in that, because it is not itemized at all. During the nine years previous to 1876, the expenses of the Republican administration were \$40,743,000, as made out from the Auditor's books.

Q. Forty millions in nine years is a little over four millions a year?

A. Yes, sir; magnificent school-houses were built in every district almost, in the State. It is a notorious fact, patent both to the colored people and whites, that the Republicans misappropriated the school funds; that it was used for election purposes.

Q. You think that the colored people, as well as the white people, are getting more benefit from the school money now than when these enormous expenditures were made?—A. Equally as much so; and more so when the new constitution is put in operation. The new constitution contains most liberal appropriations for school purposes. As soon as the revenue bill passed by the present session of the legislature, a

license bill go into operation, the schools will be put in operation; the schools will then be kept in operation ten months in the year. The last session of school did not last more than five months, last year; the collection was not sufficient. It is a period of transition in school matters in our State; we are passing from the old constitution to the new.

When does the new constitution take effect?—A. It went into effect on the 1st of January. The legislature in session now is operating under the new constitution.

What about the church privileges of the colored people? Are they interfered with in any way?—A. No, sir, not in the least; on the contrary, they have more churches than anything else.

They are naturally a religious people, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; they are very religious, irrespective of morals. There are good people among them—most excellent people, honest, industrious, peaceable and well behaved in every way; and these exercise a sort of guardianship over the rest. But the majority of them are simple, ignorant, easily misled by any idle old woman's tale, to a fanatical degree. The white people of my part of the country have a peculiar guardianship over the colored people there. They feel as though they were their protégés; in fact they take care of them, guard them from the machinations of politicians, especially the class that have been governing our State.

Do you know one Dr. Henry Adams, a "faith doctor," down there?—A. I know one Henry Adams, but I did not know of his being a doctor of any kind; he has got into that capacity (if it is the same man) since he came to Washington.

He does not belong to the medical fraternity down there, then?—A. No, sir; he is more of a farmer than anything else. He has been living in and about Shreveport; he has a family, I believe, living near that place.

How is he regarded, as a peaceable fellow, or otherwise?—A. I have never heard of the man in connection with anything at all, except the exodus movement.

If he stated that he had been in New Orleans for nearly a year and that he did not go back for fear of his life, would you think that true?—A. I should know that it was false. I had a conversation with him yesterday; I told him that he knew he was misrepresenting himself; I told him I would pledge my life for the safety of his.

Did he tell you that he was afraid to go back there?—A. Yes; he did. I told him I was astonished. I told him that a big, stout, broad-shouldered man like him was capable of getting a living down there as well as anywhere else, indeed, far better.

If he were in danger of mob violence, I suppose that you as a citizen of the city would know it?—A. Yes, sir.

But you state that there is nothing of that kind whatever?—A. I state it from the most positive and intimate knowledge. I have participated in everything that has been done in my parish for the benefit of the colored people, in order to keep the peace, to suppress disturbance—call it what you may, bulldozing if you choose, though that is greatly exaggerated. In connection with this matter I will state that there is no system or effort to disturb the public peace, or to kill colored people; on the contrary, it is our effort to keep them from going too far in their passions and creating riots. In fact, we are obliged to be moderate in everything down there, and overlook many things which might very easily be made an excuse for severity.

Q. Is it not true that in those colored settlements, where the population is five negroes to one white man, a person going through them with exciting, sensational stories can create an excitement and a stampede with the more ignorant class of colored people?—A. Yes, sir; it is a great deal like touching off a powder magazine.

Q. They are a simple and credulous people, susceptible of being imposed upon by bad white men?—A. Yes, sir; that is their character and position from the nature of things, having lived in a state of slavery and being liberated, and believing that there might be danger of return to slavery—not knowing the utter impossibility of this, knowing the political principles of either party much, except that they had a deified idea that the Republican party was the only and direct cause of their liberation, not knowing that the great leaders of that party uniformly and unanimously said that they had no such purpose in view; of course they are easily excited by unscrupulous men.

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

Q. How old were you when you came to this country?—A. Sixteen or seventeen years.

Q. Have you spent all the rest of your life in the South?—A. No, I lived in New York until I was sixteen or seventeen years old.

Q. Then you went to Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now I wish you, being a representative man from the South, to state whether you regard the negro as being in any danger of being deprived of any of his political rights, or any of his property rights, or any of his school or church privileges, in your part of the State?—A. There is no danger, sir, of any such events taking place; on the contrary, it is the desire of the people of that country to extend to them these privileges, to the greatest extent within their power to extend.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. When did you go to Louisiana?—A. I went there first in 1859, afterward, after the war, in 1866, I went there again.

Q. Where were you during the war?—A. I was enjoying the hospitality of prison part of the time; and for about two years I was in military service.

Q. On which side?—A. On the side of the Confederacy.

Q. You left the State of New York, when the war came on, to go down and join the Confederacy?—A. I did not; when I went South I did not dream of war.

Q. When did you say you left New York?—A. In 1859.

Q. When did the war begin?—A. In 1861.

Q. When did you go into the Confederate army?—A. In April, 1862.

Q. You must have joined it about as quick as you could get into it; to what regiment did you belong?—A. I belonged to the First Louisiana Regiment.

Q. What company?—A. Company A.

Q. Did you vote for secession?—A. I was not a voter, sir.

Q. You took the first opportunity to get into the rebel army?—A. I was among the first.

Q. Did you allow anybody to get into the rebel army any earlier than you did?—A. I presume I did.

Q. How many succeeded, probably, in getting ahead of you?—A. I cannot answer that question would necessitate a knowledge of other men's acts and movements—hundreds of thousands of men, scattered over a large extent of territory—which, of course, it is impossible for me to possess.

You belonged to Company A, of the First Louisiana Regiment?—
Yes, sir.

How far down did you stand on the list of Company A?—A. I
lose I was about the eightieth man.

You did not come in as number one of the company?—A. No, sir;
company was organized before I joined it.

You were brought up in New York?—A. Yes, sir.

What did you go down south for?—A. For business.

What business?—A. Some business by which I could make a bet-
ting than in New York.

What did you do when you first went to Shreveport?—A. I kept
in a saloon.

You were bar-tender in a whisky shop?—A. Yes, sir.

How long were you a bar-tender in a whisky shop?—A. About a

Then what did you do?—A. I went to school.

What did you do in New York before you went down South?—A.
ous things.

Were you tending bar in a whisky shop while you were in New
?—A. No, sir; I was a boy in the family of Thomas B. Grosvenor,
ative of Mr. Seward's; I was a sort of protégé of Mr. Grosvenor's.

From there you went to Shreveport, and your first business there
to keep a whisky shop?—A. Yes, sir. I will state, however, that
ntention was not to go and launch in that business; it was my plan
into a grocery store if I could find an opportunity.

Do you keep a whisky shop in connection with the mayorship, or
he war break up that business?—A. No, sir; I do not.

You say you went to school after going out of the whisky shop?—
Yes, sir.

Where did you go to school?—A. At a boarding-school about two
s from town.

How old were you when you enlisted in the rebel army?—A.
at seventeen years.

You went down there when you were about fifteen years old; is
so?—A. As near as I can remember, I think I was about sixteen.

When did you say you went down there?—A. In the latter part
359.

And you enlisted in Company A of the first regiment that went
the rebellion?—A. Not of the first regiment—of the First Louisi-
Regiment.

Where were you during the rebellion?—A. I was in the army of
ern Virginia for a while; then I got discharged under the con-
t act; afterward I joined another company, and at Arkansas Post
captured and taken to Camp Butler, Illinois.

You went back into the army after you were discharged?—A. I
exchanged, and went back into the army.

At what time did you go back into the army?—A. About three
hs after I was captured at Arkansas Post.

At what time of year was that?—A. In the spring.

Of what year?—A. Of 1863.

Did you serve till the end of the war?—A. I did.

You fought it out as well and as long as you could?—A. I lost
months, when I was a non-combatant, in prison.

Well, that was not intentional on your part; you entered the first
any of the first regiment that was raised in Louisiana; you fought
st your country and against the old flag that you had come here to seek

protection under, and tried to destroy them for four years?—A. That is a matter of opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Windom, your questions are of course intended to be offensive.

Mr. WINDOM. No; they are not intended to be offensive.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not the cause of this exodus nor the effect of it; it has no bearing upon it that I can discover, and I am not willing to consume the time of this committee and of the persons whom we have been waiting before us with examining the military career, history, or record of this witness.

Mr. WINDOM. The majority of this committee is Democratic; and they say I shall not find out what I choose about the military record of this man I shall submit.

Mr. VANCE. I suppose you are asking these questions with the purpose of discrediting this witness.

Mr. WINDOM. That is my purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. After the witness has told you that he went into the army as early as he could, and staid in as long as he could, it seems to me that anything further is a useless waste of the time of the committee.

Mr. WINDOM. He has testified to the serenity of everything done there; he has testified to his love for the negro; now I want him to testify that for four years he fought to enslave the negro.

The CHAIRMAN. We might reply that your party said that you were not intending to free the negro; that Mr. Lincoln said that he would preserve the Union with slavery as readily as without slavery.

(Considerable discussion between the members of the committee followed, with which, it was suggested, it was not best to cumber the report of the evidence taken.)

Mr. WINDOM. I propose to prove that this witness, who claims to be the special friend and guardian of the negro, fought for four years to keep those men in slavery. If I am not allowed to ask that I shall give up.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have already asked that.

Mr. WINDOM. But you have not allowed him to answer it. (After a pause continuing.) Very well; then I am to understand that I am permitted to ask you whether you fought for four years to keep the colored men in slavery. Are you in favor of slavery?—A. I was raised in an atmosphere peculiarly opposed to slavery.

Q. What did you fight for then?—A. Like many boys of my age I was simply carried away by the enthusiasm of the hour.

Q. And stuck to it?—A. I stuck to it like a man.

Q. After you got out of the army what did you do?—A. I went to Indianapolis, Ind., where I worked as clerk for J. B. La Plant.

Q. And then what?—A. Then I returned South—to Shreveport.

Q. What did you go there for?—A. I went there under promise of a position in the post-office, as clerk. It was filled, however, before I got there. When I arrived there I obtained the position of deputy sheriff in the sheriff's office.

Q. How long did you hold that?—A. About three weeks.

Q. What did you do after that?—A. I was elected constable.

Q. On what ticket?—A. On the Democratic ticket; there was no other ticket.

Q. In what year was that?—A. That was in 1866.

Q. You were brought here under a resolution of the Senate, to tell us what was the cause of the exodus of colored people from the South.

have told us that the relations between the whites and the colored people are of the most friendly character; that there is no denial of political rights to any person, except such as are denied under the test to white men; that you yourself have tried to persuade negroes to go to the polls, and could not succeed in doing so; that the colored people have elegant advantages of schools.—A. I have not used the word “elegant”; and I have told you that the school moneys of the State had been misappropriated by the Republican party when it was in power, so that the school advantages are not what they should be, but what they will be hereafter.

Q. The school advantages for the colored people, you say, are as good as those for the whites?—A. So far as the public schools are concerned.

Q. You have described everything peaceable, and quiet, and serene, except when the colored people themselves get up a riot?—A. Yes, sir; I state that, most positively.

Q. Then the only reason you have to give for these people going away is that the Republicans stole the school-fund, some years ago. Is there any other reason?—A. I did not give that as a reason.

Q. You did not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then we will leave that out. Everything down there is peaceable and quiet and serene; that there is no bulldozing, no violence; that the relations between the whites and the colored people are of the most friendly character; that there is no denial of political rights to any colored person; that you regard the colored people as protégés, and treat them with conspicuous kindness and consideration; and that on account of these things they are fleeing by thousands from their homes to go forth among strangers in the more rigorous climate of the North?

A. I think you forget, Senator, that I stated that the negroes are a very simple, credulous people, liable to believe anything that is told, no matter how false and malignant, if the one who tells them so is a Republican. For instance, I recently heard a remark made by a Republican, that if Louisiana failed to go Republican at the next election, the snakes and owls would roost in the stores and warehouses.

Q. What has that to do with the exodus?—A. I presume that is one reason why the negroes are leaving.

Q. Have they no other cause for leaving Louisiana?—A. No, sir; the cause exists only in their own imagination.

Q. It is all imagination, is it? Nothing except imagination? You have been there through reconstruction—have there been no murders there for political reasons?—A. If you want to frame an answer to suit yourself, of course you can do so; I am ready to surrender the witness to you, any time. I have given you an impartial statement.

Q. Yes, I have seen how impartial it is.—A. There are other causes. You know that even the leaders of your own party, Seward and Chase, were driven out of it because they would not support the infamously unjust scheme of reorganizing the State of Louisiana under the military reconstruction bills; you know that it passed simply on the petition of men who represented the opinion of not one one-hundredth of the men of the South; and these villainous governments that we had so many years, and that were abolished—they were the cause of this exodus.

Q. The misdeeds of the Republican party prior to 1866 are what is driving these people out of the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the reason that they did not go while those villainous governments were in existence, but waited until these beneficent Democratic governments?—A. They were held there by a sort of magnetic

force held over them by the Republican leaders. Besides, they stole the funds of the State, and run it in debt, and imposed such onerous taxation that the colored people are driven out by taxation.

Q. But it has been testified here that the colored people pay but a very small part of the taxes, and so could have but little interest in the robbery going on.—A. They are possibly going under instructions from Republican sources.

Q. Do you know of any instructions being given them from Republican sources?—A. None except what was indicated by this remark; could not be expected to know; I am not in the secret councils of the Republican party.

Q. Now, are you not inclined to take back your statement that those villainous Republican governments were the cause of this exodus, but that the colored people waited until the Democratic State government had been in operation some years before they concluded to leave?—Only one person has left my neighborhood.

Q. Well, we are talking about this one person; what made him go?—A. I think these idle tales that I spoke about.

Q. But you told us only a little while ago that these people ran away on account of those villainous Republican governments?—A. I did not say they were the reason they ran away; I said the governments were villainous; and they were, and you know it.

Q. I do not know it; I know that they were not half so villainous as those that you support, organized and supported by bulldozing, intimidation, and murder.—A. That is your story. If you do not believe those Republican governments were villainous, I will give you some Republican authority for it (drawing a document from his pocket).

Mr. WINDOM. If you want to give it as a reason for this exodus I will listen; if it is not, I will not.

Mr. VANCE. I think, Mr. Windom, that you do not treat the witness quite right. I understood him to say that the troubles referred to in Louisiana were caused by those Republican governments—not that those governments caused these colored people to run away now.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. I want you to tell me this—just what was the cause of the leaving of this one person who you say has left your section?—A. I think it was owing to their credulity, and I believe it originates from Republican sources.

Q. How from Republican sources?—A. I think it was sufficiently indicated by this remark.

Q. By what remark?—A. The remark of which I have already spoken, that if the State of Louisiana failed to go Republican this fall, the bats and owls would roost in the stores and warehouses.

Q. Who said that?—A. It was attributed to Judge Bowman, a Republican judge.

Q. What did you understand him to mean by that remark?—A. I understood him to mean that if the Democratic party remained in power in Louisiana the negroes would all run away.

Q. Is it not the general belief that if the Democratic party continues in power the negroes will all leave the State?—A. That is bulldozing from the Republican side.

Q. You think that is the only cause of their running away?—A. The colored people are getting some sense into them, and are not being misled by idle tales as much as they used to be.

Q. You think that is the cause of their going?—A. That is one cause

. Well, now give us any other causes that you can think of.—A. I cannot give any cause from my own personal knowledge, not being a Republican, and not in the confidence of those who got up this exodus. Then the only causes that you know anything about are the negro's simple and credulous nature, and his fear lest the owls and bats roost in the warehouses in Louisiana?—A. You can put it in that if you choose.

. That is your way of putting it. Have you given us any other ones? If so, I would like to have you refer me to it.—A. I think you will find out, in the course of this investigation, that there are other causes, better known by others.

. But there are no others that you can put your finger on but these?—A. You say that you have participated in all the efforts that have been made to keep the peace in your part of the country, bulldozing indeed?—A. I have as much as anybody. And now I will tell you just to what extent of my bulldozing.

. That is precisely what we want to hear.—A. I will say this, that never in my life harmed a black man, nor hurt a hair of his head; nor have I ever witnessed it done; and I believe I am an average bulldozer.

. That is what I am told, and that is the reason I am asking about these things. I want to inquire of one who knows.—A. I know I never harmed a hair in the head of any colored man.

. Did you not whip a negro on the streets of Shreveport?—A. No,

. And have him arrested by your police?—A. No, sir.

. Do you swear to that?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

. Did you go on a bulldozing expedition into Bossier Parish in 1858?—A. I went over there with a cavalry company, an organization got up to go there and protect the white people of that parish and maintain the peace. We were accompanied by United States troops, who went there for the same purpose.

. How many negroes were killed in that effort to protect the white people of that parish and maintain the peace?—A. Before we got up there, I believe three were killed.

. How many were killed afterwards?—A. I cannot tell you.

. How many did you hear were killed?—A. I think I heard five negroes were killed.

. How many white people were killed?—A. I understood that one negro was killed and one wounded.

. You say that only five negroes were killed that year in Bossier Parish?—A. I do not believe there were that many killed.

. How long did that affair last?—A. About three days.

. What was the result of the election that year in Bossier Parish, after a little quieting and pacifying operation of yours—persuading your negroes over there to keep the peace?—A. Well, sir, a great many colored people took the stump for the Democratic ticket that fall.

. How many?—A. I could not tell exactly how many.

. You can tell whether there were ten, or twenty, or a hundred, or a thousand?—A. I think there were seventy-five or a hundred.

. What made them take the stump?—A. They thought that the negro was incited by Republicans; in fact, a brigade of negroes was organized up there; it is true they were very poorly armed and officered; extravagant promises had been made them by unscrupulous and irresponsible parties, and the imagination had been fired by visions of forty thousand acres of land and a mule, or something of that sort; and their declaration was, "We are going to have it anyhow."

Q. And after a lot of colored people had been killed by the Democrats, it so inspired the colored people who remained alive with love for the Democratic party that a hundred or so of them jumped on to the stump and spent the rest of the campaign in making speeches for the Democratic ticket?—A. You may put it in that way.

Q. Didn't you say so?—A. There are more or less colored men on the stump for the Democratic ticket down there every election.

Q. Did you not say that the result of your going over into that parish and killing those colored men was that seventy-five or a hundred colored men mounted the stump and went to making speeches in favor of the Democratic ticket?—A. I said that, *following* that, a large number of colored men—

Q. Took the stump for the Democratic party?—A. I think there were more than that; there were other causes than that.

Q. What cause inspired them with such love for the Democrats, who had shot down their brothers and friends, as to induce a large number of them to support the Democratic party?—A. I think they did it because they had found to their full satisfaction that it was foolish for them to trust the promises of the Republican party.

Q. You do not think the shotgun business had anything to do with it?—A. Of course, sir—in the imagination of any Republican.

Q. But was not the shotgun a sober and fatal fact to those colored men that were killed, and an efficient means of conversion to those who remained alive?—A. I do not know anything about the use of a shotgun. I never handle a shotgun—

Q. What instrument of conversion do you use—a Spencer rifle?—A. We do not use arms much down there.

Q. Do you go about unarmed down there?—A. I sometimes carry a weapon.

Q. What sort of a weapon did you carry that time?—A. When?

Q. When you went over into Bossier Parish to keep the peace?—A. I may have had a shotgun. I am sure I don't know how I was armed.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Was that the time when the United States troops were along?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Were you mustered in under the United States authority?—A. We went down on an appeal from the people of the parish.

Q. How many went down with you, in that way?—A. I should say about two hundred, maybe more; we were under command of Jack Wharton, United States marshal; you had better ask him about it; he knows more in regard to it than I do, and can tell you all about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Windom, you voted to confirm him, didn't you?

Mr. WINDOM. Jack has repented, and—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Currie, did you ever hear Jack Wharton say that he had repented?

The WITNESS. No, sir.

Mr. VANCE. I understood you to say, Mr. Currie, that you went over into Bossier Parish on an appeal of the people?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; on an appeal of the people of that parish, stating that the negroes were going to rise.

Mr. WINDOM. Is it not a general thing, a little while before election, for an appeal to come from the people of a parish, saying that the negroes are going to rise?

the WITNESS. I stated that we went exclusively for that purpose ; if you had been there you would have been with us, I believe.

the CHAIRMAN. I don't know about that.

Mr. WINDOM. From what I know in regard to the case, I believe I could have been on the other side.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 8, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Senator Voor-
s, chairman ; and Senators Windom and Blair.

ANDREW CURRIE'S examination was continued.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Question. You said yesterday, did you not, that the only denial of political rights you had ever known was their denial to the white people under the test oath ?—Answer. Well, yes, sir ; the only denial I know of was under the test oath.

Q. Do you wish us to understand from that, that everybody, white and black, has voted freely and without intimidation everywhere ?—A. Everywhere.

Q. In that country ?—A. I was speaking of Caddo.

Q. Has there ever been any interference with the rights of the colored people to vote in Caddo Parish and vicinity ?—A. I never saw any.

Q. Did you ever hear of any ?—A. Yes, sir—in Republican speeches.

Q. Did you ever hear of them otherwise than by Republican speeches ?

A. Yes, sir ; I have seen affidavits printed.

Q. You did not believe them, did you ?—A. Some of them were very marvelous indeed.

Q. Did you believe any of them yourself ?—A. Yes, sir ; I believed there was a shadow of truth in them—something like cause and effect.

Q. You think there is a shadow of truth in the statement that the negroes are sometimes driven from the polls ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or prevented from voting—intimidated ?—A. I do not understand the drift of that question.

Q. Do you think there is a shadow of truth in the statement that the negroes are not permitted to vote as freely as anybody ?—A. A shadow of truth, yes. It is possible that you might admit that to be true in your own State ; I think all over the United States.

Q. Is it no more true in Caddo Parish than anywhere else ?—A. It could not be less anywhere else than there, hardly.

Q. You said you had known of political clubs composed of negroes arming themselves, did you not ?—A. I have read affidavits to that effect—affidavits made by members of the club.

Q. Have you ever heard of white clubs arming themselves ?—A. Not of an organized club for any political operations.

Q. Did you ever hear of any organized white societies—the White League, the White Camelias, the Ku-klux, &c. ?—A. I suppose everybody has heard of them.

Q. Have you read of them ?—A. Yes, sir ; certainly I have.

Q. Do you know anything about them ?—A. Very little ; as I understand it, they were merely ephemeral organizations.

Q. They were pretty active while they lasted, were they not ?—A. They were never called into service except for the preservation of peace and order.

Q. Were you ever a member of any secret political society?—A. I do not know what you term a secret political society.

Q. Were you ever a member of the society known as the Ku-klux?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you ever a member of any other secret society, such as White Camelias?—A. I do not think that was a society.

Q. You never heard of it?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Was it not an organization of any kind?—A. It was not what might be called an "organization" of any kind.

Q. What was it?—A. It was merely an understanding between a number of persons that, in case of necessity, they would bind themselves together for the preservation of order.

Q. To do what?—A. To preserve order.

Q. Were you a member of that society?—A. I was.

Q. Where did they meet? Did they have any regular meeting place?—A. Hardly; they had a place for a while where we met and consulted like we would in a committee-room, but we had no regular place for meeting; it was, as I said, a merely ephemeral organization.

Q. How long did it last?—A. I think about ten days.

Q. When was that?—A. During the trouble that we anticipated in Bossier Parish, and which culminated there. It dissolved immediately afterward.

Q. Was it in existence in Bossier Parish during the troubles in 1868?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it an oath-bound society?—A. I took no oath.

Q. Did anybody else?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. You say it was to preserve order; was it to resist negro insurrection in Bossier Parish?—A. It was got up for the peace generally, and was principally incited by that.

Q. Were you ever a member of any other secret political society?—A. I never was a member of anything that you can properly term really a secret society.

Q. Was the White Camelias the right name of that society?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did it not extend pretty generally throughout the Southern States?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know of its existence anywhere except in Caddo Parish?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you assist in keeping order anywhere except in Bossier Parish in 1868, during those uprisings there?—A. No, sir; there was no occasion for it.

Q. That was the only place where they ever got up an insurrection, and the only time, was it?—A. That is the only time within my recollection.

Q. Was there ever any negro insurrection that threatened you in Caddo Parish?—A. No, sir; the rise in 1868 was not really an insurrection.

Q. I think you told us yesterday—but I have forgotten, and I wish you would tell us again—about how many white people were killed in this negro insurrection in Bossier Parish in 1868?—A. Two young men were killed; their names were Brownlee and Ogden.

Q. Is that all you know of that were killed?—A. They were the first ones killed.

Q. How many were killed afterward?—A. I do not believe that any more white men were killed.

Q. How many negroes? I think you said five.—A. I heard that five

oes were killed ; there might have been more. I did not see a single negro.

How far is that from Shreveport, where this insurrection or raid in Bossier Parish ?—A. It extends up the river about twenty-five miles.

Bossier Parish is right opposite Shreveport, is it not ?—A. Yes, it is right opposite Shreveport.

How many did you say were killed ? You ought to know something about it ; you were there keeping the peace.—A. As I said, I did that there were three killed.

You mean three negroes ?—A. Yes, sir. We were accompanied by United States troops, as I said ; and we heard that there were five negroes killed.

You never heard of any more than three negroes being killed there ?—A. O, yes, sir.

How many did you hear were killed ?—A. Taking Republican authority for it, and it might have been twenty millions.

Do you think there were twenty millions of negroes killed there ? No, sir ; but if anybody wanted to believe it, I would let them.

Suppose you come as near as you can to the truth, between five and twenty millions ?—A. I am telling you the truth, but you do not seem able to appreciate the truth.

I do not, from some quarters, because I hear it so rarely ; but I am anxious to get it from you, now, if possible.—A. I said there were about five negroes killed there, in my judgment.

How long were you down there keeping the peace in Bossier Parish ?—A. About forty-eight hours.

And then you went back ?—A. Yes, sir.

Where to ?—A. To Shreveport.

Mr. Currie, I have here an official report of the number of persons killed in Bossier Parish, which covers over a dozen pages, giving the names of persons who were killed in Bossier Parish, almost exclusively, numbering some two hundred and thirty persons who were killed.

No such number as that were killed.

I simply say that we have here the official document, and many Democrats sustain it by their statements. There are 868 lines devoted to Bossier Parish, containing a list of two hundred and thirty-odd colored persons—I think they are all colored persons—killed in that parish, and you say that you never heard of but five.—A. I will tell you I regard these official reports from Louisiana ; I regard them as of no value whatever ; because I know something of the turpitude, the depths of iniquity, to which the Republicans of Louisiana are capable of resorting in order to manufacture such testimony.

Do you pretend to say that this is all untrue ?—A. I do not pretend to say anything about it.

Two hundred and thirty persons were killed, and yet you never heard of but five.—A. It is utterly impossible, and false.

What is false ?—A. That statement that two hundred and thirty persons were killed, at that time, is utterly false.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Windom, what is that document ? I wish to see a memorandum, so that I can refer to it hereafter, if I wish.

MR. WINDOM. It is " Executive Document No. 30, House of Representatives, Forty-fourth Congress, second session," being a message from the President of the United States in reference to the use of the military in several Southern States that are named.

Mr. Currie, have you ever heard of any negroes being killed in

Caddo Parish, where you live?—A. Negroes and whites have been killed there, at one time and another, repeatedly.

Q. Within the last ten years how many have been killed for political reasons in that parish?—A. Not being a statistician, employed by government to get up statistics of that sort, I cannot tell you.

Q. You can give your opinion as to the number that have been killed in your own parish within the past ten years?—A. If there have been any killed it is something I know nothing about.

Q. This official report goes on to enumerate the number of persons killed since 1868 in Caddo and Bossier Parishes, and a great many of other parishes. From page 416 to page 546 of this report, including one hundred and thirty pages of closely printed matter, in small type, contain the names of persons murdered and whipped in Louisiana; among them are thirteen pages of names of persons in Bossier Parish, and twenty-three pages of names of persons in Caddo Parish. Not only the names of the persons killed are given, but the dates, places, circumstances, and in many cases the names of the persons who killed them. Now, did you ever hear of anybody being killed in Caddo; and, if so, how many?—I could only approximate—I could not answer with any degree of accuracy.

Q. But you think it is peaceable, and the relations between the races good all the time, do you?—A. As I told you yesterday, I think they were as peaceable as they could be, in any country on the face of the globe where the colored people preponderate, and have such villainous influences operating among them.

Q. What influences?—A. White influences.

Q. I thought the influences of you white people upon them were mild and gentle. Then how comes it that so many of the colored people have been killed? Who do you think did it?—A. I think the answer to that might suggest itself to your minds.

Q. Were they Republicans?—A. I think they were killed in imagination, the greater part of them.

Q. But here are the names of the persons killed, the dates, the names of those who killed them, the plantations on which they were killed?—A. O, that is not beyond the ingenuity of man, at all.

Q. Well, then, tell us how many have actually been killed in Caddo Parish?—A. I cannot recollect.

Q. But you pretend to say that this is not correct?—A. I pretend to say nothing about it, sir.

Q. You mentioned yesterday that boat on which you were sunk in accordance with the wishes of the colored people?—A. You misunderstood me in regard to that. I said that I started from Caddo Parish with a company with seven or eight colored men, to go before the Teller committee, to give evidence with reference to the election in Caddo, and the riot; and the very freely expressed wish by some colored people on the river bank—some of the malignants, I may say—was that the boat would sink before we got there.

Q. And did it sink?—A. Yes, sir; in accordance with their wish, it did sink.

Q. Was that in accordance with your feelings towards them? Was that wish on their part a proper return for your love and regard towards them?—A. I do not understand you.

Q. You have said that you have always regarded and treated the colored people as your proteges; and yet these proteges of yours want to sink the boat which you were on?—A. You cannot always govern humanity in its appreciation of things. I do not suppose you would

appreciate the fact that so many colored men vote the Democratic ticket in there as they do.

Q. O, I think I can appreciate that very well. By the way, you told yesterday that immediately after this massacre in Bossier Parish, forty or fifty colored men took the stump for the Democratic ticket in that parish, did you not?—A. I did.

Q. Now give us their names.—A. Fifty names?

Q. As many as you can think of.—A. It is a little too far back for me to be able to remember the names.

Q. Can you not remember the names of any?—A. Yes, sir; one was Brose Eagle. I remember him because he was rather a wit.

Q. Do you remember any more?—A. If I had an opportunity to refer to the files of the paper I could give you a great many names.

Q. But you cannot give the names of any more now?—A. Not expecting any such inquiry to be made, I cannot remember.

Q. How do you happen to remember that forty or fifty persons took the stump for the Democratic ticket, if you cannot remember their names?—A. I think there were more than that; it seems to me they were speaking all over the parish.

Q. They made a general rush, did they, to take the stump for the Democratic ticket?—A. Did you say immediately after that massacre?

Q. You said that it was that year, did you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. After the massacre the negroes made a general rush for the Democratic party, did they?—A. If you want to put it in that way you

Q. Did anybody make any speeches on the other side?—A. I did not hear of any.

Q. How many Republicans in Bossier Parish voted the Republican ticket that year?—A. I do not live in Bossier Parish.

Q. How many voted the Republican ticket in Caddo Parish?—A. None.

Q. That was a pretty clean sweep that you made that year, through the aid of the White Camelias, &c., with this protege business of yours—turning every Republican in the parish except one.—A. Only one.

Q. Was not that a Democratic move?—A. It was not a Democratic move; it was a mistake on the part of the Republicans to instigate that

Q. How did the Republicans instigate that riot?—A. That is one of the mysteries of your party; I do not know.

Q. How did the negroes state that the Republicans did it?—A. By making them extravagant promises of forty acres of land and a mule, and so on; and they said they were going to get it.

Q. And therefore they commenced killing Democrats?—A. No, sir; I think that was an accident.

Q. What had the killing of negroes to do with forty acres and a mule?—A. It is impossible for me to state.

Q. You say that when the colored men are brought before your courts, charged with petty crimes, the white planters go on their bonds, and protect them; is that a common thing?—A. It is quite a common thing; very common.

Q. Do you not regard them as your protégés, so that it is your duty to defend their rights, see that they vote on the right side, &c.?—A. We regard them as our protégés, so far as keeping them from the machinations of Republicans is concerned.

Q. You thought of that when you joined the White Camelias, and

went over into Bossier Parish and tried to keep the peace?—A. I think that was the motive; yes, sir.

Q. I have no doubt of it.—A. If you had been down there I think you would have done the same; that is, if you had felt any charity toward the colored people.

Mr. WINDOM. If I had been down there when your people were murdering them by the hundreds, I assure you I should have been against you.

The WITNESS. I do not believe that story.

Mr. WINDOM. I do.

The WITNESS. No intelligent person down there believes it, sir.

Q. You have talked with all the intelligent people that are down there, I suppose. Are you aware of the fact that these statements are sworn to by very intelligent people down there?—A. O, I presume they are sworn to.

Q. Are you aware that General Phil. Sheridan reported that thirty-five hundred colored Republicans had been killed in the South, from 1865 to 1875, for political reasons?—A. We thought at the time he made that report that he had been very sadly imposed upon.

Q. But you deem him an intelligent man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said no intelligent man believed that story?—A. You certainly distort my meaning.

Q. Did you not say that no intelligent man believed that story?—A. I meant no intelligent citizen down there.

Q. O, no intelligent man down there believes it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Don't you think the Republicans down there believe it?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you do not think Sheridan believes it?—A. If you want to make that statement you can make it; I have not made any such statement.

Q. Don't you think so?—A. I presume he believed it, or he would not have signed the report.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Who was in command of the United States troops at that time when you went, with others, to Bossier Parish?—A. I do not remember his name.

Q. How many soldiers were sent over there?—A. One company of troops.

Q. And all that you did was to go along with a party that accompanied the government troops, to preserve peace?—A. We went a little in advance, before they went.

Q. You knew they were going?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you acted in concert?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A government officer had command?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you induced to go by the information of a couple of white men being tied up and killed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was the inception of what is called the riot?—A. Yes, sir; so far as our knowledge extends.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What do you know about two white people being tied up and killed?—A. Their brothers told me they were killed.

Q. Did they tell you that they were tied up?—A. No; I knew they were not tied up, from the statement of their brothers.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Then I made a mistake ; but it does not make much difference about their being tied up, if they were killed?—A. There was a drunken white man, from Arkansas, going through the parish of Bossier. A considerable section of Arkansas trades at Shreveport. This white man wanted some corn, and got into an altercation with some colored people in regard to it. Along the river there, there are very large plantations, and a hundred blacks to one white man. Wherever that is the case, in Louisiana or any other Southern State, the negroes are apt to riot, and not be well governed. They will go a great deal further than they would if they were governed by competent persons. They took these white men and tied them to a corn-crib, where this altercation had taken place about the corn. These two young men, Brownlee and Ogden, came along and released the white men, and that was the cause of the difficulty.

Q. Where did you get that?—A. From the brothers of Brownlee and Ogden.

Q. Did you ever read the sworn testimony in that case?—A. I do not know that I ever did.

Q. Do you not know that it arose by a man from Arkansas going through the parish and asking for a Radical, saying that he was going to shoot a Radical negro before he went away ; that he asked every colored man he met whether he was a Radical ; that he met one colored man who refused to answer ; whereupon he shot him, and wounded him ; that the white man who had done the shooting was captured by negroes, but released at the request of some of the white citizens of the parish, who promised to take him before a justice of the peace for trial ; that on being released, this white man got together a crowd of thirty or forty other white citizens, and came back and went to shooting negroes ; that the negroes arrested two of the men who had been active in the shooting, and were taking them to Shreveport for trial, when they were again assaulted by white men, and a fight occurred, in which the negroes shot these two white men, Brownlee and Ogden, whom they were taking to Shreveport as prisoners ; do you not know that this was the origin of that riot?—A. It is my firm belief that that is entirely contrary to the truth.

Q. Even if sworn to, you would swear that it was not true?—A. I am swearing to what I was told by the brothers of the two men that were killed. I believe that the statement to which you have referred is at entire variance with the truth.

Q. Did you go down to Coushatta with a crowd of men in 1874?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you go down to Caledonia to participate in the riot of 1878?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not go down there at all?—A. No, sir ; I was busy at home then.

Q. Did you have anything to do with preventing Republican speakers from speaking at Spring Ridge in 1878?—A. No, sir ; there was some disturbance there, I believe, but it was from some of the old bulldozers that had turned Republicans.

H. H. STANTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 8, 1880*

H. H. STANTON sworn and examined :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. At Topeka, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation there?—A. I keep a hotel and a railroading house for the Kansas Pacific Railroad.

Q. Have you necessarily observed the arrival of the most of the colored people that come to Topeka by railroad?—A. I have, sir, a great many of them.

Q. They are unloaded there to change, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of what class of people do these colored folks generally seem to be? Do they seem to be a desirable acquisition to an industrious community?—A. The class that comes there consists of about one man, three or four children, and a wife; that is about the proportion. Generally an old man from forty to sixty years of age, a wife of from twenty to thirty-five, and four or five children. Very few young men come. They are all mostly destitute—those that I see. They all have bad health, mostly.

Q. What about this relief board; what do they do, and how do they do it?—A. They might relieve a great many more than they do.

Q. Has there been much suffering there this winter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How would it have been if this has been a hard winter instead of a soft winter?—A. A great many of them would have frozen to death.

Q. Are there many of them there now about the city?—A. Plenty of them.

Q. Without employment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When you say "plenty," do you mean a large number?—A. I judge there were, in Topeka, when I came away—I am only approximating—from three to five thousand.

Q. What proportion of them can find employment in that city of from twelve to fifteen thousand people?—A. A great many of them do not get employment.

Q. Are they living on charity?—A. I really do not know how they do live. I see them sitting around on the fences or standing on the corners of the street talking politics, and how they get a living is a wonder to me.

Q. Do any portion of your people want them to come there?—A. I do not think there are two men in the first ward that want them; one of them is a Methodist minister; he is employed in that Freedman's Relief Society in some way. The other, I believe, is a minister, too; come to think, I believe he has left there; I do not believe there is more than one man in the ward that wants them to come to the city.

Q. Have you talked with these folks much?—A. I have.

Q. Did they tell you that they were badly treated?—A. Yes, sir; they came with one tale when they came out there; and when they get ready to go back, they all have one tale to tell. The story they tell when they come there is one which they seemingly have learned; but the one they tell when they go back is a very different one.

Q. What is the one they tell when they come there?—A. They say they have been cheated, and robbed, and shot at, and abused in every way. But when they come and ask me to help them get back—which I have known a great many of them to do—I ask them, "How dare you go back where they treat you so badly;" then they say, it was a made-up story, which they were told to tell, before they started away.

Q. Did they tell you that they themselves were badly treated, or did they only tell you that they had heard of others who had been badly treated?—A. Nobody could be found that had been badly treated themselves. I have noticed that particularly. I was considerably amused, one day at a conversation that I overheard. Between my laundry and my house, and the high fence in the rear of my hotel, there is a little vacant space. I happened to be out in the back-yard, when I heard a group of these colored people talking; there was quite a crowd of them there, sitting on some old trucks, and standing around there. I heard one of these, who was evidently a woman, saying “I am not going to tell this story any longer; it is all wrong, and it does not do a bit of good; there is nobody cares for us here; here we are, sitting on these old trucks, and may stay here till we starve to death, and nobody would help us; you know very well that nobody ill-treated us down there, and I am not going to tell this story any longer.”

Q. Who was she talking too?—A. Her husband, I judged, from the tenor of her conversation.

Q. What did he say?—A. Nothing. I think they started back home the next day.

Q. Have a considerable number gone back home?—A. Yes, sir; a great many. They are applying at the railroad offices there every day, to find out how much it will cost.

Q. What railroad is that?—A. The Kansas Pacific Railroad.

Q. Do you know anything about any pictures, chromos, or anything of that sort, being sent down South by anybody?—A. Yes, sir; I saw one picture, I think, last July or August, possibly September; I would not say exactly what month it was. I saw a chromo perhaps the size of a pocket atlas, perhaps not as wide; it had a nice little cottage-house, a one-story house, with a porch and awning in front, situated on one of our high mounds in Kansas; in front of the house stood a mule, harnessed to a cart; an old gentleman and lady, colored, were standing on the porch, and little children were playing about in the shadow of four or five green trees. And the man that showed me that picture said that it was got him here—forty acres, and a mule and cart, and the like of that.

Q. Where was he from?—A. From Mississippi.

Q. What part of Mississippi?—A. I could not tell you. I saw so many of these people that I do not remember all the particulars concerning each one, and I did not then suppose that I would ever be asked down here to tell about it.

Q. When these colored people got to Kansas, did they find that farm ready for them, that neat little cottage, and that mule and cart, and those green trees and things?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did the man that showed you that picture go back?—A. Yes, sir; he went back, very indignant.

Q. He expressed himself as being disgusted?—A. Yes, sir. I have known my own men, when they came there and found there was nothing for them, to go back the next day. They would go to the barracks, take a look at the condition of things there, and turn around and go home.

Q. Do you know Mr. Case, the mayor of your city?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear his testimony here the other day?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you agree with him in reference to what he said as to the opportunities for colored men to better their condition in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; and I think he is about correct. I do not think the colored men can better their condition by coming there. Kansas is a new State, and the farmers there have but little means as yet; not one in ten is

forehanded enough to be able to afford to keep help. They do the work with machinery, two thirds of it, and the negroes do not know how to work with machinery.

Q. The people of Kansas have felt the pressure of hard times themselves?—A. Yes, sir; and they cannot afford to hire. If the negroes are bound to emigrate they had better go to other States—older States that have more money than Kansas.

Q. There are some mortgages on the lands in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; a great many of our farmers are struggling to free themselves from debt and get rid of mortgages upon their farms.

Q. What are your politics?—A. Well, there is not much use of me having any politics in Kansas; but when I lived in York State, in Syracuse, I was a Democrat.

Q. Is there any division of sentiment in Topeka as to the propriety or desirableness of these negroes coming to Kansas?—A. No, sir; I think I may safely say that there is no man in the first ward of Topeka who thinks it best for them to come there. When they threw those barracks in the river that they started to build it was the best business men in the place that did it, and advocated its being done.

Q. That is something I had not heard of before; tell us about it.—A. Governor St. John was president of this relief association, and my brother-in-law, Dawson, was superintendent of it, and they started out to put up some barracks there about two blocks above the bridge.

Q. For whom?—A. For these colored people; but the citizens would not permit it, and the business men threw them into the river.

Q. It cannot be possible that any Republicans were connected with that matter?—A. It was the business men there, and there were not three Democrats over there. I did not know anything about it until the next morning.

Q. Were not quite as many of these business men Republicans as Democrats?—A. Why, there were not ten Democrats among them. Then they moved the barracks up by the railroad, near the water-tank. Then the citizens held a meeting and agreed not to allow them there. Then they moved them out of town, three-fourths of a mile or a mile beyond the city limits.

Q. Was there any public indignation expressed against throwing the barracks into the river?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did the newspapers say?—A. Not a word.

Q. Is the city council Democratic or Republican?—A. I do not know. I should judge, of course, Republican; I do not see how any Democrats can get into the city council. Mayor Case, is there a Democrat in your city council?

Mr. CASE No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You must have a hard time of it out there.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; it seems good to get hold of the hand of a Democrat, now, I assure you.

Q. Do you know anything about the desire of the negroes to return South and whether the board, called the refugee board, has been willing to assist them to go home, or whether they refused to use the funds for that purpose?—A. I have had two cases of that kind, where men have come and asked me to help them get back home, and wanted assistance. One case is that of a man who is here in this room now; his name is Brookings; he is a colored man from Mississippi; the other man's name I forget; he came from Yazoo, Miss.

Q. That dreadful place, Yazoo?—A. Yes, sir; the same.

Q. Is it possible that any colored man could want to go back to

o?—A. Yes, sir; he was a man with a wife and three children; had been up to Wamego; somebody took them up to Wamego, but nothing for them to do, and could not keep them; they got about days' work up there, and that was all; they came very near starv—they staid there six weeks with nothing to do, and no place even ne family to sleep; they came back to Topeka, and landed in the cks again. The superintendent drove them out, saying that he had d that family once, and they must keep away. For three nigh's slept on the freight cars there, or staid on the platform. I saw about there for two or three days; I found that the children were ry, and somebody fed them; then this man Brookings came into ouse, and wanted to know if there was any way to help this man his family get back; I told them that if they would come there the morning I would go to the relief committee and see. He came , and Mr. Beverly, the car inspector, and myself, went over there e them. They said that they had helped this man once, and they d not help him any more. We sent three or four others over there ge the matter, and finally one of the board came and handed out a e of tickets for this family in what seemed to me rather an uncivil ; he never so much as said good-by to them, and they started home. He did not take a final farewell of them, as though they were g back South to get killed?—A. No, sir; this other man came and ried to get a ticket for him, but they refused; they were willing to persons that were there away, but not to send them back home.

Where did he live?—A. In Mississippi, near the same place that other man did, I think.

Have you seen much suffering there?—A. There has been a good of sickness. I have been told—I have not seen it—that a great y have died, and been buried up there; sometimes at the rate of e to five a day.

How many of these colored people are there in these barracks?— cannot say; there are different estimates, and there are different bers at different times. I never was there but once.

How many were there there when you were there?—A. Two or e hundred; there are probably between three and five hundred there

From three to five hundred?—A. I should judge so; they have building—extending the barracks larger; every time you go by e you will see more buildings put up.

Is the public money used for this purpose?—A. I do not know; derstand so; I know this, that if no more money and goods were there it would put a stop to the emigration.

What do the negroes say, if they say anything, about getting these s?—A. A boy that works for Eli Lewis, by the name of Tucker, ted that he went there and got clothing enough to last him for two s—more than he wanted. He is not one of the emigrants; he has uation right there at the depot.

You think the emigrants would stop coming if the people would sending these goods?—A. Yes, sir; and another thing, there s to be some colored people, a class composed principally of sters and school teachers and politicians, who go down South talk with these colored people, then they get a hundred or red and fifty or two hundred of them together, and get re- rates for them, or charge these people additional for coming, so they make one or two or three dollars ahead off from them. Au- thing I have been told, and I have seen some of it two weeks ago

last Sunday night. There was a colored man there that wanted to go back, and had made up his mind that he would go back ; but he did not want those fellows up there to know anything about it, for they would pitch into him and abuse him. That was the man whose fare we sent away two weeks ago Monday. On Sunday night they were quite a time on the platform ; the others said there was no sense in going back, that he would get shot. The woman said that none of the boys had ever got shot ; that she never saw any shooting down there though she was born there. Another man said, " I have been here three years, and have had all I want to eat and drink and wear ; this country is good enough for me." Then the man who wanted to go down South asked of the other man whether the people in Kansas did dress up and and put on their best clothes on Sunday. The other said " Yes, sir." " Well," said the man that was going back South, " Look at those clothes you have on. I would not wear such clothes as that down a plantation down there." I am only telling you the talk they had on the platform.

Q. There is some bulldozing, then, even up in Kansas ?—A. About as much, I guess, as you will find anywhere.

Q. This refugee board have a headquarters, have they not ?—A. Yes, sir ; and a very fine one, too.

Q. Did they buy a building for that purpose ?—A. No, sir ; I think they built it. I do not know, though ; I only just see it there as I pass by. It is a new building that has been put up within the last few months.

Q. And reputed to have been built by the board ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And is owned by them ?—A. Well, they say that a man named Brown, who I see by the papers has been here and his evidence taken—

Q. A colored man ?—A. Yes, sir ; he pretends to own the lot—I have not been to the records to find out whether he does or not—and the people have put up this building on it.

Q. What is the general understanding with regard to the funds with which it was built ?—A. They all say that it was built out of the funds sent there for the benefit of the colored people. I have been told that a hundred thousand feet of lumber was sent there, donated by one man, and that it was used for this building.

Q. Is it a better building than the barracks that were put up for negroes ?—A. It is the best house there on the north side of the river except one, a brick house, owned by a man by the name of Baker.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Mr. Stanton, you have told us a good many things that you do not know anything about. You do not know anything about whether this office which you have spoken of has been built with money contributed from abroad, except that you heard somebody say so ?—A. That is all.

Q. Have you ever been through that house ?—A. I was in it once when I went for checks.

Q. How large is it ?—A. It is a two-story house ; a large house.

Q. Is it the largest house in Topeka ?—A. The largest except one.

Q. Is it as big as a meeting-house ?—A. O, no, no, no, no ; well, it is larger than some meeting-houses that we have in Topeka.

Q. Two stories high, is it ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. With a cupolo on it ?—A. No, sir.

Q. A bell ?—A. No, sir.

- . No spire?—A. No, sir.
- . Is there a basement to it?—A. No, sir.
- . Are there any saloons in it?—A. No, sir.
- . Nor wholesale stores?—A. No, sir; but there plenty of clerks
- . Are they engaged in some business there?—A. Yes, sir; and at good salary too, they tell me.
- . That, too, is something you have been told?—A. Yes, sir.
- . What is the building made of?—A. Of wood.
- . O, I did not know but it was of marble?—A. No, sir; there are marble buildings in Kansas except government buildings.
- . Of what kind of wood is it?—A. Pine lumber.
- . You don't mean to say that it is made of common pine lumber?—Yes, sir.
- . Is it painted?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Blinds on the windows?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Large-sized glass in the windows?—A. I cannot answer as to the of the glass.
- . Is there a finer building in the State of Kansas than that?—A. Yes, there are better buildings there than that.
- . Did it cost fifty thousand dollars?—A. No, sir; O, no.
- . How much?—A. From two to three thousand dollars.
- . Only two or three thousand dollars? I thought by your first description that it must have cost at least fifty thousand dollars. Is two three thousand dollars a large price for a building in Kansas?—A. Is a pretty good price for Kansas.
- . But this is in a city of twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants. Have no houses there that cost four or five thousand dollars? You say this is the best house in Topeka, except one?—A. I said on the north
- . The large majority of the citizens live on the south side—about five thousand inhabitants.
- . Are there any Democrats on the south side?—A. I don't go over there often enough to see; I stay home and attend to business.
- . You are aristocratic, and won't associate with the people on the south side much?—A. Just so.
- . This office is the best building on the north side?—A. I do not know of any better one, except Baker's brick house.
- . How many rooms has it?—A. I don't know; I never was there once, and that time they apparently did not want me to go beyond hall.
- . Were there any guards there—any military?—A. No, sir; but there was more red tape than a little.
- . More than there is here at Washington?—A. More than I have seen here yet.
- . You can shake hands with a Democrat here without much trouble if you set out to?—A. Well, yes.
- . To return to that building. It cost, you think, some two or three thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir.
- . And it is two or three stories high?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Do you think it unsuitable for the purpose for which it was built?—A. I think that an unnecessary amount of money was laid out upon it.
- . They are not going to take it down when the exodus stops, are they?—A. I do not know what they will do with it.
- . Have you any idea that they will wear it out this year?—A. No,

Q. It is not a bad piece of property to remain there in your city?—
No, sir.

Q. It is not an extravagant investment, on the whole, is it?—
I think that if they had given some of the money that is invested in this building to some of the poor people that are sleeping in the freight- and coal cars, and got a common cheap place to do business in, it would have been just as well.

Q. Perhaps, and perhaps not. It may be that the exodus will go on for some time to come; and in the course of time it might cost more rent than the cost of this building.—A. They might get along with a great deal cheaper building.

Q. It might have been given to them. Some charitable person might have put his charity in the form of a proper building for this purpose; if so, there would not be anything wrong in their spending it, would there?—A. Of course not.

Q. That relief board is supported by charitable contributions from all parts of the country, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It does not damage Topeka, does it? If the people choose to spend three or four hundred thousand dollars of their own money there, you can have no objection?—A. I do not think it does Topeka any good.

Q. Have you been taxed much for the support of these people?—
No, sir; I have not; I have no real estate there—nothing but what can run out on wheels.

Q. In what shape is your interest there?—A. A hotel and railroad eating-house.

Q. Do you keep something to drink, too?—A. No, sir; I do not keep anything of the sort; but I take a drink myself whenever I am dry.

Q. Does this exodus damage you?—A. Some.

Q. Not much, does it?—A. No, sir. I keep white and colored hotels about half and half; and when colored persons that I think really need help come there hungry, I feed them.

Q. What objection have you to their coming to Topeka?—A. I have not so much objection as other people have who own property there. The objection is not, as I understand it, because they are negroes, because they come without money to a country where there is no work for them to do. And there is a class, and a pretty large class too, who do not want to work. The men who want to work push out into the country; but the loafers do not want to move on; they hang about town. I do not mean to say that they are all of this class.

Q. There are some three to five thousand there now?—A. Yes; in the city and suburbs.

Q. Are they persons who have come during this exodus movement?—
—A. Mostly, but not all of them. There were between one and two thousand there when this thing commenced. I do not know when they came there. I have been there myself only two years.

Q. Are all these people who sit on the fence and stand on the street corners colored people?—A. Nine out of ten are.

Q. Are nine out of ten of the colored people that sit on the fence and stand on the street corners these exodusters?—A. About all of them.

Q. Is it the same twelve or fifteen hundred all the time, or are there changes from time to time?—A. I do not know; I do not keep track of them, nor pay much attention to them.

Q. You do not mind the matter of personal identity?—A. No, sir.

Q. They are coming up the river all the time?—A. Yes, sir; and in the cars, too.

Q. They are coming and going all the time?—A. Yes, sir; not a train comes but there are one or two car-loads of these emigrants come.

Q. Is it not probable, from the fact of Topeka being a depot for their arrival, a point of distribution, that those you see there one day or week gone the next, and their places taken by others?—A. I hardly think so.

Q. These are permanent loafers, are they?—A. Yes, sir; they some of them have families that live in old houses, dug-outs, sand-holes—any place to shelter them in cold weather.

Q. You do not think it surprising to find a few loafers in the black race as well as the white race? Is it at all strange that a few loafers are attached to this movement?—A. They do not want to go to the country to work; I am told that when work in the country is offered them, they refuse it frequently.

Q. You said, if I understood you correctly, that these colored people there want to live on politics?—A. No, I did not say that.

Q. What did you say about politics?—A. I said that the most of them, or a great many of them, did nothing but stand on the corners of the streets talking politics. But a great many of them do want to live on politics, and their whole hobby is to get a chance to vote.

Q. Well, a great many white men want to live on politics, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Those negroes—you say their whole hobby is to get a chance to vote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If that is their whole hobby, why didn't they stay down South? They can vote as well South as North, can't they?—A. I suppose so. The last I heard, there were more colored folks registered than white folks.

Q. Where?—A. In Topeka.

Q. Did they vote?—A. I don't know; I have come away since then.

Q. What officers were chosen? Did you elect a mayor?—A. No, sir; Mayor Case was elected for two years.

Q. Did you vote for him when he was elected?—A. Yes, sir. Why should I vote for anybody else?

Q. Why vote for him?—A. Why vote for anybody else? He was the only man running.

Q. Can a good Democrat like you vote for a good Republican like Mayor Case?—A. I can vote for a Republican as well as you, sir.

Q. You don't allow your politics to interfere with your voting?—A. No, sir.

Q. You voted for Mr. Case?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He was the only man running for mayor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the proportion of Republicans to Democrats in Topeka?—A. I don't know.

Q. The Democrats didn't run any ticket last year?—A. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Case is the kind of a Republican that the Democrats can all vote for?—A. O, Mr. Case is a Republican.

Q. But he is that kind of a Republican that Democrats can vote for?

A. If a man wants to vote once in a while so as to keep his hand in and not get out of practice, if he lives in Kansas he has got to vote for a Republican.

Q. Do you think that is a good way for a Democrat to keep himself in practice—to vote for Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAIR. So do I; and it would be better for the country if more of them did it.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Wasn't there any respectable Democrat in Topeka that you could vote for?—A. Certainly; but what was the use of voting for him when there was no earthly chance of his being elected?

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You pointed my mind in the direction of hope by one thing you stated, which must also be a source of great consolation to the colored man; you said you thought these colored emigrants better go to some of the older States than to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I am inclined to think you are right. What State or States have you particularly in mind?—A. If I could have my way about it, I would send them all to Massachusetts.

Q. That is a good State; did you have in mind any other?—A. No, sir; Massachusetts is entitled to them all.

Q. It may be; I have no doubt the people there would be glad to receive them, and would treat them properly; I understand that a good share of this charity that takes care of them in Kansas comes from Massachusetts.—A. If she will send the money for their transportation, we will ship them all right down there.

Q. You say you think they ought to go to the older States?—A. Yes, sir; and I will tell you why: they have plenty of money and can afford to keep servants and to hire laborers of all kinds; if these colored people were to go there, they could get work, but in Kansas there is no work for them; farmers do not hire them because they cannot afford to hire them.

Q. Cannot they afford to hire them as well as to hire anybody?—A. No, sir; and I will show you why: the farm-work in Kansas is most done by machinery that these negroes never saw nor heard of before, and they do not understand the management of it all. If they were to go to Iowa, or Illinois, or Ohio, or New York——

Q. Why do you skip Indiana? That is one of the older States, and borders upon Illinois and Ohio, both of which you mentioned.—A. I was going to say New Hampshire; that is a good State, and I know a good many good fellows, New Hampshire fellows, and I would be glad to let them have the benefit of this immigration.

Q. I have extended an invitation to twenty thousand of them to come to New Hampshire.—A. I am just as good a friend to the negroes as anybody; I would use all alike; but it is no place for them in Kansas.

Q. You think that the belt of older agricultural States, like Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and so on, further east, would be better for them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you would be glad if your testimony would give the colored people notice that, in your judgment, they could do better by migrating to some of the older States instead of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; I would.

Q. The town of Atchison is located in the northeast corner of your State, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; it is right north of us, fifty-odd miles from the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad runs from Atchison to Topeka, and so on southwest.

Q. A considerable number of these colored emigrants land in your State further south than your city?—A. Yes, sir; the Texas emigrants come into the State by railroad from the South. Some of them get up as far as Topeka. From what I learn, they are generally a great deal better off than the people coming from the other parts of the South to our place; they come there with wagons, horses and mules, plows, &c.

&c. I heard a remark the other day that it would be a good idea some of the Kansas colored people to go down to Texas and get a t, and then come back.

. The citizens of Kansas have no objection to the immigration of red people who have the means to take care of themselves, like er immigrants?—A. Certainly not; we would object just the same he landing there of a large number of white men without means. A te man cannot get under way in Kansas without about five hundred ars to give him a start. He must buy a team, plow, and other farm lements, build, and break the ground, and support himself and ily from a year to a year and a half before he begins to get any re- a from his crop. A colored man is not any worse off than a white a who should come there without a cent to help himself.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK DOSTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 8, 1880.*

FRANK DOSTER sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Marion Center, Kansas.

Q. Where is Marion Center in Kansas?—A. It is about one hundred es west of the Missouri River, and probably one hundred miles north he Indian Territory.

Q. It is pretty well in the center of the State, then?—A. Yes, sir; it pretty nearly in the middle as to north and south, but in the eastern f of the State.

Q. Has your attention been called, to some extent, to this question of immigration of colored people to your State?—A. It is only been ed to consider and study the effects and consequences of the exodus, er than the cause.

Q. Please state to the committee your occupation.—A. I am an at-ney at law.

Q. What is your position officially, if any?—A. I hold no official ition.

Q. Were you a member of the last legislature?—A. No, sir; I was a nber of the legislature of 1872 in my State, but not since then.

Q. What are your politics?—A. I guess I had better call myself an ependent; at the last election I voted the Greenback ticket.

Q. And came from what party?—A. The Republican.

Q. You never had any Democratic antecedents or affiliations?—A. a father, I think, voted for Douglas in 1860.

Q. I am speaking of yourself; that is as far back as it is necessary go. I ask this so as to obtain your political standpoint; the stand- ut from which a man views matters of this kind is often impor- t. Now, give us the results of your observation and the conclu- n to which you have arrived.—A. I have not seen nearly as much of exodus as many other gentlemen who are here. When in Topeka, ave several times gone over to the north side of the river where se exodus emigrants are landed; I have walked around town, and a them there—had them pointed out to me as persons from the th. I have conversed with some of them. I did not make inquiries a great many as to the causes of their leaving the South; I had own opinion about that, and so did not inquire, except of a few.

The principal wonder in my mind was, what was to become of them after getting there.

Q. Did you find out whether any of them were getting employment?—A. My attention was directed to that inquiry in particular, because last summer, in my part of the State, we were building several lines of railway, commenced shortly after this exodus set in; and the thought struck me that this would be a good opportunity to get cheap labor on the railroad. I called the attention of the railway contractor, who was building the line of railway there, to the matter. But I think that none of them—comparatively speaking, none of them—got employment. They tried to get employment on our lines of road.

Q. What number of colored people were in your county at any one time, and what number are there now in your county?—A. There are very few there now; at one time there were about one hundred; they were coming and going.

Q. You said that your anxiety was principally upon the subject of what would become of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there no demand for their labor?—A. There was not.

Q. You feared they would have trouble to get employment by which they could earn their bread?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has there not been some trouble, even among white people, for the last few years, to obtain employment?—A. There has been.

Q. You say these colored people sought employment on the railroad?—A. No, sir; I did not say that they sought employment; I said I thought it a favorable opportunity for them to get employment. There was a demand for laborers to engage in that kind of work; but I failed to see that any of them went to work on these railroads. I do not think of any of these colored people whom I had seen working on those railroads were exodus negroes. There were but very few of them, in all.

Q. We have called you here, among others, to advise us upon this question; you are evidently a man of intelligence and no doubt conscientious; I will ask you whether it would not be better for the government, under the powers given it by the Constitution, to protect the people where they are, than for them to go to Kansas seeking employment?—A. I should say it would be much better for them to be protected, if they need protection, where they are now, than for them to come to Kansas.

Q. You say, "if they need protection." Do you understand that the government has ample power to protect them where they are now?—That is the opinion that I have. I never studied that legal question, but I take it for granted that the government has power to protect persons, in any part of the country, in all their rights, civil or political.

Q. Do you understand that the government has power to give the employment in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say that there are very few of these colored people in your county now?—A. Very few.

Q. Where have they distributed themselves to?—A. I do not know of my own knowledge. I have been told that quite a number of them have gone about seventy-five miles west, into Rice county, where there was a colored colony before these exodus immigrants came.

Q. They have mingled with that colony?—A. I suppose so.

Q. Are you acquainted with the condition of that colony?—A. I am not, particularly; I think it is reasonably prosperous; I noticed the persons composing that colony as they were passing through my county with their wagons, teams, &c., and they appeared to be in good condition.

- Q. How long since you have seen any of them?—A. I think a year or last summer I noticed a dozen or twenty wagons and families, which I understood were a colony of colored people going to Rice County.
- Q. Did you understand that they had property and means when they came from the South?—A. I suppose they had, because I saw that they were quite well equipped.
- Q. You understood it from that fact, not from information, but from your own observation?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. What is the temper of the public mind, the sentiment of the people of Kansas, on the subject of this large immigration into that State?
- A. As to the advisability of it, I think our people regard it as a bad thing. We have no objection to negroes or any other class of people coming there who have means, or, even if they are poor, if they can manage to take care of themselves; but our means are limited, and it is all that we can do to take care of ourselves. For this reason, I think this class of negroes is not generally desired by our citizens.
- Q. Is it thought to be advantageous to the negro himself?—A. I do not consider it so; I have heard the subject discussed somewhat, not so much in my part of the country as elsewhere, because, as I said, we have not had to exceed one hundred colored people in our county at one time, and they were at a town about ten miles from where I live.
- Q. Is not business improving in Kansas somewhat?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. There has been great depression and hard times in Kansas for the last six or seven years, as there has been everywhere else, I suppose?—A. Yes, sir; I think, however, it has not been so bad in our State as in some of the States east of us; we have had immigration all the time, of persons bringing in money, and they kept up business to a considerable extent.
- Q. There has been a constant stream of white immigration into Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. If there is anything else you wish to say, the committee will be glad to hear it.—A. I know of nothing further, sir.

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP BROOKINGS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 8, 1880.*

PHILIP BROOKINGS (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

- Question. Mr. Brookings, tell us where you live.—Answer. I live in the State of Mississippi, in Yazoo City, Yazoo County.
- Q. Where have you been living, or staying, for some time past?—A. I have been in Kansas for about three months.
- Q. You have come here from Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Have you a wife and children?—A. I have no children; I have a wife.
- Q. Where is your wife?—A. I think she is at home by this time.
- Q. Where do you call "home"?—A. Mississippi.
- Q. What is the county town of Yazoo County?—A. Yazoo City.
- Q. How long have you lived down there?—A. All my life, except the last three months.
- Q. Were you born there?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did you belong to any one before the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you become a free man when the war closed?—A. Yes, sir, was but about ten years old at the time of the surrender.

Q. That would make you about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How came you to go up to Kansas, Philip?—A. Well, we got papers down there, now and then, and every time we read them, it was all "Kansas, Kansas, Kansas." It looked as if a man could just plow wild out there, doing nothing, all but. I had been worth right smart and had got broke; and as everybody was going to Kansas, and every newspaper we would get hold of said "Go to Kansas," because we could make so much there, and do this and that there, I concluded I would shuffle out and go there. There was a prospect of getting hold of a better thing, you know.

Well, when I got out there, to Kansas, I went around and asked everybody I met, "How is work? Could a man get anything to do? And everybody said, "There is no work now, but there will be in a few days." That was in January. I could just now and then get ten cents worth of coal or something to tote in, and so just kept from starving, and that was all. That month passed, and then I asked again, "How is work?" And they said everything would be satisfactory in March. But still there was nothing for me to do to earn a mouthful of bread. Some said if I would go out into the country, about three miles, I could get something to do. So I blazed out on Sunday; you see I did not know Sunday from Monday. I went out, but there was nothing to do. I met with some Republican men; they said: "That is the result of your niggers coming out here; there is nothing here for white men to do—that is what makes it hard times." I said: "We heard a great deal about this place; we heard that there was plenty of work here, and now I am hunting work." And they said, "If you can find it you can do more than we can." So I blazed on, and went to another man whom I had been told might want somebody to work for him; but when I got there the man said that he and his wife did all the cooking, and milked the cows, and did everything themselves; they could not afford to hire anybody. Then I went back to town, and goes to this refugee board and asked them if they could get me anything to do; for, thinks I, if I can get anything to do so that I can squeeze along in some way till summer, then there will be no trouble about my getting work. Because I would not go to the barracks and stay there, they refused to give me anything. I would rather live on ten cents a day than go to the barracks, for they were dying in there at the rate of eight or ten a day. Some old women that I saw said they had lost all their children, and some of them had lost their husbands; so I felt pretty shy of going to such a place; I made up my mind that I would get pretty hungry before I would go in there; and I did get hungry. Things began to look pretty blue; I began to get uneasy; I felt worse than a fish in hot water.

Well, I staid there three months, not getting a thing to do, hardly. Sometimes I could get a chance to earn two bits; and I had to make that go a good ways. I was not used to such work as they had there. When I talk about hiring out by the month, they would say, "No, we would not want you a month; I have not anything for you to do."

Finally I concluded it was time for me to light out of Kansas. I wanted to go home pretty bad. I knew that there I could get plenty of work to do. I had heard something about an aid society in Kansas City that had sent a man back south; but how was I to get to Kansas City? That was the preponderous question with me. But somebody said that maybe this Refugee Aid Society there in Topeka

ght help me to get back. So I goes over, and blazed in there
l spoke to a man, and says I, "I cannot get anything to do; I want
go back." He says, "Where to?" Says I, "To Mississippi." He
l they had nothing to do with that; they helped nobody back. I
d, "Must I stay here and starve because I cannot find anything to
?" They said, "There is a heap of folks come here hungry with
hing to do." That was not any consolation to me. Because other
ks were hungry too, that did not put a stopper onto my appetite. I
ed the man what was I to do. But the man would not speak any
re to me; he looked right over the top of my head, and went to talk-
with a lady that was there. I stood there awhile, and by and by
ffled out. I went over to the hotel by the railroad depot, and made
to Mr. Stanton. I said, "What about a fellow getting away from
s place? I have no money; if I were back home I might get in a crop
cotton; but I cannot make enough here in the summer to carry
through the winter." And in Kansas, if a man did not make money
he summer, he stands a darned poor chance in the winter. Let there
ne a few cold days, and they will run coal up to thirty cents a bushel.
Stanton said, "Do you want to go back home?" I said, "Yes."
said, "Where have you been?" I said, "I have been to the aid
iety, and they won't talk with me." He said, "If you could raise
ney enough to get Kansas City, I think I could get you back." I
d, "That is an impossibility; I might as well try to fly to the moon."
I knocked around there, still looking for work. There was a friend
mine there, William Billing, with a wife and three children; he had
ne up to Wamego; it has a warm name, but lacks considerable of
ng a warm place; he had got back from out there, and was sleeping
car-boxes, and around. And all day Sunday he was traveling and
nting me, and I was traveling and hunting him; we were both trying
ind some way to get back home. He run upon me in the evening.
said, "I would like to get in somewhere, because I am hungry, and
children are hungry, and my wife is over the river." Said I, "Where
ve you been?" Said he "To Wamego." Said I, "How came you
go there?" Said he, "A man hired me, because he seed me in the
racks." Said I, "What to do?" Said he, "To dig a cellar; and
er that was done, there was nothing to do; and then he told me
at he could not hire me any longer; because he had not any more
ney. Then I scrambled around, and looked for work in other
ces, but I could not find any; and then the conductor brought me
re free; and I went to the barracks and they turned me out; and
rent there again, and they turned me out; and now I want to get
ay from here, and get back home." I said, "I want to get away
self; and after seeing what arrangements you can make, I will
ke arrangements for myself." So I goes to the hotel, and I makes
with a man, and I says, "I want a word with you; here is a
end of mine with his children, crying for bread, with nothing to
and no work to do—dirty and ragged and hungry." Said he,
"You look like an honest man, well-conducted, and dressed up and
nfortable"; well, I would not let on, but he was mightily mistaken,
ough he did not know it. He said, "What does he want to go back
?" Said I, "He cannot get anything to do; he is hungry and lousy
l naked, almost, and nothing but God between him and the north
d." He said, "Where is he from?" I said, "From Mississippi." He
l, "If he goes back there he will have to face bulldozers and butcher-
ves and shotguns and things." This other man said, "There were
e of these things where he came from." And I said the same. This

other fellow said he had heard that a man could do so much in Kansas that he sold out everything he had—just gave it away; what was worth three hundred dollars he sold for seventy or eighty; and he says, “No, I do not know what to do”; and he just gave right up. Then I come out and makes to Mr. Stanton, and tells him all about this other man and I thought that if he would tell me what this other man could do then I should know what to do myself. Mr. Stanton says, “They ought to be some way arranged for these men who want to get back to go back.” And he said, “Send him here to-morrow morning.” I think he staid there at the depot all night; he might as well, for there was no better place for him to stay; he was mighty glad of a chance to go back.

Q. Has he got back?—A. No, sir, he is not quite back; but he expected when I left there, to dance that way pretty quick.

Q. And you are now on your way back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think that you can do better there than you can in Kansas?—

A. I am certain that I can make two dollars there where I could not in Kansas. There is nothing to do in Kansas, and nobody with an money to pay you for doing it. I got a man's horse and wagon there one day; he had hired me to do some hauling; and I drove out of my way to two or three places hunting for work; I was afraid if he found it out, he would think I was stealing, but I was not; I was only trying to find something to do.

Q. You say you can get work when you go home; to whom will you go?—A. I rented land before I left there on Dr. Burrell's place; I can get work there or anywhere else in that neighborhood.

Q. You spoke of having got somewhat broken up before you left Mississippi; how did that come?—A. O, by my own conduct; I have seen the richest kind of men meet with misfortune and get broken up.

Q. Yes, sir; so have we all, Philip; but what I meant to inquire was was it on account of ill treatment from white folks?—A. O, no, sir; it was on account of a jug, principally.

Q. Well, that has broken many a man.—A. I thought, you know, I would just dance out to Kansas and get mended up, and go back solid you know.

Q. And now you believe, if you go back home home and take care of yourself, you will get plenty of work to do while there?—A. I do not believe it, I know it.

Q. What pay can you get for work in Yazoo County?—A. Fifteen dollars a month and my board, regular.

Q. Do you have to go and hunt around much to get work down there?—A. No, sir; if somebody knows that you want to be hired, you can just sit still, and hire yourself.

Q. You are not afraid to go back down there, then?—A. Not a bit, no more than I am afraid to go and get a drink of water.

Q. Your wife is there now, is she?—A. I suppose she is by this time.

Q. How far do you live from Yazoo City?—A. About half way between Yazoo City and Bennet.

Q. What are you going to say to the people down there about going to Kansas?—A. If see any of them that wants to break up and go to Kansas, I am going to use the best means in my power to coax them off from that notion; I will tell them that they might as well be in the middle of the Mississippi River when they could not swim a lick. I will tell them it will be a race which they will do first, starve to death or freeze to death.

Q. This has been a very mild winter in Kansas, has it not?—A. Yes, sir.

If it had been as cold as the winters usually are in Kansas, how would the colored people there have got along?—A. Well, sir; I suppose God Almighty knew how the poor negroes in Kansas was fixed, so he came between them and the north wind, or many a one would have been played out there before now.

How many of your people went to Kansas from Yazoo County, Mississippi?—A. I cannot tell how many did go; but there were a great

How came so many to go from that county to Kansas?—A. Well, in the first place, men would go to Kansas who could not write, you know; and they would get men to write back for them; and these men, instead of writing what they were told to write, would write a very different tale; they would write that four or five hundred negroes had landed there, when it was only a hundred or a hundred and fifty; then the negroes back there would think there must be something in it, or that there would not be so many landing there, and they would warm up on the subject, and bust up and go.

You did not drink any while you were in Kansas, did you, Philip? Drink! How could I drink? I did not have any money. I do not know what whisky is. I tell you, sir, Kansas broke me.

You do not drink any now?—A. No; nor hain't been. It is hard to get hold of whisky in Kansas, even if you have got plenty of money, and you are alone when you have not a red cent in the world. But in Kansas a man would need it if he could get hold of it, for Kansas has the roughest wind you ever run across in *your* life.

Philip, when they found that you were turning your face toward Mississippi, and were going home again, was any effort made by anybody to keep you from telling the colored people that they had better follow your example and go back South?—A. Yes, sir; they were very anxious about it; some of them said that if the law was not so strict they would take me and hang me. I told them that they need not mind the law, for I had not had much to eat, but two men could not hang me, and I would rather be hung than to stay there in Kansas. I tell you this Kansas business is just like rot-gut whisky; it is slow but sure poison to a negro. The fact is, I was out of heart, because I was out of money; and a man without money in Kansas totes a low head. I could not get hold of any money or I would have come away before I

One or two men were talking there; they were fine-dressed men, and they had money, I suppose. They said—you see, when the people found I wanted to go away everybody knew me almost—they said if they had known that I wanted to get away so bad they would have given me up the money.

Well, now, you are glad that you are going back home, are you, Philip?—A. Yes, sir; I am that; and I do not care who the devil sends me. If I had had wings I would have gone long ago.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Did you find many others of the colored people who wanted to go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Then how did it happen that you became so conspicuous, so prominent, as soon as it became known that you wanted to go back?—A. They found that I was a pullback to their business there; they found out that I did not like it there, and that I had aided these other folks when they got back; and they did not know what to do.

I understood you to say that when they found out that you wanted to go back everybody knew you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were known as the fellow that wanted to go back?—A. sir.

Q. That made you quite prominent?—A. Yes, sir; that notified a great deal.

Q. It seems, then, that there were not a great many who felt as did, or you would not have been so prominent?—A. They said, "fellow is going to go back, and he will jest give Kansas hell"; and tell you the truth, I am going to do it too.

Q. Have you told anybody here that you were getting the start of the white men in this matter, and were going back to Kansas where you was all over?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you said nothing of that sort?—A. Nothing of that sort.

Q. Are you sure of it?—A. I am sure of it. If you do not believe when I leave here you can watch, and you will see mighty soon what route I will go.

Q. How did you first find out that you were to come here?—A. I found it out by the papers.

Q. What papers?—A. The papers that they sell around in town there.

Q. How did you find out that you were coming before this committee?—A. I saw that in the paper.

Q. But who said anything to you about it?—A. After I saw it in the paper, lots of men spoke to me about it.

Q. Before you saw it in the papers, who talked with you about it?—A. Nobody.

Q. Did not Mr. Stanton talk with you about it?—A. He said, "It is that bad in your State, I do not see why you should want to go back there."

Q. Had you told him how bad it was there?—A. If it had been that bad I would have told him.

Q. What did he mean, then, by saying if it was that bad, he did not see why you should want to go back, if you had never told him that it was that bad there?—A. That is what made him ask if it was that bad where you came from.

Q. Were you not one of the men Mr. Stanton spoke of, who were living around there and not working or wanting to work—sitting on the fences, or standing about the corners of the streets, and doing nothing?—A. You would not be surprised if you had been out there and seen the men. I have stood there and counted five hundred darkies on the fence.

Q. Why were they there?—A. Because they had not got work to do.

Q. Then Mr. Stanton was mistaken about their not wanting to work?—A. They did want to work, but they were disappointed, despondent and disappointed, and did not know where to go to find work.

Q. It may be that some of them did not try to find work as hard as you did?—A. I suppose lots of them didn't.

Q. Couldn't you do any kind of work that they had to be done?—A. There was lots of work that I could not do.

Q. What kind of work was there that you could not do?—A. Cutting and pecking stone—

Q. Couldn't you pick up stone?—A. (Not observing the misunderstanding.) No, sir.

Q. Couldn't you do any kind of farm work there?—A. No, sir; I could no more manage one of those machines than a cat could fight with wings.

Q. What had you been in the habit of doing in Mississippi?—A. Working in the cotton field.

Did you not have to plow before you planted your cotton?—A. Sir; but I always worked behind my plow; I did not ride my plow; we used to ride horses down there, not plows.

Where is your wife?—A. She was in Kansas, but she went back. Where to?—A. To Mississippi.

How came she to go back before you did?—A. I do not know as she is back; but I left her with the fare so that she could go back.

You do not know where she is?—A. No, sir.

Did not she get money with which to go away?—A. My brothers gave me eleven dollars, and I let her have it, and they wrote to me if I needed any more to write, and they would send me more.

Do you know anything about the murder of Representative Patton in your neighborhood?—A. No, sir.

Or of the running off of Sheriff Morgan?—A. Yes, sir; but all I know about that is by hearsay, and I don't mind hearsays. I remember when I was in trouble over something I had heard, and commenced telling about it to a friend, who said, "Don't pay any attention to 'hearsays'; you can hear something or other every day."

Are we to understand from this that you do not believe what you have heard about Sheriff Morgan?—A. No, sir.

Are the colored people in your neighborhood in Mississippi all well?—A. Yes, sir; some of them are poor people, and don't make much money, and there are others who make money, but don't know how to keep it. I knew a man up there who had a hundred dollars and

went with some Jew, who got him to give him a twenty-dollar bill for a loan. Men will lose money in some such way as that or gamble it away and spend it all and then cry out that they are cheated. I have had men come to me when I was in business, and then go and gamble the money away and afterward swear that I had cheated them; and I have had men bring up old debts against me when I had settled them.

Did you sell out your property before you started for Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

How much did you have?—A. Two horses, two mules, a wagon, a piggy, and about twenty-seven head of cattle.

Do you know who told the Sergeant at-Arms that you would be a witness before this committee?—A. No, sir.

Have you talked with Mr. Stanton about what you have testified to?—A. No, sir.

How did you come to start for Washington to be examined before the committee?—A. People quizzed me till I got sort of uneasy, and if I had had money I don't know as I would have come here. They were talking about men that I commenced feeling jubious.

Have you not told somebody that if you were examined here you would be given the witness and mileage fees to go South with?—A. No, sir.

You did not know that this committee was being used to get you examined?—A. No, sir; I don't know anything about that.

By Mr. BLAIR:

You say that the first you knew you were to be a witness here you saw it in the newspapers?—A. Yes, sir.

What was it that was in the paper?—A. The names of the men who were subpoenaed to come to Washington City.

And your name was among them?—A. Yes, sir.

Was that all there was in the paper?—A. No, sir; there was lots

Q. What else?—A. I am a very dull reader.

Q. What was the rest of the article, as you remember it?—A. I learn that it was on this exodus business, and that several men were to be brought down here, and they told me that I was one of them.

Q. That piece did not bring you here?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then how did you happen actually to come here?—A. I commenced asking about it; and these men told me I would have to come and would have to raise my own money; and I commenced seeking to borrow the money so as to be ready; and a sensible man said, "If you don't go you will be put in jail." I tell you I was just as keen as a fellow could be to find the money and get ready to come.

Q. Go on—tell the rest of the story.—A. That is all.

Q. No, that cannot be all, for after that you started and came here. You said you were as keen as a fellow could be to find the money to come here with. What then?—A. I goes across the river to find Mr. Eggleston about the money.

Q. Who is Mr. Eggleston?—A. He is a colored man here.

Q. Is he here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, what next?—A. He said he would pay my way. I was acquainted with him, and talked with him, and he gave me some instructions.

Q. What did he say to you?—A. He said I would be compelled to come.

Q. Had anybody said anything to you about coming as yet?—A. No, sir.

Q. You had seen this in the paper, but had been told nothing else?—A. No, sir.

Q. What next?—A. I commenced seeking after the money.

Q. Go on.—A. I went across the river.

Q. That was to the south side of the river?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you go then?—A. I went to see Mr. Stanton.

Q. I thought he lived on the north side of the river?—A. He does.

Q. Then you are one of the aristocrats—the southsiders?—A. I live all over the city.

Q. Well, you went to see Mr. Stanton?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then what happened?—A. I got him to pay my way.

Q. Got Mr. Stanton to pay your way?—A. Yes, sir; I borrowed the money of him.

Q. Mr. Stanton furnished you the money with which to get here?—A. Yes; he said he would not try to cheat me; all he asked was to pay him back.

Q. What was the talk about it?—A. There was no talk about it.

Q. How did you happen to get the money? What did you say and what did he say?—A. He said, "You are subpoenaed to go to Washington."

Q. But you had not been subpoenaed; you had seen nothing but what was in the newspaper; here is the piece of paper that you saw (exhibiting a slip cut from a newspaper). You had this talk with Mr. Stanton before you came here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And before this money was furnished?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What reason had you to think you had got to come here, except that piece in the newspaper?—A. They subpoenaed me like they do other witnesses.

Q. Had they done it then when you talked with Mr. Stanton?—A. Yes, sir.

When was that?—A. I could not tell the day; I was walking on the street.

Who subpœnaed you?—A. I do not know anybody much there.

You say somebody subpœnaed you?—A. Yes, sir.

Who did it?—A. I don't know, sir.

How were you subpœnaed?—A. Yes, sir.

What was done when you were subpœnaed?—A. Man read it to

Did he tell you that you had got to come here?—A. Yes, sir.

Did you have any talk with him about how you were to get here?

No, sir.

Was nothing said about your being furnished with the means to

Were the means with which you got here furnished by Mr. Stan-

—A. Yes, sir.

How did you get that scar on your forehead?—A. A mule kicked

This property of yours, how did you get it?—A. I worked and

Did you ever buy any real estate?—A. No, sir; I never bought

How many of the colored people down there owned land?—A.

There is Houston Burrs, he has got two places—

I do not care about the names of particular men; I only want to

Does one colored man in a hundred own land?—A. Yes, sir; a

Is there any difficulty in buying land?—A. No, sir; no more than

I am not asking about land in Topeka City, but about land in

When men hire that land, what rent do they pay?—A. What land

What were the two bales of cotton worth?—A. Sixty dollars a

That is a hundred and twenty dollars for the two bales. How

How many hands were employed?—A. Two besides myself.

That would be three hands. How many years did you follow cot-

How old are you now?—A. About twenty-five years; I have

When did you lose your property?—A. Well, I just lost it occa-

When did you make your big break?—A. Last year. I made a

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Did you ever drive a wagon for a man named _____ ?
I drove a wagon for him awhile, sir, down in Kansas.

TESTIMONY OF A. S. JOHNSON.

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

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

A. S. JOHNSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Johnson?—Answer. In Topeka, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation there?—A. The railroad business.

Q. In what capacity are you as a railroad man?—A. Land commissioner of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad Company.

Q. And you live at Topeka, do you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Ten years in Topeka. I have been in Kansas all my life—was born there.

Mr. BLAIR. Where were you born?

The WITNESS. In Kansas.

Mr. VANCE. Why, Kansas is not as old as you are.

The WITNESS. I was the first white child ever born in the State.

Mr. BLAIR. You are not a carpet-bagger.

The WITNESS. No.

Mr. VANCE. The State carpet-bagged on you.

The WITNESS. Yes; the other way in this case.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Where are your ancestors?—A. My father is in Virginia; my mother in Kentucky.

Q. Is the Atchison and Topeka a road running south?—A. It runs east and west from Atchison and Kansas City to Pueblo, Colo.

Q. Is that the road the most of the emigrants arrive upon?—A. No, sir; there has been some considerable amount on the Kansas Pacific Road; that is the road they have been mostly coming on; that runs parallel with the Santa Fé road a little, but north of us.

Q. You may state to the committee your politics, Mr. Johnson.—A. I am a Republican, sir.

Q. Has your attention been called a good deal to the subject we are investigating here?—A. Yes, sir; considerably, so far as the Kansas phase of it is concerned.

Q. Yes, sir, of course; that is what we want to examine you about. Well, Mr. Johnson, state whether, in your opinion, the colored people are bettering their condition, or appear to be improving, since they have come to Kansas?—A. You mean the exodus?

Q. Yes; I mean those that have been coming in recently in large numbers.—A. I think those coming since February and March, 1879—that is really the date of my first knowledge of their coming into the State as a large class of destitute people from the South. I presume it hardly answers the question directly; that is, the first comers that had got out, and got good places, I think have done reasonably well; but the

got to coming in such large numbers, and all pretty much in the condition of being destitute when they got there, that I doubt very much as to their condition being bettered, although I know nothing of their condition before they come to Kansas.

Q. What do you know about their desire to return, Mr. Johnson; applications over your road?—A. There have been some, sir. I don't know how many. I have not been directly connected with the passenger department of our road; but I think I remember of possibly fifty or sixty that went nearly about one time.

Q. That went back?—A. As far as Kansas City, as far as our road could pass them; that was their intention; they claimed that they wanted to go back.

Q. Some fifty or sixty in one party?—A. That is my remembrance,

Q. When was that, Mr. Johnson?—A. I think, sir, within two months.

Q. Did you talk with them yourself?—A. Not with that party particularly. What I got was more from our general passenger agent and officers of the road in talking with reference to what they had done. Our general passenger agent has stated to me that he was ready to pass back that wished to go, and they passed them to Kansas City, sixty-four miles—a comparatively small distance.

Q. What did they say to you about their applications to him to go back if they had means?—A. Well, if they had means, he would make a low rate to go back; and if they had no means, he would pass them to Kansas City, so far as our road was concerned.

Q. What did he say about their desire to get work, if they said anything to him?—A. I don't know particularly, only that such applications now and then come in.

Q. Now, this party of fifty or sixty, do you know where they were referring to?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know what part of the South they came from?—A. My impression is, from Mississippi; but I am not positive.

Q. You did not talk with them yourself?—A. No; I only got it from the officers of our road.

Q. Do you think there is a demand for this kind of labor in your State?—A. No, sir; not now, at any rate. I think the supply is very much larger than the places. They have filled up everything, and now we have got to be a point where places are very scarce for them—that is, of the class that come. If there were more laboring men we might find places for them. But as a rule, so far as my own observation is concerned, the larger proportion are women, children, and old men; that is, the young men, or able-bodied men, seem to be very much smaller in number in proportion.

Q. Taken as a body, it is not a very available working class that goes to work?—A. No, sir; it is not; and particularly as they have been as a rule from the plantations in the South and unused to our manner of work. If they work at all they will have to work as servants or on farms; and our farming in the prairie country is done largely by machinery, with which they have no experience whatever.

Q. Did you witness their condition during this last winter, Mr. Johnson?—A. Yes, sir; somewhat. I visited them at their barracks and I had them in my office a great deal.

Q. Were they getting along comfortably?—A. There has been a good deal of sickness and a good many died this past winter.

Q. More than the usual death rate amongst laboring people?—A. Yes, considerably more, I think.

Q. You had a very soft winter this year, had you not?—A. An unusually mild winter.

Q. Suppose it had been as hard a winter as you have sometimes known in Kansas; what would have been the result to these people?—A. I think they would have suffered severely; much more than they did, because the barracks they are in—temporary shanties—could not have been much protection. As it is they were crowded very close when I left.

Q. Men, women, and children in there together in the barracks?—Yes, sir.

Q. Let us have some idea of these barracks; briefly; are they built with separate compartments?—A. Yes, sir; well, the original building I think, has some four or five—four probably—compartments in it. They have bunks all around, built one over the other, of rough board with sides for sleeping arrangements. I think, from inquiries I made last week of some families in one or two compartments, I think one told me there were twenty in one compartment.

Q. Twenty families?—A. No, twenty persons.

Q. That would embrace three or four families?—A. Yes, sir; more than that.

Q. Do you mean there would be twenty persons, comprising three or four families that were living together without any partitions between them?—A. There are no partitions, I think; for their bunks are built over each other; they had curtains or clothing put up frequently.

Q. And they have to climb up one over the other?

Mr. BLAIR. That is like a Pullman palace car?

The WITNESS. Very much like a Pullman palace car; one over the other; except the upholstery.

Mr. BLAIR. You leave out the curtains? (Merriment.)

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, like bunks in the steerage of an ocean steamer. But we will draw the curtain over that scene.

Q. Well, now, Mr. Johnson, have they cooking stoves in there and they do any cooking?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do they get provisions?—A. They have a commissary building; there is this main building and what you might denominate cottages—imagine a main hotel and cottages—some few little houses put up temporarily around it and some occupying them. They have a commissary building and a hospital.

Q. And a hospital, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, there are barracks, and outside cottages and cabins, and a hospital, and a commissary department?—A. Yes, and places as cooking rooms for the hospital.

Q. Well, what physicians are in charge of this hospital?—A. There is one that has been employed by the committee or by those having charge of the relief.

Q. Is he a white or black man?—A. He is a white man—Dr. Hibbard.

Q. Now, where do the supplies of this commissary department come from; from the relief board?—A. Yes, sir; the supplies are sent in as contributions from all over the Eastern States; they come there in very large quantities and are turned over.

Q. Suppose the voluntary supply should fail for a few days, what then?—A. I think the thing would bust up very quick, so far as running the barracks is concerned. The means have been supplied very freely by Eastern people and English people.

Q. It is the easiest, laziest sort of life, to go there into the quarters

live on the commissary supplies and have a hospital doctor, is it?—A. I don't think the committee allow that very much; my opinion is they watch that as much as they can. I think they are very scientific in their actions in reference to it.

Q. Suppose, though, they cannot get labor for them, they have to stay here, don't they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many are there now?—A. There were two hundred last Thursday—yesterday week—when I was there.

Q. Now, this is the spring of the year, when hiring is going on as rapidly and more so than any other season?—A. Yes, sir; and they are fitting up a carload to go to Nebraska the other day, and fitting them up in the commissary and clothing department; one of the principal persons connected with the relief society, Mrs. Comstock, was there in Nebraska, and had made arrangements to ship this party there and had found places for them—that was my understanding—and they were selecting out of the two hundred when I was there.

Q. When they once let them out of the barracks do they ever let them back?—A. As a rule not unless in extreme cases; that is the rule, not to take them back again if they can help it.

Q. Do you know where these fifty or sixty that went away a little while ago got funds to go on?—A. No, sir. My understanding is that the relief society, generally, will furnish them funds to go back. I do not know whether all the way or not, but at least part of the way, so the newspapers have stated when some officers had a controversy with Mr. Stanton in the newspapers, in which Mr. Stanton refused to send parsons back; he stated that the application had not come regularly as the reason for his not doing it, but they were ready to send them to Kansas

Q. Did not he claim that he had done it before and manifested a willingness to do it hereafter?—A. I think that question was not raised; they simply charged that Mr. Stanton had refused to send them back.

Q. Did they dispute his statement on that point?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they say they had been willing to furnish them the means?—A. Yes.

Q. And all other parties?—A. I cannot say about that. I know my own opinion is that if anybody wanted to go back we will send them as far as Kansas City.

Q. How far is that from Topeka, Kans.?—A. Sixty-five or sixty-six miles.

Q. Well, if they sent them to Kansas City and neglected to send them any farther, it would be like leaping from the frying pan into the fire, would it not?—A. Kansas would turn them over to Missouri.

Q. That would not help it much?—A. That would get us out of our trouble and let Missouri take care of them.

Q. The people of Kansas would not object to that. I suppose Missouri is better adapted to them really than the State of Kansas, is it not?—A. I think so; very much so.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. And Arkansas would be still better?—A. I think it would be a good place for them.

Mr. BLAIR. And Louisiana best of all?

The WITNESS. I don't know anything about that. I know about Missouri. I know it is a good State for them.

Mr. BLAIR. Missouri seemed to want to get rid of them about twenty years ago.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Have any of your people manifested a desire to get these colored people into Kansas, that you know of?—A. These exodus people—the Kansas people, you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I think not, in the broad sense of the word. The question was sprung on us very unexpectedly in February and March of 1879, when there were several boat-loads landed at Wyandotte, and the report that came to Topeka was that they were suffering very much. They were put off on the levee sick, with no means, and none to take care of them, and a lot of them were shipped to Topeka. At that time a large meeting was called at the Opera House in Topeka, at which city officials and prominent men of the State were invited to take part to discuss the question and to decide what to do in reference to the matter. It was the first time I ever heard it discussed.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. My impression is it was about March 1879, or along in there; probably it would not run thirty days either way.

Q. Did Governor St. John take a prominent part?—A. Yes, sir; he spoke at the meeting, and quite a number of the State officers.

Q. Made speeches in favor of the movement?—A. Of the exodus coming to Kansas?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. No, sir; I would hardly take it in that light. I don't remember reading of it; but the general sense of the meeting was that it was a calamity and a misfortune to have such a large number of indigent people coming on us at once. The question of color did not come in any figure; but the immediate question was what to do with the sick and destitute people on our hands at the time.

Q. Did you have an interview just before coming on with Governor St. John on this subject?—A. Yes, sir; he came to my office the day before I started, and talked over this matter with reference to my coming and the question of the exodus generally.

Q. What was his view of it at that time, as expressed to you?—A. He stated that the charge was being made very frequently of late all over the State that he was the cause—one of the main causes, so far as Kansas was concerned—of the exodus coming to Kansas, and that they were trying to use it against him in the State, and that he wished to state his position clearly on that subject. I suppose, with reference to my coming on here, and also being an old countyman of mine, he would have talked it over generally anyway. He stated that from the commencement he had opposed the colored people coming to Kansas as an exodus, as destitute people; that statement made that he had thrown open the doors of Kansas to them and invited them to come was a mistake; that he had always said that none of them should come unless they had means enough to carry them through a year, at least, and have something to go on after they came; that it was a great misfortune and mistake for them to come to Kansas under these circumstances in such large numbers, and destitute as they were. And that his letters and correspondence the last few years, which he was able to show at any time to the people of the South, or of any other section with which he had had correspondence, had been based on that idea, that they should not come as they were coming there; that it would be better for them to go to other places; better for them to go to the older and richer free States than Kansas, which was young and poor.

Q. Did he express the idea that it would be better for them to go to Indiana?—A. He intimated no States—only in a general way the older free States.

Yes; that is his present view, then, and his present advice to the colored people, as expressed to you and through you to this committee, that he would be against their coming there unless they had means of subsistence for a year or so at any rate.—A. Yes, sir.

That there was no demand for their labor?—A. He stated also that he was doing everything in his power to divert them from coming to Kansas, and was trying to direct them to Illinois and other Eastern States that were better able to care for them than Kansas.

Yes.—A. And not only that, but had advised sending Mr. Lynch, a colored man now at Cairo, and some others to intercept the exodus as it came up from the South and direct them into other States.

Direct them up the Ohio River rather than up the Mississippi?—A. His idea was this: It was useless expense to have them come to Saint Louis or Kansas City and then have to go back to Saint Louis to be distributed to other States as they would have to do, since they could not be able to care for such large numbers of them that needed food and required work at once.

Now, you have known Governor St. John a good while; have you any doubt that he would repeat just what you have said?—A. He would, more fully and better than I have done.

The statement you have made was made within the last ten or twelve days?—A. Yesterday a week ago.

And he did not tell you that as any secret matter; he speaks of it everywhere, then, as his proposition?—A. Yes, sir; he is making that proposition politically in his canvass.

He is candidate for re-election?—A. Yes, sir. I would like to see a statement here, in another direction, that has not been called for, and I think it ought to be.

We would be glad to have it whether it is for or against our views; don't make any difference so it is true.—A. The matter concerns the colored people themselves, who are anxious to have it known in an official way. Many of them I have met, of the colored people, especially those who have come to my office, it being a land office, have stated that one among the other inducements offered them to come to Kansas was to go on the government lands; that they could get farms free when coming to Kansas; that is, could settle on government lands under the pre-emption and pre-emption law; and they had vague ideas with reference to that; and I wish to state that the government lands are taken for two hundred and fifty miles, at least, west from the Missouri River; in other words that government lands that settlers could go on would have to be in the extreme western part of the State, where thinly and sparsely settled, a treeless country, without timber.

And consequently not much water?—A. Not very much water; that any settler going in there would necessarily have to have a considerable amount of means, for he would have to live at least two years before he could get any return from his crops.

That is really on the frontier, is it not?—A. The extreme frontier, the edge of civilization. And that has been the means, I am quite sure, that has brought good many coming from the South, hoping to get on these free lands. Of course they have got to have fuel—coal. Coal is gold, money, cash, out there. They have got to have homes. If they go there and have not homes, they have got to have fire and protection from the elements, and if they have not the means to get it they suffer and freeze to death out on those prairies in winter. They cannot expect to live out there without some means, and it is absolute folly to send them out on the frontier. It is inhumanity, and they ought to know it. And they ought

to know that this government land business is a myth, unless they had got means. Many meet with trouble and come to grief, even those with a little means, that have gone out there.

Q. Some of them have gone out there?—A. Few, comparatively few, for some have had a little means and gone there and wasted their substance in that way.

Q. What makes you think they have been induced by this government land act to go to this State; have you talked with them on the subject and they with you?—A. A great deal, especially that class would drift into my office naturally; they would want to hunt up a lawyer's office.

Q. You being land commissioner of the road and your name associated in the question of lands, they would naturally come to you?—Yes, sir.

Q. And you found they had the impression that they could get government lands to a certain amount on advantageous terms?—A. Well, some of them, I think. They had a vague idea, which was not very far from right, that they could get government lands free under homestead law by living on it five years.

Q. And you think it important for them to know that that is a mistake? I think so, too.—A. I think everybody ought to agree on that subject, because it is a question of humanity.

Q. Yes, sir. And the settled portions of your State, you think, making no demand for this kind of labor, and have not the means to supply it in the amount it is reaching there?—A. I think the people of Kansas have done to the utmost of their power to assist them. I think it is wonderful, the way they have done.

Q. I think so, too.—A. They have absorbed them until they can absorb no longer, amongst those that have means to give them labor and work. The only safe way to protect them is to keep them in the older part of the State, where the people have some means and employ some labor.

Q. Mr. Johnson, as one of the oldest citizens there, and taking an intelligent and kindly view of this question, I want to call your attention to the fact that a good many prominent colored men, especially about Saint Louis, connected in some way with this movement, have testified here that the movement to Kansas is merely in its incipiency; that the coming year there will be largely increased numbers coming. Now that should take place, and especially in view of the hard winters that may follow the easy one we had last winter, what would you predict the consequence to the colored people themselves in Kansas, of such a large immigration as some have spoken of here?—A. It would bring an incalculable amount of suffering and distress, beyond anything we have had yet.

Q. You think the people of Kansas are strained to the utmost already with what they have there, to treat them charitably?—A. Yes.

Q. And that they could not meet the requirements that would be made by this increased number?—A. I think that is beyond any question in my mind.

Q. Suppose then, Mr. Johnson, that the world outside would respond to help the people of Kansas take care of, say, one hundred thousand blacks pouring into the State, what would be its effect, do you think upon the future of Kansas?—A. I think it would be very demoralizing, sir.

Q. It would be injurious to both whites and blacks, would it not?—A. Yes, sir; as it is now; our laborers, both white and black, that were there before this exodus, when it seemed at that time that they were

ufficient to do all the laboring work required, now see that is lessening their chances all the time by this large number coming there destitute, requiring work, and willing to work at any price to get work, and thus reducing the price of labor, and making dissatisfaction in the laboring classes.

Q. You think you have spoken the sentiment of the State?—A. Yes, sir; irrespective of party.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Mr. Johnson, our especial inquiry is as to the cause of the exodus. Do you see in any way that the state of the weather in Kansas this winter was a cause of the exodus?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor the condition of the barracks and the sufferings that these people have endured since they got here; can you conceive in any way whatever that those circumstances are causes of the exodus itself, or are they only circumstances attending the exodus now that it has taken place?—A. Are you speaking of the barracks in connection with the relief committee?

Q. No; but the question I asked you is, whether these things should have been testified to as causes of the exodus?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. Then most of your examination, except as it may serve as a source of instruction to others that are going to go elsewhere than to Kansas—most of your evidence is not really relevant to our inquiry as to the cause of the exodus?—A. You must be the judge of that, not I.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that would be a matter of argument.

The WITNESS. I don't know.

Q. You don't know? Well, I would like to ask you if you have in your intercourse with these people who have made their exodus and are coming out, who have come in to you there—if in your intercourse with these people you have learned anything of the causes which led them to there?—A. The first six months after they commenced coming there, in 1879, I took a great deal of interest in asking almost every one I could meet every day; sometimes quite a number during the day; and I found that the reasons given by them were varied; no general reason common to all. For instance, probably the larger portion that I asked to give a reason why they came made the complaint that they had been cheated by the merchants who furnished them goods during the growing of their crops; and that when turning their cotton over to them at the end of the year after the crop was made that there was nothing left for them; and running in that line, of course, all sorts of details in reference to it.

Q. That these men themselves had been cheated in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that the complaint of the greater part of them?—A. Yes, sir; those that came under my observation.

Q. Now, what other causes, if any, did they mention?—A. Well, yes; some would offer reasons; another class stated that their friends had come in advance and got places in Kansas and wrote back to come on, and was all right, and that induced others to come. I have asked the question very frequently with regard to whether they had been intimidated or whether they knew of any of their own knowledge that had suffered from personal violence. As a rule those I asked did not go beyond their own personal knowledge, only what they had heard from others; but quite a number have stated that they had not voted for a long time, for they thought the only safe way for them was not to vote.

Q. Did they say anything in regard to school privileges for their

children?—A. I don't remember anything in reference to that—anything that I could give as positive.

Q. Where were these people from that you have met with?—A. Mississippi largely, some from Louisiana, and a considerable number from Tennessee, and a very few from Texas.

Q. Generally they have been very poor, have they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Some families come with means, I suppose, or a small amount of means?—A. Well, it is very limited, and as a rule they have to be cared for for a few days after they come until they can get out to work.

Q. You have not known any instances of families or heads of families coming provided with property sufficient to take care of them until they should become settled?—A. Yes; I presume—well, I would hardly know what per cent.—ten or fifteen per cent. probably.

Q. Ten or fifteen per cent.?—A. Possibly more.

Q. Have you any means of forming a correct judgment as to the numbers that have come into the State?—A. I have asked that question a good deal at every opportunity I have had of those that have had direct charge of them in the different places. For instance, Topeka has been headquarters particularly for them, and quite a number have come up to Parsons, in the southern part of the State, from Texas the last winter. My impression is that fifteen thousand would cover the number that have come in since March, 1879.

Q. About fifteen thousand; that is the exodus proper, is it?—A. Yes, sir. I think probably ten thousand have been distributed from Topeka not coming there to stay, but would be sent all over from there; that is a central point of distribution.

Q. Is there a large flow of immigration to that State now?—A. Very large.

Q. The white immigrants are usually supplied with means, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They understand that frontier life makes it necessary for them to have a thousand or two dollars to get on with for a while?—A. Yes.

Q. From what parts of the country does this white immigration come or is it from foreign countries?—A. It is largely from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa and Michigan, and some from New York and Pennsylvania; a little from New England, but not much. There is some foreign immigration, also.

Q. Your belief is, then, that the better direction for these poor people to take is to the older States?—A. Yes.

Q. And the fact that there is a perpetual emigration from the older States makes it still more desirable that the colored people should go there to supply the deficiency?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You think there would be comparatively little difficulty in obtaining employment?—A. I think there would be very little trouble.

Q. Now, from your knowledge of these people as a whole—of course there are loafers, scallawags, and that sort among them—but taking them as a whole, with opportunity for labor, do you think they would embrace it heartily and be found to be an industrious and useful population?—A. Yes, sir; fully up to the average of the white.

Q. You do think so?—A. Yes.

Q. Are they not usually strong, muscular, and well-developed; and are they, as a whole, free from bad habits that would affect their labor for instance, intoxication?—A. They compare very favorably with their white brethren on that.

Q. Yes; they didn't go up there simply for the purpose of getting whisky, but are in search of work and a better chance in life, are they?

—A. I rather think they are more temperate than white people generally situated.

Among Kansas people is there any prejudice against them on account of their color and race?—A. I think not. I think they have met the question very squarely.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Mr. Johnson, do you know whether the Republican party has given any formal expression as to its opinion as to the cause of the exodus? Or other words, have you read the recent Republican platform on that subject?—A. No, sir; I did not read it, although I was in the city.

You have not heard it, so that if I were to read it you could recognize it?—A. No, sir.

I will read it:

That the unhappy cause of the migration of the colored people from the South to the North is the apprehension of persecution and robbery by the white people, their former masters, and the present owners of the soil; and it is the duty of the Government of the United States to extend to the colored people of the South such protection that their removal from their native land shall cease to be a necessity.

There is a good deal of difference in being on the witness-stand and being on a platform. I would not like to swear to any political platform.—A. I know nothing about what is going on myself. I only look for Kansas and what I saw.

Well, from what you have heard, wherein do they differ from that platform?—A. I give only some of the reasons why they left the South.

Are not those reasons sufficient, such as are set forth in this platform?—A. I only give you my impressions.

What are your impressions as compared with this platform? I want to see whether you are straight on the platform.—A. I think they have drawn it rather strong.

Wherein?—A. I think they have assumed to know in reference to whether they do or not; it may be that they know.

You do not pretend to be posted on that?—A. I have not been in the South, and cannot speak for them.

What has been the average number in the barracks at Topeka?—A. I asked that question of the man in charge of it last week, and I think he answered between two and five hundred. He certainly said they frequently had five hundred in the barracks at one time.

They are coming and going all the time, are they not?—A. Yes,

It is simply a sort of reception-place until they find places for themselves to work, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

You say the company has made a standing offer to take them back to Kansas City?—A. I don't know that it was a public offer, the agent of our road stated that he would.

But you do, whenever they apply, and the negroes know it generally, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; I think they got it also from the relief committee.

Was the relief committee, also, ready to send them back to the Missouri River?—A. Yes, sir.

Have you not heard of some sort of organization in Kansas City that would help them to get back to the South?—A. I have heard that.

It has been sworn to here, I think. Now, in view of the fact that the provisions are made for them in Kansas City, and that your road is ready to take them back free to that point, and that the relief board is ready to help them back, about how many have gone back over your

road; do you know?—A. My impression is, something less than one hundred.

Q. Something less than one hundred out of about ten thousand that have come to Topeka.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Do you know about the barracks being torn down at your place at one part of the town?—A. Not this one; it was before this was built.

Q. Before this was built, the relief board put the barracks in a certain part of the town and the citizens tore them down, did they not?

A. That was in the north part of Topeka, in the center of the town. The barracks now are outside, within the charter limits.

Q. They threw the barracks there into the river, did they not?—Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who were engaged in that?—A. No, sir; it is another part of the town from where I live.

Q. Well, is it not your impression that a thing of that kind would injure the value of property where it was located?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You may state whether or not Governor St. John is being opposed by a good many people for re-election for governor on the ground that he assisted in bringing the exodus into Kansas?—A. I have heard the argument used against him frequently.

Q. Frequently?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is not that the fight he has got on his hands now?—A. It is one of them.

Q. And really the leading one?—A. Well, he is carrying the temperance issue.

Q. Is not this issue made on him as being the original friend of the exodus movement into Kansas about as heavy an issue as he has got to meet?—A. I am not prepared to say.

Q. But it is one of the issues made against him, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And one that he seems somewhat anxious to be relieved from, don't he?—A. I think so, sir.

Q. You and he were personal friends?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And political friends? A. No, sir.

Q. I mean belonging to the same party?—A. Yes, sir; I favored the other gentleman for governor.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. The whisky men and the anti-exodus people have rather combined against the governor a little, have they not?—A. I think that a natural combination.

By Mr. VOORHEES:

Q. Are you one of the whisky men?—A. No, sir.

Q. You are against Mr. St. John's renomination, are you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that you are not embraced in this unholy alliance Mr. Windom speaks of—of the whisky and anti-exodus men?—A. I don't characterize it.

Q. I know how you feel.—A. I expect to vote against prohibition and against Governor St. John.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you think the laboring population of Kansas would like to have a general exodus of Chinese laborers to that State?—A. No, sir. We don't object to them on account of the color; it is simply their des-

on and poverty, and such a large mass of them coming on us, poor destitute and needing help; coming into a State that is poor itself. We are not able to take care of them. That is the point. I would rather have negroes than Chinese. They are as good as anybody, as far as that is concerned, but they must have some means to live; it is only a question of humanity.

You reside in Topeka?—A. Yes, sir.

Are there wings and divisions in the Republican party there? I think the mayor of Topeka is a Republican and you are also a Republican; you are opposed to Governor St. John. How does it happen that the mayor of Topeka is a Republican? I believe the other State officers generally are Democrats. Any combinations or collusions there?—A. No, sir; I understand it is Republican.

I think the Republicans have about six hundred majority there?—A. I think it has been running that way.

What is the city government there; is the mayor—he is a Republican?—A. I think it is all Republican; that is my impression.

Major A. J. ALLEN sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. What is your full name?—Answer. A. J. Allen.

Where do you live?—A. I reside in Ottawa, Kans.

How long have you lived there?—A. About twelve years.

How long have you lived in Kansas?—A. About twelve years.

I believe you are unfortunate enough to be a Democrat in politics?—A. Yes, sir.

Now, tell us, Major Allen, whether your attention has been called to the subject of the negroes coming into your State from the South; if so, in what way, and your observations upon the subject, your views generally?—A. Well, sir, my attention has been called to it since the exodus commenced in my county. In my county there are not so many as in the other counties in which I have been. My business is such that I am not in the county or the city of Ottawa, where I live. Most of the time I am absent.

What business are you engaged in?—A. I am a railroad attorney.

For what road?—A. The Saint Louis, Wichita and Western.

Give us an idea of how many have come into your county?—A. In our county fifty to a hundred came in. There was a large population of that kind previous to that, and not so many stopped there. In other counties in which I have traveled I have found more; some in Montgomery County, through which we built a line of road this summer; about five hundred came in there from Louisiana; many of them I am acquainted with.

Have you talked with them?—A. I have.

Where were they from, particularly?—A. Particularly from the city of Shreveport.

Caddo Parish, Louisiana?—A. Well, in there; yes, sir.

What seemed to be the trouble with them?—A. Where; up in Louisiana?

No; what seemed to be the trouble that induced them to leave Louisiana?—A. They said to me that they had received printed circulars and letters from Kansas, stating to them that they could get government lands free;

and if they did not want government lands, they could buy a tract of land by making a payment of five dollars an acre, and have ten years to pay it off; or they could rent land and make money—cotton land. They sent a party up there, and he looked around considerably, as informed me, and got some parties to write letters for him. I think he was the victim of a very cruel joke. He wrote back fabulous letters to what they could do, and when they got there they found they could do nothing of the kind, and they became discontented. They informed me that the land there in the southern part of Kansas would not raise cotton, for it is a windy country, and it would blow all out of the bottom. When they came there they found they could not buy land there as represented, and they could not rent a farm; and found no man who would advance them anything to live on until they could raise a crop of corn, and the corn not being worth over fifteen or twenty cents a bushel, they thought there was not much show to make a living there, and they became discontented and wanted to return.

Q. What did they say to you about being badly treated down at Shreveport?—A. Those that talked with me told of instances where men had been badly treated, but did not happen to be there themselves. There was one complaint that some of the merchants there charged them rather more; had rather bigger bills for their merchandise than they ought to have had. They got credit, and had everything charged on book, and paid at the end of the year, when they got money for the crops. They had some complaint about that.

Q. When they talked to you about going back, did they still speak of their complaints?—A. They did not make any particular complaint; they say they can make more money raising cotton than in Kansas, and when they got there the merchants of Kansas would not trust them for anything.

Q. Well, as a fact, would the merchants of Kansas credit them?—A. No, sir.

Q. No credit at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. They had to have the money?—A. Yes; they brought some money, but that was all gone.

Q. Did you find any of them with money to enable them to buy land?—A. There was one man did buy forty acres, making one-half payments; he had some money, and he paid one-half.

Q. Is he living on it now?—A. I think he is; he was talking, however, of selling it if he could, and returning.

Q. Then he was not satisfied?—A. He was not satisfied.

Q. Did he think he could do better?—A. He had a large family, and thought he could do better by working cotton. He could not see any chance of making money in Kansas, either at farming or anything else. The farms of Kansas, you must understand, consist chiefly of smooth bottom land and upland prairie, and the farming is done by machinery. A boy—one big enough to drive a team—can work a circuit plow and run two furrows at a time. Corn is planted by machinery; wheat put in by machinery, and cut by machinery, and all the work that can be done by machinery is done in that way. There is no demand for the laborer, and there are very few manufactures.

Q. Did you notice how they got along this last winter, colonel?—A. Very poorly, especially in March; when the cold weather came they suffered a good deal—intensely—with cold. Previous to that time the winter was more open and warm, and they did not require fuel; they were no worse than others in March, because everybody got out of coal

ming on so suddenly, but they suffered more intensely than other
ple, I think.

. How would it have been if you had had a very hard winter, such
nter as you have sometimes seen in Kansas?—A. I think it would
e killed nearly all of them; it would have hurt them—ruined them.

. They were not warmly clothed, were they?—A. No, sir, and had
ouses to live in; those that I have seen lived in wagons. One man
ed Banks, when I saw him last, a few week ago, his family, a lot of
yn children, were all sleeping in a wagon-bed.

. Did they give you the impression that they were fleeing in terror
any danger behind them?—A. No, sir; they said that when they
to Kansas they would have a great many more political and social
antages than they did have in the South; that is to say, in voting;
ey voted the Republican ticket, they would vote with a large ma-
y—with the people—and the majority would be agreed, and they like
e with the majority pretty well.

. They made no representations of ill-treatment, did they, except so
s they thought the merchants were charging a little too much money
heir goods?—A. No, sir.

. What is the general public sentiment in Kansas, irrespective of
y, Mr. Allen?—A. The general sentiment is, so far as I know—and
ve traveled pretty extensively over the State—that they don't want
class of immigration; nobody wants it. They would be glad to see
igration come in and invite it in, and all men that can come there
ake their chances with the rest and work up the land and pay some
ey for it and buy homes—they would like to have them come in
e.

. There have been statements made here indicating, colonel, a large
x hereafter, possibly this summer, probably reaching one hundred
sand people, from those densely settled colored States South. What
ld you say as to the effect of such an immigration as that upon the
perity of your State and upon the condition of the colored people
nselves?—A. It would have a very injurious effect upon the people
ur State, and be a most cruel and outrageous thing to the colored
ole.

. Did they talk to you about being induced to come to get govern-
t lands?—A. Yes, sir.

. You heard Mr. Johnson's testimony upon that point, did you?—A.
, sir; I heard it.

. You can state generally whether you concur with him?—A. I do,
ar as that is concerned.

. The only way to get government land is to go out on the frontier
re they could not possibly stand the exposure nor perform the labor
ired?—A. Yes, sir; they could not possibly; it is as much as a
d many white men could do.

. Well, Mr. Allen, Kansas, as we have been apprised by the current
ory of the times, has been a Republican State, has it not?—A. Yes,

. How many counties may be said to be reliably Democratic in that
ce?—A. I don't know how many are now so; I cannot tell you how
ny are; the county in which I live is Democratic.

. What is your county?—A. Franklin; fifty-three miles southwest
n Kansas City.

. What is the extent of your practice as attorney of your road; through
many counties?—A. Well, sir, I have been connected with the Mis-
i, Kansas, and Texas particularly until last April, then I went over to

the other. We extend from the State line of Missouri to Wichita, about two hundred miles on that line. Previous to that time there was two hundred miles or more over the Missouri, Kansas and Topeka.

Q. Now, in your practice through the various counties of Kansas and from your knowledge as an attorney of age and experience, state how frequently or generally you have seen our Republican friends, colored people, on juries out in Kansas.—A. Well, sir, I never have seen them on juries there.

Q. You have not?—A. In no court I have been in, except little courts before justices of the peace, and I have not seen jurymen sit in the bench.

Q. What is your system there?—A. The district court.

Q. Your State courts are called district courts, are they?—A. Yes, sir; judicial districts.

Q. Well, in these district courts do you have the probate system?—A. Yes; we have the probate system and a probate judge or justice. For the trial of all civil and criminal cases we have the district court.

Q. And you have never seen colored men sitting on juries of any of these State courts?—A. I never have.

Q. How about serving on the grand juries?—A. We don't have the grand jury system there.

Q. Do you proceed by information?—A. By information entirely, sir; unless in certain cases where the county attorney may make application to the court of a special venire, and they do.

Q. Was the grand jury system abolished from the first in Kansas?—A. I think it was.

Q. You practice, of course, largely in the United States courts?—A. I go there some.

Q. Of course your relations and interests take you into United States courts; have you ever been there when they had colored men on the juries?—A. I have never been there when they had colored men on the jury.

Q. You don't know of it?—A. No.

Q. In nine-tenths of the counties in Kansas Republicans elect all the county officers, do they not?—A. I suppose they do.

Q. I suppose there must be a very considerable number of colored people elected to county offices out there; please state as many as you know of.—A. Well, sir, there may be some unimportant offices in the State of the second or third class where colored men are elected, and perhaps in the first, but I don't know of a colored man holding office in the State of Kansas that was elected by the Republican party.

Q. Not elected to the legislature?—A. I have never known them elected to the legislature. I have known men to be nominated for the legislature by acclamation—almost, I think, by acclamation—one case I can't fall.

Q. A colored man?—A. Yes, a colored man, and they went before the people, and although he was nominated with great unanimity, they think they defeated him also by acclamation.

Q. What evangelical county was that?—A. Cherokee County.

Q. It must be unanimously Democratic?—A. I think pretty largely Republican.

Q. Pretty largely Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they did not elect that almost unanimously nominated Republican?—A. I have never known them. Captain Matthews of Leavenworth was also nominated to the State senate with other Republicans who were elected by four hundred majority, and he, I think

the same; a decent man, a very clever fellow, and knew a little more than some of the others, I think.

Really one of the foremost colored men of the State, was he?—A. Yes, sir; Captain Matthews is considered so.

A man of good character?—A. Yes, sir; but Republican friends would not vote for him. They liked him pretty well as a voter.

Is Captain Matthews a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

And nominated as a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; he had the full support of the convention.

The Democrats had a candidate of their own?—A. Yes, sir; they would naturally have one of their own.

And they voted for him?—A. Yes, sir.

And the colored Republicans voted for all the rest except this man?—A. Yes, sir. They seldom go into convention now; they sometimes get defeated there; they are not always nominated.

Do you mean to say the Republicans in Kansas would rather vote for a Democrat than for a respectable colored man?—A. Yes, I take the word for it.

I never heard of such a thing before. Did you see any colored man on trial in Kansas?

CHAIRMAN. Pardon me a moment.

WINDOM. (To the witness.) I would like to know, colonel, where you had the honor of being brought into the world; where were you born and raised?

WITNESS. I was born in the State of New Hampshire.

CHAIRMAN. Is it possible; what part?

WITNESS. In Rockingham County, but lived in Grafton most of my life while there.

CHAIRMAN. How long did you live there?

WITNESS. About thirty-one years.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Do you remember any colored man once nominated and elected as an elector in Kansas?—A. I never knew of any.

Did you not know that Mr. Langston was an elector?—A. I did not know it, as I said before; he might have been one, but never knew it.

Have you known of any colored men on trial before juries?—A. Yes, I have known colored men to be on trial for crime, the same as white men.

How many?—A. I cannot tell you how many; but I have seen many colored men on trial before a jury for crimes committed and have seen many acquitted.

There is no suspicion that they did not have fair play there?—A. Yes, sir; not before a jury.

When those colored men were nominated and defeated, did you see anybody being shot or whipped because they were running or because the colored people chose to vote for them?—A. I never knew anybody being shot or whipped because men voted in Kansas.

There is nothing of that kind in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

You spoke of the only reason these people gave for coming. In your own language, you said the merchants charged *rather* too much. They emphasize *rather*?—A. I think they did.

You spoke of their charging a little too much; they gave you the impression that they were slightly overcharged?—A. I think they used the words "little" and "rather"; but the inference I got was that the merchants there had charged more than they thought they ought.

Q. They said they were charged *rather* too much?—A. Yes; that about it.

Q. They did not say anything about others being murdered for their political opinions; did they?—A. I said they had heard of such things.

Q. But knew nothing about it themselves?—A. No, sir; they did not.

Q. Did any of them say they had not had the privilege of voting?—A. One said they had voted.

Q. Did they speak of political persecutions?—A. They spoke of that; they thought the colored man did not have as good a show to make a living in places where they were Democratic as where they were strongly Republican; they spoke of that as one of the causes why they left.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You are from New Hampshire?—A. Yes.

Q. And you used to live near the town, general, where I now have the honor to live?—A. In Plymouth?

Q. You lived in what was Ashland a number of years, did you not?—A. Well, I don't know that either of us need to be ashamed of that.

Q. It is a good place to come from?—A. I don't know the object of the chairman; I thought it was a mutual compliment.

The CHAIRMAN. I wanted to show you a splendid specimen of New Hampshire I had here for you.

Mr. BLAIR. I think, under the circumstances, inasmuch as the chairman introduced you as major, and during the examination promoted you to a colonelcy, I will give you a commission as general.

The WITNESS. Commissions are very cheap now; I will take any thing.

Mr. BLAIR. I think I will take the liberty of giving you one. I am glad to see a Democrat have such a commission; no doubt you will make a good military record.

Q. Now you spoke of colored nominations by Republicans out there in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have known quite a number of cases, it seems, in which the majority of the Republican party carried out its convictions by nominating colored men to office?—A. I stated to you the number.

Q. It is not a very unusual thing for Republicans to make nominations of colored men, is it?—A. Well, they have done it there.

Q. Have you ever known a Democrat in your travels in Kansas nominate a colored man for any office?—A. Yes, sir; the office of alderman once, in my city; we found a colored man there the Democrats carried very near electing, but when the Republicans found it out they carried out in full force and beat us about three or four votes.

Q. Did they do that on the ground that he was a Democrat or that he was a colored man?—A. We nominated him on the ground that he was a better man than the man running on their side.

Q. Was the man running on their side a white man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And nominated by the Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you stood by the colored man?—A. We wanted to improve the condition of things.

Q. You did not mean to perpetrate a pretty sharp joke on the Republicans?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were in dead earnest that he was the best man—the colored man?—A. Yes, sir. It was greatly regretted that we did not succeed in electing him.

Have you known the Democratic party to nominate any other?—
 , sir; I have not. We don't propose to it when we can help it;
 nk we have good men enough.

As a rule the Democratic party are opposed to the political pro-
 n of the colored people?—A. Not if they get a better man than
 white man.

You have not always found better white men than colored men?
 I told you when we defeated Captain Matthews for the senate.

He was no Democratic nominee?—A. No; he was a Republican.

asked you if you have ever known an instance of the Demo-
 —with this one exception, running against a white Republican; have
 nown any other instance where the Democrats have found a black
 etter than a white man?—A. I don't know that I ever saw any
 ated by the Democratic party except that instance, and we nom-
 him because he was the best man, and when we nominated him
 uck by him and did not intend to defeat him.

You say you nominated this colored man as a Democrat?—A.
 r; but on the ground that he was a better man than the Republi-

It follows that this negro was better than any white man in the
 eratic party in that town and section. Did not you nominate him
 e ground that he was the best man?—A. Only that he was a bet-
 n than the Republican.

Might you not have nominated a white man?—A. We could, but
 ot want to.

On the ground of beating a white Republican with a black Repub-
 —A. O, yes.

You had white Democrats in your county?—A. O, yes; we had
 material.

Was this colored man preferred by you on that occasion?—A. He
 een.

But he was nominated by the Democratic party to which you be-
 —A. But he is a good Democrat now after all.

That colored man is a good Democrat now, is he; did that nom-
 n convert him?—A. I think not; I think it was the treachery and
 ood of the Republican party.

Rather than the favor of the nomination of the Democrats?—A.
 r; he did not care about office; we just picked him up because
 ough him better than the other.

At any subsequent election, did you have the impression that he
 etter than any man they could get?—A. No, sir; he drank too
 to come in and be a full-fledged Democrat; a year after that he
 into the Democratic party and reformed.

You say that was a Democratic county, and they did not sell
 in that place?—A. On that point we are the only Democratic
 y I know of in Kansas that don't sell liquor.

Franklin county?—A. Yes. We don't sell liquor there.

By the CHAIRMAN:

It may be I have made a mistake in fixing your military title;
 was your rank in the Army?—A. They call it captain and have
 oted me to major, and I believe I held a commission as colonel.

You say you held a commission while in service as a colonel?—A.
 e a commission as captain, lieutenant-major, and colonel; they call
 onel.

TESTIMONY OF J. B. HUGHES.

J. B. HUGHES sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La.

Q. What do you do there, Mr. Hughes?—A. I am in the mercantile business.

Q. You may state, Mr. Hughes, what you know about the condition of the negroes there at this time; whether they are peaceful; whether an imposition is practiced upon them; whether there have been any murders of them; whether they are cheated out of their wages; and your views generally?—A. So far as the negroes and whites there are concerned, a peaceful relation exists between the two races. Do you want me to state my ideas as to the causes of the exodus movement?

Q. Yes; whether they are going away from there?—A. Well, I think it is due chiefly to the expectation of coming into possession of this land, and farming utensils, and mules that have been spoken of in connection with Kansas.

Q. Did you ever talk with them there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they say to you about their idea of getting land in Kansas?—A. Well, they said they understood when they reached that point that they would be given forty acres of land and a mule, and farming utensils necessary to cultivate it. This idea prevailed among them down there with reference to Kansas, which has been brought about by the reports of political emissaries and emigrant agents that are traveling around through that southern country.

Q. Do you know of any means resorted to to keep them from voting?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. How is it about serving on juries down there?—A. They serve the same as white people.

Q. Is there ever a court goes by without some colored men serving on juries?—A. I do not think there is, though I do not attend courts where I have my business to attend to. Those courts I have attended have always had negroes on juries.

Q. When you have elections, do they come out to the polls and vote as the other people do?—A. They do, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. In Shreveport for the last two years.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. In Texas. I was born and raised in Texas.

Q. How far is the Texas line from Shreveport?—A. Only a short distance. I was raised in Jefferson, Tex., and I think Jefferson is forty or fifty miles from Shreveport.

Q. Is there any difficulty, Mr. Hughes, in colored laborers getting employment down there?—A. No, sir; those that want to get employment can do so without trouble; they can do well there.

Q. What kind of wages do they get?—A. They generally work for a portion of the crop; they rent land and pay so much an acre for it or pay so much of the amount they raise on the land.

Q. A good deal has been said about their being cheated by the merchants; do you know anything about that?—A. Well, sir; a good many of the negroes there, like the white people, are poor and unable to run themselves without assistance to furnish the lands they rent; and they have to get assistance from the merchants; the merchants advance them, and of course they charge them a reasonable interest on the money.

They charge them a good price; very often the merchant suffers as much as the man he advances to, from the fact that there are often failures in the crops; and he loses, perhaps, all that he has advanced. They charge, I think, for advancing about alike to colored and white people; they charge good prices for all advances from the fact that, in many cases, they don't know whether they will get it back or not.

Well, is it not true, North, South, or anywhere else, that merchants are more on the credit principle than on the cash principle?—A. Yes,

And you think, so far as you know, that there is no distinction between the white man who needs credit and the colored man who needs it?—A. No, sir.

Both of them have to pay a little more because they are not able to pay down?—A. Certainly.

Do you know of any understanding by which colored men are to be rebuffed in that way?—A. I think they arrived at the idea that they had been unfairly dealt with from the fact that most of them are ignorant and unable to keep account of a transaction; they buy a good deal of goods the year and of course it runs up bigger than they expect.

I never in my life saw a man meet his Christmas bill in a store who did not think it bigger than it ought to be.—A. They employ no bookkeepers and they are unable to keep books, and their accounts are larger sometimes, probably, than they anticipate.

Buying on credit they buy pretty freely, don't they?—A. Yes, sir; they buy pretty freely. Merchants have often to check them—limit them to so much a hundred dollars a year, so as to keep them from overrunning their accounts and absorbing all their crops.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

How long have you resided in Shreveport?—A. Two years and a half over.

Where did you live before that, near Jefferson?—A. I lived in Louisiana about two years.

Jefferson, La.?—A. Jefferson, Tex.

Did you belong to any white order, such as the White Camellias or the Klux?—A. I did not, no sir; I never belonged to a organization of that kind in my life.

Have you never heard about any colored people being murdered in Louisiana Parish for political reasons?—A. I have not.

Did you ever hear of colored people being murdered at all?—A. Yes, colored people were killed at a riot which took place on the river at Shreveport.

How many?—A. Not many—a few, I think.

When was that?—A. That was last year, I believe; I don't remember dates accurately; I think it was the election of 1878.

How many white people were killed in that riot?—A. Well, there was one man killed and another dangerously wounded. I don't know whether he ever died or not.

You don't know how many colored people were killed?—A. No, I do not. I never went down there, and could not tell.

You have only attended one or two elections in Shreveport?—A. One or three.

By Mr. BLAIR:

What is the population of Shreveport?—A. I could not tell you what it is variously estimated; from six to eight thousand, I suppose—in the neighborhood. I could not speak with any degree of accuracy.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN HENRI BURCH.

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

JOHN HENRI BURCH (colored) recalled.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Question. You may go on and state anything further you may have to say to the committee bearing upon the causes of the exodus.—Answer. So far as the causes of the exodus are concerned I have one more paper, that I missed at the time I gave my testimony before, that I desire to call the attention of the committee to, as the causes of the exodus and also to sustain the point that this exodus did not commence a couple of years ago in the South, but has been in existence and thought of for the last several years.

Q. You may go on and give us what you have.—A. It is the proceedings of the labor convention of Alabama. They are marked.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark them and give them to the reporter.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. What is that pamphlet?—A. It is the proceedings of the labor convention of Alabama, relative to whether they would remain in Alabama or not, and disadvantages under which they labored, so far as their educational privileges and rights were concerned, and their civil and political rights, and the possibility of their obtaining homesteads in that State. The reports of the several committees are in it.

Q. What year was that?—A. Eighteen hundred and seventy-two; also the report of the agent who was sent to Kansas to look into that country there, and report back to this convention, which he did, and the report is here.

Q. His investigation was prior to 1872?—A. It was in 1871. He was sent in 1871.

Q. What is his name?—A. Hon. George F. Marlowe, chairman of that committee.

Q. And you state that the extracts are from his report also?—A. Yes, sir; his report is very short.

Q. Well, mark such portions of the proceedings of that convention as you desire to put in your testimony.—A. Yes, sir; I have done so.

(The marked extracts as indicated by witness follow.)

EXTRACT FROM PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LABOR CONVENTION OF ALABAMA,

Assembled in the city of Montgomery, January 2, 1872.

The following report of Hon. George F. Marlowe upon Kansas was read immediately after the convention was called to order, as follows:

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

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

Is much more productive than most other States.

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

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

The climate is mild and pleasant.

Winters short and require little food for stock.

The grazing country; stock can be grazed all winter.

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

Climate dry, and land free from swamps.

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

People quiet and orderly, schools and churches to be found in every neighborhood, and ample provision for free schools is made by the State. Money plenty, and what you raise commands a good price.

Produce of all kinds easily grown and sold at large profit.

Railroads are being built in every direction.

The country is well watered.

Iron and coal are plentiful.

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

The report was adopted.

Mr. Robert H. Knox, of Montgomery, was then invited to address the convention, and spoke as follows:

PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: While I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me, I shall address you in a few words, believing, as I do, that you have met for work rather than to hear long speeches, and that the members of this convention are anxious to finish their labors, return to the people whose representatives they are, who are waiting expectantly for tidings of what may be accomplished and accomplished.

You are called together from all portions of the State for the purpose, I understand, of advancing the interests of labor in Alabama. It is a noble cause, and your duty in connection with it a sacred one—one which will be faithfully discharged only when the subject has been conscientiously considered, and some line of action suggested and adopted which will insure protection and advancement to the labor cause, and secure the privileges and immunities of the laboring man in this State.

The three principal points to be considered by you are, I think—

First. Protection to the laboring masses of Alabama in their exercise of the rights of citizenship, and personal security from ku-klux hate and violence.

Second. Protection to the laborer in securing payment of wages earned.

Third. The protection of labor against the inroads and encroachments of capital.

Work honestly and hard for the consummation of those three great objects; do everything in your power to secure these; and after the subject has been exhausted, if your efforts fail, it is time then to desert Alabama and seek a land—a State—where these rights are accorded.

I have listened with great attention to the report of the commission appointed by authority of the State Labor Union to visit Kansas, and while I own that the inducements held out to laboring men in that far off State are much greater than those enjoyed by this class in our State yet I would say let us rest here a while longer; let us trust in God, the President, and Congress, to give us what is most needed here—personal security to the laboring masses—the suppression of violence, disorder and ku-kluxism—the protection which the Constitution and laws of the United States guarantee, and to which, as citizens and *men*, we are entitled. Failing in these, it is time then, I repeat, to desert the State and seek homes elsewhere—where there may be fruition of the hopes inaugurated when by the hand of Providence the shackles were stricken from the limbs of four millions of men—where may be enjoyed in peace and happiness by your own firesides the earnings of your daily toil—where the bickerings and cavil of party and caste will not be heard, and where the truth asserted by the “Ayrshire Plowboy”—

The honest man, though e'er so poor,
Is king of men for a' that.”

may be recognized and maintained by those who surround you.

The true nobility and dignity of labor are asserted and recognized by a great part of the intelligent world. It has remained for the spirit of the nineteenth century to appreciate and confirm the principle that—

Toiling hands alone are builders
Of a nation's wealth and fame.

May God grant this may be the case in our own loved State!

It is a principle of the Mahomedan creed, that I believe is inculcated in the Koran, that every one should have a trade. This is certainly a doctrine worthy the adoption of all creeds and systems, since individual industry and good character form the sum of a nation's condition and progress.

While our government, and men who have power and opportunity can and ought to do much to elevate and ameliorate the condition of the laboring class as individuals, workingmen can do much more for themselves. Diligent self-improvement is the road to success and fame and fortune. It is *your* privilege to assist those who, already assured of this fact, are toiling up the rugged path; and it is your duty to incite the indolent to ambition, and the humble and timid to confidence. What if their station be lowly and their opportunities few? These are the lower rounds of the ladder that have to be ascended before the great results at the top can be reached. Call the attention of such to the names of Elihu Burritt, Ben. Johnson, the poet Burns, Dr. Livingstone the missionary traveler; to that of Abraham Lincoln and others, who resting from their daily toil, as mechanics or laborers, spent each spare moment in mental improvement. In private and social life it should be ever your aim to assist in elevating and ennobling those whose interests you are now considering in convention. If here calm deliberation and conscientious counsels prevail, and are remembered and acted upon hereafter, much must be accomplished, thousands in our State must be benefited, and you will be faithful to the trust confided.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND WAGES.

Mr. PRESIDENT: The committee appointed by yourself on labor and wages have had the subject under consideration, and beg leave to submit the following

REPORT.

We find here, as almost everywhere, two classes of labor—skilled and unskilled. To the former class belong the mechanics; to the latter, such as work by the day or month, and all those who work in the fields for a living.

We find the wages of the mechanics differ according to skill, kinds of work, and locality; that there are about 4,000 in the State; that the average wages are about \$1.50 per diem, and that work is not plentiful. The common daily laborers form such a small portion of the labor of the State that we do not deem it important enough to devote much time to them; they number probably about 2,000, are confined mostly to the railroads, and their wages average about \$1.25 per diem, without board.

We further find that there are not less than 125,000 laborers engaged in agricultural pursuits in this State. That this class of laborers have long and badly requires no report from your committee to prove. But we have taken some time to investigate their condition, and, so far as in us lies, to find the causes of our deplorable state, and find, first, that it is owing to the fact that there was a very short crop this year, by reason of a very early spring, followed by a severe drought in the summer; consequently failed to make more than two-thirds of an average crop; second, on account of high interest we are forced to pay for the use of sufficient capital to conduct business.

The laborers contract in different ways; a few work for wages, but the greater portion work on the system known as "shares"; the landowner furnishing the land, stock, and implements, draws two-thirds, and the laborer furnishes his provisions, does the work, and draws the remaining one-third of the crop. But that in order that the case may be understood, we have concluded to count all things outside of labor as capital, plus the interest on the same. We must then charge ourselves with all the capital we borrow, as well as our time, and debit ourselves with whatever the crop brings. If at the end of the year we find that the crop does not more than pay back the actual cash borrowed, then we have lost our time; if more, then the surplus is just what we have received for our time.

Taking the crop of 1869 as a basis, and calculating that this year (as generally conceded) there was just two-thirds of a crop made, and we have the following result, viz: 1869, the aggregate value of the products of all the farms, except cotton, was \$38,872,260; two-thirds of this amount \$25,914,840. 125,000 laborers, allows each \$207.31. Amount of cotton raised, about 300,000 bales, at \$75.00, \$225,000. This divided by 125,000 laborers, \$180.00. Total amount for each laborer, \$387.31. To produce this crop the laborer has been compelled to borrow capital. It follows, viz:

25 acres, value.....	\$300 00	Interest, \$6 per acre.....	\$150 00
mule.....	150 00	Interest.....	37 50
pounds meat.....	20 00	Interest.....	10 00
bushels corn for self.....	13 00	Interest.....	3 25
bushels corn for mule.....	40 00	Interest.....	10 00
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total borrowed.....	523 00	Total interest.....	210 75

To this interest you must add the loss of the perishable property, such as the corn, and meat, and percentage of the mules that die, 15 per cent.

Corn	\$53 00
Meat	20 00
Mule	22 50
Total	95 50
Sum total of all outlay	306 25

It will be seen from the above figures that the laborer is compelled to pay, in round numbers, 40 per cent. for all the capital borrowed. We submit this is usury; the capitalist charging just five times the lawful interest.

RECAPITULATION.

Total from all sources	\$387 31
Total outlay	306 20

Profits	81 11
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Out of this amount (\$81.11) the laborer must clothe himself and family, feed the little ones, and furnish medical attendance for the same. Hence his inability to accumulate property. But if the capitalists would strike off half of the interest that they now charge, make it 20 instead of 40 per cent., we could then save \$105.37½, and in a few years would be the owners of considerable real estate. There is no earthly reason why capitalists should charge such high interest—upon the whole, the highest charged anywhere in the civilized world. The government to-day is borrowing money at 6 per cent., and finds plenty of it, and we believe it can be safely said that 6 per cent. is the average interest in monetary circles.

Whilst our capitalists are wondering why immigration don't turn this way, we suggest to them that it is altogether unreasonable to suppose that labor will flock to any country where it is confronted with such ruinous interest on money, and the necessaries of life that they may be compelled to borrow.

We suggest further, that labor in one sense is like capital, seeks fields where best paid. Not only does this high interest tend to prevent labor from coming to the South, but surely has a tendency to drive off a portion of that already here.

Mr. McKiel then introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

Whereas the report of the committee on labor and wages shows a sad condition of affairs amongst the colored citizens of Alabama, owing in a great part to the fact that we are landless: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That this convention memorialize the Congress of the United States to pass the bill now pending before that honorable body, known as "A bill to incorporate the Freedman's Homestead Company," thinking as we do that such a company would do much good by assisting many poor men to obtain homes, thereby rendering him a free and independent citizen.

The bill is as follows:

A BILL to incorporate the Freedman's Homestead Company.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Charles W. Eldridge and Frederick G. Barbadoes, of Massachusetts; Frederick Douglass and Aaron M. Powell, of New York; E. M. Davis, of Pennsylvania; O. O. Howard, Richard J. Hinton, William D. O'Connor, Daniel R. Eaton, A. F. Boyle, J. W. Le Barnes, and William J. Wilson, of the District of Columbia; John M. Langston, of Ohio; R. W. Stokes, of Missouri; James T. Rapier, of Alabama; Abram Smith, of Tennessee; James H. Harris, of North Carolina; Oscar J. Dunn, of Louisiana; and Richard Nelson, of Texas, and their associates and successors, are hereby constituted a body corporate, by the name of the Freedman's Homestead Company, and by that name may sue and be sued in any court of the United States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the general business and objects of the corporation hereby established shall be to aid in procuring homesteads in the States com-

only known as the Southern States of the Union, and to assist in the settlement hereon of persons formerly held in slavery and their descendants, and to foster industrial pursuits, co-operative enterprises, and the acquirement of useful knowledge among them.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That the corporation shall maintain its principal office in the city of Washington, and District of Columbia, but may establish its branches and agencies elsewhere, and shall have power to acquire, inherit, receive, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to do and perform all acts and things incident to the objects and purposes of the corporation, not inconsistent with the laws of the United States, which any individual or body corporate now has or shall have the right to do.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the business and affairs of the corporation shall be managed and directed by the board of trustees, who may make, establish, and prescribe all needful rules, regulations, and forms for carrying on the business and government of the corporation, and not less than nine trustees shall be a quorum for the transaction of business at any regular or adjourned meeting of the board. The persons named in the first section of this act shall be the first trustees of the corporation, and the number of trustees may be increased to fifty by the election by the board of additional members; and any trustee omitting to attend the regular meetings of the board for six consecutive months, without reasons satisfactory to the board, may be considered to have vacated the office, and a successor may be elected to fill the vacancy. The board of trustees shall annually, on the first Monday of December, make a report to Congress of the operations of the company for the preceding year; and the books and affairs of the company shall at all times be open to the inspection and examination of such persons as Congress may designate and appoint.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the corporation may receive any gift or bequest of lands or property as a special trust upon such conditions for such purposes, not contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and compatible with the general purposes and objects of the corporation, as may be expressed by the grantor or deviser and accepted by the corporation, which trusts shall be faithfully administered in the interests and for the benefit of those for whom the same may be intended and prescribed.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person, whether under color of State authority or otherwise, shall interfere with, assault, menace, or obstruct any officer or agent of the corporation hereby established while in the proper and legal discharge of his duties, or in the proper and legal prosecution of the business of the corporation, or shall maltreat or by force or menace, and whether under color of State authority or otherwise, intimidate, prevent, or obstruct any of the persons designated in the second section of this act from removing to, settling upon, or peaceably occupying the homesteads which may be obtained for them under this act, or of availing themselves of any of the advantages intended to be secured to them by the provisions of this act, or shall in any manner conspire in, counsel, encourage, aid, or abet any such interference, assault, menace, maltreatment, or obstruction, such person shall be deemed guilty of a crime, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment not more than five years.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the district courts of the United States, within their respective districts, shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offenses committed against the provisions of this act, and also, concurrently with the circuit courts of the United States, of any cause, civil or criminal, to which said corporation, its officers, agents, or beneficiaries may be a party; and if any suit or prosecution against said corporation, its officers, agents, or beneficiaries, shall be commenced in any State court, the party defendant in such suit or prosecution shall have the right to remove such cause for trial to the proper district or circuit court in the manner prescribed by the "Act relating to habeas corpus, and regulating judicial proceedings in certain cases," approved March three, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and all acts amendatory thereof; and the provisions of the act entitled "An act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication," which became a law on the ninth day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-six, shall, so far as the same may be applicable to any proceedings under this act, or to any cause commenced in or removed to any court of the United States under this act, be extended thereto.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOMESTEADS.

Mr. James Green, of Hale County, chairman of committee on homesteads, submitted the following report, which was adopted:

The committee on homesteads beg leave to say that they have en-

deavored to find out from the several land offices in this State the number of homesteads taken up by the colored people since we adjourned in January last; but in consequence of no record being kept respecting a man's color, it is impossible to tell the exact number of homesteads entered by the colored people. But from the best information at hand, we estimate that no less than two hundred homesteads have been entered in this State under the "homestead act," and more than one hundred have been entered in Kansas by colored Alabamians alone, who inform those behind that they now live under their own "vine and fig tree," and none dare to molest or make them afraid—a land in which there are no "Kuklux," and where a man can lie down at night with a reasonable prospect of being spared until next morning.

We think this convention can do nothing better than urge upon the colored people throughout the State to secure homesteads wherever they can be had. If they are not to be found here, then go where they are to be found. Let the colored people exhibit as much earnestness and pluck as the foreigner, who travels thousands of miles from the land of his birth in order to secure a home for his family. We beg to remind this convention that at the rate the government land is now being taken up there will not be any left worth entering on this side of the Rocky Mountains in twenty years; that it will be a sad day for colored men in this country when there will not be sufficient land in the country owned by their own race or in their reach to produce as much bread as is consumed by them in each year. How easy it would be for the land-owners all over the country to unite upon one price for your labor, and close all the corn-cribs until you come to terms. There is nowhere else for you to go and find such a country as this, and if there was, you never would be able to get there.

While we do not advise emigration *en masse*, we do recommend that steps be taken to send out a small number of families as an experiment.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Mr. John B. Simpson, of Autauga County, chairman of committee on education, submitted the following report and resolutions, which were adopted:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: We, the committee to whom was referred the question of the educational condition of the colored people of the State of Alabama, beg leave to report as follows:

We find that the free schools of this State are well patronized by the children of colored people, and thousands are to-day merrily and prosperously tramping down the school-house paths who four years ago had never seen the inside walls, or even the outside walls, of a free-school building. The board of education seem to have done all in its limited power to provide for the education of the colored children of the State.

Normal schools or classes are now provided for, which will tend to supply the schools with competent teachers. Normal schools and normal classes cannot be too highly commended, as our greatest cause of complaint to-day is the want of competent teachers.

Many persons have to be employed as teachers from the fact that no better or more competent person can be procured, who should themselves be students in some primary school, and who are totally unfit to

ch. The question, then, which presents itself is, how is this great evil to be remedied? By holding out such inducements to competent colored men and women of the North, East, and West as will tend to bring them among us as teachers. The too prevalent idea among the mining and illiberal aristocracy of the State that "anything is good enough for a nigger" is now one of the things of the past, or at least should be.

Now, if the great work of instructing the colored children of the State is to be *effectually* done, it must be done by competent teachers of their own race, who have an abiding interest in them beyond the dollars and cents their quarterly statement may call for.

We hail with pleasure the wise and patriotic move of the board of education looking to a fair division of the funds arising from the sale of agricultural land-scrip with the now separate universities for the use of the white and colored races.

We hope the general assembly will not sit idly by and allow this fund to be given alone to *one* race. We think the magnanimous conduct of the colored people toward the University of Alabama in yielding a willing support to the resolution of Mr. Finley, which declared the University of Alabama to be a university for the whites, should impress the general assembly with the fact of our race being in favor of harmony, peace, and good-will to all, and should impress said honorable body with the justice and equity of giving a fair part of the agricultural land-scrip and for the benefit of a colored university. It seems to your committee that this *must* be done, or else let the agricultural college be a *mixed* college, and free to all, without respect to race. We think the bill recently passed by the board of education, providing for a university for the benefit of the colored race, a *wise* one, and was dictated by feelings of wisdom, justice, and deep patriotism. We think the present superintendent of public instruction and the members of the board of education deserve great praise for their earnest efforts in favor of educating the children of the laboring masses.

We think the effort now being made to blot out the provisions of our State constitution providing for a free public school system is unwise and mean, and *tends*, as its originators *desire*, sooner or later, to destroy this entire system.

We think that it is a movement that is founded in a destructive prejudice and a deep-rooted hatred for the cause of educating the poor children, both black and white.

We look with deep feelings of sorrow and gloom to the efforts being made in the general assembly to lessen the school revenue. We are grieved and somewhat surprised to see the *strength* of the effort that is being made to repeal section 957 of the revised code of Alabama. It is a movement that would more seriously affect the whites than the colored race. It would drive out many of the schools from the "piney woods" and mountain region.

This unwise and reckless movement seemed to have been most strongly supported by many so-called *wise* men, and by many of both political parties, who owe their places almost entirely to the laboring men; some from the mountain region who professed great love for the poor white men, but who had within their bosom a upas-like sword, always ready to be driven to their hearts; and some from the prairie, or cotton region, who got *their* places by or through their *pretended* love of justice and equal rights, and who really despise *all* the poor, and love only themselves, and respect the rich. We think all such should be awakened by the sound of the bugle notes of the trumpets of Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Hoar, and their millions of followers.

There is undoubtedly a strong feeling in the State in opposition to the education of the poor; it has now found its way into our legislative halls, and may God in his infinite mercy have compassion upon such heathen beings and tyrannical wretches as give to it their support.

We think our present school system is gradually gathering into the free public school houses all of the poor children of the State, and soon will they arise, and say, blessed be they (without distinction of political parties) who labored for the interests of the laboring men; and cursed be they who labored only for tyrants, capitalists, and millionaires.

We close our report by referring again to the effort now being made to abolish and obliterate the free school system of the State; and we say, unless the *poor* men of the country, both colored and white, arise to the importance of the times, and hurl from power those unwise aristocrats, unmerciful and unfeeling men, to be found in the ranks of both of our ruling parties, who care nothing whatever for the wants and necessities of the poor, and who *think* only with *little* and contemptible bigoted minds, the time is near at hand when the free public school system will fall, but fall to rise again and flourish over the disgraceful graves of those who now propose and desire its death.

Should the State fail to provide for educating the poor children of the laboring masses, and thus allow the moneyed wolves of the land to go onward in their heartless oppression of the poor, we trust and believe that the national government will come to the rescue of the humble but ever deserving servants. But the State must not fail. "Better that all the colleges, academies, select and high schools in the State *perish*," than have our common school system obliterated from the statute. Let the State "make that which can be done for the *common* people, *better* than that which can be done by the select classes in a community for themselves." We should urge at all times that the State "make such provision for the education of the commonest *common* people, that the richest uncommon people will come suppliantly and ask for *their* children the privilege of participating in the advantages of the common schools."

Extremists can be found in all classes. We propose to be moderate for God knows we love the country and the country's people; but we boldly say that poor Rosell, Cremieux, or Ferre are shining patriots when compared with the blood-sucking capitalists or the moneyed corporations that now seek to trample in the dust all who are called *poor*.

The present school system of the State has done more for the poor man in three years than was ever done for him before in any ten years of the history of our State, the arguments of the enemies of schools and of the poor man to the contrary notwithstanding.

And now, to more thoroughly impress upon the members of this convention the grand and great importance of a continued agitation of the subject, we have deemed it expedient to append to our report the following resolutions, believing the "while there is a silver lining to every cloud," and that "all things come round to him who will but work and agitate, and knowing, too, that governments are strong as they educate wisely; we therefore offer in support of the above the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the delegates to be sent to Washington be instructed to impress upon Congress the importance and urgent necessity of the passage of Representative Hoar's "national school bill," whereby every child in the Union can learn, or at least be taught, the rudiments of the English language; experience in this and other Southern States having taught us that without such a system as is here sought for the rising

eration (in an educational point of view) will be but very little superior to generations gone before.

Resolved, That in event the legislature of Alabama refuse to set aside *pro rata* share of the "agricultural fund" for the benefit of the colored people, then the executive committee of the State labor union are empowered, and hereby instructed, to memorialize Congress to withhold the "agricultural fund" from the State.

ADDRESS OF MR. RAPIER, SECONDING THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Mr. RAPIER said :

Mr. Chairman, in rising to second the resolution of my friend from Macon, I wish to say that I do so because I am convinced that it is possible for the poor children of this State to get a common-school education in any other way.

First. The amount (\$1.20 per head for each child) is insufficient to keep the school-houses open more than two months in the year.

Second. Under this system we have some of the most inferior teaching on record; in too many cases it appears that there are in the school-houses more to exhaust the funds than to improve the child; at all attempts, they succeed better in the former than in the latter.

Let me compare for a moment the amount per head set aside in several States for the education of their children. In Alabama we give \$1.20 per head; New York, \$6.83; Massachusetts, \$16.45; Nevada, \$19.17. These figures show very clearly that Alabama is fearfully behind in providing for the education of the youth within her borders; and just in proportion as these States surpass our own in making provisions for the education of their children, so will their citizens in after life excel ours in civilization and refinement, and outstrip us in the highway of life. Why is it that New England ideas control the policy of the government today? The answer is, because of the superior education of the people of that section. The superior education of the New Englanders enabled them to combat the slavery question successfully; enabled them to settle the question of citizenship in this country by removing all political obstructions which hitherto confronted a certain class of American citizens. They also propose a national inquiry, through one of their ablest statesmen (Mr. Hoar), into the vexed question of the relation of "capital and labor." Where is the man from Delaware to Texas adequate to undertake such a task? And the reason why they are able to accomplish more than the citizens of any other section of this country, particularly the South, is to be found in the fact that they are educated in a way superior to any other class, and seeing the advantages their own section has derived from such an admirable system, now propose a like plan for the nation.

There is another thing that militates against our system: that is, teaching with us is not a profession as in other States, but rather a mere shift. In Alabama the school-teacher, the great civilizer of the South, has not been properly respected. In North Alabama, where I was born, he filled but a very small space in society; consequently, most young men preferred a clerkship, even in a country store, to a teacher's position in a school-house, supposing that the former calling was more honorable than the latter.

We have never had any school system in Alabama worthy of the name; and when the new order of things overtook us, which necessitated a change from the old groove, we had not one prepared to take hold of the matter, no one understood thoroughly the free-school system; therefore a series of blunders were in store for us, and we were powerless to ward them off. I am satisfied that we have had more blunders from a want of knowledge of the common-school system than from all other sources combined.

At first we had the county superintendent appointed by the State superintendent (an elective office), many of whom were never examined by any competent board, appointed more for political reasons than merit. The system, then, to a certain extent, was turned into an electioneering machine. At the Republican convention last year I was told that at least one fifth of the entire delegation were composed of county superintendents, and I suppose it will be the same at the next Democratic State convention.

Whoever saw such examinations as we have here? Who is it that cannot get a certificate to teach school in Alabama? Hundreds of teachers (so called) are to-day drawing pay for putting in their time at the school-houses who can't work out a simple sum in "interest;" who can't write a half-dozen lines grammatically; who are wholly ignorant of any of the rules of composition, to say nothing of etiquette. Can you tell me how we are to succeed with these dead weights hanging to us?

Why, sir, in every county there should be an examining board, composed of the best scholars, whose moral character should be beyond question, of which board the county superintendent should be a member, which board should meet twice a year for the examination of applicants for certificates to teach school. The schools should be graded third, second, and first. The pay should be graduated according to the class. The first step towards procuring a certificate should be this: The applicant should give the board notice that he or she intended to make application for a certificate to teach school (naming the class), including a moral certificate from some minister or magistrate. At the appointed time the meeting should be held. The questions in the several branches should be submitted in printing, and answers to the same made in writing, with the name of each applicant subscribed thereto. After examination over, which should last several days, the board then should meet, pass upon the qualification of the applicants, and issue certificates accordingly. By this operation many worthless teachers would be cut off, and the calling would be made to partake more of a profession than it now does, and, as a consequence, be more respected. The plan is pursued elsewhere.

Now, sir, I do not think that the State will ever be able to carry out such ideas. Our only hope, then, is in a national system. We want a superintendent of education who shall be a member of the cabinet. Assistant superintendents should be appointed by the President, upon the recommendation of the superintendent of education. We want a government school-house, with the letters U. S. marked thereon, in every township in the State. We want a national series of text-books which will teach the child that to respect the government is the first duty of a citizen. You may ask, where would the money come from to sustain such a system? I answer by saying, let the government, after 1872, turn over the net receipts of the Internal Revenue Bureau, which will be about \$115,000,000. This amount, parceled out amongst the several Congressional districts, would give to each one about \$406,360. At this rate, Alabama would receive, in round numbers, \$2,438,160.

sufficient to keep the schools at least seven months in the year. If this be added the "State fund," we will be able to have our school-rooms open nine months in the year.

This investment on the part of the government would be one of the best it ever made; in all human probability would prevent another war. If you wish to see the advantages of a national system, you have only to cast your eyes over the Atlantic to Holland and Prussia. It was the superior education of the Prussians, traceable to their national system, that enabled them to combat so successfully the armies of France in the late Franco-Prussian war, and to eventually overthrow the French empire.

And as a national system has done so much for other countries, and like causes give like effects, I hope to live to see the day when we shall have a like system in this country.

I conclude by expressing the hope that the resolution may be adopted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESS.

Hon. A. H. Curtis, of Perry, chairman of committee on address, submitted the following, which was adopted:

the laboring men and women of Alabama:

We, your representatives in convention assembled, deem it wise and prudent to address you briefly upon our condition in this State.

It is well known that at the time we were emancipated that we did not own a single shelter in the country, nor did we possess provisions enough to last one day, if parceled out amongst us. By a change of circumstances, we were to engage in a struggle for life in a way new to us hitherto, such a thing as a bargain which included the giving of a certain portion of our labor for its equivalent in capital was, comparatively speaking, unheard of. We had not the remotest idea of the value of our time; and many persons took advantage of our ignorance, and induced us to make such bargains as should make any upright man feel ashamed. In many cases the landlords furnished the land, implements, stock, and feed for man and beast, and gave the labor one-fifth of the crop after making; the labor responsible for the death of any of the stock, whether by disease or accident; nor were we allowed to use any stock on the plantation, but we were to be subject to any of the plantation rules that might be prescribed by any superintendent.

From 1865 to 1868 there were no laws that protected the laborer; and then, he could be imprisoned for debt. A blessed time it was for our men when the constitutional convention enacted that clause in the constitution of the State which forbids the imprisonment of any man for debt; without this our condition would be deplorable; without this clause how easy would it be, a disastrous year like this, to take up almost any one of us, and imprison us for debt? And in our anxiety to be free, we would gladly mortgage our time to any one who would become our security, and thus go into voluntary servitude, a species of slavery not provided against in the constitution.

We hailed it as providential that we had hard times just after our liberation, for by them we learned something of economy, and without which, we fear, this generation would have learned nothing of this indispensable science.

At first it was unpopular to advocate schools for our children, and in

many cases both churches and school-houses were burned down, thus destroying the only means known to us by which we could lift ourselves from the degraded condition in which slavery left us, to more elevated and respectable position in the moral and intellectual fields. But the landlords soon saw that to secure labor (without which their lands were worthless) it was necessary to concede this point, and it is our pleasure to state that in a majority of the counties in the State there are schools of some sort established.

Notwithstanding it was heralded throughout the land, and current belief held, that we would not work as freemen as well as we did when slaves, yet the statistics bear us out in the statement that we have been more industrious and energetic in our present sphere than in the old.

Again, it was said by men who have opposed our progress, as well as our liberty, that when we were free that we would conduct ourselves in the most unbecoming manner, that we would be guilty of all enormous outrages; but time has proved that such fears or hopes, as the case may be, were founded in error, and to-day we stand before the world, for our uprightness, industry, and, thrift, the peers of any similar class on the face of the globe, and challenge the admiration of fair-minded men everywhere.

We have done well, considering the disadvantageous circumstances under which we had to labor. The amount of land owned by us in Alabama is not definitely known; but in the several Southern States the aggregate, in round numbers, is about one million acres; more than one-half million have learned to read and write, and at this time we have hundreds away at the North in different high schools and colleges, and two at the Military Academy, preparing themselves for future usefulness.

While we congratulate ourselves upon the advancement we have made, we feel that we have not done all that was possible for us to do. There are many things which militate against our progress over which we have no immediate control. Then there are some barriers to our social, moral, and we might add pecuniary advancement, which we can and ought to remove; among these are the drinking of whisky and the want of unity in our action. Let us advise abstinence from strong drink; it does no good whatever, but keeps us in want, and will surely bring disgrace upon ourselves and children.

Whatever excuse could be offered in other days for a difference amongst us, none can exist now, since our hopes and aims are the same, and our destinies one. Let us pay more attention to the cultivation of morals and manners around our firesides; let us forget we have been slaves; call no man master, but in every particular act the part of freemen, and we will be respected as such by all those whose respect is worth enjoying. In short, let us set aside all those old plantation habits, and appear as freemen indeed. Try and accumulate homes as fast as possible, however small, whether it be here or elsewhere. Whilst we as a body have no advice to give respecting emigration, yet we feel that if we cannot secure homes here it would be better to go where they can be had.

The WITNESS. I desire to add to what I have already placed before the committee a word as to the causes of the exodus—

Q. Have you any matters as to the holding of elections or counting of ballots—the organization of the legislature?—A. I could only apply that to the State of Louisiana.

Q. I am speaking of Louisiana now.—A. Well, we have had one or two extraordinary cases of unseating Republican members of the Louisiana legislature the present session. Something that has passed the imaginations of the Republicans in their palmiest days, the unseating of senators and representatives.

Q. State them.—A. There were some six senators, colored, elected to the present legislature of Louisiana—to the senate—last December, and some, I think, nine or ten Republicans to the house. They have unseated two of the Republican senators, so that but four now are left, and they refused the seats of several colored Republicans that were elected—on technical grounds.

Q. Elected to the house?—A. Yes; they claim they have adopted in their constitution which they adopted last December a clause prohibiting any one from holding office who has been guilty or found guilty of embezzlement or withholding the funds belonging to the State; they claim to have such a clause in their constitution. The case of Mahoney, of Plaquemine Parish, below the city, was the case of a man who had been treasurer of a school board and who had been charged with embezzling the school fund, I believe, in 1873 or '74; and that case was decided by the courts—the State board of education—several years ago, and nothing more was thought of it.

Q. In what way?—A. In his favor; but when he presented himself it was claimed that he had been guilty of this charge; and although they sent and brought up the records of the court, they would not receive it, nor would they permit him to take his seat. This was a case where the charge was made upon which he had been acquitted, yet they revived the charge of which had been acquitted, and excluded him from his seat. The other was the case, I think, of Hon. David Young, who had been senator two terms. This time he was elected to the house from Concordia Parish. He has had the same difficulty, but some time ago, I believe last November; the charge against him was embezzlement of funds; but he claimed he had lost a great portion of the money by the failure of the Freedman's Bank; he had deposited this money in the Freedman's Savings Bank, and his books, I believe, showed it. For several years he has had considerable trouble about it; but last year, previous to election, Mr. Young made a settlement with the school board, which is, of course, Democratic, by the surrender of a certain amount of money and his book, and supposed that was fixed. He was elected, but, to his surprise, when he got down there they refused to admit him; and did not admit him simply because he had been charged with embezzlement of the school fund.

Q. He was never tried and convicted in a criminal proceeding, was he?—A. No, sir; and his case was *nolle prosequi* in 1876, but afterwards revived.

Q. And you understand his embarrassment resulted from depositing the money in the Freedman's Bank?—A. Yes, sir. I have the case of Senator Davidson, a colored man, who lives in one of the strongest Republican districts in Louisiana. There is no gentleman here from Louisiana but I will concede that the two parishes of Iberville and West Baton Rouge, comprising that senatorial district, is as strongly Republican as any district in the State; and that the committee may understand that, I will give them the vote as given officially by the Democratic board of canvassers last year in the election for governor.

The vote for governor is taken from the New Orleans Democrat; and the parish of West Baton Rouge gave for Wiltz, Democratic candidate for governor, 338 votes; for Beatty, Republican candidate, 563 votes.

The other parish, Iberville, that goes to make up that senatorial district, gave Wiltz 626, and Beatty, Republican, 2,245 votes. This is the vote as returned, by which this man claimed to be elected. He claimed to have received the same vote in both these parishes for senator; and in Iberville, his own parish, he ran a little ahead of Beatty. And this is the vote he claimed.

Q. Were they the candidates for governor?—A. Yes, sir; he claimed to be elected by the same majority that the Republican was elected. This man Montague, who received a large minority vote, he brought a charge that the police jurors of that parish, who, of course, were Democratic, had changed the polling places, and there had been fraud in one ward. The committee at first refused to give him his seat, but afterwards, for some reason, they reconsidered and brought in a resolution unseating him and giving his seat to the Democrat, Mr. Montague. When this new evidence was taken he knew nothing of it, but when the report was brought into the house he was allowed two minutes to explain anything; and by a vote of 28 senators to eight he was re-seated.

Q. As I understand you, the ground for unseating him was that the police jurors, being Democrats, were charged by this Democratic candidate of the minority with having committed fraud?—A. No, sir; not them. The charge against the police jurors was that they had changed the polling places. They claimed that they had fixed them once and then changed them to another place.

Q. But this change was made by Democrats, was it not?—A. O, yes, sir; the police jurors.

Q. And this Democratic candidate took advantage of this wrong of the Democratic police jurors, to oust the Republican colored man from that it?—A. That, with the fact that they claimed fraud in one of the wards.

Q. What was that fraud?—A. I don't know exactly the nature of it.

Q. Do you know which ward it was?—A. Yes, sir; I have an account of it here.

Q. Do you know the vote of that ward?—A. No, sir; the police jurors of Iberville had changed the voting places.

Q. They gave him two minutes to meet this new case with?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there anything else that occurs to you?—A. One or two cases parallel with this.

Q. Recent cases?—A. Yes, sir; the present legislature. Mr. Rial, a member of the senate, born and brought up in Louisiana, educated in France, who was a naval officer there. He was elected to the senate. He lives in La Fayette; he owns property there, and his family resides there. He is in the general commission and employment agency business in New Orleans, and has his office there. He was elected, went home, canvassed his district, came back, and was elected. They threw out the votes, claiming they had been cast through fraud, and he had a majority of some fifteen or twenty; but the grounds upon which—and of this I am informed by him; I have not watched his case as closely as I have the other, though I saw a synopsis of the brief submitted by his counsel, Y. A. Breaux, once a Democratic State senator—on the ground that he was not a resident of La Fayette, but that he lived in New Orleans; and for that reason they gave the seat to a Democratic competitor.

Q. He claimed that as his home?—A. Yes, certainly; his family lives there and he owns property there.

Q. Of how many members does the senate of Louisiana consist?—

Thirty-six.

Q. How many Republicans?—A. Five, I believe; four colored men and one white man—no, I think only four now.

Q. Three colored men and a white man?—A. Yes, sir; I think they are Republicans.

Q. The other branch is the house of representatives, so called, is it?

—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many members—ninety to ninety-six?—A. Under the new constitution there are one hundred and twenty or one hundred and twenty-one.

Q. How many of them Republicans?—A. About ten or twelve—among them.

Q. Part white and part colored?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have no doubt that the honest vote of Louisiana is Republican?—A. I have no reason to doubt it, sir.

Adjourned to April 10, 1880.

TESTIMONY OF ISAIAH WEARS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., and proceeded to take testimony. Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman; also, Senators Vance, Windom, and Blair.

ISAIAH WEARS (colored), having affirmed, was examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. State your name and residence.—Answer. My name is Isaiah Wears. I reside at 414 Poplar street, Philadelphia.

Q. How long have you lived in Philadelphia?—A. For nearly forty-five years.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Maryland—Baltimore City.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a real-estate broker.

Q. State whether you have been taking an interest in and been identified with the movements in regard to your own race of people for a good many years past.—A. For thirty-five or forty years I have been intimately engaged in almost all the general movements in connection with my people.

Q. I understand that you are willing to give to this committee your views in regard to the matter that we are investigating here—the condition of your people. If you will do so we will be obliged to you. Have you given the subject of this exodus your attention?—A. I have. I have written six or seven articles which have found their way to the Western country. I write for the Christian Recorder principally; that was the medium through which I made my views known to the public antagonistic to the exodus movement. While I was prepared to believe that they had causes which largely claimed to be the potency which moved the people, I did not think that the exodus was the proper remedy:

Q. What did you think was the proper remedy?—A. I wrote those articles rather to show that that was not the remedy, first. I believed it to be suicidal; first, that the condition of things that prevails in the South, bad as they are—and they are wretched—are but incidental to

the revolution by which these people are passing from one civilization another I think I commenced my articles by stating that our great difficulty was that we do not seem to recognize the fact that the abolition of slavery was not the establishment of freedom. The falling down of one house is not the building up of another. We have effectually destroyed slavery so far as its legal form is concerned; but we have not succeeded as a nation in establishing liberty among a people with no ideas of liberty. The white people of the South are as ignorant as the black with regard to the duties and responsibilities of their new situation. The white man did not recognize liberty—did not know anything about it; and the black man had never had any exercise of it, and did not know how to improve it—did not make it desperate for a man to interfere with his liberties. His very weakness was a temptation to the white man to play the tyrant; the fact that he had no full idea of his rights not only to liberty but to protect his liberty, necessarily invited aggression; and that has produced largely the terrorism which pervades the whole South. As I said, I believe that the white man of the South is a tyrant—made so by the institution from which he has just been relieved. He is human; he cannot conceive the idea yet, and hardly will in the present generation recognize the liberty of the black man. He cannot indeed, recognize the liberty of the white man. I, therefore, hold the view that the great mistake is in venturing to trust such a people, even with their own liberties.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You mean the whites?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You think the great mistake is, trusting the white man with liberty?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. His own freedom?—A. Yes, sir. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution shows that the white people of the North understood to some extent, though not fully, the necessity of watching them in that respect.

In the next place, I have opposed, even before the rebellion, all colonization, for the reason that I did not believe that there was any country so capable of realizing the expectation of this love of liberty as our own. I did not believe in our race becoming unsettled. Poverty and ignorance fights at a great disadvantage with wealth and intelligence, and it will be an up-hill work with our people. I have, however, thought this with reference to the colored man, when I take into consideration the fact that he has produced all the wealth of the South, and largely the wealth of the North, by the lavish manner in which Southern men have expended in the Northern States the money that cost them much labor to obtain, but which was earned for them by the colored men of the South—I have thought that the hands that had done so much for others ought to do something on the same soil for themselves; and anything that unsettles them invites aggression from every tyrant, and the Southern people are all, with very few exceptions, tyrants. In any community where the people believe that a little oppression will drive the colored man away they will apply it; that is one of the grounds of my objection to the colored men moving.

I still believe, as I have written, that the Northern people will become awakened to this fact, some time. I think that the remedy is in the hands of the North as well as of the South; in the black man's hands as well as in the white man's hands. I cannot believe that this thing can remain long—this tyranny and these sufferings, and I have so written—perhaps more severely than some would think wise. I have said th

When the black man shall have come to a condition such that there is no hope for him, neither at home nor abroad, then the younger men that are growing up will certainly resort to some measure which will look like what is occurring in Cuba. They will use the torch, if no milder method will suffice. When it comes to be fully understood that they are perfectly ready to do that, there will be no help for them and not till then. With regard to this movement to the North another objection I have to make is this: I think it has been largely superinduced, and intentionally so, by some of the white people of the South. There is a redundant population in communities like that; there are more than are really wanted; and especially more than they want about election time. And they can unsettle them and drive them away, so that they will have to resort to the stronger measures of murder and outrage, all the better. I have not discovered among the colored people—and I have tried to investigate that matter as closely as possible—I have not discovered any indication that the colored people knew anything about this movement at the start. I have not found one man that was cognizant of the fact that this was any combined operation, or that they intended to move with any degree of unanimity, as they did last year. I can find no company of colored men who knew anything about it. I therefore believe that it has been outside pressure—pressure not from the colored men, but pressure from their oppressors—that has induced these men to move; and I believe that this has been done purposely. They know that the negroes cannot move at the same rate that they increase in numbers naturally. All they will get rid of some of this redundant population by making it so unpleasant for them that they will remove. On that account, if on the other, I advise the colored people to stay where they are.

Then, again, I am impressed with this idea, unpleasant as it is to be compelled to say it: The Northern people are not inclined to do justice to the colored man in the South, and they are not any more inclined to do justice to him in the North; in this respect, I mean: if the United States Government cannot protect me in my rights in South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and the other Southern States, I do not see how it can protect me in Kansas or Indiana. If the government would violate any principle of its Constitution in the one case, it would necessarily violate the same principle in the other. And I say that the people in the North have not been true to the black man. They promised him, when the war was on hand, that if he would join in with them and help save the country, that they would help save him. They knew that he would incur the displeasure of the people of the South by whom he was surrounded. It was only reasonable to suppose that he would incur their most bitter displeasure; but the North said they would protect him from them. But they soon showed, after the war was over, that they were ready to hand him over to the South by the fourteenth amendment, which gave to the South a right to cut him off from voting, providing they did not mention him in the ratio of representation. Then after that, the North called upon the negro again and asked him to vote, when the white man would not vote, for the reconstruction of the Southern States. By this he necessarily incurred still more the displeasure of the South; and then the North abandoned him again. It is not that the North meant to be untrue to the negro, but because they did not want to press too severely on the South.

My idea is this: This last administration, which has handed everything over to the South, the colored men and all, has taught the whole

American people one thing, that the South is not able or is not willing to protect the colored man in his rights.

Q. The North?—A. No; the South. The South demanded that the entire and exclusive right should be accorded to their State governments to settle all their matters at home, including the status of the colored man there. The present administration handed the whole thing over to them. I do not see how the American people ever could have been convinced without this action on the part of the administration that the South either is not able to protect the colored man or is not willing to do so. But whether it is unable or unwilling, the colored man's duty, in my estimation, is to remain. This is a wonderful revolution; but it cannot go on now in the course of progress at the same rate that it did during the war or during reconstruction. There is just where the difficulty comes in. The most of our leading men desire things to go forward at the same ratio that they did during the war or during reconstruction; but it is unnecessarily the case, and it is not to be assumed that, as we approach a condition of things which is destined to be permanent, our progress must be slower.

The tendency of the colored man before the war was not to go North. There was about 434,000 free colored people in both the North and the South before the war; and the largest number of them, even under the severe treatment they had in all Southern States, remained in the South. They bore, I will not say with Christian fortitude, but with some kind of fortitude, the terrible treatment to which they were subjected. They were not allowed to stand on the street corners; they were not allowed to be out later than a certain hour in the evening; they were not allowed to travel more than a certain distance; and many other tyrannical and oppressive conditions were imposed upon them. But still they did not move North even under these oppressions; and it is well for them that they did not. The Northern people are a hard people; they do not mean to be cruel, but they are severe; they have not much sympathy. They think that a man ought to have the Ten Commandments in his hand all the time, and always obey them, or they have no mercy for him. They do not believe in a man who is not able to fight his own way and make a living for himself. My greatest fear for the colored man is that he will become notoriously—in the estimation of the people at the North—a pauper; that every time they see a colored man coming towards them they will think he wants a dollar. That is what I fear if the exodus increases, and some people suppose it will, though I do not believe it will. I do not think that the natural increase of the race will be overbalanced by any exodus. I do not think this movement deserves the name of an exodus any more than the coming of the people from Ireland deserves the name of an exodus.

Q. If you have stated all that you wish, I will ask you a few questions.—A. I think I have.

Q. I understand the basic idea—if I may express myself in that way—that underlies all your testimony to be this: That the colored people, as a whole, living in the South, oppressed, outraged, subjected to hardships, which you expressed by saying that their condition is extremely wretched, ought, notwithstanding those oppressions, to stay and fight it out. That is your idea, is it?—A. Yes, sir; I believe the colored man of the South has duties as well as rights.

Q. Being thus oppressed and overpowered, their duty is to remain and cope with their oppressors and fight the thing out?—A. I think it will make better men of them.

Q. Of those that can survive, perhaps. The progress of the race has

en, according to the Darwinian theory, from "monkey to man," through the destruction of the weaker members and the survival of the fittest specimens of the race. From this results the formula of the survival of the fittest." You think that the colored people better stay where they are and die, the most of them, in order to secure the progress of the few that will be left alive?—A. I think that would be better than to run anywhere in this country.

Q. You have a few times alluded to emigration from abroad; there are the white people of Ireland, to whom you have alluded; then there are the white people of Germany, and of some portions of Russia, and of other countries. They emigrated largely to America; they settled in America originally. The Puritans came here, you recollect; we have been accustomed to hear it said that they came here on account of persecution, and formed here a government wherein religious and civil freedom should be recognized as the common birthright of all mankind. Do you think that was a wrong thing for them to do; to flee from those prevailing institutions; or ought they to have remained there and fought it out on the spot?—A. I mean that if they had been but one remove from mere animals, from chattel slaves, they ought not to have fled from those oppressors, but to have risen against them, and compelled the oppressor to deal with them justly.

Q. How do you establish the distinction? You said that a people who are deprived of their rights should stay and fight it out wherever they may be. The colored people of the South have been liberated; they have advanced to a degree of civilization which makes them much superior to what they were in the jungles of Africa; they have considerable intelligence; they are a highly moral people; and I think you yourself, and many others, have demonstrated that they are a people of high intellectual qualifications. Now, you can hardly speak of them, even as they were before emancipation, as being mere animals, just a step removed from a chattel slave in the sense of his deepest degradation; they were freemen in all but the name of freemen; and the moment the legal tie of servitude was snapped, they were in a condition to exercise largely an intelligent suffrage, were they not? They seem to understand their own interests pretty well, voting almost universally for the Republican ticket; exhibiting a large degree of intelligent discretion there. They are accounted the most religious people on the continent, more immediately under the guidance of heavenly inspiration, than any other class of people in the country. You cannot speak of them as mere animals?—A. I have not done it, sir.

Q. If you lay down as a principle that these people must stay there, without arms, without an organization of any kind, entirely at the mercy of a people who have made so brilliant a military record as the Southern people have made so recently; if you lay down as a principle that they should stay there and fight it out, and take butchery if it comes, why not, for the same reason, say that the entire white emigration from Europe ought to stay there and fight it out with the despotisms of the old world?—A. I do not say stay there and submit.

Q. But stay there and fight?—A. No; I say this: They are under a process of treatment which will necessarily evolve a manhood which will protect itself, if it has to do it with the torch.

Q. It is rather a troublesome process of evolution, is it not? It is a process which results in good mutton becoming good man, by its consumption by the human body, and its conversion into human tissue?—A. I think not, sir.

Q. Suppose your theory should be carried out; suppose that the col-

ored race, as a race, should institute a warfare of resistance against the white race, as a race, do you think that, in one year's time, there would be one hundred colored men left on the continent to tell the story?—A. I tried to make my position as clear as possible. I do not believe in war or any attempt at war, on the part of the colored man.

Q. I am asking if your principle is a rational principle?—A. I think it is.

Q. If you do not want to be understood as meaning war, when you say that the colored men should stay there and fight it out, explain what you do mean.—A. The case of the colored men, and that of the men in the case to which you have referred, are not parallel cases with each other. The colored man has his vote, and will yet be able to wield a power in the South which none of these people of whom you speak will ever be able to wield in this country for their own protection. It remains for the people of the North to see that that power can be exercised by him in safety. Not because they love him so well, but because their safety—I mean the safety and interest of the people of the North—and the safety and solidarity of the nation depend upon it. The interests of the black man are so completely interwoven with the national life that the one cannot exist without the other.

Q. That is beautiful and poetic. But explain to me how the Northern States are going to interfere with the domestic institutions of the Southern States, so as to benefit the negro to any great degree, within any reasonable period of time? We are talking now about the remedy for a man who is poor, and naked, and hungry, with a wife and half a dozen children dependent upon him, who cannot wait more than two or three generations for salvation. It is an immediate necessity for him to take care of himself; he cannot wait a great while in order to work out political theories for the benefit of his race. Now explain to me what this man on the banks of the Mississippi River, penniless, naked, and hungry, cheated if he works, and whipped or killed if he votes, is to do for next week's food and clothing?—A. I have not brought my attention down to the point of looking at this matter in its individual aspect.

Q. These people are all suffering as individuals, and leaving for the West as individuals, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A man needs to eat two or three times a day, does he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And a suit of clothing once or twice a year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I want to direct your attention to the fact that the matter which we are appointed to investigate is the exodus; and the exodus implies the action of individuals, going somewhere to get something to eat, drink, and wear, for their immediate necessities. Now, how are the Northern people going to help these individuals who need food, drink, and clothing, and who go away to get it?—A. I have entered into this matter with no idea that the rights and duties of one man are any different from those of another; I look at the matter with reference, first, to a class of the people; next, with reference to the whole nation. I have never been able to bring myself down to look at it individually.

Q. If an individual chooses to go from the South to the North you have nothing to say?—A. No, sir. But when it becomes an ostentatious movement, such as this exodus is, this is the great evil that presents itself to me. I find this feeling to be omnipresent in the North, with good-hearted white men, who mean well for us, and wish our advancement; they look upon it as a cheap way of relieving themselves of their duties to the black man. They are pleased to see that this duty is being done by the black man himself. In that way they satisfy their

sciences, and convince themselves that they have no more duty in the matter. They say "We have nothing more to do."

Q. Do you mean that it is liable to beat the Republican party next fall?

A. No, sir; but I think it is liable to prevent the Republicans from doing that they have a duty to do in the way of protecting the men who were protected them.

Q. Did you see any particular indication that the Republican party was going to fail in its duty next fall, so far as strenuous efforts are concerned?—A. I have nothing to say against the Republican party; all that has been done has been done by it.

Q. What, then, have you seen to justify your assertion that the removal of a few negroes—six or eight hundred into Indiana; twenty-five or thirty thousand in the whole—has paralyzed the conscience of the North?—A. No; I do not say that it has paralyzed the conscience of the North—

Q. I thought that not an unfair summing up of your position; if that is not what you mean, please explain yourself more fully.—A. I mean that the North seems to be looking upon this exodus as apparently superseding the necessity of any further action on their part for the protection of the colored man. They think that if at any time, or in any place, he is oppressed beyond what he can endure, he has this recourse to get up and go to Kansas or somewhere else. If the black man had any such recourse, then the duty of the North would be apparent. It is as if a man who was sick were to send for a physician; the physician takes the case into his hands, and feels that he has a duty and responsibility in the matter; the life of the patient is in his hands; but by and by the patient takes the matter into his own hands—takes such medicine as he chooses, without consulting his physician; when he does that, the physician feels that he is no more responsible in the matter, because the patient has taken it upon himself.

Q. According to that theory the colored man is to do nothing for himself; is to lie passive in the South, or suffer at the hands of the South; is deprived of his rights, and remain utterly inert, for fear of creating a feeling among the people of the North that he will help himself, which will prevent them from doing so much as they otherwise would to help him.

A. It is when he attempts to do something for himself and the North that he is met by tyranny, ostracism, and hate. If he would do nothing but work; if he would always be diligent, gentle, submissive, and obliging, then the Southern people would not hate him, but the contrary, as the bleached and pallid faces of some of his posterity fully prove.

Q. That proves that they don't hate his wife?—A. They do not hate her—not on account of his color. Your remark reminds me of what was said by Mrs. Madison, I think—at least by the wife of one of the slave-holding Presidents. She said, "We women think ourselves wives, when we are only the heads of harems." But, as I was saying, when the colored man backs out and runs, that is just what the Southern people want him to do.

Q. The Southern people want him to do that?—A. Yes, sir; if they can get quit of a certain number of colored people so as to keep down their votes, that is all they want.

Q. Do you mean that the Southern people are anxious to promote the exodus?—A. Well, not enough to call it an exodus, but enough to give them the majority in the elections—or what they can make appear to be a majority.

Q. Then you think that the removal, this emigration, so far as it is a

political move, is a political move on the part of the South rather than upon the part of the North?—A. I think it is a forced emigration, induced by the white people of the South.

Q. You think the origin of this emigration is in the action of the Southern people, that action being designed to produce it?—A. I will say this; if I lived South, and was a white man, and had been conquered, as they were conquered, that would not convert me. I know that as a Northern man, loving liberty, if they had conquered us, that would not have made slaves of us. We would have waited, and watched, and worked, by every process, to regain somehow our lost rights, and re-establish liberty, as we understood it. I think the Southern men are doing the same thing to-day.

Q. Do you mean to be understood that the Southern white people who engaged in the war are still as hostile to the government as ever, and that this talk of reconciliation is nothing but a deep laid plan and plot of treason, waiting to break out at a more favorable time?—A. I do not say that they are as hostile, or that they are plotting treason. They told you at the last session of Congress, what they meant; they told you that they would never abandon the exclusive right to rule in their own States.

Q. Do you think they mean to take their geographic section away from the nation at large?—A. I do not say that that is their purpose now.

Q. Do you think it is their idea, if they can rule the country within the nation, to stay there, and if they cannot, to get out of it?—A. I do not say, to get out of it; but I do say this, that they have not abandoned, and have told us so—they say so every time they can get opportunity, in the persons of their leading men—they have not yet abandoned their doctrine of State rights.

Q. Do you not think that they have had pretty good luck and success in carrying out their principles, so far as their own States are concerned?—A. My idea about that is this—the war of the Revolution—

Q. Do you mean the war of 1776 or the war of 1861?—A. The war of 1861. That was but a part of the Revolution. The Revolution did not begin with the war, nor did it end with the war; we are in the midst of that Revolution yet; they are fighting yet, it is true, here and there with a forlorn hope, as they fought in the field. You know that they carried on the war long after all hope of their success had vanished; and they are carrying on a war now, when all hope of success in carrying out their idea has vanished. The only thing is, I don't want any of our soldiers to run.

Q. You want them to stay and fight?—A. Yes, sir; they staid and fought for the nation, and now I think he ought to stay and fight for himself.

Q. But he hasn't any gun?—A. Then the white men of the North are the more to blame.

Q. Nobody claims but that the colored man deserves well of the white men of the North and of the South alike. But he finds himself under the control and pressure of peculiarly cruel circumstances. They are facts; and they involve the deprivation of the necessaries of life for himself and his family, and oftentimes life itself. He would starve to death in about a week, and needs something to eat about three times a day. These people are individuals; they are oppressed as individuals; they suffer as individuals; they go as individuals to some place where they can procure the food which is withheld from them in the South. And in this are they not justified? A man's first duty is to provide for

self and his family. The Bible tells us that "He who provideth not his own household is worse than an infidel." Supposing it were your case, as an individual; would you escape and live, or remain there die?—A. In time of war a man must do his duty, and in the war the men must die.

Q. I want to have you state specifically what you think to be the duty of a man, or of a company of men, women, and children, who arrive on the banks of the Mississippi in a state of utter destitution, as these people have been described. Do you understand it to be their duty to turn around and fight the people who have put them in that extremity?—A. If I had sufficient time, I think I could get you to understand my position. My point is this: These people, if they are of any use in the South at all, which I am satisfied they are, when they go away they leave a vacancy, which will be filled probably with a hardier people than they; and when they come to return, they will find those places closed against them.

Q. Don't you know that the Southern States could maintain at least five times the number of people now upon their soil?—A. O, I don't know so far as maintaining the people is concerned.

Q. What probability is there of this great vacancy being filled up?—A. What are these "hardier people" you speak of that you think will go in their place, so that the places these colored men have occupied will be closed against them?—A. The colored people of the South are not landholders. The white men are employers—the colored men are employés. If they leave, their places as employés will be filled up. White men cannot work down there.

Q. Then who is to fill the places of these colored men?—A. Irishmen and Chinese.

Q. Are not Irishmen white men and are not Chinese white men?—A. Of course, but if they go down to work they will fill up the places of these colored men all the same. And I understand that they are coming in largely already.

Q. You do not think that Irishmen are likely to emigrate to the South in large numbers?—A. I don't know why not, if there is an opening for them.

Q. Is not there an opening for five times the number of persons now upon the soil there?—A. No, sir; I have no such information.

Q. I think you will find, comparing their population with that of France and other countries of like resources, that there is room in the South for five times its present population.—A. O, if they owned the land there is plenty of room for them.

Q. You do not understand that this exodus is likely to go on to the extent of involving the entire colored race?—A. No, sir.

Q. It is simply a drifting away of those who think they can do better elsewhere else than in the South?—A. If it is to be held up as a remedy for the great evils to which they are subjected in the South, with regard to the great mass of the colored people, I have a blow for it.

Q. You do not understand that it is so held up?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I have heard this idea advanced: that if a few of these people, the surplus, should go away, the Southern planter, those controlling the industrial interests of the South, will see that they are likely to lose their labor unless they treat their laborers more like men; and that in that way the condition of the great mass of the colored people of the South would be ameliorated?—A. Yes; that might be; but if this is to be a movement of the whole people—of all the colored people—away from the South, that does not matter.

Q. I am speaking only of the removal of a part--of the surplus of the colored population. That is the character of the only exodus that there has been or that is likely to be. You seem to have in your mind all the time the exodus of the Scriptures, where all the children of Israel left Egypt in a body.--A. I have the idea which comes to me by tradition and general impression.

Q. This thing has started only within a year or two, so there cannot be much tradition about it. I am not quibbling with you over the term "exodus," or whether it is or is not proper to apply that word to this thing; I am talking about this immigration, such as it is, of these people, those of them that are going to the North. I question you on the basis of your own statement. You have pictured their condition as wretched and horrid, beyond the power of expression, have you not?--

A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is real?--A. Yes, sir.

Q. When we came to the exodus as it is, to this emigration now in progress, to the going away of those who do go, and are likely to go--the surplus colored population of the South to the extent of, perhaps, forty or fifty thousand annually; do you not think it is better for them to go? do you not think that the movement, as it is, is for the good of the South; that the movement as it really exists is for the good of the Southern negro?--A. No, sir; because if they leave because of oppression, then they invite that same oppression everywhere, when the people want them to go.

Q. Do you think the larger the number that goes the more they that remain are oppressed?--A. No, sir; but if oppression will bring about an exodus or immigration, that will be the remedy applied everywhere by those desiring to get rid of a negro population.

Q. You think the Southern people want to drive the negroes away?--A. Yes, sir; if the colored people did not vote, the white people there would not care about bothering them.

Q. This exodus, then, is chargeable, in your opinion, to the desire of the dominant whites in the South to get rid of them?--A. To get rid of them *at the polls*. They don't want to be met by them at the ballot-box.

Q. Where were you born?--A. In Baltimore, Maryland.

Q. Have you ever been a slave?--A. No, sir.

Q. Then you do not testify from the standpoint of one who has suffered much from slavery?--A. Yes, sir; I have suffered terribly, because I have looked at it more closely than those of my people who were slaves; my sufferings have been mental, though, rather than physical.

TESTIMONY OF T. C. SEARS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 10, 1880.

Judge T. C. SEARS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. What is your occupation?--Answer. I am a lawyer by profession.

Q. What are you principally engaged in?--A. Railroad business, especially; I am the general attorney of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad.

. Has your attention been called to this influx of colored people into Kansas?—A. A good deal, sir.

. Please give us your observation of it, and how it has struck you.

. My attention was more especially called to it about the time when immigration began; a great many of the colored people came to town in which I live. The class of immigrants that came then was much better class than that which subsequently came. A good many of them had some small means, and as a class were a rather industrious people. They readily found homes and employment. I speak of those that came to my own town. Many of them came along the line of the road with teams, and some on foot.

. Then, you say a different class has come there since?—A. Yes, very different from those that first came; that is my observation.

. When was your attention first directed to this movement?—A.

about the beginning of the movement toward Kansas, last year.

There was at that time no feeling on the part of the people against

those that came in; and to-day there is no feeling against them as a

class; this is not on account of their color, but they do object to the

immigration of a large number of persons who are unable to support

themselves, and who will be a burden upon the community; that is the

feeling now. This feeling has arisen from the fact that the last parties

of immigrants have been a very different class from those that came

earlier; they are not self-sustaining, but subsist very largely on the

charities of the people.

. Did you talk any with these folks when they first commenced

coming?—A. Frequently, when I have been on trains, I have talked

with those who were coming up from Texas—from the Red River

country.

. What seemed to be their idea about coming to Kansas?—A. It

was generally very vague; I do not think that many of them had any

particular idea about it. A great many of them thought that if they

went up there, by some means or other, which I did not understand,

and did anybody else, they could get farms and homes. The class that

came more recently has consisted largely of women and children,

and old men; that is, within the last six months.

. Were these also mainly from Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

. Have you talked with any about going back?—A. I do not think

any have.

. What has become of them, generally, since they have got into

Kansas?—A. Those that came first are scattered over the different

parts of Kansas, and have done exceedingly well. I speak especially

of those that came into the neighborhood of my own town. There were

nothing like one hundred and fifty or two hundred, perhaps three

hundred of them. In the main they have done exceedingly well. What

became of the others, of course I am not able to say; they went on, and

were scattered over the State, and I lost sight of them.

. If this movement is to continue, and its proportions be swollen to

the extent predicted by some of the witnesses—possibly one hundred

thousand colored people going to Kansas—what will be the result to

you and to your State?—A. The result to them, and to the State,

will be the same as in the case of any other class of persons of like

circumstances. I do not believe, as I think I have already said, that there are

any objections on the part of the people of Kansas to colored people

coming there, as such; that is, simply on account of their color. If

they come there, and behave themselves well, and sustain themselves

on their own industry, as the rest of us there have to do, they would be

entitled to all the privileges that white people coming there would. If they do not, of course they will become burdens upon the community. It is this that causes some alarm to the people of the State; and not because they are colored people.

Q. It is estimated by some that there are twenty-five thousand colored people in your State now. Suppose that double or quadruple that number should come there, what would be the result, so far as they were concerned? Would it be advantageous or disastrous to the State?—A. That would be a very hard question for me to answer.

Q. Could they get employment in Kansas?—A. We are urging white men to come there, without any fear of their failing to get employment, and I think colored men can get employment just as easily as white men. In answer to one suggestion that I have heard made, I would like to say this: the idea is prevalent that we have a large number of colored people in Kansas, and that our community is glutted by them, as some might say. This is not the truth. Kansas is a very large State; it contains more than a million people; and when twenty-five thousand colored people are scattered among them you will hardly notice the fact that they are there, or even a hundred thousand.

Q. But you say there is a feeling of alarm among the people?—Not because the immigrants are colored, but for fear lest their coming will add to our pauper element; lest they will be a burden on the community, and no benefit to themselves.

Q. If there is any immigration that is self-sustaining—that has the disposition and the means to go to work—it is welcome anywhere?—A. That is precisely the point I wish to make.

Q. I am speaking of the class of people that have been coming since the first lot arrived. You fear that large numbers and increased migration of people of the kind that have come since that first lot would entail misery upon themselves and the State?—A. Unquestionably. They would suffer for the necessaries of life. If they cannot sustain themselves, they must not only suffer themselves, but must inflict suffering upon the community where they stop.

Q. Is it not the fact that the charity of the people of Kansas has been stretched to its utmost limit?—A. It has been severely taxed, says the Senator.

Q. Your advice, then, if I understand your testimony, would be that unless the people are self-sustaining, able to provide themselves with homes when they get there, this class of people better remain away from Kansas?—A. I would have no different rule for them from what I would for the same kind of white people.

Q. So I understand; but you would apply that rule to these or any body else?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any chance for them to get homesteads in Kansas—government lands?—A. The same as white men, and no other.

Q. Mr. Johnson, the land commissioner of one of the roads out there, in describing the government lands, said that those that were accessible to the homestead law as yet were very far away from all the settled portion of the State.—A. Yes, sir; there are no government lands really now accessible that are valuable.

Q. Could this class of people—these colored immigrants—go out to the frontier and make homesteads?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. Then, so far as the class of people who have been coming into Kansas is concerned, with perhaps a few exceptions, you do not think their condition would be much improved, unless their condition was very bad before they came there?—A. I do not.

Q. Have you ever been South much?—A. My business calls me into Texas a good deal; our line of road extends into Texas.

Q. How far into Texas?—A. The United States court meets now at Dallas; I am frequently at Dallas.

Q. Have you charged your attention with the labor system of Texas, and observed how things are going on down there?—A. No, sir; I have

Q. I really do not know, but I suppose, being from Kansas, that you are a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. There is no political feeling about this matter in Kansas, is there? The sentiment in Kansas is taking no partisan character?—A. No, sir; certainly the Republican party do not need any help in Kansas. We are a big majority there now.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You do not wish to go to the expense of bringing any immigration that might be useful to your party in Indiana?—A. Certainly not.

Q. How long have you resided in Kansas?—A. Since 1864.

Q. Where did you reside previous to that?—A. In New York State; though I was born in Connecticut.

Q. Kansas is in the same latitude as Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and that belt of States, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You do not think of any climatic reasons why the colored race cannot flourish in Kansas?—A. It is pretty hard on the colored people in the Southern States.

Q. But the climate is the same as that of the Southern States in corresponding latitudes?—A. There is no especial difference.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Is it not really colder in Kansas than in States east of Kansas in the same latitude, because of the heavy, piercing winds, which are not known in Virginia and North Carolina?—A. There may be some difference on account of that.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Does not Missouri actually stand farther north than Kansas by fifty or a hundred miles?—A. I think it does.

Q. Kansas is directly north of the Indian Territory, in the same latitude as Arkansas, Northern Mississippi, and Alabama and Georgia, and that belt of States, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are of an age to remember distinctly the entire history of the Territory of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You, of course, remember that the entire South made a strenuous political fight to fill Kansas with a colored population?—A. I do not know as to the colored population; I do know, as a matter of history, that a strong effort was made to make Kansas a slave State.

Q. There were no climatic reasons that were allowed to interfere with that project. You know that the question was argued very much, it was argued by many that it could never be made a slave State, because it was too cold there for the colored people.—A. You know that we were not so well accustomed to the negro as they were, and did not know what his constitution would endure; but that a strong effort was made to make Kansas a slave State is a matter of history.

Q. Then is it not a trifle inconsistent for the Southern people to say now that the negro cannot live there as a free man?—A. That is a matter for the committee to determine.

TESTIMONY OF W. P. FORD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880*

W. P. FORD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. More than twenty-five years—since 1853—excepting three years that I was in the Army and three years in New Orleans.

Q. What business are you engaged in?—A. I have been engaged in the cotton factory business.

Q. What are the opportunities for laboring people to get employment down in your part of the country?—A. I think the opportunities for getting employment are better there than in other sections of the country with which I am acquainted.

Q. What wages are paid to laborers?—A. From twelve to fifteen dollars a month.

Q. Including board?—A. Yes, sir; board and lodging.

Q. What is the opportunity for women and children to get work, especially in the cotton season?—A. In the cotton-picking time the children are all employed. They pick cotton at so much a hundred weight. In the early part of the season, when the planters are pitching their crops, the women, as a general thing, work with their husbands. Wages for women are from eight to ten dollars a month.

Q. Do you know of any destitution or suffering among those colored people down there?—A. Not in my section.

Q. Is there in any section?—A. I do not know of any.

Q. Is there any reason why a colored man cannot get labor there a year round and make a good living?—A. Not if he desires to do so.

Q. Do you know anything about their being driven away from the polls at election time?—A. I never saw any of it, sir.

Q. Do you employ colored labor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much?—A. Ten or twenty families.

Q. Did you ever make a condition with them that they shall vote any special way?—A. I never have made even a request.

Q. Is there any disorder or trouble in your part of Louisiana at the present time?—A. None at all.

Q. If there is anything that you desire to state, bearing upon the matter of the exodus which we are investigating, be good enough to do so and state it.—A. I can only say that I have inquired of a number of the colored people of my section the cause of their anxiety to leave the country; that they have invariably told me that it was their desire to better their condition; they had been persuaded to leave there, in many instances by other laborers; and that in other instances they had been persuaded by means of circulars distributed among them, which stated that they could enjoy greater social, civil, and political rights in Kansas than they could in the South, and that they would have better opportunities for accumulating fortunes than in the South. But I have never had occasion to tell me that it was from any persecution.

Q. Was anything said about opportunities to get land cheap?—A. They had an idea that they could get land in Kansas very readily.

Q. What did they say had been represented to them about wages in Kansas?—A. I have never talked with them on that point.

Q. You never heard any of them assign as a reason that they had been badly treated?—A. No, sir; I never heard that given as a reason.

- . Have you attended elections yourself?—A. I have, sir.
- . Did you see crowds around the polls on election day?—A. Five or years ago it used to be quite a habit among the colored people to assemble before daylight in large numbers around the polls; but in the few elections we have had, that inclination has very much subsided.
- . On the day of election do the whites and the blacks mingle together around the polls in a peaceable manner?—A. In the last two elections I never witnessed any disturbance whatever, not even an ill word from a white man to a black man, or from a black man to a white man. They seemed to meet together on the friendliest of terms. That has been my observation.
- . Have you talked with any of these colored people who have returned from Kansas?—A. I have not.

By Mr. BLAIR :

- . How long have you resided in Shreveport and vicinity?—A. I came there in 1853; that would make it about twenty-seven years.
- . Have you been there through this period of trouble and violence which is asserted by some to have existed down there at one time?—A. Yes, sir; I went to New Orleans in the early part of 1866, and returned to Shreveport in 1869.
- . With that exception you have been there?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Have you known of any acts of violence, any disturbances or riots?—A. I have never been in a riot, and have never seen one. I have never seen a dead man on either side—either white or black—except that I saw two men who were killed in the Caledonia riot, which occurred in 1878, I think.
- . How far is that from Shreveport?—A. About twenty miles.
- . Were you present?—A. I was not.
- . Did you see the men who were shot?—A. I saw them after they were shot; I saw the deputy sheriff who was fired upon, afterward, in Shreveport; I saw another party, I forget his name now, he was also shot; he was shot in the jaw, very seriously.
- . You were not present at the disturbance; you had no connection with it?—A. Only this connection: along in the afternoon, about two o'clock, I was appointed special deputy sheriff to take a *posse* down to quell the disturbance, whatever it might be; I went about ten miles, and returned, understanding from parties in that district and immediate vicinity that the disturbance was over, I returned.
- . Then you were not on the ground at all?—A. No, sir; I went out with a *posse* a part of the way there.
- . Of how many did the *posse* consist?—A. I took with me five men.
- . You were armed?—A. Yes, sir.
- . And the men you took with you were armed?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Were you ever connected with an organization the purpose of which was to preserve order in your part of the country?—A. There has been no organization of that kind there.
- . Were you ever connected with the White League or the White Citizens' League?—A. Yes, sir; I was connected with that in 1874.
- . What was that?—A. It is hard for me to tell what it was. I never saw anything done by them.
- . Had they an understanding as to what would be done in certain contingencies?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Did they have meetings?—A. Yes, sir; but the meetings amounted to nothing. The idea was, the organization was formed for the purpose

of keeping the peace and quelling any disturbance that might be precipitated by any acts of indiscretion from either white men or black men.

Q. Was it made up indiscriminately of Republicans and Democrats?—A. I could not tell a dozen men who belonged to it now.

Q. You know whether any Republicans belonged to it?—A. No.

Q. As it was a White League, of course no black men belonged to it?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did it come to be named White League; had it a race purpose? Was it aimed more particularly against black men?—A. I do not think it was for the purpose of arraying one race against another. I think the object was to preserve order.

Q. Was it organized to preserve order among the whites? Is that the reason why it was called the White League?—A. I do not know why.

Q. It was a White League?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was not a white-washing affair; it had some real, definite, and rather serious purpose?—A. If so, it was not carried into effect.

Q. Perhaps there was no occasion; but did it not have some pre-arranged serious purpose? The White League is the name its promoters gave it, was it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you go, in 1874, to Red River Parish?—A. I never went out of my own parish in my life on any such expedition as that.

Q. Are you a Republican?—A. I am not.

Q. Were you ever a Republican?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you ever elected to office in Shreveport on the Republican ticket?—A. I ran once for one of the administrators, and was endorsed by the colored people of my city.

Q. Did you get the office?—A. I did.

Q. How long did you hold it?—A. About a year.

Q. You lost it, then?—A. Yes, sir; I lost it by change of charter.

Q. Was that change of charter brought about in the interests of the Democratic party?—A. It was in the interest of a reduction of salaries; the salaries were considered too high, and the charter was changed for the purpose of reducing the expenses of the government.

Q. Do you know of any colored man being hung in your parish during the past ten or fifteen years?—A. I heard of three being hung, but I do not know who they were; I do not know their names, and do not know where they were hung.

Q. On the whole, you have had a rather pleasant, happy state of things down there?—A. Well, no, sir; I cannot say that.

Q. Well, what was the condition of things?—A. We have had some disturbances, such as are generally incident to elections; but, as a whole, great friendliness of feeling exists between the colored men and the white men.

Q. You refer to the present time?—A. Yes, sir; they live on the most amicable terms.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES BUTLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

JAMES BUTLER (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana.

- Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Ever since the surrender.
- Q. You have not been away from there?—A. No more than on visits. I have nowhere else to live.
- Q. You have not been to Kansas?—A. No, sir.
- Q. Do you own any property in Shreveport?—A. I do.
- Q. What property do you own there?—A. I suppose I own twelve or thirteen lots within the city limits.
- Q. Twelve or thirteen lots in the city of Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Were you a free man before the surrender?—A. No, sir.
- Q. To whom did you belong?—A. To Reuben White; he was my last owner.
- Q. Of course you had no property when the surrender took place?—A. No, sir.
- Q. How did you come to own those twelve or thirteen lots in Shreveport?—A. I worked awhile for wages for different men; nine years ago I was armed on the river, and did pretty well; I made one crop and quit; I invested my money in mules and drays, and went to draying for the public.
- Q. Have you a family?—A. Yes, sir; I have a wife and eight children.
- Q. How have you got along raising your children, as to their schooling?—A. I first commenced sending my children to private schools. I first paid five dollars a month for my first son. He staid there at five dollars for about three months. After that I paid more; I paid as high as ten dollars a month.
- Q. Did you manage to give him a pretty good education?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Where is he now?—A. He is dead.
- Q. Did you educate your other children?—A. Yes, sir. My daughter started at a private school, and she went there until the public school opened; then she went to the public school.
- Q. What is your daughter doing now?—A. She is a teacher in one of the schools down there. She has been a teacher for six years, more or less.
- Q. Did your son become a teacher before he died?—A. Yes, sir. As I had not any education myself, I wanted to graduate him. He got along very well in Shreveport, but he got lung disease, and I was advised to send him away. He went to Cincinnati, Ohio, and went to teaching, but was attacked by hemorrhage of the lungs. He was not long before he wrote me to come for him.
- Q. Have you any other sons?—A. Yes, sir; four more.
- Q. Have you had any more trouble than people usually do in educating your children down there?—A. No, sir; I think my children have done very well in the schools.
- Q. The colored people are not denied school privileges down there?—A. No, sir; not generally.
- Q. Are they at all, any more than other people who live scattered, so that some of them are not near school-houses?—A. The schools in Shreveport now are not in session, because, they say, they are short of money; but we have had nine months' schooling a year, until the last session, when we had only five months; then the school disbanded, and they say that it is for lack of money.
- Q. There is generally nine months' school in the year in Shreveport, but only five this last year, because the money ran short; is that it?—A. That is what is stated.

Q. Have you improved your property in Shreveport to any extent?—A. Yes, sir; I have.

Q. Is your property pretty well located?—A. I have two lots that cost me a good deal of money to improve. I am living in a house that is built on one of them. I know how much it costs, because I keep particular account of the way in which I get along; at least I make my children do it, so that they will have an understanding just how things are when I am gone. I am satisfied that the house I live in cost not a cent less than three thousand dollars.

Q. What is your real estate in Shreveport worth, in all?—A. The way the price of property in Shreveport has gone down now, sir, I should feel mighty well paid if I could get two thousand dollars for it.

Q. You are now speaking only of the house you live in?—A. Yes, sir, and of the way in which the price of property has gone down in Shreveport.

Q. Have you some other personal property?—A. I do not know what that means.

Q. Mules, horses, hogs, stock, &c.—A. Yes, sir; I suppose I have eight as good mules as there is in Caddo Parish.

Q. What is a first-class mule worth down there?—A. About a hundred and fifty dollars.

Q. And you have eight mules that you call first-class?—A. Yes, sir, I have got some that I have had for six years that cost me more money than that.

Q. How much did they cost you?—A. From a hundred and eighty to two hundred dollars. Then the price of such mules as that went down to a hundred and ten dollars. You could buy mules cheap last year.

Q. Mr. Butler, is there any reason why a man, even if he is a colored man, cannot get along at Shreveport, and make money, if he attends to his business as you have done?—A. Well, I can only answer for myself. I know how to conduct my business, and how to conduct myself among people in order to get along.

Q. And you have got along satisfactorily?—A. Yes, sir; I have got along so far as I told you in a property way; and I think I have got a many friends on the one hand as I have enemies on the other, and that I call an even thing.

Q. You vote sometimes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever staid away from the polls for fear of anybody hurting you?—A. I did not stay away from any particular fear; but at the last election they had to elect Mr. Grant for President, we saw some threats in the papers that it would be a good thing for Republicans to stay away at that election, and so on, you know; and we all took it for granted that it was best to stay away, and we staid away. I like to tell the fact just as it is.

Q. Was that in 1872 or 1868?—A. I do not recollect.

Q. Was it the first time Grant was elected or the second?—A. The first time he was elected, I voted like a man, at the court-house.

Q. But the last time—that was in 1872—you did not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you voted since then?—A. I have, at every election; and I think every gentleman in my neighborhood knows it, black or white.

Q. Are you willing to state what ticket you vote?—A. I do not deny that principally I vote the Republican ticket. For eight years now since 1872, I have voted as everybody else there has.

Q. In 1872 it looked as if there might be some trouble at the polls and you did not go to the polls?—A. No, sir. At the last election, the

election, there did not a good many vote, I know; because they in the same ward with me.

Q. Did you vote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any trouble in voting?—A. Not at all, sir; I could have trouble; in the city election I was one of the commissioners at polls.

Q. You were one of the commissioners at the polls?—A. Yes, sir; at city election I was.

Q. How is it about the courts there; do you serve on the jury sometimes?—A. I have served, myself, on the jury but once; but I was appointed as one of the jury committee, to help draw the numbers of the men; I knew the colored people of the parish, mostly, and I suppose I was put there to represent them. I had the privilege of doing any way.

Q. Have you ever had any business in the courts?—A. No, sir; I never had any case in court; I never sued any person, and I never was arrested; I never was arrested in my life, by either a sheriff or a policeman; I never paid a fine in my life.

Q. Do you know District Attorney Leonard?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does he live in Shreveport?—A. That is considered his home, but he is in New Orleans generally.

Q. Did he give the colored folks any advice about voting, in 1878, at city election, when you were one of the commissioners?—A. Well, he came to the polls where I was, and looked at the ticket; then he looked at the ballot-box; it was a new thing on us there; we had always been used to using one box at the polls, and they had there three. He said he did not see any use of voting; it was no go—voting would not do any good at all.

Q. What did he mean by saying it was “no go”?—A. He saw that was a new thing to have the votes divided up in such a way, and that we could not elect any candidate that we had up.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. The Republicans, you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What election did you say that was?—A. The city election of 1878.

Q. You spoke of your having done pretty well down there, and that it was because you understand how to get along with the people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had a pretty fair understanding with the folks all around you, you not?—A. Yes, sir; generally.

Q. And you have been on pretty good terms with the Democrats down there, have you not?—A. I will tell you just how that was; I was principally able to paddle my own canoe, and was not under any obligation to anybody; I took a course to suit myself, in my principles.

Q. You never had any difficulty with the Democrats?—A. No serious difficulty, sir.

Q. You know something about the proceedings in the way of voting, down there, I presume; how long is the parish of Caddo?—A. I could not tell you that, sir.

Q. Can you not give any idea about it, or how wide; is the county forty or eighty miles long?—A. I suppose it is.

Q. And not so wide as it is long?—A. No, sir.

Q. There is a voting place at Shreveport, of course?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then what others are there in the county?—A. I think Green's is about the next poll.

Q. How far is that?—A. I think it is about sixteen miles.

Q. Is there any other in the county?—A. Yes, sir; there is another polling place—I do not remember its name; I never was out at the other polling place.

Q. You know of but two in the parish?—A. Yes, sir; there are more than two.

Q. Where are they?—A. I do not know, any further than I have already told you.

Q. When did you know of their being there?—A. There is one at the place I used to live on called the Hogskin place.

Q. Where is that? How far from Shreveport?—A. The polling place is by Carthron's, sixteen or seventeen miles from Shreveport.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. At the last election, I understand I was not down there at all.

Q. Do you know anything about the schools, away from Shreveport in the country places, plantations, and around?—A. No, sir; I cannot remember where the schools were at.

Q. Do you know of any besides those where you sent your own daughters and sons?—A. I think there are several others.

Q. Do you know Mr. Foster's plantation?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about the schools down there?—A. I do not.

Q. You say that the schools have been kept up but a limited period this year at Shreveport, because they were a little of money?—A. Yes, sir; there were no funds to pay a teacher I was told.

Q. Was Caddo Parish prosperous in the way of raising a good cotton crop this last season?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they ever raise a better crop down there than they did last year?—A. Not that I remember.

Q. How was the cotton crop the year before?—A. It was rather a sorry cotton crop that year; last year I raised thirty-five bales on the same land that I raised only twenty-five bales on the year before.

Q. But all the time, for four or five years past, have you not been making money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But the schools are not as good as formerly?—A. Of course not.

Q. Then how comes it now, when the country and the people down there are more prosperous than ever before, that you have not sufficient money to keep your schools in operation?—A. I will tell you what I think; I think it must be in the handling of it, or in the collecting of it. I think there is as much money in the country, among the people, as there ever was before.

Q. Do you know of any reason, if there is any disposition to keep up the schools, why they can not be kept up?—A. No, sir; because I do not desire them to go on.

Q. You do not handle the money?—A. No, sir.

Q. With greater means to pay taxes, they are assessing less and paying out less for schools; is not that the fact?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke about the people not voting down there at one time; what was the reason that they did not vote?—A. The reason that they did not vote was on account of not finding persons' names on the list that they had there.

Q. What was the reasons their names were not on the list?—A. That is what I have been wanting to find out ever since, but I have never found out.

Q. Who makes out the list?—A. Mr. Leonard was understood to have made out that list.

Q. Were they the names of Democrats that were left off?—A. Some of

at party may have been left off, but it was the colored men's names that could not be found generally.

Q. Were the white men's names to be found generally?—A. At the polls where I was we found that white men's names were not missing so much as colored men's.

Q. You say that some of the white men's names were left off?—A. Yes, sir; some of them.

Q. Were the white men, whose names were left off, Republicans or Democrats?—A. I could not tell exactly as to all of them, but as a general thing they were men who pronounced themselves Republicans.

Q. The names of men who called themselves Republicans were left off?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The names of colored people pretty generally were left off?—A. Yes, sir; a big lot of them. I hated that particularly bad; I never will agree to such a thing as that.

Q. I should like to know all about that. There is not the slightest obstacle to your saying what you choose; there will be no trouble here, and there will be none at Shreveport—according to your testimony; so I should like to have you tell me all you know about that?—A. I speak nothing here that I would not say to any gentleman in Shreveport. I have wondered many times why the names of the colored men could not be found there on that election day. It was a mystery to me that the thing had been fixed so that we could not elect anybody.

Q. On account of the names not being on the poll-book?—A. No, sir; when their names were not on the book, we would not let them vote. When they came and wondered why in the world their names were not on the book.

Q. Men who had lived there all their lives came to vote, and found that their names were not on the polling book?—A. I won't say "all their lives," but for a great many years.

Q. Do you think Mr. Leonard left them off?—A. I do not know.

Q. Mr. Leonard is a Republican, I understood you to say.—A. I do not know what he is.

Q. Have you a sort of suspicion that Mr. Leonard is a Democrat who pretends to be a Republican, and cheated you out of your votes?—A.

Mr. Leonard has always treated me well, and I never asked what his politics was.

Q. What does he call himself?—A. I consider that any man who deals with the Republicans, or is indorsed by them, ought to be of that spirit.

Q. Do you understand that these voting lists came there to the voting precinct, to the place of voting, having been made by him, under his control all the time, and the Republicans' names pretty much left off?—

That is what I have been wanting to find out.

Q. Do you know of anybody that can tell you and me about that?—No, sir.

Q. Could not district attorney himself.—(Here a bystander, another witness from Shreveport, explained to the Senator who was examining the witness that the gentleman who had charge of the poll-books on the occasion referred to was not District Attorney Leonard, but another man, Mr. Fred. Leonard)

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You have not had any cause to leave that country yourself?—A. No, sir; I think I have too much at stake to go myself. I have been pretty badly treated in some respects.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. State wherein you have been badly treated.—A. One thing kind of roused me, at one time, till I thought I would rather be anywhere else than in Louisiana. I pre-empted on a little piece of railroad land about six miles from Shreveport; I had an old man living there; I put him there to secure the land, and to prevent people from taking the timber. Some of the neighbors there accused him of stealing, which I never believed he did. By some means they removed him from there and three days afterward I found my house burned. Then I was for a month unsettled in my mind. I thought it was a very mean thing to do. I do not think he ever stole anything, and if he did they ought not to have used me that way.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. The spring before this last.

Q. A good many colored people down there have had their minds "roused" a good deal, by one thing or another, at one time and other have they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And some of them became so "roused" that they have gone away, have they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And others died suddenly before they got their minds settled, did they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you heard of any colored men being killed, or whipped, or wronged, or injured, down there, within ten or fifteen years past?—A. Well, if you go to talk about "hearing," sir, you can hear that almost every year.

Q. You do not know a great deal except by what you hear, do you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you believe there was ever such a man as George Washington?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you have only heard of him—you never saw him?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did not see your house burn, did you?—A. I saw it after it was burned.

Q. You may have seen the dead bodies of some persons who had been killed; did you ever see anything of that kind?—A. I was sexton, and I buried a couple of bodies that were drawn out of the river.

Q. How was it about that?—A. Nothing, only they drew them out of the river.

Q. Were they colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the cause of their being in the river?—A. The coroner identified them as being two men who were drowned.

Q. That was all the record that was made by him?—A. That was all the record I ever heard.

Q. Was that coroner a white man?—A. No, sir; he was a colored man.

Q. He could not find the cause of their being drowned?—A. No, sir; no further than that they had got under water.

Q. Has there been any trouble down there about voting—any complaints, that you have heard of?—A. O, yes; there is a general complaint about voting.

Q. There are general complaints?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Even where they do not kill folks, they sometimes keep them from voting, down there, do they?—A. That is what is said, sir.

Q. Do you know of any colored man about there who has done better in the way of making money, accumulating property, than you have?—A. Yes, sir; I know of one colored man who has made more money.

Q. Do you know of more than one?—A. No; I do not know of any more. I have heard of others.

Q. What proportion of the colored men down there, take the whole parish together, own the land they live on?—A. A good many colored men own land in Shreveport.

Q. I mean, take the people out around, where there is land that colored people are working; how many own the land where they are working?—A. There is right smart of men in Caddo Parish who own little plantations.

Q. How large plantations?—A. May be fifty, or seventy-five, or a hundred acres.

Q. Is there any difficulty in their getting all the land they want there?

A. There is no difficulty in getting land, if you will take it on such conditions as it is offered to you at, to buy or rent.

Q. What is the trouble with the conditions?—A. Sometimes a man wants you to take more land than you are willing to take.

Q. At what price can you rent land down there?—A. The price of it has risen this year. I am paying eight dollars and a half an acre a year that I rented last year for seven dollars an acre.

Q. What is such land worth to buy it?—A. It could be bought for fifty dollars an acre.

Q. Do you not think if the colored people took care to save all they earn from year to year, that in the course of ten or twelve years they could own little homesteads of their own, and so escape paying rent?—A. I do not think it would take ten or twelve years, if he could get the earnings of his labor.

Q. Is it not the best way for your people to stand it awhile, earn money, save it up, and buy a piece of land, and be independent; and when if the employer is not disposed to give what he ought to for work, let him work his own land and sell his own crop?—A. There is not more than about three or four things that the colored man asks of the white people in Shreveport and I believe in Louisiana.

Q. What are they?—A. If you hire him for five dollars a month, he wants the five dollars at the end of the month. If you say you will give him so much at the end of the year, he wants his wages at the end of the year. If you tell him you will give him a certain share of the crop, he wants that share of the crop when it is made. Second, he wants his children educated; and when you promise him nine months' schooling in the year for them, he wants nine months' schooling. And when he goes to vote he wants it established as a rule that he can vote as he pleases, and not hindered by nobody. Then you won't hear of any trouble between the whites and the blacks in the South, and you will never have any Kansas movement.

Q. Then it is true that the colored men *are* cheated out of their wages, the colored children are cheated out of their schools, and the colored voters are cheated out of their ballots?—A. Well, that is the general complaint, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Have you been cheated out of your wages, and your right to vote, and have your children been cheated out of their schooling? You have just stated that here, have you?—A. No, sir; I think I told you that in the outset. I have not, myself, individually, any complaint to make, but there is that general complaint.

Q. O, yes; you have heard talk of that kind?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you know one Henry Adams, who lives in Shreveport or in the vicinity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you known him?—A. Is this (indicating a colored man standing in the room) the man you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I have known him for thirteen years.

Q. Is he a good, honest, reliable man?—A. I never heard anything else of him, sir, until he advocated this Liberian question, and so on. His name has been handled pretty briefly since then.

Q. He was an honest man until he began to advise the colored people to go to Liberia?—A. I never heard of his being a bad man, or a bad adviser, until then.

Q. His word is considered good?—A. Yes, sir; I never heard anything else said of him. People have poked some fun at him as a doctor—a faith doctor.

Q. Do you think he ought to be laughed at on that ground?—A. That is as people please.

Q. He represents himself to be a "faith doctor," does he not?—A. I have known him to represent himself that way in the city where I live.

Q. Did you ever know of his practicing any?—A. I know that he practiced some on some persons who lived near me.

Q. Did you ever know of his curing anybody?—A. There is a man that I am very well acquainted with, Hudson Davis, who says that Adams cured a child of his. He belongs to the same church that I do, that is how I happened to know about it.

Q. He thinks Adams cured the child, does he?—A. Yes, sir; he thinks he saved the child's life. The child had been sick for some time, and had several physicians, who did not reach the case; but he recovered under Adams.

TESTIMONY OF W. T. FLEMING.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

W. T. FLEMING sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Mr. Fleming, where do you reside?—Answer. In Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Ever since my childhood with the exception of six or eight years.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a druggist by profession.

Q. I wish you would state what the condition of things in your parish is now, between the two races, white and black.—A. There has been some rather conflicting testimony here, and I would rather answer your questions than to volunteer testimony that might not be upon the points concerning which you desire information; besides a man sometimes gets himself tangled up in these things.

Q. I will ask you, then, whether you know anything about the opportunities of employment for colored people in Shreveport and vicinity.—A. I know that they have all the opportunities in the world that they want.

Q. At what wages?—A. I have been told, twelve to fifteen dollars a month and found—board and lodging found. I am not so familiar with that subject as one or two witnesses who have testified before me.

Q. You have lived there all your life, pretty much?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you know, if anything, about the colored people's privilege of voting being interfered with?—A. My idea about that is that it is more moral intimidation than any other kind, if there is any. I think

There is a tendency towards a certain kind of intimidation, but I do not fully believe there is any violence done. The witness who has testified before me has, I think, told exactly the truth in regard to that matter, as near as I can tell it. There is a good deal of talk that "the colored men better keep away from the polls," and that sort of thing; but I think it amounts to nothing more than threats; I do not think the threats are put into execution—not in the city of Shreveport.

Q. Do the people mingle together on election day, colored and white?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you never saw any difficulty between them?—A. I never saw any difficulty in Shreveport in my life; not between the white and colored men. I have seen a little difficulty, but it did not amount to anything.

Q. When was that?—A. I think it was in 1876. It was on election day, but it was merely personal. I do not think it had anything to do with any interference between the whites and blacks.

Q. It was not a race difficulty?—A. No, sir; I suppose it would be possible for an election to go on without there being some little misunderstanding one way or another, but I do not think it amounts to much consequence.

Q. Are you a supervisor of the census to be taken this year?—A. Yes, sir; I have been appointed.

Q. And confirmed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How about the schools down there?—A. I would rather refer you to Mr. Shepherd, who is inspector of public schools down there, and knows a great deal more on that subject than I do, and can give you all information.

Q. Have you taken some part in politics down there that you happen to be appointed supervisor of the census?—A. I do not think I can be called a politician. I have rather kept aloof from taking an active part in the politics of either party in our parish for the last two years. I have some very particular friends who are Republicans, and I have not yet got to the point where I can throw away my friendship for political purposes. I have adhered to the friendship that I entertain for these men who are Republicans. I vote sometimes for Republicans and sometimes for Democrats.

Q. You are not much of a party man, then?—A. Not by any means. I have as good friends in the Republican party as in the Democratic party. I believe that one would do as much for me as the other.

Q. As you are going to take the census down there, you have undoubtedly been noticing things that go on down there. Are things going on well, or are they in a bad shape, and have the colored people any reason for going away from there?—A. So far as regards the colored people going away, I think that no sufficient cause exists for their going. I think it is owing to the unsettled condition of their own minds more than to any real grievances, and from the dissatisfaction produced among them by the change in the State government from Republican to Democratic. They do not know what to do. They had an idea, I imagine, that as long as the Republicans were in power in our State something might occur that possibly might benefit them directly. And now since the Democratic party has got into power I think they have lost that hope. There has resulted a kind of uneasiness and dissatisfaction in their minds. I think that is the entire cause of this exodus, so far as our part of the country is concerned.

Q. Do you know of any injustice practiced on the part of employers by cheating their colored employés out of their wages, or on the part of

merchants by charging too much?—A. I have heard some of what has been testified to by witnesses here. I do not know of a single instance. I think such things would not be apt to occur, unless parties were doing business with irresponsible merchants.

Q. Have you lived at Shreveport ever since the surrender?—A. No, sir; I lived at New Orleans for five years.

Q. During the years you have lived there, in Shreveport, you have never seen any trouble at election?—A. None, except a little personal difficulty, such as is common on election days in all the States. In 1864 I was acting as one of the United States supervisors of election. There was a kind of growing feeling of discontent on that day displayed; but to say that anything happened, it did not. That is the day to which the testimony referred when Mr. Leonard advised the negroes to quit the polls.

Q. Did Leonard advise the negroes to leave the polls?—A. I was told that he did.

Q. Were they being mistreated in any way?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there any danger that they would be?—A. I think not; I think it was entirely a misapprehension on his part.

Q. He apprehended violence toward the negroes?—A. Yes, sir; there were rumors floating around the street that there were armed men in the town. I did not believe it.

Q. Who was Leonard?—A. I think he was United States district attorney; I think his term as member of the legislature had just expired.

Q. Was he a Republican member of the legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There was no trouble on that occasion?—A. No, sir; the negroes had been voting up to that time, but when this advice was given they withdrew from the polls quietly.

Q. Was that one of the parishes whose vote was thrown out by the returning board that year?—A. I do not remember.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. When this rumor got generally circulated through the town, that it would not be safe for the negroes to vote—A. Excuse me; you did not understand me; I did not say there was a "rumor"; I said there was a growing feeling—a baseless fear; the negroes were talking that it might be dangerous for them to vote; I do not believe anything of the kind. You know how easily negroes' suspicions are aroused.

Q. If a negro is threatened with being hung, he begins to get suspicious?—A. No; you are rather inclined to exaggerate the circumstances of the case.

Q. You say there was not a rumor, but the negroes were talking around?—A. Well, whispering; it did not hardly amount to a rumor.

Q. Well, whatever is amounted to, the negroes, for some reason, went away and did not vote?—A. Yes, sir; they were advised to go away; their fears were aroused by the remark made by Mr. Leonard.

Q. Do you not think their fears were aroused by the rumor of armed men about to drive them from the polls?—A. No, sir; for there was no such rumor.

Q. The negroes were whispering about that armed men were going to put a stop to their voting, and withdrew quietly?—A. Whatever their whispering was about, they did withdraw quietly.

Q. If they had kept on voting do you not think there would have been a fuss?—A. I think not.

Q. They thought so?—A. I have no doubt they thought so.

Q. The negroes wished to vote, if they had thought it would have

- en safe for them to do so?—A. I have no doubt the negroes wished to
ce.
Q. The negro values his right of suffrage as much as the white man
es?—A. I think more so than white men, generally.
Q. It is natural that he should, under the circumstances?—A. Under
circumstances, yes.

TESTIMONY OF J. H. GILLILAND.

By the CHAIRMAN:

- Question. Where do you live?—Answer. At Shreveport.
Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Since 1857.
Q. What are you engaged in?—A. The newspaper business; I am
y editor of the Shreveport Times.
Q. What are its politics?—A. Democratic.
Q. You may state whether you have observed the condition of things
ween the two races in your parish pretty closely.—A. Well, sir, from
observation of the two races, I find they are on friendly terms.
ere are no serious differences existing between them that I have been
e to observe.
Q. Have you talked with any of them about going away?—A. Yes,
; I have. I have been present at several of their meetings. In the
ing of 1878, I attended a meeting held at Cush Park, in the suburbs
the city. It was gotten up in the interest of having some of them
to Liberia, I believe. I heard several speeches made, and those who
re the principal speakers were politicians that figured most promi-
tly about there; and I believe there was a subscription taken up to
d agents to that country to select a locality and report the condition
affairs there; but I have never been able to ascertain the amount
t was collected. The tenor of the speeches was about this: That the
gro had no show in the South and by going there they would be on
ir native heath; that they could not remain where they were and
or for the white man without getting value received for it; but that
nd died out. That was in the spring of 1878.
Q. Did anybody go from that agitation?—A. Well, sir, I am not able
state whether or not, but I am under the impression that they
rted; I am told that about six or seven hundred dollars was collected
l given to these agents.
Q. Have you never known colored people driven away from the polls
Shreveport?—A. No, sir; I never have.
Q. Ever see any difficulty there?—A. Never at the polls or anywhere
e on election-day.
Q. Do the colored people and the white mingle together freely on
ction day?—A. Yes, sir; very freely. I was a commissioner of elec-
n in 1878, with Mr. Butler, who just testified here a few moments
; he and I were at the same boxes.
Q. You served together as commissioners?—A. Yes, sir. Early in
forenoon they were voting quite freely—it was a large Republican
eint where I was, and they were voting very freely; in a few minutes
colored people all left the polls. He, Butler, and myself and the
er commissioner, inquired the cause, and were told Mr. Albert
nard advised the colored people to go away; that they had no chance
electing their ticket and it was useless to vote; and they simply acted
on his advice; there was no demonstration.

Q. Was there any danger of violence that day?—A. I apprehend none.

Q. Have you ascertained since that there was any danger?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. Did he advise them that there was danger, or rather that there was no chance of electing their ticket?—A. Simply advised them that there was no chance of electing their ticket.

Q. Was it not understood that he took this course for the purpose of laying grounds to contest that election?—A. I understood it to be that way, in fact, I think he made that remark to me himself.

Q. That he intended to contest the election?—A. He implied that anyway.

Q. There was no sign or show of intimidation as far as you saw?—No, sir. I was at the polls all day. There was some trouble about colored men not being able to vote, because of their names not being in the poll-books, and sometimes a great many of the colored people had two or three names; they will register in one name and go by some other name on the streets. One instance was brought to light. A colored man came to the polls and offered to vote. I think he said his name was Mac Smith; I am not sure about that; and I think Butler recognized him. We commenced hunting for his name on the list. Butler says to him: "That's not your name and you know it." He insisted it was, and afterwards admitted that he registered by one name and went by another.

Q. Well, you have a registration law, I suppose; every man to be registered has to go where the register is kept, at the registrar's office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If a man's name is not down it is his own fault, is it not?—A. I presume it is.

Q. He has to go there and get his name registered?—A. Yes; in the precinct in which he is entitled to vote.

Q. And what if he don't do it; the name will not be found there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he will not then be able to vote?—A. That was the cause of a great many not being able to vote that had registered in one precinct and attempted to vote in another. It was also the cause with a great many white men.

Q. I was going to ask you whether the rule did not apply to white people.—A. Yes, sir; the same rule applied to them as to the colored voters.

Q. Do the colored folks move about sometimes, and in that way lose their registration?—A. They frequently move from one precinct or one parish to another.

Q. And in that way it happens, sometimes, that they lose their registration?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That would happen to men either white or black; would it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Cross examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. This was a Congressional election, was it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State and Congressional both?—A. Yes, and municipal.

Q. What did you say was the name of the man who advised the negroes not to vote?—A. A. H. Leonard.

Q. Of Shreveport?—A. He was, I think, United States district attorney at the time; is yet.

Q. Does he live at Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir; he claims that is his home, but has been in New Orleans for the last two or three years.

- Q. Where is he now?—A. In New Orleans.
- Q. Now won't you explain to us about these voting precincts there? I don't quite understand it. The colored men are fully as anxious to vote as the white men down there?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And they all know they have got to be registered, don't they?—A. Yes, sir; I presume they do.
- Q. It sometimes happens that they don't get registered?—A. I don't know anything about that.
- Q. Was not the trouble in 1878 that names did not appear on the list?—A. Yes; names did not appear on the list, or may have been on other registration books, as I said just now. For instance, living in the fourth precinct, and attempting to vote in the fifth, my name would not be found.
- Q. Would not a negro know enough to go to his ward or precinct to get his ballot? If anxious to do it, would he not contrive to do it?—A. The registrar is an impartial man, and registered the colored people, and was very careful to ask the colored men where they lived.
- Q. Has there been no change or jugglery about voting precincts?—A. No, sir; no changes that I know of.
- Q. You cannot imagine anything to explain the fact that these colored people, being anxious to vote, and registering, were constrained from going to vote where they had no right to?—A. Well, I would explain it if they would get in the wrong precinct.
- Q. Are there no guide boards down there in that part of the country so that they can find the way to the precinct where they belonged?—A. No, to the polling precincts; there are no guide-boards to them.
- Q. Well, would there be any difficulty if any body was anxious enough to register in finding the proper place to vote, unless there was some jugglery about it?—A. I cannot speak for the country. In the city we have two polling places; two or three.
- Q. Well, colored men could have found those in a city of twelve thousand people?—A. It seems to me they could.
- Q. Those who live in Shreveport register in Shreveport, don't they?—A. Yes, sir; those who live in Shreveport register in Shreveport.
- Q. And if a colored man did present his vote in the wrong precinct in Shreveport, he could readily go to the next one, could he not?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And make the distance in half an hour?—A. Yes, I have no doubt that a great many did do it.
- Q. So that there was no difficulty in voting in Shreveport, so far as precincts are concerned?—A. No.
- Q. Nor in the registration?—A. No, sir.
- Q. Then your theory don't amount to anything as far as Shreveport is concerned?—A. I have no theory.
- Q. Well, you were explaining as to the reason they did not vote, that there was a great deal of blundering about registration and precincts?—A. I said nothing about precincts. I said the registration; if you registered in the wrong precinct it would not—
- Q. Do you mean to say, instead of what you did, that the negro did not want to vote and did not register?—A. No, sir.
- Q. That he does want to vote and does register?—A. Yes.
- Q. And now, confining ourselves to the city of Shreveport, you say that he wants to vote and he registers?—A. Yes.
- Q. And there are only two voting precincts?—A. Two or three.
- Q. We will suppose three, and that they are all within a city of twelve thousand people; then you have two of the conditions; the

negro wants to vote more than the white man; he is registered in city of Shreveport; there are twelve thousand people in that city, a three voting precincts at least, and time to go from one to another half an hour, and you say that if he goes to the wrong one he can go to the next; and if that is wrong he can go to the next one, all in a few hours, and cast his vote besides. Now what is the reason the negro don't vote?—A. I have no idea why.

Q. Your explanation, then, that there was trouble about registration is no explanation of the trouble that he does not vote at all?—A. No.

Q. Well, we will take that all back then; let that go. Now you say that this man Leonard advised them not to vote; and he was United States district attorney at the time?—A. I am told he advised them not to vote.

Q. And he is a Republican?—A. I think he is; he claims to be.

Q. He is either a Republican or a Democrat?—A. Well, he was a White Leaguer in 1874.

Q. Do you think he was secretly and fraudulently working in the interest of the Democratic party, and for that reason advising negroes not to vote?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. You think he honestly advised them not to vote?—A. I am not prepared to say he was acting in the interest of the Democratic party in advising them not to vote.

Q. In whose interest could he have been acting?—A. Only that which would probably have grounds for contesting the election.

Q. But they did not vote after that; that parish was overwhelmingly Republican, was it not?—A. It has been counted by the returning board several times for the Republicans.

Q. Well, have you any doubt that that parish, when the vote is honestly counted, is three-fourths Republican?—A. I know at several elections it has been carried by the Democrats.

Q. I do not doubt that; and Mr. Leonard advised the Republicans not to try to cast their vote on this occasion; but I really want to know how, that being overwhelmingly a Republican parish, that acting in the interest of the Republican party he could advise Republicans not to vote?—A. I suppose he thought it was to the interest of the Republican party to advise them not to vote.

Q. Don't you think he had an impression that if they voted, either they would be subjected to a great deal of violence, or, if not that, that the men that did the counting of the vote would cheat them out of an honest count?—A. I do not think that he apprehended violence; he may possibly have thought that the men that had the counting of the votes would count them out.

Q. Very likely. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF L. E. DODEZ.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 10, 1880.

L. E. DODEZ sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. Shreveport, La.

Q. Now, Mr. Dodez, how long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there since 1869.

- . Where did you live before that?—A. In Ohio.
- . Are you a Northern man by birth?—A. Yes, sir.
- . And by education and training?—A. Yes, sir.
- . How came you to go to Shreveport—without going into particular?—A. I had brothers there, in Shreveport, who had been there for a number of years, and after the surrender one of them came home, and had just then undergone a surgical operation, and I came South with him for my health.
- . What business are you in in Shreveport?—A. At present I am a salesman and collector for the Singer Manufacturing Company, for that district comprising several parishes there.
- . What other occupations have you followed since, there?—A. I have been acting three terms as justice of the peace and notary public; I am also a notary public.
- . What are your politics?—A. I am a Republican.
- . Have you always been a Republican?—A. I have, ever since I was born.
- . What part of Ohio did you come from?—A. Near Wooster, Wayne county. Mount Eaton is my native village.
- . Now, Mr. Dodez, you have been there mixing with those people since 1869, you say. State what the condition of things is, fairly and candidly, between the whites and colored people at that point, and at the present time and during the time you have been there, briefly as you can, covering the points.—A. Well, as for making a statement, I think probably, if you wish to expedite matters, you had better question me on the things as you wish to know.
- . What is the condition of things for peace and quiet, law and order at this time there?—A. Everything is very quiet there now.
- . Have you witnessed the elections that have taken place since you have been down there?—A. O, yes.
- . Have you seen any trouble at the polls, that is, race troubles, arising out of collisions between whites and colored people?—A. As far as any outbreak is concerned?
- . Yes.—A. No, sir; I never have.
- . Say if you have witnessed any violence practiced about the polls?—A. I never have.
- . You have been elected three times as magistrate?—A. Yes, sir; three times on the Republican ticket.
- . Did your Republican friends have free chance to vote when you were a candidate?—A. As far as I know they had.
- . Did you beat a Democrat?—A. I did.
- . Were you personally well treated yourself by the white people there?—A. O, yes; I could not have been treated better.
- . You could not have been treated better?—A. No, sir; I was treated as well as any person could be treated. I came there as a Republican; and I must say there was a little prejudice existing against Republicans when I came there. I came in 1869, and went to work for my brother there a year or so, and I think it was in 1872 I was asked to allow myself to become a candidate for the office of justice of the peace, to which I consented, and it was not until then that the citizens there found out my politics; although I had been taking a Republican paper, but few knew it, and as I had always made politics a matter of conscience, I did not think that I was going to suffer by it, and I let my name go out as a candidate for justice of the peace on the Republican ticket. I was nominated, and in that election there was a contest—it was a contested election, so far as parish and ward officers were

concerned. I did not enter into the contest; my seat was given me though, by decision of the supreme court. Pending this decision of the supreme court, some of the attorneys there even went so far as to withdraw cases from my court, supposing the thing was not decided; and there was a little prejudice existing, too, but after the supreme court decision I went on with my business and kept my office open. The one who claimed the seat went on also.

Q. Did you get a full share of the business?—A. Yes; I got a full share of the business, and attorneys who had withdrawn their patronage from me, I think, I did the bulk of the business—I did three-fourths of the business at that time—after the decision of the supreme court.

Q. Now, you were a Northern man, from Ohio, going down there after the war a Republican, and you say you were treated well; do I understand by that you were not socially ostracised in any way?—A. No, sir; I was not socially ostracised; just the contrary as far as—I had formed quite an acquaintance there and got into society before my politics were known; and afterwards I have never found any people of sense and education who—but I have at sometimes received cuts at the hands of parties, but generally on the part of good citizens I have never been shown any difference.

Q. Well, foolish people allow social relations to be affected by politics in other States, do they not?—A. O, yes, sir; in connection with that I will state that Captain Nutt, a prominent attorney and very strong Democrat, he said to me once, “Dodez,” he says, “when you allowed your name to go forward on the Republican ticket I watched you mighty close, but I found out you was a conscientious Republican; you came from the North, and I found out you was an honest man.” And since that Captain Nutt—I do not think there is an attorney at the bar in Shreveport that I have not friendly relations with, and who have all treated me with the greatest courtesy, and when I first went into the office Judge Lewis, Captain Bell, and all such men as that told me that I was—invited me to their library, and any information or anything they could do for me they would do cheerfully.

Q. Now, as a justice and notary you were thrown in contact with people a great deal there. Do you know of any abuses—if so, just let us have it—practiced on colored people as a people and because they are that people? As a matter of course there are wrongs practiced towards all people. All I am speaking of now is of their being singled out and abused of their rights either in trading or otherwise because of their color. Do you know anything of that?—A. Speaking of trading as far as that is concerned you are probably as well aware as I am that in our part of the country everything is a little higher there than it is here.

Q. Yes.—A. And as far as trading is concerned there are men in our place, as there are everywhere, who will take advantage of ignorance and of an opportunity to make whatever they can.

Q. I have never seen the spot on earth that that did not happen.—A. When justice of the peace, petty cases of that kind would come up when a negro did not get the right change or something of that kind; they are frequent occurrences, and as far as purchases are concerned there we do pay, when we go to buy on credit—we do pay a pretty high price—sometimes an extravagant price for things.

Q. The credit system is always followed by increase of price, is it not?—A. It is; yes, sir; I know that, because seizures are brought before me—suits for seizures and bills brought up in which liens and judgments were claimed on crops for these advances; and I have examined several bills, of course, of that kind where they are purchases on credit

Do you think negroes are treated that way because they are negroes, or did not that apply to white people?—A. O, it applies to any one that purchases on credit, except by unscrupulous men, except in special cases, where they would take advantage of ignorance in a white man just the same as with a negro.

Of course any dishonest man would do in Louisiana what he would do in Ohio or Indiana.—A. Yes, sir; there are white men there who are taken up by paying exorbitant prices for advances. I know a great many who were wealthy when I came there and now they are, so to speak, worth nothing, and merchants say, when they advance, "it is either or break." They take the chances; sometimes they make a big gain, sometimes it breaks them.

As the credit system always does?—A. Yes, sir; it is the same with the planters on Red River. There, if an overflow comes or the crop comes or something of that kind and they don't make a crop, they take themselves and the merchants that advance for them.

You spoke of being connected with the sale of the Singer sewing-machine as agent; have you traveled much over the country and talked with colored people or in any way ascertained their school advantages? School advantages? O, yes; as far as school is concerned we have schools throughout the country; there are, that is—I speak for our country; we are only eighteen miles from the Texas line and I have traveled a good deal in the bordering counties of Texas. In our State we have schools there for white and blacks, separate, and they enjoy school advantages the same as we do.

How have they fared in school privileges under Mr. Sheppard here, I believe, succeeded, I forget now who?—A. Well, sir, as far as I know, they have fared the same as we did. Their school closed at the same time the white school closed; they closed before we left there; as far as competency of teachers, I know some of the teachers there are employed, and as a general thing there is a very good class of colored teachers.

Where are these colored teachers educated to enable them to teach, Mr. Dodez?—A. Now, I cannot tell you, as far as the where is concerned. A majority of them are from the North; some of them are educated, I know, in Ohio; some at Oberlin; some in different parts of the country.

Mr. Butler spoke of his daughter having been educated in Shreveport and teaching there?—A. Some have been educated there; since we have had the public system there we have—at first we did not have any colored teachers—that is, to my belief; I do not think they had many; but they have made several good teachers there, from what we have learned—well, we see it in print; it is a matter of general news. Generally, when schools close they wind up with a review of all the cases, and publications are made of these things, and several of our best teachers there who have not been away at all to get an education.

We have several good teachers there from the North.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

What is the population of Shreveport?—A. Shreveport has a population—an actual population—of between eight and nine thousand; it is reputed to be ten thousand.

How divided between whites and colored people?—A. I could not say exactly; I think, generally speaking, about half and half.

Are any of the colored people Democrats?—A. I know of several who are Democrats.

Q. Do you know twenty?—A. I could not go into numbers; I know of several, though, who are Democrats, and one especially, whom everybody knows there; always make him prominent on election day.

Q. Who is he? I don't know him.—A. O, well, the one I speak of in fact, I forget his name; he is known by his looks.

Q. You don't know him?—A. I don't believe I know his name.

Q. The fact that he is a colored man and a Democrat and a little active makes him notorious?—A. Not exactly that; he is a very comical fellow.

Q. Is he the only colored Democrat there?—A. O, no, there are others there.

Q. That would leave nineteen.—A. I don't know about numbers.

Q. You would not be willing to swear that there are twenty?—A. I would not swear to twenty or one hundred or over or under a hundred—I would not swear either way.

Q. Would you swear that you don't believe there are twenty-five?—A. No, sir; I would not.

Q. Would you swear that you do believe there are twenty-five?—A. Well, I don't know whether I would or not. I would not swear to numbers.

Q. You don't know whether there are twenty-five or not?—A. I don't know anything about it. It is very hard to tell a man's politics to swear whether he is a Democrat or a Republican.

Q. Why?—A. Well, simply this, you don't know what that man's opinion is, you can only tell ostensibly what he is.

Q. How ostensibly?—A. By what he says.

Q. Cannot you tell by what he votes?—A. If he will open his ticket and allow you to look at it you can tell.

Q. Well, don't they vote their ticket openly and allow you to see?—A. Sometimes they do, sometimes they do not; if a person wants to make a parade of voting they could.

Q. You mean, as a general thing, Republicans are cautious about exposing their ballots?—A. I don't say that.

Q. You say that is not so?—A. I say I do not say they are cautious.

Q. They may not be cautious, but do you mean to say you cannot tell generally how they are voting for the reason that their ballots are concealed?—A. I do not know their ballots are concealed.

Q. You seem to have infinite difficulty in knowing whether folks are Republican or Democrat down there; cannot you tell in Ohio just as well?—A. Yes, sir; we can.

Q. Why don't you tell us what you mean, Mr. Witness? Don't you know whether you believe there are twenty-five Democrats there?

The CHAIRMAN. He has stated that he would not swear to that point.

The WITNESS. As far as that is concerned, just as I told you, I don't swear to numbers at all.

Q. I did not ask you to swear to numbers.—A. I believe there are more than twenty-five negroes there that vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Well, do you believe there are fifty?—A. Well, of late, I believe there are more than that who voted the Democratic ticket.

Q. Do you think they really believed in the Democratic faith, or that they only voted in that way for some other reason?—A. I don't know anything about that; all I know is that—in fact I have not even the knowledge of knowing positively who voted and who did not, except in a general way. Now, last election there were a great many who voted the Democratic ticket—how many I don't know; if I was prepared, could look

the records to refresh my memory with these things; it is a matter of very little importance to me.

. Are you judge of police court now or police justice?—A. No, sir.

. How long since you have been justice there?—A. Not since January, 1879.

. Not since January, 1879; and you were for three or four years?—For three terms.

. And you got into Southern society from the fact that for two or three years they did not suspect you were a Republican?—A. I do not think that; I say that they did not know I was a Republican generally, unannounced my name.

. You kept your politics to yourself?—A. I made it known wherever it was questioned.

. But you did not make it known; it was not questioned then?—A. Sometimes in conversation with friends—they knew where I was from, but I would tell them if they inquired about my politics.

. You kept still then until put up for office; then you announced your politics?—A. I was engaged in business.

. Well, was it not as well, so far as business was concerned to keep your politics to yourself?—A. It did not affect my business, because I was simply a clerk.

. Was it as well for your employers?—A. It was for my brother I was working, and he was a rampant Democrat.

. Your brother was a rampant Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

. Do you think it would have been of advantage to you as a business man, to make it known that you were a rampant Republican?—A. I think it would have been against my interests at that time, if I had gone into politics and made parade of my being a Republican.

. Why so?—A. Simply because there—a man who goes there—in the first place I was there—

. You were a carpet-bagger?—A. No, sir; I was not a carpet-bagger.

. Now, I want you to explain the difference. You are an emigrant from Ohio. I want the Southern idea of the carpet-bagger as you understand it.—A. I will tell you what I came South for, and if you know what the carpet-baggers go there, you can tell the difference.

. That is what I want to find out.—A. I had two brothers in the Army, and one returned about the time of the surrender—was sent home disabled—and came home.

. He was in the army?—A. Both of them were in the Confederate Army and I had a brother and two brothers-in-law in the Federal Army—right there in the war—and I would have been in the Federal Army myself if I had not been crippled. My brother came home as I had undergone a surgical operation. I had no idea of going South, because not able. I was there with a family on my hands; a mother and sister, whose husband had been in the Army, and was making a support for them; and I was not able to travel or go anywhere; and I had undergone a surgical operation, and was convalescing. At that time brother came home. I was then riding over the country for an insurance company, and made my first ride after the operation had been performed. Brother returned home, and when he went South he asked me to go down with him. In the winter season I was teaching school, and in the summer I was riding for the insurance company. He asked me to go South. I told him I had a school for the winter season. He said "Well, come down, and you can return if you like to; if you like it you can stay all winter." I agreed to come South

with him, and the climate was delightful; and I found I was gaining health and strength—I was a mere shadow—and found the climate agreed with me, and I remained there during the winter. In the spring I wanted to go home. It was my intention——

Mr. BLAIR. I don't care for such minute particulars unless you think it essential. I want to know, in a general way, the difference between yourself and what would be called a carpet-bagger.

The WITNESS. My interests were in Shreveport and friends there. I went with my brother in business and staid there to make a living.

Q. Did you go to deprive yourself of the rights the citizen has in the North?—A. No, sir.

Q. And among friends, being a candidate for office and all that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now these Northern people who go down there with their money, buy lands with the idea of making homes?—A. Yes.

Q. Who being American citizens, are many of them called carpet-baggers are they?—A. If a man goes into politics and becomes a candidate for office.

Q. Then he is a carpet-bagger?—A. That class of people who come there and go into politics immediately are carpet-baggers.

Q. Do you call Governor Kellogg a carpet-bagger?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He has been there longer?—A. Yes.

Q. Is not he as much interested in Louisiana as any there?—A. I don't know.

Q. All his pecuniary interests are there?—A. I don't know.

Q. Do you know why he is called a carpet-bagger except that he is a Northern Republican or a Republican from the North?—A. I suppose because he is a politician.

Q. Do you know anything against these carpet-baggers from the North, any reason why they should not be treated as well as a native white citizen who is a candidate for office?—A. Well, some reasons—generally speaking—as far as office is concerned, I have known men there who I don't know whether you would call them carpet-baggers or what else; I don't know how long they have been there.

Q. There is such a thing as a scalawag?—A. Well, that is a later date, they come in after the carpet-bagger.

Q. A scalawag is a native Southern born man who has joined the Republican party, is he not?—A. They call a native Southern born man a scalawag, who has become a radical.

Q. Now, it is an expression of offense or an opprobrium, is it not? You don't think much of a man for being a scalawag, do you?—A. Well, I don't know; it don't affect them much either way. I don't want you to understand me to say there is not prejudice.

Q. Well, let us into that part of it?—A. I commenced by saying the time I went there there was a prejudice against Republicans.

Q. Now let me just remind you that the resolution under which this committee is appointed provides that it shall search out the cause of what is called the exodus; that mental condition of the Southern negro or those of them who have done it, that leads them to come North?—A. Yes.

Q. What conspires to produce that state of mind that leads him to emigrate; and you say it goes back, as far as the philosophy of it may extend, before the war and since the war; what is it that tends to create this state of mind that leads him to go?—A. Speaking about carpet-baggers you asked me what is the difference between myself and a carpet-bagger; well, so far as that is concerned I have been called a car-

boagger myself after I accepted the office of justice of the peace on the Republican ticket.

It was not meant as a compliment, was it?—A. Not especially complimentary, I don't think.

If a man is called a scalawag it is not a compliment, is it?—A. I don't think it is much of a compliment.

That indicates a prejudice among the dominant classes of people on the ground of politics?—A. In the North, before I went South, were called "black Republicans," and the Democrats were called "opperheads"; just about as much of a compliment as that.

Yes. You think there has been no more feeling against the Republicans down there, leading to any serious consequences, than the feeling of feeling between the parties North?—A. Well, I don't say that.

What do you say?—A. If you will allow me to explain it, when a man goes South—you are aware a majority of the white people of Louisiana where I went to were Democrats. If I had gone there at the time and announced myself as a Republican and ready to pitch myself into politics and all that, I don't think I would have been a welcome guest at all; on the contrary, I think I would have been looked aside by the better people; now that is what I mean by a prejudice; a person going there from the North, whether he was a Republican or Democrat; at the time I went there, there were Democrats with some even from Kentucky, and it was so recently after the surrender of everything that came from up the country a piece was called Yankee, and my Democratic friends went under the same sobriquet I did. We were all called Yankees when we went down there, some right from the State of Kentucky who were Democrats—we looked together there, and we were all called Yankees. While there was a prejudice existing at that time by the people at this influx of Northern men—well, on inquiring, being there that length of time, I found out why. It was so recently after the people had lost their cause, there were a great many people of course that felt embittered, and Republicans were there from the North holding the offices, and they did not relish that much, I reckon, and if men would go there while the people were in just this condition, not ready to receive most hospitably the bitterest Republican or even any Republican; they were not particularly anxious, neither did they even at the time I went there; they looked with suspicion on Northern men, whether Democrat or Republican, and a great many Democrats coming there frequently, it was hard on them to ———, sometimes were suspicioned of being Republicans themselves. It was sometimes supposed every person coming from the North was a Republican.

Is there anything of this movement called the exodus in your section?—A. Yes, sir.

Much of it?—A. Not much.

Is it increasing?—A. There has been some a short time ago; several families from across the river and some from the lower parishes and counties in Texas along the Sabine River where I traveled.

What were their reasons for going?—A. I talked to none of them. I did not see any of the exodusters myself. I stopped one night—there was a place below us called Hogthief Pond. Night overtook me before I got to the bayou, which I found I could not cross without endangering my life, so I had to stay.

Why, was your life in danger from the sudden rise in the waters?

Yes, sir; the bayous rise and fall very suddenly, and I stopped with a negro man (turning to a gentleman present—Mr. Shep-

herd, what is his name? He is teaching there). It don't matter about his name; I stopped with him all night. He is quite an intelligent negro, and he got to talking about Kansas, and he had a book there that he showed me telling all about the State and its advantages and all that, and he was very much infatuated with it. He is about the only one I talked to on the subject.

Q. He has never gone, has he?—A. No, he has never gone; he is teaching school there.

Q. I asked you if you know what reasons any had given for going?—A. I have talked with none that have gone or returned.

Q. So far as you know there was no reason for their going?—A. Well I don't know whether there was or not.

Q. You know something, as a matter of general information, of the movement called the exodus from there, and that it is not confined strictly to your own region, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You don't know personally anything of the causes?—A. No; I don't know anything of the causes.

Q. You spoke of Texas when Mr. Voorhees was questioning you with regard to school privileges in Louisiana. You confined your remarks to Louisiana though you said you frequently traveled in the adjoining counties of Texas. Do you find advantages for schools in Texas as in Louisiana?—A. No, sir; I did not, because in the border counties I traveled in—

Q. There were a good many white people?—A. Yes, sir; and there are very poor school privileges there; had very few schools in the counties I traveled through except in towns.

Q. Well, it is just as bad for white children to grow up without education as colored children?—A. Yes; it is.

Q. Are you brought in contact much with the colored children of the school age and so on up to manhood and womanhood?—A. No more than just on the streets passing and repassing them. Shreveport has been my home for a number of years.

Q. You say about half of the population are colored?—A. Yes.

Q. What occupies the colored people in Shreveport?—A. Various things, particularly making cotton in the country.

Q. But in the city?—A. Well, the men are employed as porters, as water-carriers, as draymen, as house servants and cooks, and the women as washwomen and a great many seamstresses, and we sell a great many machines to negroes.

Q. Sewing machines?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Generally industrious people, are they not?—A. Less industrious about town than in the country; when a person goes to the country he goes there to do hard work.

Q. The exodusters are mainly from the country rather than from the town?—A. I could not say, only from what we saw in the papers. Those we noted particularly were from the country.

TESTIMONY OF J. H. SHEPHERD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

J. H. SHEPHERD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Of what State are you a native?—Answer. I was born in the State of Georgia.

. How long have you lived in Shreveport?—A. I came to New York 1858, with my mother, who married in New York; I went to Shreveport in 1874; that is, not to Shreveport, but to Caddo Parish.

. What is your occupation there?—A. I have taught school, and now practicing law; I am also inspector of public schools of the parish of Caddo.

. You are inspector of public schools now?—A. Yes, sir.

. How long have you been inspector of public schools in that parish?—A. Since 1877.

. Is there any discrimination between the whites and the blacks in schools in Caddo Parish?—A. None at all, sir.

. Is the school-money used in the same proportion for the one as the other?—A. Yes, sir; precisely. I wish to state that when I came inspector of the schools, I found the public schools confined almost entirely to Shreveport. I will only state what I know to be a matter of fact. I went there in 1874, and began teaching a private school. I taught in three or four localities in the parish; I became very well acquainted over the entire parish of Caddo. I spent a while on the border of the State, on the line of Arkansas. During the years 1874, 1875, and 1876, I took occasion to go over the parish considerably. I knew of but one public colored school in the parish in 1874. After I was subpoenaed to come here, in order to refresh my memory in regard to the public school system in Caddo County, I had a memorandum made out from the records of the school board, from that preceding the one now in existence. I perceived that no schools were kept in the country parts of Caddo Parish, either white or black, for more than three months in the year. The salaries paid teachers were very high; they were paying salaries then eighty dollars a month to teachers. When I took charge of the schools I adopted the same system of examination which prevails in the State of New York. On the records I notice among the names of the teachers that of one McClelland, who was examined by me. I held an annual examination at the commencement of each year. I devoted one day to the examination of colored teachers, and one day to whites. In 1877 I found that the colored teachers were not up to the standard of the whites; and the questions I put to those teachers were of a nature more easily answered than those I put to the whites. I do not think that any of them scarcely could pass the examination, easy as it was. Among the applicants was this man McClelland, who had been receiving eighty dollars a month for teaching school at Morningsport. On examination I found that he could not set down a sum in simple subtraction. There were others who could not write a correct sentence in English; nor, in fact, hardly read at all.

I changed all this as fast as I could. During 1877-78 I secured some excellent teachers. I have one of them now, a young miss who came from Oberlin, Ohio, who passed as good an examination as any white teacher I had there. I have placed her in charge of one of our schools. Another was raised there in Shreveport; she was the daughter of a black man named Hickman; I think her father sent her to New Orleans; I am not positive about that. Throughout the country the standard was raised. I had some excellent teachers this year, but, owing to a failure of funds, I was compelled to close the schools. I think we closed the schools about the 1st of March, after five months' session. I have heard considerable here in regard to the failure of the schools. There has been no failure of the schools since the administration of the present board of directors. When the school funds were turned over to

us, we found in the treasury about fourteen thousand dollars. We found that the treasurer, Mr. Antoine, who is the present lieutenant-governor, had deposited some of it in the Freedman's Bank; and it was where the other funds deposited in that bank did—if anybody knows where that is. We have not been able to recover all of it, though the attorney has threatened suit; some portion of it has been returned. So far as discrimination is concerned, I have never made any, nor seen any made, at all. I have given the people of that parish better teachers than they ever had before; and have improved the standard of education, under great difficulties. At first my efforts in this direction were received with disapprobation, but now all express themselves very well satisfied. They did not at first like my bringing in teachers from abroad, which it was necessary to do in order to have good ones.

Q. Where did you bring them from?—A. Some were from New Orleans and some from Texas. The State University has educated a number of colored people; and we sent for some of them to come and teach in the parish of Caddo. The standard of the schools in Shreveport, both white and black, has been very much improved; and in the parish outside it has been improving. As I said before, I can find scarcely any record of the condition of things before I went to the parish, as far back as 1870, except that there was occasionally a school here and there for perhaps three months in the year. Last year I divided the school funds ratably. I knew that the school funds were short, and that I should not be able to carry out the school system as I wished; I determined to give every community an equal benefit; so I ascertained what communities were able to give any assistance, such as boarding the teacher, or anything of that kind; and then I appropriated the money accordingly. In 1877 and 1878 there were more schools in the parish of Caddo than I have any record of there being in the parish since reconstruction; more schools for the colored people.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You have been familiar with the schools there for three or four years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the population of Caddo Parish?—A. About twenty-one thousand, I think.

Q. Is it not more than that?—A. I think not much more than that, in any.

Q. Geographically, what are its dimensions?—A. I think the parish extends in one direction, along Red River, nearly north and south about one hundred miles, and east and west about twenty miles.

Q. It is about uniform in width?—A. No, sir; it is a little wider at the southern portion than at the northern; made so by the river.

Q. What is the width at the upper end?—A. About eighteen miles. I think I said that twenty miles was about the average. It is a little wider at the lower end.

Q. How many separate schools are there?—A. Do you mean for both white and colored?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. There are eighteen colored schools and thirteen white schools, altogether.

Q. In the entire parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of these are in the city of Shreveport?—A. There are three schools for each.

Q. How many teachers do they employ?—A. Three each, I think.

Q. That is, there are eighteen teachers for both white and colored schools in the city of Shreveport?—A. Let me see. I have three

ed schools in which I have two teachers each, and two white schools in which I have three teachers each, and one white school in which I have but one teacher.

That would make seven white teachers and six colored teachers?—A. Yes, sir.

How many pupils are there in Shreveport of both classes?—A. I cannot give you an accurate statement.

Give an approximate estimate, then.—A. The rule is to apportion from forty-five to sixty to each teacher.

That would be—say thirteen times fifty—about six hundred and thirty children who attend school in Shreveport—A. I think I have a memorandum of the number of the scholastic population of the parish from the census returns:

Are the census returns tolerably correct as to the present condition of the population?—A. Yes, sir; they are made by the assessor.

How recently were they made?—A. In 1878.

I would be glad to have it, then.—A. This is the scholastic population (reading from his memorandum): “Whites 1,767, colored 5,495.”

About eighteen hundred whites to fifty-five hundred colored?—A. Yes, sir.

That covers the entire parish?—A. Yes, sir. I am not certain whether it is quite correct as to the present number.

You have no memorandum showing how many school children of color there are in Shreveport?—A. No, sir.

How many schools did you say there are in the entire parish?—A. Eighteen colored and thirteen white.

Have you visited them all within the last year?—A. Yes, sir; all but four of the white schools in the north end of the parish; that I did not get to before they closed on account of the heavy rains.

Of the children of school age in the parish, how many are able to read and write, and perform written operations in arithmetic such as are necessary in practical life?—A. Well, I could not give you an estimate even. I know this, that in the last three years there has been a great improvement in that respect. I think probably three-tenths of the children have reached the point you mention.

Have you any means of showing the average attendance?—A. We have tabular reports which I can send you, if you desire, from the records of the school board. It is not my duty to keep the records; the secretary of the board does that.

What has been the amount of schooling; the time during which the schools were kept, I mean, in the city of Shreveport, during the year?—A. Five months.

What has been the time throughout the parish generally?—A. Five months.

Then within the past year, in the parish of Caddo, eighteen colored schools and thirteen white schools have been in operation five months?—A. No, not all of them; they will be, during the year. In some localities I prefer, and the people prefer, to have the schools kept in the summer, especially among the colored people; because then the children attend better. During the cotton-picking season the children cannot pick cotton as well as grown persons, and they are required in the field. The parents prefer to have their schools kept open while the crop is being picked by.

As a matter of fact, do almost all the children attend school during some portion of the year?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. What is the condition in that regard?—A. There is not the attendance that there should be.

Q. Are you doing the best you can to remedy that evil?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you find an increasing inclination among the people to second your efforts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. An increasing desire on the part of the parents, both white and black, to give their children the advantages of education?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do the white children and the black children compare, under otherwise similar conditions, as to capacity to acquire knowledge?—A. I find that both learn with equal facility, up to a certain point or period according to certain studies. I have sometimes attributed this difference in my colored schools to the fact that the teachers were not so efficient as the white teachers. The deficiency is especially noticeable in the study of mathematics. When I took charge of the schools I found that even the white children were far behind in their mathematics. I am inclined to think that the difference is not in the capacity of the two races, but that it is the result of the system, as conducted down there. When I say the children are far behind in their mathematics, I mean taking the Northern school standard, where the children are kept even as to their studies; for instance, in the North, children able to read the Fourth Reader are expected to have gone through the four rules; but I find that this is not the case down there. Children reading in the Fifth Reader are frequently not able to work examples in ordinary division.

Q. Do you know of any reason why the colored race has not the capacity for improvement and self-government and the performance of the duties of the American citizen?—A. I see none.

Q. You seem to take a very encouraging view of the prospects of the colored race, if it has a chance.—A. I do. I think since 1874 I have seen marked improvement in the colored people in various respects. In 1874 when I first went to that parish, very few colored people owned any personal property.

Q. I would like to follow up this matter of education a little more fully before leaving it. I would like to ask you in regard to the status and prospects of the white race in connection with education. We in the North used to hear a great deal concerning what are called the "poor whites" of the South; and we gained the impression that the Southern troubles grew almost as much out of a failure to educate the Southern whites as out of the condition of the colored man there. I may be wrong in regard to that, but I would like your views of the condition and prospects of the Southern whites?—A. I think it is better now than ever before.

Q. What was the actual status of the laboring white man, as compared with that of the colored man, prior to the surrender?—A. I was not in the South then; but from what I have heard, in mixing with the people since then, I do not think the Southern white—the laboring white man—was in any better condition than the colored laborer. I think, however, that now their condition is improving, now that they are taking advantage of the schools. In fact, it requires constant encouragement and effort to get them to send their children to school.

Q. Does it require more effort to get the Southern white people to send their children to school than it does the colored people?—A. About the same.

Q. They are both now anxious to learn?—A. Yes, sir; I will say this about that, however: it should be remembered that there were no pub

schools in the South before the war—only limited schools; not the public-school system which we have at present. The public-school system has sprung up in the South since the war, and has grown more and more into existence everywhere. At first, from what I can gather, a great many people did not think that the public schools were a proper place to send their children; they rather considered them an inferior grade of schools; but I think that prejudice has been to a great extent overcome.

The public school has taken the place of other schools, and become the school for the million?—A. Yes, sir; and that would be the case to a still greater extent if we had more funds.

Why should you not have more funds?—A. The reason I received from the State superintendent of education why the apportionment was so small, was because the general assembly had appropriated the money raised by taxation to the purpose of paying the interest on the State debt, and the State government could not exceed a certain limit—it could not make an assessment of more than so many mills for such and such a purpose. Two mills on a dollar was the assessment for school purposes; that is not sufficient, though that is larger than the amount assessed to any other purpose except paying the interest on the State debt, which required five mills.

Do you see any reason why the white race and the colored race do not live harmoniously there, and develop together, and occupy that territory together, notwithstanding the difference of race and color?—A. None at all; I think they are living harmoniously together.

And increasingly so, rather than otherwise?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ISAAC BELL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

ISAAC BELL (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La.

How old a man are you?—A. I do not know exactly; from my father's statement I must be about thirty years old.

Are you a man of family?—A. No, sir.

How long have you lived in Shreveport?—A. About fourteen years.

That is, since the surrender?—A. Yes, sir.

Where were you during the war, and before the war?—A. In Iberville Parish, Louisiana.

Were you a free man?—A. No, sir.

You became free at the surrender?—A. Yes, sir.

How have you got along down there since then?—A. Pretty well,

You have worked pretty hard?—A. Principally, sir; I have.

Have you acquired any property?—A. A little.

In what shape is your property?—A. In real estate, principally.

You had nothing at the time of the surrender, fourteen years ago?—A. No, sir.

What real estate do you own now?—A. I own about forty acres of land.

What kind of land?—A. Part of it is hill land, and the other part is bottom land.

Q. Is it cotton land?—A. Yes, sir; I can raise cotton on some of it.

Q. How much of it do you plant to cotton?—A. I can plant about fifteen acres to cotton.

Q. Is it good cotton land?—A. Yes, sir; except that sometimes high water it overflows. That is the great drawback on it.

Q. How much did you have to give an acre for your land?—A. I gave ten and a half dollars an acre for it.

Q. Where did you get the money?—A. I worked and made it, sir.

Q. There in Caddo Parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Working on a plantation?—A. No, sir; principally about town.

Q. Have you ever been mistreated because you were a colored man?—A. No, sir; not that I know of.

Q. Do you know of anybody that has taken advantage of your trade and cheated you because you were a colored man?—A. If there was anybody that did, I never knew it.

Q. Have you any learning?—A. A little, sir.

Q. Acquired since the surrender?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can you read and write?—A. Yes, sir; some.

Q. You do your own figuring?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you get your learning by going to school down there?—A. Yes, sir; I went to school a while.

Q. To a public school or a private school?—A. I paid my own expenses when I first went to school, and afterward I went to the public school.

Q. How old were you at the time of the surrender?—A. I suppose I was fifteen or sixteen years of age from what my father says.

Q. Is your father living?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever been denied the right to vote?—A. Not since I have been old enough to vote.

Q. Do you vote when elections come around?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What ticket?—A. The Republican. I do not vote the Republican in full, always; but for the national and State ticket I generally vote them in full. On the city ticket I vote for the men that I think will make good officers.

Q. You ran a pretty race yourself for public administrator, did you not?—A. Yes, sir; I was beaten six votes by one of the biggest property holders in the city, and one of the oldest citizens there.

Q. Did anybody have any trouble voting for you that wanted to?—A. No, sir; it did not seem so.

Q. Have you talked with any of these folks about going to Kansas?—A. Not a great deal; I have talked with some of them.

Q. What seemed to be their idea about going to Kansas? What reason did they give for wanting to go?—A. Some said they could do better in Kansas than in the South; but I do not think they can.

Q. Are you acquainted with Alexander, and that other man, Walker?—A. No, sir; I am not acquainted with them. I have seen them.

Q. Where is your plantation, with reference to Colonel Foster's?—A. Colonel Foster's plantation is in Bossier Parish, and mine is in Caddo Parish.

Q. It is your opinion that you can do better there than to go away?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is for my interest to stay there.

Q. Do you hire some help on your plantation?—A. Yes, sir; I hire some help.

Q. How much cotton can you raise on an acre of your ground?—A. Last year my ground produced over a bale to an acre.

Q. How much is a bale of cotton worth at Shreveport?—A. It has

worth, for the past three or four years, from forty to forty-five dollars; last year it was worth from fifty to fifty-five dollars: That is, last cotton season this winter.

Then your cotton this year will be worth seven or eight hundred dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

How much hired help do you have to have in order to raise that amount of cotton?—A. One man, and, a part of the time, two; one regular hand and another to assist in cleaning and picking.

Is your place stocked with horses and mules?—A. I have four good mules and one horse. I have not been farming more than about four years.

By Mr. BLAIR :

What would be the effect on the parish if the colored people should get up in a body and move out?—A. I think the parish would be destroyed, as you might say. Everything would go to destruction if the colored people were to move out. We have to have colored labor to work that land.

How many other young men—colored men—are there in that parish who have saved up property and bought plantations, and are as well off as you are?—A. I cannot think of any others. I am pretty certain there are others there, but I do not know.

There are not a great many?—A. I think not.

You are rather an exception, are you not, as to your success in farming?—A. I think so, from what I have seen around me.

How common a thing is it for colored men, of any age, to own plantations, and manage them?—A. It is not very common.

The most of the colored people down there are not nearly as well off as you are, are they?—A. No, sir; they are not.

A few of the very fortunate men have been picked out and brought to court as witnesses?—A. I do not know how that is.

The fact that you are well off does not prove that forty other colored men down there are miserably poor, does it?—A. How?

The fact that you are alive does not prove that somebody else is dead?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ABNER HALL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

ABNER HALL (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live?—A. In Shreveport, La.

How long have you lived there?—A. I have been right in that place ever since the January after the surrender.

Where were you before that?—A. I lived in De Soto Parish the greater part of the time; I crossed the Red River in the fall of 1858 and lived there until 1863, when I went to Panola, Texas, and staid there until the war broke out.

Were you your own man?—A. Not until the surrender; before that I was a slave.

Have you a family?—A. I have a wife and one child.

Do you live in Shreveport now?—A. Right in Shreveport.

What is your age?—A. I am sixty or sixty-one years old.

What have you been doing in Shreveport?—A. My occupation is iron-making for machinery.

Q. Well, how have you got along there, Mr. Hall?—A. I have done fine; done well. I have got along there better than I could have done anywhere else.

Q. Have you been treated well?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you made some property?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What property have you now, Mr. Hall?—A. Only just the home where I live; I have got that in a good fix, though.

Q. You have enough to live on?—A. Yes, sir; I live very well, home.

Q. Have you ever been abused in any way, or deprived of any of your privileges, or been taken advantage of because you were a man of color?—A. No, sir; never in my life.

Q. Have you ever been kept from voting whenever you wanted to vote?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you not a member of the school board?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been a member?—A. I cannot tell you exactly; I was on the board before Mr. Shepherd.

Q. It was the same organization?—A. Yes, sir; after it was turned over, I think, for two or three years; I cannot tell exactly how long.

Q. Do you find that the white people down there deny your children the children of the colored folks, any of the rights and advantages which they have themselves, in the way of schooling?—A. No, sir; by no means.

Q. Your school advantages are just as good as theirs?—A. Yes, sir; we have just as good a chance as the whites.

Q. How many people compose the school board?—A. There are some six or seven, I believe.

Q. Are there any of your folks in it excepting you?—A. There are three colored men, and I think four or five white men, on the board.

Q. Did you get along harmoniously on that board?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you a member of any church?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of what church?—A. Of the Methodist church.

Q. Has there ever been any interference with your rights of worship?—A. No, sir; not since I attached myself to the church.

Q. You have services—preaching?—A. Yes, sir; every Sunday three times a day, morning, afternoon, and night; and once in the week.

Q. Mr. Hall, there has been a great deal said here about this credit business; do you think that the merchants down there take advantage of your folks under the credit system?—A. No more than of other folks who buy on credit; no more than they do of white folks that have not any money.

Q. Is it not generally the fact that a man who has to buy on credit has to pay a little more than a man who buys for cash?—A. Yes, sir; the merchants are obliged to do it.

Q. Is it not true, generally, that when a man buys on a credit, when he comes to pay, his bill is a little bigger than he expected it would be?—A. Yes, sir; that is generally the case.

Q. Do you know of any reason, except the mere right that one man has to go where he pleases, why your folks should leave Caddo Parish? If so, state it freely?—A. No, sir; I think not. I think that the best thing they can do is to stay there. In the first place, the white people cannot get along without our labor. Second, I do not think there is any class of people in the world that could come there and be so well adapted for the cultivation of the soil there, and its natural products as the people there.

Taking into consideration the natural product, cotton, the kind of here, the climate, and everything, if a colored man and his family le down to work, can he make a living there?—A. Yes, sir.

And save money?—A. Yes, sir; not all at once, of course, but can make money.

Your folks like to look pretty well, and buy more than they need, times, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; they buy a good deal; some of want to outshine the white folks with fine clothing, and carriages, things; that is what keeps them down.

It is not so much what a man makes as what he saves that helps to get ahead in the world?—A. No, sir.

And you saved up something?—A. O, yes, sir; I have saved.

You are now a member of the school board and well respected by ybody, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR :

You are a happy man, aren't you?—A. Yes, sir; I believe I am appiest man there is in the world.

By the CHAIRMAN :

What ticket do you vote?—A. The Democratic.

By the CHAIRMAN. That accounts for it.

TESTIMONY OF A. E. WRIGHT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

A. E. WRIGHT was sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La; I have there since last November.

Where did you live before that?—A. I lived on the Red River, t ten miles below Shreveport.

Are you a native of the South?—A. I am not.

Of what State are you a native?—A. Of Ohio. I was born in field County, and lived there until I was ten years old; then I ed into Union County, and lived there until I was nineteen years

How came you to go South?—A. I went on a visit to some rela- s that I had residing there.

Had you ever been in the South before?—A. Not except in the city of a soldier, during the war.

When did you enlist as a soldier?—A. On the 3d day of June,

How long did you remain in the army?—A. I believe until the lay of August, 1865.

Did you hold a commission, or were you a private?—A. I was a ate.

Then you went South to visit some relatives, and concluded to there, in what year?—A. I went into Louisiana in 1869.

And have been there since that time?—A. Yes, sir; I have re- l in Caddo Parish ever since.

Now, I want you tell us how it is about the alleged hostility of white people toward the colored race generally.—A. Well, sir, I

saw none of it; I have never myself known of a black man being whipped or being killed; I have heard of such things, but have never seen them.

Q. They were done, generally, "just over yonder," in some other place?—A. Yes, sir; it is all hearsay with me, so far as I am concerned.

Q. In observing the demeanor of the two races, have you seen any hostility or overbearing insolence on the part of the white folks toward the negroes down there?—A. I have not observed any.

Q. State whether there is any real and very great demand for negro labor down there, and whether the people are or are not very much interested in getting along amicably and kindly with them. Is not that the fact?—A. Yes, sir; that is the fact. I worked a plantation for several years on the Red River there, employing colored labor; I found it to my interest to treat them as I would be treated, and I take the view that every other planter would do the same.

Q. How is it about this credit system that there has been so much talk about; what business have you done or known in connection with that?—A. I know that we have had to pay very high prices for articles—food, &c.—that we had to use on the plantation.

Q. The South, that part of the South especially, not being a country producing the articles to which you refer, increased prices are charged for on account of their being brought from other places?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words, all the staple necessaries of life, at least of food such as corn, wheat, hogs, beef, &c., are necessarily more expensive there, because your country is given up to cotton-growing, and you rely upon outside markets for your food supplies?—A. Yes, sir; everything except beef.

Q. Do you raise your own beef?—A. To a great extent. A great deal of the beef in our section comes from Texas. Almost every planter on the Red River, in the hilly portion of the country, has some cattle.

Q. But not corn or hogs?—A. No, sir. Old planters say that they can make more money by raising cotton, and buying the corn and hogs and other provisions, than they could by trying to raise corn and hogs, &c., on their plantations.

Q. What I want to get at is this: You go down there as a Northerner certainly with no prejudice in favor of slavery, and no belief in the right or justice of one man defrauding another; now, I want to know whether you have observed any system on the part of the native Southern people down there by which they cheat or defraud those colored people who have to buy of them upon credit. Doubtless there are instances of that kind; it would be contrary to human nature if no rascals were to be found there, as in other places; but what I ask is, whether you know of any system or plan whereby the colored men are cheated or defrauded?—A. I have heard that complaint made by witnesses here, but I do not think that they are right.

Q. Is not that an almost universal complaint where people deal on credit anywhere?—A. Yes, sir. Our merchants, many of them, have to do a credit business; they get the articles, which they let the planters have on credit, and they expect the incoming crop to pay these debts.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. If the crops fail, what becomes of them?—A. The planters lose and the merchants lose, and the man that works the crop loses. I know that by experience.

Q. The merchant charges something—increases his price—because of the risk he runs?—A. Yes, sir.

They know they have to take these risks, and charge additional to the risk?—A. Yes, sir.

If a planter, or an employé, had the cash, could he get goods at lower prices than he does when the merchant has to credit him, and to the risk of his being able to pay him?—A. Yes, sir; he could get them at much more reasonable prices, and the black man could get them cheaper than the white man.

But when the merchant's pay depends upon the success of the crop, he charges both planter and employé higher than he would if they were to pay him cash?—A. Of course, if a merchant does a credit business he not only has to run the risks to which I have referred, but has to pay employés to keep books, and have a percentage. As he has to pay interest he must charge interest.

By the CHAIRMAN:

What are you engaged in now?—A. I am a member of the police in the city of Shreveport.

By Mr. VANCE:

What offices have you held down there?—A. None; I have not been able to get into any office.

Have you not been connected with the elections in some way?—A. I have worked as deputy sheriff in the sheriff's office, and I acted as acting sheriff at the polls once, and once was appointed clerk of election, but I failed to get there in time and another man was appointed in my place.

How was it about the vote at the polls?—A. Everything went along very peaceably; there was no disturbance at all.

Black men and white men alike voted their honest convictions?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR:

You have never known of any political troubles in the parish since you have been there?—A. I have seen none; I have heard of some, such as the Caledonia riot, for instance. I was there at Caledonia, at the wrong precinct, when the riot occurred, but I knew nothing of it until twenty-four hours after it occurred. It is seven miles from there to where I lived, and I went home that evening before hearing of it.

Do you believe that there have been troubles and disturbances in that section?—A. I believe a small portion of them.

You say you did not see that Caledonia riot; do you believe it?—A. I believe this much about that riot, that it did occur.

Do you really think so?—A. I not only think so, I know so. I saw some parties that were down there, and were wounded.

It does not follow that the wounds were received in that riot; they may have been received by some accident, or in some other way than in the riot?—A. O, there is no doubt but that they were received in the riot; I was told me so.

Then you do believe some things on hearsay; and you do not mean, when you say something will drop out, to narrow everything down to what you have actually seen yourself?—A. No, sir.

I noticed that when I asked you if you had known of any political troubles or disturbances in the parish since you had been there, that you were very careful to say that you had not *seen* any, as if you were not going to tell anything except what you had actually seen, for fear that you might make a blunder. Have you ever heard of disturbances that you believe as much as though you had seen them, as in the case of

these men that you say you know were in the riot at Caledonia? If you know of any other political disturbance or difficulties, tell us about them.—A. I know of no riot except that one.

Q. Did you never hear of any other?—A. I have heard of some in outside parishes.

Q. Do you believe that those transactions occurred?—A. Not all of them.

Q. I did not ask whether you believed all of them, all the details as given by rumor, with the attendant circumstances possibly greatly exaggerated; I asked whether you believed the main facts that you heard in regard to those other riots and difficulties?—A. I did not believe *in toto*; I could not.

Q. You think that, on the whole, it is a very peaceable, quiet, comfortable place for Republicans, white or black, to live in, since the war?—A. Yes, sir; in my section of country.

Q. How much do you comprise in your section of country?—A. Well, Caddo Parish.

Q. How long is Caddo Parish, from one end to the other?—A. It is about one hundred miles long.

Q. How wide?—A. About twenty-five miles wide.

Q. How many times have you been over it?—A. At various times.

Q. You have not seen it all, even when you have been over it?—A. Of course, if I was in one end of the parish I could not see one hundred miles behind me.

Q. No, I should suppose not. And you could not see more than one half the time, anyway, because it was dark. So if you confine yourself strictly to what you have yourself seen, you do not know much about Caddo Parish, do you?—A. I do not propose to tell you anything more than I know.

Q. I see you don't.—A. You seem to act as if you doubted my word.

Q. No; but you seem very careful in this regard. We do take what people have heard and understood by common report; but you testify very much as if this were a proceeding in court, and as if somebody were going to be hanged on your evidence. We do not want you to confine yourself here to what you absolutely know of your own personal observation.

Mr. VANCE. That is a very good fault in a witness.

Mr. BLAIR. Then I think the witness may as well be confined to it on the direct examination as on the cross-examination.

TESTIMONY OF HERMAN H. ZODIAC.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

HERMAN H. ZODIAC sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. At present I live in Minden Webster Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How far from Shreveport?—A. About twenty-eight miles.

Q. Here are some papers which I will ask the witness to look at, and state what is their history.

Mr. BLAIR. Do those affidavits relate to the credibility of any of the witnesses?

The CHAIRMAN. No; there may be one there relating to our friend Adams; but that makes no difference; he is here.

The affidavits were put in evidence, and will be found in the appendix.)

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Mr. Zodiac, did you take this affidavit yourself?—A. I took it before the county clerk of the parish. It is in my handwriting.

Q. Do you know these persons whose names are signed to this paper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see them sign the paper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were the papers read to them before they signed them?—A. Yes, three or four times.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. A merchant.

Q. Do the colored people trade with you?—A. Yes, sir; I think I have about as large a trade among them as any in that section.

Q. Do you generally trade on credit?—A. Well, that is one thing that we have never done. We do a strictly cash business. We are the only merchant in that country that does a strictly cash business.

Q. Do you know of any impositions, or wrongs, or outrages, committed against the colored people of your parish?—A. I do not; not a single instance.

Q. Are you a Southern man by birth?—A. No, sir; I was born in Europe.

Q. What countryman are you?—A. I am an Austrian-Pole.

Q. How old were you when you came to this country?—A. I was ten or twelve years old.

Q. How old are you now?—A. I am in my twenty-sixth year.

Q. Have you lived in the South ever since you came over?—A. I lived in Tennessee from 1864 to 1868; since then I have lived in Louisiana and Texas; the most of the time in Caddo Parish and Webster Parish, Louisiana.

Q. Have you heard anything of the extravagant prices charged to the colored people for supplies sold them?—A. I think I can readily understand that. When merchants buy their goods, our terms are three, four, or six months, according to the class of goods we buy. Sometimes the bill reads "ten days," or "thirty days," which is considered cash, according to the distance you live from the place of purchase. We consider "thirty days" cash, because it takes nearly that length of time to get the stock home. When the bill reads "ten days," or "thirty days," the bill is generally added, "six off," or "four off." That is discounted because paid in cash, or what is considered the same as cash. The colored people down there invariably buy on twelve months' time; and the price must be advanced to an amount sufficient to cover the interest accordingly. That renders necessary a margin of from fifteen to twenty per cent. That is the least we can afford, even if we were sure of always getting our pay. But, in addition to that, we have to run the risk of loss. If a failure of crops should take place, we are necessarily compelled to carry the party over a second season, or else lose the money already invested.

Q. How is it between the country storekeeper and the employé?—A. The industrious and judicious colored people all seem to have accumulated something, and are making money.

Q. Then why are they charged more than the cash rates for supplies—than the negroes on a plantation?—A. I will tell you. For instance, when a man comes there, and starts in—hires out on a place, a stranger; he

wants to put in a crop for you. While doing this, he needs so much meat, so much flour, so much sugar, and other necessaries of life, during the season. If you take a man onto your place like that, and advance these things to him, you must be allowed something for the risk—a fair percentage for the risk. If I go to work and shave a piece of bad paper, or doubtful paper, I must pay a higher per cent. discount than if it were gilt-edged, as we call it.

Q. You mean by that that the price of supplies is increased in consequence of the delay in payment, and the risk the storekeeper runs of not getting his pay?—A. That is it precisely.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you think that the risk of doing business is so great there that the laboring population as a whole ought to be compelled to work for one-half a generation and come out as poor as they went in?—A. I do not know of any such instances.

Q. I did not ask you whether you knew of any such instances. But the condition of things down there is not such, and the resources of the country and the liability of the failure of the crops is not such, that the laboring population, at the end of half a generation or of fifteen years, should come out as poor as when they began?—A. I do not know as any generation should do that.

Q. You reside in Webster Parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How far from Shreveport?—A. About twenty-eight miles.

Q. How far is it to the line of Webster Parish?—A. About twelve miles.

Q. You say you do a cash business; do you trade with negroes—among negroes who work on plantations?—A. We have a very fair trade among the better class of negroes there.

Q. What are these negroes of a better class engaged in doing?—A. In farming.

Q. What is the character of their crops; what do they raise?—A. Corn and cotton, mostly.

Q. How much corn?—A. In some seasons a good deal, in others not.

Q. Which is the chief crop raised by those more intelligent colored men?—A. The kind of crops is the same with the intelligent and with the ignorant. You asked me what class of trade I had and I said I had considerable trade among the more intelligent class of negroes; but the one class raises about the same kind of crops the other does, so far as I know. They all raise corn and cotton, more cotton than corn, because the strong droughts we have down there have a tendency to kill corn sooner than cotton.

Q. The corn crop fails oftener there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it generally an utter, complete failure, or only partial?—A. Both.

Q. How long have you been there?—A. Nearly ten years.

Q. Have you been successful in business?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Last year you had an excellent cotton crop?—A. Yes, sir; unusually good.

Q. And the year before?—A. The year before it was not up to the average; just so-so.

Q. And the two preceding years?—A. They were not as good as the last crop.

Q. Out of ten years—the time you have observed the crops there—how many of these years has the cotton crop been a failure?—A. I think there has been, to my knowledge, a so-called failure about three times.

Q. Three years out of ten?—A. Yes, sir. One explanation I would like to make, in order that you may thoroughly understand the matter: the price of the product has a great deal to do with making the crop in any particular year a success or a failure; a low price is included as a part of the failure; it amounts to the same in the end. We have to look at something else than mere quantity only.

Q. You do not take the matter of price into consideration when you say that the crop has failed. You say there have been three years in the last ten in which the crop would be considered a failure?—A. Yes,

Q. In those three years the failure was by reason of the lack in the amount produced?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the same year when there was a minus production was there a minus price also?—A. That I cannot tell you.

Q. In those three years, to what extent was there a failure? What percentage of failure was there below an average crop?—A. I could not give you any accurate statement as to that.

Q. Was there, do you suppose, seventy-five per cent. of an average crop?—A. Seventy-five per cent. of an average crop is considered a very good crop.

Q. An average crop is the standard with which you compare the crop when it is a failure, is it not?—A. I do not understand the question.

Q. Last year's crop was an extraordinary crop, was it not?—A. Yes,

Q. The best ever known in the South?—A. Yes, sir; both in quality and price.

Q. And the year before you had a very good crop?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the year before you had an average crop?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you say that in three of the past ten years you have had what you call failures?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did the crop in these three years when you say there was a failure compare with the crops of the second and third years past?—A. They amounted to one-third, perhaps a little over.

Q. Then, in the years that you considered failures, the planters down here made one-third the usual crop, and perhaps a little over?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And whatever crop there is is pledged to the merchant as security for his advances, is it not?—A. I do not understand the exact routine of the business; the merchants have different styles of doing business.

Q. There must be some general rule or method; you spoke of pledging the crop?—A. I never made any such remark that I know of.

Q. What did you mean by "security"?—A. A man can give another security without his giving advances on the crop.

Q. Are we not talking about advances on the crop?—A. I have not said anything about advances on the crop.

Q. What did you say about "advances"?—A. You asked me how the merchants down there did business under the credit system, and I said that when they waited so long for their pay and risked the loss of it directly, they necessarily had to advance—that is, increase—the price of their goods.

Q. Do you know so little of the way in which business is done down here that you do not know that the merchants make advances on the security of the crop?—A. I am satisfied that they do, but that has not been made a part of my statement.

Q. And why did you not make it a part of your statement?—A. Because you have not asked me anything about it.

Q. You said that you could explain all this business between the negro and the merchant who does business on credit with him; and you went on to explain that. Now, do you say that you do not know whether the merchant advances on the crop or not?—A. Certainly he does.

Q. Then why should you quibble so about the character of my questions; do you not mean to be understood that the merchant who advances to the colored man on credit does so on the security of the crop?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I mean to be understood.

Q. Well, now that we have got on a common basis, let us go ahead. Has there been any year when the whole crop made by the colored man, and held as security for the advances made by the merchant, has not been sufficient to pay the advances of the merchant to the colored man? And before you answer that question let me suggest this: the cost of the crop is not made up of the advances of the merchant altogether; it includes the labor of the colored man, and other things. So it is impossible that the necessaries of life furnished by the merchant should constitute the full value of the crop. Now, the entire crop being held by the merchant as security, has there not been, in your judgment, even in those years of so-called failure, a sufficient crop to pay the advances of the merchant to the colored laborer? In other words, is not one-third of an average crop all that the merchant gets out of the crop? Would his advances amount to more than the value of one-third an average crop?—A. I cannot answer that question, because I do not know.

Q. Then you are not really in a situation to say whether, even in those years when there was a failure of the crop, the white merchant is not completely secured by the security on the crop which the colored man gives?—A. Just as I tell you—I do not know whether it takes one-third of an average crop to pay the merchant for the supplies he furnishes.

Q. Then you are not able to say whether, even when there is a failure of the crop down to one-third of the average, the merchant is not still absolutely secure for all that he has advanced to the colored laborer?—A. Why, that, of course would depend upon how much the merchant has advanced to him.

Q. Suppose that it amounts to one-third an ordinary crop?—A. Then if the crop is only one-third, of course the merchant cannot get paid.

Q. Do you mean, as the sum total of your testimony here, to say that you do not know much about the matter, and cannot explain it; can not tell whether the merchant is cheated, or the colored man is cheated?—A. If you would change your phraseology a little——

Q. Perhaps the word cheated is a little too strong.—A. I want to say this: that I do not know any way in which the black men down there are treated by the merchants any differently from what they treat the white man.

Mr. BLAIR. The colored people come here and tell us that the system of doing business down there, the credit system, results in their being kept poor year after year, no matter how industrious they may work, or how economical they may be; that they are just about now as they were fifteen years ago, immediately after the surrender. You have come here to vindicate the white merchant, to explain that this style of doing business is not oppressive or unfair to the colored man. Now, if the white merchant does not advance more than one-third the value of an average crop, and I understand you to say that his advances would not amount to more than that, considering that the value of the

op is made up of the colored man's labor and various other elements, and if, even when you have what is called a failure of the crop, it still amounts to one-third the average, I want to know how a merchant ever loses anything at all? If this be the case, if really there is no danger of loss to the merchant when he has his security on the crop, I want to know what necessity there is of his charging one hundred per cent. profit on his goods. I cannot understand why he should make any advance in price at all on account of the risk of loss which he runs, when in fact there is no danger of loss at all.

The following affidavits, submitted by witness, were ordered to go into the record :

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

We, the undersigned colored citizens of Webster Parish, do affirm and testify that during our residence in this country, that we have always voted the Republican ticket, and that we have never, in any manner or form, been troubled or interfered with in our political rights; and we furthermore affirm or swear that we have always had the same school facilities that the white people have had, and that we see no just reason for exodus on account of any ill-treatment of the white people against the colored people in Webster Parish.

his
MITCHELL + HARRIS,
mark.

Residence two miles south of Minden, La.

his
EDMUND + WARREN,
mark.

Residence four miles south of Minden, La.

his
HENRY + JONES.
mark.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Webster Parish :

Sworn to and subscribed before me March 27, A. D. 1880.
[SEAL.]

L. D. SPANN,
Clerk District Court.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

I, the undersigned colored citizen of Webster Parish, do affirm and testify that I have always voted a Republican ticket; and I furthermore affirm or swear that I have never had any one to trouble me or interfere with my political rights as a citizen. I have always had the same school facilities that the white people have had; and I furthermore affirm and swear that I see no reason of any exodus from this country on account of any ill-treatment of the white people against the colored, as the best of feelings prevails among both races.

his
HENRY + HOWARD.
mark.

Witness :
S. F. GOODE,
Justice of the Peace, Ward 4, Parish of Webster, La.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

I, the undersigned colored citizen of Webster Parish, do affirm and testify that I have always voted the Republican ticket, and that I have never had any one to interfere or trouble me about my political rights; and I furthermore affirm or swear that I have always had the same school facilities that the white people have had, and that I see no just reason for any exodus from this parish, as the white people and the colored are on the best of terms; and I furthermore affirm or swear that I have never heard of any ill-treatment whatever of the white people against the colored.

his
EDMOND + SAMUELS,
mark.

One and a half miles.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 27th of March, A. D. 1880.

L. D. SPANN,
Clerk District Court.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

We, the undersigned colored citizens of Webster Parish, do affirm and testify that we have always voted the Republican ticket; and furthermore affirm or swear that we have never, in any manner or form, been interfered with in our political rights or privileges as citizens; that we have always had the same school facilities as the white people had, and that we see no just reason for any exodus from this parish on account of any ill-treatment of the white people against the colored in this county.

his
STEVEN + HODGES,
mark.

Eleven miles.

his
JACKSON + TERRELL,
mark.

Two and a half miles.

THOMAS REED,
Five miles.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

Sworn to and subscribed before me March the 27th, A. D. 1880.

[SEAL.]

L. D. SPANN,
Clerk District Court, Webster Parish, La.

TESTIMONY OF L. D. THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

L. D. THOMAS (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. I live in Minden, Webster Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Three years.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. In Homer.

Q. How far is that from where you live now?—A. Twenty or twenty-one miles.

Q. Were you born and raised in Louisiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where?—A. In Georgia.

Q. How long have you lived in Louisiana?—A. I lived in Georgia until I was four years of age.

Q. How old are you now, Mr. Thomas?—A. I think I am about twenty-four years, as well as I can get at it.

Q. Are you a married man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you do now?—A. I am a cook, by trade.

Q. Are you following your trade now at home?—A. Yes, sir; when I can get it to do, and am paid for it my price, rather.

Q. Well, how have you got along?—A. Well, sir, I have done very well and have no reason at present to complain.

Q. Do you know Henry Adams?—A. Yes, sir; I know him.

Q. Did you ever have any talk with him about going away to Kansas?—A. I had a little talk with him—a mere sketch—passing—not any long talk with him.

Q. Was he holding out to you reasons why he thought you could do better up in Kansas than in Louisiana?—A. Nothing more than hear-say; I suppose he was governed by—or, may be, he might have seen a good deal in travel.

Q. Yes. Well, you have had a talk with him, and perhaps others, about going to Kansas?—A. I have.

Q. And heard it talked over?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any reason growing out of the conduct of the white people towards you—their mistreatment of you—why you want to leave Louisiana?—A. None of them have mistreated me at all that I can see. Of course, a man is as likely to have difficulties there as anywhere.

Q. Of course.—A. No Republican or Democrat would tell the colored man he would have to leave the State unless he did very wrong in his conduct or something; I never heard nothing of it.

Q. Then you are under the impression that if a colored man conducts himself properly, like other people, that he can get along down there about trouble?—A. I have, and I think most any other colored gentleman could.

Q. Yes; and you think any other colored man could who behaved himself. What ticket do you vote?—A. The Republican ticket, sir.

Q. Have you ever been molested in voting it?—A. No, sir; I never have.

Q. Have you ever been on juries?—A. No, sir.

Q. Colored men do serve on juries in your parish, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you acquired any property—saved up anything?—A. Yes, sir; I have a home in Homer.

Q. That you own?—A. Yes, sir; that I own.

Q. Is it paid for?—A. It is paid for.

Q. You have a wife and children?—A. I have a wife and children.

Q. How long have you been married?—A. About three years.

Q. And during that time, or before that time, was it that you saved money to get your home?—A. Well, sir, my father gave me my house.

Q. Is your father living?—A. No, sir; he is not living now.

Q. Did he die there?—A. Yes, sir; he died in Homer—yes, sir.

Q. Had he any other children besides you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had he something to give them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he pretty well off?—A. He was. He was the father of seventeen children by his first wife, and during slavery they got scattered out, and there is only four of us in Homer.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Mr. Thomas, you say a colored man can get along well enough down there if he will behave?—A. I think so.

Q. These colored people who are dissatisfied and are getting away from that country are people who do not behave very well at home?—

A. I don't know about anybody behaving but myself. I always try to behave myself, and do to every one as I wish to be done by.

Q. I don't find fault with you, but you say any colored man can get along as well as you do if he behaves himself?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose so.

Q. Then it would follow that those people who complain of ill-treatment and are leaving that country do not behave themselves at home.—

A. I do not know what it is.

Q. But if you are right in saying if they behave themselves they can get along as well as you do, they cannot have any grievance, can they?

A. I don't know, Mr. Blair, about any of their grievances.

Q. Well, I see how you feel on that point; it embarrasses you a little. You have heard a good deal of their going—many of them?—A. Yes.

Q. There is really, very generally, a feeling of dissatisfaction, for one reason or another, among the colored folks?—A. Yes.

Q. And you have heard a good deal of that talk?—A. Yes.

Q. And a great many have gone away?—A. Yes; a great many have gone away.

Q. So much so that the white folks have got alarmed and they commenced requesting them not to go?—A. I have heard a good deal of it and I have heard gentlemen tell them it was not necessary.

Q. And yet colored and white witnesses have been on the stand right where you sit to prove that nothing is the matter, and that the colored people do not need to go, and yet they are going?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think it is because the colored people do not behave themselves?—A. Mr. Blair, if you will permit me a chance of saying something to you in regard to that matter—

Q. Answer the question, and go on as fully as you please. Do you think it is because the colored people do not behave themselves?—A. I cannot say.

The CHAIRMAN. You have asked that question four times.

Mr. BLAIR. Only three. I want to make the witness understand me. Now (addressing the witness), you wanted to say something to me. Go on and say it.

A. I want to say this: I cannot account for other people's conduct there, white or colored. Webster and Homer, where I have visited—my brother lives in Homer, and I am there often; we are only twenty-one miles apart—they rather love liquor through that country a good deal; it seems to be quite—well, everybody loves to stick a spoon in and taste.

Q. You think that is why they are going to Kansas, so they can get whisky easier?—A. Yes; when whisky gets the advantage of a man he will do anything.

Q. Is it your explanation, then, that these people go for drink, or because they are drunk, or what?—A. I cannot tell that.

Q. Give your explanation why they go.—A. The colored people are told they can do better in Kansas than they have did in Louisiana.

Q. Can accumulate faster; can be more progressive in labor; be better treated; have more privileges, and be recognized as a community and society of people more than they have been in the South. Therefore under these circumstances, it is that the colored people have emigrated from that country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Thinking they would be better off?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have many sober, honest people gone?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And are still going?—A. They are.

Q. And there are men of all grades among them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just as there are among other people?—A. Yes, sir.

Rev. J. BARRETT.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Barrett?—Answer. In the first ward of Topeka, Kans., called North Topeka.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a minister—pastor of the Baptist Church.

Q. Have you given this matter that we are investigating any attention?—A. Some; I have been thrown right into it from the beginning of the emigration to Kansas.

Q. Have you mixed with these people and talked with them?—A. I have.

Q. Have you attended public meetings of the citizens of Topeka upon this subject?—A. I believe two; I think only two.

Q. What were these meetings called for?—A. One was called to raise money for the relief of these people.

Q. What was the other called for?—A. It was called at the request of the citizens, that I should explain to them why we should not give any money by a vote of the citizens.

Q. Please repeat that.—A. The first meeting was called in the Baptist Church to raise money. The second was called, at a vote of the citizens, at which they requested me to give reasons why we should not give relief. There was a difference of opinion among the people there.

Q. Well, was the relief given?—A. There was a collection taken at the first meeting. A collection had just been taken at a meeting in the school-house, when several hundred dollars were contributed for the same purpose; they were canvassing the city at that time for the purpose.

Q. What was your position on the subject?—A. My position was that it was doing the colored people and white people great injury to afford relief under the circumstances.

Q. Well, why?—A. In the first place we had more colored and white laborers in the city and vicinity at that time than could get labor or employment; and, in the second place, if more were brought in to compete with these laborers it would reduce the amount of wages to the laborers there present, and consequently injure them.

Q. Were you of the opinion that these contributions invited others to come?—A. I so understood, and so understand yet; that they did, and so yet.

Q. That it goes down South that they are fed free and taken care of; do you think they are thereby induced to come?—A. I have talked with more than one hundred colored people that have told me that if it had not been for relief offered they would not have been there.

Q. What is generally their condition at Topeka when they arrive; are they objects of charity?—A. I should think about seven out of every eight are—those that arrive on the cars; others, that come with teams, and by other means.

Q. Are there some of them still about Topeka?—A. Large numbers of them.

Q. Out of employment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Living on these contributions?—A. Well, so far as the committee will allow them in the barracks, they are; some of them can't get in. I don't know how they are living, they are without any labor.

Q. How are these barracks managed?—A. I don't think anybody else owns that except the committee.

Q. Have you ever been in them?—A. I have passed through them several different times and conversed with the people living there and with the colored man that has been in charge.

Q. How are their sanitary features; cleanly and healthy?—A. As much so as could be expected under the circumstances; it is a pretty good place.

Q. A hard place in respect to cleanliness, do you mean?—A. Yes, at times; at other times it is more cleanly.

Q. Has there been any sickness and suffering among them there?—A. A great deal.

Q. What has been the death rate?—A. I have seen as many as three men away at one time.

Q. Do you know about their being left by the car-load on the railroad days and nights together?—A. I do, sir.

Q. Give us an instance.—A. I think it was about last June, I am not

positive with regard to the time, but was present at the time—that car-load came up in the night and was side-tracked just below the Palace Hotel. The next day I met Mr. Parks, one of the city councilmen, and he complained to me that colored people were standing in front of his house, and they attended to their natural wants there; and he objected to it, and sent word over to the committee that that car-load was there and were a nuisance; it was only about one hundred yards from the Palace Hotel where Mr. Stanton has his hotel.

Q. How long did that car-load remain there?—A. That day and the next night and during the next night; when they were side-tracked and switched, a number were lying under the car; some were mangled and I think one killed. The next day after that, I think, the committee saw that they were unloaded and taken away—or I suppose it was the committee, some men in charge came to see that they were taken away. At that time the side-track was so filthy for two hundred yards that it was impossible for a lady or almost any man that cared for himself to walk along it, the filth was so great. It was necessity that compelled the poor people that were left there without any one to take care of them. I passed along myself to see it.

Q. What has been the effect upon property where these people have collected in numbers? for instance, take the neighborhood of the barracks. I believe the barracks were torn down in one part of the city were they not?—A. I heard so. I do not know anything about it personally; I was not in the city. A citizen told me that was the case.

Q. Is there any division of public opinion in your place as to the desirability of this class of people coming there?—A. There is no division of sentiment among Democrats and Republicans, except there may be a division so far as some are concerned that think they can make some money out of it. They have always plead for it and kept the thing going.

Q. What class of people are they?—A. Well, part of them are in the building where the supplies are issued at the present time that have advocated it. They are very few—there are only just a few that advocate it.

Q. And those, such as are connected with the business?—A. In the business, sir; I meant agents in the barracks the first day of this month.

Q. Have you talked with any of them with regard to their going back?—A. I have, sir.

Q. Have you talked with any considerable number?—A. Probably thirty or forty.

Q. What do they say to you on that subject?—A. Many of them have conversed with say if they had means to get back, and were in the condition they were when they left the South, they would go back at once; but if they were to go back as they are without anything to help themselves with, and their places filled perhaps by other parties, they do not know what they will do, so they are at a stand to know whether to go back or not. Others go back and take the risk.

Q. Some have gone back?—A. Yes, sir; I have made efforts three or four times to get their tickets to go back.

Q. What do they say about being afraid to go back?—A. I have only found one colored man who said he was afraid to go back, and he said he would not go back for the reason that he could not vote if he should go back.

Q. Could not vote?—A. He said he could not.

Q. Where did he live?—A. He told me lived in ———. I noted it

at the time because it was the only case (searching memoranda). It is in Louisiana, but I cannot make out the place.

Some place in Louisiana?—A. His name was Daniel Ward.

He is the only one that expressed fear about going back?—A. He said he could not vote if he went back.

Do you know a man named John M. Brown?—A. I know him and I see him.

Is he a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Is he connected ——— with this business?—A. Yes, sir.

He is in this new building built as the headquarters, I suppose.

Does he keep his headquarters there?—A. I notice when in the city he is here almost every day—rides up there most of the time in a buggy.

Did you ever have a discussion with him on this subject?—A. No, I refused to.

What are your politics?—A. I am a Republican, always have been and always expect to be.

How long have you been in Kansas?—A. Since the 10th of December, 1868; in the city of Topeka all the while I have lived there.

Where did you live before that?—A. In Rochester, Ind.

Are you a native of Indiana?—A. No, sir; I am a native of New York.

How long did you live in Indiana?—A. I am not sure; perhaps five years.

You have always voted the Republican ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

How near do you live to these headquarters, Mr. Barrètt?—A. Where the supplies are issued from?

Yes, sir.—A. The supplies are issued from about two hundred feet of my land, and my land runs nine hundred feet from that; about ten hundred feet from my house.

About how often have you been in them?—A. I have not been in them at all, sir; I am not on very good terms with those parties; they do not treat me so that I have cared to go in. I would not be welcomed there.

How do you know they are filthily kept?—A. I am not speaking of the barracks.

I am speaking of the barracks; how near do you live to the barracks?—A. The barracks are a little over a quarter or third of a mile from my house.

How often have you been there?—A. Three times.

Three times; you were in about how long ago, and how far apart were your visits?—A. I was there about two weeks after the first wing was built.

When was that?—A. I do not remember now, some time last summer and I was there in the beginning of the winter and again on the 15th day of the month—three different times.

You say you refused to talk with Brown; why?—A. I don't know what this is really what ought to come here; if you want it I will answer your question.

You discussed the question with him, did you?—A. O, I would not discuss with any man on the subject. It was a discussion that a Methodist minister wanted to get up between the colored man and me on the question of the exodus people coming to Topeka, and I told him I was going to discuss that question with him; that was all of that.

Did you not think they were cruelly treated that were left out on

the track with the car?—A. I did pity them and did my very best with the councilmen to get relief.

Q. You thought it was all wrong?—A. I think they are ill-treated right along there—not as much done for them as might be.

Q. You say a large proportion of them are subjects of charity and absolute need as they came there?—A. I should presume seven out of ten of them are.

Q. They would die of starvation if not helped some, would they not?—A. Well, that is owing to circumstances. I do not think they would at this time of year.

Q. Well, at the time they came there, if they had no means or food and nobody to help them, would they not die of starvation? They could not get employment you see.—A. I presume they could have been helped away. That is what we wanted to do. They could have been helped away as they came. Of course they would have died if nobody gave them anything to eat.

Q. Have you ever advocated any temporary charity for them?—A. Temporary charity, if not kept there. I offered to give as much as any other citizen according to my means to get them to the place where they came from, and where I believed they could get a living and where they said they could.

Q. But if they wanted to stay there, you would insist on their starving to death?—A. I did not insist on any such thing. They seemed to have been deceived into coming there; that is the way they talked.

Q. But if they were there with no temporary relief they would starve, would they not?—A. We differed about temporary relief.

Q. Did you advocate giving anything?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I thought you refused in your preaching?—A. I did, as a permanent thing.

Q. Did you advocate any fund for temporary relief?—A. I advocated the same thing for them for temporary relief as I would have done for anybody else passing through that needed it, and not remaining there.

Q. But were not these people passing through, stopping temporarily, going out into the country and getting homes?—A. Some were and some were not.

Q. About how many have passed through, do you think, that have been aided temporarily and gone out and got places?—A. I am not prepared to say; I suppose, from that one depot, perhaps five to six thousand on the north side.

Q. How many are there there now?—A. That is more than anybody could tell; I could not. At the barracks there is on an average two or five hundred right along.

Q. Well, that is about all now at the barracks?—A. They were looking for another car-load the day I was there.

Q. But all the five to ten thousand have been distributed except two or three to five hundred, have they not?—A. No, sir; they are right there among us.

Q. How many of them?—A. I cannot tell; they are so thick we can hardly count them. I wanted work done at different times, and went down and found a hundred there, but I could not find one to work for me unless I would give him twenty-five cents an hour.

Q. You have been very unfortunate?—A. I thought so.

Q. They did not like to work for you much, did they?—A. Other men went and tried the same thing, but could not get them. They do not like to work for any one.

Q. Perhaps they know something of your starvation sentiments?—

I do not know that. If they wanted money, I gave them money in I thought proper.

Q. How much money have you contributed?—A. Well, at different times, perhaps fifty cents to five dollars, when I thought they deserved it.

Q. Can you give an idea of the aggregate amount?—A. No, sir; I don't keep an account.

Q. If you preached against contributing, why did you contribute in that way?—A. Because I was opposed to the relief committee making a permanent thing of it in the city, to the injury of the city and all of us.

Q. So you preferred to contribute on your own hook?—A. I always do that when I think the object worthy.

Q. You say they are so thick in Topeka that you cannot count them; is not that a little bit exaggerated for a minister? Think a moment.—A. I don't know how you could count them; they keep moving around; I could not count them.

Q. Is not that called "lying in the pulpit?" About what is the population of Topeka?—A. I believe they report it at about fourteen to fifteen thousand.

Q. Fourteen or fifteen thousand colored people had stopped there?—A. Five or six thousand stopped there.

Q. How many of the whole population that have stopped there of the clusters, so called, are in the barracks?—A. I have inquired of the councilmen and the officers of the city in regard to that, and they were unable to tell me. I don't know how I would know.

Q. Are they supported by this organization?—A. Some are and some are not.

Q. Do they furnish food to those that did not go to the barracks?—A. I don't know that I am aware of.

Q. How are they supported by this organization when loafing around the barracks?—A. That is what we don't know.

Q. Do you know that they are supported at all?—A. I suppose they are.

Q. Do you know that they are supported by this organization at all?

A. They tell me they have no money; I don't know how they get along.

Q. The question I asked was, do you know they are supported at all, or receive any contributions from this organization?—A. I know what some of them tell me.

Q. What is that?—A. A colored lady, some time since, passing my gate, stopped to lay a bundle off her head on my gate-post. I saw her standing there, and asked her "Where did you get that bundle?" She replied, "Well, mister, if you want to know, I'll just tell you. I went down to the relief house last Saturday, and they wanted to know if I would labor. I told them I had been laboring. They told me they would give me anything because I was laboring; and then I concluded I would not labor for that cause; so I did not work this week. And I came out this morning and told them I hadn't anything to do and they would not get anything, and I wanted some things, and they gave me these." She opened her bundle and showed me what she had.

Q. So you think the committee preferred to keep them in idleness?—A. I think the committee was deceived.

Q. That is one case of deception, then. You do not know of any other relief going to these people outside of the association?—A. Relief?

Q. Yes.—A. I know they are giving every day to parties that do not give their things to the barracks.

Q. Do any of these people who were left off at Topeka get work?—A. Some of them.

Q. But your difficulty is they won't work?—A. Some do.

Q. What kind of work did you want them to do for twenty-five cents an hour?—A. Some posts put in and planks nailed to them.

Q. How many did you try to get to work?—A. I don't know the number; I asked where a crowd of ten or twelve of them were standing if any of them wanted to put in so many posts for a quarter of a dollar.

Q. Perhaps they wanted too many put in?—A. No; as many as myself put in by the watch in forty-two minutes, I offered to them as a hour's work.

Q. So you put them in yourself in forty-two minutes after finding you could not hire them?—A. The fence had to be put up that night.

Q. Do I understand you if these people would not go back that you would advocate letting them starve?—A. We found in Topeka that as long as they were fed they would not work.

Q. But these people could not all get work at once?—A. No; no more can white people all get work.

Q. But you say they came there without any means and nothing to eat—were destitute; that they cannot all get work at once, and you would not furnish them anything unless they would go to work; what could they do but starve?—A. White people are on the same footing they have nothing, and we do not give them anything.

Q. White people?—A. Yes, sir; I went and tried to get relief for white people, but could not get any of any consequence; so we tried to make up the money among ourselves.

Q. Tried to get relief; where?—A. I sent a man up to the city authorities, but they said they could not do anything under the circumstances. We had to go to the county commissioner, and we sent a man over to the relief association the other side of the river. They said they could not do anything because he was a white man, and he came back without anything; so we paid the bill ourselves—seventeen dollars.

Q. What do you mean by "ourselves"?—A. Six of us paid the bill.

Q. Did not you know the fund these people were using in the relief association was contributed to take care of the refugees from the South? Do you think they could have honestly devoted it to other purposes than those designated?—A. I do not know that they were designated for colored people or refugees; if a man is going from one place to another I think there should be no distinction in affording relief as to whether he is white or black.

Q. Suppose you should find white people coming into your county that were stranded and poor, coming from Indiana for instance, would you say they should be sent back or starve?—A. That is just owing to how many came.

Q. Suppose several of them, attracted by the desirableness of Kansas which is a desirable State, found themselves stranded; would you advocate that they should at once go back or that the people should let them starve?—A. Not starvation in any case; that is not it; but keeping permanent funds to support them and keep them in idleness is what I oppose.

Q. At any of those meetings did you advocate temporary relief? Did not you oppose all kinds of relief as a means to prevent their coming?—A. I opposed all kinds of relief in the shape of an organization; of course that would include relief.

Q. You say the first meeting was to raise money, and the second was called for you to show why relief should not be given?—A. Yes.

- . Was not the question whether a contribution should be raised at
—A. That was it.
- . And you took the position that it should not be raised at all?—A.
It is, to continue that work and make it permanent; not talking about
temporary thing, but a permanent institution.
- . Was that money raised at the first meeting for permanent or tem-
porary relief?—A. That was for temporary relief.
- . You antagonize the meetings; the first was called, you say, to raise
money, and then the second was called to show why it should not be
done?—A. Our people saw there were more there than could get
employment or be cared for, and the report was through the papers
that so many more hundred were on the road from Saint Louis up, and
knew we were not able to take care of them, and knew if they did
keep coming they would overwhelm us and we could not do anything;
the amount we had there would hardly be a mouthful apiece to give
them.
- . And therefore you thought best to let them starve?—A. I did not
do any such thing.
- . You said the people there in large numbers could not get work,
and were destitute, and more coming, and coming in overwhelming num-
bers, and you took the position in public meeting that you would not
give relief. What other alternative was there for them but they must
starve?—A. Just this: if we did not keep them there and feed them
they would go out and look for work.
- . But if they did not get work what would follow?—A. No man
would starve; he gets something whenever he calls for it, as a general
rule.
- . Suppose the people of Kansas had all been as generous and hos-
pitable as you, what would have become of these people?—A. Well,
thousands of them in the Southern States are in good circumstances
what they are in Topeka.
- . A good many would have been in their graves from starvation,
would they not?—A. Not as many from starvation as have died since
coming there from disease.
- . You say that nobody is in favor of the exodus except the men that
are making money out of it?—A. I don't say that of this relief com-
mittee. I presume they are getting a salary; they would not work for
nothing.
- . Do you know whether they are or not?—A. Not to my personal
knowledge. It is stated by citizens that they are getting salaries, or
they would not work that way.
- . Do you know any one who is making money?—A. I don't know.
- . Do you think it a proper thing to swear?—A. I believe that it
is.
- . But that is casting the imputation upon these people that they are
making there for money out of the exodus; do you think that is right;
do you know it to be true?—A. It is generally believed.
- . Would you not like to modify that before you leave the stand?—A.
I say this, that the general belief is that if nothing was made out of it
they would not be interested in keeping up and feeding them, if some-
body did not get some pay somehow.
- . Now whom do you cover by that remark, that they favor the ex-
odus because they are making money out of it; what particular persons
do you refer to?—A. Well, I said this, that I did not know what they
were making, or anything about it. I say it is not presumable to sup-

pose they would be putting in all their time there unless they were getting paid.

Q. Who?—A. I refer to the Reverend S. P. Dunlap, who was at the head of the relief house in the absence of Mr. Brown.

Q. He is a Congregational minister, is he not?—A. Yes. You can find out from him whether he is getting anything. He never told me.

Q. He is not here in the city, is he?—A. No, sir; I met him in the barracks just before I left.

Q. You think he is speculating on it?—A. I do not know about his speculation.

Q. Well, you think he is making money out of it? I question you thus because it is a pretty broad assertion in reference to a charitable thing of this kind for you to charge that they are aiding it because they are making money out of it.—A. I will say this: Mr. Dunlap and I are on the very best terms so far as I know; we have always been. Of course we disagreed with regard to the work in which he was engaged.

Q. You think he is not honest, then, in believing in the exodus, do you?—A. I don't think any such thing.

Q. Why do you say he would not be favoring it unless he were making money?—A. I don't say that, if you please.

Q. You gave his name.—A. But I did not say he was for it because he was making money.

Q. You said some who were making money out of it favored the exodus, when I asked you to give the name of some. If he is favorable to it because he is making money out of it, he is a rascal.—A. I do not think he is a rascal—any such thing. I do not think a man is necessarily a rascal because he is working for a salary.

Q. Do you think it would be honest to urge these people to come that he might make money?—A. I do not know that he is urging them.

Q. Is he in favor of the exodus?—A. He was in the beginning.

Q. And you think he favored it because he was getting a salary?—A. No; I don't think he favored it because he was getting a salary.

Q. Then we have not found anybody included in this general remark—this imputation you cast upon the institution. If you cannot find anybody I will drop the subject. Am I to understand by your silence that you cannot?—A. I have not thought specially about that—in regard to that point.

TESTIMONY OF J. C. HEBBARD.

J. C. HEBBARD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. I live in Topeka, Kans.

Q. What connection, if any, have you had with the exodus, so called into your State?—A. I was secretary of the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association. I was secretary of the association that was organized on the 20th of April last, and it became a corporate body on the 8th of May, known as the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association, and was its secretary until some time in the month of September last.

Q. How did you come to sever your connection with that association?—A. I resigned in common with the other directors in the early part of September. There were fifteen directors and they resigned, and their places were supplied by other men.

Q. Why did you resign, Mr. Hebbard?—A. Well, it was presumed

t the business of the association proper would draw to a close, and t the exodus proper would cease measurably; but if not, that there re other men that would be connected with it, and a large portion of directors at first desired to be relieved from their duties, and I, in nmon with the others, resigned; we all resigned our positions.

Q. Was there ever any application made to that organization for relief white people who were in a suffering condition, to your knowledge?—

Yes, sir; there were some instances.

Q. Was it afforded to them?—A. Well, scarcely at all; no, sir; not to y extent.

Q. Had that anything to do with your resigning your position as secretary?—A. No, sir; that had no particular bearing on it, sir.

Q. How is this movement affecting the condition of the colored people re; do you think they are improving their condition there in Kansas?

A. Does your question have reference to those that have come in the mediate past?

Q. O, yes; generally, Mr. Hebbard.—A. Well, there is a diversity of nion in regard to that.

Q. Well, I am asking for your opinion?—A. I would not think that coming of the colored people there was, on the whole, desirable to concerned.

Q. Desirable to the colored people themselves?—A. No, sir; I would think it was to their best interests to come there in any considerable nbers.

Q. Do you know anything about their wanting to go back?—A. Yes, ; I have known something of it; not much; very little.

Q. Why do you think it is not desirable on the part of the colored ple themselves to come to Kansas?—A. Kansas is a new State. It been a State some nineteen years, and it is a State to which a great l of emigration is attracted because of it, and a great many people to Kansas because of being poor, and there is constantly a sufficiently ge number of that element that would naturally come there.

Q. What are your politics?—A. I am a Republican.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What salary did you get, Mr. Hebbard, while you were secretary?

A. I received one hundred dollars a month for a part of the time, sir.

Q. They reduced the salary about the time you changed and went , did they not?—A. No, sir; some time before.

Q. How long before you resigned?—A. It was about two months.

Q. Then they paid since that fifty dollars to the secretary for a while, they?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. What do they pay their secretary now?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Do you know they are paying him anything?—A. I don't know ything about it, sir.

Q. Did not you understand, when you went into that association, that was for freedmen's relief?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was not the money contributed by the charitable public for the ef of the freedmen?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think you could have devoted that money to any other ss of people and been honest about it?—A. I do not think that would e been a legitimate use of the contribution.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap is connected with this association, is he?— He is one of the directors.

Q. Are the directors paid?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. What officers of this company or association have received compensation for their labor?—A. Well, I don't know as any officers proper except the secretary. There were persons in position that received pay.

Q. You say there were other persons?—A. Yes, sir; there were other persons.

Q. Who were they, what were their positions, and to what extent were they paid for whatever their services may have been?—A. Well, there was a man by the name of R. W. Dawson, who held a position that was called superintendent; he received pay for some months. There were persons that were assisting in distributing clothing that was sent there and which was distributed among those persons that were needy and made application for it.

Q. So far as you know, was the money paid for services, or paid for time and services actually rendered?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not feel that you were doing in any sense a dishonorable thing in taking pay, to the extent you got it, for your services, did you?—A. I never had any misgivings; I gave time and energy to it, and I thought the money was earned.

Q. Undoubtedly. The directors, of whom this clergyman was one, received no compensation, did they?—A. No one received any compensation.

Q. And your compensation was cut down one-half?—A. Practically.

Q. Practically, you rendered services for which you received no compensation such as you would have received for services rendered to a corporation or an individual?—A. Yes; I look at it in that way.

Q. Your objection to the colored people coming, you think, is that your State is pretty nearly full and the demand supplied?—A. Well, I know of some other localities where their labor is desired. I know while I was secretary there were applications for labor in different parts of Kansas, but I don't think that element is needed to supply it; it would be supplied if it were not there.

Q. As secretary, you must have had applications from various quarters?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From what other States, if any?—A. From Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, and Western Missouri.

Q. What is your judgment, from your knowledge of the matter, as to there being an opportunity for additional colored labor in Colorado and these other States?—A. Well, there were great demands for colored labor in Colorado and in Nebraska.

Q. Beyond the supply?—A. Well, more than we could have supplied from that point at Topeka. It occurred to me as unwise to have people come to Topeka and divert them from these other States.

Q. The real difficulty is not in the exodus, but in the lack of system in its distribution?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did these people seem desirous of employment?—A. Yes, sir; that was very generally the feeling.

Q. Did they give any reasons, while there, why they left the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They did not seem to have come without a motive, therefore; what were the reasons which they gave?—A. They came for the purpose of bettering their condition.

Q. Yes; wherein did they wish to better it, or from what grievances, if any, did they desire to be relieved?—A. Well, they presented the matter thus: that they had been there for years and had made no accumulations, and there was no chance of obtaining any real estate

re in those States from which they came, and that Kansas to them
a land of promise; that they had heard of Kansas, and supposed
going there they could get homes, and find employment, and have
sonal freedom.

Q. Did they, in speaking of Kansas as a place they had conceived of
a land of promise, speak of any extravagant expectations which they
?—A. Not as a rule.

Q. I was about calling your attention to these circulars, chromos, and
like. Did they seem to have come under chromo influence much?—
I did not strike any of that class; there were some that came there
in the expectation that through some chance they would have land;
government was going to do something for them in the matter of
ing small tracts of land, and they would have a mule and something
that sort. I heard that idea expressed by some of them.

Q. Yes; but this was only a comparatively small portion of them?—
Not to any large extent.

Q. Well, take them as a whole, did they seem to be a rather sensible
of people, or did they look to you like an inferior and indifferent
of human beings?—A. Well, they average very well, sir.

Q. If they had had money you would not have seen any objection to
n as immigrants?—A. No, sir; that is, a reasonable amount of it,
order to take care of themselves.

Adjourned to April 12, 1880.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH P. JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10.30 a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees
(Chairman), Vance, Pendleton, Windom, and Blair.

JOSEPH P. JOHNSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Johnson?—Answer. In Natchi-
toches Parish, Louisiana.

Q. In the town of Natchitoches?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. All my life.

Q. What do you do there?—A. I have been a clerk, and for the last
years have been holding the appointment of assessor of the par-
I am now a farmer.

Q. Do you know a colored man by the name of John G. Lewis down
here?—A. I do, sir.

Q. Have you read his evidence as given here?—A. I have not, sir; I
a very short synopsis of it only.

Q. What do you know about any disturbances between the two races
own there?—A. I have not heard of any there recently; there were
disturbances there nearly two years ago.

Q. Of what character?—A. Well, sir, I hardly know what the char-
acter of it was. I was taken down to New Orleans and kept there six
weeks, and tried as being one of them.

Q. What were you tried for?—A. They charged me with running off
one of them; Lewis among others.

Q. What court were you tried in?—A. The United States court at New Orleans.

Q. Who was judge of that court?—A. Judge Woods.

Q. Who was marshal?—A. Jack Wharton.

Q. What was the result of the trial?—A. We were acquitted, sir.

Q. Well, did you run anybody off?—A. No, sir.

Q. Had anybody else, that you know of?—A. No, sir; none that I know of.

Q. What made Lewis and these men leave, if they did leave?—A. That would be hard to say, sir; I could not say; I do not know.

Q. Was there an election pending?—A. The election came off in November; this was in September, two months before the election.

Q. How many of these men left?—A. I think there were three or four of them left, sir.

Q. Three or four. Are there many black people in that parish?—A. Yes, sir; a great many.

Q. Are they getting along peaceably there now?—A. Yes, sir; just as peaceably as I ever saw them; they are all hard at work; everybody has plenty of hands.

Q. Have the hands plenty of work?—A. Yes, sir; the hands there have plenty of work.

Q. What kind of wages do they get?—A. Well, a farm-hand gets there about sixteen dollars a month.

Q. And board?—A. Yes, sir; and mechanics get larger wages than field hands.

Q. Have the colored people any school privileges down there?—A. Yes, sir, they all have schools; in almost every ward and district in the parish there is a school.

Q. Have any persons left that parish in the so-called exodus?—A. A very few, sir.

Q. A very few, you say?—A. Yes, sir; very few have left there none that I know went to Kansas at all; some few went to the lower part of the State, and some few went to Caddo Parish; the majority of them that did come back. I have several hands working with me now that went down to the sugar country and staid there a short while and came back, being better satisfied where they were.

Q. Do you know of any complaints they have there now?—A. No, sir; none that I have known of; I have not heard a particle of complaint, and yet I see a great many negroes every day.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Things are very salubrious there?—A. Yes, sir; every thing there is perfectly quiet.

TESTIMONY OF N. C. McFARLAND.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1880.*

N. C. McFARLAND sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. State your name and residence to the stenographer.—Answer. N. C. McFarland; Topeka, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation in life?—A. I am a lawyer.

Q. Have you been on the bench, that they call you "judge"?—A. Sir; titles are plenty out there.

Q. It is a title of compliment. Well, state what connection, if any, you have had with this movement of colored people into your State?—A. When the organization was effected there at Topeka, called the Freedmen's Relief Association, I believe, I was one of the incorporators, and a member of the board of directors from the time of its commencement until probably about the 1st of September. A part of the time I was on what was called the executive committee; part of the time I was chairman of the executive committee, which was expected to do the business of the board particularly.

Q. When did you sever your connection with that board?—A. About the 1st of September; I do not remember the precise time.

Q. Well, Judge McFarland, give the committee your idea of the movement; whether it is a beneficial one for the colored people themselves and desirable upon the part of the State?—A. So far as the State is concerned, if these people would come gradually and moderately as other immigrants do, I do not suppose there would be much notice taken of them. But coming in such numbers, and in such destitution, I should say that it continues to any considerable extent it would be injurious to our State, or to those portions of it where they congregate largely.

Q. It has really become a grave question already in your State, has it not?—A. Yes, sir; a very grave question.

Q. There have been persons here who have stated that there will be a largely increased emigration during the present season perhaps into Kansas; some have estimated that at least one hundred thousand of these people will come there; do you think that is a desirable state of affairs for either race? Now, I am looking toward the humane treatment of the colored people, and of course am as desirous that they should be well treated as anybody can be?—A. Well, I do not think it desirable for Kansas; whether it is desirable for the colored race or not would depend very much upon their condition where they are, of which I know nothing personally.

Q. It would have to be pretty bad to be bettered by such a movement that, would it not?—A. I think so. It has been explained that Kansas is a new State, and that our farmers do their own work.

Q. Yes; the testimony is cumulative on that point—that there is no demand for this labor in Kansas at this time to the extent that it is coming in there—A. Yes. I think that is true, to the extent that they have been coming; still places have been found for many that have come.

Q. But that has been the result of individual interest in their behalf, and not a natural adaptation of these laborers to the wants of your State?—A. It has been through the exertion of this association mainly.

Q. And but for that there would have been much suffering and want, would there not?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. How long have you lived in Kansas, Mr. McFarland?—A. I have lived there for about ten years.

Q. Of what State are you a native?—A. Of Pennsylvania.

Q. And your politics?—A. I am a Republican.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Have you heard any of the testimony concerning the average price of wages in the South—in Louisiana and Mississippi?—A. I have heard some of it.

Q. It is from twelve to sixteen dollars a month, is it not, and board included?—A. Yes, sir; I believe that is what has been stated.

Q. Can these people in Kansas really do any better than that?—A. I think that is the average wages of hands in Kansas, so far as I know, and I have been farming a little.

Cross-examination by Mr. BLAIR :

Q. I suppose that in Kansas and vicinity, if a man works for twelve or fifteen dollars a month, he gets his pay for it, does he not?—A. As a rule he does; yes, sir.

Q. If he were obliged to take pay in the necessaries of life, and were charged two or three times the real worth of the articles needed, it would be a very different state of things, would it not?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Do not these people, coming from the South, complain quite generally that they are obliged to take such pay, and that they are charged extravagant prices for the necessaries of life?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard such statements, and seen some original bills of that kind.

Q. Tell us some of the prices charged in these original bills that you have seen.—A. I cannot state specifically, but generally; I have seen a number of original bills, purporting to be bills of merchants in some of the places where these colored people have come from; I think I could say that all the articles would average more than double what they ought to have cost.

Q. More than double the price charged for the same articles in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; some of them higher than that still; but I think I am safe in saying that they would average more than double.

Q. And you found these people complaining also that, after having labored for a number of years, they have been unable to accumulate anything, and have left largely for that reason?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of the large numbers in which they have come, and you say it is feared that they may come in still greater numbers, and that their coming will be injurious to the State, for the reason that you cannot absorb them, perhaps, quite as rapidly as you could wish.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think it would be better for them to direct their course to some of the older and richer States?—A. I should say so; we have made efforts in that direction. When I was on this board, I went to St. Louis myself to see if we could not turn the tide away from Kansas.

Q. To the States of Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and those farther North?—A. Yes, sir; the farmers in these older States have more conveniences in the shape of accommodations, outhouses, &c., for their laboring hands; we have little room of that kind; building material is very high, and house accommodations are scarce. Some of our farmers live yet in sod houses, and they have no room in them for hands.

Q. Your farmers, many of them, live just as pioneers do in new States.—A. Yes, sir; and these people are coming mostly in families; and that makes it still worse.

Q. Now, as to the general disposition and inclination of these people to work, how do you find that?—A. I think, sir, there is not much difference in that respect between them and white people; a large majority of them want to work, and try to get work.

Q. If they had the means, then they would be just as desirable as any ordinary class of emigrants, would they not?—A. I do not see why we should make any distinction as to color in reference to the question of emigration.

TESTIMONY OF A. B. BRADISH.

B. BRADISH sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. State your name and residence to the reporter.—Answer.

B. Bradish, Atchison, Kansas.

What is your occupation?—A. I am in the lumber business.

Do you occupy any official position in that county?—A. Yes, sir.

What is it?—A. I am one of the county commissioners.

Of Atchison county?—A. Yes, sir.

I want to know of you, Mr. Bradish, what amount of aid has had been extended to these emigrants by public charity, that is, on the part of your county?—A. Well, I suppose—I did not hear the testimony—I suppose that the other witnesses from Atchison County explained to you about the boat-load that came up there.

Yes, sir; that matter was explained to us.—A. Well, we had to give them at that time to the extent of three hundred dollars; bills were given in the first quarter after that to about that amount, and some of the emigrants are still left, perhaps one hundred of them, and they are the objects of some charity yet, and I suppose it has cost the county at the present time from three hundred to five hundred dollars.

Did the bills come before you as a member of the board?—A. Yes, sir. They are set down in our accounts as one of the things the county has to pay for.

The county pays those bills?—A. Yes, sir.

What is the general sentiment on this whole subject in your place?

Well the general sentiment in our community is that these people do better not come to us; that our country is an agricultural country, and the farmers are not able to use them. They have plenty of land, but they are not in a condition to hire, and so these laborers have little to do. The most of them have gone; there are very few left now in our town.

What are your politics?—A. Republican.

You think there is no demand or desire on the part of your people for this immigration?—A. No, sir; not for that class of immigration; we would, of course, as soon have colored immigrants as any if they were with some means, and were able to go out and get a piece of land to work; I think there is no prejudice against them on account of color.

You simply do not want a pauper population there?—A. No, sir; we do not want such a population.

 TESTIMONY OF GREEN SMITH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1880.*

GREEN SMITH (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live when you are at home?—Answer. I live in Atchison, Kansas.

How long have you lived there?—A. Ever since the first day of May.

Where did you live before that?—A. Vicksburg, Mississippi, in Warren County.

Q. Do you expect to remain in Atchison?—A. I do, sir; for a while.

Q. How are you getting along out there?—A. I am getting along pretty well.

Q. As well as you did at Vicksburg?—A. Better.

Q. You think you have done better, do you?—A. I do; whatever work for there I get, whether it be little or much.

Q. Did you not get what you worked for at Vicksburg?—A. I got some, but of course I did not get what I thought was right according to my labor.

Q. Do you know anybody down at Vicksburg that owes you anything now?—A. No, sir; I do not say any particular one.

Q. How did you come to go to Kansas?—A. Well, we had an invitation to Kansas—that is, by papers circulating through the country—I do not know where they were from.

Q. What are you doing at Atchison for a living?—A. I work at elevators, transferring grain.

Q. How long since you have had employment there?—A. Since about the 27th of March, the day that I was subpoenaed to come here.

Q. You got employment the day you started to come here, did you?—A. I have been working ever since I have been in Atchison up to that time. I quit then to come here.

Q. Have you got your family there?—A. No, sir; my family is in Mississippi.

Q. Why did you not send for them?—A. Well, she is with her parents and so did not care to follow me there.

Q. Did you have any trouble with her that caused you to go up there?—A. Not at all.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You are glad you went to Kansas, are you?—A. In one sense I am, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN DAVIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1880.*

JOHN DAVIS, sworn and examined:

Question. Your name, please?—Answer. John Davis.

Q. Where is your residence?—A. I reside at Junction City, Kansas, near Fort Riley.

Q. What is your occupation, Mr. Davis?—A. I am a farmer and the editor of a newspaper.

Q. Editor of what paper?—A. The Junction City Tribune.

Q. What is its politics?—A. Greenback.

Q. Have you had some of this emigration in your part of the State?—A. Yes, sir; we have.

Q. How much?—A. We have no means of knowing exactly—some where between one hundred to a hundred and fifty during the last ten or eleven months would be my estimate.

Q. Is there a demand there for them on the part of the people?—A. There is not no, sir.

Q. How did they come to migrate to your place; do you know?—A. I do not know the originating cause, but when we heard of their coming there was a sort of bravado of hospitality that ran through our commu-

, that was friendly to their arrival, and they felt that they were welcome to our place, as well as to other parts of Kansas. We heard that they were congregating at Topeka afterwards, and our citizens were anxious to say that they could take care of a few. There was a company of negroes variously estimated at from sixty to seventy that first arrived. I saw them when in tents near Smoky Hill River. I went down in person to take supplies to them that were donated by citizens. On my first and second visit some ladies went with me, and we attended the funeral of one of the negroes who had died. A native minister, a colored man, perhaps a mulatto, officiated. I was down at that camp some three or four times, on various errands, before it was dissipated by their finding places in the country and otherwheres.

Q. Who were engaged in inducing these people to come to your place?
A. Prominent men who were friendly to it.

Q. Who?—A. Capt. John K. Wright, one of our capitalists there, and Martin Mullens, clerk of the district court, who has been elected treasurer of the county.

Q. Are they of the same mind still?—A. They are not, sir; they have changed their views on it.

Q. Has the matter become larger and graver than was anticipated?—A. No, I do not think that it has. There is no feature of discouragement at our place. The discouraging aspect is the disposition of the negroes to remain in the village, and not to go out into the country. There was not much difficulty in finding places for a good many of them at first, but on receiving donations of clothing and their first cash payments for their labor they invariably drifted into the towns, and did not go back into the country again. I had an experience of that sort myself with a man who represented himself to me as coming from New Orleans. I employed him to chop weeds, and I paid him for seven days. He spoke of fair treatment and good pay he received, but he left, saying that he did not want to stay in the country. W. D. Finley, a farmer about four miles from town, and Capt. W. B. Lowe, one of the residents on the farm, a relative of Mr. Finley and a retired military man on a pension, employed a family of them. He said that they were well satisfied with them during the first month. I met them and heard their reports. They are continually reporting such things in my office in town. Mr. Finley and Captain Lowe are now of the opposite sentiment on the question. Captain Lowe is especially bitter against the colored people; he says he cannot make anything of them, because they won't remain in the country. That is the reason he gives for changing his views as to the desirability of these negroes coming there.

Q. In point of fact, Mr. Davis, are they adapted to the character of the work you have there on your farms; you farm a great deal by machinery there?—A. They are not well adapted to our kind of work; at present, they can only do incidental work. They cannot take a leading part. They cannot do what a white man can do, but are best fitted for doing the various sorts of incidental chores, and they could find a good deal of that kind of work if they would only remain contented.

Q. What do you think the effect of this movement will be on white immigration to your State?—A. My own impression is that it tends to prevent and diminish the white immigration into our State. I have talked with many men on the Santa Fé road, and with men who live at Topeka, and with others on this point, and their impression is, and mine as I have gathered it from various sources, that this immigration of colored people tends to diminish the white immigration into our State, to prevent and diminish the flow of capital into the State, and in these respects

it is a damage. I have noted down as a memorandum some points that appeared to me to be of importance in reference to this question, and if you desire it I can allude to them here.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to get your views fully as to the causes of this exodus.

The WITNESS. Well, as to the causes of the exodus, I have noted this: There was a general invitation to Kansas, arising from several reasons; and first, from the prestige and reputation of the State on the slavery question. Then by the circulars and illustrations of railroad men and land agents, stating the facts and fancies of our fine climate and rich soil. Then by speeches of the governor of the State proclaiming that the oppressed blacks of the South were especially welcome to the broad free homesteads of Kansas. I cannot lay my hand on a single document that the governor has put his signature to this effect, but the impression is that he made speeches especially favorable to that class of emigration. I was talking with A. B. Whiting on the subject. He belonged to the employment bureau awhile, perhaps does yet, and he thought that Governor St. John "slopped over" in one of his speeches inviting them to come, saying that we had so many broad acres and wide doors of hospitality to welcome them. But, beside that, we have not specially invited them nor spent a dollar to induce them to come.

Mr. BLAIR. That is different from the State of Indiana in that respect at least.

The WITNESS. Well, I say here that the speeches of the governor proclaiming that the oppressed blacks of the South were welcome to the broad, free homesteads of Kansas, was one of the incentives that led these people to look towards Kansas as a paradise for them. Now, the fact is that men of exceptional enterprise will go into dug-outs and make homes for themselves by their own muscles, and these are the kind of men we want. The plan is usually for men to build as cheaply as possible, to seek employment as laborers, and camp in a neighboring dug-out, and it may be months before he aspires to the dignity of a home of his own. Such homes can be made, and are made, but it requires the energy and patience of the Northern European to do it; I have not known of a single black man doing it. I know now of but one native black man, Mr. Gardner, who lives in my neighborhood. I say, also, that one of the great causes of this exodus was the cordial reception of the first arrivals by the governor and the people, and a treatment of them better than white men are treated in the same destitute condition. On this point the honorable S. N. Wood, speaker of the house of representatives of the Kansas legislature, said, in a paper published by him something to this effect: "that if a white man comes to Topeka, in destitute circumstances, and asks for victuals, they put them to work breaking stone on the streets; but if a black man comes, he is introduced to the governor and they give him three square meals." While this is simply a pithy characterization of the subject, and is not to be taken as a literal fact, yet it expresses very well the difference in the treatment of the two classes of people and serves very well as an illustration.

Now, the first results of these causes I have named were heavy arrivals of these immigrants at Atchison, Wyandotte, Lawrence, Topeka, Parsons, Emporia, and other places, and mostly at Topeka, where the formal invitation was strongest and the welcome more cordial. The arrivals at Junction City were about one hundred and fifty; that was the highest estimate I could arrive at from the sources that appeared to me to be the most reliable. There was a discouraging cause, and we mentioned it in the newspapers at the time and canvassed the matter considerably. About

time we were expecting arrivals, four of our native colored men—of them employed in driving a delivery wagon from our mill, delivering flour to customers in the city—for some reason or other, were ordered to take four barrels of flour from the warehouse. They were taken in possession of the flour by the sheriff in the middle of the night. I saw some suspicious circumstances connected with the movement of the wagon and of these colored men, and he informed the marshal at Topeka, and by daylight they had the flour and the men captured. One of the men, by some extenuating circumstances in the evidence—turn-of-fate's evidence, perhaps—was not tried; the other three were tried and sent to the penitentiary. This fact was mentioned in the papers at Topeka as having a tendency to cool the ardor of the emigration. I will say as to those that came, that they generally found homes in the country, and the farmers were kind and liberal towards them; but when their clothes were furnished and money payments made, the negroes generally went to the towns, and now live by occasional jobs, by charity, &c. There are no exodites on farms now, within my knowledge; and farmers having tried them once do not want them again. I spoke of Mr. Whiting as being in the employment bureau. It seems that he had taken a negro, with his family, to his brother in Davis County. The negro got discontented and went back to Topeka. Mr. Whiting reprimanded him, saying that as he had been well treated he must return, and I think he did return; but if he did, I think it is the only case I have heard of.

Their present condition is that of idleness. When subpoenaed to come to court I kept my eyes open, and when I landed at Topeka I stopped half an hour to see what I could see there. I saw a good many negroes on the streets who seemed to be idle, and it struck me that I would make a list of them, and as the result I counted in my walk between the depot and the center of the city some thirty-one of them. Three of these appeared to be doing something; all the rest were idle; and by the time I reached the Gordon House, where I stopped, between the center of the city and the depot, I counted sixty-one or sixty-two, and all but eight of them appeared to be idle, and I counted all the colored men I saw. At our place they are usually hunting jobs or standing idle. At Emporia they may have an organization, but it does not appear to have received them very liberally or to have cared for them very thoroughly. I have a short extract from the journal of that place, a Republican paper there, which

describes the crowded condition of some of the buildings in which the Southern negroes have their lodgment is a matter worthy of the earnest consideration of the city authorities. There is no doubt that they brought with them a contagious disease resembling cholera, which proved fatal to so many children, and unless some means shall be employed to relieve the crowded condition of their present quarters, and renovate them before the summer, the very worst forms of pestilential disease may germinate there and spread with fatal effects through the city. The city council should give some attention to this matter, and, if possible, adopt some precautionary measures. These quarters are in many cases already terribly filthy. Some citizens who live in the east part of the city say that the old building on Sixth avenue, occupied by the negroes, is so offensive that they will not take that street any more in going home.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. What is the date of that paper?—A. It is the Emporia Journal of Saturday, March 27, 1880.

Now, as to our general reasons for favoring the exodus, if the committee desires to have them, I will say that they were these: That we might favor to a people said to be oppressed in their own land; that we might acquire a desirable and permanent class of labor; that we might

add to the wealth of the State by the settlement of the wild lands by thrifty and industrious class of people; that we might increase our population prior to the approaching census (that was spoken of especially in the papers), and thus add to our strength in the national legislature. This was said to be a Republican move, and Democrats smilingly replied that States overrun with negroes generally vote the Democratic ticket. Everybody either encouraged, or passively submitted to, the inception of the exodus. *But all have been deceived.* The negroes do not find the ease they expected, but are a burden—are not self-supporting; they shun the country, where labor is plentiest, and hang around the town. They have not changed the politics of the State, from Republican to Democratic; they do not add to the population or wealth or political power of the State, as the reputation of being overrun with pauper population is known to materially modify and decrease the immigration of white men of means and industry; and in some places where they have been left to themselves, by their squalor and filth they threaten the vicinage with contagious disease.

As to further results, I have recently talked with Governor St. John with members of the employment bureau, with men who have employed exodites, and with men generally. All agree in expressing complete disgust, and are anxious to escape or remedy the burden on some score of humanitarian grounds. Now, from my general judgment of the case, I cannot suppress the suspicion that while Kansas and other Northern States have been mourning over the Southern management of the freed men, the South has been quietly favoring the exodus, that the Northern people might have a taste of the difficulties on hand, and that in making the selections they have not sent us their best specimens. In other words, that Kansas, and other States, have been a sort of Botany Bay for the town negroes and pauper classes of the South, while the better classes and field hands have been more kindly treated and retained. However this may be, Kansas is sick and tired of the past experience and present aspects of the case. She sends out no further invitation but begs most earnestly that the tide, if it must continue, may be converted to other and wealthier States, more capable of employing and managing the class of people in question. I have touched, I believe, all the points that seem to me to be important in the question you are now considering.

Cross examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. How many of these immigrants have come to your place, Mr. Davis?
—A. From one hundred to one hundred and fifty; about that number.

Q. Did you keep no record of them?—A. No, sir; we had no organization that kept an exact account of them. They are appearing and disappearing frequently.

Q. Well, you think you have received one hundred and fifty in all?
A. I should think one hundred and fifty would be the outside limit, yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of Governor St. John's speeches as having encouraged them; have you any recollection of what he said, in terms?—A. My best recollection of what Governor St. John said is the report that came to me through Mr. Whiting, a member of the employment bureau, and he stated that Governor St. John proclaimed that we had a large State, capable of receiving, I think he said, millions, as the number, and that the oppressed of the South were especially welcome to come to Kansas.

Q. You did not hear, and have never seen, that speech yourself, have

?—A. No, sir; I did not hear it; I have only seen reports of it in the papers. The general impression is that he delivered it; and it is the speech on that subject he has delivered.

You spoke of walking through Topeka and counting the negroes, you said that out of sixty-one or sixty-two that you saw and counted, you only saw eight who seemed to be employed; now how many white people did you see in that walk?—A. I did not count them; they were coming and going; the negroes were usually standing around idle.

Well, did you not see more white people than negroes in that walk?—A. Yes, sir.

And the white people were coming and going and not sitting on a fence?—A. Yes, sir.

And so you judge they were employed at something, while the negroes were not?—A. That would be the general impression—the impression most people would gather.

But you do not know whether any of them were loafing, or tramping, or that all were at work?—A. I could not say.

So far as that is concerned, you do not know whether the negroes are worse, in that respect, than the white people?—A. Yes, sir; I can say positively as to that; the one class seemed to be employed, while the others did not.

Is it worse to sit on a fence doing nothing or to be moving around doing nothing. Do you think there is much difference between the two?—A. If I saw a negro in motion I would call him employed. I remember seeing one negro with a sack on his head. I counted him as one of the employed.

Well, is a white tramp necessarily employed when he is moving around?—A. If he is moving on, it seems like he was willing to do something; at least, that he is working and has something to do.

Now, let me ask you, Mr. Davis, what reason you have for thinking that the South really favors this exodus?—A. Well, I have heard it frequently said, by Democrats, that the South was willing enough for a class of their population to go away. I do not think I could put my hand on a single individual who has said positively that he favored the matter has been thoroughly discussed in the newspapers, and now I made that positive charge, that I thought so.

Do you really believe it?—A. I do.

You really believe that the South wants the negroes to go away?—That class of them that have been coming up into Kansas, I do, sir. I was an old line abolitionist at the start, and I feel quite sure that the Southern men are trying to give us a taste of that class of their population that will be most distasteful to us.

Is that the reason why they established an agency at Kansas City to get them to go back?—A. Certain ones, only, they will pay to induce them to go back.

Do they specify particular individuals?—A. I understand that they have agents who talk with certain individual negroes, and when they find one whom they consider to be the right sort of a man for them they will pay his way back.

And the worthless ones they leave behind?—A. Yes, sir; that would be the reason of the selection of some and the rejection of others—at least that is my judgment about it.

You think, then, that the escape of some of the negroes has had an effect on the part of some of their late employers to desire to get them back?—A. It has had a tendency that way; and no matter what the cause of their escape may be, it has shown to these planters that they

will leave if they make up their minds to go, and the effect has been favorable on the minds of the planters, as is evident from the desire of some of them at least to get back the best of them.

Q. What do you think the causes of dissatisfaction among the negroes there have been?—A. Largely the same causes that make the white man discontented. We have had a panic; very hard times; and the South has felt it as well as the North; these men have been pinched there, as well as in other places where the laboring man has felt the hard times. Then, again, these circulars of railroad men, and land agents, have been very freely circulated, in Europe as well as in America, representing the State of Kansas to be a sort of haven of bliss, and that all who were so fortunate as to be able to get there would be much better off than where they were; and that has operated no doubt favorably on this movement to our State.

Q. Have you talked with any of these negroes as to the causes of their leaving the South?—A. Yes; I have talked with the man that was with me about it.

Q. Have any of them complained of ill treatment; or has the man you speak of as being with you complained of ill treatment as the cause of his leaving the South?—A. He has said to me that he heard a good deal of ill treatment of his people there, but he had not been ill treated himself. I will say that he seemed to be a sort of exceptional man among them—he had paid his own way to the North, and had money enough to go back if he wished to do so.

Q. He was the only one you talked with on that subject?—A. I have heard miscellaneous conversations on the subject by others of them at different times.

Q. From your general knowledge of the condition of the colored race at the South is that condition good or bad?—A. In some places it is very favorable.

Q. Do not you really think that they are as a race very badly treated by the white Democrats of the South?—A. I can only judge by the reports I have seen as to that in the newspapers, and they have widely differed, you know, and both sides have expressed themselves.

Q. But what is your own judgment?—A. There are cases where they have been badly treated.

Q. Do you not think that they have been badly treated generally?—A. That may have been the case at one time, but I do not think it the case now.

Q. Do you think that they are permitted to vote freely and fully and fairly, in Louisiana and Mississippi particularly?—A. I am inclined to think that in most places, so far as I have received what I think is reliable information, that they are honored with position and receive liberal treatment, as much so as in any other section. I understand, for instance, that they go to the legislature there, that they are on the city and county boards, and I know that there is nothing of that sort in our State.

Q. Take Louisiana, for instance, where I think the census clearly shows that there is a large colored majority, and they have three colored members of the legislature; do you think that that is illustrative of liberal treatment of them politically?—A. Well, in Kansas we have a large Republican majority, and we have no colored men in our legislature.

Q. But do you not have a majority of Republicans in your legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have a majority of negroes in Kansas, or anything like it?

A. No, sir.

Q. Then the party that is in the majority is represented in Kansas, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is the party that is in the majority in Louisiana represented in the legislature there?—A. I cannot say.

Q. What is your belief about it?—A. I cannot see that it is necessary to suppose that the negro must vote the Republican ticket there.

Q. Do you not know that the negroes in the South are Republicans, and they are permitted to cast their vote fully and freely?—A. I do not know that, sir.

Q. Well, do you not think it is suggestive of some denial of their rights where a State in which the colored race has so large a majority, only three or four of the representatives in the legislature are of that race?—A. No, not necessarily; the whites are an intelligent class, and intelligence generally gains the best representation; it is so with us throughout the North. We have colored children in our schools, but we have not a single colored man on our school board, or connected in any way with the official management of the schools.

Q. But you have not very many colored men in your State, have you?—A. Quite a good many.

Q. Before this exodus?—A. Yes, sir; a good many. I have a colored man employed in my office who has been running our press for more than four years.

Q. Didn't you have a colored man on your electoral ticket in Kansas some years ago?—A. I am not sure; the matter did not come under my observation.

Q. How long have you lived in Kansas, Mr. Davis?—A. Almost eight years, sir.

Q. And you have shut your eyes to all the charges of bulldozing and lopping and all that sort of thing that has been going on in the South, and you do not believe that it has been going on there?—A. I have not said so.

Q. Do you believe it?—A. I claim that in some places they have been badly treated.

Q. Where are those places?—A. The places in which it has been charged that these occurrences have been most frequent and where they have assumed the worst forms.

Q. Well, are not these places in Louisiana and Mississippi?—A. Of course I cannot specify; I have read of them in the newspapers only; and of them frequently.

Q. Well, you spoke of some places; have you credited the newspaper reports that you have seen?—A. I should be willing to credit some, but not all of the newspaper reports I have seen.

Q. Have you read the sworn statement of hundreds of colored witnesses that have been published in the voluminous evidence taken by committees on that subject?—A. I have read some of that evidence.

Q. What do you think it indicates as to the political treatment of the negro, when at one election the Republicans had some two or three thousand majority, and at the next election, after bulldozing, had had only a few, but one Republican vote was cast?—A. I think it indicates something wrong.

Q. Don't you think that that "something wrong" had something to do with the exodus?—A. I should think it had. I think there was an aggregation of causes that produced the exodus, and that was one of them.

Q. Ill treatment was one?—A. Yes.

Q. By what party are these negroes ill-treated—not by the Republican party, are they?—A. Well, not having travelled in the South, I do not think I ought to testify positively on that score; my judgment is that the Democrat is for his party and the Republican is for his.

Q. Do you think the bulldozing is done by the Republican party where it is done at all?—A. The general impression is and the reports of the newspapers would indicate that it is not.

Q. Well, if these negroes are not wanted in some of the Northern States, and if their labor is needed in the South, don't you think that the best thing the Democrats of the South could do would be to stop the abuse of them and keep them at home?—A. So far as we are concerned, yes, sir; they had better keep them at home.

Q. Would not their better treatment in the South stop the exodus?—A. Well, I should like to have them treated fairly there as American citizens and be secure in all their rights.

Q. If they had been these, would there not be less of exodus?—A. I think there are other causes operating to produce the exodus, cause aside from their political relations.

Q. Do you not think that the South is the best place for the negro if he is well treated there?—A. Yes, if he could be satisfied anywhere, I think the South would be the best place for him.

Q. What do you think would be the effect of the distribution of a portion of the colored race from the thickly settled negro districts of the South into the older and richer States of the North upon the sectional troubles that now disturb the country; do you think it would tend to put a stop to these troubles?—A. My impression is that it would have a good effect both upon the negro and upon the Northern and Southern white men. I think the exodus thus far has been productive of good in this very direction. It has effected good in three directions: It has taught and is teaching the negroes that what they read in the glowing circulars that have been scattered amongst them is not all true in fact, and that though they may have hard times in the South, when they go to Kansas it is not all paradise there; that they must work there as in other places if they would make a living, and that the climate there is not as favorable for them as at the South; and this exodus has tended and will tend to correct the impression on their minds that they will have an easy time in some other place, and to show them that they must be willing to put up with discomforts and suffer hardships from nature and society rather than to flee to some imaginary land of pictured bliss. That effect has already been produced on the negro mind.

On the Northern mind, in the second place, the effect has been to modify the views of a great many who have criticised the Southern management of the negro, by showing them that we ourselves have not understood that management, and that we have not understood the negro as the South understand him; and we have come to be better acquainted with the character of that now freed population, and in the future we will look with greater respect and liberality on the question of their treatment at the South by the Southern people.

And, thirdly, it will have the effect upon the Southern employers themselves to cause them to see that if they don't treat their labor fairly and properly they can and will flee from them, and that affects them at once in their pecuniary interest and in their questions of political economy most seriously, and they will thus find it to be to their interest and

antage in every respect to treat their laborers with the greatest liber-
y and fairness.

I have been talking with a number of men from the Southern States,
from their statements I am convinced that the treatment of the
pro will be and has become more favorable from this very exodus,
doubt as one of the procuring causes. They say that at first the
proves were afraid they would be re-enslaved, especially if a Demo-
cratic administration came into power, and, on the other hand, their old
masters were afraid that the negroes would preponderate in numbers
and political power, and humiliate them in some way or other if the
Republicans should come into power. And so both sides were in an
uncomfortable attitude one, toward the other.

My own opinion is that the exodus thus far has been favorable in its
effect upon all three of the parties concerned. For the future, I think
it would be a great thing if this class of population could be properly
distributed, in reasonable numbers and under the proper conditions, to
Northern towns and cities, but especially to the country places,
where they could develop the land and become producers. Its tendency
as far has been to flock to the towns and villages, and thus to in-
crease an already too large floating population in the towns and vil-
lages; and if this tendency is not corrected, and unless they can be in-
duced to go to the unoccupied lands and be distributed under the
homestead laws, their coming to the North will not be a benefit, but an
injury to the North.

I think, however, that their distribution will have one general effect,
that is, to increase the homogeneity of our people, and to increase
the appreciation of all classes of their rights and privileges under our
common laws and free institutions.

And to destroy to a great degree the sectional feelings that exist ?

Q. Yes, sir ; if the exodus could be properly managed so as to make
a proper distribution of those that come, without the concentration of
them in overwhelming numbers at certain points and thus overburden-
those points, the results would be good and not disastrous.

Q. What should you think of the proposition that a territory be set
apart for them, where they could go by themselves and work out their
own destiny in that way, if they desired to do it; what would be the effect
of such a disposition of them ?—A. I should not favor that ; I should not
think that would be best under any circumstances.

Q. Why ?—A. It would be opposed to the homogeneity of our popu-
lation, that we ought to secure in this country. We ought not to have
a race class independent and separate from the body-politic.

Q. But you do not want them to come to Kansas to be assimilated
there ?—A. We are willing to take our share of them as a burden until
they can become assimilated, but not more than our just and proper
share, and not more than we can naturally absorb.

Q. And you think you have more than your fair share now ?—A. In
the places we have ; yes, sir.

Q. You think that this homogeneity of which you speak can be best
secured by their more equal distribution over the Northern States gener-
ally ?—A. Yes ; that is my idea, exactly ; and I believe that many of the
Northern States desire to have them, and that wherever an invitation is
extended to them into States and places where they desire to have them,
that desire ought to be gratified.

Q. But you think that the Southern planters have learned that they
cannot treat their labor well or it will leave them, and that they do not
desire to ?—A. Yes.

Q. How do you reconcile that with the theory you have stated here that they have sent their worst specimens North that we might have taste of them and not desire any more; does that look as if they feared the loss of their labor?—A. Well, they choose their labor.

Q. But if they choose it according to their wants, that would hardly argue that the exodus would cause them to fear a loss of their labor would it?—A. A hint of your own will answer that. Some—a few of them—they do not desire should leave to go anywhere else.

Q. You think that “a few of them” they do not want to part with?—A. I think so, undoubtedly.

Q. Well, on the whole, except that Kansas has got an oversupply, you think that the exodus is a good thing, do you?—A. I think the tendency is in the right direction, and that in the end it will cure itself so far as it is an evil.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. From what State did you move to Kansas?—A. From Illinois; I am a native of Central Illinois.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Do you know of any Northern State in whose legislature a colored man has ever been a member?—A. I have a vague impression that there is such a case; one such case now.

Q. Yes; in Ohio.—A. It may be in Ohio.

Q. Do you remember or know of any other State, with the single exception of Ohio, in which there is a colored man in the State legislature?—A. I cannot call any other to mind, sir.

Q. Do you know the fact that last fall, in Ohio, a colored man named Williams ran for the State legislature and was elected, but that he ran twenty-six hundred votes behind on his ticket, the Republican ticket?—A. Perhaps it was in Ohio; I have a vague impression that there was such a case, although I have not borne in mind cases of that sort. I know that in our place colored men do not occupy positions on the jury or on the school boards, or as city and county officers, and yet we have the reputation of treating the colored people well.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. By your “place” you mean your town?—A. I mean our town and county and all the vicinage near by.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1830.*

J. H. SHEPHERD recalled.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. It has been stated here, Mr. Shepherd, by Mr. Burch and perhaps some others, that there are only two or three or four colored members in the Louisiana legislature at this time; what do you know about that?—Answer. My impression is that there are fourteen.

Mr. BLAIR. I did not understand Mr. Burch to make that statement. He said that there were three or four colored senators; perhaps two colored senators and twelve members in the house.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood him to say that; while fourteen is the number, as in the published report.

Mr. BLAIR. Fourteen is the number, I think.

The WITNESS. Yes; there are fourteen colored men in all in the legislature of Louisiana.

TESTIMONY OF DR. H. T. DILLARD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 12, 1880.

H. T. DILLARD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Doctor, where do you live?—Answer. In Louisiana, Bossier parish, near Shreveport.

Q. What do you do as an occupation or profession?—A. I farm and practice medicine together, sir.

Q. Do you employ labor?—A. I do.

Q. To what extent?—A. Do you mean in numbers?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, really, the number of laborers I employ I could not exactly tell; I have about three hundred and fifty souls, little and big, young and old, under my control. I have a small farm above Shreveport.

Q. What is the difficulty, if any, on the part of the colored people in obtaining employment in your parish?—A. Indolence, I suppose, sir, is the difficulty.

Q. Is that the only difficulty?—A. The only one that I know of, of consequence.

Q. Can they get employment and good wages if they are willing to work?—A. So far as I have known, they can and do.

Q. Have you ever known any difficulty on their part in obtaining labor they desired it?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. What wages do you give?—A. I give twelve to sixteen dollars a month in wages, money.

Q. And board them?—A. Yes, sir; I give them their rations in addition to that.

Q. You give them their wages and rations and a house to live in without charge?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have any of them left you for any particular point?—A. Kansas, you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they leave your part of the country?—A. They left me in the movements round the country, "local moves," we call them; over and over that none left me.

Q. Have you ever interfered with their right to vote, doctor?—A. Not in the least, sir.

Q. Do you know of anybody in your neighborhood that has done so?

A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. What is the comparative population of your parish, as between the colored men and the whites?—A. Which has the largest number, do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. I declare really I do not know; on the river, I am not very well posted; with reference to the hills, we have a very large colored population; I do not know what the division is with reference to the river bottom and the hills; but in the bottom right along the river, there is quite an overplus of darkies, but in the hills there is not; in reference to the whole parish, I could not tell you.

Q. Do the colored people hold any offices in your parish?—A. They did to, a year or so ago. I do not know in reference to that now, because I am not much of a politician; I stay at home and attend to business, and try to make a living.

Q. Do you know any of these colored candidates that have been mentioned in trying to run for office?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. How are they treated in the courts, doctor?—A. So far as I know, very well, sir; equal to the white people in that respect; I know of no difference.

Q. Is not the present recorder of Bossier Parish a colored man?—A. He is, sir.

Q. When was he elected?—A. I could not state the time, really, because I do not remember. I know I have had several papers recorded there.

Q. What are the school privileges for colored folks in your parish?—A. Very good; really better than the school privileges enjoyed by the whites, I think.

Q. How are they better?—A. Well, because the white people do not want to send their children to them, and on the plantations, as in my case, I have but one child, a little cousin whom I am raising, and as a matter of course I would not send him to the school, and we have no white schools on the river bank.

Q. In other words, they have colored schools and no white schools?—A. Not in Bossier; if they have in the hills, I am not aware of the fact.

Q. How much of the time during the year do these schools hold?—A. I declare, I do not know that I could state positively. I will say, to be positive, six months, more or less; there may be a little more, sometimes not quite so much.

Q. About six months of the year?—A. Yes; I understand it to be from five to nine months; I will just say six, more or less; that will cover it, I think.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Are you a native of Louisiana, doctor?—A. Yes, sir; I was born in Louisiana.

Q. Have you always resided there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where else have you lived?—A. In Texas.

Q. When did you live in Texas?—A. When I was a little bit of a boy, with my father.

Q. Well, how long has it been since you returned to Louisiana?—A. In 1860, it was.

Q. Have you been there ever since?—A. What time I have not been off to school, I have.

Q. What is your age now?—A. I am now twenty-five years old, and past.

Q. You were quite young then when you returned to Louisiana to reside there?—A. Yes, sir; I was.

Q. You speak of having three hundred and fifty people under your control?—A. I said "souls."

Q. So you did; well, that is a pretty strong term, won't you tell us what you mean?—A. I have the land that they occupy, and as a matter of course the parents keep their children.

Q. Well, explain the nature of your "control" of them?—A. I rent the land to them and hire them for wages, and work them for shares.

Q. Do you consider that "controlling" people?—A. That is what we call it in our country.

Q. And it is that sort of thing that enables you to have these people and to speak of them as "controlling" them?—A. Well, I have the land to employ so many.

Q. Is it not a fact that those who have land can and do everywhere in the world control the people who live on it?—A. I do not know about the whole world; I have not been all over it.

Well, there is that state of things that enables you to speak in the way you have, so that you generally speak of those who live on your land as "controlling" them?—A. You Northern people may have one way of control, and we another. My idea is, that having sufficient land to employ so many hands, I control all that are in that way under me, and being in all, counting wives and children, three hundred and fifty souls is my idea.

Is not the land there usually owned by a comparatively small number of men?—A. No, sir; not usually, some of them own very little; some own a good deal—it is just owing to the amount of money a man has got.

I do not mean to say that white men all own the land; but is not the land there almost universally owned by a few individuals of the white race?—A. No, sir; I do not consider that it is; that is my opinion of it.

You know of some colored men who own land?—A. I know of some who tell me they own it.

Do not you know, as a matter of fact, that they own it; you see them in possession and actual control of the land, do you not?—A. Yes; they purchase it just as the whites do.

How many acres have you that you occupy?—A. I have some 1,996 acres, sir.

1,996?—A. Yes, sir; more or less.

Is this all in one plantation, all these 1,996 acres that you own and occupy?—A. Yes, sir.

Who owns the adjoining plantation to yours, in either direction?

Well, north of me a friend of mine, who sits here, Mr. Williams, is my neighbor.

How much land does Mr. Williams own?—A. There you are too good for me, sir.

Do you not know?—A. I keep posted only on my own business, and not on my neighbor's.

Well, I will ask Mr. Williams himself (turning to that gentleman).

How much land do you occupy, Mr. Williams?—A. I occupy about eight hundred and fifty acres, sir.

Who is another neighbor of yours, Mr. Dillard?—A. To the south of me there is Mr. Belcher.

And how much land does he own and occupy?—A. I could not tell you, sir, exactly.

Any other neighbor?—A. Yes; Captain Vinson is another neighbor of mine.

Well, how much land has Captain Vinson?—A. Indeed I could not tell you.

You have not informed yourself about this?—A. No, sir; you did not ask me the amount of land, the number of acres that my neighbor owns, because I don't know.

Well, does Captain Vinson own as much as you, do you think?—A. Not near as much.

He owns but a small tract?—A. Yes, a comparatively small amount of land; I do not suppose he uses more than five or six mules on his place, sir.

Well, who else is there adjoining your land?—A. There is Mrs. D. C. Cain.

Yes; we have heard of her plantation here; how large a plantation is that?—A. I could not tell you, sir; I have no idea at all, because she did own a great deal of land, but she has sold it off on mortgages,

&c. ; I really do not know how much she now owns ; and it is much the same way, I think, with Captain Vinson's property there.

Q. How many colored men do you know, Dr. Dillard, that own land there in your neighborhood?—A. I would have to go to thinking over it to answer that question, and add them up ; I could not really tell you as to how many own land there.

Q. Do most all of them own land?—A. O, no, sir ; they do not, by any means.

Q. One in a hundred, do you think?—A. Well, that is owing to where you take them. For the whole parish I could not give you an estimate, because I don't know anything about it ; if I was to give you an estimate under oath I should want it to be correct.

Q. Certainly ; I should expect you to be correct in all your statements of fact ; I wanted simply to get at an estimate of the amount of lands owned by the two classes, if possible?—A. Well, I cannot give estimates that would be accurate.

Q. Have you been an owner there for a considerable time?—A. No, sir ; you see I have only been in the farming interest a short time, since the death of my father, only ; and prior to that time I was off to school all the while, and when I came home I went to the practice of medicine, and since his death I have had control of the plantation I now occupy.

Q. How long has that been?—A. My father died in the year 1877, it has been since that.

Q. A question about the schools. Is there a school on your plantation?—A. Not right now, sir.

Q. How long since there has been one there?—A. There was one there last year.

Q. Who kept it ; who taught the school?—A. I could not tell you ; I never went there.

Q. You have been on the plantation three years, then?—A. O, I have been on the plantation ever since I was a little bit of a shaver ; I was a boy there, sir.

Q. And you have three hundred and fifty souls there under your "control" ; do you not know about the schools or the teachers that have been on that plantation?—A. I do not know who the school teachers are.

Q. You have paid no attention to the school or to the teachers?—A. That is not my mission or my business.

Q. I did not say that it was ; I was merely asking for the facts.—A. Well, I don't know about the school.

Q. Did you ever go into the school there in your life?—A. No, sir ; I have passed it often.

Q. You passed by on the other side?—A. I dedicated the land to them for a school and a church and they have utilized it for those purposes, I know.

Q. But you did not consider it your business to look after the schools, to see whether the children growing up around you on that large plantation of three hundred and fifty souls were getting an education or not?—A. Well, sir, I have said what my connection with that matter was.

Q. Would it not have been a good idea when you had three hundred and fifty souls under your care, that you were in a sense responsible for, to have taken a little interest in their education?—A. But I did not think it a good idea to ask the children about that.

Q. But would it not have been well to go inside of the school house once in a while, where the business of education of those children was

on, and to have taken a little interest in that?—A. I suppose it is, sir.

Are there any other schools in that vicinity?—A. I have understood that there is one other, but I have not been in it myself.

You know there is another school there?—A. I understand that there are scattered throughout the county, wherever there are churches. You have only a general idea, then, that there are schools around, but you do not know personally—you have not been in them?—A. I know from what I hear—from hearsay.

Witness examined and sworn to, and returned to the witness stand, and the court adjourned to April 13, 1880.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES V. PORTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 13, 1880.*

A committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Pendleton, Windom, and Blair.

CHARLES V. PORTER sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Please give to the stenographer your name in full.—Answer. Charles V. Porter.

Where do you live, Mr. Porter?—A. I live in the town of Natchitoches, La.

The town of Natchitoches?—A. Yes, sir; in the town of Natchitoches, and the parish of Natchitoches.

What do you do there?—A. I am a clerk.

Clerk at what?—A. Clerk in a dry goods house—doing a retail and wholesale grocery and dry goods business.

How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there nearly all my life, with the exception of five years. I went there when I was five years old, and have been away to school a little; but I have lived there, I may say, all my life—not right in Natchitoches, but close to Natchitoches.

You are a clerk in a dry goods store?—A. Yes, sir; a dry goods grocery house; we do a large business there.

Do the colored people trade at your place?—A. Yes, sir; we do a large business with the colored people.

You say you do a large business?—A. Yes, sir; a large business at that place.

Explain to us, if you please, how you trade with the colored people there, and whether they are wronged or robbed by the credit system, and whether they are charged more for what they buy than simply the increased price that is charged to all people who trade on credit?

Well, sir, as a matter of course they are not charged any higher prices than white people have to pay when they have the cash; but within the last year, fortunately, some of them have had the cash. When I sell them goods at, I should suppose, ten per cent. of the cost price. Now, myself, that not long ago my employer brought a colored man here and told me that he wanted to buy a bill of goods, some fifty dollars worth, I believe, and he told me to let him have them at five per cent. on the cost price—that is, the price marked, laid down, you

Yes.—A. He said that this colored man wanted to pay cash for the

goods, and that he was a good man, and he wanted him to have them at five per cent. of the cost price, and we sold them to him.

Q. Well, that was an exceptional case, of course?—A. Yes, sir; that is not the rule, of course; for a bill of a few dollars, we charge more but we always let a colored man have his goods as cheap as a white man, if he has the money; if he has to buy on credit, we have standard prices for goods bought on time. But we charge white men the same as we charge negroes.

Q. Is that the general system that prevails with the merchants there?—A. Certainly, sir.

Q. Or do you know of any system of dealing or any understanding among the merchants there, by which they charge the negroes more for their goods than they charge the white people?—A. Not at all. Of course there are in our town, as I suppose there are in all other places, some dishonest merchants—but not first-class merchants, some little hucksters—that charge exorbitant prices, and that in this way take advantage of the colored people sometimes, but not because they are colored.

Q. No; but because they want their money?—A. Yes, sir, exactly because they want their money, and nothing else.

Q. They don't care what his color is, so that they can make a big profit off of him?—A. O, no, sir; they don't care whether he is a black man or an Indian or what he is, so far as that is concerned.

Q. But this is not general; it applies to only a few there?—A. It is not general, of course. I will say that I suppose we have in our place as fine a business system as we have in any town in Louisiana.

Q. How large a place is Natchitoches?—A. I think it has about three thousand actual inhabitants.

Q. It is on Red River, several hundred miles above New Orleans?—A. Yes, sir; it is situated between New Orleans and Shreveport.

Q. What do you know about any troubles there at election time—race troubles—at election or any other time?—A. Well, sir, our last election, our last two elections there have been very peaceable indeed.

Q. What ticket do the colored people there vote; that is, the majority of them?—A. The negroes to a great extent voted the Democratic ticket—the State ticket, that is—and some of them voted the National Republican ticket; but the elections were characterized by good-will on both sides.

Q. Have you ever had any trouble there at elections?—A. Well, no, sir; no trouble. I do not know that we have ever had any trouble at all at elections. I do not think we have ever had a riot or trouble at an election year in our town; I am certain not.

Q. Were the negroes who voted the National Republican ticket at any time interfered with any more when they voted that ticket than when they voted the Democratic State ticket?—A. No, sir; but five or six years ago a negro man that was a Democrat was interfered with a great deal more by Republican negroes than a negro who was a Republican was ever interfered with by Democrats—a great deal more.

Q. They are ostracised, and abused, and intimidated by their own color much more than people think they are?—A. Yes, sir; a Democratic negro is thus treated by his own people, the Republicans of them. Not now, however; that was in the olden times—I mean seven or eight years ago, before we succeeded in establishing the reign of law and order in our community.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. About what time do you date the commencement of this reign of

and order in your community?—A. Well, within the last six years, could say; perhaps the last four years. At the end of the war our country was, I suppose, in the condition that every country finds itself immediately after a war. We had a great many people there, and times were generally characterized by a disregard for law and order—a state of things which I suppose is incident to such a period.

Well, law and order came, you think, when the Democratic party got into power?—A. Well, yes, sir.

That is what you call the reign of law and order, when the Democrats got into power?—A. Well, not exactly the Democrats, but good

But the good men are all Democrats down there?—A. Yes, sir.

So that when the Democratic party got into power there good got control of everything, and that restored law and order?—A. sir.

How was it in 1868, when two or three hundred colored men were murdered in Bossier Parish; was that the reign of law and order?—A. I never heard of that occurrence.

You never heard of anybody being murdered for political reasons, you?—A. I have heard of such things.

Where?—A. In every State in the Union.

In Minnesota, for instance?—A. I cannot call to mind any particular case; but I have heard of such things in the different States,

Did you ever hear of any such cases in Vermont or New Hampshire?—A. Well, I suppose there never was a government in the world where such things did not occur.

You have heard, you say, of political murders in every State of the Union?—A. Yes, sir; I have read of them in the newspapers.

Tell us of any such case you have read of.—A. I cannot call any specific case to mind.

Did you ever hear of any murders in a Northern State on account of political preferences?—A. I think I have, but I cannot recall to mind now any particular cases; but I have certainly heard and read of such occurrences.

But you cannot remember any to name them?—A. No, sir; I cannot.

Do you know of, or can you remember having heard of any murders for political reasons in Louisiana?—A. I cannot.

You do not believe that there have ever been such occurrences, do you?—A. Perhaps there have been.

But you do not believe that there have been, for you never heard of any?—A. I do not think any murders have been committed for political reasons.

Did you ever hear of any negroes being whipped for political reasons?—A. No, sir; I did not.

So you don't believe there have ever been any murders or whippings of the negroes in Louisiana for political reasons?—A. O, I don't believe there ever have been, but I say I can't call to mind any such cases that I would ascribe to political reasons as the cause. Now we have had troubles, and riots sometimes, and violence.

But to the best of your knowledge, and you have lived there all your life, you say you do not believe that there have ever been five negroes that were killed for political reasons in Louisiana; is that what you would have us understand?—A. What do you call "political reasons?"

Q. Because they were Radicals?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have never known of five?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you ever known of one?—A. None that I know of; and don't think there ever have been any.

TESTIMONY OF R. L. FAULKNER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 13, 1880.*

R. L. FAULKNER (colored) sworn and examined :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Mr. Faulkner, where do you live?—Answer. On the Cane River, in Natchitoches Parish.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Well, sir, I have been living in the parish of Natchitoches for the last twenty years.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. Well, sir, I have lived in different parts of Louisiana for the last thirty-odd years.

Q. Where did you live before that; where were you born?—A. I was born in South Carolina, sir.

Q. Were you a free man before the war?—A. Yes, sir; I was a free man.

Q. And you have lived in Natchitoches Parish for some twenty-odd years?—A. Twenty years; yes, sir.

Q. On Cane River all that time?—A. I did not altogether live there. I have been living on Cane River for the last twelve years.

Q. What did you do there?—A. Farming, sir, has been my occupation there.

Q. You are a farmer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you own property?—A. Well, movable.

Q. You are not a holder of real estate, then?—A. No, sir; I do not own any land.

Q. Are you connected with the school board of your parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what capacity?—A. As a school director, sir; I have served in that capacity.

Q. How long have you been a school director in your parish?—A. Well, I was appointed by Nicholls.

Q. By Governor Nicholls, the present governor?—A. No; the present governor is Wiltz.

Q. Yes; there has been a change. Are you still holding the position as school director?—A. Yes, sir; I still hold a commission as school director there.

Q. How are the colored people in your parish treated with respect to school privileges?—A. Well, sir; I cannot say anything against their treatment in that respect. But there is one thing: the appropriations have been so small when divided up into the different wards, that they could not operate the schools for any longer than two or three months, which amounted you may say to nothing, in the parish; but otherwise the people have the full privilege of schools for a limited time.

Q. But this want of money affected the white people just as much as it did the colored people, did it not?—A. O, yes, sir; of course.

Q. There is no distinction made on account of color?—A. No, sir; but of course the people do not desire mixed schools.

Q. No.—A. No, sir; they do not want mixed schools.

- You have your own schools?—A. Precisely.
- Do you have white teachers sometimes for your colored schools? Any, sir, that is competent; there are some white teachers that teach colored schools in the different wards.
- Now about the courts; do you find any distinction as against the color of your race in the courts, in trials and the like?—A. Well, no, but there is one thing: you know that as a class our people are ignorant; they are on the list of jurors, but they are in the minority; for why? because they need somebody to dictate their way of thinking.
- As a class, your people having labored under the privations and disabilities of slavery, they are not, of course, as well educated and able to take the lead, you mean; and in that sense are in the minority? Yes, sir; of course they are not able to compete with the white man.
- They cannot compete with the white man, as you term it, but are empaneled on juries?—A. O, yes, sir; they sit on juries in the courts.
- Have you yourself ever sat upon any jury?—A. No, sir; I never been on a jury. I have been a member of the police jury of the parish.
- You are not much about the court-house, I suppose?—A. No, sir; it is about four miles out of town, and I don't place myself into public places, because I don't like to be called on to be disturbed.
- Your police court is your county court, is it?—A. Yes, sir; of the parish there.
- In the North we use the word county; you call it parish in your country?—A. Yes, sir.
- Now, Mr. Faulkner, you are an elderly man, and have had a good deal of experience, and you are of course attached to the interests of your people; do you know of any reason why your people ought to go away from there and hunt other homes?—A. Well, sir, I can put it up in this way: that the people has been misinformed by tramps through the country, and, in common words, sore head politicians; that's just the total of it; that has excited the prejudice of that class of people.
- Tramps and sore-head politicians?—A. Yes, sir.
- THE CHAIRMAN. A good combination.
- MR. VANCE. According to the eternal fitness of things?
- THE CHAIRMAN. I think that is the best description we have had.
- Well, Mr. Faulkner, you say that these tramps and sore-head politicians have stirred up discontent among your people?—A. Yes, sir. When I was on my way here, there were two or three colored females I met. They were on a visit to the city of New Orleans, and from the lower part of the parish, and I made inquiries of them as to the discontents among your people, and where they got their information from that made them so; and one of them said to me that it was these third-class peddlers that was urging them and so on, and knowing the questions of the day, they kept leading them to believe, those that left, that if they did leave the parish they would all become slaves; and that's what's the matter, she said. And another old lady on the boat, she said: "O, I'm watching the movements of the old-time free people; whenever they come I know it's time for me to leave"; and I thought that was good.
- You have had hard times down there as well as they have had at other places, have you not?—A. Certainly; through life we have had.

Q. I mean in the prices of cotton and sugar—things have been down in price and the crops short, I mean?—A. Certainly; just in a manner they change that way, but there has no money been in cotton since.

Q. But things are looking up now, are they not?—A. Everybody in good spirits now.

Q. More prosperous?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know any of these people that have been misled by the tramps and sore-head politicians off to Kansas or any other place?—No, sir; they are on the extreme north end of Cane River; but I have known several families of my neighborhood exchange from one parish to another by inducement of better wages and so on, which has induced many families from the town of Natchitoches and some of my close neighbors to leave, so that I am altogether left alone in my section of Cane River; the nearest neighbor I have now is one mile.

Q. So that you have not seen and talked with them much?—A. No, sir; the information I have received of those that left for Kansas—never particularly ascertained who they were;—but I were informed by natives, creoles, of the place that were on a visit to New Orleans, when we happened in company together, that I made the inquiry.

Q. Have you taken some part in politics with your folks, Mr. Faurner?—A. I did at one time, sir; but I discovered that the party had become so badly conducted that I saw they were doomed, and withdrew.

Q. What party was that?—A. The Republican party, sir. But I claim my principles as being Republican, and I simply voted the Presidential ticket, and go with the people at home.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. On State matters you go with your people?—A. Yes, sir. I supported the Wiltz ticket as well as I did the Nichols ticket.

Q. But on the Presidential ticket, you vote Republican?—A. Yes; I voted for Hayes.

Q. Yes; and you thought the State was managed so badly by the Republican party that you would go with your folks there?—A. I know the Republican party was doomed.

Q. And you got ashamed of their conduct?—A. Yes, sir; I got ashamed of the party, because in the first two or three years in politics the respectable class of colored people all participated, but after that became so many strangers among them and then the ignorant class of people—simply the ignorant class of people—they were partial to the Democrats in the lead, so that the respectable class has withdrawn and took no part; that I have seen, such days when there would be speaking, when I would know we would have the best men in the place marshals during a procession you know, sir, but in the last days it was just bird of feather.

Q. Where did these strangers come from that got in the lead?—A. Well, different parts. Some were soldiers in the Union Army that were left here and there; they scattered throughout.

Q. Northern men?—A. Yes, sir; God knows where. Some were from Canada under the British. John G. Lewis, I believe, is a Canadian.

Q. Did you ever hear it stated, or was the impression ever produced upon the minds of the colored people in your parish, in any election that if the Democrats got into power they would put all the negroes back into slavery?—A. Well, sir, such has been talked to the ignorant class of people; as politicians will do, you know, to secure their election.

. Yes ; some of them will.—A. Such has been talked to that class of people there, but when an honest man was put up for election they voted for him—the respectable class of people that did not believe in politicians. But I will tell you I do not participate in politics at all, but I am a close watcher, and I will keep posted and I take a New Orleans paper and whenever I can get hold of a New Orleans paper, simply for my personal benefit you know, sir, but I don't take any action in politics at all.

. Have you any riots and killings in your parish now ?—A. No, sir ;

. Have you ever had any ?—A. Well, there has been the like, you know, in the first of politics.

. Can you state how that started, Mr. Faulkner ?—A. That is more than I can tell. These people were disguised and you could not tell them. I was myself called on by a parcel of people and I could simply object, you know, sir, because I was better treated than some.

. I know, but do you know how that was started ; what was the cause for it ?—A. O, well, I suppose politics.

By the CHAIRMAN :

. When was that ?—A. 1868.

. Has there been any of it since in your parish ?—A. Well, not as I know of, sir.

. None since 1868 ?—A. No, sir.

. Well, when the Democrats got into power they didn't put the colored people all back into slavery, did they ?—A. (Laughing.) You make me laugh. Why, sir, the people never would have known the change if nobody hadn't told them.

. They never would have known the change from one party government to another ?—A. No, sir ; but prejudice has been so much excited against the Democrats that the word Democrat and rattlesnake—why, they didn't know each one apart.

. They didn't know the difference between a Democrat and a rattlesnake ?—A. The one name was like the other to them, but I excused the people through their ignorance.

. Is that feeling of hostility now passing away ?—A. Yes, sir ; it is going away gradually.

. Do the white folks treat the colored folks kindly now ?—A. Yes, they treat them kindly ; the only thing that has kept the people mostly behind is this gambling in cotton ; these vouchers and so on have kept the people poor, but last year's crop has caused many a pleasant face throughout the parish.

. It has caused many a pleasant face because of the prosperity it brings with it ?—A. Yes, sir.

. The price of sugar has gone up too ?—A. O, yes, sir.

. Are your people doing any better—accumulating property ?—A. Yes, some few ; you find some lazy inclined ones that don't care to work longer than from Monday to Friday night, and Saturday they must be seen about town.

. As a general thing your people work very well, do they ?—A. Yes, as a general thing they do.

. Is it not one reason why they do not accumulate property, that they are not thrifty ?—A. Yes, sir ; that is it ; the sum total of it.

. As soon as they get anything they spend it ?—A. Yes, sir ; and to give it to you I will tell you : the division of corn, you know, is preferable to the division of cotton.

Q. Yes; that comes first.—A. Well then they are every week going to town, and they will not work, but live upon their own expense, and spend their corn, and at the winding up on the expiration of the year well then they will come to you and say “Do you wish to employ me?” and the employer will ask, “Can you bread yourself?” “No.” “Well I can’t bread you;” and they will have to go where they can, or do without.

Q. You mean they spend all they make, and then have nothing to go on for the next year?—A. Yes; they spend it all and then have nothing left to live on.

Q. Have you talked with any of the colored people that have gone to Kansas and returned?—A. Yes, sir; I have met some of them at the cities and round by the public places.

Q. Well, from all you have heard, from what they have told you, do you think the colored people can do any better out there than they can at home?—A. Well, I suppose the thrifty ones can succeed ’most any wheres, you know.

Q. Certainly.—A. But there is a certain class of people that I pronounce that the change of climate is too much for them, and there will be many of them that will go up.

Q. They cannot stand the climate, you mean; it is too severe for them?—A. Yes, sir; and they have not sufficient means to clad themselves with in that cold climate, and they will go up.

Q. And you think if they were industrious and would work as they ought to work, and save what they make, they could do better in Louisiana than they could in Kansas?—A. O, such people will make a living anywhere. There is plenty of good lands there in Louisiana these lovely lands there affords a bale of cotton to the acre.

Q. You can raise a bale of cotton to the acre there?—A. Yes, sir; a bale to the acre.

Q. Now, these lands that yield a bale of cotton to the acre rent for how much?—A. Some people asks for them five dollars an acre, and again others require a fourth and a fifth of the crop as the rent.

Q. And take their pay in kind?—A. Yes; and if there is a short crop one-fourth pays it; and if there is a big crop, it is better to the landlord.

Q. And better for the tenant too, isn’t it?—A. Yes, sir, of course, better for him too.

Q. How many acres of that cotton land can one man attend to?—A. Well, fifteen acres is about the average for one man.

Q. One man, then, could produce fifteen bales of cotton?—A. O, but you must allow for his corn and potato patches, &c.

Q. Well, he could cultivate ten acres out of the fifteen in cotton, couldn’t he?—A. Well, nine.

Q. And corn and potatoes in proportion?—A. Yes, sir; fifteen acres would be as much as a man could well wag along with.

Q. What is the general run of wages when a man hires field labor?—A. There are some, sir, pays ten to twelve dollars a month; but mostly labor is one-half; some gets one-third and provision found.

Q. They get a share of the crop instead of money?—A. Yes, sir; they gets part of the crop instead of money; when they work for half, if in advance, they advance them, and pay for their provision at the expiration of the crop.

Q. Exactly; do you know anything about this advancing to them for provisions, what prices are charged?—A. O, well, they perhaps pays about twenty per cent. on the dollar.

- . Twenty per cent.?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Why do they charge more on time than they do for cash?—A. Because they has to wait during the crop.
- . The employer has to take the risk of the crop?—A. Yes, sir; he to wait on the crop.
- . And if the crop fails they get no pay at all?—A. Well, they look you, and if you are a man of honor, they will know that you will k out the crop, and they will trust you if you are that class of peo-
If a man is a man of honor he will pay his way through life; but e is a good many who will just simply work and then jump off and o another parish.
- . And just leave the landlord in the lurch?—A. Yes; just leave him out warning.
- . Have you a homestead law in your State, do you know?—A. Yes, I believe so.
- . How much property do they allow a man to retain; property that not be sold under execution for his debts; how much real estate?—
Eighty to eighty-five.
- . Is it in dollars or in property, in personal effects?—A. I disre-
mber what they allow a man; I thought you were alluding to real te.
- . Well to both; there is a homestead law both for personalty and estate, is there not?—A. I disremember; I am not prepared to ver that question.
- . The amount of personal property that a man is allowed to have t the law cannot take is a good deal more than most of the colored own, is it not?—A. I cannot say exactly; there is a good many he colored people that are probably worth three to five thousand two thousand dollars.
- . From two to five thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir; a good many th that much.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

- . Were you ever a slave, Mr. Faulkner?—A. I was born a slave, was informed.
- . How old were you when you became free?—A. Well, my parents bought their time when I was a boy.
- . Did you ever own any slaves yourself?—A. No, sir; I never did a none myself.
- . How long have you lived in Natchitoches, Mr. Faulkner?—A. Twenty years—thereabouts.
- . You say that the colored people have schools the same as the te people?—A. Yes, sir.
- . Public schools?—A. They do not have no schools but what they for themselves.
- . Separate schools, private schools, you mean?—A. Yes, sir; private ools that they pay for themselves.
- . I refer to public schools?—A. Yes, sir.
- . How long do the public schools keep?—A. Generally according to appropriations; it was not sufficient to continue the schools not e than three months in a year.
- . How many such schools do they have in your parish?—A. Well, cannot say now; I am a resident of the first ward, and I disremember y-many schools there is in the parish.
- . How many schools are there in your own ward?—A. I knew of three ools there.

Q. In that one ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are they in existence now?—A. No, sir.

Q. When did they go out of existence? When was the one last kept there?—A. Well, I don't know of any school that has been there this year, sir.

Q. Was there one last year?—A. Yes, sir; some time towards the last year there was.

Q. Was there any public school there in 1879—last year?—A. O, yes, sir; there was.

Q. For colored people?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. How many schools were there that year in your ward?—A. I simply know of three.

Q. In your ward last year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But none this year?—A. No, sir; none as I know of this year at all.

Q. What is the relative proportion of the colored and white population in Natchitoches Parish, if you know?—A. Well, sir, the colored people are in the majority there; but the funds when they are proportioned into the different wards, you know, sir, there are some can carry the school longer than others, because some parishes are smaller in number, that the funds would last longer.

Q. I am not speaking of the schools now; I only want to know how many more colored people there are than white people in Natchitoches Parish?—A. I cannot exactly state, but I know there is a large difference; I am not prepared now to answer that question.

Q. But you know that the colored people are in the majority there?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. How many colored people do you know that prefer to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Well, sir, I cannot say how many, but I know a good many that do vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. About how many?—A. O, well, probably there may be two or three hundred.

Q. Probably two or three hundred, you say, but how many of them do you know prefer to vote the Democratic ticket? I do not ask you if you know everybody that votes that ticket, but how many do you know that prefer to vote and that do vote the Democratic ticket?—A. I can simply state for them around Natchitoches there.

Q. Well, how many around the city of Natchitoches do you know?—A. I suppose some seventy or eighty right around Natchitoches town there.

Q. Well, let us see how many you can name?—A. O, to name them you put me to my trumps.

Q. You cannot name any of them?—A. Well, not by name, I don't know them, all of them.

Q. Can you name one of them?—A. Yes; I knew a fellow they called Bill Shearborn.

Q. Any other?—A. Then again there was twins there, and one of them, unfortunately for him, has gone to the penitentiary; he voted the Democratic ticket.

Q. He voted the Democratic ticket before he went, did he?—A. Yes, sir; he did previous.

Q. Any others?—A. Now you put me to my trumps to remember them by their names.

Q. You cannot remember but two men, and one of them went to the penitentiary?—A. If I reflect a moment maybe I can; you excite me some, that I am a little embarrassed.

Q. I do not want to do that.—A. To tell you exactly is a little too much for me; I cannot reflect in a moment.

Q. No, of course not; but this occurs to me: that if you could swear there being seventy to eighty men you know that vote the Democratic ticket, you ought to be able to tell me the names of more than a dozen of them, one of whom you have given, and the other that you say has gone to the penitentiary?—A. Well, they are in the place, and I am perfectly well acquainted with them, but their names are not so familiar to me; and, secondly, that I never takes such consideration, being in advanced years myself and my memory becoming short. (Pausing.) Well, I can tell you a little more now; there is Shadrach Brown.

Q. That's three.—A. And John Hudson.

Q. That's four.—A. Well, there's another man that lives out four miles that I can call his name (reflecting)—well, I could, of course, with a little study, but I can't think of his name this minute, and I can't think of many others, but I could with a little study.

Q. Well, that will do. Your courts are all right down there, are they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You do not have any trouble in the courts in getting justice done, do you?—A. No, sir; no trouble.

Q. How many men were on the jury last year, when you knew anything about it?—A. Probably five or six were on the jury when I knew about it.

Q. Last year?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you at the court, that you know this to be so?—A. No, sir; I simply took the announcement of the jurymen as I seen it in the newspaper.

Q. I only wanted to know how you knew about it?—A. No; I goes to the store only on business; I live only four miles from there, and I see a local paper of the place, so that I can know everything that is going on.

Q. Did not the election last year in that parish go largely Democratic?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you account for that when, as you say, there is a large colored majority in the parish, and so few of the colored people voted the Democratic ticket?—A. In the old times?

Q. No; last year. (Witness silent.)

Q. Did not the parish go Democratic in the election last year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know by how large a majority?—A. No, sir; I disremember now; but there was the Republican ticket and the Greenbackers, and really the tickets were in such a manner that a man could not exactly comprehend it, and the best way is to take the best ticket there.

Q. Have you not found it the best and safest way, generally, for you to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Well, yes, sir; I generally do vote that way.

Q. Why?—A. Because I am not opposed to a man for his politics at

Q. But you think it is safer for the colored people to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Certainly; as the old saying is, "When in Rome do as Rome does."

Q. And Rome does Democratic in your parish, does it?—A. O, yes, sir; (laughing.)

Q. How does that happen when the Republicans are in the majority?

A. But the Republicans has beat themselves, and consequently they can't take the will for the deed.

Q. Do you remember anything that happened in the election in 1878 in that parish?—A. In '78?

Q. Yes; in '78?—A. O, well, I didn't behold it with these eyes, sir, but I heard of what was transpiring there at that time, the election of '78—I heard of it.

Q. What did you hear?—A. Well, the people had ris' in a mass, you know, sir; they wouldn't stand the leaders of the party, that they had gone to such extremes that they wouldn't stand it.

Q. What people arose in mass?—A. Well, the citizens, the people not the party; there were several officials that the people asked to resign, by a mass meeting.

Q. What kind of politics was that mass-meeting?—A. One and another. The Democrats said taxation was very high.

Q. Did not the Democrats break up a Republican convention that was being held there at the same time?—A. Not a convention, sir; I understand there was speaking there in the lower part of the town during the convention of the Democratic party. I was in town then, but I took no interest in it.

Q. Did the Republicans have the impudence to hold a meeting in the lower part of the town when the Democrats were having their convention in Natchitoches?—A. Well, they did do it.

Q. Well, their meeting was broken up, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir. I believe it was broken up.

Q. What for?—A. Well, God knows what; it was the extreme in politics.

Q. It was "extreme" for the Republicans to start a meeting in the lower part of the town when the Democrats were holding a convention in Natchitoches. It was extreme impudence on their part. Are you sure that they dared do it?—A. Yes, sir; I am sure of that part.

Q. You are sure it was broken up, are you?—A. Yes, sir; I am sure of that, too.

Q. What became of it after it was broken up?—A. Well, so I suppose—I suppose it was broken up; that is what I heard. I did not behold it with these eyes. I was simply down there engaged at the blacksmith shop, to have my plows fixed, and then I went home.

Q. Did you hear that the leaders in that Republican meeting, or anybody that was connected with it, were run off to the county for taking part in it?—A. O, yes; I heard so, but I could not state it was so.

Q. Were you on the Democratic side of this question?—A. I am a Republican, but I support the State ticket.

Q. You are a Republican, but you vote the Democratic State ticket in order to "do as Rome does," and to be safer down there; is that it?—A. I feel—(hesitating)—

Q. You feel that you must just "do as Rome does"?—A. I feel it is my duty to do so, because I never was nohow prejudiced against the people, regardless—

Q. You dropped a remark a little while ago, Mr. Faulkner, that you yourself were "called upon" by somebody?—A. Yes; I said something about that.

Q. Had you been an active Republican?—A. I was.

Q. And after you were "called upon" you thought best not to be so active?—A. Well, it was the first of politics, and there was no protection from the midnight assassin, because "a combination beats the world," you know. I moved then from my ward to Natchitoches, and after I was elected police juror, and the people found I was honest, they

always appreciated me, and I am regarded this day as a Republican, but an honest one.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. And you vote the Democratic ticket?—A. The State Democratic ticket; yes, sir.

Q. But not the national Democratic ticket?—A. No, sir; the Republican national ticket.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You vote the national ticket as you think best, but you vote the Democratic ticket for State officers because you think it is safer down at home to do that?—A. I could not use that word of being "safer" to do that but I regard it that it is nothing more than right to go with my people.

Q. But you didn't go as your people do, because you say that the majority of your people are Republicans there?—A. O, at home?

Q. Yes; I am speaking of that?—A. (Hesitating.)

Q. A majority of your people, the colored people at your home, are Republicans?—A. Yes; they are.

Q. Why do you not go with the majority of your people?—A. Because—why—well, they are not intelligent; they become in the minority because they are not intelligent, and I would not risk myself with them.

Q. But they are not in a "minority," as you call it. You have just said that they were in the majority.—A. Well, they are in the minority regards to education and intelligence.

Q. But not as to numbers and votes?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why, then, do you not go with the majority of votes of your people?—A. I would not risk myself with that class of people, because you do not rely upon them.

Q. And you vote the Democratic ticket for that reason?—A. I do, and I take no part in politics aside from that—just voting, and no more.

Q. The white people there treat you better, because you just vote the Democratic ticket, and take no other part in politics?—A. No better than they used to treat me; they treat me well because I am honest.

Q. After that they did not "call upon" you as they had done before?

A. They never called upon me but once, sir; the one I alluded to before.

Q. Tell me something of the nature of that "call." What was it like? Tell us all about it.—A. It was in '68, the year previous to Grant's election.

I was the commissioner of election in my ward.

Q. Very well; go on.—A. Well, there was a party of people called me that night, when I was in my home, and I was taken out and unfolded and questioned, and so on.

Q. What did they question you about; what did they say?—A. Well, I was told to go home, after they had taken me out, and say nothing about it.

Q. But what did they say to you; what did they question you about?

A. Very well, sir; they said to me that I had issued tickets into De Cade Parish.

Q. What kind of tickets?—A. Republican tickets.

Q. Go on.—A. Well, I acknowledged everything that was facts to me—

Q. What did they do then?—A. I suppose they may have been parading that did know me, and I was considered an honest man by the people except (laughing) according to my politics.

Q. But that does not give us a very good idea of that pleasant little

interview, Mr. Faulkner; tell us more about it?—A. Well, I had these tickets to issue in De Soto Parish, I acknowledged to that.

Q. So they just blindfolded you in order to ask you the polite and courteous little question as to where you got your tickets, &c.?—A. I did not know what their intentions were.

Q. Was that all that was said?—A. That was about all that was said, sir.

Q. What did they do to you when you acknowledged this?—A. They left me in the road, and let me walk to the woods, when I was released.

Q. You ran to the woods, did you?—A. No; they took me to the woods, but I took the road.

Q. And made your way back home?—A. Yes.

Q. What did you do further about that election; did you go on issuing tickets?—A. No, sir; nothing.

Q. Had you sent tickets out?—A. Yes.

Q. You had been active before?—A. Yes.

Q. And that modest little questioning, and so forth, made you vote the Democratic ticket after that?—A. But I did not stop all at once.

Q. You did stop, however?—A. I think so.

Q. You think so?—A. I do.

Q. What happened further?—A. Well, there was a minister that was killed at that time.

Q. What had he been?—A. President of the club.

Q. Of a Republican club?—A. Yes.

Q. Well?—A. And I was engaged at his interment, his burial. I was engaged at the day of the election. General McLawton, he came up that day, and requested to see me; afterwards I took no part.

Q. You did not vote?—A. No; you see, secondly, my registration papers that I had was destructed.

Q. Who destroyed them?—A. Those people.

Q. The party that made you that little visit?—A. Yes, sir; the party that called upon me.

Q. They took your voting papers?—A. Yes, sir; you see, whenever there is any calls to be made upon people, there are always some characters there that is going off in this way for themselves, and they took the contents of my pocket-book, my registration papers, and one thing or another.

Q. O, they took the contents of your pocket-book, when they blindfolded you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They did something more, then, than ask you a polite question or two, in that courteous way?—A. Well, they took my pocket-book, too.

Q. And your registration papers were in it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that you could not vote?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. They were Republicans who took your pocket-book and papers weren't they?—A. How do I know who done it, when they were all disguised? I couldn't tell 'em apart.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do you think they were Republicans who did this?—A. I have no right to think at all.

Q. Tell us now, honestly, you claim to be an honest man, didn't you think they were Democrats who did this to you?—A. Well, of course, I thought so.

Q. But do you not know they were Democrats?—A. I should think they were, of course.

- Q. Had you no idea at the time whether they were Democrats or not?
- A. It was hard for me to say, for they was disguised, as I told you, and how could I know?
- Q. What motive do you think Republicans could have to blindfold you and call you to account in that way for distributing Republican tickets?—A. O, of course, I knowed they were not Republicans.
- Q. Why then did you not say so, frankly and directly?—A. Well, I did not *know*, I simply *thought* they were not Republicans; when a man is disguised, I don't know who he is.
- Q. Could you not judge by their conversation with you in that little interview?—A. I do not know.
- Q. You were a Republican?—A. Yes.
- Q. And you regarded them as friends, and you thought that was a little friendly interview they wanted with you when they called you out, and blindfolded you, and run you off and took your pocket-book?—A. Well, they had no other conversation, and they just spoke in a low tone, in order that I could not detect their voice, or something to that effect, so that I didn't know what they said.
- Q. Did they make any threats to you, that you had better stop that sort of thing you had been engaged in—issuing Republican tickets, &c.?
- A. Well, I was advised, of course, to resign my commission that I held.
- Q. In what terms did they give you the advice?—A. Well, that I should remain and keep my school that I had, but that I must withdraw from politics.
- Q. You would have thought them strange Republicans if they had told you to remain there and refrain from politics, and they knowing that you were a Republican, would you not?—A. Of course I would have thought it strange for them to be Republicans, but I could not identify the men; I could not tell who they was.
- Q. I know that; but I want to know whether you had any idea at all that these masked men who called upon you and had this conversation in a low tone, and took your pocket-book and your registration papers and so on, were Democrats or Republicans. Now what was your idea about that?—A. Well, I know, of course, they were not Republicans, but they said to me that they were Texans.
- Q. Texans?—A. Yes; that's what they said.
- Q. Well, there are Democrats in Texas, are there not?—A. Of course; but I could not form any idea from that who they were.
- Q. I didn't ask you who they were, but whether there was a particle of doubt in your mind as to whether they were Democrats or Republicans?—A. O, well——
- Q. Now did or did not you *believe* they were Democrats?—A. I don't really know.
- Q. You say you knew they were not Republicans?—A. Well, I thought they were not.
- Q. Had you done anything to offend the Republicans?—A. No, sir; nothing at all.
- Q. Were you not a Republican official?—A. Yes.
- Q. Chairman of the Republican committee?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And you simply thought they were not Republicans who took you out of your house and blindfolded you and took your pocket-book and your registration papers?—A. That was at first——
- Q. Yes; but you were a Republican then?—A. Yes.
- Q. And yet you do not know whether they were Republicans or not?

—A. I supposed they were not Republicans, but I could not swear it; it requires me to know if I should swear to their being Republican.

Q. I want to know of you if you can imagine any reason for Republicans doing that?—A. No, sir.

Q. Can you imagine any reasons for a Democrat doing it?—A. That is a point I cannot say, because I was honest before the people.

Q. Yes; and you should be so now.—A. I am before you and all other gentlemen; I am too old a man to sacrifice myself.

Q. And yet you are willing to swear that you are not quite certain whether it was Democrats or Republicans that robbed you?—A. I don't say they were Republicans; I say that they were midnight robbers.

Mr. VANCE. Robbers; yes, that is it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. But was not the reason they gave you for that visit that you had been distributing Republican tickets?—A. I say they simply asked me did I forward those tickets into De Soto.

Q. And you were told not to do so any more?—A. Of course, I own positively that I did forward the tickets, because I was honest. They wanted to know who did I receive them of. Well, Major Cromey was an active member of the executive committee at that time of the State.

Q. What time of night did those people come there to your house?—A. I suppose it was eleven to twelve o'clock in the night—about that time—that they came there.

Q. How long did they keep you out?—A. They kept me out about an hour, sir.

Q. How far did they take you from your house?—A. Probably two or three hundred yards.

Q. What did they say to you when they came to your house to take you out?—A. Well, they called for me to come out.

Q. How many of them were there?—A. Probably around the house about forty or fifty of them—such a matter.

Q. How were they dressed?—A. Well, I didn't get to see them all because the moment I was taken I was blindfolded.

Q. How many of them did you see?—A. Two or three of them only that blindfolded me.

Q. How were they dressed?—A. O, they were disguised to me—in a mask, I presume.

Q. What sort of a mask?—A. Well, false faces; something of that kind, sir.

Q. What were they made of?—A. Pasteboard, or something as the usual makes them of.

Q. Had they any other masks, any about their clothes?—A. Well, yes; they seemed strange to me in appearance, for the month of November.

Q. What kind of strangeness was it?—A. Well, they looked to be in their shirt-sleeves, or something of that kind.

Q. As if their coat-sleeves were turned inside out?—A. It showed a light appearance for the season.

Q. Were the sleeves only light, or was it the whole coat that looked light?—A. Well, what I saw looked light.

Q. And all whom you saw before the scene closed in on your eyes were dressed in that way?—A. Yes, sir; two or three that I seen that came into the house when the doors were thrown open.

Q. Did you vote at that election?—A. No, sir; it was necessary for me to have my registration papers to vote.

- Q. And they stole your registration papers?—A. Yes; it was in my purse at the time.
- Q. Have you voted the State Republican ticket since then?—A. Yes, sir; I have.
- Q. Whom did you vote for?—A. Governor Kellogg.
- Q. Tell me how many votes were cast for the Republican ticket in Atchitoches Parish in 1868, at the time of this little interview with you, when you had that escort of forty?—A. As I quit the polls, I do not remember.
- Q. Don't you remember what the vote was that year?—A. No, sir; I do not remember.
- Q. Do you know whether the negroes voted generally that year?—A. I suppose they did, generally.
- Q. But you staid at home?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And you were chairman of the executive committee?—A. O, that way back in 1872. I said I was commissioner of election.
- Q. When was this call made, in 1868 or 1872?—A. It was made in 1868; that is what I say.
- Q. But when you spoke of being chairman of the Republican executive committee, was not that the year when they called upon you?—A. No, sir; that was in 1872.
- Q. Were you not chairman of the Republican organization in 1868?—A. No, sir; I was simply——
- Q. An active Republican?—A. That is all.
- Q. Do you know of anybody else in your neighborhood who in 1868 was honored by a midnight call from forty masked men and escorted out anywhere?—A. Alfred Hayson.
- Q. Had he been an active Republican?—A. Yes; but he was not intelligent, sir.
- Q. But you were?—A. Not very much.
- Q. How intelligent were you?—A. Well, I knew how to take care of myself, sir; I knew that.
- Q. But he was not able to take care of himself, and they killed him?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Had he been an active Republican?—A. No; he was simply vice-president of a Republican club.
- Q. Did they honor the president of the Republican club with a call at that time?—A. Yes, sir; and that was the last of him.
- Q. What became of him?—A. He was instantly shot, and killed on the spot, sir.
- Q. He discovered some of the men, and they shot him?—A. Yes, sir; I believe he made a discovery by knowing the parties, and he was killed at the time.
- Q. Who killed him?—A. Some two or three of them.
- Q. Was he the minister you spoke of a while ago?—A. Yes, sir; he was the minister that I was at the burial.
- Q. Of what denomination was he?—A. Methodist.
- Q. Had he been guilty of anything except that he was president of a Republican club?—A. We knew he was pronounced to be a good man, and was, I believe.
- Q. Did they shoot anybody else in your parish?—A. No; they shot him on his gallery; the moon shined very bright, and he knowed some of them, and he was in the act of calling their names when he was shot and killed instantly.
- Q. So far as we can get at it, from you, he was the president of a Re-

publican club and was shot by these men and instantly killed?—A. No, sir; I was president of the Republican club.

Q. I thought you said this minister was?—A. No; I said he was vice-president of the club.

Q. You said a moment ago that you did not hold any office?—A. To be president of a club, do you call that holding an office; I did not mean that was an office.

Q. Well, I understood you that you were chairman of the Republican committee?—A. Yes, I was chairman of the committee in 1872.

Q. But you were president of the Republican club in 1868?—A. Yes, sir; I was president of the club then.

Q. Now, we have got that; and we know what they did to the president of this Republican club.

Q. And who was vice-president?—A. The minister.

Q. Mr. Hayson, that was shot?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. We know now what they did with the president and the vice-president. What club were you president of?—A. I was president of the Republican club in the fifth ward of Natchitoches.

Q. And Mr. Hayson was vice-president of the same club, was he?—A. Yes, sir, he was.

Q. And he was shot?—A. Yes.

Q. What other man was taken out and shot?—A. That is the man I allude to, this minister.

Q. And he was not very "intelligent"?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not mention another man beside the minister and yourself that had been visited by these midnight robbers and assassins?—A. No, sir; no other one that I mentioned.

Q. Then all they did that year was to shoot the vice-president of the Republican club, and take the president of the club out and reason with him, blindfold him, steal his pocket-book and registration papers?—A. Yes, sir; that is what occurred.

Q. What did they do with other Republicans there?—A. Not anything that I know of.

Q. Did they not ride around the parish making calls?—A. Not as far as I know of, sir.

Q. How many of these riders were there?—A. Probably more than forty of them.

Q. Well, forty to fifty was your estimate; don't you know how many more were in that band?—A. No, sir; but nobody was disturbed throughout the parish.

Q. Didn't they ride around the parish threatening and intimidating the people?—A. That part I cannot say.

Q. Don't you know that that was understood by the negroes?—A. No, sir, in my parts.

Q. Don't you know that that was the reason why you did not vote for yourself?—A. No; I don't know that was the reason why I did not vote for myself; as I foretold you, my registration papers were taken in my purs.

Q. You don't know how many did vote that year in Natchitoches Parish?—A. No; I took no pride any more in it.

Q. I should think not; you took no pride in voting after that year when they led you out blindfolded and stole your pocket-book and registration papers?—A. I did take pride in politics after that.

Q. Was that the time when you became ashamed of the Republican party?—A. No, sir; it was the splitting in the party during the election of Governor Warmouth time.

Q. And you didn't cast your vote at that time because they stole your

istration papers?—A. I was not ashamed of it at that time, but I was ashamed of the action of the leaders since, because I sat in the convention to nominate Governor Kellogg; I was in that convention, and I was in the State convention to nominate delegates to Philadelphia which renominated President Grant. I took a bold part, but I was simply honest in it; and when I discovered that it required to be shifted about with the wind, and so much combination, and one thing or another, that I thought I was too old a man, and so withdrew from politics.

Q. Then you withdrew for another reason, not because you thought you ought to “do in Rome as Rome does”?—A. Yes, for another reason.

Q. Well, what was that?—A. I have foretold you what it was.

Q. You have given two reasons; one that when in Rome you must do as Rome does, and the other was the reason about shifting about with the wind; now what other reason had you?—A. That is when at home I thought I would do as Rome does, and I went along pretty well with the democrats.

Q. Well, was it “Rome” that took you out from your house at midnight and stole your pocket-book, &c.?—A. I don’t call that “Rome,” because it is not a general thing.

Q. Well, that seemed’ to be pretty general?—A. No; it simply happened there, and I haven’t known no other occasion.

Q. You have known no other occasion of the kind since that?—A. No; not in Natchitoches.

Q. Were there not troubles of this kind in Natchitoches Parish in 1858?—A. Not to my knowing.

Q. Were there not some men run out of the parish then, because they were Republicans?—A. I understood that citizens, I suppose, done it.

Q. White citizens?—A. I suppose so, of course.

Q. Did colored citizens generally run the leaders and others out of the parish at that time?—A. I cannot tell you. The Republicans had a meeting at the lower end of the suburbs of Natchitoches, and the Democrats held a nominating convention at the court-house, while I was simply in there to the blacksmith shop and got my plows fixed all right and went home. I paid no attention to it, and didn’t inquire into it.

Q. Didn’t you know that some time after that the leaders of the negroes, those that had been driven out by the “citizens,” as you call them, were hiding in the woods afraid to return to their homes?—A. Well, the reason of it was that a good many of them has been misled.

Q. I am asking you for the facts now; you can give your reasons afterwards?—A. I cannot state facts that I don’t know.

Q. Didn’t you hear about that?—A. O, I did hear, if you are speaking of that; I can tell you what I heard.

Q. Well, didn’t you hear that these negro leaders were hiding in the woods, not daring to come to their homes?—A. Well, there is a good many reasons why, as you are talking of hearsay. When they heard what had occurred, a good many rose in arms—

Q. A good many what?—A. Colored people to protect their leaders. Well, of course, to combat with that class of people, you understand, with an intelligent class of people, is pretty bad.

Q. The colored people were not strong enough?—A. Yes, sir; not strong enough; and something else was lacking.

Q. What was that?—A. Why, they lack over there means. They don’t have spunk enough, but no means whatever; because it would be quite strange for a colored man to have over at least a couple of hundred pounds of buckshot in the house, may be, to shoot a little venison, or so

on; but, for a man to buy six pounds of buckshot, why, everybody would wonder what use he would have for that. Consequently, it was foolishness for people to do it; and they got scared afterwards; and some, I suppose, too much talk, remarks, you know, sir, has excited the people.

Q. Were the white people armed?—A. I did not see.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Tell us what you heard.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Don't you know that the white people were armed?—A. In the town of Natchitoches you see country people coming into the town and it is a customary thing to find them armed.

Q. Both white and colored people?—A. Yes; coming in from the country you see them armed.

Q. Does the law allow them to carry arms?—A. The law don't allow them to carry arms secretly, and they carry them publicly. That is nothing strange to see a man armed; and nobody can tell what people will do when they are combined.

Q. But the colored people got very much frightened about it?—A. Some got frightened, but some went too far; they went to very great extremes.

Q. What do you call great extremes; arming themselves to defend their leaders; do you call that going to very great extremes?—A. For that class of people it was, sir.

Q. If they had the right to do it?—A. What is the use if a man has the right and can't appreciate it, and don't know how to defend it?

Q. Well, there isn't much use.—A. No; he'd better come away.

Q. I think so.

Redirect examination of witness by Mr. VANCE:

Q. Tell us something about that meeting. Mr. Windom never would let you fully explain it; how came the colored men to rise in arms, as you say they did?—A. Well, sir, a certain class of people there belonged to the Baptist denomination, and Blount was a Baptist preacher.

Q. Was he a white man or a black man?—A. He was a colored man, sir, and a preacher.

Q. Well?—A. When they heard that the people had risen against Blount, they would not tolerate their politics any more in the place they had made themselves become obnoxious to the people, and, consequently, there was a party came to release Blount, and they were met at the outer edge of town.

Q. Was Blount arrested or imprisoned?—A. He was simply arrested by the people, and not put in prison, but taken to the court-house.

Q. And the black people came to release him?—A. Yes, sir; they came to release him.

Q. Did they bring arms with them?—A. They had arms with them as I learned, otherwise they would not probably have gone so far.

Q. If they had not had arms they would not have done as they did?—A. No, sir; they would not.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. If they had not brought arms with them they would not have attempted to release Mr. Blount?—A. Well, you see they were excited, you know, sir; and they not knowing the nature of these things, I excused them through ignorance.

By Mr. VANCE :

Well, now, that was the cause of the riot; what was the cause of the arrest of Blount; what did the citizens take him up for?—A. Well, because he was a man that was very ambitious, though I must say that, through ignorance, he has been misled.

Well, suppose he was misled; what was he doing that made them to attack him?—A. Nothing more than remarks upon the people emptying the parish and going to such extremes.

What were these remarks?—A. Well, it became personal; I cannot collect what was said.

They were abusive of the white people?—A. Yes, sir; why the best white men we used to have in the Republican party took no notice—John R. Williams, once senator, Sam Parsons, and L. H. Burdick.

What did they do?—A. They simply withdrew from the party because they became disgusted.

Exactly. Didn't you have some trouble in that county that led to the opposition of the white people—your school fund stolen and a great many corrupt officials who were robbing the people?—A. That's what the matter was, the Republican party just beat itself in that way.

Exactly; and as a general thing throughout the State they had many defaulters?—A. Yes, sir; as a general thing they became defaulters throughout the State, and could not be trusted at all.

They robbed the people of their money?—A. Yes, of these school funds, sir, they did.

Yes.—A. And the citizens rose at one time, sir, and caused several of them to resign.

They demanded the resignation of these dishonest officials?—A. Yes, exactly so.

The people did this?—A. Yes; by the people, because the police commissioners—they were called at that time commissioners; there were five to govern the parish. Well, there would probably be three of them ignorant and two capable to conduct business, and simply they were controlled by leading parties, and they had gone to such extremes that the abuses became so enormous that the people rose in mass, and they organized a committee of seventy, and I, as a citizen, was at this meeting and was placed on this committee of seventy, and right then a good many of the Republicans took it for capital, and to excite the Republicans against me, and they said; "Don't you see, he is a Democrat; his name is on this committee of seventy," and there's where I lost a fine saddle mule.

You lost it?—A. Yes, sir.

Who took it?—A. It was taken out of the pasture, and drowned in the river.

Who did it?—A. I suspect my good friends in the neighborhood; this prejudice was raised against me.

They thought you were on that committee?—A. Yes; it was not true, but they thought it was.

It was not for political reasons, but simply because you acted on the committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Now, how much money did you lose in that pocket-book?—A. I lost about odd dollars in scrip and some little silver and greenbacks—I do not remember how much.

What was your mule worth that they drowned?—A. That mule I sold for one hundred and seventy-five dollars for.

Did the Republicans, then, stole more from you than the Democrats?

—A. C, that mule, if you cast it in that way, there was where I the most.

Q. You lost more by people of your own color, and Republicans, than you did by the others?—A. Exactly.

Q. The one took your pocket-book and registration papers, and other drowned your mule?—A. The biggest loss was the last.

Q. Exactly; and you cannot state who they were that did it?—A. Some of my good neighbors.

Q. Did you ever incur the enmity of the colored people, because you voted the State Democratic ticket?—A. No, sir; and during the time I was in the party I was in the Republican party, and the present leaders represent the Republican party now they were under the influence of Governor Warmoth, which was liberal; well, Governor Warmoth, I can certainly say I didn't blame him; I heard the remark about the corruption and ignorance of the colored people in his speech; he bought a whole lot of them to go with him.

Q. He bought them?—A. Yes, sir; and when they discovered that the Republican party was growing in the parish so strong that they were bound to defeat him, Mr. Myers despatched Blount to meet Governor Kellogg at Coushatta, Red River, to inform him not to go for Blount. They held a secret meeting in Mr. Myers's house; so much so, that a committee of reception could not find speakers when it was needed for him; that Attorney-General Fields said he didn't know whether he had one mile or five miles to walk. I was made president of the meeting that day, and I knew nothing of the combination of the meeting until when I introduced this gentleman to the people, Jim Lewis of New Orleans, a colored man, he rose and said his friend Mr. Blount wanted to make a few remarks; he simply got up and said he opposed Governor Kellogg for the reason he did not support the civil rights bill. After that we fought the matter, until finally the Friday evening previous to the election, when I saw the drift of things, I just dropped this right there. There was one or two of the candidates on the ticket who gave up to these fellows because they meant rule or ruin.

Q. Now let us come to the election of '78. This was in '72, wasn't it?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, come to '78?—A. Yes, to '78.

Q. Now, after this little skirmish in the town, was the election held that fall?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did the colored people in Natchitoches vote at that election?—A. Yes, sir; of course they did.

Q. And voted the Republican ticket?—A. Well, there was no Republican ticket, to my certain knowledge, at that time.

Q. No Republican ticket?—A. Not at that time.

Q. There was no State election, then; it was an election for members of Congress. Who was the Democratic member of Congress from this district; Mr. Hunt or Mr. Gibson?—A. No; that was not the name.

Q. Mr. Elam?—A. Yes; Elam.

Q. Did he have no opposition?—A. I disremember whether he had any opposition or not; there may have been, but I can't think just now. I have heard some name talked about as against him.

Q. Was not a man by the name of J. Madison Wells running against him?—A. O, yes; Madison Wells, from Alexandria.

Q. I don't know where he is from; I know where he is going to when he dies. He was the Republican candidate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did not the Republicans vote for him at that time?—A. That part I cannot tell you, as I never participated in it.

You heard the result of the election in your parish?—A. I know as considered bought.

He was bought, you say; but he got some votes?—A. Of course t some votes.

Did you go to the polls?—A. Perhaps I did, perhaps not; I can't I know sometimes I didn't vote, as there was plenty without me.

Supposing you voted; was there any trouble at the polls that fall? Nothing of the kind.

Was there any trouble at the last election, the election of 1879, Governor Wiltz was elected and the State officers?—A. No trouble, sir, in '79.

No trouble; no drowning of mules or taking of pocket-books?—ot that I know of.

Nothing of that sort?—A. There is a man here now, I see, in the f Washington, William Ward, that was generally known as Cap-Ward, that hailed from Louisiana, and he were round through the ry in favor of the governor previous, the ex-governor.

By Mr. WINDOM :

The Democratic governor?—A. Yes, sir; they all became dis-d, and used their exertions for the benefit of the Nicholls govern-—Jere Hall and others.

By Mr. BLAIR :

You spoke of a particular time when they became disgusted; when hat?—A. That was previous to the Nicholls administration, sir, the Republicans 'came disgusted.

At the time the Packard government went down and the Nicholls nment came into power?—A. Yes, sir; the people, you know, a many of them, became disgusted during the Kellogg administra-

VANCE. I think so.

e WITNESS. A good many that supported him, and I for one, sup-d Kellogg in the convention, but, of course, I was no office-seeker, ever had pronounced myself a politician, and I found the only use had for a man was simply for your influence, and that was simply the sum total of it, and I thought I was too old a man to sacrifice f in that way.

By Mr. BLAIR :

What is your age?—A. I was sixty-three last November; I was in 1816.

What is your business?—A. Farming, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN N. HICKS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 13, 1880.*

JOHN N. HICKS sworn and examined.

By Mr. VANCE:

Question. Where is your residence, Mr. Hicks?—Answer. In Shreve-La., sir.

What is your profession?—A. I am an attorney-at-law, sir.

How long have you been living at Shreveport?—A. Since June, ir.

Q. Where did you come from when you went to Shreveport? From Eastern Texas.

Q. Of what State are you a native?—A. I was born in the State of Texas, sir.

Q. What do you know of the causes of this exodus of colored people from your State, or of the situation of the colored people in Shreveport and the condition and relation of the two races there? Just state without further questioning, what you know about it.—A. Well, I scarcely know anything about it. I was at one time a member of the Republican club in Shreveport. Mr. Adams here was president of the club; I was only a member for a short while, however; I am an independent man.

Q. How long were you a member of that club?—A. About three weeks, I believe.

Q. Three weeks?—A. I think about that time, sir.

Q. How came you to leave it?—A. Well, I became disgusted at the way things were going on.

Q. When was that?—A. In 1876.

Q. What was it that disgusted you?—A. Well, the way they acted in the club; they were the most ignorant set of men I ever saw, without exception; they carried on ridiculously.

Q. Who composed the club?—A. Well, young men; five of us young men there joined, and five others joined at the same time, and they quit but two or three of us, I believe.

Q. Well, state if you know, whether there have been any disturbances between the races at Shreveport.—A. I have heard of some, but I have no particular knowledge of a single instance of the sort; I think I know the neighborhood there pretty well. I am in partnership with my father, and we have, I reckon, the largest practice among the colored people there, both criminal and civil, of any one in the vicinity. They frequently come to me for advice on different subjects, not altogether on law; and I always advise them what I think is best for them.

Q. Have you heard any of them speak of the exodus, or about going off to Kansas?—A. Yes; I have heard a good many of them speak of the exodus and about their people going.

Q. What reasons have they given for their going?—A. Some of them have said to me: "This place don't suit me; there is no chance here; don't you see, we can't vote?" "No, I don't"; I would reply, "You *can* vote." I will tell you what that comes from. I do not meddle much in politics; generally go to the polls and vote, and return. In 1876 one of the commissioners of elections came after me, and seemed to be considerable troubled to find the names on the poll-books, both white and colored. I am notary public, and I was sent for to go there and administer oaths to those who said they were registered, but whose names could not be found.

Q. Did the law allow that?—A. I never examined the election law; I did it, though.

Q. You made out affidavits of parties who said that their names had been registered, and should be there, but could not be found there?—A. Yes, sir; I did it; very few would do it.

Q. Was that the reason they gave why they could not vote, because their names could not be found on the register, although they had been registered there?—A. That is the only reason they gave me. They said they thought there was some swindling about it, their names not being found; but I could not see it in that light, from the fact that if they

ould take the oath they were permitted to vote. White men did it, as well as colored men.

Q. They were put to some little trouble about it, but they could vote, nevertheless?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you prepare that oath for any colored men?—A. Yes, sir; for some of them, I believe.

Q. Did they vote upon that oath?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there any other cause of trouble?—A. I saw no other, whatever. There was, I may state, one man who came to me. He said he had been badly treated by a man who lives out of the parish—a man whom I knew very well. He said he could not get a settlement with him; that he had been farming on his place, and he would not show him his account, but just told him it was so much, and gave him so much money, and said that was all that was coming to him.

Q. Did you bring a suit for him?—A. I told him I would do it if he insisted on it.

Q. Did he urge it?—A. He said he had no money. I told him that he would deposit five dollars with the clerk, as required by the law here, I would bring the suit for him.

Q. And have a settlement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you proceed in the matter?—A. No; he went away and never came back to see me about it.

Q. Did you investigate the matter any?—A. No, sir.

Q. Had you any reason to believe from what he said that he had been cheated?—A. No; he could not tell me anything that was of the nature of fact or evidence. He counted some few things over to me that he had got during the year, and made his account fall short some forty dollars; but he had kept no memorandum, and said he had not, but he just kept it in his head.

Q. From your observation as a lawyer down there, is it not a very common thing for a man who does not keep books, and who cannot read and write, to imagine that his account is wrong?—A. Yes, sir; nearly all ways.

Q. With both cases, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And sometimes with men who can read and write?—A. O, yes, sir; it is a very common thing.

Q. And especially a man's tobacco account is bigger than he thinks ought to be?—A. O, yes, sir; and his whisky account.

Q. Give us some idea, if you are acquainted with it, of the manner of working down there; of how the colored people rent and get their supplies, and how their products are sold, and so on.—A. Well, I am not very well acquainted with that—not familiar with it at all. My impression, however, is that they work in different ways; some work for wages, others work for shares in the crops. If the planter furnishes his teams, &c., of course he gets the greater proportion of the crop, and the hands get a less proportion. And sometimes the planter advances to the hands for supplies, and sometimes the merchants make the advances in matters not which or to whom, white or colored hands—and of course they charge considerably more for advances than they do for cash.

Q. If they advance on credit of the crop they charge more?—A. Yes, sir; for the risk, &c.

Q. What security do they have?—A. They take liens on the crop, and record them.

Q. You say this is universal, and applies to both white and black?—A. Yes, sir. Several years ago I was in what we call there the recor-

der's office—county clerk, perhaps, you call it in some States—and had a great deal of that kind of work to do—that is, drawing of these contracts, although it was more then with the whites than it was with the blacks; and several of the merchants have ruined themselves by it too. One of them, not long since, who was reputed to be very wealthy broke; he had a very large amount of claims out of that kind. If there is a failure of the crop, of course they cannot get anything out of which to meet these advances.

Q. Have you any race troubles or any troubles in your parish now or have you had lately, between the whites and the blacks?—A. I know of no instance, of my own knowledge; I have heard some rumors, but have no knowledge of any.

Q. If there had been any disturbance in your parish you would have heard of it, would you not?—A. I heard of a disturbance that happened at a place called Caledonia.

Q. When?—A. In '78, I reckon.

Q. What was that as you heard it?—A. I will tell you how I got the information. It was from the—I believe he was the—deputy sheriff named McNeil. When he came back he was wounded. I asked him how it occurred. He said it was reported that the negroes had arms there, and ammunition, and he and some others went to see about it and they were fired on, and one man was terribly shot in his face; he got well, however.

Q. Well, did they fire back; was anybody killed?—A. I don't remember whether he said anybody was killed or not, then; but there was a general row there, and it was reported that several were killed about that time, whether on that day or the next I do not remember.

Q. It was election day, was it?—A. Yes. We heard in town that there was considerable excitement down there, and I believe a party of men went down to assist the posse; I don't know it however; I was told so.

Q. How long did the disturbance last—any longer than the day of the election?—A. Yes, sir; till the next day.

Q. Until the next day?—A. And another party started down and it stopped, and there was no more trouble there; it ceased; and in our town we had no difficulty whatever.

Q. And that is the account you got from the deputy sheriff as to the way it began?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He went down there simply to see if the colored people had arms, and he and his party were fired on?—A. Yes, sir; that was about his statement of the matter.

Q. What was the politics of this deputy sheriff?—A. He was a Republican, sir.

Q. Was the sheriff of the parish a Republican, too?—A. No, sir; not the sheriff.

Q. Not?—A. O, yes, sir; I am mistaken, the sheriff at that time was a Republican, too.

Q. Did you ever hear anything afterwards that led you to believe that that was not a true account of the Caledonia affair, as the deputy sheriff gave it to you?—A. No, sir; I believe it was the true account.

Q. You believe it was a true account?—A. Yes, sir; I know the men very well.

Q. How are the colored people doing down there in your neighborhood now; are they accumulating some property and getting along?—A. Yes, sir; some of them are well to do; a good many of them.

Q. I mean as a class; are they advancing as a class; do you think?—A. I think they are, sir.

- Q. Accumulating some property?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Are they advancing in intelligence—taking advantage of their school privileges?—A. Yes, sir; I think they are. I think myself that they are doing excellently now.
- Q. As well as the whites there—the same class of white people?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.
- Q. And this improvement, you think, characterizes them as a class?—A. Well, if you take the better class of them and talk with them, they are doing very well; most of them are Republicans—at least they say they are—and they say they don't want to leave; there is just a few leaders of a certain class of them that are stirring up dissatisfaction.
- Q. Now there has been something said here in the course of this examination about peonage, and getting the colored men in debt to the white man, and keeping them always in debt, &c.; will you state what that homestead exemption and personal property exemption is in Louisiana?—A. It is two thousand dollars in the parish; I do not say it is that in the cities.
- Q. Two thousand dollars?—A. Well, not in the cities; town lots are exempt—only farming property.
- Q. Does the two thousand dollars include both real and personal property?—A. Both real and personal.
- Q. Have you had suits of that kind?—A. I have frequently been connected in them. For instance, a man would have a couple of horses, and would be brought out in debt at the end of the year and he would come and complain about it. I would tell him, "You don't need to trouble about that; the landlord cannot take them from you."
- Q. The creditor could not take it?—A. No, sir.
- Q. So that the colored man as well as the white man can accumulate two thousand dollars' worth of property in defiance of his creditor's claims, can he?—A. Yes, sir.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

- Q. How is that homestead exemption divided up as to real and personal property?—A. Under the old constitution he was allowed, for instance, two horses and a wagon, one hundred and sixty acres of land, so much corn, so much fodder, so much meat, and so on.
- Q. How is that not?—A. I have not examined it closely; I could not say, sir.
- Q. Have they changed the amount exempted?—A. No, sir; it is still two thousand dollars.
- Q. Is it not nearly all real estate that is exempt?—A. No, sir; it is not.
- Q. Under the new constitution the exemption in city lots, &c., is just the same?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. You have a homestead exemption now, just as before?—A. O, yes, sir; although I have not examined all its provisions.
- Q. Is it not usual when a colored renter makes a contract, to include his personal property as security for the rent?—A. Yes, sir; it is bound for the rent; everything on the place is bound for the rent.
- Q. So that if they draw these contracts, they come in ahead of the homestead exemption?—A. But that is on the crops. Do you mean for the crops, or for supplies?
- Q. I mean for everything.—A. Well, for the rent, everything is bound for the place, sir.
- Q. The bed, bedstead, wearing apparel, &c.; these are bound for the rent?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that if the crop fails, the negro under the contract would lose his personal property?—A. He might do it.

Q. So that the homestead exemption is, under the contract laws, rendered practically invalid and of no use?—A. For the rent it is; yes, sir.

Q. Is it not very seldom the case that the colored man owns the land?—A. O, no, sir; a good many of them own the land and work it.

Q. What proportion of them, do you think?—A. Well, I really cannot answer that accurately.

Q. I don't care for exact information; but can you not give me some information about it, that I may have an idea of what percentage of the colored population own land?—A. I suppose about one-tenth.

Q. Ten per cent., you think?—A. Yes, sir; there are a great many of them on government land there; they build their houses and clear the land and cultivate it.

Q. How long did you say you have resided in Shreveport?—A. Since June, 1866.

Q. Tell us a little more about that Caledonia affair, Mr. Hicks. You say that deputy sheriff went down there from Shreveport. What did he go down for?—A. He went in charge of the boxes, the ballot-boxes; I think he was sworn in for that purpose; he was not the regular deputy sheriff.

Q. He was sworn in for the purpose of distributing the ballot-boxes?—A. He had them in charge; he had to carry them there, and bring them back after the election.

Q. How did it happen that they shot him?—A. I don't know how they came to shoot him. He went there to investigate the matter about the people being armed; I don't know; it is the supposition that they thought probably they were coming there to take them away from the negroes.

Q. Don't you know that they tried to get into the negroes cabins to disarm them?—A. No, I don't know that.

Q. You don't know that it is not so, do you?—A. No, I do not know that, sir.

Q. You do not know any reason why the negroes' should shoot him without any provocation for their shooting, do you?—A. No, sir.

Q. You do not know of the circumstances that led to the shooting?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you not know that a large number of negroes was killed from two or three days after the shooting of this man?—A. No, sir; I have only heard that some were killed.

Q. How many negroes do you think were killed, from what you have heard of that transaction, at the time or since?—A. I do not think I have heard; let me see—that over eight or ten of them were killed.

Q. Were any white men ranging around there for some time after that, have you heard?—A. I don't know that there were, sir; it strikes me that it was the next day that the whole thing was stopped.

Q. White men went down from Shreveport to assist in stopping it?—A. I was told that.

Q. They went armed?—A. I suppose they did. It looks like it would have been very foolish to go without arms.

Q. You didn't hear of any other white men being hurt?—A. I don't believe I did.

Q. Did you ever hear of anybody being punished for shooting anybody there?—A. I know they carried some of the men down to New Orleans to be tried; but I don't believe they have been tried yet.

Q. Not punished?—A. They have not had a trial yet. I think they are under bond now.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Make that matter of the homestead exemption a little plainer, Mr. Hicks. Did I understand you that the claim for rent covers everything on the place?—A. Yes, sir; that is my understanding of it.

Q. In spite of the homestead exemption law that you referred to?—A. Yes, sir; so I understand.

Q. But as to supplies outside, the exemption can be pleaded?—A. Yes, sir; so I understand.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Can they get supplies without giving security?—A. No, sir; they get supplies by giving a lien on the crop, and it is a pledge—of the nature of a pledge—made so by the act of 1874, that is secondary to the landlords' lien.

Q. It is equal in some senses, but it does not cover as much, is that it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is not so broad?—A. No, sir.

Q. The landlord's lien covers the whole—the landlord's and tenant's interest?—A. Yes.

Q. It includes all the property on the leased premises?—A. Yes, sir; all the property on the place.

Q. Whatever that property may be—of whatever kind or description?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tell me, then, what is the merchant's lien; it covers simply the interest of the tenant in the prospective crop?—A. Yes, sir; that is my understanding of it.

Q. So that the merchant's lien is really secondary?—A. That is my idea of it.

That is all, Mr. Hicks.

Adjourned to April 14, 1880.

TESTIMONY OF DR. J. B. LAMB.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 14, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees, chairman, Vance, Windom, and Blair.

Dr. J. B. LAMB sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Doctor, you may state where you live.—Answer. I live in Parsons, Labette County, Kansas.

Q. How long have lived there?—A. I have lived in the city of Parsons since six years.

Q. And your profession—what is it?—A. Well, my present occupation is publishing a newspaper.

Q. The editor or publisher of what newspaper?—A. The Parsons Eclipse, sir.

Q. I believe that is a Democratic paper, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; the announcement that we make concerning the newspaper is that we are Independent Democrat.

Q. What railroads center at Parsons?—A. Well, there are three arms of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas; one coming down from Junction City, and continuing on to Denison, Tex.; then there is a branch that goes to Sedalia, Mo., and connects with Saint Louis.

Q. That makes it quite a railroad center?—A. And there is still another; a narrow-gauge that runs east—a little north of east. Yes, sir; Parsons is quite a railroad center.

Q. What is the population of your place?—A. I suppose it is about five thousand.

Q. You have about five thousand people there?—A. That is what I would estimate them at. I think the next census will show about five thousand, this spring.

Q. What proportion of that population is white and what proportion colored?—A. Well, before the exodus there was estimated to be about sixty-five negro votes when they were all out; that, on the ordinary basis, would make something over three hundred colored population.

Q. Has there been an influx at that point?—A. Of the exodus, do you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what extent, doctor?—A. How many, do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. Variously estimated at from fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred, which have been coming and going all winter, ever since last September, and they, of course, occupy the old rookeries and cheap places about town, and there ain't room for over seven or eight hundred or a thousand to get shelter at any one time.

Q. Will you repeat that, please?—A. The number that had landed and remained awhile through the winter and fall was estimated from fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred; but that there was no possible accommodation where they could get into houses or anything that resembled houses to exceed a thousand at one time if they had been coming and going.

Q. Where have they scattered out to?—A. Well, there is a few of them scattered out on Timber or Neosho River, and it is said some of them have gone into the country, and some to other towns; but, from the best information I can get, the most of those that have left there have gone back to the South.

Q. Have you talked with them much, doctor?—A. Well, when the exodus commenced last fall it was stated by the Republican papers of the State, as a general proposition, that the reason why they came there was to avoid murder and robbery, and every other species of abuse, which was being heaped upon them in the South.

Q. Yes; that was what they said they came for?—A. Of course I don't know whether that was a lie or not; but I believed it was, and as soon as they commenced arriving I commenced going right down among them, and inquiring what the reasons were that had brought them there, and what their condition was where they left, and what their condition was in the South; and I subjected them to very close examination in order to bring out the facts, as this was a matter of discussion between me and other newspaper men, and I wanted to know what the facts were in the case for my own gratification and for my own advantage, and I have kept up a steady inquisition, inquiring among these people as to what their condition was and what their immediate cause of coming to Kansas was. All through the fall and winter, at every opportunity, when I would meet any one, when I would come upon him, I would ply him with questions, and I don't know how better to convey the idea to this committee than to state as nearly verbatim as I can the answers given by a part of them, and then lump the whole of the balance together.

Q. Adopt your own method. I shall be glad to hear you.—A. Well, when they first landed I went down to the old dilapidated church build-

ing that the negroes use as a church that was stowed full of them. I wanted a man to work for me next day. It was Sunday evening, and I went down there to get him. They very courteously invited me in, and a very old colored gentleman there—I called him a gentleman because he had the appearance of being a gentleman—got up, gave me his chair, and invited me to sit down, and he commenced to entertain me in the regular old Virginia style. I told him after a little talk what my errand was, and he said he could supply me with a hand, and after a little more talk I turned to him and said: “Uncle, I suppose they treated you very badly down South there, didn’t they?” He turned and looked me right in the face and said: “Bless your soul, massa, nobody ever mistreated me in my life. I was raised in Virginia, and my old master taught me how to conduct myself; that people would respect me and would not abuse me if I conducted myself properly; and nobody ever as in my life abused me or mistreated me.” I thought that was a pretty broad statement in relation to how he got along in the world, and he had introduced a problem that I would consider in the future and see whether it was true or not. But in relation to what brought him to Kansas, he “thought, probably, the boys might do better there.” I thought that was his reason.

Q. Yes.—A. The next man, a very old colored man, who said he was seventy years old, came up into the office one day, sat down and went to crying. I said, “Uncle, what’s the matter?” He replied, “I tell you, massa, I am in a condition of great sufferance.” Sufferance was the old man’s word for suffering, I suppose. He said, “Yesterday I was thrown out o’ doors, and he and my old lady, we made up a bed to sleep outdoors last night; it commenced raining at midnight and rained hard the balance of the night.” And he told me the name of one of the neighbors down there, saying that “they let me take my bed into the stable, and I slept in there. And now,” he says, “I am out of house and home and friends, and everything else. I am in great sufferance, and the people of Parsons would do a good thing if they would only give me ten cents apiece all round and let me go back to my old plantation.” “Uncle, what was your condition down there that caused you to come up here?” “The Lord bless you, massa,” he said, “I was just as happy as a man could be, and just as well off.” “What brought you up here, then?” “O, they sent down circulars and letters exciting the negroes down there, telling us we just had to take hold of the trees and shake them and the dollars would come rattling down; and got the boys in the notion of coming; and finally the old woman got the notion of coming, and then there was no stopping. I never did want to come and I wants the means to go back just as quick as I can go back.”

Q. Did he ever go back?—A. He had not gone back when I came away.

“Well,” I says, “you seem to have got along with those men down here pretty well. You were a slave, I suppose?” “Yes.” “What kind of master had you?” “I tell you my ole massa was the best man the Lord ever made.”

Q. Where was he from?—A. I believe he said his master was from Texas.

Well, the next lot of men I will mention that I examined was a company of about five that I came on to, collected up on the sunny side of a building one cold day, and there was nobody around to interfere; for I always made it a point not to examine them when other people were around, and generally that they should not know who I was or what my business was. I thought I could come nearer getting a plain statement

of the facts. The first man I asked in relation to the matter—I put the question to him what his condition was down there; and he told me that he and his father owned one hundred and ninety acres of good cotton land; that they made thirty-five bales of cotton last year; that they had, I think, six head of mules and four head of horses and quite a stock of hogs and other cattle and stock. He said he made some corn; and made on the whole a crop that I estimated to be worth about two thousand dollars. I said to him: “Sir, I don’t believe any farmer in Labette County made that much money last year. What in the name of common sense brought you up here then,” I asked? Well, he didn’t like to say just what brought him. Said I, “Did they allow you to vote there?” “Yes, sir; I voted whenever I pleased at election.” “Did anybody interfere with you in marketing your crops?” “No, sir.” “Anybody rob you in anyway or shape?” “No, sir.” “Were you badly treated by your white neighbors?” “No, sir.” “Well,” said I, “It don’t appear that you had anything on earth to complain of in that place?” “No, sir.” “Well,” I repeated, “I would not give one hundred and ninety acres of cotton land for the best farm in this county; and my advice is for you to get back as soon as you can.”

The next man I talked to owned ninety acres, and he owned mules, and horses and stock; his circumstances were similar.

The next owned horses and stock; and all owned land, every one of them, and seemed to be men of good practical ability; and they did not seem to care what brought them there—any one of that crowd; but they all admitted that they had one grievance to complain of there.

Q. Had they sold their farms before they left?—A. No, sir; their farms were abandoned. I told them, “You have abandoned better and more profitable farms than we have in this county.”

Q. What became of these men of whom you speak?—A. They would not tell me why they would not go back; but we commenced talking about corn planting, and farming, and they just literally sneered at the idea of corn farming; and I gathered the idea that they would not take a corn farm if given to them. But I missed them. I suppose if you were to hunt for them on the farms you would find them there, for my advice to them was to get back as quick as they could.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Were these men out of money at the time you talked with them?—

A. I don’t think they stated to me whether they were out of money or not. If they did, I do not remember it. But on questioning these negroes I have been surprised that so large a number of them owned land, and did their own farming, and had their own stock, a great many more of them than I anticipated owned land, and there was ten times the amount of property among them that I had anticipated. Some of them that did not own land owned their stock, and were able to farm by renting the land.

Q. What proportion of those that landed in your place have gone back, in your judgment?—A. Well, I think that there is probably seven hundred remaining there. Now, from small circumstances, from hints and from what I know of their going back, and from what others have told me, I judge that very nearly all that have left Parsons have gone back, except a few that have scattered around the immediate neighborhood of Parsons.

Q. You think that two thousand or twenty-five hundred have landed there?—A. Yes, sir. I was going to make a continued statement of this thing clear through, if you have time to listen to me.

Q. O, yes.—A. The next man I examined was an old man sixty-five years old, he told me. He was evidently a pretty strong politician. He did not seem to like to answer me at first; he did not seem to want to talk about it. And I asked him his age, and where he lived, and then what his condition was there. He told me that he owned his own land and his own stock, and did his own farming, and said he took care of himself. He didn't bother nobody, and nobody didn't bother him; and he came to Kansas just because he had a right to go where he pleased. I said, "What have the colored people to complain of mostly down there; what is their greatest grievance?" "Well," he said, "I don't think they can get their just dues before the courts." I said, "Can you give me any circumstances—point to any case? Did you ever have a case in court?" He said, "I did. A white man borrowed two bales of cotton of me and would not pay it, and I sued him." I said, "Did you get beat?" "Yes; I got beat." "Well," I said, "how? What were the facts in the case?" "Well, the white man hired my negro witnesses to lie about it." "Well, if the testimony was against you certainly could not complain of the court and jury in that case." Although there was a general impression among them and believed that they could not get their just dues in court, I inquired carefully, and he was the only one of the lot that had had a case in court; and, as a rule, in asking whether they had got a case in court, they did not seem to have any reason to go into court, and from their own statements they never had had any reason to go into court.

Q. Did any of them detail to you any personal violence that they had suffered or inflicted upon themselves or had seen inflicted on others?—A. I did not come to that directly. The woman that I hired to work in the case—she was a very smart, bright mulatto woman, not more than one-fourth of negro blood, and an exceedingly capable woman—she came here complaining that she was very near ruined, suffering with cold and hunger since coming to Kansas. She said she had never been used to deprivations in her life; she had always had whatever she wanted, and did not know what hardship was, and said until she came to Kansas she had never had any trouble in the world; that she and her husband were getting on well; they did not own land, but stock, and had some money ahead when they came. They were able to cultivate rented land without getting in debt; they had some stock. And one thing that some complained of was that they thought they were cheated in their settlements; and I investigated them carefully on that; I asked her about it. She said she believed that they dealt honestly with them; she had no fault to find; they never did complain about their deal. She said there were some on the same plantation that were always complaining about it, and from what she knew about them she thought they were always ready to trade and never very ready or willing to work; and she did not have much confidence in the matter of their cheating. I asked her what brought her up there. She was a very smart woman—no education at all. She said it was these letters and papers from Governor St. John that had brought them and nothing else, for they would not have believed ordinary reports; but when the thing was recommended by the governor of the State she thought they were obliged to believe it, and had an idea they could better themselves by going. But, she said, they had ruined themselves, and she did not believe they would ever get to be as well off again as when they started; and she did not think they would ever get up to that point again. I did not say that much in relation to the detailed statements. Now I will state across that I talked with and examined a great number of these col-

ored men, and there was a pretty large class of them that would answer about like this: "Well, you are one of the Texas men, are you?" "Yeth sah, yeth sah." "I suppose they treated you very badly down there, didn't they?" "Yeth sah, yeth sah." "And would not let you vote?" "No sah; O, no sah, no sah, would not let me vote." "Followed you with shot-guns, and all that kind of thing?" "Yeth sah, yeth sah." "You could not live among them at all?" "No, sah, no, sah; could not live among them at all." "Now," I said, "I think you are the man I have been wanting; for I want a man that can give me a full account of all this bulldozing business. I want to know what it consists in. Now you answer my questions, just as I give them. Tell me all you know yourself; not what you hear. Did you ever vote down there?" "O, yeth sah, yeth sah; I voted." "Well, did anybody forbid your voting?" "No sah, O, no sah, nobody ever forbid me voting." "Was there any disturbance, anybody posted at the polls? Did you see anybody around with shot-guns?" "O, no sah, no sah; well they didn't let me do it jus' whar I were." "They didn't do it where you were?" "They let me vote there." "They let you vote did they? You say they would not let them vote?" "Well, jus' where I was—in other counties I hear about it." "They would not let them vote there?" "No sah they would not let them vote there." "Well, did anybody ever come to you and forbid your voting?" "No sah; O no no." "Did anybody ever follow you with a shot-gun? Were you ever taken out and whipped?" "O, no sah, no sah." "Were you ever abused in any way yourself, individually—were you ever abused in any way?" "No sah; no sah. Well, they didn't jus' do it right thar, but every year they did it; I hear about it." "You heard about it, then, yourself, personally, of your own knowledge, did not know anything about it?" "No sah; no sah I didn't know nothing about it. I never see nothing and didn't know, I jus' hear about it, but I know they done it, they said they done it—killed niggers, shot 'em every year thar." "Well, what county?" "I don't jus' remember what county it was, but they tole me about it." "Now come right down to facts. I want to ask you about the white man you worked for—the man you came from—the immediate place you came from when you came up here; would you be afraid to go back there for fear they would kill you?" "No sah, no sah; ole Massa Joe is the best man you ever saw; he wouldn't kill nobody." "He would not kill anybody. Well, as a matter of fact, were you afraid of the white men in that neighborhood?" "O, no sah, no sah." "They are good men, are they?" "O, yeth sah; good men, good men." "And you would not be afraid to go back at all?" "No sah, no sah; I would not be afraid to go back at all; not at all afraid." "Then these white men down there that bulldoze the negroes, and kill them and shoot them and all that, you are not acquainted with them?" "O, no; I just heard about them; not acquainted with them; don't know them." "You don't know them?" "I am not a bit afraid of the white men down there." "One more question: These stories about the bulldozer down there, do you believe them?" "Well, sah, I don't know." It appears pretty plain in the end that, as a matter of fact, he did not believe a word of it. I just give that as a sample of strict and close examination of a great many there—more than half; maybe a little more or a little less. If you go to them and ask them the question in general, "Do they abuse you down South; do they let you vote?" their reply is, "O, no, sir; they won't let us vote; they abuse us; we can't get along with them at all"; and when you bring them down to direct details of what they know about it, and all the facts in the case, they will give

you a story about like that I have told you. And, although I have been energetically at work among them to find out a solitary case of this bulldozing, as it is called among that population that may amount to twenty-five hundred, I think I have got facts enough to warrant me in saying it would be a representative opinion of the whole mass of them; and I will state here, upon oath, that according to the best of my ability, without any prejudice to anybody, that I have not been able to find a man that ever saw anything of it or knows anything about it whatever. I have not found a man that would be at all afraid, according to his own testimony, to go back where he came from; and in half the cases they told me that when they wanted to go back, they had only to write to them and they would send them money to go back with. "Well," they would say, "why don't you go?" Well, they did not just like to go, and very few of them would admit that they ever intended to go back at all; but our girl, Betty, explained that it was the understanding with the negroes that unless they told a pretty good story about this thing, and declared they never would go back if they died in Kansas, she said it was understood with them that they could not draw any of the old clothes that were being given out. And I found that my old negro man that was so badly distressed, the next day came back and declared that he intended to go back to visit Texas, but not to stay. He and his old lady were going down to visit their people, to see them, but he liked Kansas, and was going to stay there. Of course I knew what that meant. Now, this is in relation to what brought those negroes here—the almost unanimous reply in relation to these questions among them, if you will ask them when they first arrive, and when they first find out what their condition is—that it was these St. John letters and circulars that brought them there.

Q. Now describe these St. John letters and circulars.—A. I will tell you in relation to that what the Rev. Mr. Duncan told me. He is a Methodist minister, a colored man; probably the most intelligent colored man there. He had been engaged in this exodus business last summer, and he told me that about June, he thought, of last year, two white men from Topeka, loaded down with these circulars, were distributing them among the colored people—appeared in Texas, at Houston, I think, or near there, and commenced lecturing and speaking to the people and distributing these circulars. And his description of the circular was about like this: that it promised to the negroes one hundred and sixty acres of land and the teams and other things to cultivate it with; supplies for six months and some money, and some other valuable considerations which he was unable to describe, and were signed at the bottom "John P. St. John."

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Where does this man Duncan live?—A. In Parsons.

Q. What is his first name?—A. Rev. T. D. is the name he goes by.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Did you ever see any of these circulars yourself?—A. No, sir; I tried energetically to get them, but somebody told me there were some here; but the existence of those circulars down there, very near as Mr. Duncan described them to me, was proved by the balance of the population beyond the shadow of a doubt. This colored woman of mine told me she knew they were circulated down there, and she thought she could get one, and got pen and ink to write down there; she thought she could get one. She knew they were circulated there. I told the man I spoke of, who said it was the St. John circulars and letters,

“Why, St. John said he never did send any.” “O, but he lies; he send them; they were scattered all around there.” Mr. Duncan told me that about June they commenced circulating them there, and I noticed by the Republican papers of Kansas that just about that time, near as I could guess at it, they stated, “There would be an exodus from Texas this fall of the negroes that could not stand it any longer. As it went on along through the summer these papers were calling to mind the fact that there would be a pretty large exodus from Texas and along towards fall I think they had got their estimates as high as forty thousand. Now, when the Republican papers first commenced stating that there would be a negro exodus from Texas, according to the best information I could get from the negroes, there were no negroes at all had any anticipation of coming to Kansas, and I don’t know any more they had of knowing there would be an exodus, except that they intended to get one up. Mr. Duncan told me he worked in this negro exodus until the first large arrival in Kansas came on; and almost simultaneously with the largest arrival that came there, when the town was literally full of them, and the thing was in very bad odor among the people generally, without regard to politics, Mr. St. John came there to deliver a temperance lecture in the hall. I went up and looked on, I did not go in. It was pretty densely packed with colored people, and I understood from them that they went up there expecting that St. John would make the arrangements about that farm and those mules and that money that they had come there for, and that when they got there Governor St. John openly, before the people generally, stated that he had discouraged the thing all he could. Mr. Duncan told me that he was at a meeting of colored men exclusively in which St. John made some remarks that were exactly contrary to that, and he said he had the best colored men in Parsons to prove it by. He said St. John’s statement entirely different from what he stated to the people openly—that he had discouraged the exodus.

Now, Mr. Duncan stated that when this large arrival came, and the men engaged there that had been favoring it perceived that it was exceedingly unpopular with the people, that then they just shoved the whole responsibility of it on to him. They trumped up some charges against him, arrested him, and sent him to jail.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Who.—A. Duncan, preacher as he was; they held him ten days in jail and he could not get a Republican to bail him out. And he said some leading one came to him and told him if he would give them five dollars they would get him clear.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What did they charge him with that they put him in jail?—A. Duncan had been in Texas and had been operating as agent in forwarding the goods of some of these men that came up; and they accused him of some dishonesty in relation to it. Duncan was in jail and laid there and had a trial and was acquitted. Now, how much he was guilty of I don’t know, but in regard to the statements that he made, I believed them, simply because it was the exact opinion I had of it.

Q. He stood trial and was acquitted?—A. Yes.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. But in his statement he attributed falsehood to Governor St. John and that you believe anyway?—A. I do.

Q. I think we had better call Governor St. John here, as he is lying under this accusation.

The CHAIRMAN. He is better off than many in New Hampshire and Virginia. He has been tried and acquitted.

Mr. BLAIR. The witness himself talks as though he was not quite so sure that Duncan was not guilty.

The WITNESS. I know that Governor St. John—about the time that the first negroes landed in Kansas, the State officers of Kansas, including him—the whole of them formed themselves into a board, and I don't just remember what was it they called that—the Freedmen's Relief Association, for the relief of the freedmen; and they issued a circular. I think the purport of it was about like this: that these people were there helpless under their charge and were still coming, and that they deplored the matter, and that their ill-treatment in the South had compelled them to flee from that country in self protection. I think that is about the statement he made. Now this committee had subcommittees scattered around throughout the State of Kansas in different parts; they were the State officers, and the fact that I wish to call your attention to is that they had stated that these negroes came to Kansas of their own accord because they had been so badly treated in the country they came from that they could not live there; that they had fled for their life. I am satisfied that was the purport and meaning of the statements they made, and the Republican papers throughout the State adopted it and stated it to the people of Kansas as the reason why the negroes of the South had come to Kansas; and that stood among them as their excuse for coming to Kansas.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Let me see if I understand you. You say after the negroes came they formed a charitable organization there and issued an address calling for charity, and stated as among the reasons why these people were there, that they were suffering abuse at the South—and what do you say further?—A. I say the Republican papers of the State took that up as a standard doctrine on the matter; and that was what I wanted to find out; how much truth there was about it. I wanted to see if that was true or not, because that is a terrible accusation against the white people of the South, if you will only stop to consider it—it is a terrible accusation—and I believed that there were some facts connected with it, and that there must, as a matter of course, be something to base it upon.

Q. Well, ultimately, you came to the conclusion that there was not?

A. I was going to state to you that, having examined carefully those negroes that have arrived in Parsons, and gathered all the testimony that I could find upon the subject, that, so far as the negroes in Texas were concerned, there is not one particle or scintilla of truth in the statement whatever. It is an infamous falsehood; that's what it is. I stated to the secretary—

Mr. VANCE. You mean that the falsehood consists in the fact that they were unable to live down there on account of bad treatment?

The WITNESS. That they were murdered, robbed, ill-treated in every possible way. Now that goes as standard doctrine in Kansas; I know the doctrine, and I get thirty or forty Republican papers all the time, I think. Now, I state from careful examination of these people, extending over a space of six months, and taking their own statements for it, that there is not one scintilla of truth in it. There is nothing at all to found it on, and I cannot find a solitary man to substantiate it on, not one. And so far as the reasons of their coming here are concerned,

I do accuse Governor St. John and that committee of getting up the circulars and working up that exodus of their own free will and acco

Mr. WINDOM. You do that under oath ?

The WITNESS. I do. And I told the secretary of that committee, la night, if they denied the fact and wanted me to prove it, I was satisfie with the knowledge I had in my possession, that I could prove it a could do it easily.

Mr. WINDOM. I would like you to prove it now.

Mr. VANCE. Let him give his statement-in-chief.

The WITNESS. I have stated the proof I have ; that these men all to me that the papers and recommendations about Kansas that they receive and on which they based their reliance were signed with St. John name. Now, this testimony they have given me to a very large exte Latterly, some of them, when asked, would not seem to be quite so clea they would remember something about papers, but could not recolle the names on them, and there was an abundance that did profess know and know positively. Now, I knew through the summer it w the standard report that such papers purporting to come from St. Jo were circulated through Texas among the negroes. I heard of it lo before the exodus began ; and if Governor St. John had intended to d claim that and wanted to set the negro population of Texas right on t record, he could have written forty lines to any Texas paper in relati to that, stating that he had issued no such papers, and that no su facts were true ; that the negroes could not get any such thing in Ka sas, and just asking the Texas papers to copy that, and carry the i formation over the country, and it would have flopped the whole thi in a minute.

Mr. VANCE. He could not publish it in a Kansas paper ?

The WITNESS, Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Let me ask you if I understand the portion of your testimony reference to the charge that this exodus was worked up in Kansas. I u derstand you to say that from the time when the negroes in Tex began to talk of coming, to the time when these newspapers in Kans began to publish reports and predictions that there would be a ve heavy exodus that fall, that you judged that they had no means knowing there would be an exodus, except as the result of their ow efforts ?—A. Taking the testimony of the Texas immigrants that hav come—taking their testimony and at the time when they first began say there would be a Texas immigration there, there was no negro po pulation in Texas that had any intention of coming to Kansas.

Q. At the time they first predicted this exodus ?—A. At the tin they first began to talk about it ; and they had no earthly means knowing there would be any exodus, except that they knew they i tended to work one up.

Q. Is there any other matter you want to state in your examinatio in chief ?—A. Well, I will state that from the number of men that have talked with and their admissions upon the subject, it seems to almost unanimously admitted by them that in relation to coming t Kansas they were lied to and deceived, and that somebody did it wil fully and intentionally. There ain't any of them that have judgment i relation to business at all, that pretend they could do better in Kansa than in Texas. I have not seen one of them, I don't think a man o them, I have stated under oath, that made any pretension that he coul do better in Kansas than in Texas ; and they would not have come t

nsas had not these statements been made to them; and they have
n made to believe a matter that was a gross falsehood.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR :

- Q. Where were you born?—A. State of Maine, and raised there.
- Q. How long have you lived in Kansas?—A. About fourteen years.
- Q. All the while at Parsons?—A. I lived all the while in that neigh-
hood. I lived at Osage Mission, fourteen miles from Parsons.
- Q. How far is Parsons from the Texas line?—A. The Texas line?
- Q. O, rather the Indian Territory line?—A. Twenty-five miles.
- Q. Which part of Kansas—Eastern, Western, or Central?—A. La-
te County is in the second tier of counties, the extreme county south,
l the extreme county east, except one.
- Q. In the southeast corner of Kansas, within twenty-five miles of the
ian Territory?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. You have lived there pretty much all the time?—A. Six years;
balance of the time at Osage Mission, fourteen miles west.
- Q. You know that country pretty thoroughly, don't you?—A. Yes.
- Q. Have you ever been in Texas?—A. No.
- Q. Or Indian Territory?—A. Yes.
- Q. How far south?—A. I have been to Fort Gibson.
- Q. How far south is that?—A. About one hundred miles.
- Q. How many times have you been to Fort Gibson?—A. Never but
e.
- Q. How long did you stay there?—A. I believe I stayed two days or
out that long.
- Q. How long ago?—A. Seven or eight years ago.
- Q. Have you been in Kansas all the time since?—A. O, I have been
of the State once or twice, to Chicago and Saint Louis.
- Q. Did you make any particular stop?—A. No.
- Q. Your residence, then, has been in the State of Kansas?—A. Yes,
- Q. You call yourself an independent Democrat?—A. Yes; I am an
ependent Democrat.
- Q. Not strong enough to be called a Democrat pure and simple, but
ttle independent—rather high-toned; you are neither Republican nor
mocrat, but one of those men who occupy a medium position, a little
of from each and a little holier than either?—A. No, sir; I mean to
I am in perfect accord with the Democratic party on most all im-
tant political questions.
- Q. What?—A. Yes; most of them; and if they put any candidates
ore me that I know are unworthy of support, I won't support them.
- Q. How many Democratic candidates have you refused to support
ile you have been an independent Democrat in that part of Kansas?
- A. Well, some of them I have not voted for, sir.
- Q. The point is, you give us your status as an independent Democrat;
t you are without prejudice, without guile in this matter; and you
an to give us the impression that your opinion and judgment are
racterized by extreme fairness and impartiality—more so than if you
re a Republican or Democrat purely.—A. That is what you say. I
s an old-time Abolitionist and Republican.
- Q. You are not much of an Abolitionist now?—A. The same as I
ays was.
- Q. But an independent Democrat?
- Mr. VANCE. He said he was a Republican, and you stopped him just
he was about to explain.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; I voted for Abraham Lincoln, in a slave State, too.

Q. That was some time ago—more than fourteen years ago?—A. Yes; that was before the war.

Q. Did you vote for him during the war?—A. No; I did not vote for him during the war.

Q. You never were in Texas, it seems, then?—A. No, sir.

Q. How do you know outrages or abuses of colored people were not permitted?—A. I have not pretended to know.

Q. I think you stated the whole thing was a sham and a humbug, that it had no existence?—A. I stated what these men told me.

Q. Did you not mean the thing was a sham and pretext, and that the outrage or abuse of colored people in the State of Texas, has been known?—A. I stated what I founded my opinion on.

Q. I ask you if you did not state as a fact that that was the conclusion you had come to?—A. Yes; that was the conclusion I had come to.

Q. You go further, and say there was no talk of the exodus, and no dissatisfaction in Texas out of which the exodus grew, until the circulation of certain documents—the St. John letters and circulars?—A. That seems to be evidence in the case, so far as I could get at it.

Q. You don't pretend to know except from such information as you got from the negroes?—A. That is the information they gave me; and that is what I rely upon.

Q. That is what you rely upon entirely?—A. That is the evidence I am giving here.

Q. O, you don't mean to express your personal opinion, but you are simply reflecting the current of talk with these colored people in the inquisitions, as you call them? I ask you if you designed to be understood as expressing an opinion of your own or only giving us the benefit of the conversations you had with these colored people?—A. Let me state my particular understanding in relation to that.

Q. You do not understand my question.—A. I will give it to you.

Q. We don't want to discuss; we want you to answer the question.—A. Please state the question again.

Q. I want to know whether you wish to be understood as giving facts and opinions of your own, or as simply reflecting to us the conversation you had with these colored people?—A. I reflect to you the conversation I have had with the colored people, and opinions as derived from them.

Q. You don't mean to put in as fact these grievances and irritations with which you undertook to relate the conversation of these colored people?—A. I aimed to give you an exact daguerreotype of what I saw, as near as possible.

Q. Exactly; but this performance you went through with, giving the lingo, and accent, and the like of the negro, that was not the statement of any particular negro, was it, or the manner of any one particular negro?—A. I gave you that as a stereotype examination of a good many cases that did not occur, all of them, exactly in those words, but were very similar.

Q. Did they put their fingers to their heads in this way, as you have done? I noticed you portrayed the manner in which they express an idea by the tapping of the head and lisp of the negro, and all that did you mean that as a perfect imitation?—A. Tapping the head! I don't remember about that.

Q. You put it in as part of your testimony?—A. I guess I tapped my own head accidentally.

Q. I took it that you were representing the negro.—A. I did not intend it so.

Q. At the same time you accompanied it with the negro method of enunciation, very much like what we often see in the performance of minstrels. That is something put on in your own way, to set off and to give a dramatic effect to your testimony, is it?—A. I aimed in that to give you an exact daguerreotype picture, as near as I could do it.

Q. A picture—a sort of — of the thing as it was?—A. Yes, for that would convey an accurate idea, I think, that is very near exact.

Q. Now, these colored people began by telling you that they were outraged and abused down there, did they not?—A. On the general charges they would nearly always sustain them all.

Q. Did they ever back out of the general charges that were the common report through the State there, that they were in some way deprived of the ballot through intimidation, force, or false count—did they ever back out?—A. They had no general statement.

Q. And they all adhered to that, even when they said they had not been robbed of the ballot themselves?—A. Some of them said they had heard of it, but most of them in Kansas as soon as they got there.

Q. They never heard of it before they started?—A. Never in their lives.

Q. Then they did not give the existence of such a report in Texas as the reason they had left?—A. No.

Q. But it was something they learned in Kansas?—A. I never had the man give that as his reason for coming to Kansas of all the men I asked this winter.

Q. Have you never known one to give that as his reason why he came to Kansas?—A. Not one gave that as a reason why he came to Kansas.

Q. Have you ever heard any one give the existence of such a report as the reason why he came there?—A. No, sir.

Q. But all say that there was a general impression among the colored people that they were being abused or injured?—A. They did not even say that.

Q. Or rumors of it?—A. They had heard of it.

Q. How many have you examined?—A. Perhaps I talked with and examined more than this committee has.

Q. We have examined, I suppose, one hundred and fifty. You have talked with one hundred and fifty?—A. I have been engaged in finding them out and plying them with questions.

Q. And this is the result of the examination you made? They began to complain of general abuse, and you questioned them down specifically, and none of them knew anything about it, personally?—A. I stated that that would cover about half of them; I think about one-half did not lay any claim whatever that they left Texas on account of abuse.

Q. Or any reported abuse?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. O, yes; came up with the idea of bettering themselves in Kansas?—A. Simply because they thought they had such evidence that they could trust in that they could better their condition in Kansas.

Q. And that evidence was exclusively the letter and circular of St. John?—A. Most all referred to the St. John circulars.

Q. You stated at the time the exodus started there were no causes inducing these colored people in Texas to make the exodus, and no exodus was thought of?—A. According to their own statement.

Q. O, I thought you made this as a sworn charge against Governor St. John?—A. Yes; according to the statement of these men I saw.

Q. O, yes! You put it entirely upon that. You say you had no per-

sonal knowledge yourself?—A. Of course not; I never pretended to have any.

Q. You know nothing of the status of the thing in Texas, only that you fished it out of these blacks, of whom you say more than one-half have gone back again?—A. That is my opinion.

Q. And have told this double story upon themselves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you stated to us that Governor St. John disavowed the authorship of any of these letters or circulars?—A. Yes, sir; I think he does.

Q. Have you any reason to disbelieve him?—A. Yes, sir; I have. I don't pretend to say that St. John issued that circular or signed it; but I say that it issued from that headquarters there. I am satisfied that it issued from that headquarters, and that he knew it was issued.

Q. Is not that issuing it?—A. You can construe it that way if you please.

Q. Did not you mean to be so understood?—A. You can so construe it.

Q. Do you mean to avoid the responsibility of the direct charge you make here by saying he got somebody to do it?—A. I do not aim to avoid any responsibility at all. I charged Governor St. John with it and the leading Republicans of Kansas with having lied to the negroes and then lied to the people of Kansas about the exodus, willfully, intentionally, and knowingly.

Q. You charge it yourself, personally?—A. Yes, sir; and based upon good reasons.

Q. In other words, you charge Governor St. John with falsehood when he declares that he did not issue any such circulars or letters as you have described here; and when he disavows that authorship you charge him with falsehood?—A. I do, and believe I can prove it.

Q. And you charge the Republican party and the administration of Kansas with getting up, through means you have described, this exodus from the State of Texas to Kansas, do you?—A. Yes, sir; I do distinctly charge them with it.

Q. Well, that is what I understood you to do in the first place?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, have you any evidence of it whatever, except such as you have given?—A. Well, I think I have given pretty near enough.

Q. You think you have substantiated the charge, do you?—A. I have given enough, I think; but think I could produce a good deal more evidence if called into court and required to do it. It would not be at all astonishing if you got more evidence here before you get through.

Q. I don't know what evidence will come here. Do you know of any other evidence in support of the charges you have made, excepting what you have given here?—A. Well, I have nothing only the evidence of these people and my belief in the evidence they can produce, or that can be brought from that country.

Q. It has not been brought to your knowledge?—A. No, sir; I have never seen any of those circulars.

Q. Suppose one of those circulars was produced here to day, how would you know it had ever been in Texas?—A. I have never seen the circular.

Q. You would not know whether it had ever been in Texas?—A. I would not know.

Q. And you have never seen one of them?—A. I have never seen one.

Q. You don't know the contents of it?—A. I have abundance of secondary evidence.

Q. What secondary evidence?—A. These people told me they had seen the papers.

Q. They have not told you that they have seen papers that have come from Texas?—A. I have told you Mr. Duncan is a minister; is that not proof enough he is right?

Mr. VANCE. A colored minister at that.—A. He told me colored men came down there and first started it, when there was no talk of an exodus in Texas.

Q. Do you know anything about that minister?—A. He has lived here a year.

Q. Don't you know that in the adjustment he paid back the six hundred dollars of the funds of these people?—A. I don't know anything about it.

Q. And you assume that because he is a clergyman he was all right?

A. Just as much as I have a right to assume from a man's position.

Q. If it turned out that this man was dishonest in squandering and eating the colored people of Texas, and lied to you, you would feel possibly mistaken about the same testimony about the circulars?—A. Perhaps if he had been the only man that testified about it I might.

Q. You quote him as your chief reliance?—A. No, I have better witnesses than he is.

Q. You take him and them on one story?—A. Yes.

Q. They saw the circulars in Texas, did they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Governor St. John and others knew about the circulars, for they got them up, and they disclaim any knowledge of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they were falsehoods on their face, were they not?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, how, from the testimony of these people to you, do you know the authorship of these circulars was with Governor St. John and his friends?—A. I have told you where I traced the authorship to.

Q. I do not understand that you have told us anything of its authorship.—A. To that committee and St. John.

Q. These people told you they knew of circulars in existence in Texas—printed circulars?—A. O, yes, purporting to be signed by Governor St. John.

Q. Yes, and they believed in them, because they appeared to be signed by the governor of the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these were transparent falsehoods——

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. They contained transparent falsehoods?—A. Yes.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. That is all these people said to you; that they saw the falsehoods in circulation in the State of Texas; that is what they said to you?—A. That they were circulated generally all through there?

Q. Yes; a wide general circulation, they say, of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, that is all they told you, is it? Did they tell you where these circulars came from?—A. Yes; I told you they told me.

Q. Mind my question. Did they tell you that they knew where the circulars came from?—A. Yes, sir; they knew where the circulars came from direct. The negro politicians were circulating them around; and I told you, Mr. Duncan told me that two men from Topeka came down and started the thing.

Q. Were they negro politicians from Topeka?—A. No; white men, so said.

Q. Did he give you their names; we could find them; but he did not remember them just then.

Q. You had no further knowledge of these two men?—A. No.

Q. Your only knowledge is what this minister said?—A. That is all.

Q. You have no other evidence that these two men circulated the documents in Texas?—A. No other on that point.

Q. Don't you think that a trifle weak as testimony?—A. It might possibly be so.

Q. You would not want to charge a public official with falsehood and breach of public trust on such testimony as that, would you?—A. I should not charge it, though I might believe it.

Q. You might believe it, but it would be as well to keep your belief to yourself unless you could prove the charges against the man?—A. In court.

Q. You are stating the fact; if you were swearing to a suspicion, you might state it differently, might you not?—A. I am not swearing to anything but what I know.

Q. Well, do you think you know that Governor St. John did it?—A. I am satisfied he did issue them, and knew all about it.

Q. Now, take your testimony: The negro told you that two men came down from Topeka with these circulars, that were false on the face of them?—A. Yes.

Q. Does that connect Governor St. John with them?—A. No; not certainly.

Q. If the two men started at Topeka, they must have known the circulars were falsehoods?—A. They probably did.

Q. Do you think Governor St. John would have issued such circulars and placed them in the hands of these men for political or other purposes?—A. I have no right to think.

Q. Have you a right, then, to make such charges in your testimony from what you heard?—A. I believe they were issued from headquarters with Governor St. John's knowledge.

Q. And you have stated all your reasons for knowing that he knew anything about it?—A. Yes; I have stated the reasons in the main.

Q. Is he known in Kansas as a liar and a complete fool besides, to tell a lie of that sort?—A. I will tell you in relation to these Kansas politicians—

Q. I am not asking about any but just Governor St. John.—A. I am not personally acquainted with his private character.

Q. You are not?—A. He lives some eighty or one hundred miles from me. I simply know him as a politician.

Q. You simply know him as a politician, and your rule is to separate the character of the man from his character as a politician?—A. I have as a rule, to do that.

Q. You think a man in Kansas will lie about politics, when he will not about other matters?—A. He undoubtedly will.

Q. As an independent Democrat, would you do it? (Laughter.)—A. My understanding is, that I am not obliged to implicate myself.

Q. You need not answer the question, since you decline on that ground. You are at liberty to avail yourself of that defense?—A. Nobody knows what he might do under certain circumstances.

Q. On a moment's reflection, you might say what you have done under certain circumstances, but you cannot tell what you might do as a Democrat?—A. Kansas politicians will say they let the Republican politicians have the undivided vote on a single question there, and they

ve got to talking too much there; and if what they say is true, they e the most outrageous set of scamps ever lived in our country.

Q. Do you think it true?—A. For the first time in my life, I believe ery word they say.

Q. About each other?—A. Yes.

Q. They ought to be good authority about regular Democrats—I don't ean independents.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Do you know where these circulars were printed?—A. The first at I saw them was pretty early last season, in the summer. This evi- nce in relation to them, from the Rev. Mr. Duncan, takes them back about June, and along through the summer, generally. I used to ar a word or two—I do not know, maybe from Democratic, maybe m Republican papers, and maybe by word of mouth—I could not say ere I heard it, that such circulars were circulated in Texas.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. But you believed it?—A. Yes, sir; of course I did.

Q. And that the contents were just what the Rev. Mr. Duncan said ey were—false; and that Governor St. John issued them?—A. Yes; ued at that headquarters there.

Q. You met a certain flock of these colored people who did not seem elined to answer your questions; how many in that body of men who ight shy of your inquisition, and you could not get much out of them?

A. That was, in answering certain questions.

Q. What questions would they talk with you about?—A. About the ndition of their neighborhoods, and their condition as it existed among mselves and the white people.

Q. They would tell you about that, would they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. On your direct testimony did not you say they would not talk th you about such questions?—A. I told you all they said about it. old you in answer to the question as to what brought them to Kan- s, they either did not seem to know exactly, or else did not care to l.

Q. But they were sensible, bright fellows, were they not?—A. Yes, ; I took them to be very smart men for colored men.

Q. But they would not give a reason for coming? Don't you sup- se they were just a trifle suspicious of you as an independent Demo- at, and put you to one side with the idea that they would not talk th you?—A. They did not seem to be.

Q. Well, can you think of any reason why they would not tell you of e cause of their coming?—A. I can very easily think of one.

Q. Let us hear it.—A. Well, they had been gulled, fooled, made ses of, and did not care to acknowledge it.

Q. Not before an independent Democrat?—A. It looked to me to be very reasonable excuse.

Q. Did any of them tell you on the sly that that was the reason they ould not talk to you?—A. Which reason?

Q. Could not you get into the confidence of anybody so that he would n that they were fooled?—A. It is almost universally admitted. I n't know that any one denies it.

Q. I am speaking about that bright lot who told you how they were; d yet, you say, they tried to conceal the fact that they had been fooled newhat.—A. I did not say they tried to conceal it. I said in answer the question what they came for, they did not seem to know, or else d not care to give any particular reason.

Q. Did you ask them whether they did not come on account of the St. John circular?—A. I don't remember.

Q. You spoke of circulars as the cause of these people emigrating?—Yes, I spoke of circulars as the cause of their emigrating.

Q. Is not your mind rather ready, prolific, suggestive? Did it not occur to you to ask them if they had not come on account of these circulars?—A. Possibly I may have done so.

Q. Don't you remember exactly?—A. I cannot.

Q. Now, here is a body of very intelligent colored people, and they cease to be communicative at a certain point, while on all others they seemed to be communicative. I should have thought this point would have made an impression on your mind, and you would have brought yourself squarely to question them, and that you would have asked them if they had not been fooled by these letters of Governor St. John.—A. I cannot remember that I asked them; I may have done so, but do not specifically remember to have done so.

Q. You must have made a very superficial examination of that party then.—A. No; there were four or five of them, you will understand and as a matter of course I did not examine them by asking each one as many questions as I would have asked a single one.

Q. Were they all in hearing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Generally a party of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There are forty people in this room, perhaps; can they all hear what is going on?—A. Yes.

Q. All these colored people heard all your questions?—A. Yes.

Q. And you heard their answers?—A. Yes.

Q. Your talk was neutral?—A. It was and became loud, too.

Q. Don't you think you did ask them?—A. For a fact I don't believe I did. I did not ask that question in all cases.

Q. But in this case I should have thought you would particularly. You were determined to find out if there were abuses in Texas?—A. That is what I was hunting for.

Q. And when you came to interview a little party and do not ask them the main question if Governor St. John had not fooled them?—A. I may have made a mistake; but I don't remember asking them.

Q. These people were comfortably well to do?—A. According to their statements they were well off.

Q. Do you know their politics?—A. I did not ask them, but took for granted they were Republicans.

Q. Most of these people from Texas are Republicans, are they not?—A. They hardly ever talked politics.

Q. What is your opinion—your suspicion?—A. My suspicion is that the negro is generally a Republican.

Q. Well, I have a faint suspicion of that kind too.—A. Generally a Republican.

Q. That is about as definite as you can make answers with regard to politics?—A. Yes, sir; I did not examine them in relation to that.

Q. Do you suppose they got the impression in any way that you were an independent Democrat?—A. I always made it a point in questioning negroes to get them as soon as possible after arriving there, and to come down upon them when they did not know who I was or what my business was or anything about me.

Q. A sort of God-send they did not anticipate?—A. You said that; I did not say that.

Q. What was your reason for that; your extreme anxiety for the truth, pure and simple?—A. I know the nature of the colored man very

Q. How did you find that out by the way; you are a Northern man?—
I have lived in Kansas and been in Chicago and Saint Louis; I have
had a good deal of acquaintance with colored men.

Q. Yes, that you found in Kansas?—A. I was four years in the South
in the Army.

Q. Exactly.—A. And was in the midst of negroes all the time, most.

Q. Could you not safely say that he is a Republican as a rule; not
merely that you have suspicions of it?—A. No, I could not safely say
that; I would not run the risk of saying that every negro is a Republican,
because they are not. Once in a while there are Democratic negroes;
I have seen a few.

Mr. VANCE. You asked him why he approached the negroes without
letting them know who he was.

Mr. BLAIR. I understand he did that in the interest of truth.

The WITNESS. I thought—I do not say I know—I thought they were
leading Republican politicians in Parsons, there; that if it should come
to their ears and they were to know I was making these examinations, they
would put the negroes on their guard not to tell me about it. There
might not have been such men there, but there might have been.

Q. You have no such evidence of that as would justify you in saying
that?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't mean that the negroes are trained to lie by the Repub-
lican politicians of Parsons to give false testimony as to the state of
things where they came from? How do you want me to understand it
that I believe that the Republicans of Parsons would not advise them
to give false testimony?—A. You can express yourself on that as you
please and as far as you please.

Mr. VANCE. It is not a question of falsehood; he believed they would
warn them not to talk with him.

Mr. BLAIR. My question was, did they train the negroes to give you
false testimony as to the condition of affairs in Texas?—A. I think I
justified on that point some time ago. I told you that my colored wo-
man in my house told me that it was the general impression among
the negroes that if they intimated any willingness to go back and did
not give a pretty good account of these horrors down there they would
not get any old clothes.

Q. Now, we will question you a moment as to those general state-
ments they did give. You say they gave you most extravagant ac-
counts of the butcheries, outrages, deprivation of rights, and all that.
What was in the way of general statements?—A. That was the plat-
form on which they moved.

Q. Yes. As a rule, they said that the colored man was subjected fre-
quently to murder in the South?—A. Murder.

Q. Without the punishment of the murderers?—A. No law to protect
them whatever.

Q. And this insecurity of life extended to their property and rights
generally?—A. Yes.

Q. How about school privileges?—A. They said they had no school
privileges.

Q. What?—A. They said they had no school privileges.

Q. Or did they say it was reported that they had none?—A. Well,
in this matter of outrage, and intimidation, and murder, and robbery, I
did that was the reason as put forth in Kansas by Republican politi-
cians why these negroes were coming to Kansas.

Q. Yes, you said that; and did not you say, too, that the negroes told
you universally that which we have been speaking of, the outrage

and abuse they were subjected to; that it was universally reported through Texas that that was the case, and when you came to examine them specifically, whether anybody suffered abuse, they said they had not, but had heard of it all around them?—A. I don't know that I comprehend your question.

Q. Well, I will ask you another question which has been the subject-matter of your answers. Did these negroes give any reasons for leaving the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Don't you think at least half of them spoke of having been outraged, abused, murdered, and the like?—A. Yes, sir; about one-half of them.

Q. And when you asked them if they themselves had been abused in any way as individuals, they said no; but this was what they had heard of all around them?—A. I think that is the substance of what I said.

Q. Now, speaking of schools. You say they complained of the deprivation of school privileges?—A. No, I don't believe I examined them about schools.

Q. But have not I examined you with regard to it, and you said a moment ago that there were no schools there for them?—A. No, I don't think you did. If you did I misconstrued what you asked. One man in particular, I remember, who seemed to have more to complain of than any other one I talked with, complained that they had got it down so low that sometimes they didn't have only two months' school. As far as I can remember, that is the only one in which the school matter came up.

Q. Now, that one man said he did not state it to you as the common report that there were no schools in Texas, but the case of individual deprivation of schools for his own family?—A. Yes, for his own family.

Q. And that is the only case?—A. That is the only case I remember of.

Q. You have read the papers so much you must know that one of the chief causes of complaint of the colored people is that they are deprived of the chance to educate the rising generation, which is looked upon as one of the principal evils they endure in the Southern States?—A. I have believed that, but in these examinations I have considered that a minor point.

Q. I don't ask you to account for what you did or did not do; I am asking you what you did do. You know that is one of the chief causes of complaint in the South?—A. Yes.

Q. You did not examine the Texas people in regard to that, except in a single instance?—A. I don't remember about that.

Q. Then from their own accounts you don't claim to know much about that. Now, if it is the fact that these colored people in Texas have next to no facilities for educating their children, is it not a better thing for them, even at some loss of property, to go to Kansas, where they can educate their children?—A. Well, that includes quite an extensive proposition.

Q. Now, assuming that there are no schools of any consequence in Texas, even at the sacrifice of much of their property, is it not better for the colored man to take his family and go to a free State, where he can educate his children?—A. No, sir, I think not. My advice to the colored people would be to go right back and start a school there.

Q. The exodus of colored people to Parsons was from Texas mostly?—A. Mostly from Texas.

Q. Your testimony then in a general way you wish to be understood as relating to Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF M. BOSWORTH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 14, 1880.*

M. BOSWORTH sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Topeka.

Q. Have you had any knowledge of the coming of the negro population into your State?—A. I have had some knowledge.

Q. Have you had any connection with any organization on that subject?—A. I had something to do with the organizing of the first relief association.

Q. You were a member of the relief board, were you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State whether you know anything about supplies—expenditures of money for their use and benefit or relief.—A. We have had quite a large quantity of supplies in the shape of cast-off clothing.

Q. That has been sent to them?—A. That has been sent to them; that has been distributed; also lumber, provisions of different kinds, and quite a large amount of money which has been collected.

Q. You have not had the handling of that money yourself?—A. I was the first treasurer of the organization, but only for a short time, and resigned in favor of our State treasurer.

Q. What was that money used for; upon what principle was it used, the supplies distributed, and for what purpose?—A. The money has been generally used for the purpose of purchasing such things as were not contributed, such as shoes and provisions.

Q. What I mean—to put a direct question—is, was it for the relief of suffering?—A. That was one use; but occasionally for transportation. We had to pay for the transportation of these goods, and generally we had to send refugees out to work.

Q. And no other purpose but to clothe, feed, and help them to find places?—A. That is what it was used for.

Q. That was the understanding, as you were informed, of those who contributed, that it would be used in that way?—A. That is what it was for.

Q. An organization was formed for the relief of this class of people?—A. Yes.

Q. And so far as under the authority of the county, for that sole purpose?—A. Yes.

Q. And not for the relief of any other class of people?—A. No.

Q. And not to send them back?—A. We have offered to send them back if they wished to go. I have not seen but two and have inquired of a good many of them.

Q. How many have come to your place, to your best judgment?—A. I suppose eight to ten thousand within the last year.

Q. At Topeka?—A. Yes.

Q. And you say you have offered to send them back when they wanted to go back?—A. Frequently they have wanted to go back after seeing the condition of things.

Q. And in your observations you have found but two?—A. One was a gentleman who testified here the other day, and the other was a lady.

Q. Who was he?—A. Brookins, I think; he said he was going back as soon as he could get the money.

Q. Had you offered to assist him?—A. No, sir.

Q. But he was one of the two who wanted to go back?—A. Yes.

Q. Give us an idea of how many you have talked with.—A. I have talked with a great many, probably twenty-five or perhaps one hundred.

Q. Did you frequently talk with them?—A. Frequently, seeing the suffering there from cold and hunger, and that kind of thing.

Q. What was their condition when they came to your place as clothing, means, food, &c.?—A. Well, a majority of them were in about as delapidated a condition as you can well imagine; occasionally one of them has a little money; occasionally one is very well clothed.

Q. But generally?—A. Generally they come very thinly clad and very poorly provided to stand our winter climate.

Q. And yet notwithstanding that condition, you have seen in all your observation but two who wanted to go back?—A. That I have met. I have heard there were others.

Q. Those were all you came in contact with?—A. Yes.

Q. What would you infer had been their condition in the place they came from, judging by the condition in which they arrived with you had they been in a prosperous condition?—A. I should think not, from appearances, in a high state of prosperity.

Q. On the contrary, would it not indicate that they were in a desperate condition in the country from which they came?—A. It would look so.

Q. You would infer that a lot of Irish immigrants coming in the same condition were pretty badly treated in Ireland where they came from?—A. I should think they had not succeeded very well, and had been very unfortunate.

Q. What seemed to be the disposition of those people you converse with about getting work; did they want to work or not?—A. That seemed to be what they wanted; all asked to get work—to assist them to get employment, and they would take care of themselves.

Q. And the great desire they expressed to you was to get work?—A. Yes, sir; I never knew any of them to refuse to work.

Q. You were not as unfortunate as Mr. Barrett, who offered them twenty-five cents for an hour's work and they would not do it; you have not seen anything of their refusing to work?—A. No, sir.

Q. How about roaming around the streets?—A. Well, we have idlers black and white in our country. If a man should go to Topeka for the purpose of finding negroes loafing around the streets he would find examples of it, when another man went for with the purpose of finding whites would find them.

Q. That would be a natural state of things with the blacks there who are temporarily waiting for places to go to work?—A. Yes.

Q. How many are there on an average, coming and going?—A. Perhaps two hundred, or two hundred and fifty. The superintendent told me there was one time when they had as high as five hundred in there. I was there the day before I started to come here; they had then about two hundred and fifty; they had received an order from Mr. Comstock who had gone up into Nebraska, and had sent word down to send one hundred persons up there, and they were just being fitted out.

Q. I should think the average would be from one to three hundred. Have they not been distributed pretty promptly on their arrival?—A. As a general thing, yes, sir. There has been some trouble in getting them off; but since the first of January it has been one man's business that as soon as they got an order for one person or a dozen, to take the order, acknowledge its receipt, and say to the party that we would send them as soon as we could, and hunt them up; and if we came across any person who refused to go, to cut his rations right off; and we have been able to get rid of them very promptly. And now I understand

t their orders are about equal to the arrivals, and perhaps a little re.

Q. So that they can be distributed as fast as they come?—A. Yes.

Q. You were a member of the organization very early?—A. One of original members of the organization, and had the position of treasurer for about a month; but I was called away on business, and I saw was going to be a pretty big thing, and went to Governor St. John and tendered my resignation, and he appointed Mr. Francis in my place.

Q. About how long ago were you in the organization?—A. About a year ago at this time.

Q. You have heard the statements made by Mr. Lamb, in which he charges, upon oath, that your organization and St. John induced this migration to come there. What are the facts about it?—A. I never have known a circular to be issued favoring this exodus; we did not expressly consider that it was a Kansas movement, and that Kansas should shoulder this burden.

Q. You did not desire them?—A. No. If they went to Kansas we thought it the duty of the charitable people of the North to relieve them. There have been some circulars issued soliciting donations—without off-clothing and money.

Q. That was simply, as I understood, to help you to bear the burden thrown in too large proportion upon Kansas?—A. Yes. And the whole effort was to relieve the suffering, and was a charitable movement entirely.

Q. Had you anything political in the movement?—A. No, sir; the Kansas Republican leaders thought that this immigration was too large to be healthy.

Q. You had frequent talks with St. John and others there amongst yourselves, and you know their sentiments; is it possible that you or St. John could have sent out circulars into Texas inviting these people to come there, as Mr. Lamb has said; do you think it possible?—A. It is possible, but I don't believe that anything of the kind has ever been done. I could almost swear to it. St. John might have done it, but I never have. I have conversed with him frequently, and he has always protested; everything he has done has been to discourage this thing.

Q. From the beginning?—A. Yes. I think Governor St. John in a speech he made in the opera-house on one Sabbath evening at the first organization of the association—I think he did perhaps go a little too far further than he intended, and they might construe from what he said that he was rather bidding for them.

Q. Was that at the beginning?—A. Yes.

Q. Simply a hasty public speech?—A. Yes.

Q. Was that speech embodied in a circular?—A. No, I never heard that it was.

Q. Do you believe it possible that he could have sent out circulars inviting these people to come?—A. I don't believe he ever did. In fact, I would give ten dollars now to see any of those circulars with his name.

Q. I don't think any exist.—A. If it is, I think it is a fraud on him.

Q. You think it is a fraud on him if your society did, or he did, send out a contradiction of the sentiment as expressed to you?—A. I don't think there was but the one sentiment—that it was a calamity to have them come in such quantities and a damage to the State.

Q. Do you remember whether St. John wrote a letter to parties in Saint Louis discouraging it?—A. I never saw the letter; not to my own knowledge I cannot say.

Q. Do you know of any politicians in your State that have encouraged it in your State?—A. I have never known anybody to do so.

Q. Do you believe anybody ever did, from your best information?—A. I don't think they ever did.

Q. What do you know about the tearing down of certain barracks that commenced to be built at a certain place?—A. When they first commenced coming to our place we got the privilege of putting them on our fair-ground. After they had been down there some time, a month or six weeks, the county commissioners got a little tired of them and wanted to use the fair-ground, and claimed they wanted to put them in repair, and the subject of building the barracks came up; and most of these people were coming over the Kansas Pacific Road, they thought it would be better to put the barracks on the north side. I think perhaps that the committee that was appointed to select the location did not perhaps select the best one; that is, they selected just inside the corporation; but I did not know that they blamed the people particularly for rebelling against it. I understand it was torn down and the lumber thrown in the river; afterwards it was built on the other side, and there was no disturbance.

Q. Were not stories told about yellow fever or some disease?—A. There were rumors that these people were coming there bringing cargo off clothes infected with yellow fever, and which had not been properly fumigated.

Q. The objection was that they feared they might have some contagious disease, which would be disseminated?—A. Yes, sir; that was the objection.

Q. In your talks with these people did they ever tell you why they came away?—A. Well, yes, sir; they gave various reasons. Of course we hear this bulldozing spoken of; that they are debarred from the privilege of voting; that the law is a little against them; that they do not have a fair chance before the law; that the negro is persecuted for trifling offenses, sent to prison, fined, and all that sort of thing. But they seemed to be very anxious to get an education. They complained bitterly of want of facilities for educating their children; and also that they could not become freeholders; that they are debarred from the privilege of buying lands, and all that kind of thing; that it is only on an occasional way anyway that they own real estate, and they wanted means to get where they could educate their children.

Q. This was the general line of complaint?—A. Yes, that was the general line of complaint; all these things they complained of.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. VANCE:

Q. You don't believe they were really debarred from the privilege of buying land if they had the money to pay for it?—A. It would be one of those things hard to believe, if a person had land to sell and they wanted to buy.

Q. I understood you to say some of them you talked with did own land?—A. No, I don't know that any one ever told me of one that had sold land; he has sometimes told me he sold out personal property even at a great sacrifice.

Q. To get means to come to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; and complained that they had been robbed and cheated on the road by the railroad, and all that sort of thing.

Q. Mr. Bosworth, you say that on one occasion, in an address at the opera-house, Governor St. John went a little too far?—A. That was the first meeting that was called at Topeka.

Q. Did the report of his speech get into the newspapers?—A. I think synopsis of it was published in the papers the next morning.

Q. What was it he said?—A. That Kansas was a free State, and he would welcome to the broad acres of Kansas anybody who had a mind to come, black, white, or anybody who wished to come; that they should find a home in free Kansas.

Q. You have two relief organizations there in Topeka, have you not?

A. I think not, sir; but one.

Q. The present one is the successor of another one?—A. Yes, sir; all under the same charter; I think it is a chartered institution, and a continuation of the old one.

Q. Did Governor St. John have anything to do with it; was he a charter member?—A. He was president of the first organization, I think.

Q. He was president of the first organization?—A. Yes; the first organization composed of State officers, together with the United States judge of the district court, and three or four citizens outside.

Q. Are the State officers all Republicans?—A. O, yes; we are all Republicans.

Q. Your city has not quite opposition enough?—A. I think not, though the country is much improved.

Q. Do you know, positively, that none of the circulars issued by that organization, or by anybody connected with the organization, either officially or not, were ever sent to Texas or distributed?—A. I don't think, governor, that there ever was a circular of that kind issued by the organization. If it has been, it has been contrary to the express sentiments and wishes of every one all the way through from the president down.

Q. This morning a circular was handed to me calling for aid, &c. Do you know that any of these circulars that were issued contained extracts of letters calling for aid? You have seen some of them, have you not, issued by the association?—A. Containing extracts of letters from whom?

Q. Governor St. John for one, and Mrs. Comstock for another.—A. I don't know that I have ever seen them. Mrs. Comstock is writing a great many letters. I hardly ever see any of her letters. And Mrs. Aviland also.

Q. Do you know anything about circulars and letters being sent abroad to solicit funds?—A. I think I have some that have been sent, but have not sent them.

Q. You are not very intimately acquainted then with what is being done?—A. Well, they have moved since the first of January or February to North Topeka, and I hardly ever go over there.

Q. (Handing witness a circular.) Have you ever seen anything of that sort? Did you ever see a circular of that kind issued by your association?—A. This is the first I ever saw.

Q. Do you know whether or not such a one was issued—whether that genuine or not?—A. I should presume it would be, I have heard of such a case being authorized. I think Mrs. Comstock wrote such a letter.

Q. Well now, have you seen the Governor St. John letter, or rather name, in which he predicts the arrival of one hundred thousand?—A. Well, Governor St. John is a little enthusiastic; I should think he wrote that.

Q. Do you know whether any of these were sent to Texas?—A. I don't know. That would be a circular to send North.

Q. But suppose it was sent to Texas, it would have the effect to in-

duce these people to come to Kansas, would it not, if it had been circulated in Texas?—A. I don't know why it should have that inducement, it might have it, but I don't know why.

Q. It promises aid, assistance, and funds?—A. It is soliciting aid, course.

Q. But that is an implied promise to the colored people that they should have aid—Governor St. John's letter.

Mr. VANCE. We will read the circular.

Mr. BLAIR. Why not put the whole circular in?

Mr. VANCE. Very well, we will put it all in.

THE EXODUS.

To the Editor of the Transcript :

As treasurer of the exodus committee, will you kindly allow me to make public through the Transcript the information upon which our urgent appeal is based?

Even were the demand less immediate, the certain increase of the migration is clear enough foreshadowed to justify active preparations to meet it. But the testimony from Kansas, which is daily forced upon our notice, of suffering and death from inadequate provision, compels at once the attention of the humane.

The appended extracts from letters might be multiplied if necessary.

Friendly newspapers are requested to spread the facts before their readers. Our effort is not spasmodic, and, as the end of the movement cannot be foreseen, we desire systematic co-operation.

Yours, very respectfully,

H. P. KIDDER

[Extract of a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth L. Comstock, dated Topeka, Kans., January, 27, 1880.]

Our number of refugees in this city fluctuates very much. To-day 500 received—yesterday 600. The poor creatures arrive now at the rate of 600 weekly, and we ship them off to different parts of this and other States. Last week we shipped 300, and 200 the week before. Yesterday 120 arrived. As a class these refugees are orderly, sober, honest and industrious, and very glad to get work.

It is estimated that 20,000 are now in the State. Topeka, our headquarters, is very much crowded, resulting in sickness and death. We have no city hospital or almshouse for them.

The aim of this association (Kansas Freedman's Relief Association) is to provide necessary food, shelter, clothing, &c., for them until able to provide for themselves; help them procure work and find homes in families, or in taking up land on their own account; to see that they are not cheated out of what little they have.

At present we need money, not only for food, but for fuel and medicine, for doctor bills, and care of the sick and feeble. We are greatly in need of building material to enlarge our barracks and build a hospital for the sick, but in this prairie State lumber is very costly.

The above letter of Mrs. Comstock's is indorsed by the Governor of Kansas, as follows:

I have read this letter, and regard the statements of Mrs. Comstock as nearly correct as it is possible to make them.

JOHN P. ST. JOHN

[Extract of a letter from an agent of the Relief Association at Independence, Kans., dated January 19, 1880.]

Wife and I were gone to Coffeyville four days, and found a great many trying cases. Several families were camped in the woods, no house-room for them. Some women and children barefoot, feet frozen. They were mourning the death of five of their company, who were frozen to death coming through. We gave them and others the lumber we had of the clothes left.

[From a letter of Mrs. Caroline De Greene, of Topeka, Kans., dated January 26.]

The barracks are crowded to their utmost capacity, and there is not a house in Topeka that can be rented for the accommodation of the refugees who are coming all the time.

the South. Some of the children have to sleep five in a bed, and whole families obliged to sit up at night, for want of sleeping room.

We are daily receiving applications for men and women as farm hands and help in house, and are scattering the refugees as fast as we can, but two or three families where one is disposed of. * * *

A man named Utesey had saved \$450 to get himself a home when he arrived here, some of his neighbors were anxious to come, and not being able to pay their fare paid it for them, leaving him without a cent. He brought twenty-nine persons, only three of whom belonged to his own family. Now he and his wife are sick, his daughter very ill with pneumonia. It is doubtful whether she will recover. He has a small infant, and her husband is still at the South. *

Of the 8,000 who have come under the care of the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association, only two men have been known to be drunk, and not one has been arrested for drinking. Of course there are a few who do not want to work, but the greater part of them are anxious to earn money enough to get homes of their own.

[From a letter of Governor St. John, of Kansas, dated January 16, to H. N. Rust, of Chicago.]

I make the prediction that the present year will bring at least 100,000 of them northward. They must find a resting-place somewhere. * * * Kansas has never done anything to encourage the colored people to leave the South. We have simply, in dealing with this question, done as we believed God would have us do. It is not a political question; it rises above politics. It is a question in which is involved humanity, and the people of the North, through whose bravery and devotion to liberty the colored people were set free, should not forget that these same colored people have always been true and loyal to our government, that they were the friends of our leaders in the darkest days of the rebellion; and now, in their hour of distress we should stand by them in every laudable effort that they shall make to accomplish a goal, and, I hope, a final emancipation.

The business of the Relief Association is managed with a view to the strictest economy, the greater portion of the labor being performed "without money and without price." I feel assured that the work is in the hands of true Christians, who have no other aim than to perform what they deem to be simply a duty to a much-abused people. I am very glad to be able to state that the refugees who have come to Kansas, as a rule, sober, industrious, and well-behaved, and gladly embrace the opportunity of making their own living, when offered.

Very truly, your friend,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

[A dispatch dated North Topeka, Kans., February 1, 1880.]

pressing need of funds; nine hundred families en route to this point.

E. L. COMSTOCK.

Q. When did Governor St. John make that speech in the opera house?—A. Just about a year ago.

Mr. BLAIR. This letter is dated January 16, at Chicago, but the contents of it show plainly that it originated the present year.

Mr. WINDOM. He speaks of the business of the relief association, so it could not have been prior to the previous year.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. How many of these refugees or exodusters are there in Topeka now, Mr. Bosworth?—A. Well, probably five or six hundred settled there a year ago.

Q. How long have they been there?—A. They have been coming at different times since a year ago.

Q. Have they all got employment, or are they waiting to be distributed?—A. A great many of them; those that have settled there permanently have got employment.

Q. And the others are waiting to be employed?—A. Those that are in the barracks are waiting to be employed; yes, sir.

Q. I understand you, orders from persons wanting to employ them are equal to arrivals?—A. Rather decreased the last six weeks; the orders rather more than those coming.

Q. How does it come that those unemployed—that have been unemployed—do not take up with them?—A. I will tell you. We have great many old resident colored people around on the streets; we have our share of worthless fellows that are hanging around, white and black.

Q. Some of them do not care particularly about being employed?—A. There is a certain class, not thrifty or industrious, who would rather live off of other peoples' earnings than their own. There are always more or less of such people in our community.

Q. That would account for the dilapidated condition of those that were coming that did not work much at home?—A. That may be; but they all have these tales to tell.

Q. You don't believe all their tales?—A. I should hate to believe them all; it would not speak very well for the country from which they came.

Q. That would be a pretty smart strain on your credibility, would not?—A. Undoubtedly, some of the stories are true, but, like everything else, may be exaggerated.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was this speech of Mr. St. John, in answer to some of the general statements on the part of some, that the negro should not come there or something of that kind, and he proceeded to show that Kansas was open to the whole world; that the suffering and oppressed of all nations might come?—A. This meeting was got up on the spur of the moment. We had heard that they were landing at Wyandotte, and the mayor had ordered out the military to prevent one steamboat load from landing, and did prevent them, and they had to drop down the river and land below the town; and, of course, there was a little indignation got up among the people.

Q. And this was in response to that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is Mrs. Comstock connected with the association or working on her own hook as a sort of general correspondent?—A. Yes, she is working on her own hook; she came there in the interest of charity and humanity.

Q. She is a Quaker lady, is she not?—A. Yes; she and Miss Hayland both.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. In the governor's speech were there any promises or inducements held out to the negroes of the South that they should have land or property given to them, or that they could get a living in any way except by working for it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nothing was said but what was considered strictly true?—A. No, sir; nothing but what was considered strictly true.

Q. Even if the speech had been circulated through the South, would it have raised false hopes in coming to Kansas?—A. There was no inducement as to land or supplies.

Q. You observed the statement in this letter in evidence (reading):

I make the prediction that the present year will bring at least one hundred thousand of them northward. They must find a resting place somewhere. Kansas has never done anything to encourage the colored people to leave the South. We have simply, in dealing with this question, done as we believed God would have us do. It is not a political question; it arises above politics. It is a question in which is involved human liberty; and the people of the North, through whose bravery and devotion to liberty the colored people were set free, should not forget that these same colored people have always been true and loyal to our government; that they were the friends of our soldiers in the darkest days of the rebellion; and now in their hour of

ress we should stand by them in every laudable effort that they shall make to accomplish a second and I hope a final emancipation.

Q. Did you observe that in this extract?—A. I never read the circulate before.

Q. You will find it is so; it is what purports to be a letter from him to N. Rust, of Chicago, dated January 16. Now, I will ask you if in speech, which you heard, he gave utterance to sentiments inconsistent with what I read to you?—A. Nothing except he said Kansas open to receive everybody, and some people criticized him, and thought it might be considered as bidding for these people to come—this, never that they should have land and a mule.

Q. You say that the people were indignant, and that on the arrival of a boat-load a military company was sent to prevent them from landing, and in response to that this meeting was called?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF M. W. REYNOLDS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 15, 1880.*

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., and proceeded to take testimony, as follows:

Present, Senators Vance and Blair.

M. W. REYNOLDS was sworn and examined.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Parsons, Labette county, Kans.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived in Parsons nine years, and in Kansas fifteen years.

Q. What is your business?—A. I am a journalist.

Q. With what paper are you connected?—A. Not with any at present; I founded the Lawrence Daily Journal, and the Parsons Sun.

Q. Is there a Republican paper at that point?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. More than one?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you say you were connected with the Sun?—A. Yes, sir; I am connected with the Sun, but I am not actively connected with it.

Q. I now do general literary work—magazine writing, &c.

Q. Have you had opportunity to witness the exodus at that point?—A. To some extent.

Q. Are you connected with any association there?—A. About last year we formed an auxiliary relief association at Parsons.

Q. Auxiliary to what?—A. To the State relief association.

Q. Go on and state fully all that you know in regard to the exodus at that point; the causes, as derived from the colored people with whom you have come in contact; the operations of the relief association there; what has been done for the colored people who have come there, and what has become of them; and anything else that you may deem of interest in connection with the matter.—A. I will try to be as brief as I can. The first I knew of any exodus to our State was a year ago last January or February, when it was published in the papers that large numbers of colored people had been landed at Wyandotte, Leavenworth, and Atchison. As has been stated here, a State relief association was soon afterward formed, composed of the State officers, with Governor St. John at the head, for the purpose, as declared in the charter and rules of the association, of

affording relief to "immigrants;" it does not say "colored" immigrants or "colored" people, at all. Of course, the occasion or cause of the action was the coming of so many colored people. The State officer ran the association for two or three months, I think, when one after another of the original officers resigned—Governor St. John with the rest. At present, I think, there is no State officer connected with the association; and there has not been for several months.

Q. Right here, let me ask you whether either of these associations having reference to the exodus are to any extent political in their origin, nature, or purpose, so far as you know?—A. I do not see how they can possibly be said to be so?

Q. They were not organized for any such purpose?—A. No, sir. The letter-head of the parent association states the object; it does not even say that it is for the purpose of relieving "colored" people.

Q. There is no secret political purpose cherished by them, so far as you know?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, now go on with your account of the commencement and progress of the exodus?—A. The exodus of colored people to our State commenced about last October or November. By December the number had become pretty large, considering the size of our town and the sparsely settled condition of the country around it. In fact, it promised in a short time to become somewhat cumbersome. So we formed the association, as I have said. I was elected president, and the work has been mostly thrown upon me; that is the fact of it. I have done the principal part of the work.

Q. And disbursed the funds?—A. Yes, sir; disbursed the funds.

Q. Where were your funds obtained from?—A. They were obtained from the State Association—money, and clothing, and all that. Our own city has never given a dollar, officially, to aid these people. The State of Kansas has never given a dollar. Every dollar they have received has come from abroad. There has been only one person sent to the county poor farm from all these people—these colored immigrants.

Q. Then the talk about their being a pauper population, oppressive to the people there, is without foundation, is it?—A. I do not think they should be called a pauper class. They are poor, it is true, but they have not been a burden upon us, further than to the extent of that single individual. I do not mean that none of our citizens have contributed anything for their benefit; but that neither our city nor our county nor our State legislature have made any appropriation for them. A great deal of money has been disbursed, and a large quantity of clothing has come from abroad, principally through the Society of Friends, who have shown a deep interest in the matter.

Q. What would you say as to the number of immigrants that have come to your town and vicinity?—A. I think the testimony of those persons who testified yesterday was not much out of the way. I should say there were as many as two thousand or twenty-five hundred in the city and the immediate vicinity.

Q. Where have the immigrants to your section come from?—A. Almost exclusively from Texas; a few from Louisiana. I speak now of Parsons.

Q. What has become of them?—A. Well, a few of them have gone back. But most of them have gone to other towns, or are working on farms in our own or adjacent counties.

Q. Have you had occasion in your investigation, or in the discharge of your official duties, to come in contact with any of those that went

ck?—A. Yes, sir; I conversed with some of them before they went away. I have never seen or heard anything of them since they went back.

Q. How many have returned, according to your best knowledge?—A. I think about fifty or sixty in all.

Q. Not more than that?—A. I think not more than that. I have taken some little pains to learn how many went back. When anybody went back it was regarded as a sort of remarkable thing, and those that remained would talk about it more or less. In that way I obtained some information in regard to it. At one time I heard of a lot of twenty going on the cars; that is the largest number I have heard of going away at one time.

Q. Do you mean twenty heads of families with their families accompanying them?—A. No, sir; twenty in all—men, women, and children; they come that way, and of course they go back that way.

Q. State what is the condition of these people generally when they arrive, what has become of them, and what is their present condition so far as you may know?—A. I expect that, as a matter of fact, we have a much better class of immigrants than those who have come to Topeka; I should judge so from the description I have heard of those that have come there.

Q. Had they more property?—A. Yes, sir; they came in real good condition; the most of them were well clothed; none that I saw were barefooted; I never saw a barefooted person come from Texas. Their appearance seemed to bespeak their being in tolerably fair circumstances.

Q. What reason did they give for coming away?—A. There were a multiplicity of reasons; different persons gave different reasons; and I presume that when talking with different persons the same individual could give different reasons.

Q. Perhaps different persons really had different reasons?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. What were the reasons principally assigned by them for leaving Texas?—A. The first that I went to investigating with regard to the causes of their coming, I saw quite a number of colored men, perhaps twenty-five or fifty, on the corner by the national bank, talking. As I came along I learned that they were going to have a meeting that night at the colored church; they asked me to come down. This was in the evening, when they first came there in large numbers. I went down to the church. Then they called on me to say something. I did not know what they wanted me to say, or what subject was to be brought before the meeting. I asked them what they had come there for. I found that they were all strangers to me, and I wished they would state the cause of their being there—of their coming away from the South; I found them it seemed strange, anomalous, to see so many persons leave their homes to come to a strange country; to the same town; why did they come? I said I supposed that there were a number of representatives present, who could voice the sentiment of the whole. Then four or five of their leading men combined to make a statement like this, which none in the audience dissented. They said that they were cheated in their contracts for labor; that the contracts were so made as to be very oppressive to them. Then they took up the other question—namely, of their rights; they said that they did not enjoy full freedom in regard to their political rights—in the expression of their sentiments, as they had been informed they could in Kansas. Kansas seems to be the longed-for paradise of all the colored people, for some reason. They all

wanted to come to Kansas; it seems almost impossible to get them to go anywhere else except to Kansas. Then they spoke in regard to school privileges. They said they were very anxious to educate their children, and they could not have the advantages in the South which they desired. They did not complain particularly that they did not have the same educational advantages as the whites; but that increased facilities were to be found in Kansas. This is about the statement of all these people at that time, and to which no one dissented.

Q. What is the personal condition of these people, so far as you know it?—A. Of course they had a hard time of it this winter. Parsons is a small town; it is located in a newly settled portion of the State, comparatively, and there was no demand for labor. If the winter had not been such an exceptionally and providential mild one, the suffering would have been terrible. But with the mildness of the winter, and with the aid they have received, there has not been so much suffering among them as there otherwise would have been, although, even as it was, there has been a good deal. They have tried to get work; I think they have tried faithfully; every little job that they could get hold of they would do; they would take a ten cent job just as soon as a five dollar job.

Q. Is the weather colder in Kansas than in the other States where negroes live in the same latitude?—A. O, negroes will live in Kansas as well as white people.

Q. What I want to know is whether a person will suffer more in Kansas than in other States in the same latitude, east of there?—A. I suppose the climate of Kansas is about the same as that of other States in the same latitude.

Q. Do you understand that the climate of the Pacific coast is colder or warmer than that of persons in the corresponding latitude in the eastern part of the continent?—A. I do not know how that is. I suppose the weather is a little rougher in Kansas than in some States east of there because the cold northwest winds have such a wide sweep there.

Mr. VANCE. The elevation would have something to do with that.

Mr. BLAIR. The mountains are in the Atlantic States.

Mr. VANCE. Yes; but the plains of Kansas are as high as the tops of the White Mountains of New England.

Some further discussion followed, after which Mr. Blair resumed the examination:

Q. These colored people came to Kansas unprepared for a cold winter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And suffer a great deal?—A. Yes, sir; there can be no doubt of that.

Q. Now, I want to get at their present condition and prospects, not merely with reference to material, but other advantages.—A. The children are in school, of course, nearly all of them; all of them might be, if they chose. And, generally, they are attending school—those that remain there. But a great many have gone into adjoining counties, and been absorbed, to a great extent, among the citizens there—working on the farms.

Q. As you understand, they have become a part of your permanent population?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think the majority of them are glad that they came there?—A. I know, from what they say, that a large majority of them are glad. I do not know as I can say that they have really bettered, as yet, their

physical, personal, condition; but they are hopeful of doing so, and I have no doubt they will do so.

Q. What demand for labor is there in Kansas?—A. Well, there is more demand for labor, even for this class of labor, than one would suppose from its being a new State; in my testimony in regard to that I could have to vary somewhat from some of the testimony I have heard here.

Q. I want you to testify to what you know and believe, without reference to other testimony.—A. My information and belief in this matter based upon letters that I have received; I am inclined to think that the other witnesses have not had the same facilities for obtaining information that I have had. To illustrate: In December or January I wrote a short communication to the Chicago Inter-Ocean, saying that I had observed that there was a great demand for labor in Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio, and other Northwestern States; and that if that was the fact I thought it might be supplied from Kansas; that in our own city we had quite a number of colored laborers who desired employment. In response to that communication I received, I think, a hundred letters.

Q. I see that you have a package of letters there with you now; are they with reference to that subject?—A. Yes, sir; I hastily gathered them up as I was coming away.

Q. How many letters have you there?—A. I think twenty or thirty. I have not counted them. The State Relief Association used to receive thirty or forty a week.

Q. Where from?—A. From places where they wanted the labor of these colored people from the Southern States.

Q. Indicating to your mind a large demand for this class of labor?—A. Yes, sir; much larger than would be inferred from the general run of testimony here.

Q. Do you mean to be understood that if they are to leave the South it would be better for them to seek the older States rather than Kansas?—A. Well, we have never invited them to come there. No organization, no politician, no public man, no journalist, nobody that I know of, has ever invited them to come there, but if they do come there of their own free notion and accord, as it is the right of every citizen to welcome to come to this country, we shall do the best we can to see that they do not perish or suffer. They have not come yet in such numbers as to embarrass us. Of course, if they should come in thousands, and hundreds of thousands, we should be overwhelmed; but we can absorb all that have come there yet. But I have advised them to go to the older States—to Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, &c. Minnesota I have always thought a little cold for them, but I have received many applications for them from Minnesota.

Q. Does not a man's ability to withstand cold depend greatly upon how he is dressed?—A. Of course it does.

Q. If you dress a colored man with flannel, and afford him the usual protection against cold, do you think he would suffer more than a white man, in your State?—A. I think there is very little difference between the two races as to that.

Q. Do you know the Rev. Mr. Duncan, a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can you tell us anything with regard to his connection with the exodus. He is the gentleman who was quoted yesterday as having had some connection with the Texas exodus.—A. Brother Duncan came to our town among the first persons that came there from Texas. Whether he had anything to do with getting the emigrants there I do not know.

A large number of these people, unaccustomed to traveling, and ignorant of the modes of traveling, on reaching our place, found themselves in trouble in regard to their freight—their goods. On arriving at Denison, Texas, they ought to have seen that their goods were reshipped on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, but they did not understand that, and the result was that their freight was left there, and they got into a great deal of trouble about it. Duncan got their bills of lading, and they paid him considerable money, and he went down there to get their freight forwarded. In many instances their freight bills were lost, and they could not obtain their freight; and they accused him of embezzling the money and losing their freight bills also. He was tried for that, as stated yesterday, but was let off on some technicality.

Q. Before whom was he tried?—A. Before some United States commissioner, or something of that kind.

Q. What has become of him?—A. I think he is there yet, somewhere; the church, I believe, has bounced him, as we sometimes call it out West; at least they told that they were going to; and I think some of the trustees have told me that he has been dismissed from the church since.

Q. Do you know Governor St. John?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he reputed to be a common liar, out there in Kansas?—A. Not that I am aware of, sir.

Q. The people of Kansas are not accustomed to electing common liars to their highest State offices, are they?—A. Not where they know it; no, sir.

Q. State anything that you may know in regard to his being to any extent the cause of the exodus, or in regard to his having stimulated it, or what his acts have been in connection with it.—A. As I have said, he was the first president of the State Relief Association; all the State officers, and one or two members of the supreme court, I believe, were officers of or connected with that association. In that way, for a time, he was at the head of the movement for relieving the needy immigrants when they arrived in Kansas; he was regarded as the head and front of that movement; but I think I can safely say that he has never written a letter, or made a speech, or said anything, advising the immigration of these people. I have often, repeatedly, offered fifty dollars for a letter of his containing anything of the sort. Of course I would want an authentic epistle. But I have not been able to find even a forgery purporting to be signed by him, inviting or urging this immigration.

Q. Is there not a pretty active political campaign now going on in Kansas, in which Governor St. John is opposed by those who are opposed to the exodus, and so these allegations are made against him?—A. Of course, his political opponents are endeavoring to make a political point against him on that account; I do not know but some men in his party may oppose him on that ground, and I do not know as they do.

Q. Do you know of any inducements being offered to colored men to induce them to return to Texas, or any other portion of the South?—A. I know that several men have been there from the South, endeavoring to induce the colored people to return. They said that they desired their labors there. And I think, certainly, they have made some very good offers. I have, here, a proposition that was made to some of them.

Q. What success did he have among the colored people?—A. Not much; it was something like trying to get them to go to your State; they did not want to go there, nor to go back South.

Q. It is too hot in the one place and too cold in the other?—A. I think they hesitate about going to your State more on account of its being so far off. New Hampshire seems almost out of the world to a colored man; they have no more idea of New York city, even, than they have of Paradise.

Q. Who was it that made this proposition or offer to the colored men that they would go South, to which you have referred?—A. His name is Stringfellow, and the proposition that he made was in substance as follows: that he would give to each one who would return with him a dollar a day wages, a house for himself and family to live in, the use of a mule or horse, and some other little advantages.

Q. What did you do with that letter when you received it?—A. This is not a letter; it is simply a statement of Stringfellow's proposition, which one of the colored men gave me. He said that this was the proposition that Stringfellow had made to them.

Q. This proposition was made to others as well as to him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it generally understood that Stringfellow would do this by those who would return?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was his success in getting colored people to return upon these inducements?—A. But very few of them went; I think ten or twelve.

Q. Did this proposition come to the knowledge of the colored people pretty generally?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If that proposition were to be carried out in good faith, and connected with an observance of their rights, would they not have done better to have gone back South than to have remained in your State?—A. Yes, sir; in that case I would advise every colored man in Kansas to go back.

Q. If such were the case do you not think they would go?—A. Yes, sir, indeed.

Q. Have you any doubt that if their political and social rights, such as belong to and are enjoyed by American citizens in some parts of the country, at all events, were realized by these colored people in the section of the country from which they came; have you any doubt that they would have remained there, instead of leaving and coming North?—A. I cannot possibly account for such a strange, anomalous, overwhelming immigration as we have had, except upon some such cause; upon any ordinary theory by which the migrations and movements of people are controlled and carried on, I cannot account for such a movement.

Q. You have observed that an effort is being made to account for it by testimony as to the circulation of documents purporting to be signed by Governor St. John?—A. That, I am certain, is a misrepresentation.

Q. How many of these people seem to have come there under this delusion? How many speak of having received documents or papers of this kind, which induced them to come to Kansas?—A. Some of the colored people have said to me that the papers had misrepresented Kansas—had given too glowing accounts of how well one could do in Kansas. I appreciate the magnificent genius of newspapers (that is my business), but I do not see how anything that the newspapers have said could produce such a tremendous immigration as this.

Q. From your conversation with these people, how many of them, would you think, came to Kansas under the influence of this delusion?

A. Any estimate I might make might be an error of judgment on my part, a mere matter of opinion.

Q. Do they generally seem to have believed these stories?—A. I do

not think they were the moving cause at all, or, at least, in very few cases. Of course these things have been circulated, the same as we circulate our State agricultural reports; they induce immigrants to Kansas. You know how much our great land-grant railroads are doing to circulate information with regard to Kansas, not only in this country, but in Europe.

Q. How many of these people came there thinking that one hundred and sixty acres of land would be given them outright?—A. I think the land and mule story is purely mythical. This proposition of Stringfellow's is to give them a mule, and that is better than Kansas ever offered them.

Q. I am not referring to things that never existed, but to the outright promises alleged to be made in these circulars of homesteads and various other things that go to make men happy.—A. I have not seen a circular which stated that a man could have one hundred and sixty acres of land outright by coming to Kansas.

Q. Have you found any negroes that came there expecting to receive one hundred and sixty acres of land and a house as soon as they got there?—A. I never have, and I do not think any of them came there with any such expectation as that.

Q. Have you ever found a colored man who had made this exodus who said that he expected a homestead to be given to him free by the government; if so, how many such instances have you known?—A. I never saw a colored man who said that he expected to have one hundred and sixty acres of cultivated land given to him, and everything properly equipped for farming. I do not think any considerable number of them expected it. Every poor man knows that he can get one hundred and sixty acres of land in Kansas practically for nothing, as the government charges only sufficient to cover the cost of making out the papers.

Q. That is not a delusion, that is the truth?—A. Yes, sir; that is a fact.

Q. But that improved farms will be given them, free of expense, by the government, or by anybody else; have you found anybody that expected that?—A. No, sir; I have seen the pictures that the railroads give out, showing splendid farms under cultivation, but I do not suppose you are speaking of them.

Q. They do not tend to delude colored people any more than white people?—A. No, sir.

Q. That is a sort of misrepresentation that white people are subjected to as well as colored people, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; and I think it has deceived as many white people as it has colored people.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Mr. Reynolds, what are your politics at home?—A. I am a radical Republican, and a Grant man.

Q. When was the State association formed, of which you speak for the relief of these exodusters?—A. I think the State relief association was formed about a year ago in March, I think, but I will not be positive.

Q. It was originally composed entirely of State officers, you say?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. With Governor St. John at the head of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then your local organization was formed as a branch or auxiliary?—A. Yes, sir; last December.

Q. Who was president of that?—A. I was and am.

Q. What salary do you get?—A. Not anything; not a cent.

Q. What is your opinion of the exodus?—A. In what respect?

Q. Well, do you think it is beneficial to the State of Kansas?—A. I think that the exodus to a reasonable extent will not be a damage to Kansas. I do not think enough have yet come there to harm Kansas. If they should come in immense numbers, it would be more harmful to the white people than to the colored people.

Q. Do you believe that if it should continue at the rate at which it has been going on during the past year it would be injurious to the white people of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; if as many should come into the State as many people suppose.

Q. My question confined it to the same rate at which it has been going on during the past year—twenty-five to thirty thousand?—A. Well, at that rate it would not take many years to people our State with colored people to an undesirable extent.

Q. I suppose, notwithstanding you are a radical Republican, you have no prejudice against your own color?—A. I hope not; I think I do not regard a colored man any better than a white man.

Q. Do you not believe that the white man, as a general rule, makes up the most desirable class of citizens?—A. I believe in mixing them up. If they are a good thing for the South, I do not see why a few of them would not be a good thing for the North. At least, I am willing to take my chances of it.

Q. You believe in mixing them up?—A. Yes, sir; to a certain extent.

Q. To what extent are you willing that the mixing-up process should go on?—A. I think Kansas can absorb, with profit to herself, in ten years to come, a colored population of fifty thousand. That may be considered a large estimate, but that is my judgment. We have now a population—a white population—of a million; in ten years it will be two millions; and fifty thousand colored people among them will not be more in proportion than twenty-five thousand now. We can absorb fifty thousand colored people among two millions of white people.

Q. But if the exodus goes on as it has in the past, you will have fifty thousand colored people there next year.—A. O, yes; but if that should be the case, so they would go off into the older States; we should see, of course, that Indiana had her share.

Q. I was asking in regard to the people who staid in your State alone. Of course, it would have no effect on your State if they should merely pass through there on their way somewhere else. Are your people willing to accept them on a footing of social equality?—A. That question has not been considered; I suppose of course they would not.

Q. Would you admit them to your houses and your tables like white people and intermarry with them?—A. As to that, I think Southern people treat colored persons better than the Northern people do.

Q. Do I understand you to say—A. I said that with regard to all matters pertaining to social affairs the Southern people treat the negroes better than the Northern people. I judge so, from my limited knowledge. That is my honest opinion about that.

Q. To come back again: Would you desire a population that you could not receive upon a footing of social equality, as much as you could a population that you could so receive?—A. Well, there are a great many white people that I would not desire to be very intimate with.

Q. I am speaking of the race?—A. I do not think that the social equality question has anything to do with this emigration matter; I have already said that a large number of these people would be an undesirable population. The social question of course comes in among other considerations.

Q. I see a paper here, among others that have been handed to me headed, "The Hegira of Negro," by the honorable M. W. Reynolds, Parsons, Kans. Is that your production?—A. Yes, sir; I wrote that for a Kansas magazine.

Q. As president of the relief association?—A. No, sir; I did not write it as president of the relief association.

Q. Were you president of the relief association when you wrote it?—A. Yes, sir; but it had no official sanction.

Q. By whom was this document printed?—A. I believe that the State association printed a large number of them, taken from the magazine.

Q. Do you know whether large numbers were circulated in the South?—A. I presume there were, for they circulated them everywhere, they said.

Q. Do you not think that the circulation of this article among the colored people would induce them to come to Kansas, would have that tendency?—A. Why, no; I do not know that it would; that simply assumes to recite the condition of those who came from the South, or rather, their causes for coming. Of course they would know better than I—those who received that document would—whether in the cases the same causes existed to induce them to leave the South.

Q. This document extends a welcome to all that come, and says that is the Christian duty of the people of Kansas to aid them.—A. I do not consider that any great encouragement for them to come. As this is a free country they have a perfect right to come, and I think I said so, or something to that effect.

Q. I see here, in relating the bad treatment of the negroes by the white people of the South, you make use of the following language:

When the colored man from Mississippi, with an economy and thrift that ought to shame the persecutors of the black man, came to Topeka and built a little shanty, and returned for his family, and the chivalrous barbarian bulldozers rode around and seized him, and chopping off his hands, threw them in the poor man's lap, exclaiming "There, d—n you, take them back to bleeding Kansas with you," the spirit of the colored exodist determined not to remain. The body of the dead victim of Southern barbarity only remains in the land of the cape-jasmin, the myrtle, and the magnolia.

Do you know that circumstance to be a fact?—A. I am very glad that you do me the justice, and Governor St. John and the State of Kansas the justice to read that statement and allow me to make a brief statement in connection with it. Of course, all I can give you is what I have heard about it. That is, of course, the most barbarous instance that we have on record. I will state it as it was reported to us. Governor St. John gave me the alleged facts. I simply wrote that on his statement of the case; though he never saw the article until after it was published. He told me that a colored man came up from Mississippi to Topeka, and built himself a little shanty. In the course of time he accumulated enough so as to be able to return to Mississippi. He then went back to bring his family to Topeka. On going back to Mississippi, the bulldozers seized him, and cut off his hands, and threw them into his lap. That is the statement of colored men who came from there. That is all we know about it. We simply know that there was such a man; that he did go back to Mississippi after his family, leaving his house there in Topeka; and that he never returned; what happened afterward we heard from other colored men who afterward came from that part of the country.

Q. I have no doubt you heard it, but this paper does not say you heard it; it states it as a naked fact within your knowledge.—A. It is as a statement would ordinarily be made in newspaper writing you

course, understand that newspaper writers do not expect always to be as precise in their statements, as they would be in sworn testimony.

Q. I am sorry to say that that is the fact. This appeal is evidently drawn up to stir up the people of the North against the Democratic party of the South; and you ought to stir them up with facts; or, if you must state things that you have heard, you ought to say that you have heard them, so that they would not be quoted from you as actual facts.—A. No; my purpose was not particularly to stir up the people of the North against the Democratic party of the South. I had no political object in view.

Q. You say:

When the colored man had a voice at the polls the South was loyal and Republican. When he was bulldozed and suppressed, the South became again refractory, devilish, Democratic.

Does not that look like a desire to “stir up” the people of the North against the Democratic party of the South?—A. Well, perhaps that is stating it pretty tolerably strong.

Q. Let me read to you another paragraph:

One thing is certain. The South must make up its mind to treat the colored man with at least homœopathic doses of kindness and fair treatment, or it may expect an opposite dose of Grantism; which means that the rebel yell of 1860 is to be met with a shout and refrain that *there shall be an enforcement of equal rights*.

That is directly political, is it not?—A. That is a fact that I think ought to be well understood North—and South, too.

Q. I have no objection to that; but I do not think we ought to mix politics and humanity in this way; we ought not to serve politics in the name of humanity. Was not that an appeal to unite the North solidly against the South?—A. I wrote that article simply upon a request to write an article upon the exodus, or “Hegira of the Negro”; but I had no idea of using it for any humanitarian purpose. That is the fact about it.

Q. You meant it entirely for a political purpose?—A. I am willing that our Republican friends shall make any use of it they choose.

Q. And yet you say there is nothing political connected with this movement?—A. Not so far as the relief association is concerned—no,

Q. That article was written by the president of the relief association and printed and circulated at the expense of the State relief association, and yet you say it has no political purpose?—A. I was not engaged upon them to write it.

Q. Did this State association purchase a lot of lands in some county there for the purpose of settling these immigrants upon them?—A.

Yes, sir; I think they did purchase some lands in Wabaunsee County.

Q. Do you know how the lands in that county were to be sold to them?

A. I know very little about that, sir.

Q. Do you think that Dr. Lamb’s statement as to the number of colored immigrants that had arrived in Parsons was pretty correct?—A. It was substantially true.

Q. Dr. Parsons stated also that more than half of them had returned.

A. I should say that not more than about fifty had returned.

Q. You think the doctor was mistaken in regard to that?—A. Yes, sir; I think he was very grievously mistaken.

Q. You do not think that more than fifty have returned?—A. I think that would cover the whole number.

Q. Those colored people who came from Texas you say were pretty well clothed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And some of them had money, did you not say?—A. Yes, sir; think that a majority of them had more or less money.

Q. Did not some of them say that they owned land in Texas?—A. think they did. The last lot that landed, I think, owned land in Texa

Q. I understood you to say that they gave different reasons to different persons for their leaving?—A. I said I presumed that they did. should not be surprised if such were the fact.

Q. Do you know much about the genuine darkey—the uneducated darkey?—A. Not very much. I was born and educated in a Northern State. I never saw a slave until I was twenty-five years of age. Since then I have lived West, and have been in Texas, and seen something of slavery.

Q. Have you seen enough of them, as a candid man, as an observing man, to make you doubt the reasons which they gave for leaving the South?—A. I suppose it is hardly to be expected that all of them should invariably state the exact truth regarding that matter.

Q. Coming there as they do, and being, to a certain extent, applicants for charity, would not that have a natural tendency to make the stories as bad as possible, to excite your sympathies and get aid from you?—A. I presume they would many of them do that—as many other people would do.

Q. You think it safe to make some allowance on that account?—A. Yes, sir; I am not disposed to believe, as some are, that a negro cannot tell the truth; yet I am inclined to believe that they are naturally inclined to equivocation.

Q. Do you not know that the negro has a great deal of the low cunning of the uneducated man, so that if he knows that you are a Democrat, or that you are a Republican, he will shape his discourse so as to suit your views? That if he were at work for you, and found you to be a hard man, he would make a fixed charge for what he had done, while if he found that you were a generous man, he would leave it all to you? Is he not sharp in that character of intellect that we denominate “cunning?”—A. I think there is a great deal of that in the negro. He has learned to be a politician in some way; I don't know how.

Q. Some of them make very sharp ones, I can assure you. Did any of them, in giving the reasons which induced them to leave the South, mention that they had seen in circulation these “hifalutin” descriptions of the Kansas lands?—A. Yes, sir; a few, and but a very few.

Q. How much has your association expended, all told?—A. We have expended, I should think, about five hundred dollars in money and a large amount of clothing that has been sent down from the North. Some of the clothing was donated to our own home association, and a large amount of clothing has been furnished from the State association. All the funds we have had came from the State association, or rather from Mrs. Comstock, a Quaker lady, who runs the State association, to a large extent.

Q. Were all who came to your town able to get work?—A. No, sir; they came there in the dead of winter, or, worse yet, in the beginning of winter, when there was very little call for work in those Western towns.

Q. When did they get work?—A. None of any account until along in February. It being a mild winter, there was some little employment but not enough for all.

Q. Is there really a demand for labor there, as a general rule?—A. I believe that those who are there now, even if none should go away, could find employment in the town and surrounding country.

Q. What wages do they get when employed at all?—A. Wages there

the day have been a dollar and a quarter a day, or possibly a dollar, they have not been able to get that this winter. They have worked whatever they could get.

Out of that they find their own rations, their own house-shelter,—A. Yes, sir; quite a number of them have already put up little ties for themselves, showing that they came in pretty fair circumstances, some of them.

I understand you to say—and it is said in this circular, too—that of the complaints of the colored men was that they had been cheated in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Did you ever know any white people to be cheated in Kansas, Mr. Houlds?—A. Yes, sir; I have had a little experience in that way myself and I presume it has been the experience of others.

Have you an idea that the negroes will never be cheated in Kansas?—A. I think they would be cheated in Kansas just as quickly as they would in Texas, or in your own State. The difference is that the system of labor and of compensation leaves open the door for cheating the negroes more than ours does. But so far as Southern men personally are concerned, I believe the negroes are generally treated just as well by them, if not better than by the avaricious Yankee New England.

Another thing: When an uneducated man, who cannot read or write, has a running account with a merchant, is it not universally the case, when he comes to settle, that he thinks he has been cheated, and grieved too much by the merchant?—A. Yes, sir; and that is why I think that the cheating is owing to their system of conducting business rather than to personal dishonesty.

Some, I suppose, told you that their civil rights were denied in Kansas?—A. O, yes.

That they were not allowed to vote as they pleased?—A. Yes, sir.

Did any of these Texas men complain of that?—A. Yes, sir.

Of what, specifically, did they complain?—A. They complained that they were not allowed the same freedom of expression of political opinion and sentiment which they supposed they would have in the North.

You spoke of a letter from Mr. Stringfellow to some colored men, offering them good offers if they would return South.—A. I gave what is reported to be a statement of what he offered them.

Was it taken from a letter?—A. No, sir; Mr. Stringfellow was in town when he made the offers that I mentioned; I did not see him myself, however.

And he left this offer in writing?—A. I do not know that he did; a colored man handed me the statement in writing; he was quite an educated colored man, and I take it that he had written it himself.

It says that he will give each man a mule—did you understand that it was to be a gift of a mule?—A. O, no; only the use of a mule.

Also a dollar a day wages, &c. Now, can the colored people do any better than that in Kansas?—A. No, sir; and I say, if they can have the same opportunities and privileges of education, and the same rights and privileges of expressing their political sentiments and opinions in the South as in the North, they ought to remain in the South; because, if you can give them such wages as these, you are doing better by them than we possibly can do.

Do you not think that if your relief associations were all disbanded, and if there were no more money and clothes received to be given to these people when they got out there, but if they were allowed to take

their chances like the people of your own race who come to Kansas, do you not think those negroes would stay in Texas?—A. No, sir; I think they would still come.

Q. You do not think that your aid associations, and your relief circulars, have anything to do with stimulating or encouraging the exodus?

A. Very little, if anything; they followed the hegira—they were the consequences of it; they did not cause it.

Q. You say that this man Duncan was acquitted on a technicality?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What kind of a technicality?—A. I cannot state that. The deputy district attorney told me that the offense was committed in Texas, and it would require a requisition upon the governor of that State to get witnesses. Something of that kind, I think, was the difficulty. The claims against him were individual claims of five dollars, four dollars or two dollars each, as the case might be, and nobody could afford to follow the case up. The prosecuting attorney advised the prosecuting witnesses to dismiss the case.

Q. Was not the case dismissed after the dispute with Governor St. John, in which it was alleged that the governor had made one statement to the public, and another to the colored people in private?—A. Chronologically speaking that is correct; but I cannot see any relation between the two.

Q. Was it not necessary to sacrifice the negro in support of St. John?—A. I do not think he needs that salvation. Governor St. John was in our town, as has been testified, and met, at my office, about twenty representative colored men from the South; I think that was the only meeting he had with them; I am confident of it. I do not think that he made any representations there to the colored people different from his statements to the general public.

Q. You do not profess to know everything he did say to the colored people, do you?—A. No; he may have said something when I was not present. I did not support Governor St. John in the last nomination for governor, though I supported him after he was nominated.

Q. I wish you would look over these five circulars which I hold in my hand, and see which of them was issued by either your association or the State association.—A. There do not seem to be any dates to any of them. This circular, I have no doubt, was written by Mrs. Perry; it is signed "S. T. P.;" those are her initials. She is connected with the State association.

Q. By whom was it published?—A. Undoubtedly by the State Relief Association this last winter, I presume; I do not know positively. This one headed, "A visit to Topeka," &c., purports to be struck off from a paper published in Pennsylvania. I have no doubt that the State association issued that. I do not know positively. I presume they did.

Mr. BLAIR. I would like to have you testify to what you know.

The WITNESS. I cannot do that.

Mr. BLAIR. The vice-president of the State Relief Association, who is here in the room, tells me that none of these circulars were issued by that association. He tells me furthermore that this Mrs. S. T. Perry is not connected with the association at all.

The WITNESS. Perhaps, instead of saying they were issued by the State Relief Association, I ought to have said that they were issued by persons connected with that association. There are two or three persons there who have done all the work, whether or not they are, speaking literally, actually connected with the organization. While it may

technically not correct to say that these circulars were issued by the State Relief Association, I think it is practically true. I do not see any error in them, anyway.

Mr. BLAIR. If what this witness guesses and presumes is to go on record, I want it accompanied by the positive statement of the president of the State Relief Association to the contrary.

Mr. VANCE. I want to identify these papers; and if you are not satisfied, we will put on some other witness, and find out by whom they were issued and circulated. I think there can be no doubt that Mrs. Perry and Mrs. Comstock, whose names appear here, were active members of that association.

The WITNESS. I do not know that Mrs. Perry has what you could call an official relation to the association, but she is the person who has organized and obtained the means; been the life and soul of the organization.

Q. She has furnished the most of the money?—A. Yes, sir; three-fourths, probably four-fifths, of the money was obtained by her; and she had the direction of the clothing. She is a very estimable Quaker lady, some seventy years of age—or between sixty and seventy. She obtained the means from her friends and by solicitations from others. She certainly has prevented by her efforts an immense amount of suffering and destitution in Topeka.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. This article on the "Hegira of the Negro," embodies your views substantially?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. This man Duncan was prosecuted for a criminal offense?—A. Yes,

Q. Embezzlement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The embezzlement of money in Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was not this, then, the suggestion, that as the criminal offense was committed in Texas, the legal proceedings must be taken in Texas; and that the courts of Kansas have no jurisdiction of crime committed in Texas?—A. Perhaps that was the way of it.

Q. You understand that to be the law, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. This was a case of embezzlement in Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How could it be prosecuted in Kansas then?—A. I presume you are right; I was told it was on some technical point; I am not a lawyer.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You mentioned having a pile of letters from Indiana?—A. I have a number of letters from various States; from Indiana, among the rest.

Q. Will you oblige us with the names of the writers?—A. I should like to look over them in order to do so. I will furnish them to you hereafter if you desire.

TESTIMONY OF C. ROCKHOLD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 15, 1880.

Mr. C. ROCKHOLD sworn and examined:

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. At Parsons, Kans.

Q. How long have you resided there?—A. Since 1872.

Q. What is your business or profession?—A. I am a physician by profession.

Q. Have you been in the active practice of your profession during the time of your residence at Parsons?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What are your sentiments politically?—A. I am a Republican.

Q. From what State did you remove to Kansas?—A. From Missouri.

Q. Are you a native of Missouri?—A. No, sir; I was born in what now the State of Iowa.

Q. Tell us about this exodus, so far as you have any knowledge of it.—A. The first that we had any practical knowledge of it in our section was some time in the fall of last year—probably October or November. Then the colored people began to come into our town from Texas by the way of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, which enters Texas at Denison. After that, a great many of them came in wagon. They would come with one, two, three, four, sometimes as high as six horses to a wagon. After landing there at Parsons, some of them bought horses in the town or vicinity, some rented, and some went right out into the country. So they passed the winter. I think probably there have stopped there, to make it their home, or temporary stopping place, about a thousand or twelve hundred. A great many others have passed on through, or stopped only temporarily, and soon gone on to other towns or other parts of the State.

Q. In all, what number has come there or gone through there?—A. I should say two thousand or twenty-five hundred.

Q. What were the causes of their coming, as you learned them?—A. Of course I know only what they told me.

Q. Had you considerable intercourse with them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you occasion to treat them professionally?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had as close and intimate talk with them as any citizen of the town?—A. Yes, sir. I was secretary of the Parsons Relief Association. Of course, I visited a great many and talked with many of them. The first little squad I talked with some time in the fall; do not remember the month when Governor St. John made a little speech in our town. We repaired after that speech was made to Mr. M. W. Reynold's office, and had some talk there with the leading colored men. There they stated their grievances.

Q. What did they state were their grievances?—A. They stated that their rights were abridged in the South. They complained that they had not the school privileges that they thought they ought to have. Their social relations were not good. They were not regarded as the thought people should be. One man, I think his name was Wills, stated that he had been systematically swindled in the weighing and handling of his produce. He told how he had discovered it. He had a very good boss he thought. He always trusted him to weigh his cotton in the cotton-house after it was ready to be weighed. The cotton was weighed on his scales, the scales that were there in the cotton-house. But one time when he was hauling his cotton from the fields, as it was only a little out of the way to go by a mill, he went that way. While there the thought struck him to have his cotton weighed on the mill scales, and compare the weight with its weight upon the cotton-house scales; and he found a hundred pounds difference between the two.

Q. How large was his load?—A. Five hundred pounds; it weighed five hundred pounds by the mill scales, but only four hundred pounds by the cotton-house scales. He repeated the experiment twice more and found the same proportionate loss in the other bales that he weighed afterward. He then made a fuss about it, when his boss told him that he could not work his land any longer; he said he was a "mea-

gger," a "disturber of the peace," and that he had better hunt some other place to work. I believe that is the worst instance of cheating that I heard. I do not remember that they reported any case of killing except one, and they did not seem to know much about it. That was the husband of a woman there named Eliza Foster. I went to see her when it was sick. She appeared to be very much depressed. I asked her why. She said her husband had been killed. She did not know what for; and I never found out anything more about it.

Q. What other causes did they give for leaving the South?—A. I believe that was about all. Their rights were being abridged, as they thought; their school privileges down there were not as ample as they thought they ought to be; and they thought there was a tendency among the leaders down there to still further abridge their rights.

Q. Of these two thousand or twenty-five hundred people who have come into your place, how many have gone back South?—A. I think not more than fifty or sixty. I have heard what was said to be the actual number stated; but I know, and that only from hearsay, of fifty of them going back. I know of one little squad that went back, and I was told by a young gentleman, who is here in this room now, how many there were in that squad.

Q. How many were there?—A. Twenty-six he said. He is a hotel-keeper, and he said that twenty six boarded there at his hotel for a day or two, until they got ready to start back.

Q. The most of this immigration, you say, is from Texas?—A. Yes, sir; a great deal of it from Grimes County, Texas, and some from Robson County.

Q. You understand that as a whole, the class of immigrants that came to Parsons is a better-to-do class than that which went to Topeka?

A. I judge so, from the testimony that I have heard in regard to those that landed at Topeka.

Q. What was the condition of those that landed at Kansas?—A. A great many of them had some money; several of them bought houses, and others built houses for themselves. I think I can safely say that many houses have been built there this winter.

Q. Built by these colored people, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir; I think at least that many; they were small houses, of course.

Q. What is the population of your place?—A. I think about five thousand, perhaps a little more. It is a "city of the second-class," as they term it in Kansas.

Q. If there is anything more on your mind in regard to this matter that you would like to state, we would be glad to hear it.—A. I think the territory has been pretty well gone over by Mr. Reynolds and other gentlemen.

Q. Do you corroborate Mr. Reynolds's statements as to the condition of the colored people there?—A. I think he had a pretty good general idea of it. He knows more about the amount of aid received there than I do.

Q. Did I understand you to say that you had attended some of them when they were sick?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. By whom were you paid?—A. Mrs. Comstock paid me something for the little service I rendered them.

Q. Do you understand the general desire among them to be to remain here or to return?—A. So far as I know, they universally say that they are going to remain. I was present when Mr. Stringfellow had thirty or forty of them around him, making a proposition what he would do for them. I remarked to some of them that I thought that was a

good proposition; it was certainly more money than they could make in Kansas. The man I was speaking to said, "We have had those propositions before; it is the same old song; we will come out at the end of the year without anything, just as we always have done; we can not any more than starve here, and we will not go back." And they did not go back, except the twenty-six that I spoke of before.

Q. Did he make a pretty general effort?—A. I do not know how much of an effort he made.

Q. How long was he there?—A. Several days. They seem to be very well pleased with their treatment since they have been there. They have been putting their children into the schools; I suppose that a hundred of their children are now going to school there. A great many of them have found employment. One of our largest grain dealers, who owns a grain elevator and a mill, has got nearly all his hands from the "exodusters"; the firm of H. H. Brown & Co. Mr. Whittaker, who runs a large brick yard there, also employs a great many. Quite a while in the winter there was not much demand for them; but when the spring opened the demand increased, and a great many have gone to work. I know they have gone to work, for I have seen them there at work for different parties whom I know.

Q. There has been some testimony to the effect that the colored men could not do the kind of work that was needed out there in Kansas?—A. I do not think they know very much about machinery. I do not suppose they could run a threshing machine; but ordinary farm work they can do. I have hired them to do spading. When they first took hold of the spade they did not manage it very handily, but after a little instruction they did very well. They seem more industrious than some of the colored people that we had there before the exodus commenced.

Q. They did not come there with the expectation of getting a living without work?—A. Not at all; their constant inquiry was, "Give us work," "Give us work."

Q. Did you find any who thought they were to be presented with a farm immediately on arriving in Kansas?—A. No, sir. I asked several of them whether they came to Kansas expecting to be given "forty acres of land and a mule?" They said, laughingly, that that was an old story, too old to be played off on them; that they never had believed that. The class of colored men we have got there seem to be a thrifty set; some of them have some little education. When they come into the house sometimes they find books, of course primary books, but a good many of them can read. I have heard them read and I have seen them write.

Q. I would like to know, just for curiosity, whether you ever saw a piano or any kind of musical instrument in the house of any colored man in Kansas?—A. I do not call to mind any case of that kind just now.

Q. Nobody has made them presents of that description?—A. We have some colored men in our town who own considerable property, but none who own pianos that I am aware of.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Do you know whether any of them have a banjo?—A. I presume there are, still I do not think of any.

Q. You mentioned, among the complaints of the colored men, that their social relations were not good?—A. That they were ostracised—were looked down upon as something hardly human—were not regarded as men and women—kept down on account of color.

Q. Is there anything of that sort in Kansas? Your people do not

knock down upon them because they are colored, do they?—A. If they have themselves, keep themselves clean, &c., they are at least regarded as “people.”

Q. Do you understand that they are not regarded as “people” in Texas?—A. I have never been in Texas nor the Far South.

Q. Do you not know that many of those colored people expected to be admitted to a social equality with the white people when they got to Kansas?—A. I think they had an idea that their social relations would be different.

Q. You say that fifty or sixty colored persons, that you know of, went back?—A. Fifty or sixty that I heard of.

Q. More than that left your town?—A. Yes, sir; a considerable number have gone to Emporia; a good many stopped off the train for a day or two, or a few days, and then went on to Emporia, or Chanute, or Fort Scott; but about a thousand or twelve hundred remained in Parsons, or in the country close around there.

Q. Do you know just what did become of all that did not remain in your town?—A. No, sir; of course I could not keep track of every individual.

Q. Is it not possible that many of those who went away, and you did not know where they went, really went back home?—A. Of course, it is possible that some of them did so; but I noticed this, that when anybody went back South there was a great deal said about it; the others would gather about and urge him not to go; would tell him that the train was already fastened around his legs, and such talk as that.

Q. By whom were you paid for your services?—A. By the Freedmen's Relief Association.

Q. How much was paid you?—A. I think about a hundred dollars.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE S. IRWIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 15, 1880.*

GEORGE S. IRWIN sworn and examined.

By Mr. VANCE:

Question. Where is your residence?—Answer. In the first ward of Topeka—the northern portion—North Topeka, as it is called.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. Printer and publisher.

Q. Look at these documents and see if you can tell where they were printed.—A. I can; they were printed in my office.

Q. By whose authority?—A. Well, the printing was ordered by a man named Watson, connected in some capacity, I understand, with the Relief Association there in Topeka.

Q. Do you know in what capacity?—A. I do not know; I only know that he always brought in the copy for the printing.

Q. He represented himself to be acting for the Relief Association in having printing done?—A. So I understand.

Q. Who paid for the printing?—A. The bills were made out to the Kansas Relief Association, and sent up to the officers; they were paid by checks on the bank, signed, “Laura S. Haviland, Secretary.”

Q. Secretary of what?—A. That is all it said, just “Laura S. Haviland, Secretary.”

Q. Do you know what became of the circulars; where they were distributed?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. How many of them did you print?—A. I printed five hundred copies of each. These are only a very few of the different kinds of circulars we printed. The printer had not saved samples of all the different circulars, and these were only what proof-sheets were left hanging on the proof-hook—the rest having been destroyed or lost.

Q. Do you know what connection Mrs. Haviland has with Mrs. Constock?—A. No, not exactly. I have seen them together frequently on the streets; and I have seen them at the headquarters together. It is the general impression in our place that Mrs. Haviland and Mrs. Constock are the head-business women of the institution.

Q. You printed, as I understand, a great many of these circulars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Could you give us the dates when these were printed? I see they are all without date.—A. The printing was done in January and February, and it may be some of it in March.

Q. Of this year?—A. Yes, sir. I think it was the latter part of January before I did any printing for the association whatever.

Mr. VANCE. I now wish, Mr. Blair to read from one of these papers.

Mr. BLAIR. Do you put them all in evidence?

Mr. VANCE. Yes, sir.

(The documents referred to will be found in the appendix.)

Mr. VANCE. I want to read a paragraph in reply to your allegation that no inducement was ever given to anybody to come to Kansas. Here is a letter from Waukon, Allamakee County, Iowa, from a man named—

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is your position in this printing-office?—A. I am the proprietor.

Q. It is your office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you a partner?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you give your personal attention to the details of the business of your office?—A. I do.

Q. How much help do you employ?—A. From seven to twelve persons.

Q. Do you publish a newspaper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What newspaper?—A. The North Topeka Times.

Q. You are a Republican, I take it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you personal knowledge of each one of these circulars when they were sent to your office? Did you examine each one?—A. They were all given into my hands.

Q. Did you examine them so as to recognize them now, or did you simply pass them over to be printed?—A. The matter was one in which the people of that place were interested at the time, myself among the rest, and I took the pains to look over the manuscripts before sending them to be printed. I had heard the complaint that the exodus from the South had been incited by documents sent down South inviting immigration to Kansas. This relief board had been accused of sending South documents, inviting or tending to encourage the immigration of colored people, and so I looked over these circulars to see if they contained anything of that kind.

Q. What was the result of your examination?—A. I took them to be in substance merely appeals for aid, to get funds for the relief of the needy colored people.

Q. You did not understand that you were printing an incendiary document for circulation at the South?—A. I did not look at it in that light.

Q. From your knowledge of the contents of those papers which were printed in your office, would you say that they were simply solicitations for charity, accompanied with some statements of matters of fact that had come to the knowledge of the Relief Association, or some of its members, through their intercourse with these people?—A. I took them to be solicitations for aid, accompanied sometimes by passages, that it seemed to me, injudicious to distribute.

Q. For what reason injudicious?—A. Because there were passages—I cannot now call to mind exactly what they were—that seemed to me to be to some extent offering encouragement to colored people to come here. That is, by soliciting so much aid, and stating that it was to be given to and distributed among colored people; I thought that might serve as an undue inducement to colored people to come there, and so we would have more of them on our hands than we should have otherwise had.

Q. Undoubtedly it would operate in that way; but do you think that the methods of these people were in any way wrong in issuing such statements to the public as would lead them to exercise a reasonable charity to relieve the sufferings of these destitute people?—A. In regard to that I will say that I am opposed to the exodus to our place; I think we have had too much of it already. It is my opinion that if this relief business were stopped the exodus to that point would soon cease.

Q. You think that if they should fail to find relief there, they might go elsewhere?—A. They might stay where they are.

Q. But under the circumstances of which they complain, do you think that they ought to remain there, and that the Northern people ought to keep them there? If it is their judgment that they can better their condition by going elsewhere, would you prevent them, or object to their going so?—A. I do not say that I would object to their going anywhere or to their coming to Kansas, providing they are able to take care of themselves; but it seems to me that if they are doing reasonably well in the South, it would be better for them to stay there.

Q. If they are doing reasonably well in the South?—A. Yes; then I think it is very injudicious for them to come to Kansas.

Q. But take the cases where they are not doing reasonably well in the South, where they are suffering what they say they are; in such cases do you think that they ought to remain, and that the Northern people ought to help keep them there?—A. I said I doubted whether they could do any better anywhere else.

Q. Are colored people liable to be killed for voting the Republican ticket in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have no doubt that instances of that kind have occurred in the South?—A. I have no doubt that they have.

Q. If the colored people come to Kansas, have you any doubt that they will be able to educate their children as well as the white children are educated in the common schools of the State?—A. I have my doubts about their being afforded in all cases the same privileges as the whites.

Q. They will have the same opportunities, will they not? There is no law excluding colored children from the common schools of Kansas.—

A. In some places the district boards have made laws excluding them.

Q. Where is that?—A. One case is in a district just north of us.

Q. You have known of one case?—A. Yes, sir; and I heard of others.

Q. In what town was that?—A. It was not in any town, it was in the country. Two or three colored families had moved out there, and the district school board refused to admit their children to the school.

Q. I would like to have you give us the names of the members of the school board, so that I could give them the general publicity that ought to attach to an act of that sort.—A. I cannot give the names of the school board; but I can give you the name of my informant, who is a reliable man. He was very indignant at their conduct.

Q. They were Republican managers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the name of that town?—A. It is not in any town; it is a school district out in the country.

Q. Are not your school districts contained in towns?—A. No, sir; they are in townships.

Q. In what township is it?—Q. It is in Soldier Township.

Q. Did you state the name of your informant?—A. His name is Jacob Widler.

Q. How many were excluded?—A. I do not know. It excited great indignation on his part.

Q. You take that to be a rather exceptional case?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. As a rule, all the common schools of your State are open to the colored people, are they not?—A. So far as I know, they are; I suppose they are.

Q. Have you any doubt that a colored man can educate his children in Kansas as well as white men of similar means?—A. I know that in the city of Topeka they have colored schools. I am told that they do not have mixed schools.

Q. But they have the same opportunities for education that white people have? Do you know very much about this matter of education and schools there, anyhow?—A. I know that they have a colored school on the south side of the river, and one on our side of the river.

Q. My question is whether you understand that the colored man can educate his children in the common schools of Kansas?—A. I should judge that he could.

Q. Have you any doubt of it?—A. No, sir; I have no doubt.

Q. What is the length of your schools in Kansas?—A. I think the general run of common schools are held from six to nine months in the year.

Q. If a colored man is not able to educate his children in the part of the South where he happened to live, and can in Kansas, is it your judgment that he had better stay in the South, or had better leave?—A. If he can make a living in the North——

Q. I am assuming that he is not going where he will starve to death, with his whole family.—A. It might be an inducement to him.

Q. You think it might be an inducement for a man to get where he could educate his children? I think so too. Your judgment is that the colored people who are now coming to Kansas better go elsewhere?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You would like to have it understood, as the sentiment of your people on this subject, that the colored people who are now coming to Kansas had better go elsewhere?—A. I would like to have it distinctly understood that we do not want any more of them there.

Q. In regard to those papers, you do not know of any connection between the parties who paid you and the relief association?—A. I never have had any information on that point till this morning. This morning I was informed by the vice-president of the relief association that those circulars were printed without the authority of the association; but that was the first I had heard of it, and it was news to me.

Q. You had never known anything to the contrary?—A. I had supposed, from the fact that the secretary of the association paid the bills for the printing, that the printing had been ordered by the association.

Q. Who is the secretary?—A. Laura S. Haviland.

Mr. BLAIR. I thought you said they were not signed by her as secretary.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. On whom was the check drawn?—A. On the Citizens' Bank, North Topeka.

Mr. BLAIR. That is not a relief association, is it?

Mr. VANCE. Sometimes it relieves a man a good deal.

Q. Who is president of that bank?—A. Mr. J. Thomas.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Are you aware of the fact that those circulars were all paid for with the private funds of Mrs. Comstock, and that the relief association had no knowledge of it whatever?—A. I was so informed this morning.

Q. By the vice-president of the association, who is present and listening to this testimony?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have no doubt that he states the truth?—A. I have no reason or disposition to disbelieve his word.

Q. Is it not a fact that in the direct examination the words in regard to your being paid by the association were rather put into your mouth in the form of the examination, than testified to originally by yourself?

A. I do not think I testified that they were paid for by the association; I think I said, by "Laura S. Haviland, secretary"; and that I then understood that they were paid for by the association.

Q. Then you do not wish to be understood as testifying that you were employed to do that printing by the relief association, nor by any one on behalf of that association, nor that you were paid by that association; but that previously you supposed so?—A. I had previously supposed so.

Q. But you do not now mean to be understood as testifying that you were employed by the association, or paid by the association, or by any one on behalf of the association?—A. I have an idea that they represented themselves to be agents of the association.

Mr. VANCE. Is this worth while? Those ladies were undoubtedly agents. Mr. Reynolds says that Mrs. Comstock furnished nearly all the funds of the association.

Mr. BLAIR. But it turns out that he does not know anything about it.

Mr. VANCE. Then who in thunder does?

The WITNESS. I would like to say that it is understood generally, I believe, there, that Mrs. Comstock, Mrs. Haviland, Mr. Watson, and Mr. J. M. Brown constitute the business portion of the relief association; at least, they are the ones that relieve the funds. I know I have been in the post office there when Mr. Watson received money, which had been sent to him, which he stated was for the relief these darkies; and I know that they have their offices in the Relief Association building.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Does it follow that they had no other business?—A. We never saw them doing anything else.

Q. How long have you known them?—A. Ever since they have been here.

Q. How long have they been there?—A. Several months; I cannot tell exactly how long.

Q. That is all the business they do, so far as you know?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you sure that you know all the business they do?—A. Of course I cannot say that.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You say that you are opposed to this exodus; that you think it has been an injury to your country?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Even if the colored people are treated as badly as they represent at home, and are compelled to leave, or think it better for them to leave you think it better for them to go to some other State than Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You do not think that Kansas is under any obligation to take care of all the people in the world who cannot get along well at home?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear of colored children being excluded from the public schools of Texas?—A. I never did.

Q. You have heard of their being excluded from the public schools of Kansas?—A. I have heard of this one case, that is all.

Q. I understood you to say that you knew of that one case, and had heard of others?—A. I have seen it stated, but I cannot now say where that there were one or two other cases.

Q. There is no kind of doubt, is there, that the people of Kansas would rather have white folks come there than black folks?—A. I am sure that the people of Kansas rather have white people who can take care of themselves than colored people who cannot. I do not wish to be understood as saying that the people of Kansas have any objection to the immigration of colored people who have the means to take care of themselves.

Q. They claim a white man's chance; and if they will take a white man's chance you are willing to have them come?—A. Yes, sir; if they will take a white man's chances, and not ask for anything more.

FORTY-SEVENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Friday, April 16, 1880.*

Committee met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded with the taking of testimony.

TESTIMONY OF W. M. TWINE.

WILLIAM TWINE (colored) was sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Twine, where do you live?—Answer. In the city of Atchison, State of Kansas.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Nineteen years.

Q. What do you do?—A. I am a minister of the gospel there.

Q. Of what denomination?—A. Of the Baptist Church. I am also engaged in the real estate, house-renting, and employment business.

Q. You have paid some attention, I believe to the arrival of colored people in your State from the South?—A. Yes, sir. I have been very closely connected with it. Being a negro, I cannot help but notice it.

Q. Have you mingled with them freely?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with many of them?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with them.

Q. What conclusion have you reached on this point, as to whether it is better for them to come there or to remain where they are?—A. I have

ched, Senator, what seems to me the only honest and sensible conclusion that anybody could reach, knowing the situation of affairs in Kansas as I do. So far as I have conversed with the people of Kansas on the subject, they are not pleased with these people, not because they are colored people, but because they are of that class that Kansas has no use in the world, whether white or black. We are poor people there, and mostly farmers in the country, and labor such as this that comes here is liable to create hostility and labor under many disadvantages.

Q. Is there any demand there for this kind of labor?—A. No, sir.

Q. No matter whether it is white or black?—A. No, sir. If there was demand for unskilled labor, we would want them to come there; there are two kinds of emigrants who come there to settle, of these colored people; there are some from Mississippi and Louisiana, and another class from Tennessee and Kentucky; that the class of men from Kentucky and Tennessee is a different class from those from the other Southern States. It is even then, so much different as they are, we have no need of them. We have more men and women seeking labor in Kansas who live here than get steady employment, besides those colored people who came there last year.

Q. Is there any suffering or distress among these colored people?—A. There is a great deal. Last year there came up a boat-load of colored people from Saint Louis, or somewhere else, and landed in Atchison. I have seen some suffering among my people, but I never saw as much together as I saw there. It seems to me that the entire boat-load of them, with few exceptions, had no money or means to subsist upon, and were thrown off on our wharf and left there, and the citizens, without regard to race, color, or previous condition, were called upon to relieve them; and we went to work and did the best we could for them. We put them in the churches, and I had to vacate my office a while, and let them stay in there, because their condition touched all those who had hearts and who sympathize with distress. A good many of them were taken sick, and many of them died. There was a terrible state of affairs among us; so much so that it aroused the citizens, and many of them grew very bitter against these people. Just about that time, rumors came that others of these people were coming, and there was a general feeling among the whites to keep them from coming. I had taken some interest in politics here and had succeeded, partly by my efforts, in electing a mayor and council of seven out of eight on the Democratic ticket. It seemed that the citizens wanted to stop these people, and that fact came to my ears, together with the fact that the mayor was disposed to do so. I went to the mayor and said that I did not want to be an instrument in the hands of the Republicans to do anything to injure our own people; that they were not to blame for coming in that way, that they could not be; that they were illiterate and had come; that there were some other inducements; that I was as firm and solid a Democrat as he was; that I had supported him, and would do so without injury to my race, and I wanted him to see that we were not wronged. He said, "I will see to that," and he said he would see that there were no rash or violent steps taken to injure the colored people. At that I rested, and they have been there since, and found their way on into the country; a good many of them are at work now and then, when they can find work.

Q. Are these people still coming there?—A. Not in as great numbers as they have been; they come two or three at a time every little while, more or less.

Q. If you have any other statement to make on the subject, we would be glad to hear you.—A. Senator, I feel to say this: that there is a

feeling that seems to be uppermost in the minds of a good many respecting this exodus investigation, which you have had the honor to bring before the American people. I feel to say this, that I regard it as a good and statesmanlike movement; and why I do so is this: that it is unnatural for the colored people of the Southern States to be moving into the Northwestern States; into States that are not at all congenial to their natures, and the agricultural pursuits of which are different from those of the South. They are coming in such numbers as have attracted the attention of the citizens of the Northern and Northwestern States. So alarming has the movement become that it has attracted the attention of the whole American people, and I know of no better way for the American people to arrive at the true causes of it than the way which you have adopted. If the causes of the exodus lie at the door of these Southern planters, the people want to know it; and if it lies at the door of designing, corrupt carpet-baggers and politicians, I want to know it, and so do the American people. I have no fault to find with you, or the Senate, for opening the door to an investigation that will lead to find out the causes of this ruinous course of the colored people of the South.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. When did you go to Kansas?—A. In 1862.

Q. Where from?—A. From Saint Louis, sir.

Q. What did you go there for?—A. As a missionary; I was sent out there from Saint Louis.

Q. Then you did not go there to improve your own condition, but that of others?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were your politics when you went there?—A. I was a Democrat, if anything; but the right of suffrage had not been extended to us then.

Q. You went there when, did you say?—A. In 1862.

Q. That was when Missouri was a slave State yet?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there many colored people in Kansas then?—A. No, sir; not many.

Q. And you say it is not a good place for them to go to?—A. I do not say that it is not a good place for the colored people exclusively.

Q. You complimented the Senator, who is chairman of this committee very highly for trying to keep them out of there.—A. No, sir; I complimented him for trying to find out the causes of this movement.

Q. You spoke of it as the ruin of your people.—A. I say, in the manner in which they are going, it is the ruin of them.

Q. You spoke of their going into a country where they do not understand the method of doing things, agricultural or otherwise, as they do in the South.—A. Yes, sir; and I had in mind when I said that their helpless condition.

Q. You do not think Kansas is a good place for them?—A. I do not.

Q. Why?—A. Because it is comparatively a poor State.

Q. The climate and the lands are all right, are they not?—A. The lands are all right, but the climate is not as congenial for them as the climate of the South.

Q. It was all right before the war, was it not, when the South went to fight because we proposed to make Kansas a free State, and they wanted to make it a slave State?—A. I do not think it was then, even now. I think it is a high climate, and not adapted to them.

Q. You say you were a Democrat before the days of slavery?—A. I think I know the meaning of the word, and I was.

Q. Were you a Democrat while that party was holding four millions your people in slavery?—A. Yes, sir; I was a Democrat, but I do not understand that it was the Democrats who were holding them in slavery.

Q. Were there any Republicans doing it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of them?—A. A good many.

Q. But were not nineteen-twentieths of the slaveholders Democrats?

A. Yes, sir; I suppose so. But a man cannot act with a party properly and intelligently unless he has a right to vote with it.

Q. Well, you could not vote, but did you approve of Democratic doctrines?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And agreed with the Democrats in policy?—A. Yes, sir, I did, because it is humane and right.

Q. Do you think it was humane and right for them to hold four or five millions of your people in slavery?—A. It was not right to hold them in slavery; they were departing from the faith while they were doing that.

Q. Was not it so then as a fact?—A. Well, Senator, you understand the meaning of the word, and you know what I mean when I said I was a Democrat.

Q. I ask, did not the men who composed that party principally in the South comprise also the slaveholding party?—A. Yes, sir; I believe that is true.

Q. Did you approve of it then?—A. I approved the Democratic doctrines then; but I did not approve of slavery.

Q. Do you think that you can approve of the Democratic policy without approving of what the Democratic party did?—A. Cannot I be a Christian without being a hypocrite? and I can be a Democrat without approving what I do not consider Democratic principles.

Q. Can you be a Democrat without approving of Democratic policy?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you opposed to slavery?—A. Most assuredly.

Q. Did you give your influence to help the Democrats to control the Government?—A. At that time; no, sir.

Q. How came you to be a Democrat?—A. Did I not tell you that I knew what the word meant, and that I believed in it?

Q. But you said you were a Democrat before the days of slavery?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you not try to run on the Republican ticket in Kansas once?

A. Never in my life. There was at one time a colored organization in the State of Kansas, and I was a member of it. We held a State convention, and the object of the organization was to obtain from the legislature and the people the right to vote. I was their spokesman in that convention, and I was appointed one of a committee to memorialize the legislature to admit so many of our race as could read and write to the privilege of voting.

Q. Were you a member of the Republican party at that time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you try to get a nomination from the party?—A. No, sir. I did this: after suffrage was granted I was an independent candidate for member of the board of education for the fourth ward.

Q. Did the Democrats vote for you?—A. Yes, sir; solid.

Q. You were a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir; and an independent candidate.

Q. Now as to your church—are you the minister there now?—A. No, sir; I resigned the pastorate.

Q. Were you not deposed?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you not turned out for stealing five or six hundred dollars?—A. No, sir; O, no; I resigned willingly, because they were not able to support me.

Q. Was there no charge of any kind against you?—A. No, sir; there was no charge.

Q. Do you insist that there was no charge against you when you resigned?—A. No, sir; no more than there is against you.

Q. How many other colored people are there in your vicinity who are Democrats?—A. I do not know, sir. There are two or three others who are men enough to stand up and say they are Democrats.

Q. That makes you very conspicuous among them, does it not?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. That effort that you made to get suffrage for your race—in what year was that?—A. It was since the war, about the time they were constructing the Southern States.

Q. Were you not allowed to vote in Kansas then?—A. No, sir.

Q. What party was in power there?—A. The Republican party at the time.

Q. They did not refuse to let a black man vote, did they?—A. They did, sir.

Q. Is that so?—A. That is so. And they did another thing; I do not believe in a man acting like a child; as I said, the colored men organized to ask for suffrage, and the legislature submitted that question to the people, coupled with female suffrage; and myself and Mr. Langston and Mr. Morris, I think, were appointed by the colored people to make speeches urging the voters to adopt that amendment. During the pendency of the measure I met a gentleman in discussion, a Republican who was very anxious for the people to adopt female suffrage. I got through my speech, and I thought that it was strange that he had said nothing about the other movement. He got up and said that he was a radical Republican, and he would have Parson Twine understand that the white men of Kansas thought their wives much more intelligent than the negroes, and that they could vote much more intelligently; and he thought that a man could be as good a Republican, and yet oppose negro suffrage, as he could be if he was in favor of it. I replied to him and said I wanted heaven to be silent, and the recording angel to write it down in blood, that if I knew myself, and those sentiments which I uttered were Republican sentiments, then I was not a Republican.

Q. What became of that movement?—A. The Republicans had a majority of between thirty and forty thousand, in the State, and they defeated it by fifteen to twenty thousand.

Q. Mr. Windom seemed to rake you over the coals about the Southern people holding slaves; do you know how the negroes came to be here in this country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who brought them to this country, the Southern people, or the people of New England?—A. They were brought by New England men; slavery was here before there was a Republican or a Democratic party; now, then, knowing all that, I have tried to learn the condition and feeling of the two classes of people in this country as regards the negro; I have read carefully the debates of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln in 1858; Lincoln was the head of the Republican party; but Mr.

coln said he was not in favor of making voters or jurors out of negroes, or the bringing of negroes onto a social equality with the whites. Now, I know, strictly speaking, that was not Democratic doctrine. Entertaining such views as I did, I had to watch what cost the freedom of my race, and inquire whether it was the intention of the men who claimed to have freed them to do that when they went into the field, or was it to keep slavery in the Union for which they were fighting. The conclusion I arrived at was, that you Southern people wanted to take it out of the Union, and that others wanted to keep it. That being my conclusion, when my people were made free by military necessity, I wanted to adopt the best method of bringing about a reconciliation between my people and that class of whites that they could get along with. I indorsed the freedom of my race, and their enfranchisement, and I think every man in the nation who helped them should have our thanks. But if we had adopted a policy of conciliation it would have been the better plan; and I urged that in any case. I wanted to see a carpet-bagger down South, but I saw that my policy of harmonizing the races did not accord with the ideas of the carpet-baggers and body-shirt fellows. I wanted to go down with the olive-branch in one hand and the oil of consolation in the other. I wanted to say to them, negroes are not responsible for the blood that was shed, and the wrong through which they made free, but it was the result of the methods adopted to suppress the rebellion. Now be good and kind to each other, and the negroes will be good and kind and faithful to the whites.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. You vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir; for slavery is dead, and there are no tears to be shed over it now.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. You understand that it was the New England people who introduced slavery into this country; do you know how they got rid of their slaves? Did they free them, or sell them?—A. They sold them, and carried them off.

Q. And thanked God that they were not like other people, then?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. Do you think that, for two or three hundred years the New England people were slaveholders?—A. No, sir; I did not say that.

Q. Do you think that they have not held any slaves for two hundred years? Do you not know that that is true?—A. It may be.

Q. Do you not know it has been the Democratic party mainly who owned the slaves?—A. No, sir; I do not know that.

Q. Well, say for the last twenty years of slavery?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you say you thank everybody who helped to free the slaves. Do you know that not one Democrat in a hundred in Congress voted to give them their right of suffrage?—A. Yes, sir; but I have got to call your attention to the time in Kansas when I was speaking to a member of the legislature, and I told him, I want you to vote for the question when submitted to the people; and he said he would do it willingly if he thought these colored men had the sense to use the right as a white man has; and he said, if we go and give it to them the Republicans will claim them and insist on their voting with them.

Q. Do you not know that it was the Republicans alone in Congress who gave the suffrage to the colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you not know that it was them who freed the slaves in the

District of Columbia, and that the Democrats were all against it?—
Yes, sir.

Q. Do you not know that the Republicans voted for and passed every amendment that was to give you any of your rights?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you thank the men who did it, but vote with those who opposed it?—A. Yes, sir; I do now; I approve of the policy of the Democratic party now.

Q. You have been approving for it all the time?—A. No, sir; during the pending of those questions in Congress I was in favor of everything done by Congress to give us our rights.

Q. Were you a Republican then?—A. No, sir; no more than I am now.

Q. You are a Democrat now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And were then?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And yet you vote with the Democrats who tried to keep you of your rights?—A. I could not vote then at all.

Q. Still you believed in them?—A. No, sir; not in that part of the doctrine.

Q. I thought you swore that you were a Democrat?—A. I hope it is recorded there.

Q. Do you not think that heaven would rebel at the idea of a colored man being a Democrat?—A. No, sir; I do not think there are enough Republicans there to get up a rebellion.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. How long have you been here?—A. Since the 27th.

Q. What is the course adopted here by colored people toward colored men who are brought here to testify before this committee? Are they approached and attempts made to control them in their testimony?—A. Well, it is done to this extent: I have met several of the colored men and white men too, who seem to assume the authority to ostracize every man who does not agree with them, and to say whether a man should be a Democrat or a Republican. I have had some personal remarks about it made to me.

Q. A sort of bulldozing?—A. Yes, sir; regular bulldozing; and they do that in Kansas too. I received several letters there, saying that if I spoke for Tilden out there, they would run me off.

Q. Do you think that this government guarantees the right of a man to be a Democrat as much as a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It seems to be the idea in some places in this country that he has only the right to be a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; and I lay it at the doors of the Republicans who have misinstructed our people on that point.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You are a kind of dictionary Democrat, are you not?—A. I am a consistent Democrat.

Q. You are a dictionary Democrat; just what the word means?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are a dictionary Democrat and not a partisan Democrat; you were a dictionary Democrat before the war?—A. Yes, sir. That is the right thing; take the word as it means and stick to that; that is the kind of man I am, dyed in the wool.

Q. I see you are?—A. Yes, sir; that is the kind of man I am.

Q. You spoke of stumping the State for the Democrats. Now, did not you and Captain Matthews travel all over the State talking for Tilden?—A. We traveled some.

Did anybody interfere with you?—A. Well, they talked about it, tried to scare me.

They simply said that you ought not to be a Democrat?—A. Yes, and they tried to keep me from speaking.

Did anybody raise a row with you?—A. Yes, sir; once we had a ocratic procession, and a negro man staggered into the procession, they took him out, and there was a terrible row about it.

Was he a Democrat?—A. He said he was.

Then all the instance you can give is that a man who was stagger- n your procession was taken out?—A. No, sir; I received a good y anonymous letters, telling me to go out of town.

Did you go?—A. Not until I got ready.

What became of that man who was taken out of your procession?— They dragged that fellow into the post-office and wanted him to take oath.

By Mr. VANCE :

What sort of oath?—A. Oath not to vote the Democratic ticket. is, they took him in there and made him promise not to vote the ocratic ticket, and he did so.

Where did he live?—A. He lived at Mount Pleasant.

By Senator WINDOM .

They never took you in anywhere, did they?—A. No, sir; I am hat kind of material.

It is not safe for a negro to vote the Democratic ticket out there, ?—A. No, sir; I did not say that.

Do you think it is safe for a negro to vote the Republican ticket in South, freely?—A. I do not know, sir.

What is your opinion?—A. My opinion is that there has been e very imprudent acts committed there by both parties.

Is that the strongest term you can give it?—A. Yes, sir; I say so.

TESTIMONY OF V. J. LANE.

J. LANE was sworn and examined as follows :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. What is your profession?—Answer. I am an editor and pub- r.

Where is your place of residence?—A. Wyandotte, Kansas.

Of what paper are you the editor and publisher?—A. Of the Wyan- e Herald.

What is the politics of that paper?—A. Democratic.

Have you given any attention to the subject we are investigating, Lane?—A. I did some time early in the spring and summer of

And not since then?—A. No, sir. The first of these emigrants came in were landed at our place and we went to work and man- d to have the point of destination changed to Topeka, and since then ve not paid much attention to it.

Why did you get the point of destination changed?—A. Our ple were very hostile to their coming there.

So much so as to make it necessary to change the point of des- tion?—A. Well, sir, a few of us had serious fears of a riot and we ght it best to have it changed.

Q. What road was bringing them in there?—A. They came by boat because the railroads would not bring them through the State of Missouri.

Q. How many were landed before the change was made?—A. Without count, I should say two or three thousand.

Q. Were there that many who remained there?—A. No, sir; we shipped them away. We organized a committee and it became their duty to ship them off to other points.

Q. How many remained in and about Wyandotte? Of those who came in on this recent immigration, how many remained there?—A. We have a large colored population which came there during the war from Missouri. They are still there, but of these last not many remained.

Q. Where were they scattered to?—A. I think we shipped four hundred and fifty to Lawrence, two hundred and seventy-five to Leavenworth, two hundred to Ottawa, a hundred or two to Hamilton, and after that I think we consigned them to Governor St. John at Topeka.

Q. You say there was a great deal of hostility to their coming to your place?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How large a place is Wyandotte?—A. It has from five to six thousand population.

Q. Was there any party politics in this opposition that was manifested after their arrival there?—A. No, sir. If I were to estimate it, I should say that the Republican party were more hostile than the Democrats.

Q. How is the city of Wyandotte—Republican or Democratic?—A. I think a large majority of citizens in the city and county are Democratic, but as I have said we have a large colored population which is Republican, and it makes it close both in the city and county.

Q. You spoke of a large colored population who came in to you during the war from Missouri. How did they regard this immigration, and did they desire this large influx of southern negroes?—A. No, sir; they were as much opposed to it as the whites; and while there are a few of these Mississippi and Louisiana negroes still there, they do not associate or affiliate with the older negroes. There is as much difference between them as there is between the day and night, and the regular negroes there do not want anything to do with them.

Q. Was there any charity done for these people while they were there?—A. Yes, sir; I think there were two or three hundred who came first, and two or three days afterward four or five hundred came, and they were turned out on the levee, the most God-forsaken set of people I ever saw. They were entirely destitute, and it looked like the almshouses of the Mississippi valley had been searched to get them together, and it became an act of humanity to do something for their relief. We called a meeting and appointed a committee to raise some funds by subscription to feed them and send them off. A portion of them wanted to go to Hodgeman County, and others to the Nicodemus colony—a negro colony in Kansas. None of them, hardly, had any money, and this committee was to raise money to send them off. Instead of doing so, however, they invested some of the money in a barracks, and commenced to feed them there; and then the trouble increased, and our mayor, who was a sort of wishy-washy man—first one way and then the other—did not know what to do with them. We called another meeting, and raised another committee, increased the number of it, and organized and appointed an executive committee of George W. Miller, George W. Bishop and myself, and we were to see to the shipping of them. Miller was president and myself secretary. We then issued an appeal to the humane people of the country to assist us in getting aid of them. Hiram

Worthup, a banker, was elected treasurer, and we asked that money be sent to him. Two or three thousand dollars in money, some provisions, and a little in the way of clothing was received. We then sent a committee to Governor St. John, to see if he could not get transportation for them, and get them away. He failed to make any arrangement, and I believe he could not do so. I then went with Miller to Mr. B. D. Brook, the general ticket agent of the Kansas Pacific road. He was not inclined to give us any answer; but I said I was on business, and I wanted a direct answer, that we could get transportation for them, and we came to him as a matter of courtesy first, and if we could not get it from him, we could get it from the receiver, Mr. Smith. He then gave us rates so that we could send them to Ellis, three hundred miles west—paying for adults a dollar a head, with children and baggage free. For intermediate points we paid fifty and seventy-five cents for adults. We then made our first shipment. The next day they sent over a train, and I think we loaded up four hundred and fifty. When they were loaded up, the railroad people said we would have to consign them to somebody. We did consign them to T. D. Fisher, editor of the Lawrence Journal. We distributed three hundred loaves of bread among them, as they would not get into Ellis until in the nighttime. We then tore down the barracks and sold them—sold them to those who wanted to go to work. I think one bought some of the lumber and put up a blacksmith shop, and another a carpenter shop, and some of the white people bought some.

The next shipment was sent to Leavenworth. In the mean time the citizens held a meeting and passed resolutions that no more of these people could be landed at Wyandotte. The resolutions were so worded that if the citizens could not prevent it in any other way, they would use force and violence. I opposed those resolutions, and said that this was a free country, and these people had a right to come. Of course it was unfortunate for us to have such a large indigent population set down on us; but we could not prevent them by force from coming. The public feeling ran high, and the mayor was called upon to appoint a police force of fifty to go down to the wharves and prevent them from landing from the boats. The mayor was a weak man, and he did not know what to do. I told him not to do it, and if he did he would see more bloodshed there than he had ever seen anywhere in his life. We then appointed a committee of the mayor and Senator Barham to go to Saint Louis and try to stop these shipments. They could not do it, and appointed Miller and myself to go up and see if we could not get the State committee at Topeka to take the matter out of our hands, and see if we could not have them sent through Kansas City instead of through our own, and also to get Governor St. John to send out a statement above his signature as governor, and as chairman of their State committee, that Kansas was not offering inducements to people to come there, and stating the trouble they would have in coming there, and being set down on lands that were raw, without anything to do or anything to eat. We got their committee together, and they were pretty loth to do anything; but finally they agreed to get up an address to the colored people of the South, and send it to the associated press throughout the country. I expected to read it the next morning, but it did not appear, and I have learned since I have come away the reason. They said the address would be eliminated before it got South; that is, cut up, or not sent at all. We did manage to get the State committee to take charge of the matter, and since then we have had no trouble on account of it.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. What is the politics of the mayor of Wyandotte?—A. Great God I could not tell you ; but he professes to be a Republican.

Q. Was he elected by the Republicans?—A. Well, I do not suppose that many Democrats voted for him.

Q. Did they have a candidate of their own opposed to him?—A. Yes sir.

Q. What do you know of the Graham County colony in Kansas?—A. I have heard several reports from it. I think Mr. Smith, the receiver of the Kansas Pacific road, told me that it was a success ; but other parties have told me that it was not, and that the people out there were not wanted.

Q. Was not there, immediately after that resolution was passed recommending violence against the landing of these people, a meeting called to take opposite action?—A. I called it then and there, and called upon Senator Judd to take the chair, and we repudiated that action.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Was this meeting which passed these resolutions concerning violence composed of men of both parties?—A. Yes, sir ; there were some Republican officials who were the most rampant people in it.

Q. Did any of the leading Republicans call a meeting to repudiate that action?—A. No, sir ; they never did, except what they did there that night.

Q. Some of the Republicans joined with you in that action?—A. Yes sir.

Q. Party politics, then, did not cut much figure in it?—A. Not a bit.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Senator Beckham was active in opposing that action, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Did you interest yourself in regard to these folks returning home?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what extent?—A. There were some of them who wanted to return home, and a firm in Saint Louis sent a dispatch to the mayor of Kansas City to say to our committee that Wallace and Company, or, rather, Mr. Wallace, who was a member of the firm, would respect any orders of our committee, they would honor any of them, and carry these people back, and as they applied for them, I issued the orders to them.

Q. How many orders do you think you issued?—A. Without counting them, I should say over three hundred.

Q. These orders to return?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what place did these people return?—A. Some of them went to Hinds County, Mississippi, and some to Madison Parish, Louisiana, and other different points in Louisiana and Mississippi.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Did I understand you to say there was a fund raised to take them back?—A. No, sir ; I cannot say there was, to my knowledge ; but the planters in the South made some arrangements with Wallace and Company to bring them back.

TESTIMONY OF F. M. STRINGFIELD.

F. M. STRINGFIELD was sworn and examined as follows :

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Stringfield, where do you reside?—Answer. In Topeka, Kansas.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Nine years.

Q. Where did you live prior to that?—A. I lived in the city of Washington for eleven years.

Q. Did you go from here to Topeka?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are a physician, I believe?—A. Yes, sir; I have been practicing my profession; that is my main business.

Q. State what has been your observation of these immigrants, their number, and the demand for them in Kansas.—A. The first knowledge that I had of them, so far as Topeka is concerned, was about the 15th April, 1879, when the troubles at Wyandotte called attention to the fact that there was an exodus of negroes into the State. Then they held a meeting of colored people on the 21st of the month, on Monday night, at the Baptist Church, to make arrangements to meet them and receive them, and on Saturday night there was a call by Governor St. John and others designating the Opera House for Sunday night for the same purpose. The churches were all closed and the ministers invited, and the Opera House was filled with a large audience. Governor St. John and others occupied the platform, and stated that the object of the meeting was to organize a State committee to relieve the exodites who were coming into the State, and inflammatory speeches were made by him and others on the subject. It was all gotten up and arranged beforehand what would be done there, for when the committees were appointed Governor St. John would draw from his pocket names of the gentlemen who would be members of the committee.

Some \$500 were obtained from the audience, and from that time on Governor St. John and these men assumed control of the exodus movement. The exodites then began to come in in large numbers, and Mr. Dawson, a brother-in-law of the governor's, was made general superintendent of the organization. He was active in going to other points and bringing the exodites there, and means were taken to enlist the sympathies of the Northern people, because they would contribute money to relieve the exodites. The funds have been used by Governor St. John and these people of this organization, which was a charitable association, chartered, so as to sue and be sued in the courts of the State.

The first scheme was to colonize them, and this association purchased two sections of land in Wabaunsee. Dawson was to purchase the land and put the exodites on it, and the colony is still in existence there, but how successful it is I don't know. A barracks was erected in North Topeka to receive those who were not colonized, as the colonization was growing objectionable and did not turn out well. Governor St. John, in his speech at the Opera House, threw the doors of the State wide open, and said he wanted a million of them to come in. His speech was published and circulated, telling negroes to come to Kansas, away from their persecutors. In his speech at the barrack and in his speech everywhere else, he has always conveyed the idea that the opportunities for them to succeed and improve were better in Kansas than elsewhere.

Q. Do you think that is the prevailing opinion now, or only that of the governor of the State?—A. I know it is the general opinion of the people that he is responsible for it, and he is charged with it, so much

so, that he has had to come down and try to make an official denial of his responsibility for it.

Q. Do you think the public opinion of Kansas is against this immigration?—A. Undoubtedly so; it is against it. In the first place the climate is against them, and want of labor is against them, and they have no knowledge of the class of work that we know about there.

Q. They do not know how to work on the Kansas farm system?—A. No, sir.

Q. None of them, or at least very few, are mechanics?—A. No, sir; they are all unskilled laborers, and they have largely displaced the white labor of the State and driven it out, and therefore are a positive detriment to the State.

Q. What do you think of the effect of this movement on white immigration into the State?—A. On that account the immigration has been very materially lessened, because the reputation is growing that Kansas is to be filled up with this labor, and hence the whites do not want to come.

Q. What do the people think of the prospects of this immigration continuing?—A. There has been strong apprehension that under the present arrangement of the concern it will continue.

Q. Well, that appears to be a sort of headquarters for it at Topeka?—A. Yes, sir. We have what is known as a State relief committee organized by the governor and State officials and chartered under the State laws.

Q. Is it understood to be merely an association for affording relief to those who come, or is it used for the purpose of inducing them to come?—A. As I was going on to say, the State officials have since largely withdrawn from it, and it is now another sort of organization with Rev. J. E. Gilbert at the head of it. A negro meeting was held on Monday night, and St. John and Gilbert went over and made it a part of the older scheme. Those gentlemen took charge of it, I think because it was of political expediency to them in trying to get the benefit of it if the negroes came in such large numbers as to be available as voters.

Q. Then it is now in the hands of the preachers?—A. Yes, sir; preachers and politicians.

Q. I am afraid the exodites will never quit them.—A. No, sir; they have a set of printed circulars now which read either way; they either encourage the negroes to come or they do not. They are circulated in the North to get assistance, and in the South to keep up the exodus. It pictures to the negroes the benefits to be derived through the aid of the board, and to the people of the North it tells of the distress of the negroes in Kansas, and they get money on account of it.

Q. Do you know a colored man named Lynch?—A. Yes, sir. He has been an employé of the board, and came from Philadelphia as a missionary to these negroes.

Q. He has never been in the South, has he?—A. No, sir; not that I know of. I think he had been a coachman to some Philadelphia gentleman, and became converted and came out to Kansas as a missionary.

Q. We have a paper here signed by W. O. Lynch, in which there is an invitation to 50,000 colored people to come to Kansas and 50,000 more to Illinois.—A. Yes; I have heard of it.

Q. What do you know about these people returning home, any of them?—A. So far as their returning home is concerned, that State organization has thrown every obstacle in their way. Their applications

to return have been directly and emphatically refused by the members of this board.

Q. You have heard one gentleman who stated that they were refused on the ground that the money was not sent out there for that purpose?

A. It has been so that if a negro had any idea of going away from here he dared not communicate it, as the other negroes would then denounce him as an antagonist of the board and the race.

Q. You think the board had for one of its purposes the bringing of them out there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When they wanted to get back they said that was out of their line?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they discouraged it as much as they could?—A. Yes, sir; because there have been several pacific attempts on the part of men from the South to get their labor by getting them back to the South.

Q. How many of these people connected with this organization live here at those headquarters?—A. The moving spirit is this Quakeress, Mrs. Comstock, and her daughter, Mrs. Haverly, this man Dawson, and a woman named Perry, who makes her living by writing circulars and articles in the papers on this subject. Then there is this colored man, who calls himself Col. John M. Brown. He is the superintendent of the board, and gets \$60 a month.

Q. What political aspect has this matter in your judgment?—A. Of course it is my own judgment that it is a political scheme. If you will look at the vote of Kansas in 1876, we cast 122,000 votes; the Republicans cast 78,000, the Democrats 40,000, and the Greenbackers 4,000. In 1878, two years later, the vote was 138,000, an increase of about 16,000 votes; the Republicans were about 76,000, a loss of 2,000; the Democrats cast 34,000, and the Greenbackers 26,000, demonstrating, beyond doubt, that the white gain for the last two years was anti-Republican, and hence I think the true secret of St. John's interest is, that if this increase is not checked and counteracted, the State will come over and become anti-Republican, which is an object of special interest to him, because he was elected by 9,000 only, falling several thousand below the other men on the ticket. He established the doctrine of one term for governor, defeating Governor Anthony. Now he desires a re-election, but in the face of this declaration he can do nothing without he could get something else on which to stand. He has been very active over the State in the temperance movement, hoping to pack the conventions and rely on the negroes to carry him through.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Do you suppose there is any design on their part to decrease the census returns of the South and increase those of Kansas?—A. I have heard it stated that it was the object of the board to keep them through until after the census and election, and then the board would disperse.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Where do you get at that knowledge?—A. From the disposition they have manifested of retaining them there when the sentiment of the State is against it. There is no call for their labor, and they are destitute, and must suffer if kept there.

Q. Did you ever hear any member of the board say anything of the sort?—A. That board is a close corporation, and would not be disposed to tell it if it was true. I have heard it discussed by others, though.

Q. Did you ever hear it discussed by anybody who seemed to be promoting the movement?—A. No, sir; I don't think they would show their

hands that way. I simply swear that there is a belief out there, to a certain extent, that that is the object of the movement.

Q. Do you think they have got them to come out there to carry the State?—A. No, sir; I think they believe it is necessary to stop the white immigration and change its character politically.

Q. Give us the Democratic vote again of 1876.—A. It was 40,000.

Q. What was it in 1878?—A. Thirty-four thousand, and the Greenback vote was 26,000.

Q. Then the Democratic vote fell off?—A. It went into the Greenback vote. As I said before, the sentiment was changing.

Q. Do you argue that because the Democratic vote was smaller in 1878 than in 1876, the Republicans got scared at the outlook?—A. No, sir; but there is an idea there that this fall the Greenbackers and Democrats may join hands and make the State very doubtful.

Q. Do you infer from the figures that the immigration of white people was wholly Democratic?—A. I think the Greenback vote was largely Democratic.

Q. Now do you say that the Democratic vote has increased or decreased in 1878 or 1876?—A. I think it fell short five or six thousand.

Q. Then you argue that all the white immigration has been Democratic?—A. I think it has been largely anti-Republican.

Q. Will you answer my question?—A. I cannot tell you any better from the fact that the Greenback and Democratic vote is practically the same.

Q. You cannot tell whether you should infer that the immigration was Democratic?—A. I infer that it was from the fact that many of the Democrats went into the Greenback party.

Q. Do not you know that a large part of the Greenback vote is Republican?—A. I know sixty per cent. of it is Democratic and forty per cent. Republican.

Q. You are about the only man in Kansas who is frightened about this political movement, are you not?—A. No, sir; if the immigration will keep on there in the way it has been doing we will be satisfied, and there are many of them who think as I do.

Q. What are your politics?—A. Democratic.

Q. You have been opposed to this exodus?—A. I thought it was the foulest sort of business to deceive this people and bring them there in poverty.

Q. Were you not in favor of it at one time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you not employed by this relief society?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were not you a physician of these immigrants?—A. No, sir; I volunteered to serve them and I received no pay for it.

Q. Did you receive no pay from the committee nor from the negroes?—A. No, sir; they imported a young man from New York who took my place and they paid him.

Q. Did not they charge that you had charged them too much for your services?—A. No, sir; I made no charge.

Q. Were you not more friendly to it before you were turned out than since?—A. No, sir.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What were the politics of this young man who was imported from New York?—A. He was a young man just graduated, a nephew of Chaplain Hibben. He was brought out there and given this thing in charge.

Witness here gave the following account :

From the Daily Capital (Republican), Topeka, Kans., May 24, 1879.

WHO IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THIS MISMANAGEMENT ?

We visited the fair grounds this morning for the purpose of examining the condition of the colored people quartered there. For several days we have heard rumors to the effect that there was a fearful want of management in the care of the poor sick people there. Not wishing to do anything to assist in the circulation of a story that might not be true, we have kept still.

This morning we found about seventy refugees on the grounds, a large proportion of them being women and children. Of this number there are at least twenty who are sick and unable to do anything toward supporting themselves. One woman has been and still is very sick with pneumonia and pleurisy, while her little boy, some seven or eight years old, has measles. Two or three men have consumption, and may possibly not recover. One old man is very low with bloody flux, and chances are that he will die.

And right here we enter our protest against the management, or rather mismanagement, in the case of the sick. The little boy with measles—and he is very sick, indeed—was lying on the hard floor with nothing under him but an old piece of canvas. His condition was enough to touch the heart of any person who has a heart, but he was far more comfortable than one other person there. The old man who was so very bad with flux was in a room by himself, and the only thing he had in the way of a bed was a little bunch of straw under his shoulders, and a blanket wrapped about him. And the stench of the room was simply horrible. The poor old fellow has no relations or friends there to assist him; is unable to wait on himself, and has been in just the condition we found him for days. While this relief association has been in daily receipt of money and clothing, have bales of blankets piled up in the rooms of the secretary, and are receiving so much praise for their goodness in doing what they can to ameliorate the condition of the refugees, this poor old man, for whom a portion of this money and clothing has been sent, has lain there in that lonely old room without care, without proper food, and absolutely without a bed. It is shameful. There can be no excuse for this condition of things, try as hard as they may to make it appear that there is.

After leaving the fair grounds we called upon the secretary of the association, and from him we learned that some man by the name of Thompson has charge of the people out there, and that he had not reported any such condition of things. The secretary has been out to the grounds one time since the colored people have been sent there, and if any other member of the association has been there that often, we have not heard it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You say that Mrs. Perry makes her living by writing circulars for this association?—A. I know she boards at that handsome boarding-house that they have put up there as a headquarters or barracks for the exoditers.

Q. Do you think it is right to come here and tell this story about her in the manner which you have done?—A. Yes, sir; for I stated that was the general supposition.

Q. Do you think it is right to give that impression to the whole country about the lady?—A. Yes, sir; I do in this case.

Q. Do you know that she does board at that fine house?—A. I think so.

Q. Do not you know that she has a suite of rooms up town?—A. I do not know it.

Q. If you did know it would you modify your statement?—A. Yes, sir; if the fact were substantiated to me.

Q. Do you think Mrs. Comstock is a bad woman?—A. Yes, sir; I think she has hurt the State of Kansas a great deal by this scheme, and I think Governor St. John has got himself mixed up with her so that he cannot get out of it.

Q. Do you know that she has a reputation as philanthropist all over the country?—A. I know she has got a better reputation outside of Kansas than she has in it.

Q. What do you say of her reputation?—A. I say she is a fanatic and a philanthropist who makes money out of it.

Q. Is that her general reputation?—A. It is her reputation in a general sense. I have heard Republicans say so, and I can specify some.

Q. Do you know that these circulars are gotten up for a double purpose by Mrs. Perry?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you know?—A. By the circulars themselves and by this man Irving who prints them. I have heard that the negroes say that they have received them down there.

Q. Do you think that this statement contained in these circulars about the destitution of the negroes in Kansas would be likely to make them come there?—A. They do not take that view of it. The Northern view of it is that they are destitute and without money. Mrs. Comstock wrote a letter to the Boston Journal, in which she stated that her treasury was empty, that these people were destitute of clothing and shoes, and over fifty of them had their feet frozen.

Q. Do you think that would make the negroes come up there with a rush?—A. No, sir; I do not think they have got to the South. I do not know what the negroes thought about it. That was designed to be read by the North and secure charitable contributions. In this letter of the sixteenth she said her treasury was empty, when at that time there was \$2,000 in the treasury, and hundreds of good blankets and good shoes in the stores of the association.

Q. Then you say she lied?—A. I state the fact, and you may draw your own inference.

Q. That is a lie, then, that she wrote?—A. I say that that is the fact that I state to you. I say a Topeka paper stated that she had lied, and a Republican paper published there says so as well.

Q. And you say she did?—A. I say she misrepresented the facts, and this Republican paper says so. It was months after that before we at Topeka knew that anything of the sort had been published.

Q. Give us one of these double letters of which you have spoken that are written by Mrs. Perry.—A. Here is one in which she says that the negroes are packed in there like sardines in a box.

Q. Do you think that would be attractive to the negroes?—A. That the negroes were packed like sardines, in a cold country. She goes on to state, "at the present time there is much sickness among them."

Q. Do you think they wanted to be sick with pneumonia from cold and a change of climate?—A. I do not know that they do particularly, but they want to come where they will be taken care of at somebody's else expense.

Q. Is there anything more there of the same sort to induce the negroes to come to Kansas? Does not she say that the negroes cannot find

employment, and do you think that because the negro does not like to work he is induced to come to where he cannot get any work?—A. I do not think that these circulars get down to the South among the negroes.

On motion, and without concluding the testimony of the witness, the committee adjourned to 10 a. m. Saturday, April 17, 1880.

F O R T Y - E I G H T H D A Y .

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 17, 1880.*

Committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., and proceeded to the examination of witnesses. Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman; and Senators Vance and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF L. L. TOMKIES.

L. L. TOMKIES was sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. I live in Shreveport, Caddo parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. About thirteen years; and about thirty years in Caddo and the parish of De Soto, adjoining.

Q. What occupation do you follow?—A. At this time I have charge of several plantations; I am a planter.

Q. Have you pursued any other business of late years?—A. I have been a banker in the city of Shreveport.

Q. I want to ask you about the system of advances made to these colored people on their labor. Please explain that, as a matter coming within your experience.—A. I can give you my experience for the last seven or eight years. I go to a first-class grocery merchant in Shreveport, and make business arrangements to run my business on time. We generally commence buying in February, arranging to settle when we sell our cotton in the fall. They never told me the exact rate of interest they charge, but I suppose it to be about twelve or fifteen per cent. annually. I generally give orders in this way—this year I have given orders a little differently—heretofore I generally specified the article I wanted to get, because I let them have the necessary supplies of life. Settlements are made with me at the end of the season, on the basis of the price at which the goods are sold to me—as cheaply as can be done by any merchant. I buy my supplies for my family of the same party on the same terms. I get no rebate, and I charge nothing additional.

Q. Is there anything like a discrimination on that subject between the colored men and the white men?—A. Not that I know of. I have heard of complaints—nothing more. I do not mean complaints of discrimination; but I have heard of merchants treating whites and blacks both, in some instances, differently from what I would like to be treated.

Q. What I want to get at is, whether the negroes are singled out?—A. I never heard of that.

Q. The credit system gives a dishonest man a chance to deal wrongly anywhere, if he is so minded?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are planting now, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where are you planting?—A. In the parish of De Soto, adjoining Caddo, about twenty-five miles from Shreveport.

Q. How extensively are you engaged?—A. I have four or five plantations on the hills, as we call it on Red River.

Q. Can you raise cotton on the hills?—A. O, yes, sir; and we have bayou valleys, what we call farms on the bottoms. The most of the cotton in Louisiana is raised on the hills.

Q. What you call hills in Louisiana are simply small elevations, are they not?—A. We mean not the alluvium of Red River.

Q. Are those up-table lands or hills well covered with timber?—A. Yes, sir; they are altogether covered with timber. We have no prairie land in that country worth speaking of.

Q. What is the comparative value as between them and the lowland for raising cotton?—A. Do you mean in price or in product?

Q. I mean as regards productiveness.—A. They claim, on the Red River, a bale to the acre on the alluvium, and half a bale to the acre on the hills; but I think the hills produce one bale to three acres oftener than one bale to two acres; and I have seen the Red River bottom lands produce not half a bale to the acre.

Q. So the up-land is not much more than half as valuable as the lowland?—A. No; but we can cultivate more land on the hills than we can on the bottom.

Q. The soil on the hills is lighter—easier to handle?—A. Yes, sir; one mule can plow on the hills; but it takes two on the bottoms.

Q. In that way there is some compensation for a smaller crop?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I understand you to say that you are running three or four plantations?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many people have you in your employ in all?—A. I must have seventy-five or eighty families. I do not know how many men; I suppose there must be about forty.

Q. Seventy-five or eighty families must include three or four hundred people?—A. Well, two or three hundred people anyhow.

Q. Have you had any trouble with your employés?—A. No, sir; no trouble at all. When they once get on my place, they hardly ever leave it.

Q. Is it not true, owing to the kind of products that you raise, that there is a better demand for this kind of labor down there than there could possibly be anywhere else in the world?—A. So far as I know there is no difficulty whatever about freedmen getting employment there, if they will work, at any season of the year.

Q. Cannot the women and the children, ten or twelve years of age at certain seasons of the year, obtain remunerative employment?—A. Yes, sir; the women and the children do the planting of the seed of the corn and the cotton, and most of the hoeing, and a good deal of the plowing.

Q. And a good deal of the picking?—A. Yes, sir; principally the picking, because the men are ginning, and packing, and hauling off.

Q. Have any of your help left you?—A. No, sir; one or two families may have changed their location.

Q. I mean have any of them gone away from the State?—A. No, sir; I do not know of any that have left De Soto Parish; I few have left Caddo and Bossier, I understand.

Q. Did this fever or excitement in regard to Kansas strike De Soto Parish?—A. I have found it in some places, but I took means to overcome it. I do not know what the result would be. I talked with many of the leading freedmen about Shreveport—intelligent blacks—and they told me that we were going to have an exodus unless something was

me to stop it. I had a boy in my employment who had lived in Missouri, near the Kansas border. His master had refuged from Eastern Texas. I had the boy in my employ at Shreveport. I asked him how he liked the Kansas country. He said pretty well, but he would never go back there any more; it was too cold; it would freeze a negro out. When I found that this exodus fever was prevailing, I asked him if he did not want to get a release from his work there, and go down to the plantation awhile. He said, "Yes, sir." I did not tell him my object; I knew I would work the thing out. He settled the fever in that section of the country. He told them that Kansas was no country for black men; that they would freeze to death there six months in the year. He told them that they had, for half the year, to melt ice into water to water the cattle.

Q. It is to a considerable extent a characteristic of the negro race, is it not—I judge so from my observation during this investigation—that they are very susceptible to the representations and influence of individuals coming among them, whether of their own race or of the white race, easily swayed, easily persuaded? What gives rise to this thought in the arrangement you made.—A. Yes, sir; the negroes from the plantation had been up there to Shreveport, and staid at my house; they had met this boy there; I had sent him down to get supplies from the plantation, and they had seen him at such times; they had known him to be an honest, upright, reliable negro, and they had confidence in him and were disposed to believe him. I am perfectly satisfied, from the conversation that I had had with the freedmen on my plantation, that they had been made dissatisfied from some cause. I tried to ascertain what the trouble was. It is very seldom that you can get them to talk on such subjects. I was at last informed by one of them that they had received instructions to go off to the Northwest, to Kansas.

Q. Did he state who had issued those instructions?—A. No; I asked him who had given such instructions; and he said, "Our people up under." I tried to combat that idea among them. They said, "We have got to go to Kansas." I said, "You cannot be forced out of this country any sooner than I can." These people that I have charge of are scattered over a territory of fifteen miles; they are not connected; they are separated. Others told me that they were making up a purse to send off parties to explore this great country. Some of them asked my advice as to whether they should furnish the means. I asked how much is required. They said two dollars apiece. I said, keep your money in your own pocket; you will find out all about it soon enough without its costing you anything. I had heard that dishonest colored men were raising funds in this way; and I did not want them to use my freedmen as tools; so I gave them that advice. Black labor is the best labor we have down there.

Q. If there were no higher inducement than self-interest, to men situated as you are, you would feel impelled to treat these people kindly, in order to keep them with you?—A. Yes, sir. The black man has better protection there now than the white man has. His employer is forced to protect him against molestation. If the black man is brought into the courts on any charge, his white employer wants to get his servant back as soon as possible, and assists him.

Q. It is solidly the interest of the planting population—the white people—to treat the black people amicably and kindly?—A. Most assuredly it is.

Q. In regard to their political privileges, is there any more trouble in your parish as to their right to vote than there is in Kansas?—A. I

have never seen any obstacle in the way of a colored man voting as he chose, nor of a white man either. I have seen them go to the polls by thousands to vote, and I never saw any difficulty yet.

Q. Have colored men ever held any offices in your parish?—A. You will remember that I live in Caddo Parish; they have held a number of offices there.

Q. How is it in De Soto Parish?—A. The last representative of the colored race contracted the small-pox in New Orleans, at the capital, and died at home; I forget his name now.

Q. How is it about their privileges in the courts?—A. They sue and are sued, the same as white men; there is no discrimination on account of color.

Q. Do they ever serve on juries?—A. Yes, sir; I have served with them, in Caddo Parish, both on the grand jury and the petit jury. And they make better jurors than some white men, too.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. We have heard some complaints by colored people in regard to being cheated by their employers and merchants; do you know anything about anything of that kind?—A. Yes, sir; wherever we go we find good men and bad men. I could give you an instance—the merchant in Shreveport with whom I first recommended my servants to trade. They wanted to trade with him because he was a Republican. He came to me and reported the fact. I told him, “If you will take my recommendation, I will recommend my freedmen to trade with you, if you will not credit them beyond a certain amount.” I knew their ability to pay, and did not want them to contract any debts beyond their ability. They traded there two years, I think. I paid very little attention to the matter, as they had the handling of their own money. I always gave them the surplus, after paying my rents, or satisfying the contract, whatever it is. By and by the merchant came to me and said that my hands were going too much in debt. I said, “Then you have transcended my instructions.” I made him give me a full statement of their accounts. I went to work and paid that up. I paid the last of that debt in February. But I gave them instructions five years ago never to trade there any more. I said to the merchant, “Now, I have paid as much as I care about paying; if you trade with these people any more, you must look to them for the pay.”

Q. You think he took advantage of their ignorance and cheated them?—A. Yes, sir; I have no doubt of it.

Q. And the system gives a great advantage to the dishonest dealer by reason of the ignorance of those people and the fact that they have no capital so that they can trade for money down?—A. Yes, sir. I will give you an illustration of that, I frequently sell cotton, not only for my freedmen but for my neighbors' freedmen. Some of them cannot read and some of them can. I give them the money in five-dollar bills, it may be; or, if they want to carry the money home, I give it to them in larger bills—separately. Sometimes they come to me and say, “I have not got all the money I ought to have.” I inquire of them, “Where have you traded?” They tell me. It turns out just as I expected. They have been trading with some dishonest white man, who has taken a twenty-dollar bill for a two or a ten-dollar bill for a one. That is why I recommend my freedmen where they should trade.

Q. That sort of swindling does not arise from any prejudice on account of color?—A. No, sir; it is simply the greed of human nature.

Q. You say there is no difficulty in colored people getting work?—A. None in the world.

Q. You have heard of no complaints on their part that they were unable to get work?—A. No, sir.

Q. Has not their complaint been that they could not get their pay?—A. Yes, sir. And now allow me to make an explanation upon that point. I have known freedmen to work for me and live with me for the entire year; get a good living and good clothes; and occasionally I could give them a five or a ten-dollar bill. At the end of the year there would actually be nothing due them; they had used it all up. When they would say, "I have worked all the year for that man, and he refuses to pay me a cent for it." That was the way he looked at it, because he had no surplus money at the end of the year.

Q. How much do the freedmen, as a body, get ahead from year to year; take them as a whole, how much is left when the year's end has come?—A. Not a cent. When they get the cotton in early and get the money for it not a cent of it is left by Christmas day or New Year's day.

Q. So that, notwithstanding the productiveness of the soil, and the opportunities for employment, they do not really gain much in property?—A. A few of them do; but as a people, no, sir.

Q. What they need is, to form, not more industrious, but more economical habits?—A. That is what they need.

Q. That is, assuming that they get their pay?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Probably there is a variety of evils that might be remedied, there as well as elsewhere?—A. No doubt of that, sir.

Q. You have explained the manner in which you put an end to the exodus on your plantations.—A. Yes, sir; and in that neighborhood.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In North Carolina.

Q. From the adroitness with which you managed that matter, I did not know but you might be by birth one of those despised yankees.—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever belong to any association or company whose object was to respond to any call to keep order in your own or adjoining parishes?—A. No, sir; I never belonged to the White Camelia, nor anything of that sort, though I have known many that did.

Q. You never were called upon to assist in suppressing any riot or quelling any disorder?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF R. T. VINSON.

R. T. VINSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana; but I plant in Bossier Parish.

Q. How extensively are you planting?—A. I employ about forty laborers.

Q. How long have you been employed in planting?—A. Ever since the war.

Q. Are you a native of the South?—A. Yes, sir; I was born in Louisiana.

Q. Have you had any trouble upon your plantation in regard to this Kansas fever?—A. None whatever. I called up my laborers at the beginning of January; I knew that the fever existed in our section of the country, and I wanted to be certain, before entering into any new contracts, whether or not the men were going to Kansas. They all belonged

to me before the war, and have staid with me ever since. They said there was no disposition on their part to leave whatever.

Q. The folks that belonged to you before the war have remained with you ever since?—A. Yes, sir; the foreman of my plantation is the man who nursed me when I was child.

Q. You have forty laborers; that would imply how many families?—A. That includes men and women both; the men and women both work.

Q. How do you pay your people?—A. I am working entirely upon the share principle.

Q. You give them how much?—A. One-half of what they make.

Q. What do you furnish?—A. The land of course, and the stock, the farming implements, all the necessary machinery for taking off the crop and feed for the stock.

Q. And feed for the people?—A. Yes, sir; I advance that to them.

Q. They simply board themselves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They get one-half of all that they raise, you furnishing the land, the stock, and the farming implements, and feed for the stock?—A. Yes, sir. Some of the men I do not advance to, from the simple fact that they do not need it.

Q. They are forehanded enough, so that they do not need any credit?—Yes, sir; in fact they are more independent than I am.

Q. You furnish them a place to live?—A. Yes, sir; a residence, gardens, cisterns—everything necessary. I am planting in the alluvial district.

Q. You charge no rent?—A. No, sir; and I have to keep the house in good repair. If you do not keep up your houses you cannot keep your labor.

Q. You have been carrying on that system since the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you entitle your leading man, foreman or overseer?—A. We call him foreman; they won't stand the word "overseer;" so we have to modify that term.

Q. He is a man older than yourself?—A. Yes, sir; he went with me through the Confederate war.

Q. He was your father's slave, I suppose.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How has he got along?—A. He is more independent to-day than I am.

Q. How came he to be so?—A. From the simple fact that he was provident and saved his means. I have got others who were not provident, and so have nothing ahead; they do not know the value of money. They have all earned as much as he has, but have not saved as much.

Q. He has made himself comfortable?—A. Yes, sir; more so than I am, when I am at home.

Q. Have you had any of this Kansas fever about you?—A. Yes, sir; it has been in our parish. Mr. Foster's plantation is almost adjoining mine. There are several other plantations, where half of the laborers left. I think Mr. Foster suffered the heaviest.

Q. The Mr. Foster who was here as a witness?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did any of your people go?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they talk of going?—A. I had that conversation with them. I told them that if they were dissatisfied they could go; that I did not want them to go; they had been with me for a long time, and they understood me, and I understood them.

Q. And none of them went?—A. No, sir.

Q. They are working on the renewed contracts now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When the colored people make contracts, do they stand by them pretty well?—A. I have no trouble with my own men; some of the riff-raff that I have to pick up when work is pressing sometimes violate their contracts—that is, in the part of the season where I have to have additional labor. In extending my place, I sometimes have to pick up labor around through the country to put upon the place; some of that range labor has done well, and have adhered faithfully to their contracts, and some have not.

Q. How much can they make, sharing with you in that way?—A. One family, of three laborers, made twenty bales.

Q. How much of this was their share?—A. One-half; they had ten bales and I ten.

Q. How much is a bale of cotton worth?—A. It has been worth from twenty-five to sixty dollars this past year.

Q. Then ten bales would bring them in six hundred dollars?—A. Yes,

Q. That is cash?—A. Yes, sir; besides, I let them have half the cotton seed, and half the corn; and half of all the other products raised on the farm. In the alluvial districts they raise from fifteen to thirty bales to a family; our lands raise a bale and a half per acre.

Q. Do your people have schools?—A. Yes, sir; we have a very good school in the rear of my place.

Q. For how large a portion of the year?—A. Our schools, I think, last five or six months; I have never paid any special attention to that matter. All the little children on my place go to this school. They can read very well, and spell well; they are about as advanced as the country children in other States.

Q. What church privileges have they?—A. They have all the church privileges they need. There is a church near my place. The planters set up a church occasionally for such colored people as do not live in town.

Q. Your employés vote, I suppose?—A. Yes, sir; they all vote.

Q. Have they ever been interfered with in voting?—A. I have never known them to be interfered with. Whenever any of my people want to go to the polls, I let them have the mules or stock on the plantation ride.

Q. Do you ever go with them yourself?—A. When I was living in Bossier Parish I used to go with them myself to the polls, frequently.

Q. How do they vote?—A. Sometimes the Republican ticket and sometimes the Democratic ticket; just as they have a mind to.

Q. Do you know of any violence ever being practiced toward them to prevent them to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. I never have seen anything of the kind.

Q. Are the elections peaceable?—A. I never have seen anything but a peaceable election in our county.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What is the usual price that you pay for this extra labor in the pressing season of which you speak?—A. From six bits to a dollar a day and feed.

Q. Is that in the cropping season or when you are gathering the crop?—A. In the cropping season.

Q. What time of year is that?—A. In May and June.

Q. That is the season when you thin out the cotton?—A. Yes, sir. Sometimes the cotton gets badly in grass.

Q. Do you not have extra labor to pick it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the price for that?—A. Generally from seventy-five cent to a dollar or a dollar and a quarter a hundred.

Q. How much would that be a day?—A. That, of course, would depend upon the skill of the worker, and how long and how hard he would work.

Q. What can a skillful hand make?—A. According to skill and strength, from seventy-five cents to a dollar or a dollar and a half a day; I have known men to make as high as four dollars a day.

Q. Women and children that are skillful can make good wages, too can they not?—A. Indeed they can, and do. We have a class of extra labor in our country that depends on nothing else but the cotton picking season; they make money enough at that, in the fall, to live upon all the rest of the year.

Q. Do the negroes work as well as white men or better?—A. Better a great deal; I would not give one colored laborer for five white men.

Q. What is to hinder the negro, then, from doing well and accumulating property, except want of thrift?—A. Nothing except want of thrift; they do not know the value of money.

Q. If they had the forethought of white men—the ordinary prudence to lay and save up?—A. They would have owned the whole State of Louisiana before this.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Who gets this money that they earn? I speak of them in the aggregate.—A. The beer saloons, the whisky shops, and the apple and peanut stands, &c.

Q. And the merchants, some of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are the keepers of these various saloons and stands that you speak of—these harpies that get the wages of the colored people—are they white or black?—A. Both.

Q. So far as they are colored, the money still remains in the hands of the colored people. Who gets the most of it?—A. The most of it goes to the white men.

Q. It seems that you were a Confederate soldier or officer. How old were you at the breaking out of the war?—A. About eighteen years.

Q. Were you in the service during the whole period of the war?—A. Yes, sir; from the first to the last; I was in the Washington Artillery from New Orleans.

Q. Were you promoted?—A. Yes, sir; at the close of the war I was captain of artillery.

Q. You say that these colored people are more independent than you are?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why?—A. From the simple fact that when we advance in our section of the country, we have to put up security in order to be able to advance to these colored people. They have no risk, and we have to run all the risk.

Q. What security do you have to give?—A. We have to mortgage real estate.

Q. You get one-half of all that is raised, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If what the colored man raises is enough to make him wealthy, what is the reason that you, a single individual, getting as much as all your laborers taken together get, cannot do the same?—A. Very frequently I have gone security for colored people in our section, and they have not complied with the contract, and I have had their bills to foot.

Q. So that really the reason why you have not been able to accumulate is on account of losses from treacherous help?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And yet, you said that one colored man is worth five white men, did you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What would be your condition if these colored men should abandon you and you should be compelled to rely upon these worthless white substitutes?—A. I do not say I am a poor man; I am making a living.

Q. They are not making more than a living?—A. Those who are provident can live upon less than we do. But scarcely any are provident and economical, you see.

Q. Your foreman has got ahead a little; how much is he worth?—A. Four or five hundred dollars in money.

Q. You explained a few moments ago that a family of three hands could make twenty bales of cotton a year, or from eighteen to thirty bales, so that twenty would be less than the average, but we will call it an average; this family, making twenty bales of cotton, and taking ten of them as their share, if each bale were worth sixty dollars, would clear six hundred dollars a year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then each one of the three earns, for a year's work, some two hundred dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They have a family to support?—A. Yes, sir; but remember that there is no house-rent to pay, no wood, no water, no taxes.

Q. They have to pay taxes when they vote, don't they?—A. No, sir; no poll-tax is required in order to vote; I never heard of any one yet paying a poll tax.

Q. I was thinking some of them had complained that they could not vote until they had paid their poll-tax. However, two hundred dollars piece is what they have to show for their work at the end of the year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that a sum sufficient to enable them to accumulate very largely?—A. They could live and save money.

Q. Are you more independent since the war than before, or the contrary? Which was the best condition of things for you as a planter, that of the freedom of the colored man, or that of his servitude?—A. I do not know that the planters through our section of the country have done very much for themselves; I think they are in just about the same condition that they were at the end of the war. At the beginning of the war I never had had anything to do with a plantation.

Q. Your observation and recollection extends to a period before the war?—A. My understanding is that the planters of the South were much more independent before the war than they are now.

Q. I suppose that is owing to loss of capital resulting from the war rather than anything else?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Comparing the condition of the colored people at the present time with what it was prior to the war, what should you say, that it is better or worse than it was then?—A. The condition of some of them is better and that some of them is not.

Q. As a whole, how is it?—A. As a whole they are in a better condition; much better.

Q. Then, on the whole, freedom has been a good thing for the slave—for the colored people?—A. Yes, sir; it has been a good thing for them—for the majority of them.

Q. Has it not been a good thing for the white man?—A. It has not been a good thing for me; I have no doubt I would have been much more prosperous under the other system.

Q. You may recollect that at the beginning of the war the wealth of the white people of your section represented the accumulations of several successive generations. You have to begin again, anew. Under

the present system, if you manage economically, will not your grandchildren be as well off as your father was at the beginning of the war?—A. That depends very much on the price of cotton and the system of labor.

Q. Do you not think that your chance in that country, and that of your children, is as good as that of your grandfather when he commenced there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not?—A. Because this exodus business has the tendency to work the demoralization of our labor, of the colored people. They think the government is going to do something for them, and it makes them lukewarm in their work. Our work has been interfered with by these reports; they look upon it as an attempt on the part of the government to do something for them.

Q. I would like to inquire something further in regard to these white men, of whom you say that five are not worth a single colored man. How numerous a class are they?—A. A white man cannot do the work a negro can do there, and can not live as economically as the negro.

Q. How many white laborers are there in Bossier Parish and Caddo Parish, in your vicinity?—A. Well, we have a good many white laborers.

Q. As many as there are negroes?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. What is the general condition of the white laborer there?—A. That depends on his constitution, and his ability to perform manual labor.

Q. I mean his general condition, as compared with that of the black laborer?—A. Some are thrifty and some are not.

Q. That is not a comparison by classes.—A. As a class they are not in as good a condition as the colored people.

Q. Why is that?—A. Because they cannot perform the work that the colored people can.

Q. Have they not the disposition to work?—A. Yes, sir; they have the disposition, but not the constitution.

Q. Do their wives and older daughters work, like the wives and daughters of the colored men?—A. I have known many of them to work.

Q. In the field?—A. Yes, sir; in the field.

Q. Is not their inclination to be industrious as good as that of the colored man?—A. Their inclination is better, but they cannot stand it to work so well.

Q. Then it would be better for them to go to Kansas than for the colored men.—A. Yes, sir; we could spare them very well.

Q. There would not be any great amount of grief over an exodus of white laborers from the South?—A. No, sir. On the hills they do as well as anybody, but not in the level districts.

Q. Working in the hill districts, can they accomplish as much as anybody?—A. No, sir; but they are more economical than the negroes, and know the value of money better.

Q. Their condition is improving in the hill districts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, as a whole, both whites and blacks are doing better on account of the liberation of the slaves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, has not the general condition of the laboring classes improved in your State?—A. Within the last two years it has.

Q. Do you think the recent political change in your State government has been the cause of the improved condition?—A. I do.

Q. Do you really think the emancipation of the slaves had nothing to do with it?—A. We have a more settled government now.

Q. Have you a more settled government than you had before the war?—A. I do not know anything about the condition of things before the war.

Q. You have histories and accounts of the condition of things then, which you, as an intelligent man, have read and heard of; did you never hear of anything that took place in Louisiana before you were born?—

A. O, yes, sir; I have read history.

Q. You say the State of Louisiana was in a very unsettled condition until within the last two years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, until about the time this exodus began?—A. Before that.

Q. Did not this exodus commence about two years ago?—A. It commenced about eighteen months ago.

Q. Then the exodus originated with this settled condition of things, dating back about two years?—A. No, sir.

Q. You said that within two years the condition of the colored laborers had been improving?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Owing to the more settled government down there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the exodus, you say, commenced about eighteen months ago?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, as soon as the improvement was fairly under way; as soon as the condition of colored laborers had become better than it had been before since the war, or prior to the war, so far as you know anything about it; as soon as this great improvement in the condition of the colored laborers had become manifest, they began to leave the country?—A. I think that was owing to reports, pamphlets, &c., sent among them to induce them to emigrate.

Q. If the colored people themselves give other reason than that, would you still insist that your reason was the true one?—A. The idea has been held out that the government would assist them.

Q. You were careful to say, I notice, that you knew of no violence used against the colored people *at the polls*; you placed particular emphasis on those words. Did you ever see any violence elsewhere than at the polls?—A. I know of their having rows amongst themselves.

Q. Do you know of any troubles except among themselves?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Have you ever had any occasion to act as preserver of the peace in your own or adjoining parishes?—A. I was summoned as one of the sheriff's *posse* at the time of the Caledonia riot, but I was not at the polls.

Q. Have you ever known any well authenticated instance of violence perpetrated upon the colored people for political effect before an election, either in the daytime or the night time, whether at the polls or at their residences, or in the woods, in public places or in private places? Have you ever known of any well authenticated cases of violence?—A. I have seen no violence.

Q. Committed on the colored people for political reasons?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have no information which you believe as to the perpetration of actual violence, or of intimidation, threats, to the colored people to influence their vote?—A. I never heard a threat at the polls in my life, sir.

Q. Neither from Republican nor Democratic sources?—A. From Republican sources I have.

Q. You notice that my question was general. You have never heard anything from colored people, have you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you, or did you not, believe it?—A. I believed what I saw.

Q. You do not believe what you have not seen?—A. At the time of

the Caledonia riot I was sent down as one of the sheriff's posse; but I never got there.

Q. You attend pretty closely to your own business, do you not?—A. I do; I intend to.

Q. And you stay pretty closely at home, do you not?—A. Yes, sir; generally.

Q. You were not summoned to come here to testify to what is going on down there, but, as a man who attends to his own business, treats his employés well, does justice to his neighbor, and does not really know very much about matters that do not personally concern him?—A. I suppose I was summoned here to testify exactly to what I know; at least that is what I intend to do.

Q. You do not know anything except what you have actually seen?—A. I know that the negro has more protection than the white man.

Q. Then would not it be well for you to set yourself diligently at work to convince them of that fact—that they are doing better than the whites? They do not seem to believe it now.—A. I am satisfied that the exodus has stopped in our parish.

Q. Have you convinced them that they are better off than you are?—A. They have money to loan, while I have to borrow money.

Q. I have heard of masters who treated their slaves with all the kindness of the paternal relation; who took care of them in health and in sickness as if they were his own family; but do you think that was the rule throughout the South?—A. In our country it was.

Q. In Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then the common repute of Louisiana in the days of slavery of being the worst place in the whole South, and the dread of the Virginia negroes of being sold to Louisiana, was altogether unfounded?—A. Yes, sir; when a man bought a negro, before the war, for two thousand dollars, he had him properly attended to, and regularly fed and well treated.

Q. They took care of him as a remarkably valuable animal?—A. Well, as an animal or not, he was well taken care of.

Q. Is he as well taken care of since?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you pay the doctors' bills on your plantation?—A. Yes, sir; I see them paid.

Q. It is advanced from the crop, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; the doctor's bill is paid once a year.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID BURNS.

DAVID BURNS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Burns, where do you reside?—Answer. In Caddo Parish, Louisiana.

Q. In Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have resided there ten years and a half.

Q. Do you employ colored laborers or white laborers?—A. I employ both white and black.

Q. Are there many mechanics amongst the colored folks?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In all the trades?—A. In all the trades, yes, sir; I do not know of any obstruction to their learning the trades.

Q. Do you think they make pretty good mechanics?—A. No, sir; they generally make very poor ones.

Q. They are not a mechanical people?—A. No, sir; but they are disposed to pick up work, and they do much of it; but they detract from the price of work; the consequence is, the prices are detracted from, and all the work they do is a sort of tinkering work. They do generally pretty rough work, comparatively rough. We have very few good mechanics among them, and in fact very few good white mechanics, because the blacks are slowly and gradually running them out.

Q. Do you think they will eventually develop into good mechanics?—A. Not in this generation; there is no chance there much for a white man where the whites and blacks can learn the trades. The only good mechanics we have are Northern men who come there with their trades; but generally the black mechanic is sought for over the white mechanic who has been reared in the South. The best of the work is done by Northern men, and they command higher prices.

Q. You mean that a good mechanic going there from the North gets better wages than the native mechanics?—A. Yes, sir; decidedly so.

Q. No matter whether he is white or black?—A. Well, sir, I never saw a black man from the North.

Q. I mean of the older people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In building, do you employ carpenters?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there bricklayers, tanners, joiners, and painters necessary, also?—A. Yes.

Q. And in that range of work you employ on the plain work colored men?—A. Well, such of them as are profitable.

Q. Is it as profitable for a colored man to do such work as for him to work in a cotton field?—A. I do not think he can do as well, though he can work a little more cleanly and they are home earlier from their work, and during the muddy season they have a better chance in the city to be cleanly, and during the bad days they can slow up generally.

Q. In your judgment how are the colored people doing in your parish, both as mechanics and field laborers?—A. I think they could do better. They are a shiftless class of people, and I know that, as a general thing throughout the plantations, they rarely ever work on Saturdays. They generally work only five days in the week.

Q. But for those who wish to push along there are plenty of opportunities?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they get good wages?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How are they treated by the white folks?—A. I hear of no complaint generally among them. I have heard of some complaints and discussed the question with some of them.

Q. They think that the first duty of the man is to vote in this government, don't they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they get that privilege with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they vote as often as anybody else?—A. I have never seen anything to the contrary, and I was a commissioner of elections, and I know that I never debarred them from that privilege.

Q. Are there any colored folks that have been commissioners of elections?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And been on the school boards?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. My old friend, Admiral Hill, was one, was he not?—A. Yes, sir; and I know of others. Senator Harper was also one.

Q. If there is anything else of interest to your people connected with this subject, I will be glad to have you state it.—A. There is

nothing, except with regard to this exodus matter. I might say something in reference to that.

Q. Well, go on and tell us what you have to say about that.—A. I have conversed a good deal with the negroes through that section of the country, and I have found some who seemed to be dissatisfied; but from what causes I could never determine. I think the exodus commenced in 1878. I think that was when the doors were first opened to it—in November, 1878. In conversation with them I have found that they were disposed to emigrate; but from what causes I could not determine. They said they did not consider that they were treated right; but on questioning them, they never illustrated that they were treated differently from others. I conversed with many of them in regard to this Caledonia affair, and they said they were badly treated there. I called attention to two men who were shot down there, and they said that in that case they were treated very badly. I was not there, but I remember the circumstances very particularly. One of them, I think the party that I talked with, I asked if he was not aware that the negroes were the aggressors in that fight, and he said they were, and his answer to me was that “they did not have the brains to carry out their object.” What that object was I did not ask; but I heard that they intended to attack the polls and destroy the boxes, and I suppose that is what he meant.

I have conversed with the others in regard to the matter of the exodus and it seems to me they are agitating the question among them, but whether to a very great extent I do not know. I know one man who was trying to get a hundred families to go away. He sold out his property a few weeks before I left, and in connection with that I heard that they had been in correspondence with Senator Windom in regard to the matter, but they said there was no secrecy in regard to it. I know that the whites have tried a good deal to prevent the emigration.

Q. Mr. Burns, is it not to the interest of the white people, in a business point of view, if from no higher motive, to treat the colored race kindly, and thus retain them there to meet the demand for their labor, and for a kind of labor to which no other class is adapted?—A. It is unquestionably to their interest, but not to that extent, I think. I think the South would be much better off if the negroes did emigrate. I think that the white people can work in the fields as well as they can. I have employed men who were blacks, and they always told me that their work was hotter on the house-tops than in the field. Where the question of malaria comes up, whether that would affect them or not I do not know, but I have built houses on plantations where there was a liability to a great deal of malarial sickness, and I have never been sick.

Q. Are there enough whites in the South to make the cotton crop?—A. No, sir; but I think it would be better if Western whites would come in there; I speak of its being better for the country generally, and not of the South particularly. If the blacks would stay there and work, and save what they could, they would amass wealth. I know of some white men who went and entered government lands for some of them, and they are doing well.

Q. Do you think that it is better for the negro that he should remain in the South?—A. Yes, sir; but for the country I think it would be better if we had white labor throughout.

Q. But these negroes are there and must be employed?—A. Yes; but so far as agriculture is concerned it is outside of the South; I do not think they have had any special experience in it.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you state it as of your observation that where they have owned land themselves they have been the better off for it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think if, as a whole, they would adopt the policy of acquiring land it would be better for the colored people?—A. Yes, sir; unquestionably I do.

Q. Then the substantial solution of the whole question would be for them to acquire land and farm for themselves and gradually acquire landed estates to themselves and their families, would it not?—A. I stated before that I believed they would be better off; but so far as any difficulty would present itself in that matter, I do not know of any except their own shiftlessness. You spoke of the solution of the difficulty, but I do not think there is much chance of its solution that way.

Q. You think things are as well as they will be there?—Yes, sir.

Q. Your theory is that it would be better for the white men of the country to encourage the withdrawal of the negro and his replacement by another class?—A. Yes, sir; I believe it would be better for the Northern white people, and in another way it would be better on the point of education. The school facilities are better for them in the North than in the South.

Q. But you will come to have that in the South after awhile, will you not?—A. Unquestionably; it is only a question of time.

Q. Don't you think that all through the Southern country there is rapidly developing a growing impression in favor of free schools for all classes?—A. I believe so; but in our State, which is largely in debt, that is the reason our schools are not kept open as long as they should be.

Q. Do you think there is any way to add to the wealth of the State more surely than to increase its intelligence?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is it not between the ages of six and twelve generally that the children are all educated?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If your State were to put its surplus wealth for ten years into education, do not you think it would develop the material wealth of the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In that way, would you not pay off your State debt sooner and better than in any other way?—A. No, sir; not just now; it would cripple our financial ability to do it.

Q. What does the school system of Louisiana cost?—A. I cannot tell you; I see that three hundred thousand dollars have just been appropriated for a certain time, and the blacks have as good a chance at the schools as the whites.

Q. That is not the question; I am speaking of the actual condition of the colored people in your State—if they are compelled to let their children grow up in ignorance—are they not growing up in ruin?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it is so with the white people as well?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if by reason of taxation and all that the colored man cannot educate his children, ought he not to go where he can educate them?—A. He can educate them there as well as we can educate ours; but I believe that the contact of those people with those of the North would be beneficial to them. I believe that where the manufacturing and financial condition of the people of the North is seen and made familiar to these people, by their being brought in contact with them, it will improve their condition, cause a greater diversity of pursuits among them, and educate them through such contact.

Q. Do you mean that it would improve them in all the arts of life?—
A. Yes, sir.

Q. Admitting that the means of education which a man gets, like the competition of his wits with those of his neighbors, is valuable, is it not better for the negroes to go where they can have such competition, for instance to the North?—A. Well, sir, I think it would improve them; but if these people were disposed to save their money equally with the Northern people of the same number who come there to the South, their condition would be as good there as it could be in the North.

Q. Too many of our Northern people have been down there and come back.—A. Well, sir, during my experience in the South, I know our communities, especially the newer ones, are generally made up by immigration from the North and the Middle States, and the West.

Q. Where were you born yourself?—A. I am a native of Georgetown, District of Columbia.

Q. How long have you lived there in the South?—A. About thirty years altogether—not all the time in Louisiana, but part of the time in Texas.

Q. Not in Shreveport, I suppose, but near there?—A. Yes, sir; in that neighborhood.

TESTIMONY OF DR. GEORGE E. GILLESPIE.

Dr. GEORGE E. GILLESPIE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. I reside in the town and parish of Natchitoches, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Twenty-six years.

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

Q. Has your attention been drawn to the condition of the two races down there, and has there been any talk in your community about the colored people going away within the last year or so; and if so, state whether it has attracted your attention?—A. Well, sir, there has been some few who have left our parish, but not a great many.

Q. Have you a very wealthy colored population there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is a planting region, is it?—A. Yes, sir; but not a great many have left our parish. I suppose only about a hundred and forty, or such a matter.

Q. Are there none leaving now?—A. No, sir; I do not think any of them are disposed to leave at this present time.

Q. Have they entered into their spring contracts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with them much on the subject of the exodus?—
A. I have frequently attempted to get from them the causes that made them leave, but I was not able to elucidate a single solitary idea from them.

Q. In your observation of it, I wish you would state to the committee if they have been abused in their rights or in their wages, or in the security of their persons in that parish—A. No, sir; not to any serious extent. As in every place, there are honest men, and some who are not honest, who will cheat them out of their legitimate wages.

Q. You have heard of that being done elsewhere than in the South?—
A. O, yes, sir; I suppose that is almost universal.

Q. Do you know of any discrimination on the part of anybody in

trading with them because they were colored people, or has it been those who would not cheat a white man just as quickly as they would cheat a negro?—A. Yes, sir; that is true.

Q. And it is done for the sake of the money and not because of the color of the client?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there much of that sort of abuse?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that it prevails to any great extent.

Q. How is the demand for labor in that section?—A. We are sadly in want of efficient labor; the planting interest is generally carried on on the share system, giving the laborer a portion of the crop. There are not more than two or three plantations where it is not carried on in that way.

Q. Do you know what the terms are on which this cropping is done?

—A. It is generally for half of the crop.

Q. The planter furnishing everything except the provisions?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The planter furnishing the land, mules, implements, horses, and the negro furnishing the muscle?—A. Yes, sir; that is generally the contract.

Q. And then they divide equally?—A. Yes, sir; that is it.

Q. And the laboring people make money in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How are the school privileges in your parish?—A. Well, lately there have been considerable schools there. We have ten police-jury boards, and we have had in the last year eleven schools for the colored children in that parish.

Q. How much of the year are these schools in session?—A. I think they were in session last year three months—perhaps some of them gave a little longer.

Q. Do the colored people pay considerable attention to the schooling of their children?—A. About the towns and small villages they do, but in the more distant country districts they do not.

Q. Have they any trouble in voting in your parish?—A. No, sir; not as a general thing; we have had some political riots there in times past.

Q. For the sake of Mr. Blair you must state again (for it has been stated fifty times already) how long ago was the last trouble of that sort that you had up there?—A. The last and only serious trouble was now nearly two years ago, on the 21st of September, 1878.

Q. Was that the time the troops were called out?—A. No, sir; there were no United States troops there then.

Q. What was that trouble?—A. Do you speak of this September affair?

Q. Yes; what was the trouble then?—A. There was a Democratic meeting on that day and also a Republican meeting.

Q. I have known of some furious fights growing out of the same state of facts up North.—A. Yes, sir; the first thing I heard of this trouble was that the news came that the negroes were going to attack the town, and it went on until it brought about a collision, but there was no damage done particularly.

Q. But it has been sent all over the United States and made to do service as a political campaign matter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Like a snow-ball it has been growing and growing larger all the time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you have heard of the same sort of things being carried on elsewhere, I have no doubt?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. It is not unusual for such things to occur in times of political excitement?—A. No, sir; not at all unusual.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Doctor, will you tell me of any other instance there, from your reading or observation, like that which occurred in your parish two years ago?—A. I do not know that I could call to mind any particular instance similar to it just now.

Q. I do not mean to confine your reading to Rollins's Ancient History or anything of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. I will try and refresh your mind, Dr. Gillespie. Do you remember of a riot at Indianapolis when Andrew Johnson was making a tour of the United States and the Republicans met there to hoot him down, and two men killed?

The WITNESS. I think I do.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you remember it so distinctly as to have testified to it without the assistance of the chairman?—A. I cannot say that I could.

Q. Are you sure that it was two or three men who were killed?—A. I do not.

Q. Are you sure that it was two or one?—A. I cannot say; I was going to take Mr. Voorhees's word for it.

Q. Well, could you say aside from that that anybody was killed on that occasion?—A. I suppose there must have been some one killed there.

Q. Would you have supposed so without the chairman telling you?—A. Well, sir, he is good authority, I am very sure. I remember something of it, but I could not go into the particulars.

Q. Could you have sworn that anybody was killed there but for the help of the chairman to refresh your recollection?—A. I think I have said that I could not.

Q. Could you have been absolutely sure that anybody was wounded but for the testimony of the chairman?—A. I remember seeing an account of the difficulty, but I do not remember the particulars.

Q. Are you sure that it was in Indianapolis; was it not at Terre Haute? Could you be sure that it was or was not?—A. I repeat, sir, that in all probability I would not have thought of it if the chairman had not mentioned it.

Q. Could you have been absolutely sure that it was in the State of Indiana?—A. I have stated that my recollection of it was very indistinct.

Q. Would you have been absolutely sure that any such difficulty occurred on that trip but for the help of the chairman?—A. Perhaps not.

Q. The chairman says you must have known of other like things to that affair in your parish two years ago from your reading. Do you recollect reading of any such things?—A. I do not call to mind anything exactly similar.

Q. How long have you resided in that parish?—A. Twenty-six years.

Q. Are you a native of Louisiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Of what State are you a native?—A. I am a native of Kentucky.

Q. Were you ever in a colored school?—A. Yes, sir; I have been frequently in such schools.

Q. Have you observed the advancement of the colored children in learning?—A. No, sir; I never made any examination as to that.

Q. How many times have you been in such schools?—A. Well, I suppose half a dozen times.

Q. How long have you spent at a time in such schools?—A. Perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes.

Q. What were the purposes of your visits?—A. Well, I have been invited there by the teachers.

Q. What is the result of your observation as to the capacity of the colored children to learn to read and write?—A. Some of them learn very rapidly.

Q. How do they compare in that respect with the white children of the poorer classes in the same communities?—A. They are about the same, I should think.

Q. You do not believe with others that the negro is not susceptible of improvement?—A. O, no, sir; he is susceptible of considerable improvement.

Q. Do you think the colored man gets his vote counted as it is cast in the State of Louisiana, as a rule?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Do you think there are frequent exceptions to the rule?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you live in Caddo Parish?—A. No, sir; in Natchitoches Parish.

Q. And your knowledge of elections has been confined to your own parish?—A. Entirely.

Q. You have heard of difficulties between the races in your parish and other portions of the South?—A. Yes, sir; I have sometimes heard of such difficulties.

TESTIMONY OF V. DELL.

V. DELL sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Dell, please state where you reside.—Answer. I reside at Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there some twenty odd years.

Q. That is in the northwest corner of the State, is it not?—A. It is rather in the center of the western boundary, on the line of the Indian territory.

Q. How long do you say you have lived there?—A. Some twenty odd years, sir.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I have been editing a paper there for seventeen years.

Q. What sort of a paper?—A. A Republican paper.

Q. You are a Republican in politics, then, Mr. Dell?—A. Yes, sir; always have been.

Q. State whether there has been any agitation in your section of the State amongst the colored people on the subject of emigration from Arkansas to Kansas, or anywhere else?—A. Well, sir, when this exodus business first became known there was some little flutter among them in my part of the State and all through. They did not know exactly what it meant.

Q. How was it brought there?—A. It was brought in from the general sources of news.

Q. Did the colored people take up with it?—A. Well, the colored people are very much excited and they discuss the matter. They came to me and wanted to know my opinion about it, as they usually do when there is something up that they do not understand. I told them about it and spoke at their meetings. I told them that this movement was

started from the States south of us, probably on account of the ill treatment of the colored people by the whites, and as they knew of no such cases existing with them, that it was not necessary for them to leave. They had a meeting, however, and appointed delegates to a State convention, and that appointed delegates to a convention in New Orleans; but the whole matter fell through in our State.

Q. State whether there is anything in the laws of Arkansas that discriminates between the colored and white races in the distribution of political and personal rights, or in the matter of safety of life and property?—A. No, sir, not now; we swept away all these cobwebs in 1868, when we reorganized the State. I was five years in the senate and there is nothing there now, not even so far as marriages are concerned, as there is in Indiana, and even in some of the New England States.

Q. Every man has a chance equally with all the rest?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have the colored people ever been interfered with in the exercise of their political rights there?—A. They have.

Q. On what occasions?—A. Well, sir, since 1868 we have had peace in our State. I do not know of any instances of interference except two years ago. In 1878 there were three points in the State where they were bulldozed. These points were Helena, Pine Bluff, and Little Rock. At Little Rock there is a large colored population and a large Republican population, and there the Democrats counted out a great many of the legislators and county officers, but on a contest in the legislature these two men tried for their seats and one white man and another black one obtained their seats.

Q. Then justice was done them?—A. Yes, sir; it was. At Pine Bluff the Democrats took charge of the court-house and fixed it up, in connection with some bad Republicans who took office under that arrangement, so that they could carry the election. They also did the same thing at Helena. At Helena the thing was more serious; there they organized artillery, infantry, and cavalry companies. It was during the yellow-fever time and they corraled the negroes on the plantations, I suppose for sundry reasons, and would not allow them to vote. These were the only times in twelve years, and they would not have occurred if the Republicans had been true to their party; but they went right in with the Democrats and sold the negroes out.

Q. But you say that a Democratic legislature rectified the wrong?—A. Yes, sir; so far as they could.

Q. They gave the Republicans their seats on a contest?—A. Yes, sir, they did.

Q. Well, that is a little better than the House of Representatives do up here, is it not?—A. I have noticed some cases up here where they have not been doing that way.

Q. Are these two or three instances where wrong was done, and where both parties were in it to some extent—covering a space of twelve years—all the instances of which you have any knowledge; and is there any reason in them why the colored race should leave Arkansas in order to better their condition?—A. In answer to the necessity of the colored people leaving, I will say none whatever, from Arkansas.

Q. How is the labor supply in your State?—A. It is ample.

Q. Do the colored laborers get good wages?—A. Yes, sir; they get very good wages.

Q. Do you know of any system or practice by which they are cheated out of their wages?—A. No, sir; I have remarked that Arkansas has passed the danger point; that we have turned off the shroud and are rising in our strength, and the next census will show it. I do not think

here is one sensible man in the State who wishes slavery back again, or who thinks it can be re-established. We have a large immigration of whites into the State, both of Yankees and Germans, as well as quite a large number of colored people.

Q. Arkansas was not much developed on the borders up to within a few years past, was it?—A. The western part of the State, where I live, has a sparse negro population; there are only three hundred in my county, and that is about the average along the border.

Q. The western part of the State is prairie country?—A. O, no, sir; it is densely wooded up to the Indian country. My county is the only one that has any prairie.

Q. Do you have any water courses there?—A. Yes, sir; we have a few; the boundary line between Arkansas and the Indian Territory runs due north and south.

Q. What provision has been made in the State for the education of the colored children?—A. They enjoy the same privileges and advantages as the whites do. I was the means of framing our laws on education while I was in the legislature; and on the adjournment of the first term I started the public schools in my town. The colored children had public schools, and all that, two years before the whites, for one was established there by a society of which Dr. Savage, of Chicago, was secretary.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. It was established by a carpet-bagger; it was a carpet-bagger society, was it?—A. Well, sir, I would not allow that term to be used in connection with any such enterprise as that.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. After that began your school system, which you say you were instrumental in organizing?—A. Yes, sir; and I was president of the school board.

Q. Of the State?—A. No, sir; of my city.

Q. Where did you derive your funds from?—A. From direct taxation, and a small amount from a State fund. We also derived it from direct taxes and fines. At first we had only the taxation, and we levied one and a half per cent. taxes, or fifteen mills on the dollar, as it was necessary to make a large appropriation in starting a new system, buying the property, and there was the teachers, and in order to make the system popular we had to get the best teachers, and get them from the North. We paid a hundred and twenty-five dollars a month, and we paid the same salary to the teachers in the colored schools, who were Northern men.

Q. And all of equal merit as teachers?—A. Yes, sir; of equal merit, not better, for we took pains to give the colored people the best schools, because they needed them the more.

Q. How long did your schools run?—A. They ran ten months in the year.

I want to say, in reference to where the funds came from, that we obtained aid also from Dr. Sears. He was up at my town, and he was badly received by the old folks there, and he left disgusted, but I met him at Little Rock, and he said, "We will give them good schools," and brought him a certificate, and he gave me a check for fifteen hundred dollars here in this city to help us on.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. He was the agent of the Peabody fund, I believe?—A. Yes, sir.

I would state further, that the public schools declined in our place in 1872 on account of the unfortunate dissensions. The people grumbled that they were taxing themselves so heavily. We had poor State officials and poor judges in the supreme court, and in 1873 they rendered a decision that the tax should only be paid in United States currency, and the people had to pay it. Then they reversed their decision, and said it could be paid in State funds at forty or fifty cents on the dollar, and that crippled our State schools, and the money went into the pockets of rascals. So we had to close the schools in our town a whole year, but now they are going ahead very rapidly. I received a paper the other day in which it stated that we had a man named Professor Ladd, a New England man, there examining our schools. He left there the other day.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you know from what State he comes?—A. I think New Hampshire, though I am not sure.

Q. Do you know his initials?—A. No, sir; I cannot call to mind his full name.

Q. Has he been at the head of the normal schools?—A. I do not know, sir; I met him at Little Rock, and he told me he was perfectly astonished at the schools, and here is what he said, as quoted in my paper, the New Era, of March 31, 1880 (reading):

I cannot forget the many courtesies and encouraging words of the press. It affords me sincere pleasure to bear testimony to the fact that Arkansas journalism is loyal to the great cause to which I have consecrated my life. The teachers of the State have endeared themselves to me by the friendly interest they have uniformly expressed in my welfare. I am delighted with their ardent devotion to their noble work, and the eagerness with which they embrace every opportunity for professional improvement.

I do not hesitate to say that Arkansas has a near and glorious future. Her climate is charming, her resources are abundant, immigration is pouring in, and in many places the people are in a blaze of educational enthusiasm. The triumph of free schools is assured.

The WITNESS. There was one point I would like to touch upon, referring to the character of the colored people there. We employed a white teacher for the colored schools—most excellent man—a successful teacher for several years, Professor Lyman; but from the organization of the schools the colored people kept working and wanting a colored teacher, and finally Professor Lyman was discharged and a colored teacher put in there, and the schools went down like a rock and became a perfect nuisance; and the scandal was so great that we had to break up the school and send for another teacher. The other teacher, a man, was secured, but he was nothing like Professor Lyman. I state this because the colored people are clannish; and they need careful training, and they need the white man to train them. They were almost unanimous in requesting the dismissal of Professor Lyman and getting a man of their own race. I think that is an unfavorable point in them. They got the change made through the school board catering to them. They wanted to be re-elected, so they made the change. The more intelligent among them deprecated it, but the mass of them wanted the change made.

Q. Now, Mr. Dell, state how the colored people have done in the way of making a support for themselves; whether they have acquired property as well as the laboring population usually do.—A. I believe in my part of the State the problem of the colored race is more nearly worked out than in any other State, because they are not there in such numbers

s to create any apprehension on the part of the whites. Besides, the eastern part of the State has a large Republican population; my own county has a majority of two hundred and sixty-six. They are doing very well considering all the circumstances. But there are not less than one-third who are property owners. One part of my town has been built up almost entirely by them. They own neat, nice, clean cottages, and are prosperous and are not like the traditional negroes of the South, down at the heels and out at the elbows, though there are plenty of them. They are throwing off that habit of thriftlessness and shiftlessness that adheres to the negro almost everywhere else.

Q. Is there any irritation existing there between the races?—A. There is a little in the black counties, but none whatever in the State, except in counties east of Little Rock and south of the Arkansas River; there are some of the counties have a large black majority, and there is, of course, some friction, but the general feeling throughout the State prohibits friction there.

Q. Are there any colored people over in the Indian Territory?—A. Yes, sir; large numbers of them.

Q. They are protected by treaty, are they not?—A. No, sir; I hardly think they are.

Q. Don't you think they were provided for under the treaty of 1866?—A. Yes, sir; partly they are.

Q. Then the freedmen in the Indian Territory are provided for by treaty?—A. In some of the tribes they are, and in some of them they are not.

Q. I think they are in all the treaties that were written in 1866.—A. In the Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw Nations they are equally protected, but not always as they ought to be. I had twenty heads of families from the Cherokee Nation to come to me about it. They were native Cherokees, but had been taken South by their Indian masters during the war.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Were they Cherokee negroes?—A. Yes, sir; they were negroes who were owned by Cherokee masters. After the war the masters would do nothing for them, and they had to make their way back to the Territory as best they could. The treaty provided that a certain number of them in the Territory should be provided for, but these were not able to get back there before the time the treaty was made. Their condition has been very bad. When they complained to me I sent them down to the United States district attorney. They gave me their history, and I know that they were entitled to live there and be protected; but they were ordered off the reservation. I told them to go back and make homes for themselves. They cleared from five to twenty acres piece and built their little homesteads; but, as they were not citizens, they were ordered off. I said to them that it was a hard case; and I stated to them that if the government could not protect them they ought to protect themselves, and take their double-barreled shot-guns, and give the contents to anybody who came there to drive them off. They did try that, and they were not driven off.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, if I understand you, they are not embraced in the treaty?

The WITNESS. No, sir; they tried to drive them out of the country here but failed to do it. Now, there were three hundred thousand dollars appropriated to provide for their emigration. They came to me, and I said they were fools to go away from their own land and take up

land elsewhere. They are living there in that way. They cannot go to the schools, nor vote, nor go into the courts, and they are literally suspended in all their rights, between heaven and earth. They have no rights except what they are permitted to have.

Q. Have you any suggestions which you would like to give with regard to them?—A. I think they should have the rights of American citizens, be permitted to go on juries, to send their children to school, and to vote. The treaty, in fact, was never complied with, either on the part of the Indians or the government.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you mean the treaty with the whole Territory or only this part?—A. No, sir; the treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Germany—on the other side of the pond.

Q. How long have you been an American citizen?—A. Thirty odd years.

Q. How long have you resided in Arkansas?—A. Twenty odd years.

Q. You are a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; born and bred one.

Q. You were a Republican in Germany, then?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you came over here because you were a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; in 1848.

Q. You say that the colored man has, with these sporadic exceptions, no trouble in Arkansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there any reason to expect that in Arkansas full justice is done him?—A. Yes, sir; there is reason.

Q. Has there been any time in the history of Arkansas when there was any trouble and when justice was not done him?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is he disposed to be a law-abiding citizen, or turbulent?—A. The negro, where he has been taught right and has good leaders, is a good citizen. He has been abused in some parts of the State on both sides by designing men.

Q. Now he is equal before the law with all men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And as a rule by the Democratic party in Arkansas he is treated properly?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any belief that the Democratic party at the South, controlling the South as it does, need have any trouble with the negro population if they will treat him as well as the Democrats treat him in Arkansas? Would there be any trouble if he was well treated?—

A. That question involves so much that I cannot answer it in a few words.

Q. The question is whether you see any reason why the same treatment on the part of the Democrats towards the negroes, which has worked so well in Arkansas, need not work equally well in all of the States of the South; why if it will do in that State so well, will it not do in the other States?—A. I believe if the Democrats would treat the negroes well everywhere, there would not only be peace, but the half of them would vote the Democratic ticket. I think the Democrats could have been secure long ago in their control of the South, and could have gotten half of the vote of the colored people.

Q. Why not the whole of it?—A. Well, they might have got the whole of it.

Q. How could the North hold out if it were not that that the negro was treated roughly and believed that whatever protection he got must come through the aid of the Northern people?—A. There is no reason why they should have had it. I know this negro Democratic vote de-

veloped in my State where they were treated right. There he is disposed to come back to the old following and wipe out and begin anew. I think if the colored people vote the Democratic ticket to some extent it will be better for the country and that we will increase the Republican vote in return from the whites. The only question now in the South in politics is the race question.

Q. Would not the negroes gladly do that if they could?—A. Yes, sir; and I see the colored people have been treated well, generally, on the part of their old masters.

Q. From what class, then, over the South, have these outrages and abuses come?—A. From the trash, and low down politics of the country.

Q. Has it not been the fault of this better class that it let this poorer and criminal class get control of them, and of the negro too?—A. Yes, sir; and to prove it I will relate a little circumstance. In April, 1868, I went home from the legislature on a furlough, and I found under the door of my house a “ku-klux” for me to leave in forty-eight hours. The ku-klux was rampant and exceedingly hot after Andrew Johnson’s backing down. I stated that from 1868 I never heard of any outrages, but previous to that the outrages were very numerous.

Q. By whom were they committed?—A. By the Democrats. When I got that notice—I had married in the South, and was the husband of a Southern woman—but it made me so mad that I did not know what to do; but I went right out and I saw the leader of the ku-klux, in my western part of the State, and I went down to him right on the street and said to him, “Look at this.” He read it and smiled. “O, Dell,” said he, “that is nothing but just a joke.” I said to him, “Is this killing that is going on all around here a joke?” I said, “I will not leave. I want you to understand that.” There were more of them notified at the same time. Said I, “You know that I am president of the Union League, and I state that if I hear of a single Union man who is harmed by you ku-klux here, I will have you, and half a dozen like you, hung before morning, and carry the torch into your buildings.” I said it in the street, and hundreds of persons heard it; and we had no trouble here. He was the brother of a member of Congress here now. In 1868 Senator Clayton wrote to me and asked me if I would back him up in declaring martial law, he being then the governor of the State. I wrote back to him that I would, and that I blamed him for not doing it before; that we might as well die for our rights as not. And martial law was declared; and after hanging a few of these fellows by martial law, we got peace, and have had peace ever since.

Q. Did you try them by martial law, and hang them?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. How many did you hang?—A. Four or five. There were some very bad men in the troops, it is true, that were raised, but it has been a blessing to the State that they hung those men.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. If that course had been pursued in Louisiana, do you think there would have been peace there now?—A. I do; for notwithstanding my course, I enjoyed the best of feelings between myself and my neighbors. I have as many friends among the Democrats as among the Republicans, and many of them are readers of my paper.

Q. Then why is not the State of Arkansas a good State for the negroes to go to?—A. Well, sir, I think we have our share.

Q. What proportion do they bear to your population?—A. I think at the last census we had one hundred and twenty-five thousand.

Q. You say the white population is increasing rapidly?—A. Yes, sir; it has increased seventy-five per cent. since then.

Q. Has the colored population increased in the same proportion?—A. No, sir; we get two white men to one colored immigrant. There is no emigration from our State particularly, except of a few of them who are going to Liberia. I met Dr. Corbin, who was educated at Berlin, and who takes about a hundred from there every six months. Our negroes, generally, don't take any stock in this Kansas movement.

Q. Do you think the negro naturally wants to leave the South?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any reason why the people or the Republicans in the North want him to leave the South?—A. I don't see why they should.

Q. You know of no reason why they should want it done?—A. I do not, but I confess that I think it would be best for them if every year a few hundred of them could go north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi and mingle among those people and learn something.

Q. You mean go to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I see no reason why they should not.

Q. Well, the chairman lives there.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman would not hurt them.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You made a remark about some ku-klux outrages, and you spoke of them as being committed by the Democratic party officially, or that the parties who did it were Democrats?—A. I believe it was done in the interest of the Democratic party. I do not believe it was ordered by the Democratic party. When I stated to this gentleman whom I said was the head of the ku-klux in my part of the State, I said to him that "I know, general, you won't do such a thing, and no respectable gentleman will; but," I said, "your low down white trash are doing it, but I cannot reach them, and I will have to hold your leaders responsible."

Q. Then, you say, the outrages stopped?—A. Yes, sir.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 17, 1880.

CROSS-EXAMINATION OF DR. F. M. STRINGFIELD.

Dr. F. M. STRINGFIELD recalled.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Doctor, you said that the relief association interposed every obstacle it could to the return of these people from Topeka; please tell us in what way they did it.—Answer. Well, these negroes, some of them, would make direct application to the board to have means given to them to return to Kansas City for the purpose of going South. They have been refused; that is what I mean to say.

Q. Do you understand that they had any money for that purpose?—A. My understanding is that this fund was for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of these negroes and helping them charitably; it was not for the purpose of keeping them in the State against their will.

Q. Do you understand that any money was contributed to send them

back home?—A. Money was contributed to that association for the purpose of benefiting their physical condition—of putting them in a comfortable condition—it was not for the purpose of fixing them in such a way as to make it impracticable for them to return when they were unwilling guests of the State.

Q. To what extent did they refuse these applications?—A. To my best judgment they have uniformly refused, up to within the last month or so. My information comes directly from Mr. J. J. Jennings, a member of the executive board of this refugee committee. He stated to me distinctly that, to his personal knowledge, the other members of the board refused to take any steps towards letting them go South.

Q. So you think they have not done anything of the kind; have not furnished them money to go back?—A. No, sir; they have not.

Q. You say in this speech that Governor St. John made, he gave a direct invitation to the negroes to come. In what language did he give that invitation?—A. In his speech at the opera house he stated that there was room for a million of them; that they were oppressed in the South; that Kansas was free soil—was the home of John Brown; and in that gushing style deliberately indicated that they were wanted in Kansas.

Q. Was not he resisting the idea some had advanced, that they should not be permitted to come to Kansas?—A. There was no occasion for him to do that, for they were in Kansas.

Q. Was there not something of that kind, resistance to their landing, in Wyandotte?—A. I am only speaking in a general way; there was a universal sentiment in the city of Wyandotte and the surrounding country against receiving a pauper element into the State.

Q. Had not resolutions been passed there that they should not be permitted to land?—A. I believe that was true, that some such resolutions were passed in that city.

Q. Was not Governor St. John simply combating that idea and insisting that people should not be prevented from coming if they wanted to come into the State; that there was room for all; was not that the ground he was taking in his speech?—A. No, sir; he was not. He was looking at it directly from the standpoint that it would be beneficial for them to come, and he was encouraging their coming.

Q. Have you any more of those circulars “that could be read one way at the North and another way at the South?”—A. I would like to be permitted to offer circulars here bearing directly upon the causes of the exodus. I have a circular here issued from Topeka, addressed to the colored people of the United States of America. The charter it speaks of was drawn up by a lawyer of that city who is now present before this committee. It was made by the negroes themselves, and says:

“COME.

“To the colored people of the United States of America:

“This is to lay before your minds a few sketches of what great advantages there are for the great mass of people of small means that are emigrating West, to come and settle in the county of Hodgeman, in the State of Kansas, and more especially the colored people, for they are the ones that want to find the best place for climate and for soil for the smallest capital. Hodgeman County is in Southwestern Kansas, on the line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad.

“We, the undersigned, having examined the above county and found it best adapted to our people, have applied to the proper authority and

have obtained a charter, in the name and style of 'THE DAVID CITY TOWN COMPANY,' in the county of Hodgeman, State of Kansas.

“ Trustees.

“A. McCLURE, Topeka.

“JOHN YATES.

“THOMAS BIEZER.

“HENRY BRILEE.

STEPHEN ESSEX.

THOMAS JACKSON.

JOHN GOTHARD.

“A. McCLURE, *President.*

“J. WOODFORK, *Secretary.*”

Q. That is signed by colored people, is it not?—A. Well, yes, sir; and the company was organized in Topeka, and this circular has induced quite a large number of colored people from the South to go to that Hodgeman County to settle there. But quite a number became satisfied that the representations made to them were not true, and some of them organized a similar company located in Dunlap, Morris County, Kansas. Here is one of the circulars of this last named company, which was the outgrowth of the other organization; and the circular I have here was extensively circulated in the South. I am informed that several thousand of them were so circulated, and parties of negroes are now resident in Kansas induced thither by the circulation of this circular among them.

The circular says:

“HO! FOR SUNNY KANSAS.

“ Friends and fellow citizens :

“I have just returned from the Singleton settlement, in Morris County, Kans.; where I left my people in one of the finest countries for a poor man in the world. I am prepared to answer any and all questions that may be asked. The Singleton settlement is near Dunlap, Morris County, a new town just started on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway. The surrounding country is fine rolling prairie. Plenty of stone and water, and wood on the streams. Plenty of coal within twenty-five miles.

“I have this to say to all:

“NOW IS THE TIME TO GO TO KANSAS.

“Land is cheap, and it is being taken up very fast. There is plenty for all at present.

“BENJAMIN SINGLETON,
“President.

“ALONZO D. DE FRANTZ, *Secretary.*

“JOSEPH KEEBLE, agent, real estate and homestead association.

“For full information, address COLUMBUS M. JOHNSON, Topeka, Kans., general agent.”

The WITNESS. Mr. Singleton, the president of that settlement, is before you; Alonzo D. De Frantz, its secretary, is now in the city of Topeka; this Columbus M. Johnson, whose name is upon this circular, is in the employ of the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association, and has been from its organization to the present time; he told me that he had made several trips in the interest of this scheme, to locate these people in Kansas.

Q. Trips where?—A. To Tennessee, to incite them by personal persuasion, and by making representations that the facilities of Kansas were superior to those of the Southern States.

Q. That circular is signed also by colored men, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir; entirely.

Q. Have you any reason to suppose that they were gotten up by the relief board, or by persons connected with it, to induce these people to come to Kansas?—A. Not at all.

Q. They are simply invitations of colored people themselves that had tried Kansas, and were asking others to come?—A. That was a scheme gotten up by the negroes themselves to induce immigration.

Q. When was it gotten up?—A. It started, I believe, away back in '77.

I want to say that there is not one of these circulars issued by that board but will fully bear out my statement.

Q. Which circulars—what are some of them?—A. Mrs. Perry's for one, I will say.

Q. You are sure that that was issued by the board?—A. Yes, sir; I am certain of it.

Q. And paid for?—A. Yes.

Q. By whom?—A. By charitable people of the country.

Q. Have you that circular?—A. Yes, sir; here it is:

KANSAS AS THE UTOPIA.

BY MRS. S. T. PERRY.

Kansas to the colored people of the South is what Utopia was to Sir Thomas More. Topeka is the capital of that Utopia, and the refugees are coming here in large numbers every week, full of bright anticipations and beautiful dreams for the near future. The barracks are crowded to overflowing all the time; the people being packed in, as some reporter said, like sardines in a box. They seem very happy, however, and it is evident that they firmly believe that the Lord has sent them up to the land of Canaan, and will give of it as He did the children of Israel after He released them from their bondage. But the children of Israel were forty years in the wilderness before they reached that goodly land, and it is to be feared that there must necessarily be much suffering among these poor pilgrims before they find the "milk and honey" they are looking for in such plenty in this new land to which they have come. At the present time there is much sickness among them, pneumonia being the prevailing disease, the results of exposure and change of climate. One convalescent who had been very sick, on our inquiries as to her health, said: "I reckon I'se some better, but I still feel quite chillified." Most of these refugees come with very little clothing, perhaps sufficient to keep them warm in their own climate, but too thin and light for our Northern States. Quantities of clothing and supplies are being sent here from all parts of this country and from England, but the demand exceeds the supply oftentimes. It is the duty of the visiting committee to call upon every applicant for relief, and find out what the necessities of the case are. The applicant is then given a ticket with the most needed kinds of clothing or provisions written upon it. The majority of these tickets, when presented at the relief rooms, are found to call for garments for a family numbering seven, eight, or ten, of all ages and sizes; consequently the shelves are very soon lightened of their load. Undergarments, of all sizes, are most needed.

It is the aim of the relief association to get these people in positions where they can be self-supporting, and to teach them how to take care of themselves. Two-thirds of the women who come here have been field hands, and know nothing whatever of house-work or sewing. We are hoping to soon get an industrial school started, so the girls can be taught how to make good house-servants and seamstresses. A number of the men have put up little cabins for themselves and their families, and are doing any kind of work they can get to do, while their wives take in "white folks' washing." Nearly all of them show a disposition to be self-sustaining. We called upon these new-comers in their cabins a few days ago, and found nearly all the women hard at work, washing, scrubbing, or mending. The babies were out sunning themselves in front of the doors, and the older children were in the colored school just started there, by a colored Oberlin graduate. The Baptist preacher had built himself a cabin, too, and used the front room for his church on Sundays. We found an old couple, between eighty and ninety years old, living under one of these cabins, right on the ground. They had a stove, a bed, and a bench, for furniture. It was a warm day, and as we went down the steps that led to this underground dwelling, we saw the old man sitting in the open door reading. He gave us a hearty welcome as we came in, and when asked what he was reading, he said, "I'se readin' the 'ciplina, missus,"—the discipline of the Baptist Church. "So you are a Baptist, uncle," I said, "and believe in going down under the water." "Dat bese de only way, missus." "But I am a Presbyterian, uncle; what will be done with me?" "I don't know nothing about dat, I'se a poor ignorant nigger, and can't argerfy with eddicated white folks, but I reckon the Lord will pull me through somehow. That bese a mighty powerful good book," he continued, handing me a copy of the Bible, which had been well read and well worn; "there's been a heap of comfort in it for my ole woman and me, and I reckon there's plenty more yet thar still for times to come."

"Haven't you any children?" I asked.

"Yes, missus, but the traders sold 'em all 'afore the war, and I don't know whar they bese now. 'Pears as if we'd meet 'em some whar afore long, but if we don't find 'em here, I reckon the Lord will bring us all together in hebben. Dat's what me and my ole woman pray every day, and de Lord is good for all de promises He makes His people. He's promised to answer prayer, and He won't break his word to old folks like us, no how."

We learned a lesson of faith in that little cabin that we shall never forget. We found this old colored man was renting this "dug-out" himself, and doing all sorts of odd jobs about the settlement to pay for it, so he would be independent of the relief fund and be self-supporting, but the visiting committee are going to have him and his wife removed to an upper room, where it will be drier and more comfortable for them, and give them something to do in payment for the rent, so he may still preserve his independence of character.

The WITNESS. Here is another of these circulars (producing); it is printed from the West Chester, Pa., Daily Republican.

Q. Who is the author of it?—A. It is written by some person who claims to have visited Topeka.

Q. Do you know that the board authorized the printing of that?—A. I know it was printed at the expense and by the direction of this Kansas relief board.

Q. Printed in a West Chester, Pa., paper, at the expense of the Kansas relief board?—A. I don't know anything about that, but the extract

was printed; for Mr. Irwin, an editor in North Topeka, told me that it was brought by the secretary of the North Topeka Relief Association, and paid for out of the funds of the association.

Q. You know that to be a fact?—A. Yes, sir; I know that to be a fact.

Q. By the way, how do you know it to be a fact?—A. I know it to be a fact from the fact that Mr. Irwin printed it. This copy I obtained from his office; he himself stated that he received the manuscript from Mr. Watson, secretary of the association, and that he was paid for it. I will read the circular.

(Reading the circular.)

It is headed—

“THE EXODUS.

“A VISIT TO TOPEKA, KANSAS.—AN EXAMINATION OF THE WORKINGS OF THE KANSAS FREEDMEN’S RELIEF ASSOCIATION.”

And it proceeds:

“The steady and increasing exodus of the colored race from the late slave States, although ridiculed by Democratic politicians and their newspaper organs, is an established fact to which they cannot shut their eyes, and which will in time have a disastrous effect on those sections thus bereft of their working population. The objective point of the fleeing refugees is Kansas, which holds to them the same position that the Promised Land did to the persecuted Israelites when endeavoring to escape from oppression and injustice, and when the freedman first learns that he is on Kansas soil he is filled with and manifests a joy and satisfaction which appear rather exaggerated to those who have lived where life and property were always secure and every man was permitted to indulge in his own views.”

Here is a direct invitation to these negroes to come to Kansas, the promised land to them, and a warning that they must leave the South on account of the Democratic persecution, which is largely imaginative.

Q. You swear to that?—A. I am positive of it.

The circular then goes on to state that—

“Cars loaded with these unfortunate people are constantly arriving in the various cities of Kansas, and more particularly at Topeka, the State capital, which is considered headquarters. The destitute and pitiful appearance of these arrivals is painful to behold, but to their credit complaints are rarely heard, or regrets for the comfortable homes which many have left behind them, fleeing at night with what clothing and food they could hastily gather together, and pursuing their journey across the country in terror, lest their vindictive foes be lying in wait to shoot them down in cold blood, or rob them of the scanty pittance which they have brought to pay their way to the land of freedom.”

Q. You think that would tend to bring the negroes there, do you?—A. Yes; it would have a tendency to open the purses of the charitable people of the country, and that would furnish the money to bring the negroes there.

Then it says:

“The details of the sufferings which many of them have experienced

in their journey Kansasward are often of a harrowing nature, the aged and feeble dying by the wayside of fatigue, hunger, and exposure, some frozen to death and others maimed for life, but the survivors are still pressing forward and refusing tempting offers made by the agents of the Southern planters to return."

Q. And you think a statement like that induces the negroes to come to Kansas?—A. Well, that is the first part of the circular, and he don't read that.

Q. O, he is expected to pick out the parts that suit him!

The WITNESS. I will submit the rest of this circular and some others I have here that I would like to have go on the record, if the committee please; they all bear upon this exodus business.

(The circulars were directed to go in. They follow.)

(The circular partly quoted above goes on to say:)

"So great has been the influx to Topeka that the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association has been organized at that place, and with the cooperation of Governor St. John, to whom applications for assistance from all sides are daily presented, was established; a system of relief which is ably administered and which has done an incalculable amount of good in caring for these people on their arrival, and providing them with employment, or forwarding them to the colonies which have been established in various sections of the State.

"Frequent applications for men from Illinois, Iowa, Colorado, and Nebraska are constantly being received by the committee, who make up the details and procure transportation for them to their new homes.

"During a recent visit to Topeka a desire to examine into the workings of the association prompted a visit to their offices, which were found in the second story back room of an agricultural warehouse, where preparations were going rapidly forward for a removal to the new quarters in a more convenient and commodious building, which is about completed in a portion of the city nearer to the quarters occupied by the refugees.

"The new building which is built so as to answer for storage purposes, and also for the residence and offices of the committee in charge, was designed by an intelligent colored man by the name of John M. Brown, who was at one time sheriff of a county in Mississippi, but had to flee for his life, leaving his wife and children, who subsequently joined him North, but who have since died from diseases aggravated by exposure and fright. He now devotes all of his time to the alleviation of his race, and is looked up to by the colored people with reverence and respect.

"The work on the building has been principally performed by men taken from among the refugees, and the materials were donated in great part by the business men of Topeka, who realize the importance of the task undertaken by the committee. The warehouse was visited and was comparatively well stocked with boxes and barrels which had been sent by the generous, but which had not been yet unpacked in the confusion of getting into their new quarters. Several willing assistants were actively engaged, among them Wilmer Walton, a former Pennsylvanian and instructor of freedmen, who during his labors in Missouri was cruelly maltreated by the ex-rebels, beaten and threatened with hanging, but persisted in pursuing the path of duty laid before him, was finally permitted to live in peace until his removal to his present sphere of labor.

"Elizabeth L. Comstock, a Friend, residing in Michigan, leaving a comfortable home some three months ago, has taken up her residence

in Topeka and devoted herself entirely to this cause. Friend Comstock is a lady somewhat past middle age, but acts and speaks with an energy which has exerted a remarkable influence in soliciting aid in this country and England where she is well known.

“With the charitable inclinations of a tender and generous heart, she combines the business ability and tact which is so necessary to the success of any organization, and it is needless to say that she commands the respect and confidence of all brought in contact with her. The desire of the association that the public should be informed of the actual condition of the freedmen led to a visit of inspection to the barracks, as their quarters are styled, where some two or three hundred men, women, and children were huddled into a series of one-story frame buildings, constructed of rough boards, stripped at the joints and divided into compartments, containing each about ten bunks or sleeping places. These bunks were in two tiers and around the room on three sides, the one stove that furnished heat and did the cooking for the thirty or forty occupants being situated near the center of the room. As they were in a crowded condition the bunks were well filled at night, a whole family of several persons frequently occupying a single one.

“Seated around the stove, in the majority of the compartments visited, were the women and children, clad in the garments which had been sent them; some of the former sewing and knitting, while others had their head between their hands—the picture of distress and discouragement.

“Sickness is common among them, and the doctor was going his daily rounds among the ailing at the time of our visit. In one barrack the corpse of a half-grown girl was lying in a bunk, where she had expired a short time before, while the living hovered around the stove, the little ones hushed by the dread companionship of death.

“A suitable hospital building was in the course of erection, where the sick will be cared for apart from the well, and this painful association of life and death will be avoided. The mortality has been considerable each week, but it is thought that the new accommodations, which have heretofore been impossible for want of means, will do much towards preserving health. Taking into consideration the difficulties under which the association has labored, the large number of refugees which have applied to them for help and want of means, the results accomplished have been encouraging and gratifying.

“It is estimated that ten thousand persons have been provided for since April last, and that that number will be increased tenfold during the coming season, so great proportions has the movement assumed. If this be the case the demands for pecuniary aid and contributions of clothing and food will be greatly increased and should meet with a hearty response from those who enjoy the comforts of home and political liberty in regions where the law has sufficient strength to protect the weak and helpless. Removed from the surroundings which have repressed his development, and thrown on his own responsibility, the colored man will be forced to make his way in the world on his own responsibility, and in coming generations, with the advantages of education and equal rights, will be in a position to cope fairly with the problem of existence.”—West Chester (Pa.) Daily Republican.

The other circulars follow:

A LETTER OF GREAT INTEREST TO EMIGRANTS.

Being a citizen of Topeka, Kansas, and a member of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association, also extensively known in the South, at a regular meeting of the executive board, held March 15, 1880, by a unanimous vote, I was instructed to proceed to Cairo, Illinois, and empowered to use such means as I may deem prudent and expedient to turn the tide of emigration from the South into other States than Kansas.

Not that Kansas is getting weary of well doing, but because it cannot reasonably be expected that Kansas is able to do all that must be done for our people, while other Northern States are willing to help bear the burden.

Those who have read letters from Governor St. John can see that Kansas has never raised any objections to our people coming into that State, since they have understood this exodus movement from the South is something of more than human character. Governor St. John has spoken for the State. Please turn to that letter of his to Mr. H. N. Rust, of Chicago, Illinois, and read what he says:

“Having in view solely that which is best for these poor people, you will pardon me if I suggest to you and through you to the philanthropic friends in your city, that, in my opinion, the great State of Illinois, that furnished to this country Abraham Lincoln, who issued the proclamation that set these people free, and Grant, at the head of the grand army that enforced it, could do no greater honor to herself and her martyred heroes, than to open wide her doors to these unfortunate refugees, and furnish homes for 50,000 of them, where they could earn their own living, instead of sending supplies to them to a State that is already overcrowded with them to such an extent as to render it almost impossible to secure labor for them, so that they may be self-supporting. I beg of you not to understand me as intimating that Kansas in any sense is complaining.

“Our people know what it is to struggle for freedom. We know its cost and shall never turn our backs upon any law-abiding human being who is willing to put forth an earnest effort to make an honest living. I only make these suggestions to the people of your State, for the benefit of the people. As you are, of course, aware that Kansas, being yet in her infancy, can absorb only a limited number of this unfortunate race, who depend upon their labor for support,” &c. And at a meeting that was held in Chicago, Illinois, March 11, 1880, in the interest of our people, by Mrs. Elizabeth L. Comstock and others, another letter from Governor St. John was sent to Mrs. Comstock, in these words:

“If you can only induce the people of Illinois to form an organization through which employment can be obtained in Illinois for the poor blacks that are coming northward, you will have accomplished not only a good work, but will save a large expenditure of money that is now incurred in sending refugees from Kansas to other States. The colored people will gladly go to Illinois, if they are only made to understand that they will be fairly treated there.”

At that same meeting a resolution was adopted inviting 50,000 colored people to settle in Illinois, and the executive committee was instructed to make such arrangement for receiving and distributing refugees in the State of Illinois.

Now, having a personal knowledge of the condition of our people, both in the South and in the State of Kansas, I concur with Governor

St. John and other friends of our people in saying that our people must go into other States where they can find employment. I do not mean those who are able to go to Kansas and purchase property. If a man has money enough he can go where he pleases, and do to suit himself; but those that are without means to take care of themselves after getting to Kansas.

Take my advice and go into other Northern States, where labor is more needful and wages are higher.

I do not say that our people should remain in the South, as some have stated without giving a single reason for it; while I know that all our people would rather live South, if they could only enjoy their civil and political rights, and acquire property and have legal protection.

All those going northward, wishing to find homes in any of the Northern States, may stop at Cairo, Ill., where they will be met by parties authorized by the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association, also by the executive committee of the organization at Chicago, Ill.

From Cairo more than 300 heads of families have found homes in different parts of Illinois and Iowa.

They are doing well, and more laborers are wanted.

I have had an interview with several of the emigrant agents in the South, and they agree with us in the change of the tide of this emigration as being for the good of the colored people themselves and the friends of Kansas.

We have hundreds of applications for laborers to come into Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, Michigan, and Ohio. Those wishing to go into either of these States may stop at St. Louis, where arrangements will be made through which they can find homes, without having to lie over on expense to themselves.

Done in behalf of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association.

For further information address me.

W. O. LYNCH,
Topeka, Kansas.

MARCH 25, 1880.

THE REFUGEES IN TOPEKA.

We have questioned hundreds of the exodites as to why they come, and nearly all of them tell us the same story: "We come because we wanted to be free." "Yes," we reply, "but you have been free ever since the war." "We know dat bery well, but twasn't the right kind ob free. Colored folks back thar haven't got no kind of a show. They hasn't got no law like white folks. If the white folks does anything to the colored folks we can't say nothing, 'cause if we does they'll kill us sure as you lib. We bese afeered to stay thar." There are a large number of widows among the refugees whose husbands were taken out of their homes in the night and were shot dead or hung upon some tree in sight of their own dwelling. "That's why I come," said my colored refugee washerwoman to me yesterday. "You see I done quit thar as soon as I could, 'cause I didn't know how soon my husband's turn would come to be dragged out of bed and shot down like a dog, too. I'd a heap rather lib back thar, 'cause its the country whar I was raised; but I tell you, missis, I'se afeerd to stay thar. They broke open my door one night, looking for somebody, and I never got no peace arter that. I tell my ole man, let's git out of dis and go to Kansas, and we come for sure." This woman told me of a little colored boy, who bragged to some other

boys that his folks were all going to Kansas in a few days. That night the boy did not come home at all, and in the morning some of the neighbors found him hanging to a tree dead. Every day some such shocking incident as this just related is told to us.

It must be apparent to the minds of those who believe that the Lord rules, and that he will hear the cries of his oppressed people, that he it is who is leading them away from the land of bondage. The following words of Scripture are as applicable to them to-day as they were to the children of Israel thousands of years ago:

And the children of Israel sighed because of the bondage, and God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God looked upon the children of Israel, and God had respect unto them. * * * And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry, by reason of their task-masters; for I know their sorrow, and I am come down to deliver them out of the land of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey.

At the present time the barracks located here are filled to overflowing, but though "strangers in a strange land," the people there seem very happy. "Cheerfulness" has been said to be "the bright weather of the heart," and the negro character has this element in a large degree—this element so essential to human happiness. Five hundred persons were drawing rations last week. A few days ago we saw six women getting dinner for as many families on one small cook-stove in one of the small apartments at the barracks. There was no contention among them; they were all laughing and joking together except one of them, who was evidently more religious than the rest; she was singing, in a wonderfully loud tone of voice, "I have been redeemed," &c.

The main idea of the relief association is to get these people into a condition of self-support; to have them learn the truth of the old Scotch proverb. "The gear that is given is never as sweet as the gear that is won." Notwithstanding the appellation so often applied to the colored race, "shiftless and good for nothing," we have found them quite the contrary. The majority of them are anxious to get work, and show a disposition to be independent of the relief fund. Hundreds of men have found situations among the farmers, and a large number have gone to work in the coal mines in different localities. Last week we fitted out a company of fifty young men for the mines near Trinidad. We gave each of them a blanket, shoes, and what second-hand clothing they were in need of. They went off in the best of spirits, promising to write us and let us know how they got along in their new home. Some of the colored refugees brought a little money with them and built themselves little cabins to live in. The women are taking in washing, and the men are doing any kind of work they can find to do. At the present time, however, there are a great many sick ones among them, pneumonia being the prevailing disease; the exposure consequent upon their journey, their insufficient clothing, and change of climate, being adequate causes for this disease. Very few people have any correct idea of the amount of work that is being accomplished here by the relief association and its devoted, efficient helpers. As the children of Israel were a long time getting through the wilderness before they got into the land of Canaan, so these poor pilgrims will have many weary miles to travel, suffering and privations to contend with, and many disappointments and discouragements to encounter, before they can get the "milk and honey" so long promised.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAU,
KANSAS FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION,
North Topeka, Kansas, ———, 18—.

DEAR SIR: This office has hundreds of applications for colored laborers and offers of homes for boys and girls and women, to which we cannot respond as desired because they are not put in practical shape. Nineteen out of twenty call for "a man and wife without children," or a "boy" or "girl" or a "single woman." Few families that come to us are without children, and it is not right to let them lie here in the barracks till the children all die, nor can we send the parents and keep the children. But while we feel that it would be wise and best for them to accept kind offers made of homes for children and women with Christian people who desire to do them good, yet it is impossible for us to find boys and girls or women willing to go alone among strangers. In the cursed bondage of the past the breaking up of families was the most bitter trial of their hard lot, and now they shrink from anything that looks like separation. Put yourselves in their place. Remember that they cannot read or write; that communication by mail is practically denied them; that they have been robbed all their lives of all those things wherein you are different from them; that family attachments constitute their *worldly all*, and you would shrink from the dangers, undefined and imaginary in fact, but just as real to their ignorance, that lie in going away from each other. We are anxious to find homes and employment for these unfortunate ones who have come to us unsolicited, but, in the hope of escaping the evils of their lot in the old slave States, have been drawn here by the magic name of Free Kansas, and the questionable methods of land agents and transportation companies, and reach us in poverty and want. But their greatest want is a chance; and we desire the co-operation of all friends of humanity in scattering these people to homes all through our State. Our pecuniary interest demands that we aid these people to become self-supporting as soon as possible. Our experience has taught us that to make them contented and profitable as laborers we must adopt so much of their old plantation system as will give them a home by themselves close by that of their employer. This plan offers great relief to our overworked farmers' wives, taking the labor of caring for the hired help out of the farm house and placing a woman at their doors ready to do the washing and ironing and hard jobs in the house. It removes the objection to the children, who must be provided for, and offers the employer in providing home, fuel, provisions, &c., for the family from his farm, an easy way of paying quite a portion of their wages.

With just treatment and kind usage these people will be happy and contented, and will, by their labor, add rapidly to the wealth and development of our State. So scattered, family by family, to the extent of 10 per cent. of our population, which would absorb more than are likely to come, they will never be felt as a disturbing element in the social or business life of our people. We can send them out comfortably clad and fairly well off for bedding, but our treasury will not allow us to pay railroad fare; and our plan is for parties applying to send us the money to pay the fare, and deduct it from wages as earned; that the debt be as small as possible on them, it is best for those who will employ this help to obtain the same as near home as it can be found. At Emporia, at Parsons, at Fort Scott, at Columbus, at Kansas City and other points there are many colored people who ought to be out on farms as well as here in Topeka. Those in other States that can be reached easier and

cheaper from Saint Louis and Cairo should apply there, for it is very hard to induce any to leave Kansas.

It is but just to those in whose interest this association is at work, that parties who apply for this labor send us assurances that they are proper persons to intrust them to, and we urge all their employers to bear in mind that they owe to those unfortunates an effort to teach and elevate them; to give them opportunities, as far as possible, for mental, moral, and religious culture. By giving us these assurances and asking for such families as we can send, and sending us the means to pay R. R. fare, we will do the best we can to send you such help as will please you. As a rule, almost without exception, the numerous families sent out are giving unexpected satisfaction.

Very respectfully,

LAURA S. HAVILAND,
Secretary.

THE HEGIRA OF THE NEGRO.

By Hon. M. W. REYNOLDS, *Parsons, Kans.*

The year 1879 has been an eventful one in the history of an entire race on this continent. That it has brought them blessings innumerable or woes unnumbered the future alone can determine. Whether for weal or woe, it is destiny not of their own seeking. They have not been driven madly, wildly, on by the cruel hand of fate, but circumstances rather over which they have had no control have forced them from "home and all its pleasures," if it be not a mockery to call such surroundings as the fiendish bulldozer furnishes "the pleasures of home."

With the early opening of the spring the first wave of emigration from the South began to flow north-land. It was unusual, contrary to the history of the migration of all peoples, and came unannounced and unheralded. It was like the swelling tide of the ocean that had been stirred by the storm king miles and miles out upon its heaving surface, and each reflux wave of this mighty stream of immigration rises higher than the preceding one, threatening to overflow all this Northern country. The Southern exodus has only begun. The great migratory movement has been preparing for fifteen years. In the lonely cabin by the "moonbeam's misty light," with no sign in the heavens but the friendly north star as a watch and beacon to guide to a land of freedom, or real liberty and love and respect for law; in the rudely constructed church, with sentinels placed on guard to give warning of the approach of the fiendish bulldozers; in secret clubs and the dark hours of the night the great change has been talked over. For years the Southern colored man has felt that "he must go." There was neither bread for his family, hope for his children, or protection for himself, such as the meanest slave received in the darkest hours of brutal serfdom. Liberty had become a mockery; emancipation a curse, a crime; freedom a delusion and a snare. And when, in 1877, the black man's friends at the South were stricken down, troops for the protection of white and black alike withdrawn at the insolent importuning of black-hearted traitors, boldly declaring they would gain in cabinet and council what they had lost in the field, and governors of States duly elected, and by majorities that left no question of their choice, were banished and the machinery of State governments turned over to the representatives chosen by the bulldozer and the tissue ballot, the heart of the loyal Republican of the South

sunk within him. It mattered not that his labor had made the South bloom with fertility and its chosen places transformed to beauty with the airy-winged blossoms of the cotton field. He had few ancestral ties to bind him. The wild Indian of the plains will fight to save his children, the homes and graves of his ancestors. Slavery was not conducive to the growth of rude but generous sentimentalities of this nature. It had but little regard for the sanctity of family ties and social relations. And so, when the black man saw himself abandoned by the representatives of the party that he would willingly give his life for, he knew that his time had fully come, and that he must "go."

Do you seek for the philosophy of this movement? There ought to be some excuse for such a simultaneous, wide spread movement and migration of such a quiet, non-migratory people as the negroes are. Did any people ever migrate from the homes and graves of their ancestors without some impelling motive?

The tawny devotee of the sun comes not to the cold and cheerless North of his own choosing. Ambition does not impel him; wealth does not allure him. The land of magnolia certainly has greater charms for him than ice crops and fields of snow. His ancestors for nearly two hundred years have lived in a land much better adapted to his tastes and more suited to his disposition. Singular, is it not, that while slavery with its majestic crimes and monster iniquities could not drive the negro from the sun-land of the South—in the days of freedom, the miserable mockery of its name is driving him steadily, sadly, solidly, in the direction of the north star?

What is the cause? If it be politics, if the object be to secure colored votes in strong Republican States, the evidence ought to be forthcoming. Some letter from some responsible person ought to be shown, advising this movement. Some editorial from some Northern person favoring the migration ought to be shown and republished. The Western papers teem with productions urging the migration of people from every land to these broad and blossoming plains of the West, blooming with fertility and productiveness. But I do not call to mind one that has urged a negro exodus. The ambitious and ubiquitous real-estate agent, the voluble vender of silica and sand, not yet made indictable by statute or placed quite as high in the ranks of perigrinating dead-beats as the lightning-rod peddler, the book-agent, and the well-drive fraud, has deceived the Dutch, defrauded the Danes, inveigled the Irish, enticed the English, allured the Austrian, fooled the French, and cheated the very elect by his misrepresentations, but he has not stretched his hand to Ethiopia. He has not seduced Dinah into coming to Kansas. Why are Groat and Schmidt in Europe if the railroads of Kansas simply want persons on their lands irrespective of color? Cannot the melodious voices of our real-estate friends be tuned to chanting pæans of praise to productive Kansas in the responsive and receptive ear of our colored brother, if the land grant railroads are at the bottom of this negro hegira? Why are not Groat and Schmidt waltzing with wenches in the South, and singing like Sankey in 99, at colored camp-meetings, instead of wining and féting the facile Frenchman and the lager-loving German, to induce him to leave his vine-clad hills and purple skies to come to the great Arkansas Valley and the greater valley of the Kaw, over the "Banana Line" and the "Golden Belt Route." What car-rotty-headed fanatics they must be who can see in this great, extraordinary, and unusual movement of the colored people from the South only an attempt of politicians to make Kansas, with its 75,000 majority for Grant already assured, a Republican State, while it takes from the

South the only element that can ever make the South Republican! When the colored man had a voice at the polls, the South was loyal and Republican. When he was bulldozed and suppressed, the South became again refractory, revolutionary, devilish, Democratic. We don't need the colored man to make the loyal North Republican. He is needed in the South, not only to promote its economies and develop its industries, but to preserve the semblance of loyalty and liberty. In the meanwhile we shall have to conquer our prejudices, if there be any left who have them, and give the South what they most fear and hate—another dose of Grantism, that a recognition of American citizenship and its property and personal rights under the law may be rendered possible in one and all sections of the country alike.

Is it a wonder that the movement is nearly simultaneous, that it is anomalous, that it has no parallel in history, that it seemingly is without philosophy, object, or purpose? It matters not how unphilosophical it may seem, this great and unusual migratory movement is upon us. It is a fact, in respects not a few, an unwelcome fact, but a fact nevertheless that must be met, and that it would be cowardly to ignore. The colored brother has come in great numbers. The colored people are gregarious. They move in squads, in companies, battalions, in regiments. About 1,000 have landed at Parsons from Grimes County, Texas, within the last three weeks. Many have gone on to Fort Scott, to Chanute, Emporia, and other places. Many have gone into the country. Still many remain. Grimes County alone will send 2,000 before April next. Those who have come thus far are generally well clad, and a majority have a little means. They are nearly all field hands, with some mechanics, smiths, carpenters, &c., among them. They want to lease lands, and some are prepared and expect to buy small tracts.

Why have they come, and what are we, the people of Kansas, going to do about it? I have interviewed a great many exodists. There is but one voice among them. "You ask me why I come to Kansas. I will tell you. The laws in the South in letter and spirit are against us. Society is organized against us. We cannot live there with any degree of safety. Such a thing as free expression of opinion and freedom of the ballot is unknown and debarred us. In our consultations at our churches concerning our rights and interests, we never think of meeting without darkened windows and placing sentinels on guard to warn us of danger. The white folks charge us with meeting to devise some mischief against them, and in protection to themselves, as they pretend, they are determined that these meetings shall be broken up. Thus advised and counseled by the best of the white men, it is an easy matter for the young bloods to become night-riders and bulldozers. Nothing delights the young element better. Supported by the sympathy of the better class, as the bulldozer and night-rider is, and protected and shielded more or less by the laws, the outrages come as a matter of course. We are powerless to resist. The arms, organization, discipline, wealth, leisure to prosecute their deviltry, are in the hands of our white foes. The strong arm of the law, that ought to protect the weak and defenseless, grapples with us at every turn. For cotton lands that sell at \$10 per acre, we have to pay \$6 per acre rent. Our landlord markets the cotton, weighs it, and gives us what he chooses for our share. Many of our people cannot read or count money in paper currency, and in paying the small pittance due us we are cheated out of the little that belongs to us. Our young men are arrested upon the most trivial, trumped-up charges and fined from \$5 to \$25. This has to be worked out at 25 cents per day, and the result is that the prisons

and the poor-farms are filled with our young men. Our lot in slavery was hard enough, but the outlook for our children is far worse. Justice before the courts is a mockery. I have never known a white man in the South to be hung for killing a negro, nor a colored man to escape conviction of such a crime. Many of us who have emigrated from Grimes County had some property there. On property worth a thousand dollars we have had to pay as high taxes as white men who own \$30,000 worth. We have come to Kansas because we have heard that all men are protected in their property and their rights. We have come to work. We do not desire to live in towns. Most of us are field-hands and are used to hard labor. We are determined to get away from the blood-hounds and the shot-guns."

The above is the substance and nearly the language of a score or more of these exodists, as they have related it to me.

What are we going to do about it? They are here not of our seeking, nor on invitation, except as Kansas from the first hour of its birth in the tumult and travail of blood, in the first wild, passionate cry of freedom, sent an all-hail and welcome to the oppressed everywhere to come and make these prairies, consecrated in a baptism of fire, "the homestead of the free." We have invited all, specially inviting none, excluding none. No agent of the State, no representative of any party, has urged or invited these people here. They are not needed for political purposes in Kansas. But they are coming all the same. They cannot be stopped. The only way to stop the perpetual, resistless flow of immigration to these plains is to burn our agricultural reports and pray for the second coming of our old-time frisky friends, the grasshoppers, in clouds of impenetrable magnitude and continuous visitation. This hegira of the negro can only be stopped by submission to and acknowledgment of the logical results of the war. Otherwise it will continue and increase in volume and strength. When the old colored man came to the governor of the State with his pitiful story of outrage and wrong, and the governor, to test his fidelity and determination, gave him such counsel and advice as any good and smart Northern Democrat would, suggested that the climate was better suited to him in the South, that the labor market was overstocked, that he would find it difficult to get work here, that he would try and assist him in getting free transportation back, with tears streaming down his old black face, and in agony of soul, he said, "Foah God, massa, you can shoot me down in dese here track, but to return to the South *I never will.*" And when the colored man from Mississippi, with an economy and thrift that ought to shame the persecutors of the black man, came to Topeka and built a little shanty and returned for his family, and the chivalrous barbarian bulldozers rode around and seized him, and chopping off his hands threw them back in the poor man's lap, exclaiming, "There, d—n you take them back to bleeding Kansas with you," the spirit of the colored exodist determined not to remain. The body of the dead victim of Southern barbarity only remains in the land of the cape-jessamine, the myrtle, and the magnolia. The North is powerless to stop this exodus. The South alone can do it. Let the South treat the black man as every man, black and white, is treated at the North, and the colored man will stay in the South.

The remedy is simple. The greatest and most implacable diseases are frequently cured by the simplest remedies. One thing is certain: the South must make up its mind to treat the colored man with at least homœopathic doses of kindness and fair treatment, or it may expect an allopathic dose of Grantism, which means that the rebel yell of '60 is to

be met with the shout and refrain of a loyal united North that *there shall be an enforcement of equal rights*. Is not this fair? Is it asking too much? Do not the civilization and Christianity of the nineteenth century demand it?

Great ignorance, in part willful and maliciously mean, and in part innocent and harmful, is shown in connection with the Negro Hegira. The exodists are blamed for coming at this unseasonable part of the year. In the dead of winter labor is short, and shelter almost impossible to secure in country or town. Great suffering must almost inevitably ensue. It is unfortunate that the colored people could not have delayed their coming until spring, if they were to come at all. But it should be remembered that they are obliged to make their contracts at Christmas for the year. If they lease land and contract leases at all for the year they must lease for the entire year. They must either come now or contract for the year.

Every effort should be made to diffuse and scatter this immigration as much as possible. The Southern exodists, especially the Texas exodists, fortunately, have no desire to bunch in towns. They come from fields and farms, and prefer country life. They must be aided and advised to seek homes in the country. The rich and rapidly developing counties in the west and southwest of us can easily work up and absorb several thousand. The flourishing cities of Winfield, Wellington, Arkansas City, Eldorado, Wichita, and others, might be more or less generously supplied with these people than the cities in the eastern part of the State. Not less than 1,500 are now on the way from Central Texas in wagons and by cars. Parsons is naturally the objective point of all coming from Texas by rail. But all of course cannot be provided for here. It is, however, unquestionably the duty of our citizens, and the people of the North everywhere to treat this question in a manly, courageous spirit. Every good citizen should consider and reflect and act with generosity and prudence rather than rave and curse in impotence and despair.

THE EXODUS.

It is upon us, whether we desire it or not.—An interesting and pathetic letter from Elizabeth L. Comstock.—A matter to which the attention of Congressmen is earnestly called.—It is a fact not to be gainsaid.

Let people reason or philosophize as they please as to the propriety or impropriety of the exodus of the colored people from the Southern States, it is a fixed fact that cannot be gainsaid. They are coming in large and increasing numbers. Even if the people desire to do so, they have no power to restrict the right of free emigration. The question ceases to be a question of political economy, and becomes one of humanity. Starving, freezing, and in most cases penniless, they appeal to all people with warm blood in their veins with a force irresistible. Having been the victims of a long oppression, supporting and enriching by their labor a great section of the country, they now ask the privilege of a little land to be worked for their own benefit. They have strong arms and willing hands, and are ready to do their share toward making the untilled soil of the Great West bloom and blossom as a garden. The man or woman who can read the following letter from Mrs. Comstock, who, with the earnestness of a philanthropist and the devotion of a Christian, is laboring among these poor people, without a desire to do something to aid in the work of relief, is not to be envied:

MRS. COMSTOCK'S LETTER.

WM. PENN NIXON :

ESTEEMED FRIEND: Thy letter of the 31st ult. to hand to-day. Accept our grateful thanks for the remittance of \$174.25 for the colored refugees, and extend the same to the kind donors. Tell them that their gifts are greatly needed, highly appreciated, and most gratefully received by the poor, suffering, shivering, starving multitudes who have sought refuge here from the cruelty and oppression of the South. Notwithstanding the cold weather the emigration continues—a steady stream. I have been here now four months, trying in some degree to alleviate their sufferings and satisfy their wants. I have conversed with hundreds of them, and, in reply to my question, “Why did you come?” the answers are all alike. The same story from hundreds and thousands; the cruelty and oppression; laws different for black and white; liberty, property, and lives not safe; not protected by law; no white man ever punished for wronging, cheating, mutilating, or killing a colored man; no colored man ever escaped the utmost severity of the law for the slightest offense against the white race; no liberty to vote as they wish.

AND STILL THEY COME.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, 600 came last week, 100 last night, and 900 families, we hear, are now on the way from Mississippi. The exodus is assuming such gigantic proportions now that we have felt the urgent need to claim the co-operation of the Northern and Western States, and have sent an appeal to the governors of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Ohio to aid us. We have invited them to organize freedmen's relief associations in every State and every county for such co-operation, to ascertain how many families of refugees they can find homes and employment for, and assist us in locating them.

AN INSULT FROM THE GOVERNOR OF INDIANA.

The governor of Indiana has replied to me in the most uncourteous manner, charging us with enticing the colored people from their Southern homes, and declaring that “this is a political scheme.” We greatly hope and quite anticipate that the governors of the other States will co-operate with us, and turn the rapidly increasing stream into other channels.

Thou wilt greatly oblige me by making two points clear to the public through the columns of the *Inter Ocean* :

1. That we are still in *urgent need of lumber*.
2. That Congress is holding in bond for duties a large quantity of warm blankets, overcoats, shoes, and other necessaries of life that I have begged from my English friends for these poor refugees! It is a blot on the page of our history, a shame and disgrace to a civilized community, that 50,000 pounds weight of supplies are thus held for duties and customs, while the poor people to whom they were given by the benevolent abroad are freezing and dying for want of them.

What will foreign nations think and say of our “glorious republic” that is too weak to protect the liberty, property, and lives of its poor subjects, and yet stretches out a grasping hand to seize nearly half of what the charity of a foreign land has bestowed.

Our Representative, Thomas Ryan, introduced a bill into Washington for the release of these goods duty free. Fernando Wood and the

“Speaker” sent it into the “Committee of Ways and Means,” where it remains, and has done for many weeks. I wish you would send a bomb-shell into the Capitol that would make Fernando Wood tremble, and shake the Speaker in his chair, and loosen the bolts and bars of the custom-house and free the gifts of our English friends.

Some years ago, when the Irish famine aroused the sympathy of this land for the hungry, famished people there, and when ship-loads of grain were sent as gifts from the benevolent in this country, England did not lock them up in her custom-houses, nor take one-half for the Queen’s government. Thy friend, respectfully;

ELIZABETH L. COMSTOCK.

A NOBLE RESPONSE.

WAUKON, *Allamakee County, Iowa, February 2.*

To the Editor of the Inter Ocean :

Inclosed you will find post-office orders of \$60, for the relief of the colored refugees in Kansas. My father, John Vile, sends \$25; my mother, Mary Vile, \$10; and myself, \$25. I would hire a single man to work on the farm if he would come so far north and the expense was not too much. I think the fare from Saint Louis to Waukon would be less than from Topeka. If a few of them should come up here, say two or three, I would do what I could to get them situations. I hope that a goodly number of them will get away from the cruel South, and find homes in Kansas or elsewhere where they would be treated as they should be. Would like to correspond with some one in Kansas with regard to hiring a hand to work. Have subscribed for the *Inter Ocean* for the fifth year, and think it the best paper.

JAMES VILE.

The *Inter Ocean* acknowledges the following receipts of money since its last report :

Jan. 31.—Mrs. Bell, Hyde Park.....	\$2 50
Jan. 31.—Mrs. C. E. Whitman and daughter, Evanston, Ill.....	1 00
Jan. 31.—“Friend,” Dover, Ill.....	5 00
Feb. 4.—Ichabod Warner, Libertyville, Ill.....	5 00
Feb. 5.—Mrs. Winski, Waukegan, Ill.....	1 00
Feb. 6.—John Vile, Waukon, Iowa.....	25 00
Feb. 6.—Mary Vile, Waukon, Iowa.....	10 00
Feb. 6.—James Vile, Waukon, Iowa.....	25 00
Feb. 6.—Congregational Church, Wataga, Ill.....	8 00
Feb. 6.—Lady, Chicago.....	5 00
Total.....	87 50

A MEETING CALLED.

The committee appointed to complete the organization of a Freedmen’s Relief Association has called a meeting for the purpose of doing so, at parlor 1, Grand Pacific Hotel, on Monday afternoon at 3 o’clock. They earnestly invite all that can to be there.

The WITNESS. Now, there has been an attempt to make a difference in the matter of the personal and official relation of Mrs. Comstock

to this movement and to this board—to disconnect her entirely from any relation to the board. Now, Mrs. Comstock is an advisory member of the board. I myself have seen her present, and if they have no knowledge of her doings, they are certainly to blame for not attending to their duties.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. You mentioned Mr. Jennings as a member of this board?—A. Well, he has been employed in it, or connected with it in some service.

Q. In point of fact I am informed he was not a member of the board at all, and I thought I would call your attention to it.—A. I mean to say emphatically that he was a member of the executive board of that relief committee, under the State organization. I am informed that Mr. Jennings and Mr. McFarland and our county treasurer, who was elected last fall, were active in the organization.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN SINGLETON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 17, 1880.*

BENJAMIN SINGLETON (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Question. Where were you born, Mr. Singleton?—Answer. I was born in the State of Tennessee, sir.

Q. Where do you now live?—A. In Kansas.

Q. What part of Kansas?—A. I have a colony sixty miles from Topeka, sir.

Q. Which way from Topeka—west?—A. Yes, sir; sixty miles from Topeka west.

Q. What is your colony called?—A. Singleton colony is the name of it, sir.

Q. How long has it been since you have formed that colony?—A. I have two colonies in Kansas—one in Cherokee County, and one in Lyon, Morris County.

Q. When did you commence the formation of that colony—the first one?—A. It was in 1875, perhaps.

Q. That is, you first began this colonizing business in 1875?—A. No; when I first commenced working at this it was in 1869.

Q. You commenced your colony, then, in 1869?—A. No, I commenced getting the emigration up in 1875; I think it was in 1875.

Q. When did you leave Tennessee, Mr. Singleton?—A. This last time; do you mean?

Q. No; when you moved from there to Kansas?—A. It has been a year this month just about now.

Q. You misunderstand me; you say you were born in Tennessee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you now live in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you change your home from Tennessee to Kansas?—A. I have been going there for the last six or seven years, sir.

Q. Going between Tennessee and Kansas, at different times?—A. Yes, sir; several times.

Q. Well, tell us about it?—A. I have been fetching out people; I believe I fetched out 7,432 people.

Q. You have brought out 7,432 people from the South to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; brought and sent.

Q. That is, they came out to Kansas under your influence?—A. Yes, sir; I was the cause of it.

Q. How long have you been doing that—ever since 1869?—A. Yes, sir; ever since 1869.

Q. Did you go out there yourself in 1869, before you commenced sending them out?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did you happen to send them out?—A. The first cause, do you mean, of them going?

Q. Yes; What was the cause of your going out, and in the first place how did you happen to go there, or to send these people there?—A. Well, my people, for the want of land—we needed land for our children—and their disadvantages—that caused my heart to grieve and sorrow; pity for my race, sir, that was coming down, instead of going up—that caused me to go to work for them. I sent out there perhaps in '66—perhaps so; or in '65, any way—my memory don't recollect which; and they brought back tolerable favorable reports; then I jacked up three or four hundred, and went into Southern Kansas, and found it was a good country, and I thought Southern Kansas was congenial to our nature, sir; and I formed a colony there, and bought about a thousand acres of ground—the colony did—my people.

Q. And they went upon it and settled there?—A. Yes, sir; they went and settled there.

Q. Were they men with some means or without means?—A. I never carried none there without means.

Q. They had some means to start with?—A. Yes; I prohibited my people leaving their country and going there without they had money—some money to start with and go on with a while.

Q. You were in favor of their going there if they had some means?—A. Yes, and not staying at home.

Q. Tell us how these people are getting on in Kansas?—A. I am glad to tell you, sir.

Q. Have they any property now?—A. Yes; I have carried some people in there that when they got there they didn't have fifty cents left, and now they have got in my colony—Singleton colony—a house, nice cabins, their milch cows, and pigs, and sheep, perhaps a span of horses, and trees before their yards, and some three or four or ten acres broken up, and all of them has got little houses that I carried there. They didn't go under no relief assistance; they went on their own resources; and when they went in there first the country was not overrun with them; you see they could get good wages; the country was not overstocked with people; they went to work, and I never helped them as soon as I put them on the land.

Q. Well, they have been coming continually, and adding from time to time to your colony these few years past, have they?—A. Yes, sir; I have spent, perhaps, nearly six hundred dollars flooding the country with circulars.

Q. You have sent the circulars yourself, have you?—A. Yes, sir; all over these United States.

Q. Did you send them into other Southern States besides Tennessee?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Did you do that at the instance of Governor St. John and others in Kansas?—A. O, no, sir; no white men. This was gotten up by colored men in purity and confidence; not a political negro was in it; they would want to pilfer and rob at the cents before they got the dollars. O, no, it was the muscle of the arm, the men that worked that we wanted.

Q. Well, tell us all about it.—A. These men would tell all their grievances to me in Tennessee—the sorrows of their heart. You know I was an undertaker there in Nashville, and worked in the shop. Well, actually, I would have to go and bury their fathers and mothers. You see we have the same heart and feelings as any other race and nation. (The land is free, and it is nobody's business, if there is land enough, where the people go. I put that in my people's heads.) Well, that man would die, and I would bury him; and the next morning maybe a woman would go to that man (meaning the landlord), and she would have six or seven children, and he would say to her, "Well, your husband owed me before he died;" and they would say that to every last one of them, "You owe me." Suppose he would? Then he would say, "You must go to some other place; I cannot take care of you." Now, you see, that is something I would take notice of. That woman had to go out, and these little children was left running through the streets, and the next place you would find them in a disorderly house, and their children in the State's prison.

Well, now, sir, you will find that I have a charter here. You will find that I called on the white people in Tennessee about that time. I called conventions about it, and they sot with me in my conventions, and "Old man," they said, "you are right." The white people said, "You are right; take your people away." And let me tell you, it was the white people—the ex-governor of the State, felt like I did. And they said to me, "You have taken a great deal on to yourself, but if these negroes, instead of deceiving one an other and running for office, would take the same idea that you have in your head, you will be a people."

I then went out to Kansas, and advised them all to go to Kansas; and, sir, they are going to leave the Southern country. The Southern country is out of joint. The blood of a white man runs through my veins. That is congenial, you know, to my nature. That is my choice. Right emphatically, I tell you to-day, I woke up the millions right through me! The great God of glory has worked in me. I have had open air interviews with the living spirit of God for my people; and we are going to leave the South. We are going to leave it if there ain't an alteration and signs of a change. I am going to advise the people who left that country (Kansas) to go back.

Q. What do you mean by a change?—A. Well, I am not going to stand bulldozing and half pay and all those things. Gentlemen, allow me to tell you the truth; it seems to me that they have picked out the negroes from the Southern country to come here and testify who are in good circumstances and own their homes, and not the poor ones who don't study their own interests. Let them go and pick up the men that has to walk when they goes, and not those who have money.

There is good white men in the Southern country, but it ain't the minority (majority); they can't do nothing; the bulldozers has got possession of the country, and they have got to go in there and stop them; if they don't the last colored man will leave them. I see colored men testifying to a positive lie, for they told me out there all their interests were in Louisiana and Mississippi. Said I, "You are right to protect you own country;" and they would tell me "I am obliged to do what I am doing." Of course I have done the same, but I am clear footed.

Q. Now you say that during these years you have been getting up this colony you have spent, yourself, some six hundred dollars in circulars, and in sending them out; where did you send them, Mr. Singleton?—A. Into Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Ken-

tucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, and all those countries.

Q. To whom did you send them; how were they circulated?—

A. Every man that would come into my country, and I could get a chance, I would put one in his hand, and the boys that started from my country on the boats, and the porters on the cars. That is the way I circulated them.

Q. Did you send any out by mail?—A. I think I sent some perhaps to North Carolina by mail—I think I did. I sent them out by people, you see.

Q. Yes; by colored people, generally?—A. Some white people, too. There was Mrs. Governor Brown, the first Governor Brown of Tennessee—Mrs. Sanders, she was a widow, and she married the governor. He had thirty on his place. I went to him, and he has given me advice. And Ex-Governor Brown, he is there too.

Q. You say your circulars were sent all over these States?—A. Yes, sir; to all of 'em.

Q. Did you ever hear from them; did anybody ever write to you about them?—A. O, yes.

Q. And you attribute this movement to the information you gave in your circulars?—A. Yes, sir; *I am the whole cause of the Kansas immigration!*

Q. You take all that responsibility on yourself?—A. I do, and I can prove it; and I think I have done a good deal of good, and I feel relieved!

Q. You are proud of your work?—A. Yes, sir; I am! (Uttered emphatically.)

Q. Well, now, some of those people that go there suffer a great deal; what have you to say about that?—A. I tell you how it is. I speak plainly. It is "root hog, or die." I tell the truth. Kansas is not a warm climate.

Q. Do you think that your people suffer more from the climate there than they do at home?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you talked with the people that have gone there lately as to the reason for their going?—A. Yes.

Q. What reasons did they give?—A. They say they have been badly treated in their countries. I speak for my country—Tennessee.

Q. In what way did they say they were badly treated?—A. Bulldozed, you call it; bulldozed, I suppose.

Q. In what way?—A. Well, they say they have been cheated and defrauded, and I know for myself, in my county—I better talk about what I know, when there is so much hearsay—our people in times of their little social gatherings at nights—quilting, perhaps, and weddings, throughout the country, you will see a dirty, low-lived, trashy man out in the town, and he will send some weak-minded one there to tell some colored man's daughter or wife he loves to come out, he wants a word with them. He will stop along the road and have some talk with them, and then that poor black man daren't say nothing; or there will go to his house, a lot of them scoundrels—I am not talking of Democrats only—a lot of scoundrels will go in there and take that negro out and kill him. I know lots of folks they took out. Julia Haven; I made the outside box and her coffin, in Smith County, Tennessee. And another young colored lady I knew, about my color, they committed an outrage on her and then shot her, and I helped myself to make the outside box. And other cases I could tell you. I did see a white man tied down and drowned in the river by these scoundrels, and he was

carried to Dick Somers' shop in Cherry street, Nashville. But I have a thousand hearsays, that I don't care to talk about—not much.

Q. Well, have any of your people got employment that came in large crowds from Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana?—A. The greater part of them have.

Q. Are they disposed to work?—A. Yes, sir. Let me tell you something about that, and you will agree with me. Now listen; these people that comes from these large farms have been used to—and I am sorry for that habit—living where there was a hundred or two hundred of them, where they can sing and go on, you know, and amuse themselves after the day's labor. Now when a gentleman comes in Kansas and says "I want a good man or woman,"—I have heard them testify that they came in and told these miraculous tales, when it was not so—they went out there and got lonesome. They are just like a hog that is used to a drove, take him out and he is a crazy hog; and they became just lonely, that is all; the people treated them well, and they got good prices, and they slept in the same house and the same room that these white people slept in, but they got lonely and wanted to be where their own people were, and I know that to be the facts; but they came rushing in very fast. Now I see where some of them said from eighty to a hundred thousand was coming. I am the very man that predicted that. It was me published it. I thought in eighteen months there would be from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand leaving the South. It was me done it; I published it; they say other folks did it. No, Governor St. John or other folks, they did not do it, it was me; *I* did it.

Q. Well, what do you think of it now?—A. I think it will come; it is sure to come.

Q. Is there any way to stop it?—A. No way, sir, on God's earth to stop it.

Q. Suppose the white people where they come from were to treat them well, give them their rights as American citizens, and give them what they earn, would not that stop the exodus?—A. Allow me to say to you that confidence is perished and faded away; they have been lied to every year. Every year when they have been going to work the crops, they have said, "I will do what is right to you," and just as soon as that man sees everything blooming and flourishing in the flowers and cotton blooms, he will look at that negro who has been his slave, and when he sees him walk up to take his half of the crop it is too much for him to stand, and he just denies his word, he denies his contract; and we will leave that country, and they will leave, till these people actually refrains from this way of treatment, and gives the negro the right hand of fellowship and acknowledges their wrongs, and then we have got no wrongs to acknowledge. My plan is for them to leave the country, and learn the South a lesson; and the whole of America—this Union—will have a lesson when cotton is from forty to fifty cents a pound, and you can't get it at that.

We don't want to leave the South, and just as soon as we have confidence in the South I am going to be an instrument in the hands of God to persuade every man to go back, because that is the best country; that is genial to our nature; we love that country, and it is the best country in the world for us; but we are going to learn the South a lesson. I have talked about this, and called a convention, and tried to harmonize things and promote the spirit of conciliation, and to do everything that could be done in the name of God. Why, I have prayed to the Almighty when it appeared to me an imposition before heaven to pray for them. I have taken my people out in the roads and in the

dark places, and looked to the stars of heaven and prayed for the Southern man to turn his heart.

Q. You believe, then, there is no way to stop the exodus except by stopping the abuse of these people, and by treating them fairly, and that it will take some time to get their confidence, even then?—A. They will then go back. I have heard some say they will never go back; but they will go back.

Q. Has there been anything political in this move of yours?—A. I never had any political men in it, white or black.

Q. Have leading men in Kansas had any talk with you about your movement as a political one?—A. No, sir; this thing was got up by an ignorant class of men, and I will prove it to you. I am the leader of it, and have been at for thirteen years, and I am the smartest man in it, and I am only an ignorant man.

Q. What is your age?—A. Seventy years past.

Q. Do you know anything that Governor St. John has done to encourage your people to leave their homes in the Southern country?—A. I have talked with him on the subject; his view is like mine about it.

Q. Has he sent any circulars out, as you have done, encouraging them to come?—A. No, sir; I have heard false tales told on him.

Q. In what respect?—A. Why, that he persuaded people to come there without money or price. Not so. He welcomed them all in there, but his advice was to bring something to sustain them. I wish you could read this, and see my sentiment about that (referring to one of the earlier circulars sent out by witness). I have never asked a man to come without money; I have told him not to come without money, but to stay there; and I am the man that has done this, and I can prove it that I have never asked one of them to go to Kansas if he was without money, but I have told him to stay there.

Q. Well, can you tell us anything more on this subject of the exodus?—A. Why, my dear friends, I am full now.

Q. Well, if you can think of anything more that will give us any light on it, do so.—A. I think you have got all you want. I will tell you, now, that I do not want to hurt anybody; I love the South, and I want every one of my people to come out, to teach the South a lesson, that she may know if she thinks more of bulldozing than she does of the colored man's muscle; the colored man's muscle is her interest; and these dare devils that ride around in the night and abuse the people, when the country ought to be harmonized, then I say to them go, and whenever they change from that, then I want them to go back.

Mr. WINDOM. You consider yourself the father of the exodus, then, Mr. Singleton?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; I am the father of it!

The CHAIRMAN. You are called "Pap Singleton," I believe?

The WITNESS. I am sir; I love everybody!

The CHAIRMAN. They call you "Pap" Singleton, because you are father of the exodus, is that it?

The WITNESS. I reckon they honor me with that name for my old age, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Whereabouts is this colony of yours in Kansas?—A. It is sixty miles rather southwest of Topeka.

Q. And you say there are a thousand acres in your colony?—A. Not that; that is in the Cherokee County. There was one hundred and sixty thousand acres, I think, of the old Indian reservation—Indian lands;

at first it was appraised too high; well, then, the government could not sell it; then it was reappraised at a dollar and a quarter an acre; so that I think it is now pretty well all taken up.

Q. Yes; and you have encouraged nobody to come unless they have had some means?—A. O, no; I have never encouraged or advised nobody to come to a prairie country without means. I am bitterly opposed to it. I am not that man.

Q. I am requested to ask if you allude to the half-breed lands?—A. Well, sir, I really don't know whether they are half-breed or not, because when I went there there was none there but a few only.

Q. Your home was in Tennessee?—A. O, yes, sir; my home was in Tennessee.

Q. Until how long ago?—A. Well—(hesitating)—

Q. How long since you moved from Tennessee, I mean?—A. April a year ago; I think I got to Topeka this last time perhaps on the 16th of March, or the latter part of March it was.

Q. In what county did you live?—A. In Morris and Lyon Counties my colony is.

Q. I am speaking of the county in Tennessee where you lived.—A. O! in Davidson County.

Q. How long did you live there?—A. Well, I don't know long, but I know I was raised up there.

Q. Were you born in Tennessee?—A. I was, sir.

Q. And raised there?—A. Yes, sir; and raised there.

Q. And spent all your life in Davidson County?—A. No, sir; I spent part of my life running through Indiana and going to Canada.

Q. Did you acquire some property in Tennessee; had you something to go on?—A. I did not; no, sir.

Q. You had nothing when you went to Kansas?—A. Nothing; I only worked there in the cabinet business.

Q. You lived there until about a year ago, but you had been going there for some time before that; do I so understand you?—A. Yes, sir; that is it.

Q. And you want us to understand that there is trouble between the white and the black races in Tennessee at this time, do you?—A. I do, sir; and I will prove it to you. Wherever there is people that has got no homes, and the State prisons enlarging every day—I am not talking about bulldozing and all that sort of thing—I am talking about a community; yes, there is trouble there between the white and the black races.

Q. How old a man did you say you were?—A. Seventy years past the 15th day of last August, sir.

Q. Do you think that the negroes have anything to complain of in Nashville, Tenn.?—A. Well, not really now in the city.

Q. Nashville is in Davidson County, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; that is the county.

Q. Well, is there any complaint in the city?—A. No; I think they do very well in the city.

Q. They are treated well?—A. Yes; in the city.

Q. Well, what have they to complain of out in the country in Davidson County?—A. They say they are cheated. They get \$8 a month; in fact, the lands, in Middle Tennessee particularly, is worn-out, and I do not really believe they are able to pay as much money for labor there as they can in the lower cotton States.

Q. You think that the farm lands in Davidson County are pretty well worn-out?—A. I do.

Q. How much do they pay the colored people there?—A. Eight to ten dollars a month.

Q. Don't they pay as high as twelve and sometimes fifteen dollars a month?—A. I don't know it, sir; no, sir.

Q. You have not heard of any troubles between the whites and blacks at elections in Tennessee of late years, have you?—A. Well, no; I saw a great many of them around the city, who told me they was turned out of their places on account of their political sentiments.

Q. You always voted in Tennessee, didn't you?—A. Yes; I voted there very often.

Q. What ticket did you vote?—A. I voted for both parties, whichever one I liked, Democrat or Republican.

Q. Nobody tried to get you to vote one way or the other, any more than in the usual and proper methods of electioneering, did they?—A. Running for office, do you mean?

Q. No; I do not allude to that—but to your freedom to vote what ticket you please?—A. They sometimes would ask you if you wouldn't vote this ticket or that.

Q. But they never threatened you to induce you to vote any one ticket?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you never saw any one molested for voting either the Democratic or Republican ticket?—A. Right in the city?

Q. Yes; in Nashville?—A. No; I have not.

Q. Well, out of the city?—A. I have not been out of the city at these elections.

Q. That is what I supposed. Did you ever hear anybody tell of any difficulties they ever saw at the polls in Davidson County between the whites and the blacks?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. When?—A. At nearly every election, pretty much all the governor's elections.

Q. What governor's—Brownlow's?—A. Any of them.

Q. But that won't quite do?—A. Well, any of the governor's elections, I mean.

Q. Do you mean that they always have trouble whenever they have an election for governor?—A. It appears so, from what they say.

Q. Who say?—A. The colored people of the county; they are turned off for voting against their interests.

Q. Did you ever know of any one who was turned off for voting as they pleased?—A. They say so.

Q. But did you ever *know* of such a case of your own knowledge?—A. Never.

Q. Well, you have become perfectly wrapped up in your colony of colored people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I do not blame you for it, not the slightest in the world.—A. No.

Q. And you state that you are the whole cause of the movement to Kansas?—A. I am, sir.

Q. When did you commence it?—A. Years ago.

Q. Well, uncle, the committee would have been saved heaps of trouble if you had let them known sooner that you were the man they were looking for!

The WITNESS. I have a couple of charters here of my colony.

The CHAIRMAN. Charters granted by whom?

The WITNESS. By the State of Tennessee.

The CHAIRMAN. Charters granted by Tennessee for what?

The WITNESS (handing a paper to the chairman).

The CHAIRMAN. This seems to be a letter from Governor St. John and others, dated at Topeka, Kans. —

The WITNESS (interrupting). O, not that! I did not want you to have that! Don't read that! You are not humble enough yet! (Laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN (playfully returning the letter). Why won't you let me read it? Please do!

The WITNESS. No, no; not that. This is the charter (handing the charter of the Singleton Colony).

The CHAIRMAN (reading): "I, Charles N. Gibbs, secretary of the State of Tennessee, do certify that W. A. Sizemore, Benjamin Petway, Houston Molloy, Benjamin Singleton," that's yourself, isn't it?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; that's me.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

"Washington Anthony, senior, A. McClure, Washington Anthony, junior, Thomas Winston, and Richard Battle, all of Davidson County, Tennessee, have filed this day in my office a properly certified and registered copy of a memorandum of incorporation under the name and style of the Edgefield Real Estate Association, registered in the register's office of Davidson County, in book No. 46, page 441, on the eighth day of September, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and which said copy so filed in my office has been duly noted on page 2 of the corporation acts of 1873, chapter 117, section 3.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my official signature, and by order of the governor affixed the great seal of the State of Tennessee, at Nashville, this twelfth day of September, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four.

"CHARLES N. GIBBS,

Secretary of State.

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION.

THE SINGLETON COLONY.

I.

The name of this corporation shall be "The Singleton Colony of Morris and Lyon Counties, State of Kansas.

II.

The purpose for which this corporation is formed is to promote emigration and the encouragement of agriculture and the acquisition of homes for colored people.

III.

The place where its business is to be transacted is at Dunlap, in the county of Morris, State of Kansas.

IV.

The term for which this corporation is to exist is fifty years.

V.

The number of directors or trustees of this corporation shall not be

more than thirteen ; and the names and residences of those who are appointed for the first year are Benjamin Singleton, W. A. Sizemore, A. D. De Frantz, Fuel Williamson, George Wade, George Moon, John Elliott, Austin Dozier, John Davis, William Shrou, John Wade, and all of Dunlap, Morris County, State of Kansas.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this twenty-fourth day of June, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

A. D. DE FRANTZ.
W. A. SIZEMORE.
WILLIAM SHROUT.
JOHN WADE.
BENJAMIN SINGLETON.

Attest :

WILLARD DAVIS.

STATE OF KANSAS,
Shawnee County, ss :

Personally appeared before me, a notary public in and for Shawnee County, State of Kansas, the above-named Benjamin Singleton, W. A. Sizemore, A. D. De Frantz, William Shrou, and John Wade, who are personally known to me to be the persons who executed the foregoing instrument of writing, and duly acknowledged the execution of the same.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed my notarial seal, this twenty-fourth day of June, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

THOMAS ARCHER,
Notary Public.

I, James Smith, secretary of state of the State of Kansas, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original instrument of writing filed in my office June twenty-fourth, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my official seal.

JAMES SMITH,
Secretary of State for the State of Kansas.

Done at Topeka, Kansas, this twenty-fifth day of June, A. D. 1879.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, were all the persons named in this paper colored people ?

The WITNESS. What paper was it you read—the charter, with Sizemore's name in it ?

Q. Yes ; is W. A. Sizemore a colored man ?—A. Yes, sir, he is ; and from Edgefield.

Q. Where is Edgefield ?—A. Across the Cumberland River—I believe Edgefield is.

Q. In Tennessee, that is ?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, that isn't such a bad country there. Did any of the colored people get into the legislature in Tennessee ?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Well, they never did up in Indiana. I have no objection to that, but they never get there in my State.—A. I don't know much about your State. I went through it once, and they told me it was Indiana ; but I thought it was "Hurry-ana," the way I hurried through it.

Q. Were you on your way to Kansas, then?—A. O, no, bless you; I was on my way through to Canada!

Q. Now, were these all colored men in this paper?—A. That charter?

Q. Yes; are they all colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, this certificate of incorporation of the Singleton Colony, were the names in it all of colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, will you let me have that St. John paper now; I am very humble?—A. Not yet; wait a little. (Laughter.)

Q. You say you organized in the State of Tennessee, under the laws there?—A. Yes, sir; and I will tell you how that came to be done. We endeavored at first—thirteen years ago it was I proposed that we ought to look out for homes; and, if we could not get lands in Tennessee, that we should go where we could get them to some place where there was government land. I was advised by my white friends to make a trial and see if we could not buy land in Tennessee. So we did. We made one or two selections, but the land in Tennessee was sixty dollars an acre.

Q. Sixty dollars an acre! So you went where you could get cheaper lands?—A. That was it—for my people.

Q. That was all right enough. Only one thing seems to be inconsistent with you.—A. Well?

Q. You have a great deal of feeling about the condition of your folks?—A. Yes.

Q. But you seem hostile to allowing any of them to go to Kansas, where the land is cheaper, unless they have money; is not that the same thing as leaving all the poor people among them in a land of bondage?—A. I can't help it; that is my sentiments—not to go without they have a little money.

Q. But to stick it out, and stand it as well as they can, down there in that awful State of Tennessee?—A. Yes, to stand it.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Mr. Singleton, you say there is no party spirit in this movement of emigrants to Kansas?—A. Well, there was not; I have always been a Grant man myself.

Q. Among these people out there in Kansas, who are helping it on, are there any Democrats?—A. In Kansas?

Q. Yes.—A. Let me tell you, as a positive man, I don't know nothing much about the committee; but let me tell you, right now, one thing, in behalf of my colonies, that the Democrats are just as good to my people there as anybody else.

Q. O, yes, as kind to you personally; but are any of these people in the societies there that are formed to encourage this emigration of your people and pay their way and get them out of their Southern homes—are any of these Democrats?—A. Just let me tell you right now that I don't know of any white people there that is encouraging this emigration. I know one thing, the board has sent some two or three; they don't tell that here; well, they sent them to stop the emigration.

Q. But you know that a good many people out there that belong to these societies, to that State society, are helping the emigrants.—A. No; I don't believe anybody in the State of Kansas, Democrats or Republicans, are urging this exodus.

Q. But you heard my question.—A. Yes, sir; and I am trying to answer it.

Q. Do, please.—A. Tell me again.

Q. The Kansas Relief Association that is organized for the purpose

of aiding emigrants to come out there I am referring to; is there anybody connected with that, either as a member or officer, who is a Democrat?—A. Not that I know, sir; I don't know, sir, about that.

Q. Well, are any of these branch relief associations there conducted by Democrats?—A. I don't know, sir, at all; if I knew I would tell you.

Q. As far as you know they are conducted by Republicans?—A. As far as I know, I suppose they are. You ask me for facts, and I carry them with me to give to the people.

Q. You carry only the facts with you to give to the people. Well, that is right.—A. My people that I carried to Kansas ever since 1869 have generally, sir, come on our own resources, and generally went on our own workings. We have tried to make people of ourselves. I tell you to-day, sir, this committee is outside of me, for I don't know nothing about it hardly; my people depends upon their own resources.

Q. Then you don't know anything about bulldozing in Mississippi and Louisiana?—A. Didn't I tell you I have never been there?

Q. But you talked very hard about them—called them scoundrels, rascals, and so on?—A. I have heard about it, and if the men there bulldozes and wears these false-faces, they ain't nothing else but what I called them; they ain't right, nohow.

Q. Do you believe it?—A. It is the proof of fifty or sixty thousand of them, and it occurs to me that every one of them can't lie about it.

Q. But it is all hearsay with you?—A. I told you I have not seen it myself. You don't think fifty or sixty thousand of them could all tell a lie, do you—you don't think they are all cheating?

Q. O, yes; there are instances where whole nations have lied.—A. Well, mebbe these have lied. I know what I have seen. I have seen women and children in wagons and teams come in, and they said they was run in by the Kuklux into Nashville, and the Democrats have housed them there and given them victuals, and administered to them and cared for them; I have seen that.

Q. Well, that is clever.—A. I am a man of realities; I am a man that will live in a country where I am going to cope with the white man, where the white man will lift himself to the level of justice; but when the white man will think that equal rights under the law to the colored man is a violation of his (the white man's) dignity, then I am going to leave. Suppose now that out in the country there the colored man goes to law to get his contract carried out with a white man; if the Democrats don't say anything, there is a lot of men there that will go around and run that black man out of the country because he took that gentleman up to the law; and suppose he beats that gentleman; why, it is a violation of his dignity, they think, and they won't stand it.

Q. You never saw anything of that sort, did you?—A. No; not myself, I didn't, sir.

Q. You just heard of it?—A. I just heard of it from others, who told me it was so.

Q. Do not the colored people get justice in the courts in Tennessee? Have they not good, fair judges there and good, equitable laws?—A. I reckon they are like me; a good many of them don't know when they have justice.

Q. I think that is very likely. I never heard any imputation upon the honesty or fairness of Tennessee judges.—A. Well, there is somebody else has alarmed these people—the threats made to them; I have heard them threatened.

Q. Did you never hear any threats made by Republican speakers against them if they didn't do as they advised them to do?—A. What?

Q. I say, did you never hear the Republican speakers tell the colored people that they would be put back into slavery if the Democrats got into power, and if they did not vote against the Democrats?—A. I have heard something about that.

Q. What have you heard?—A. Well, these threats I have heard myself—I have heard the Democrats stand right up, that is, when the colored man was getting the rights of suffrage, and say, “You damned niggers, we’ve got you now, and we don’t ask you for your suffrage, we don’t care for it.” Well, that was a chill on them. And there is another thing—

Q. But what was the threat? I don’t see what your meaning is.—A. Why, that’s threat enough; “You damned niggers, we’ve got you now.”

Q. You called that a threat, did you?—A. Yes; that was enough to scare us.

Q. Did that scare your people?—A. Well, that scared *me*. Then there’s another thing. They have got up and looked up in these upper galleries, you know, where they see these stacks of arms, and they ask, “What are those stacks of arms put up there for?” And they tell them, “They are not for *you*,” and they keep wondering what they are there for, and that excites us, and makes us want to get away.

Q. Well, you are scared without cause; “The wicked flee when no man pursueth.”—A. Mebbe that’s it.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Shall we have that letter now, Mr. Singleton?—A. O, yes; you may have it (handing it to the chairman).

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

OFFICE OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
Topeka, Kans., October 22, 1879.

To all to whom this may come:

From the best information it would seem that the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association, formed at Nashville, in 1869, with Benjamin Singleton as president, began the work of the emigration of the colored people from the South into Kansas. From that date Mr. Singleton has given much of his time to this work as a benefactor of his people, and now being far advanced in years, he is worthy of the highest respect and consideration of all good people, and as such we commend him to the good will of all.

F. G. ADAMS,
Secretary of the Historical Society.
JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor of the State.
ALBERT H. HORTON,
Chief Justice.
N. C. McFARLAND.
W. A. SIZEMORE,
President of the Singleton Colony.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is a good paper for you to have, and I am surprised you didn’t want me to read it. That is all, Mr. Singleton.

TESTIMONY OF G. W. CAREY.

G. W. CAREY sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Judge Carey, where do you reside?—Answer. I reside, sir, in Topeka, Kans.

Q. Have you any connection with the Emigrants’ Relief Board there;

and, if so, what?—A. I have, sir; I am vice-president of the association.

Q. How long have you been connected with that association?—A. I think since September; I am not sure, however, but for some months.

Q. Have you given a great deal of attention to the arrival of these colored emigrants from the South into that county?—A. Well, yes; I have given considerable attention to it, as much, in fact, as I could consistently with the claims of my other business and duties.

Q. State what has been the condition of these people when they have arrived there, judge.—A. Generally they have been in a rather destitute condition; some are in reasonably good condition—that is to say, for the West; some have been able, in other words, to take care of themselves; others not.

Q. What proportion do you think have been able to take care of themselves?—A. A very small proportion; perhaps not over twenty-five per cent. of those that have come there have been able to take care of themselves at the start.

Q. About how many of these emigrants have arrived in Topeka?—A. Not far from fifteen thousand, sir.

Q. You have had temporary barracks erected for them there, have you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About how many of them are supported by the society there now, as near as you can state it?—A. I can only answer that in a general way; the barracks there are not intended to support anybody any further than to give temporary relief as they come in, and temporary assistance until they can be disposed of, either in the country around Topeka or in response to applications from a distance.

Q. State if they are coming and going all the time?—A. Yes, sir; they are coming and going all the while. I have received local papers from home since I came here, giving accounts of the arrival of several hundreds of them since I left on the 2d instant.

Q. State about how many are there now that have not as yet been able to get employment?—A. I could not state that; I can state what were there the day before I left—the morning I left, in fact. On the Sunday before I went over to the barracks, as I was in the habit of going there frequently to inquire the number that were there, and they told me at the time I asked that they numbered one hundred and fifty-one.

Q. And up to that time you say some twelve to fifteen thousand had arrived?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And only one hundred and fifty-one were left?—A. Yes; that was the number, as represented to me. On the Wednesday following that Sunday there was an arrival of two hundred, perhaps one or two extra, say two hundred and a few over; and on the day I left I think there were one hundred and twenty-six in the barracks—that is, between the Sunday that I was there and the Wednesday and Friday following—there was that difference in the arrivals and departures.

Q. Give us as exact an idea as you can of that society; what it has attempted to do, and what it does do.—A. Well, the only mission of that society and all it does do really is to give temporary relief to those who are suffering or who are in a condition to be unable to help themselves. I have here the charter and by-laws of the society, which would give as much information on that point as I could give myself. The purpose of the society really is, in a few words, to give temporary relief to those who come in there, who would otherwise be a burden upon the county and the State.

Q. Was it organized as a purely benevolent society?—A. Well, yes; for no other purpose whatever.

Q. Was there really nothing political in its organization?—A. No, sir; it never was intended to be political in any way whatever, and never has been.

Q. Has it done anything to encourage the colored people to come to Kansas?—A. No, sir; on the contrary, the constant effort has been to turn the tide, and if possible, to some extent, to prevent its coming from the South, if the people could take care of themselves down there and be properly treated, but we have never insisted upon their staying in the South and being misused by any class of people. I regard it as the right of every one to better his condition; and as a member of that society—I speak in that capacity now—I will say that we are perfectly willing to do what we can, if we can do anything as a society, to relieve the condition of these people and give them temporary aid and relief, and to get them to go, or let them go, to the North or the East. We think, however, as a number have stated here, that we have, perhaps, our proportionate share of this emigration.

Q. And you never have made any efforts to induce them to come to Kansas?—A. No, sir; on the contrary we have now agents in the South, and I have received word by letter from one of these agents in particular, stating that they are endeavoring as much as possible to turn the tide and prevent their coming to Kansas.

Q. Is it any part of the business of these agents to encourage them to go away anywhere?—A. No, sir; only in cases where they are determined to go, we have tried to turn their attention to other States—to Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, or Michigan, or to some other point than Kansas.

Q. Is there anything political in that movement?—A. No, sir; it is simply to save ourselves from being overburdened. We have established, I might say, a sort of bureau at Cairo, Illinois, in conjunction with some other parties from Chicago who are endeavoring, as I am informed by letter and otherwise, to turn the emigration to Illinois. We have heard from there that Chicago alone did, in fact, in a public meeting there, agree to take fifty thousand of these people, and we are endeavoring to get these emigrants who are determined to go north to go there, and to points farther east.

Q. That is, to intercept them at Cairo, and to get them to go to other points than Kansas?—A. Exactly. And Kansas City and Saint Louis are working with us in this effort to turn the tide of emigration.

Q. Is there any motive whatever in this movement, except to divert them from Kansas?—A. That is the only interest we have in it, to save ourselves from an overflow of this pauper emigration.

Q. Have you ever talked with any of these people who have come into your State, as to the causes of their coming?—A. I have, very frequently, sir.

Q. What do they give as a reason?—A. They give various reasons; the burden of their song is, that they cannot make a living down there, that while they have got plenty of work and good wages yet, at the end of the year or “outcome,” as they term it, they complain that they are in debt; in other words, that they do not get their rights there as the white men do; that seems to be the principal cause of complaint.

Then others, not all, complain of not being allowed the elective franchise. Others again say, and a great many state that, they haven't the privileges for their children there in the schools that they think they ought to have. I do not know that they complain that they have not as good schools as the white people, but the school privileges are not

such as they want, and they seem to be very anxious about that matter—the question of education. And again, some complain that they have been badly treated in the way of bulldozing, as they term it, whatever that may be. I have seen but a few, three only, who have complained of personal violence. I talked with one party the Sunday before I left, that came the day before from Mississippi, who said that himself and fifteen others were voting in 1872, I think in Mississippi, and after voting they had made their way through a dense crowd from the polls late in the evening, and that they were all more or less hurt, and he himself was knocked down and stabbed twice, and he was unable then, as he said to me, to straighten himself up. I think none of them in that melee were killed, but he and others have stated to me that such things have occurred. One other man complained of having been shot; another said that he had been knocked down at an election and pounded by various and sundry parties, and had received a cut over his eye that he claimed was done on that occasion.

Q. Were all these men Republicans?—A. They claimed to be; these parties that I talked with on Sunday, speaking about that first crowd, were from Mississippi; they were attacked in 1872, and they said they had not attempted to vote since. I asked them how it was now, and they replied that they couldn't say, as they had not attempted to vote since they were attacked in 1872.

Q. How many of these people that you talked with have expressed a desire to go back?—A. Well, I do not think that I can now recall a single one to mind.

Q. Do you know of any inducements being offered to them to go back?—A. O, yes. I do not remember the exact date, but some time during the last summer, I think it was, perhaps in the fall, a number of parties came up from Mississippi, colored and white, on an excursion to see if they could not get some of our people to go back. I went down with the party as far as Lawrence, some twenty-six or twenty-eight miles, and they started back home. They told me that they had not been able to induce anybody to go back with them at all, although efforts and inducements were held out to them. For instance, I have heard that there was a standing offer from Kansas City—and I do not know but there is yet—of some parties there to defray the expenses of those going back, either in whole or in part—whether outright or not I cannot say; and I have heard of some few going back, urged by these and other inducements, but it is not a general thing at all. The fact is there are very few who do go back.

Q. What do you hear about those that have passed out of your care as a society receiving employment in Kansas?—A. Well, as a general rule they do receive employment, and I think they give satisfaction. Of course they are not accustomed to our mode and style of farming, but I have talked with some farmers that have employed them, men belonging to both political parties, and they express themselves as really very well satisfied. Some few who had gone to the country have returned to town.

Q. Are there large numbers in town who are not in the barracks?—A. Do you mean of the exodus people?

Q. Yes.—A. No, sir; excepting those who are employed, I do not think there are but very few; we have a number of regular citizens in town, forming a part of the colored population that was already there.

Q. Then up to this time the population of Kansas have substantially absorbed and employed the negro labor that has come there?—A. Well, they have done so to just the extent that they have not been sent out

of the State. The day I left there—on the morning I left—they sent some sixty of them, I think it was, to Nebraska, and we have sent some to Colorado; we have sent quite a number to Illinois, as we had applications from that State for coal hands, for men to dig coal in the mines and to work on the railroads, and from farmers also. Several hundreds in this way have been sent outside of Kansas, and several hundred of those who went to Illinois and Colorado and other places have been employed in the mines and in shops, and quite a number have gone to work on railroads, both on the Kansas and Pacific and the Santa Fé Roads.

Q. Have you heard any complaints of their work?—A. None whatever; they seem to have given general satisfaction, at least so far as we know.

Q. What do you think of the demand for their labor; is it equal in proportion to the number of arrivals?—A. Well, we have had to work very hard to relieve ourselves of the numbers that are coming in. I imagine that if it continues to any considerable extent in the future, or to the extent that it has been coming in the past, that we will be very glad indeed to get them off our hands, and we shall endeavor more than ever to divert the tide at Cairo or some other point south of us to other places.

Q. It has been stated here, judge, that circulars have been sent out by your association designed to encourage these people to come to your State; is that true, or is it false?—A. There is not a word of it true, sir; it is a clear mistake upon the part of those who make such a statement. It never has been the purpose of this association, as I said before, to encourage any sort of emigration, that is, any pauper emigration there; in fact it has not been the purpose of our association to encourage any emigration at all. Our very excellent secretary of agriculture there has gotten up some very good reports and they have been very generally distributed, and at the Centennial I think he did a great deal of good for our State by the circulation of these reports, as they had an influence in getting quite a large influx of a very excellent class of emigrants to our State.

Q. The circulars were of the nature of facts and statements setting forth the advantages of Kansas for emigrants, were they?—A. Yes, exactly; they were of that nature. And I may say that the railroads have been very active; they have had great quantities of land for sale, and, as I understand it, they have sent out a great many circulars East and South and North, setting forth the advantages of Kansas, and so forth. Aside from that, I know of no emigration association in our State that was designed to induce colored people more than anybody else to come into our State to take up these lands and to settle there. The simple design has been to fill up our State with an enterprising, industrious and thrifty class of people, and this has been the desire of parties who have had lands to sell.

Q. Now, you have had frequent conversations in the board with each other; do you speak the entire sense of that board on that subject?—A. Yes; I can say this: that it has been a matter of considerable concern to us as a board about a number of things that have been done that have been charged to the board, but which we have not indorsed nor encouraged and are not responsible for. A number of things have been done by parties outside that would be misunderstood and charged on the board as a board, and we have finally, some time ago, passed a resolution that no circular or letter should be brought out or published from the association until it had passed through the hands of a public board

of three, of whom Mr. Knox, myself, and Mr. Bosworth were members since which time we have been able to control the matter. Now, as to the circulars used, Mr. Irwin, who has done some printing for the association, also printed these circulars. I was not aware of the existence of these circulars until I saw them here, and the association was not aware of it. Mrs. Comstock is a very excellent Quaker leader, through whose friends ninety or ninety-five per cent. of the money and goods received have been obtained. She also has a kind of general fund received from her friends in England and the East. In sending these sums they say to her to take the money and use it as she sees best. That she retains herself, and has a book in which she keeps a record of every item received, and what she does with it. If she sees any person outside of the board whom she thinks she can help, she goes and helps them, and she, in her enthusiasm, gets up some of these circulars, some of which I have seen, but none of them are these circulars here. They are not published by the board, and she is recognized by us all as a friend of humanity, and it has been through her that we have received this money largely. While we have refused to recognize many things she has done, we have not suffered her to do many things, believing that in a political sense it was not best, while in the sense of humanity it was all right. She resorted sometimes to means that we thought might be construed to be political if coming from us, to get money to relieve these people, and for that reason we passed that nothing should be published from the board without authority. Mrs. Haviland, being a friend of Mrs. Comstock was sometimes influenced to lend her name to circulars published which we did not approve of, and which were sent abroad without our authority.

Q. Will you tell us Governor St. John's sentiments on this subject, if you know them?—A. I think I know them. His expressed sentiment has been universal, that while he, as every other true Kansan, feels that the colored people should go where they please, yet he has never said any word to encourage them to come in there, any more than to encourage other people. At that meeting in the opera house I do not know what he did say, and such a thing might be as his being a little indiscreet at that time. I think he has the confidence of both the Democrats and Republicans in Kansas, as an honest and excellent man, who has made us a good executive. For one, I feel that his heart is always touched with the sufferings and wants of any people.

Q. Do you know whether he has written any circulars or letters encouraging this movement?—A. I know, on the contrary, that he has written a number of letters discouraging anything of the kind. I talked with him on the subject the morning I left. I went down and had a chat with him and I know from what he said that he has written a number of letters, several of which I have read, and always discouraged any sort of pauper emigration to Kansas.

Q. If you have one there, will you let us have a sample of them?—A. I have a number of them, eight or ten, sir, written by him, and some written to him by people in the South. I have seen a number of these letters at his office and at the exodus headquarters. These are letters sent to Mr. Haskell, a member of Congress here, by Governor St. John. These were inclosed to him, and I had better read his letter to Mr. Haskell.

(Reading):

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, December 26, 1879.

Hon. D. C. HASKELL,
Washington, D. C. :

DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith copy of letters which have passed between myself and colored men in the South. Of course this constitutes but a small part of the correspondence had with them in relation to the exodus. I also inclose a true copy of a bill of goods bought by one Lewis of S. D. Currie & Co., at Edwards Landing, Miss. This bill is a fair sample of nearly a hundred others now in my possession. All the refugees that I have talked to, numbering, perhaps, more than a thousand, say that they did not come north as a matter of choice, but simply because they were so badly treated in the South that they could not stay there any longer and feel at all secure in life and property. I have, at all times, advised them against coming north provided they were protected in their rights in the South. I think at least 3,000 have left Texas for the Northern States during the last thirty days, and still they come.

Very truly, your friend,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

Q. Give us one or two of the other letters, a sample of each kind.—A. Well, sir, they cover a period and length of time during the existence of this movement. Here is one of October 20, 1879.

(Reading):

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, October 20, 1879.

JACK P. JAMES,
Ridgeway, S. C. :

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 6th instant, I will state that the State of Kansas extends no aid to any class of emigrants. The only inducements consist in rich soil, healthy climate, free schools, free ballot, full protection, under the law, to the life and property of every law-abiding human being, without regard to race, condition, or color.

Very respectfully, yours,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

And here is another; written October 8, 1879, to William Brown, as follows.

(Reading):

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, October 8, 1879.

WM. BROWN,
P. O. Box 94, Lexington, Miss. :

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 1st instant I have to state if your people are getting along well, and are not deprived of your civil and political rights as is stated in your letter, I see no reason why you should leave. Kansas offers no inducements, except rich soil, healthy climate, free schools, free ballot, and full protection to the life and property of every law-abiding human being. If you enjoy all these rights my advice is to stay. All who come here are expected to make their own living. The State extends no aid to any class of emigrants.

I am glad to learn that the colored people are in the full enjoyment of all their civil and political rights, as stated by you. Among all the letters I have received from colored men in the South, numbering 2,000 or more, you are the *first* one that has assured me of these facts.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

And here is one written to Governor St. John.

(Witness reading:)

GRENADA, MISS., September 5, 1879.

Governor St. JOHN :

SIR: I write you; our National Aid Society gave us your attention. We desire to organize and come out West in Kansas soon where, and we don't know exactly what to do without some advice from higher authority. Please advise me what to do soon

as you can, if you please; please don't fail to help us in our effort in emigrating. We want to come out, and have no money hardly, and the white people say we have to stay here because we have no money to come on; we can organize with a little, because since the white people have heard of what we are trying to do they won't hardly let us have bread to eat; and as soon as we can come out on a cheap scale we are getting ready to come out soon. Are almost bare naked and starved. I, myself, are in a very bad condition. We are banding together without any instructions from you or the National Aiding Society at Saint Louis, Mo. We are all Republicans and we won't have any other, and hard-working men, and men of trust. We have to be in secret or be shot, and not allowed to meet, and we would like to leave before we are found out, and are all shot at and scattered abroad. We have about fifty widows in our band that are workwomen and farmers also. The white men here take our wives and daughters and do them as they please, and we are shot if we say anything about it; and as for voting, if we vote any other way than their way we can't live in State our country any more. We are sure to have to leave or be killed. They have driven away all of Northern whites or colored leaders, and we can't leave on account of qualification.

We can get together and leave here if we can get any aid to come on. Please don't fail to give us your attention soon as possible; we are in haste to know our standing and condition of getting away. You will oblige us very much by sending us a document; maybe it will enlighten us some in our endeavors in getting ready; some are very hard to believe, they have been fooled so often. A little instructions from you will help the committee greatly in getting them together. Without you or the president of National Emigration Aid Society we can't do much in getting out there. Now, sir, we will close. Hoping soon to hear from you in regard to request, we remain very truly.

Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH S. STARKS,
Secretary.

Here is still another from Governor St. John, which shows what has been the burden of his song all along.

(Witness reading :)

(Copy.)

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, September 9, 1879.

EVAN H. HARRIS,

Box 31 Mayersville, Issaquena, County Mississippi :

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 15th instant, making inquiry in relation to the exodus of the negroes from the South, I have the honor to state that neither the State of Kansas, nor the general government extends aid to any class of immigrants. The only inducements now offered, or that ever have been offered by the State of Kansas to immigrants are rich soil, healthy climate, free schools, and a free ballot, with full protection to the life and property of every law-abiding citizen, irrespective of race, condition, or color.

Kansas has large bodies of land subject to be taken under the homestead laws of the United States; but it must be borne in mind that these lands are unimproved, and that it requires not only a team and the necessary farming implements to put them under cultivation and make them productive of a living for the owner and his family, but also a free exercise of muscle coupled with the means necessary to provide provisions to sustain it until a crop can be produced.

I would advise no class of people to come here in a destitute condition; but any one, who has a small capital, sufficient to purchase a team, farm implements, and provisions until a crop can be raised, if he is industrious, sober, and economical, can do well.

Kansas has done nothing to encourage the emigration of colored people from the South; she has simply said, and still says, that she will not place a sentinel at her portals to ascertain, before permitting those who desire to enter, what political party they belong to, where they were born, whether they have been sprinkled or plunged, or what particular shade their *skins* happen to be. All that Kansas requires of parties coming into the State is to obey the laws, be honest, sober, and industrious, and join with us in helping to make a great and prosperous State, populated by a happy and free people.

It seems to me that the whole question in relation to the exodus rests with the white people of the South. I respectfully suggest that if the merchants and traders will sell to the colored man the necessaries of life at reasonable prices, and the landlord will rent him land at a rate that will enable him to live, instead of charging him 20 cent

per pound for bacon and other provisions in proportion, and from six to ten dollars per acre rent per annum for lands—as I find has been the case by reference to hundreds of merchants' bills, and by numbers of leases handed to me by colored refugees—the exodus would soon cease. But as long as such outrageous prices are charged for provisions, and so long as the landlords of the South charge the colored man from six to ten dollars rent per acre per annum for lands, the quality of which is no better than can be purchased here in Kansas at \$1.25 to \$3 per acre, and the negro, in matters of politics, made a slave to unscrupulous political demagogues, you may expect an unsettled condition to continue among the colored people.

Negroes of the South do not come to Kansas or to any other Northern State because they prefer it to the South; but they come here simply because they are protected in their life and property; are permitted to exercise full freedom in politics, unrestricted by bulldozing influences. They also enjoy the right of educating their children in our free schools, and they absolutely receive protection under our laws to the same extent that any other class of people do. And unless these rights and privileges are given them in the South, of course it is but natural that they should seek a home where they are extended to them.

I send you by to-day's mail a copy of the report of our State board of agriculture, which will afford you much valuable information about Kansas.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

The WITNESS. Governor St. John and everybody else in Kansas, I believe, have but one sentiment: that if anybody comes there with money they are glad to receive them, no matter what their color and condition; but if they come there in a pauperized condition we regret it. Still, I do not believe any considerable number of the people there would take up arms to prevent it.

Q. Have not you had some fears out there of Kansas going Democratic?—A. No, sir; I never heard of that idea until yesterday, when I heard Dr. Stringfellow testify. We have been claiming forty or fifty thousand majority this year.

Q. Have you that bill of goods to which you referred?—A. Yes, sir; and I will state that I saw this original bill; the governor refers to it, and I saw it myself. I also saw the requisition on him from the governor of Texas, and he told me he had talked with the man for whom the requisition was issued.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What is the date of that bill?—A. It is "Edwards, Mississippi, January, 1877."

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do you say Governor St. John talked to the man for whom the requisition was issued, or to the man who had that bill?—A. He told me he had talked to the man, who drew out this bill and showed it to him. He called attention to the renting of the mule here at thirty dollars.

Q. For how long?—A. For the season.

Q. Please put that bill in so that we may have a list of those prices. (The bill follows:)

[Highest market price paid for cotton.]

EDWARDS, MISS., *January, 1877.*

Mr. Wm. Lewis bought of S. D. Currie and Co., dealers in dry goods, groceries, boots, shoes, and hats, and general plantation supplies.

1876.		
Mar. 31.	To am't $\frac{3}{c}$ rend.....	66 44
Apr. 1.	“ $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tobacco.....	65
“	“ salt.....	35
“	“ 10 lb. sugar.....	1 25
“	“ coffee.....	1 00

1876.			
		To $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tobacco	75
April	8.	" 1 keg molasses	6 00
	14.	" 1 pair shoes	2 50
		" 1 " cloth gaiters	2 50
	18.	" 15 lbs. bacon, 20	3 00
	21.	" 27 lbs. " 20	5 40
		" 14 lbs. shoulder, 18	2 55
	27.	" soap	25
		" 1 lb. soda	25
		" 1 lb. coffee	30
	29.	" 20 yds. prints	2 50
		" 1 pr. cloth shoes	2 50
		" 1 lb. tobacco	1 50
May	4.	" cash	2 00
		" 5 lb	50
	12.	" 1 file	75
	18.	" 1 lb. tobacco	1 25
		" 2 lbs. sugar, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	25
	23.	" 32 lbs. bacon	6 40
		" flour	1 25
		" 1 molasses bbl	1 50
		" 3 yds. cottonade, 40.	1 20
		" soap	25
		" 1 ball cotton	10
	30.	" 1 bbl. meal	6 50
		" $\frac{1}{2}$ " flour	5 50
June	1.	" 18 lbs. "	1 25
	10.	" 1 pair shoes	2 50
	18.	" 25 lbs. bacon, 18	4 50
July	1.	" 24 " " 18	4 32
		" 1 bbl. meal	6 50
		" 1 lb. tobacco	1 00
	5.	" 1 gal. molasses	1 00
	19.	" bal. due, brought from old book	7 69
	24.	" 20 lbs. bacon, 18	3 60
		" 1 plug tobacco	50
Aug.	1.	" $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tobacco	63
	2.	" 20 lbs. bacon, 18 cts.; 1 bush. meal	5 10
			\$165 73
		To am't brought over	\$165 73
Aug.	24.	" 15 lbs. bacon, 17	2 55
Sept.	1.	" 2 lbs. rice, 11	25
		" 2 lbs. coffee, 30	60
		" 4 lbs. sugar, 11	50
		" flour	3 00
		" 2 bars soap	25
		" 1 lb. tobacco	85
		" 20 lbs. bacon, 15	3 00
		" cash	2 00
		" " for ginning	4 50
	11.	" 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ gal. molasses	1 20
	22.	" 50 yds. bagging, 15	7 50
		" 2 bundles ties, 3.75	7 50
	29.	" cash	8 00
Oct.	2.	" 13 lbs. bacon, 14	1 82
	7.	" cash paid cotton picking	14 40
	12.	" 2 lbs. sugar	30
		" 1 lb. coffee	25
	19.	" tobacco, 20	20
	21.	" cash, pr. ginning	15 50
		" " " self	10 97
		" " " recording deed of trust	2 00
		" "	10 00
		" "	1 00
	30.	" 17 lbs. bacon	2 00
Nov.	11.	" 1 p'k salt	25
		" 2 lbs. sugar	25
		" 1 lb. coffee	27
	15.	" 2 lbs. shot, 30	60
			252 87

1876.				
		To ¼ lb. powder	10	
Nov.	17.	" 7 yds. bagging, 15	1 25	
		" ties	75	
	23.	" 1 pair boots	3 50	
Dec.	2.	" 15 lbs. meat, 10	1 50	
		" 1 lb. coffee	25	
	6.	" flour	50	
	11.	" tobacco	10	
		" cash	50	
	12.	" tobacco	10	
		" 35 yds. bagging	5 25	
		" 1 bundle ties	3 50	
		" 1 mule rent	30 00	
		" cash paid Mrs. Hall rent +	42 33	9-15-7
	13.	" " " " " " +	47 81	
			<hr/>	404 28
			<hr/>	
CREDITS.				404 48
Aug.	31.	By 1 1 B. c.	45 66	
Oct.	23.	" 2034 lbs. cotton c., 10 ³ / ₁₆	207 21	
Dec.	14.	" 3 "	151 41	
			<hr/>	404 28

E. and O. E.

XXXX
S. D. CURRIE AND CO.
Per HAMPTON.

Q. What were you going to say about that requisition?—A. Well, he rather amusingly said "Look at this," and I found it was a requisition accompanied with the finding of a grand jury and affidavit of a colored man, stating that he had sold ten bushels of rent corn without the consent of the landlord; and he said the idea of sending such a paper out here with that large red seal on it and blue ribbon was quite amusing to him.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Have you that requisition with you?—A. No, sir; I did not think to bring it with me. I think it was dated January 20, and was a regular requisition from the State of Texas. He said to me that the man was there, and if the agent came in person of course he would honor the requisition. Here are a number of other letters on the same line as those I presented, which I desire to put in in justice to Governor St. John.

The letters were admitted as follows:

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, June 9, 1879.

JOHN H. KERN,
Care Mess. Sello and Company, Saint Louis, Mo.:

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 6th inst., I have the honor to state that the State of Kansas has never done anything to encourage or repel colored immigrants. All that has been done is simply to aid the destitute. This humanity dictates should be done, and is being done, by the Freedman's Relief Association of this State.

It seems to me that the best way to stop the exodus of the colored people from the South is to cease charging them from \$7 to \$10 per acre rent, and from 30 to 35 cents per pound for bacon and \$1 to \$1.50 per gallon for 40 cent molasses and 20 to 25 cents per yard for 5 cent domestics, and like fabulous prices for other articles that the colored people are compelled to have. Judging from the accounts and pass-books exhibited to me by the colored people who have come here, which accounts are in the handwriting of the merchants and traders themselves, it is not to be wondered at, in view of the outrageously high prices charged these people for everything that they do not succeed in the South, and are compelled, in order to have a living, to leave a country and go where they will be fairly dealt with. Had I been told that the colored people of the South had been charged such outrageous prices for rent and for the necessaries of life I would have placed little reliance upon such stories; in fact would have been inclined

to the opinion that perhaps they were told for political effect ; but after examining into this matter, and having an opportunity to examine many of the accounts and books in the possession of the colored men in the handwriting of the merchants and planters of the South, I am forced to the conclusion that the manner in which this people has been dealt with is but little better than robbery itself. If land is rented to the black man at anything like a fair and reasonable price per year, and the necessaries of life furnished them at a like reasonable rate, in my opinion, the exodus of the colored men from the South would soon cease.

That climate is well adapted to their race. They are accustomed to farming in that country. They can sustain themselves there and do it well if they are only given anything like a reasonable show.

There is no reason, political or otherwise, for inviting this immigration to Kansas. Kansas is already receiving immigrants at the rate of over 100,000 per annum. She has a Republican majority of over 40,000 ; and even though all these black people were Republicans from a political stand-point, they are not needed here ; yet, if they come, they may rest assured that they can buy goods as cheap here, enjoy the fruits of their own labor, educate their children, and have equal rights before the law just the same as every other class of human beings.

If a negro is under obligation by a contract to a planter in the South, he should fulfill that contract strictly to the letter just the same as a white man would be required to do. I would advise all colored men there, if they feel that they are safe in life and property, and are honorably dealt by, and have guaranteed to them, and *given* to them full protection to exercise their political rights the same as white men, to stay there. But if these rights, or any one of them, are denied to them, they not only have as much right to leave that country as has any white man to leave this ; but, in my opinion, they should leave it. Every colored man who has employment for the season where he now is in the South had better stay there, for the present at least, for the farming season here is nearly over, and there would be but little opportunity for him to obtain work until the commencement of the farming season next year ; and it certainly would not be advisable for him to come to this country, or any other, without being able to be self-supporting, or at least soon to become so.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, Kansas, June 24, 1879.

ROSELINE CUNNINGHAM,
West Point, Miss. :

MADAM : Your letter of the 18th instant has just been received, and in reply thereto I have the honor to state that neither the State of Kansas, nor the general government, nor any society, so far as I know, extends any aid to enable immigrants to reach Kansas.

Kansas has no immigrant agent, and any person representing himself as such is an impostor. I am informed that parties have represented to the colored people in your State that by coming to Kansas they would receive 40 acres of land, a mule, provisions for a year free. All such representations are without any foundation whatever in fact, and are intended to deceive the colored people and mislead them to their detriment. Kansas offers no inducement save and except such as her fine lands, excellent climate, and other advantages presented ; nor are any advantages extended to any one class of people that are not alike extended to all classes.

Lands can be bought at from \$2.25 to \$10 per acre—one-tenth down, balance on long time, at low rates of interest.

But it must be borne in mind that these lands are wholly unimproved, and that it requires a team and farming implements, and a free exercise of bone and muscle to put these lands under cultivation and make them productive of a living for the owner and his family. Wages for laborers are about as follows : Farm hands from \$12 to \$18 per month and board ; house servants from \$1.50 to \$3 per week and board. During the last ninety days about three or four thousand colored people have come to Kansas from the South, a large proportion of them having been in a destitute condition ; but now, as a general rule, having obtained employment, are supporting themselves. I would advise, however, the colored people not to come to any of the Northern States entirely destitute of the means of support ; for if they should, and especially in large numbers, it will retard very much the success of their movement. I deeply sympathize with them in their distressed condition. I know that they have never enjoyed that degree of freedom that under the Constitution and laws of our country they are entitled to, yet I believe, if they act judiciously in the present movement, that God will cause a brighter day to dawn upon their race, open the way to a more prosperous future. In Kansas the life and property of every human being who obeys the law, receives full protection, and all children possess equal educational advan

tages under the law. Should a large number from your section of the State desire to immigrate northward, I would advise you to select some discreet, reliable person to first come north, select a location for your settlement, to the end that when you start you can continue on your journey directly to the point selected, and in this way save a great deal of money that otherwise would be expended in looking up locations.

Very respectfully,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
July 26, 1879.

ALLEN HAROLD,
Jewett, Leon County, Texas :

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 13th instant, I have the honor to state that on yesterday I wrote to R. F. Bemers, at Jewett, informing him, as I now inform you, that neither the State of Kansas nor the United States Government furnishes aid to any class of immigrants. The only inducement that is offered to any one to come to Kansas is a good country, rich soil, healthy climate, with full enjoyment of all rights before the law guaranteed to every human being.

All that come here, black or white, are expected to make their own living, which they can do if they are only honest, industrious, sober, and work hard enough. During the last four months about 5,000 colored people have come to Kansas from various portions of the South, and as a general rule I believe are getting along very well, at all events none have starved to death, nor have I heard of any returning to the South from the State.

I send you to-day an agricultural report, which will give you much information about Kansas.

If you are doing well in Texas, making a support for yourself and family and enjoying the rights and privileges of the laws of the country guaranteed to you, you had better stay there than to sacrifice what you have in an effort to come to Kansas, but of this matter *you* should decide and not me.

Very truly,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
August 2, 1879.

C. P. HICKS, Esq.,
Brenham Tex. :

MY DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 30th ultimo, I desire to extend to you my thanks. It is full of wise and timely suggestions. I have just written at some length to Judge Hackworth, giving to him some of the reasons why the people of the North are not aroused on the exodus question to the extent that they ought to be. I have written hundreds of letters to colored men in the South, stating to them the whole truth in relation to Kansas and the North, and what they might and might not expect if they came here. I have stated to them that neither the State nor the general government extends aid to any class of emigrants. That all who come here are expected to make their own living by their own exertions independent of the help of State or association. That Kansas offers *only* as an inducement good soil, healthy climate, protection under the law, coupled with a free ballot and free schools. But all this seems to have had no effect upon the colored people. They still continue to come in their squalid poverty, penniless and breadless, and I can say to you that unless they change their present policy and cease to come in such large numbers and in such a perfect state of destitution, there will necessarily be suffering among them during the coming winter. Kansas now has about seven thousand refugees. We can dispose of that number and take care of them, although our State is young and our people as a class are not wealthy; yet if as many more should come it would not only overstock the labor market, but would render it utterly impossible for us to provide for them. I desire to impress upon you and through you your people the importance of not coming North unless they come prepared to take care of themselves. If those who desire to come are friends of their race, and are anxious that the present movement should succeed, they will have to heed and be governed by this advice, otherwise their movement will end in a failure.

I have always been and am now and always expect to be a true friend of the colored people, and I speak thus plainly to the end that should they continue to come entirely destitute, and suffer by reason thereof, no one can be blamed but themselves. In other words, they cannot say that any citizen of Kansas has misled them. Kansas presents a fine field for those who are sober, industrious, and economical, and have the means to start with. Your suggestions in relation to the Freedmen's Association send-

ing agents through the South to make correct representations is a very good one, but I doubt its practicability, for if such agent would talk as I talk to you and you to me, stating the truth, they would not believe him, and would think he was working in the interests of white people, sent out and paid by them to prevent the colored race from reaching the "promised land."

It is very difficult to induce some of them to believe that I am the author of letters already written to colored men in the South, stating to them the truth as I state it to you in relation to this matter. I know of no better way now than to continue to tell those people the plain truth, and then if they continue to come to do the best we can with means at our command, and if it ends in their suffering they will have no one to blame.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor

HAZLEHURST, August 31, 1879.

Governor ST. JOHN :

DEAR SIR: In obedience to the request of many of my race, will you allow me to address you a few lines on the subject of our condition here. On my return from your State, I found my people all wanting and looking to hear the news about Kansas. I told them of your kind advice to us, and they all determined to emigrate to that glorious country next fall and spring. The white people here got on foot another way by which to prevent us from leaving. They have got up a written petition going around to see who they can get to sign it, not to pay the colored people any money for anything they have got to sell here. We have a bad way of getting off. If, therefore, I am not presuming too much on your kindness, may I ask you if your committee couldn't make some arrangement with some steamboat company to carry us there with teams and wagons at reduced rates, as the railroad will not bring us all through. I should be very sorry to trespass on your valuable time, or give you useless trouble knowing as I do that your committee has done so much for our down-trodden people; yet if I could insure your kindly interest and influence, it would confer a very great favor on me, and one which I shall ever appreciate, as I shall feel very highly gratified by a line or two at your leisure.

With many thanks for past favors, and best wishes for your present and future happiness,

I remain, your obedient servant,

E. HANDY, SR.

HAZLEHURST, MISS.

SAN FELIPE, AUSTIN COUNTY, TEXAS,
September 8, 1879.

His Excellency, Governor of the State of Kansas :

DEAR SIR: Hearing that you are a friend of the freedmen and take an interest in the welfare of the colored race, I appeal to you in behalf of myself and brethren of this section for a little light or information on the following: What will we have to pay for land in Kansas? Can we school our children there if we pay the tuition? Are we treated there like here, like brutes, or human beings; can we vote for who we please; can we bring our stock and horses and mules with us; can you not send an emigrant agent to Hempstead, Texas, for a short time? Please answer by letter or circular, and all other information about the State, &c., that you can. There are a large number from this section of Texas that want to go to Kansas, or somewhere else out of the South, but we have no one to give us any information in regard to Kansas; but, on the contrary, are told by people here that we would freeze to death there, and that you just want to get us there to make slaves of us. We want to know the truth of all.

There are at least one thousand families anxious to leave here, but they want to bring their cows, oxen, horses, and mules with them. Some of us own over a hundred head of cows. These that I speak of will all be able to buy their supplies for another year. We have blacksmiths and mechanics and can do our own building. We are peaceful and law-abiding and can do as much work as anybody. We cannot better our condition here, and we are satisfied that if we are allowed to live that we cannot do worse nowhere else. We are cheated and swindled out of our cotton, and that is our main dependence for money; the land-owner and merchant sweep us up every year, so that we get but little of anything out of our crops. Lands here are held at \$15 to \$20 per acre, part cash, and interest at 12 per cent. from date; some have bought at these prices and nearly paid out, and are now sued for their lands, as claimed by other parties; absent heirs and minors and married women have all the good land here in a state subject to litigation, titles doubtful to all of it, old Mexican claims, &c., all to swindle the negro. The young people growing up are being sent to the penitentiary

and hired out on sugar farms, and I expect in a few years, if we stay here, that we will all be reduced to slavery. Please let us hear from you.

Yours, truly,

SCIPIO MCKENZIE.

EPES STATION, ALA.

Confidential.]

Excelleney Governor ST. JOHN :

DEAR SIR: By accident I proeured your address through your letter in the Cineinati Gazette of August 9, in regard to refugee colored people, and I most respectfully ask your indulgence and answers to a few questions in which thousands of the same class of unfortunate people are vitally interested. We infer that refugees from tyranny and oppression are welcome in your State if they can get there.

Please inform us what number can find an asylum with you in the West; is there room for all who can get there, for nearly all want to go; can you furnish statistics of the resourees of your State, how many willing workers can find employment, what character of work, what price of wages, cost of living, &c., what route from Alabama the best, probable cost of transportation; is an overland private conveyance route practicable for able-bodied men and women with a few wagons and teams to haul provisions and light baggage; is the water line preferable to rail for women and children and old men; can contracts be closed with reliable companies (to wit, railroad companies) or others for a large number of laborers, to wit, lots of one hundred to two hundred; can any assistance in the way of transportation or necessary supplies be obtained, the same to be returned in labor; or money when made; is it best for the able-bodied to go ahead of the feeble and procure subsistence, or can all move together without the fear of great suffering and privations? A brief statement of our condition here may not be out of place. As Republicans we are completely hedged in socially, politically, and financially, the bitterness intensified against native whites who dare utter or entertain sentiments opposed to Bourbonism; the more helpless and ignorant colored people who submit more readily to oppression and who aspire to nothing higher than slavery, fare better, but the better class of colored people who have higher aspirations find the South a hard road to travel; the eriminal code of our State is so framed that it is a mere question of time when three-fourths of the colored people will be remanded to a condition worse than slavery; these horrors, coupled with the fact that few, very few of the toiling thousands are permitted to lay up a dollar from his hard year's toil (owing to the downright swindling of his landlord and master,) has after years of suffering and patient forbearance unsettled and demoralized the average workingmen of the South, and with charity for all and malice to none, like Israel of old, he proposes to pull out and try his fortunes in other climes, even if it takes him through the wilderness and across the river.

Asking pardon for trespassing so much on your valuable time, I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

B. R. THOMAS.

P. S.—Any information your friends may be able to furnish us will be sent to me to the care of John A. Thomas, route agent Alabama and Great Southern Railroad, Chattanooga, Tenn., who will hand it to me without risk of personal safety.

YALE SEMINARY, TEX., *November 15, 1879.*

Governor ST. JOHN :

DEAR SIR: I am an applicant for appointment of superintendent of census for Eastern Texas, or a part thereof. I have just received a letter from Judge A. B. Norton, of Dallas, Tex., who says he met you in Kansas a short time since. He advised me to notify you of my application, and said you would doubtless write me a commendation to Hon. Carl Schurz, Seeretary of the Interior, which would be of service to me. This, if consistent with you, I respectfully ask you to do, not as a relative, but as a Republican. I am branded as a radical of extreme stamp, which I do not deny. I have severely criticised the administration for its leniency towards those who forfeited their lives by treason, and charged it with fostering in the South "treason as the passport to office, emoluments, and honors." I do not withdraw the charge, nor do I deny that his policy has worked well for Republicanism in the North; but while in reconstruction I did not desire the literal fulfillment of the constitutional requirement of "death for treason," I never had, nor expect to ever have, any sympathy with a reconstruction surrendering the "lives, fortunes, and saered honors" of the loyal men of the South to the vengeance of unreconstructed rebels. I have suffered enough to be bitter. For the last six years my life has been worse than a living death. Myself and family ostracized, stripped of the earnings of a lifetime by rebel malice, and thrown out of any business I am competent to fill—you know I have been a cripple from childhood—so we are so poor we can hardly live with a tantalizing, Northern people cannot even

imagine, for the fiendism is beyond belief—you may imagine that I am not only bitter, but expect to remain bitter. Every white Republican that I know who has not accepted rebelism has been hounded down to destitution and disgrace, while the condition of the colored citizen, as a rule, is much worse than when they were slaves. Courts are mockeries of justice. Engines of oppression for all who cannot shout the rebel shibboleth. I know some fifty colored men now in the penitentiary for the prime cause of being Republicans. They were hounded into violation of law by those who should never have been pardoned for their murders. I do not know a single colored man of talent who has persisted in his Republican faith but has been hunted, persecuted, robbed, killed, or the victim unjustly of rebel administration of law. They are afraid to complain of their wrongs even to each other. I will burden you with but a single instance: A colored man rented a place two and a half miles from Palestine, Tex. He and family worked steadily until his crop—his portion of it—was worth \$500. He was Kukluxed under a trumped up charge of theft, taken from home, and whipped unmercifully, part of the Kuklux band regular rebel officers. I have the names of the crowd; was told that if he attempted to go back to the place he would be killed. The next night his wife was visited by the same crowd—she was looking to be confined—and was notified to leave at once, under penalty of death, and her fright kept her long near the verge of the grave. He lost all his labor; dare not ask for fear of his life any recompense for his labor. I could fill volumes of similar cases, and though there is silence now, it is the silence of fear, for we all have felt, and still feel, there is no redress.

Reconstruction is a failure. The loyal element is stripped to destitution. Let the rebels pay the war debt. This is but simple justice. Give them something to do instead of playing Kuklux. Punish them for the violation of their amnesty oath. Let "treason cease to be glorious." When I first proposed to apply for the superintendent's position, I had but little hope. I wrote ex-Governor Davis, the best governor Texas ever had, and one of the best men who ever lived, to say a word in my behalf. He told me the administration had very roundly notified him none of his advice was wanted, and that his commendation would work more against than for me.

Like Governor Davis, my pride revolted against asking a position under an administration whose policy spread death and desolation to the loyal men of the South; but it is said "necessity knows no law." Please excuse the tiresome length of this letter.

Yours, respectfully,

Prof. JASPER STARR, P. M.,
Yale Seminary, Texas.,

Henderson County.

Q. I want to ask you about the barracks that were said to have been destroyed at Topeka.—A. That was in the inception of the thing, during the yellow-fever excitement. The barracks were roughly erected; and I would state that there was a feeling between the north and south sides of the town. Those on the south side thought the people on the other side were trying to impose on them. They drew up the lumber for the barracks, but the people there were afraid of the yellow fever being brought there by the negroes, and some of the lumber was thrown into the river that night, and the barracks, with whatever work was done on them, were torn down. It was the next day taken out of town to its present location.

Q. Then they were not torn down on account of the opposition to the negroes?—A. I think it was the fear of this contagious disease; I think they were very properly moved away from there.

Now there has been something said about the new headquarters here, and I desire to say something on that subject, particularly as to the amount of goods received and the purposes of the association. I was not connected with this association until in September. The former board met one evening and resigned one after another, and elected other officers. I was one of those elected, and was informed of it the next morning. While I think it is injurious to a man in office to hold any position in that board, I felt that somebody would have to take hold of it, and I was willing to take my share. We found, however, that the matter was growing on our hands in the way of contributions, and, in fact, everything connected with the exodus. We were renting property up

town where we stored the goods and held the meetings and made the distributions. We found it necessary to build there barracks, and we had the lumber either donated to Mrs. Comstock or to the board. I was going to state that where so many people were arriving, it was absolutely necessary to have a larger place, and we built the barracks to store the goods in. It was built on land belonging to Mr. Brown, with the understanding that after the exodus was over he was to buy it at an appraised valuation.

Q. What about the goods?—A. The goods have been honestly distributed as a rule. The distributions are made by men who receive no pay—colored men; and so it was with regard to the barracks, for they were built by colored men.

Q. Can you state the amount of money and goods handled by your association?—A. You mean that has been received?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. There were about \$10,000 received before, and about \$29,000 since, my connection with the association; and two or three tons of goods have been received since.

Q. Who are the salaried officers of the association?—A. Nobody but Colonel Brown, and he since January only, at \$60 a month.

Q. He furnishes a horse and buggy, does he not?—A. Yes, sir; he does.

Q. Do you have any physicians' bills to pay?—A. Yes, sir; and I have the amount here; I will state that I was very much dissatisfied with this statement reported by Dr. Hibberd. I called on him and told him I would expect him to give me a statement of the number of cases treated by him, the character of the disease, and the amount of pay received, and I said to him I wanted it tolerably full. I failed to get it until the day I left, at twelve o'clock. He gave me this statement, which is not satisfactory, and I do not suppose it will be to the committee:

							TOPEKA, ———, 18—.
From	Sept. 15	to	Nov. 1,	No. invalids,	75,	amount received.....	\$37 50
"	Nov. 1	"	Dec. 1,	"	80,	"	40 50
"	Dec. 1	"	Jan. 1,	"	100,	"	70 00
"	Jan. 1	"	Feb. 1,	"	200,	"	112 50
"	Feb. 1	"	March 2,	"	100,	"	110 50
"	Nov. 1	"	April 1,	"	300,	"	138 50

Prevalent diseases:

Among adults; pneumonia, typhoid fever, dysentery.

Among children; pneumonia, with complications of typhoid, measles, mumps, diarrhea.

Q. How long was Dr. Stringfellow the physician?—A. He was tending the patients before I became a member of the board.

Q. Do you know of any dissatisfaction with him?—A. I heard it from members of the board, who told me there was a complaint that the doctor did not attend to them promptly, and they discharged him; and also they objected to his bill.

Q. Did he receive some compensation for his services?—A. Yes, sir; I understood so.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You spoke of a bureau that was established at Cairo?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who is there attending to it?—A. We sent Mr. Lynch down there to superintend it, and I have a letter from him stating what he did.

Q. He is a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any person associated with him?—A. There is some party there from Kansas City, I think, but I do not know who it is.

Q. Who else has anything to do with that bureau?—A. Mr. Brown has an order to go there; there is a standing order on the board minute books to that effect.

Q. Well, that bureau is established there to keep immigration off of you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is a sort of sentinel outpost to turn it away from Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you have agents for that purpose in the South?—A. Yes, sir; and those agents are Mr. Lynch and this colored man from Kansas City.

Q. Does he go down into the South for that purpose?—A. He wrote last, I believe, from Tennessee.

Q. Why should he go South on this business if you are not trying to encourage it?—A. Well, sir; we sent men to Saint Louis to try to stop it, but when the emigrants got there they had tickets to our city, so we sent them to Cairo to try to turn them away.

Q. Why did these agents go to Tennessee?—A. He wrote to me that he heard they were about to start in large numbers from Nashville, and he went down there to divert it from our State.

Q. I notice that you have made a distinction in your testimony, that while Kansas would welcome all immigrants who were self-supporting, that you do not want any pauper immigration.—A. No, sir; we want none of that sort, white or black.

Q. Is not nine-tenths of this emigration from the South a pauper emigration?—A. Yes, sir; and that is the trouble with it.

Q. Then the real public sentiment of your State is against it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Governor St. John is a candidate for re-election, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And one of the points made against him is whether or not he is in favor of this immigration?—A. That is one of the points urged against him, that he is in favor of it.

Q. Is it not true that he was afraid of the effect of that, and that he has sent these copies of letters here to Mr. Haskell in order to make his position clear, out at home?—A. I do not know, sir. Mr. Haskell said he expected to have debated this question with some one, and he thought it necessary to have these letters.

Q. I understand you that this point is made on Governor St. John, and you have his letters here to make his position clear on that subject.—A. I went to him before I left, and he spoke to me about it, and I suggested to him to give me these letters, and he said they were here.

Q. Have you his authority to use his letters?—A. He told me they were here.

Q. You spoke of a meeting in the city of Chicago, in which it was stated that the city of Chicago would take fifty thousand of these emigrants.—A. Mrs. Comstock told me about that.

Q. Don't you know that it has not been two years since the military forces were called out in Chicago to put down a bread riot?—A. I don't know anything about it or about this meeting, except as Mrs. Comstock and Governor St. John told me.

Q. Do you think fifty thousand of them could be landed in that city peaceably?—A. I think fifty thousand pauper immigration were distributed in the community in which they were landed.

Q. What court are you judge of?—A. The probate court.

Q. You say that only three of these emigrants told you they had suffered personal violence in the South?—A. Yes, sir; that is all.

Q. And that was in 1872?—A. Yes, sir; but they said they had heard of others.

Q. I do not care to investigate how you have disposed of the money that you have received, but I suppose you will be able to account for it?—A. Yes, sir; we have kept regular accounts of it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was it your understanding that the city of Chicago would take fifty thousand of these people and accommodate them?—A. No, sir; I understood that at a citizens' meeting, they agreed as a State that they would take up and absorb fifty thousand of them.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Are you or your agents sending any of them to Indiana?—A. I wish we could, but I do not think they are.

Q. What county in Indiana do you come from?—A. I came from Spencer County, in the first district. I wish, myself, that I could send some of them in there to the first district. It is a good State. That is Mr. Heilman's district, and I doubt whether he can get back from there.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was any offer ever made to you to send them there?—A. No, sir; none, except the suggestion to avoid sending them out there to us. I think, in fact, all the Southern States have emigration boards to bring immigrants into other States, which is a thing we have not in Kansas.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN D. KNOX.

JOHN D. KNOX sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Knox, where do you reside?—Answer. I reside in Topeka, Kans.

Q. Have you had any connection with the Relief Board of Kansas?—A. I have been a director since September 12, 1879.

Q. Have you held any office in the board?—A. I have been its treasurer, sir.

Q. Tell us how much money has been received by the board, and what has been done with it?—A. Mr. Bosworth stated to me that he was the first treasurer, and I find that the money he had on hand was turned over to Mr. Francis, his successor, and the State treasurer of Kansas, on May 13, 1879; that was \$2,193.12. Then from the 13th of May to the 12th of September there came into the hands of Mr. Francis \$6,202.76. Mr. Francis paid out on order \$7,783.49. Then on the 12th of September Mr. Francis paid over to me \$612.39. Then there came into my hands in addition to that, from September 12th up to the first of April, 1880, \$29,908.33.

I believe I was requested by the committee to be able to state the amount of money in my hands on the first day of this month. Now, on the first day of this month there was a balance to the credit of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association of \$7,653.02.

Q. How much money passed through Mr. Bosworth's hands during the thirty days from the meeting in the opera house to the day he resigned on the 13th of May?—A. I do not know that.

Q. Where did the money come from?—A. The most of it, as far as I recollect, came from checks, mainly from New England, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and quite an amount from England. It was directed that all the money should pass into the treasurer's hands, and that he should give a receipt for it to the secretary.

Q. What was it used for?—A. I have a statement here which will give it in a few words. The extract is from the forthcoming report of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association.

(Reading:)

ABOUT THE EXODITES.—The forthcoming report of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association shows the amount of donations received by the association from October 17, 1879, the date of the last report, up to March 31, to be \$29,495.71, while the expenditures during the same period have been \$23,488.79. Prominent among the expenditures are the following items: Groceries and provisions, \$2,884.85; dry-goods for underclothing, etc., \$1,806.14; boots and shoes, \$2,578.07; coffins and funeral expenses, \$468.25; medical aid and medicines, \$633.50; freight, \$1,686.69; transportation of refugees, \$1,371.10; from which some idea may be formed of the nature and the amount of the labor performed by the association in furnishing homes and providing for the wants of the exodites. Mrs. Elizabeth L. Comstock, who came here last fall to look after the interests of the refugees, has been indefatigable in their behalf, and has through her personal exertions and influence raised \$23,000 of the above amount, besides several car loads of lumber and agricultural implements, and an indefinite number of boxes and barrels of clothing, crockery-ware, garden-seeds, etc. More than \$3,000 has been sent here from England in cash; also a large lot of crockery and clothing, which she succeeded in getting duty free, under a special act of Congress.

We hope to give a detailed statement of the affairs of the association as soon as the report is printed.

Q. What are the purposes and objects of that association?—A. To relieve the immediate necessities of the refugees as far as possible, and to find them places in which they can make a living.

Q. Are there any political motives that entered into it?—A. I have no knowledge of any.

Q. Have there been any efforts made by your organization to get these people to come there?—A. Since my connection with it in September, we have done everything we could to discourage the people from coming there, especially if they could get along where they were.

Q. Why?—A. Because we thought it was best for these people not to come there when they could not support themselves, and we thought that enough had come to fill all the places that were open to them.

Q. Did you hear Mr. Carey testify?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with any of these people about their leaving the South?—A. Not so much as others have. Before they went out of the north side I was at the fair grounds, and talked with some of them. They seemed anxious for work and said that all they wanted was a chance to work and make a living.

Q. What did they say as to the causes of their leaving?—A. I had not much talk with them, but I talked several times confidentially to the Rev. Mr. Lynch. I said, "Brother Lynch, why do these people leave the South and come here?" and he said that one reason was that their children were outraged down there, ill-treated, and sometimes their wives, and they could not resist unless they resorted to personal violence. I met two others, and asked them "How long have you been here?" and they said, "One year." I asked where they were from, and they said, "From Mississippi." I asked them why they did not stay there, and they said, "We could not get along there; we were in debt sometimes as much as five hundred dollars at the end of the year."

Q. What do you know about any of them going back?—A. I know of none of them going back.

Q. Do you know of any inducements held out to any of them to go back?—A. I saw a statement in one of the papers that some persons in Texas had worked for them. I am of the opinion that quite a number came there able to take care of themselves. Then there were many who came and went right on through without going to the barracks or telling anybody about their being there.

Q. You are a Republican, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you not scared along with other members of your party, for fear that you would lose the State on account of these immigrants coming there and creating a disturbance among the whites?—A. No, sir; I think there are one or two thousand good honest Democrats in Kansas who will help us to take care of them.

Q. Where would you find them, do you think?—A. I think there are some there—I hope a good many.

Q. What do you know of the manner in which the colored colonies are getting along in Kansas?—A. Last fall I had occasion to go thirty or forty miles west of Topeka, and I was glad to see the colored people about there in Wabaunsie County getting along well, and their children there were even a little better fixed up than those of the white people who had been there for some length of time.

Q. These people had been there for some time?—A. Yes, sir; I judge they had been for some time.

Q. Was not something said, at one time, about raising money to support that colony out there, and it refusing it?—A. No, sir; that was Nicodemus Colony. I did not hear of it until it was started, and the people were a little indignant that the railroad would let these people go out there on the high black prairie to live when they had nothing to go on. I saw a man from there, however, who said that it was wonderful how they were getting along. They went to work and dug up the ground until they made it look like a garden. One man whose legs were frozen went out there and settled in one of these places. They finally needed help, however, and at a conference held at Salina, aid was raised for them, and men sent out there with teams to help them. But still it was astonishing how they were getting along.

Q. Well, these colored people that went out there needed no more help than white people that went there under the same circumstances?—A. No, sir; we had to help the whites out there, too. We thought it wrong, at first, in the railroad to send them out there without civilizing the climate for them beforehand.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. If they can get along so well out there, why is it necessary to have that bureau down at Cairo?—A. It is not a "bureau," sir; I have not so termed it.

Q. Judge Carey so called it, I believe?—A. Well, he is right, probably, to give it that name if he thinks so.

Q. Why have you got it there now?—A. I never authorized Mr. Lynch to go there at all.

Q. Do you think it right for them to come to Kansas?—A. Many of them can do well there. In the western part of the State I think the farmers have plenty of work for them.

Q. Have not you discussed this proposition, that, as the negroes were moving it would be a good thing to put a number of them into Indiana, and that it would be a good political move on the part of the Republicans?—A. No, sir; we never discussed that; I do not think we care a cent whether it is Democratic or not.

Q. Do you mean to say that that board, all of whom are good Republicans, would not care a cent about carrying Indiana for the Presidential candidate this fall?—A. I say that that thing has not been discussed.

Q. Don't you know that these men on that board are Republicans?—A. I do not know them all. I do not know that they are Republicans; but I hope we have not deceived ourselves. When I was elected some of my friends said for me not to take the place; that if I did, it would be supposed to be a political matter, and the other board resigned for the same reason.

Q. But do you think, Mr. Knox, that the board does not care whether or not Indiana goes Democratic this fall?—A. Well, perhaps, it is putting it a little too strong to say that.

Q. What discussions have you had about diverting this stream of emigration into other States, and, if so, where to?—A. The board has spoken of different places. The Rev. Mr. Gilbert, who has been president, thought we could open up a large colony in Dakota, while a little north of there still there are winds that make it genial enough to raise fruit. He thought the government could be gotten to help settle them there.

Q. Have you or your board seen the able and learned speech of the honorable Senator from Minnesota on that subject?—A. No, sir.

Q. Has Minnesota been suggested as a place to which to send them?—A. I cannot recollect that Minnesota has been named. They have named Nebraska, Iowa, and Illinois, I know.

Q. And Indiana?—A. I do not think that Indiana has been mentioned as much as Illinois, and I cannot say whether it has been avoided purposely or not.

Q. Have you seen a notice of a meeting in Chicago, which promised to take fifty thousand of these people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see it in the papers?—A. Yes, sir; I understood that there would be arrangements made in the State to place fifty thousand there, but not wholly in the city.

Q. Do you know who took the responsibility of pledging the State of Illinois to take fifty thousand of these people?—A. No, sir; I do not know the parties.

Q. Was Mrs. Comstock there at that meeting?—A. I think I heard her say that she was at that meeting.

Q. Now I do not know that I have got your own true position on this question?—A. Well, sir?

Q. I think you would make a pretty good politician. You have not stated yet whether you are in favor of this exodus to Kansas or not. You say that Kansas is a good place for them, and yet you have picketed men out there at Cairo to keep them out. Now I want you to say whether you are in favor of this immigration or not.—A. Well, sir, I would not want to see them coming there very fast.

Q. You want them to sort of "slow up," do you?—A. Yes, sir; I might say this, by way of explanation, that more of the labor might have been employed in Kansas if the white folks had not told them, when they got there, to ask too high for their work.

Q. How much were they asking?—A. Well, sir; corn is very cheap there, and they can live quite economically, yet they wanted a dollar and a quarter a day, when I thought they could have gotten plenty of work at a dollar a day—which is about five bushels of corn. I think the white folks stood in their way, and kept them from getting work by this advice.

TESTIMONY OF G. C. WEST.

G. C. WEST sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you reside, Mr. West?—Answer. In Topeka, Kans., sir.

Q. Have you had any connection with the Freedmen's Relief Association of Kansas?—A. No, sir; I have had no connection with that association whatever.

Q. Have you talked with any of these people who have come from the South?—A. I have talked with them a little bit—only occasionally, however; I have not made any extensive inquiries among them. When they first commenced coming there, I talked with a good many of them. They came into my office there when they were talking about getting up this relief association.

Q. What reasons did they give for coming to Kansas?—A. They had two or three reasons. Some of them had a sort of vague, indefinable fear of being bulldozed occasionally in the South.

Q. What was the appearance of these people when they came there?—A. They had the appearance of people who were extremely destitute, sir.

Q. Have the people of Kansas, and outside, taken some pains to relieve their immediate wants?—A. The people of Kansas had to do it, for somebody had to do it, and it fell upon them to do it. There was a vast number of paupers coming in there on the town, and something had to be done for them.

Q. Do you know how many of them got employment?—A. I have heard nothing about it except through this relief board. In fact, I do not know much about it, and I think I have told you all I do know.

Adjourned to Thursday, April 22, 1880.

FORTY-NINTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 22, 1880.*

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

TESTIMONY OF H. RUBY.

H. RUBY (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Please state where you live, Mr. Ruby.—Answer. I am residing in Kansas.

Q. At what point?—A. Oswego, Southern Kansas.

Q. Where has been your home for the past few years?—A. For the last ten years I have lived in Texas.

Q. What part of Texas?—A. From the county of Galveston to as high up as McLennan County.

Q. Where were you born?—A. I was born in New York City.

Q. Did you come from New York to Texas?—A. I went from Central America to Texas.

Q. Did you emigrate from Texas to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did any others go with you?—A. Yes, sir; ten families went when I did.

Q. You had some reason for going, I suppose; what was it?—A. Well, sir, last July there was a colored man's conference held at Houston, and I was a delegate from my county. The county delegation from my district elected me as a commissioner of emigration; and these colored men that wanted to leave got me to go and pick out locations for them.

Q. You attended the convention at Houston?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the desire among these people to emigrate?—A. The call for the convention was issued the 20th of May, and in the call it was stated that it was a convention for the colored men to take into consideration the religious, political, and educational interests of their race.

Q. Were any complaints made at that convention as to their treatment in Texas?—A. Yes, sir; a majority of the delegates claimed that there were reasons for leaving; and the idea was to impress on the people to get away from there on account of the obnoxious laws of the State.

Q. What features of the laws did they complain of?—A. They complained of this law making qualifications for jurors—that they must be freeholders and know how to read and write.

Q. That is to say, they must own lands?—A. Yes, sir; be a freeholder or householder; then they also complained of the inefficiency of the school law.

Q. Does that jury law apply to whites and blacks alike?—A. Yes, sir; the colored men rent houses and lands but they are not freeholders.

Q. Were there any complaints?—A. Well, they go on to complain that as they did not put the colored man on the juries a good many of them were prosecuted wrongfully and convicted because the white people did not like the blacks.

Q. What powers have the courts or county judges in the way of fining people for minor offenses, and hiring them out?—A. That is one feature that has helped them away; that a colored man, or any other man, can be arrested on a pretext and convicted, and that while they used to send them to Huntsville to the penitentiary they now hire them out. Where a man gets intoxicated or plays a game of cards, he is tried before the county judge and fined, and the courts work in the lawyer's fee, until the whole thing amounts up to sixty-five, seventy-five, or one hundred dollars; and it is a law of the State that makes it the duty of the county judge to hire the man out at any figures he pleases.

Q. Does the law limit the judge to any price per day?—A. No, sir; he can make it as high or as low as he pleases.

Q. What are they hired out to do?—A. To work out their fine and costs and the lawyer's fees.

Q. Do you know of any instances of that kind?—A. I know of many instances in Burleson County. I know of one instance where a colored man went to work out his fine, and a white man who was convicted just the same was allowed to stay in jail.

Q. Do you know of any place where white men or women are hired out in that way?—A. No, sir; the men who do the hiring claim that they have got no use for white men or women. If he is an ordinary colored man they keep him in jail, too, because they don't want him, though the judge is supposed to hire him out.

Q. At what rates generally do they hire?—A. I know of one instance in the county of Matagorda, where I used to live before I went to Burle-

son County—Galveston, Brazoria, and Matagorda Counties are in the same district. Over in Matagorda County, where the county judge was a member of the sixteenth legislature, a colored woman was arrested, and the judge hired her out at a quarter of a cent a day.

Q. To work out how much of a fine?—A. I think thirty dollars, or something of that sort.

Q. Do you know of any other instance?—A. I know of others where they would hire out, but not at as low figures as that. I know of many who have been working for the last three years to pay up their fines.

Q. Do you know for what amount of fines they are condemned to work for three years?—A. This man who was arrested in Milam County for carrying a six-shooter was fined sixty-five dollars; I think the costs and lawyer's fees amounted to sixty-five dollars. He wanted them to give him time to send for a white man to work out the fine, and he went and made an arrangement with the judge, but he did not allow him to work it out with the man that he wanted to, but hired him out to another man.

Q. How long has he been at work?—A. He was at work all last year and the year before last, and the year before that again.

Q. Was that on a county farm?—A. No, sir; they call these people county convicts, and if you have got a farm you can go and hire them out of the jail. They have got that system, and the colored men object to it. I know some of these men who have State convicts that they hire and they work them under shot-guns. A farmer hires so many of the State, and they are under the supervision of a sergeant with a gun and nigger-hounds, to run them with if they get away. They hire them and put them in the same gang with the striped suit on, and, if they want, the guard can bring them down with his shot-gun. Then they have these nigger-hounds, and if one of them gets off and they can't find him, they take the hounds, and from a shoe, or anything of the kind belonging to the convict, they trail him down.

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

Q. What kind of dogs are they when they catch a fellow?—A. They are liable to eat him up if somebody is not there to keep them from it.

Q. Is there any penalty for running away which renews the fine?—A. Yes, sir; if a man runs away he has to go back and work his fine out. That has been the law from the thirteenth legislature down to the present time.

Q. I suppose you do not mean to say that the law authorizes pursuing them with bloodhounds, but that that is the practice?—A. Yes, sir; the law does not authorize, but it is done.

Q. Do you know of any instance where a man has run away and been caught and fined again?—A. Yes, sir; I know one man who ran away and was caught and went away again; he got away from them and went out of the county and came back about cotton-picking time; he was brought back and served out the original sentence, and then the parties brought in their charges against him for going after him.

Q. And does he have to work that out, too?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything of this man for whom a requisition was sent from Texas to Kansas?—A. No, sir; if I heard his name I might know him.

Q. What is the law in Texas with regard to the tenants selling their own products?—A. There is a law on the statute books that no man who runs a place has a right to sell a watermelon or anything he raises until the landlord gets his rent.

Q, What do they call that law?—A. I think it is the landlord and tenant act.

Q. Do you think that that is the intention of the law?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It does not merely apply to persons who have a contract to that effect?—A. No, sir; for very seldom do they make a written contract; it is generally verbal that they shall pay so much per acre, generally five dollars per acre. If the contract were written the landlords would have to stand closer to their contracts. I know in 1871 that we rented fifteen acres at five dollars per acre, and the contract we made bound the landlord to make good fences, and his hogs got in and ate up our corn and he had to pay us. I know another case where the cows got in and eat up a man's crop and he forced him to keep them out.

Q. What is the custom there as to selling seed-cotton?—A. Some of the planters won't allow their blacks to sell their seed-cotton. The gentleman I have been boarding with in Burleson County would not allow them to sell it. We haul the cotton-seed to town and get half for that. If a man hauls two tons he gets half of it and can make a trip in a day and a half. Down on the Carpenter place there were some boys hauling cotton-seed to town, and when they went back to get another load the man asked them what they came for and they said, "for the cotton-seed." He said he would not let them have it until he got an order. That shows you the way that they do when there is no contract.

Q. That was not under a contract, then?—A. No, sir; it was just on his say so. I know of other people on the Dogtown place who would not let them have it after promising it to them.

Q. Are there any difficulties or obstacles interposed in the way of the colored people buying land there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything of the Skull Creek colony?—A. Yes, sir; it is west of Columbus and was established about six years ago. There have been several established in Texas but they have been broken up. The only one I know in operation is at Fort Bend County, in the Senegambian settlements. This Skull Creek colony was composed of some of the best people in these counties. They went there thirty or forty years ago, but last June a crowd of men went down there and killed one of the leading men as he was coming from town with his cotton money and groceries. The people heard the reports of the guns and went out and found him riddled with buckshot and one of his mules gone. They made all kinds of threats against them, and when they could not run them out that way they put up placards telling them to "leave this neck of timber or we will make you."

Q. These placards were addressed to whom?—A. To the colored people of that colony.

Q. What was the result?—A. Some of the young men said they would not go away, but a few weeks afterwards they had to go; their fences were burned and so were their cotton-houses and cribs; they were all burned in that colony except two houses, one belonging to a poor white person and another one in which a white man lived.

Q. How many were there in that colony before that?—A. There were twelve families, I think. The only drawback and the fault we find in Texas is that we do not know whether we are safe when we get a home-stead. That is what some of them complained of from Lee County.

Q. Tell us what you know about that.—A. In that case even the good people around Giddings say that the outrages were uncalled for. They say that the cow-boys went in there and killed these people at that place.

Q. How many people were there living there?—There were two hun-

dred and fifty or three hundred living there, but they broke up the colony and went back on the farms where they were before.

Q. What do you know about Wharton County?—A. There some of the colored people had paid for their lands and some had not, and a number of cow-boys from Colorado County went in there and killed one of their men.

Q. Have they been broken up in that settlement?—A. Yes, sir. That, I say, is one of the only drawbacks—that they are not safe. Before they left Texas some efforts were made to establish colonies up in the Pan Handle part of Texas, where they could have a chance to make a living, but they said they were afraid of buying land. I know a man who bought from his old master, named Sandy Simmons, in Burleson County, and lost it.

Q. He lost it for the want of a good title?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. Stafford, who lives out there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where is he?—A. He has gone back to Kansas.

Q. Do you know why he left?—A. He was run out of Grimes County in the night time. He stood pretty high there for a while, but he had to go out.

Q. He was summoned here as a witness, was he not, and was discharged?—A. Yes, sir. I will tell you about him. Two years ago they made him the chairman of the county executive Republican committee. He was a man that owned two plantations himself, and was a prominent colored man. When he bought his plantation of one hundred and sixty acres there was nobody living there at all. Then there were seven or eight families come in and they owned together about four miles square there, four miles of Anderson and four miles of Nova Sota. He was finally notified that the white people would make up a party to kill him, but he paid no attention to it. He met one of his white men friends and talked to him, and said he talked with him until sundown, and he finally told him, "Yes, Stafford, there is a plan to kill you, and you had better get away." So he left the night before they were to come. He came up the Great Northern Railroad instead of the Central Road, which was his nearest way, going seven hundred miles out of his way to get to Kansas.

Q. Why do you suppose they wanted to kill him?—A. I do not know, unless it was just because he was a prominent colored man.

Q. What about the treatment of colored women down there?—A. That is one of the main grievances of the colored people, and causes of their going out of the South. Another of the main wants of the colored people is education for their children, and in leaving the South they are actuated by the same motives that the colonists were actuated by one hundred years ago. They do not say to the white people, "we will fight you," but they say, "we will leave you." They have to talk up for themselves, or else be like the Indian and be driven from the country. And that which you spoke of is one of the great troubles that is causing them to leave the South. They say that their daughters and mothers and wives are not safe; that they are liable to be insulted at any time, and if a colored man talks up for his family, he is either shot down or taken out at night and bushwhacked or killed. I have talked with them about it, and I have said that if I had any women-folks, and they were insulted, they would have to kill me before I would stand it. But they said to me, "if you lived down there, you have got to take what we give you." I lived ten years among them and did take a good deal. The fact is, the colored people must leave there because of their want of education and of protection for their women, and if a man

wants to stay, and buys lots, he pays for the lot four times before he owns it.

Q. Is there much political trouble down there on account of your people now?—A. No, sir; not now. They have devices now for keeping the men from voting. It is a kind of bulldozing the same as they have in the North. Sometimes they deceive them by saying that the day of election is changed, or that the next day after the real day is the day of election, and many times the colored people are fooled in that way.

Q. You said that Mr. Stafford was driven off because he was a prominent Republican colored man.—A. That was the only reason I could see, and he advises them to leave there now and get out of Texas to some place where they can have their rights. He owns two plantations down there, and still he is advising them to leave.

Q. Did you ever have any correspondence with Governor St. John on this subject?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the nature of it?—A. Just after the colored people elected me commissioner of emigration in the fifth district I received a letter from Richard Allen, a prominent colored man of Harris County, who was vice-president of the society to prevent colored men being imposed upon. He sent me a letter and said in it, "As you have been elected as the representative of the colored men, I know you will have uphill work with the preachers and the politicians." And he said, "I hope you will succeed." I wrote a letter to Governor St. John and asked him what were the advantages of going to Kansas. I was opposed to Kansas in the convention, but I was in favor of their going anywhere to get out of Texas, and where they could be treated as men. Some of the people said something about social equality, but I said, "The black men don't expect it or look for it." All we wanted was protection in our rights. Water thrown on the floor will find its level, and so we colored men must find our level in this country. "You cannot be allowed social equality," I said to them, "unless you make yourselves worthy of it." A good many of the colored men were going from Louisiana and Texas to Kansas, and were employed on farms there, and they told me when the dinner-time came they were called in to sit down to dinner with the white people, and that they were so much astonished that they did not know how to behave themselves because they did not expect it.

I wrote to Governor St. John, and he wrote to me in reply, saying, "Your letter is received, and in reply, if your people are desirous of coming I advise you to come in your private conveyances and bring your household goods and plows. You in Texas can come easily overland, but I want to impress this one fact on your people who are coming to Kansas—that you must not expect anything, as we hold out no inducements to whites or blacks, but you will find here a good soil and free Kansas."

Q. Did he say anything about people not coming who did not take care of themselves?—A. He said, "If your people come under destitute circumstances they will be thrown on the charity of the people, and bring discredit on you and the charge that you are coming here as paupers."

Q. He never did anything to encourage you to come, did he?—A. No, sir; if there has ever been a circular sent to Texas, or any of these fine chromos, they have taken good care to send them to only one or two individuals; I never saw one of them.

Q. Have you talked with any of these people who have gone to Kan-

sas?—A. Yes, sir; I do a good deal of their reading and writing for them, and the only drawback with them is that they came out of Texas to Kansas at a time when they could not get ready work. They came in the dead of winter, when there was nothing to do, and now that the spring is coming a good many of them are out of employment, because the farmers there are poor and cannot hire them.

Q. How largely did they express a desire to you to go back home?—A. Very few of them have done so. I know some who said that they were sorry they came, and some parties came after them and they went back.

Q. Do you know what inducements were offered them?—A. Some of them were living on good farms but in poor houses, and they were told "If you will come back I will build you a heaven—that is, a box-house with a brick chimney and glass windows—that is what is called a black man's heaven. These men who came up there got one or two to go back at Parsons, and one or two at Fort Scott. One of them was August Horns, who lives in Grimes County, and they run him out of Parsons because they knew him. He saw Stafford and talked with him about it, and said he was making arrangements to take them back. On his way to Parsons he stopped at Oswego, the second station from the Indian Nation, and made arrangements there with two families to take them back. He went from there to Parsons and Fort Scott, but they run him out of Parsons and he came on back. He took, I think, 54 men and women with him.

Q. Under these promises that you have mentioned?—A. Yes, sir. When he got to Oswego he made this remark to some of our people down there who came down to the depot to see these others go off; but they didn't go; only one of them went, a fellow named Harper. He just said, "Harper, are you going back?" Harper said, "Yes." And August said "Well, come on." He made the remark that it would take these niggers three years to pay him back for taking them home. After the cars passed Denison some of the men tried to jump off, but after securing them, he put them in irons and kept them until he got them to Grimes County.

Q. From whom did you learn all this?—A. This fellow Harper told it. He wrote it to his mother in Kansas.

Q. What do you consider one of the principal reasons for their coming to Kansas?—A. The reasons of their coming is that they have heard such glowing accounts about the education of their children. Every letter I received, nearly, said, "Is it true that the schools are opened nine months in the year? Is it true that the whites and blacks go to school together?" And I have replied to them, "Yes, that is true of Oswego."

Q. Is there anything else that you can state on this subject?—A. Only this, as I told some white gentlemen from Burleson County when this matter came to be agitated, and the exodus was first talked of in 1874. Then the Republicans in Texas were superseded by the Democrats. The Hon. Senator Coke was elected by 45,000 or 50,000 majority over E. J. Davis, and during that election Coke's friends said to the colored men, "If you will vote the Democratic ticket you will be all right hereafter." I know that many of them did vote for the Democratic ticket.

Q. Why?—A. Well, sir, they told me they wanted a change; that they were going to have a retrenchment and reform in the government, and that they were going to reduce the taxes. They said that if they voted that way the Democrats would be their friends; but they laid

their trouble to the Republican party, and said that if they elected Mr. Coke he was going to reduce the taxes and treat them right.

Q. Well, are they any better satisfied now with the state of things in Texas than they were then?—A. No, sir; for the Democrats have not carried out their pledges, and they are divided themselves; they have a Greenback defection there, and the colored people are not satisfied there. Now they say that one-fourth of the occupation and *ad valorem* taxes shall go for schools, but Governor Roberts vetoed the bill making the appropriation. He called an extra session of the legislature last June, but there were just enough there in the senate to sustain his veto. The Democrats have cut down the schools in some places to only six weeks. Governor Roberts cut down the appropriations to where they would not run but about three months. The law is on the statute book which says that a person must know how to read and write to be a juror, and now they have passed a law by which a boy, if he goes to school, cannot learn to read and write. They do not put the word "colored" in the law, because that would conflict with the law of the United States. They have made the school age so that, with the short time the schools are opened, the children cannot learn to read and write.

Q. Do you not have colored men on the juries in Texas?—A. Not where I have been living. In Washington County, where there are a great many colored people, they do get a few jurors; they put one or two, for instance, on a petit jury.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is a cow-boy?—A. They are gentlemen who wear these broad-brimmed hats, and brass spurs, and carry six-shooters.

Q. What do these cow-boys do?—A. They herd stock.

Q. What complaints have you against them?—A. I have not much complaint against them for I do not believe half the time it is the cow-boys who do this devilment—I think it is the people living right about there where the outrages are committed.

Q. When you find a party who has been hurt, it is generally charged on the cow-boys, is it?—A. Yes, sir; but if he does not know who did it, they will say there came a crowd of men, and these people always put it off on the cow-boys. There is one case just eight miles west of Columbus where they arrested a man for killing a colored man for having tried him.

Q. Then this state of affairs is not confined to the localities along the Louisiana line?—A. No, sir; this is away out on the way as you go to San Antonio.

Q. Are these complaints general among the colored people in that State?—A. Yes, sir; but I cannot represent anything to you except as to my district, which was the fifth. Wash. Jones, the Greenbacker, represents it in Congress; but Mr. Gidding before that, I think.

Q. Well, tell us more about those cow-boys. I want to know something about them.—A. I say the people claim it is the cow-boys who do this work. The white people charge it on them, but down in Wharton, at a place called Egypt, there was a prominent white man killed who was a leading Republican.

Q. In the night-time or the day?—A. In the night-time. He was killed by a crowd that must have been some 15 or 20 strong from all accounts. They shot through the house and killed him while he was in the house.

Q. What did they kill him for?—A. Because he had been a leading Republican there.

Q. What was the cause for killing him then?—A. I do not know that there was any special grievance.

Q. Well, is the fact that a man is a prominent Republican a cause for killing him down there?—A. Well, sir, if a colored man is teaching his people anything he had better keep it to himself.

Q. And the fact that this man was a Republican is the only ground you know for his being killed?—A. Yes, sir; he had acquired some property there and was trying to be of benefit to the country.

Q. Do you mean to say there is such a strong prejudice against men for being Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; but I do not mean to apply to all the people of Texas; there are good Democrats there who mean well.

Q. You think there are some good Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; I have some warm friends among them, but they are not safe in defending Republicans; if they attempt to do it, these other fellows tell them to go slow, or they will make it warm for them.

Q. How great a proportion is there of the Democrats who are thus disposed?—A. It is those who want their friends in office and try to control things in that way.

Q. Which class controls the party down there?—A. I think it is the worthless element.

Q. Do you think the state of things is growing better or worse?—A. It is about the same old sevens and sixes. I cannot see any difference.

Q. Now, I would like to know more about those cow-boys; are they an organized band of people?—A. No, sir; there is no society among them that I know of. They might belong to that old kuklux organization for aught I know.

Q. Are there any societies or companies of a political character there?—A. No, sir; but they have military companies there. I had occasion two years ago this July, down in what is called the Senegambian section of Texas, to know something of these organizations. It was on the Sunset route, a station called Walker, about 60 miles from Galveston and 25 miles from Houston. I know there was a colored man taken there and lynched, and the black people came out there in crowds and proposed to reason with certain parties in the matter, and they got up the word that the negroes were rising. They sent to Houston and Galveston for help, and in four hours they had 1,500 to 2,500 men there with their rifles and repeating guns.

Q. I suppose the colored people had no idea looking to the commission of any violence?—A. No, sir. Some of the white people claimed that these men had committed an outrage, but they never tried him at all, and the colored people said, "we are ready to guard this man until you can send him to the county seat and have him tried." The magistrate said all right, that that would be done. But that night he was taken out of jail, and they have never heard of him any more. He has never been seen since.

Q. You say the magistrate said he would take care of him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do the colored people think that these officers are intimidated by this ruffian element?—A. They say that if the civil authorities are not in cahoots with them, they are scared by them. Many of these ruffians do outrageous things, and get off scot-free. There was a colored man down there—I forget the name of the gentleman's place that he was on, but it was eight miles below Hearne—who was an inoffensive black man; but the white men who had something against him called him out in the woods, away from his wife, and killed him.

Q. What was done with him for that murder?—A. I never heard of

anything at all, sir, being done. They had that fellow under arrest, but when the deputy sheriff went to arrest him, he had to shoot him before he could get him. They put him in a hotel and got a doctor for him, but when the day broke he turned up missing.

Q. How general is the inclination among the colored people down there to leave?—A. Well, sir, the people haven't commenced to start yet.

Q. That is, the colored people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many are there who will leave there?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Where will they go?—A. Some of them want to go to one place and some to another. Some talk of going to New Mexico and Colorado, or anywhere where they will have better inducements than they have to remain in Texas. They will go even to Indiana.

Q. Do you think there are better inducements for them in Indiana than in Texas?—A. Yes, sir; I am satisfied of it. I think the laws on the statute books of Indiana are pretty sure to be enforced.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. "Cow-boys" are boys, or men, that herd cattle, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are not a secret political organization of any kind?—A. No, sir.

Mr. VANCE. So I understood; I inquired only to relieve Mr. Blair's fears; he appeared to suppose that they were some dangerous organization.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. These "cow-boys" usually vote the Republican ticket, do they not?—A. I guess they vote pretty much like everybody else.

Q. Aren't they Republicans, as a general rule?—A. I do not think they are. Sometimes one or two cow-boys among a lot of herders might vote the Republican ticket, but not generally, I guess.

Q. But how was it with the cow-boys that did this violence?—A. I did not say the cow-boys did it. I said that whenever anything was done they attached it to the cow-boys; but it is a mighty open question in my mind whether the cow-boys really did half of it.

Q. You think ——?—A. I think it is somebody nearer home.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What is your politics, Mr. Ruby?—A. I have always voted the Republican ticket when I could. They did not allow me to vote this last election.

Q. I did not ask whether they allowed you to vote or not; I asked your politics?—A. I always vote the Republican ticket.

Q. Did you not at the last election vote the Greenback ticket?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not canvass for the Greenback ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did you canvass for the Greenback ticket if you are a Republican?—A. I thought it was the best I could do, sir, under the circumstances.

Q. Were you not paid for canvassing for the Greenback ticket?—A. I cannot say that I ever was paid for it.

Q. Were you not promised pay if you would canvass for the Greenback ticket?—A. Well, promises, you know, like pie-crust, were made to be broken.

Q. That is not an answer to my question. Were you not promised anything if you would canvass for the Greenback ticket?—A. No, sir.

Q. How came you to dodge the question before, instead of answering my question squarely, if you were not promised anything? Do you mean to say that you were not promised anything if you would canvass for the Greenback ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then why didn't you say so?—A. I did not know but you might want to answer the question yourself.

Q. Why did you canvass for the Greenback ticket, if you are a Republican?—A. Well, I am something like some Democrats, in one respect; I have heard some of them say if you were to put up the Devil on the Democratic ticket they would vote for him. The Republican party had no nomination in the field in that contest, and I was ready to do anything to beat the Democrats; so I worked for the Greenback ticket.

Q. What was the Greenbacker's politics before he was a Greenbacker? He was a Democrat, wasn't he?—A. Yes, sir; one of these consistent Democrats that you will sometimes find.

Q. Has he not voted on the Democratic side, regularly, up here, except on Greenback questions?—A. I cannot say that he does.

Q. You could say if you wanted to.—A. No, sir; for I have not kept any very particular track of just how he has voted. I think he has been censured by some of his friends for the way he voted in regard to seating one of the contestants from Florida, at the last session; if I remember right, they sort of hauled him over the coals about that. But I really think he want to do about as near right as he knows how.

Q. Let us look a little at this matter of the qualifications of jurors in Texas. Here are the statutes of Texas—Revised Statutes of the date of 1879. Article 3009 says: "All male persons over twenty-one years of age are competent jurors, unless disqualified under some provision of this chapter." Article 3010 says: "No person shall be qualified to serve as a juror who does not possess the following qualifications: He must be a citizen of the State and of the county in which he is to serve, and qualified under the constitution and laws to vote in said county." Is there anything wrong about that?—A. No; I do not say that there is anything wrong about that.

Q. Let us read a little further: "He must be a freeholder within the State, or a householder within the county." Is there anything wrong about that?—A. No, sir.

Q. Furthermore, "He must be of sound mind, and of good moral character." Do you object to a jurymen's being of sound mind and of good moral character?—A. No, sir; that is all right.

Q. Again: "He must be able to read and write, except in the cases provided for in the succeeding article."—A. I have not said I find any fault with that; I can tell better when we come to the succeeding article.

Q. We will come to that after a little. The next we find here is this: "He must not have served as a juror in that district court, or during the preceding three months in the county court." Is there anything in that to complain of?—A. I do not complain of anything there is there.

Q. "He must not be under indictment or other legal action for theft or for any felony." Would you like to have a jury made up of thieves and felons?—A. Of course not; that is all right.

Q. Next comes the "succeeding article," referred to above: "Article 3011. Whenever it shall be made to appear to the court that the requisite number of jurors able to read and write cannot be found within the county, the court may dispense with the exception provided for in the fourth subdivision of the preceding article; and the court may in

like manner dispense with the exception provided for in the fifth subdivision when the county is so sparsely populated as to make its enforcement seriously inconvenient."—A. My people say that the way the law in regard to jurors being able to read and write is carried out, they find it oppressive.

Q. You think that is oppressive?—A. My people say so, the way it is carried out.

Q. Do you say it is wrong for a juror to be able to read and write?—A. No; I don't say it is wrong.

Q. Well, those are the qualifications of a juror demanded by the statutes of Texas; do you say that any of them are wrong?—A. No, sir; I do not say that any of them are wrong.

Q. Now, I want to read to you the law in relation to hiring out convicts (Chapter X of the laws of Texas):

ARTICLE 3602. Any person who may be convicted of a misdemeanor or petty offense, and who shall be committed to jail in default of the payment of the fine and cost adjudged against him, may be hired out to an individual, company, or corporation until the money received from his hire is sufficient to liquidate such fine and costs in full.

ARTICLE 3603. Such hiring may be either by private contract or at public auction, as may be deemed best for the interest of the county, or it may be by general contract for any specified term, embracing the labor of all county convicts of the class prescribed in the preceding article, at some fixed rate per day, week, or month.

ARTICLE 3604. Hirers of convicts shall execute a bond, payable to the county judge of the county, with two or more good and sufficient sureties, in the amount of hire agreed upon, conditioned as follows:

1. That the hirer will promptly and faithfully pay the amount of money mentioned in the bond when the same becomes due, and it shall be stated in the bond when the same becomes due.

2. That he will treat the convict humanely while in his employ.

3. That he will furnish the convict with a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome food, with comfortable clothing, and with medicine when sick.

4. That he will not require the convict to work at unseasonable hours, or for a longer time during any one day than other laborers doing the same kind of labor are accustomed to work.

Q. Is there anything wrong about that, in your opinion, or oppressive to your race?—A. Well, when it is carried out as it says there in the law, there is nothing oppressive about it; but I have seen things a little different from that myself.

Q. You say if this is carried out right, there is nothing oppressive about it?—A. No, sir; not if it is carried out right; not when the white man is subjected to the same law, and hired out in the same way. But when the white convict is allowed to remain in jail and do nothing, when the black man that is sent to jail in that way is hired out, it is not fair.

Q. Are white men who have been committed to jail never put out to work?—A. Not in my section.

Q. When you get to Kansas or to Indiana do you expect to find there a country where the laws are all executed?—A. I cannot tell particularly; my expectation is that they are all pretty fairly executed there; that is the general understanding.

Q. Why should you expect that the laws are executed in Indiana any better than they are in Texas?—A. I do not see anything in the newspapers nor hear anything said by anybody detrimental to the treatment of anybody in Indiana or Kansas.

Q. Do you not know that Indiana has got precisely this law? that this is almost an exact copy of the law of Indiana on that subject?—A. I have always advocated having competent jurors. When my people have some of them said to me, "We cannot sit as jurors, because we cannot read and write," I have said to them, "Suppose we had a case

in court in which two or three thousand dollars were involved, and A sued B for it; for instance, suppose the evidence goes to prove that A really owed B the money, with seven per cent. interest, for a term of years, how many of you would be able to figure up the interest, if you were on a jury, and tell how many dollars was owing, and so bring in a just verdict?" That is not what we find fault with; that is not where the injustice comes in. The laws of Texas say that no one shall be a juror unless he can read and write, and unless he is a freeholder and a householder. The county judge in our county always asks us, "Are you a freeholder or a householder?" but he does not say anything about "read and write;" that question he does not ask at all.* I will tell you where the hardship comes in. The law of Texas says that children must be eight years old and not over fourteen years old to be entitled to draw public school money and to attend the public school. We have now only about three months' school in the year down there. So, under that law, a boy ten years old can get only fifteen months' schooling in all; and inside of that time he cannot learn to read and write so as to be a qualified juror. That is what is arousing the black people. A good many of them don't know A from B when they see it; but they have their share of mother-wit, and know that the great thing their children need is an education. We can clearly see that the colored people must be educated or they must go to the wall.

Q. You first gave as a reason for leaving Texas, these oppressive laws in regard to hiring out colored people who are committed to jail; and now your complaint is that you don't get so much education as you think you ought to have. Now, I would like to know what you mean?—A. I mean to say that the committing of colored people to jail for small offenses and then hiring them out into slavery is one reason; but the main reason is because there is no chance for them to educate their children.

Q. You say that the law requires that children shall be eight years old and not over fourteen in order to draw school money and attend school?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does the law say white children or black children?—A. It says "all."

Q. And you say the children have only about three months' schooling in the year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That law operates just as disadvantageously for the white as for the black?—A. Yes, sir; we understand that; we agree on these things.

Q. I do not suppose your race expects or wants the Government of the United States to elevate you over the heads of the whites—only to give you a fair chance?—A. That is all we want.

Q. In the matter of schools you say you have a fair chance, the same as the whites?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you get any advantage over the whites, when you go to Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Will you not have some disadvantages there?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you not know that the constitution of the State of Kansas says that black men shall not vote?—A. Vote how?

Q. At the ballot-box. The word "white" is used in the constitution of Kansas, in describing the qualification of voters.—A. You have asked me a great many questions, now I would like to ask you one: Admitting that the constitution of Kansas does say that, does not the

* From the tenor of the remarks immediately following, it appears probable that the witness, who was talking very rapidly and excitedly, here said directly the contrary of what he intended.

Constitution of these United States say that all men are born free and equal, endowed by—

Q. No, the Constitution of the United States does not say that; that is in the Declaration of Independence; it was Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, who said that.—A. Well, notwithstanding that was put in there, has not our race been hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white race for two hundred years, up till the time of the surrender?

Q. Yes; and since then you have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Radical party.—A. I don't allow that; I never let the radical party use me for a monkey to pull their chestnuts of the fire. (*Sic.*)

Q. Not if there were any Greenbackers about.—A. I hope I am not such a rabid Radical, and I hope I never shall be such a Bourbon Democrat, as not to wish to do justice.

Q. That is right. Your school-fund, you say, used to be greater in Texas than it is now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What has reduced it?—A. The Democrats claim that under the Republican administration they stole a great deal of it.

Q. I never knew that to fail in any Southern State yet.—A. I say, they claim that such was the case—that the Republicans stole a great deal of it; but they fail to tell you that under military rule, the last Democratic legislature that convened in Texas stole all the school money, to pay their *per diem* and mileage. But these are facts, that men that live in Texas know.

Q. You have no school-fund, except what is levied entirely by taxation? You have no accumulated school-fund?—A. Yes, sir; there is a fund arising from the sale of a part of the public lands, the school lands, and from some other sources; there ought to be considerable money. Understand one thing, where the shoe pinches worst, is in the interior, on the cotton-farms, and the sugar-farms, and so on. In cities, like Galveston, and the other large cities, they have ten months' school in the year.

Q. For black and white alike?—A. Yes, sir. That is because the people of those cities allow themselves to be taxed.

Q. That is local?—A. Yes, sir. We do not find fault with those cities for having those advantages. You might find that the same way in Kansas.

Q. Is it not the fact that in cities the children have better schools and longer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. On the whole, then, the colored children have the same chance as the white children, good or bad, whether in the city or in the country?—A. Yes, sir; but we just put it in this way: The law is very well itself, but it is misapplied. The law in its words makes no distinctions; it says that children between eight and fourteen years of age can draw school money and go to school; it says that if colored men can read and write, they can serve as jurors; and then they give us to understand: "We don't intend you ever shall learn how to read and write." They don't say so in words, but sometimes actions speak louder than words. We may take it wrong, but that is the way we take it, when we see that they don't give us schooling enough so that we can learn how to read and write. They are bound to control the black labor. They think they can't control the black man if they educate him. I think that is a mistake. You say: "The negro won't vote the Democratic ticket." I say, educate him, and then if the Democratic party is the party to vote for, he will find it out and vote for it.

Another thing: The law says that a man living in a Congressional

district shall have a right to vote for Congressman and President, anywhere in his district; but they won't allow us to do it. I was out of my own county at the last Congressional election and they wouldn't allow me to do it.

Q. Have you a registration down there?—A. No, sir; we have no registration.

Q. You were not bulldozed?—A. No, sir; I never was bulldozed but once, and then I wasn't bulldozed much.

Q. How did you like it, as far as you got?—A. That was when the colored people of Brazoria County nominated me for justice of the peace. I said to them, "I am not the man for the position; you want a man who can do you more good than I can. Besides, if a man insults me, I shall not wait for any process of law; I shall resent it on the spot; and then there will be a fight; and that is not the kind of man you want for magistrate." But they insisted, and nominated me. Then an Independent Republican candidate came out and ran against me, and beat me sixty-six votes. One day, before the election, a rich planter came to me and said, "Ruby, if you are elected, I will make it as hot as hell for you." I said to him, "If I am elected I will make it as hot as hell for you." But I wasn't elected, and so nothing ever came of it, one way or the other.

Q. You bulldozed him about as much as he bulldozed you?—A. I generally try to do that, sir. That is the only thing that has carried me through in this world.

Q. You stated, did you not, that when colored men were put in jail, and hired out to work, the lawyer's fees were included, and had to be worked out too?—A. I did not say that was in the law; but that is the way it works; the lawyer comes and says, "You must be responsible for my fees; you must put them in there, too"; and so the man has to work them out, with his fine, or penalty, or whatever you call it.

Q. So the planter who employs the convicts includes the lawyer's fee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. By private arrangement, and not by law?—A. Yes, sir. You have got the statutes there before you; I do not say that the statutes are bad, but they misapply them.

Q. You said another thing—that the women of your race are not safe down there?—A. No, sir; they are not safe.

Q. I do not want to make imputation on the colored people, or the white ones either, but let me ask you this question: Do the white men ravish the colored women down there?—A. No, sir; not often.

Q. Or do you mean that they seduce them, and so on?—A. That is it. The disadvantage we labor under in that respect is this: If I had a sister, and any white man should insult her, and I should take him to task for it, in Texas, I might be killed for it—hung or assassinated. I am not afraid of that in Washington or in Kansas. There, or here, it is true, my sister, while walking the street alone, might be knocked down or ravished by any wretched cur, at night; but if he insulted her in my presence he would have to be answerable to me. But in Texas, if I should say anything, I should be told, "You are a G—d d—n impudent nigger; the first you know you won't know nothing." And I wouldn't. And although D. C. Giddings, when he was in Congress, used to say that the black women looked like cows, yet we think as much of our women, of our wives and sisters and daughters, as the white people do of theirs. And I say, if a man won't stand up for his women-folks, whether they are white or black, he isn't much of a man. You, gentlemen of the committee, who have wives and daughters, want them treated

with respect; and if I have a wife whose name is "Sarah," it don't suit me any better than it would you for some low-bred fellow who was going by to call out, "Hello, Sal!" I want white people to treat me and my women-folks with as much courtesy as they expect me to treat them.

Q. Let us go on. Did I understand you to say that somebody who had been sent to jail in Texas, was hired out to work for a quarter of a cent a day?—A. It was done in one instance.

Q. Where was that?—A. In Matagorda County.

Q. What was the amount of fine?—A. Thirty-odd dollars; I have forgotten the exact amount.

Q. How many years' work would be necessary to work that out, at a quarter of a cent a day?—A. I have never figured it out.

Q. Is he still working?—A. I suppose so. It was a woman.

Q. When was she sentenced?—A. Two years ago last September.

Q. Who was the judge?—A. Judge Fry, a member of the sixteenth legislature. He was re-elected at the last general election, two years ago this coming November.

Q. Do you know Colonel Reynolds, this gentleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any talk with him before coming here?—A. Yes, sir; in Kansas and here.

Q. Did you not tell him in Kansas that you did not know of any cause in the world why these colored people should leave Texas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you say nothing of that kind?—A. Nothing of the kind. Do you want me to tell you just what conversation did take place between myself and him?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. Mr. Reynolds met me in Kansas, and said to me, "I am getting witnesses on this exodus business, and," he says, "I want to know pretty near what your testimony would be if you were subpoenaed to testify before the exodus committee"; and he asked "Was there any bulldozing in your section?" I said, "No." Then he asked me whether the black children had the same advantages of schools as the white children down there, and I told him just what I have stated to you right here.

Q. Did you not tell him, in general terms, that you knew of no cause in the treatment of the colored people by the people of Texas sufficient to force them to leave and come to Kansas?—A. No, sir; if he understood me in that way, he misunderstood what I intended to say.

Q. I understood you to say that your people had the same grievances in Texas that the colonists had a hundred and four years ago?—A. Yes, sir; I said they were actuated by the same impulse.

Q. You said they had the same grievances?—A. I meant, actuated by as great grievances as you were.

Q. Not me; that was before my day.—A. I am speaking of your forefathers. Of course, I take notice that white people take very good care that the Catholics shall not get control of the country; and the idea is well, because we can never let the mass of the people grow up in ignorance. So with the colored people; we do not want our people to grow up in ignorance.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Almost all the States in the South have no school funds; they were destroyed by the war, and the schools now are supported by tax-levies exclusively, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; that is the understanding.

Q. And almost all the property in those States are in the hands of the Democrats?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they have control of all the legislation of the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And when these people levy taxes on themselves to educate your race, can you say that they desire your race to continue in ignorance?—

A. I could not say exactly that they desire it, but there is a screw loose somewhere.

Mr. VANCE. Understand me: If your people want to go to Kansas or anywhere else, we have no objection to your going; but we do not want you to say that we have forced you to go by cruel and abusive treatment.

The WITNESS. You are from North Carolina and are a Southern gentleman. I always make it a point to treat a gentleman like a gentleman wherever I meet him. I make it a rule never to abuse anybody, if I can help it; but if I tell the truth about matters and things and they call that abuse, I cannot help it.

By Mr. VOORHEES:

Q. Did you not state to Mr. Reynolds that you did not intend to remain in Kansas; that you expected to return to Texas?—A. Yes, sir; I left Texas with the intention of returning.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Finish what you were saying about the treatment of your people in the South.—A. I say I never have abused the people of the South; I have got some warm friends among them. I am going to Texas inside of eight or ten weeks. I have done nothing that should cause me to run away from Texas.

Q. And you were not run away from there?—A. No, sir; I have had letters from there in which the writers said to me that if they were me they would not go back there.

Q. Have there been any threats against you if you did?—A. A little while before I came away fifteen men armed with shot-guns and rifles came to my house. They said that they were hunting wild geese; but there are no wild geese there where I live. I have said that if anybody came for me they would not find me any Armstead Wilson, whom they threw into the river there.

Q. When was that?—A. It was about six years ago.

Q. These bloodhounds that you speak of are not full bloodhounds, they are crossed with some other breed, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; they cross them with deer-hounds.

Q. You can train almost any dog to run on a man's track as well as an animal's?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Those that you refer to are used only when convicts get away?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The bloodhound, technically speaking, is a very fierce and terrible animal?—A. Well, these are; they keep them chained up all the time, till they become very fierce.

Mr. Windom requested that the remainder of chapter X of the Revised Statutes of Texas (the first portion of which had been read by Mr. Vance during this witness's examination) should be inserted in the evidence. It reads as follows:

Such bond shall be approved by the county judge and filed in the office of the clerk of the county court.

ARTICLE 3605. If the convict, so hired out, escapes from the hirer, such hirer shall nevertheless be liable for the full amount of the bond, unless such convict is rearrested and placed in the custody of the sheriff of the county in which he was convicted before such bond becomes due; in which case such hirer shall only be liable to pay for the time that such convict remained with him.

ARTICLE 3606. Upon the breach of such bond, the county judge or commissioners court shall cause such bond to be sued upon, in any court having jurisdiction thereof; and the amount collected thereon, after deducting therefrom the collection fees and all costs, shall be paid into the county treasury by the officer collecting the same, and constitute a part of the road and bridge fund of the county.

ARTICLE 3607. All moneys arising from hiring out convicts shall be paid over to the county judge, and by him paid into the county treasury; and in every case the convict shall receive full credit for the amount of his labor, to be accounted and entered in discharge of the fine and costs adjudged against him; and whenever his earnings shall be sufficient to pay in full such fine and costs he shall be discharged.

ARTICLE 3608. County judges shall cause a record of all proceedings in relation to the employment or hiring out of convicts to be kept in well-bound books for that purpose. Said record shall contain:

1. A descriptive list of all persons known as county convicts.
2. How such convict has been or is employed.
3. The name of the party hiring a convict.
4. The time when and the price at which such convict has been employed or hired out.
5. The amount credited such convict for such employment or hire.
6. The amount of such hire collected.
7. The amount of fine and costs due discharged convict.
8. Such other information as may be necessary and requisite under the rules adopted by the commissioners' court.

ARTICLE 3609. Whenever the amount realized from the hire of a convict is sufficient to discharge in full the fine and costs adjudged against him, the county judge shall issue a warrant upon the county treasurer in favor of each officer to whom costs may be due for the amount of his costs; and the same shall be paid out of the road fund of the county, or out of any other funds in the county treasury not otherwise appropriated.

FIFTIETH DAY.

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

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF H. RUBY—Continued.

H. RUBY recalled.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. In your testimony in reference to some laws of Texas, you referred to some acts of the 15th or 16th legislatures.—Answer. I was speaking of that law which says that the children must be eight and not over fourteen years of age to be entitled to school money.

Q. When was that law passed?—A. I think by the fourteenth legislature.

Q. When was that?—A. That was in 1875, I think.

Q. Do you know whether any of the later laws have changed the statutes as they are found in the revised statutes of Texas for 1876?—A. No, sir; not that I know of.

Q. You, stated, I believe, that you knew of cases where parties for a small fine have been hired out several years in order to pay that fine?—A. Yes, sir; I know of them working two years to pay a fine of \$75 and cost.

Q. By whom were these fines assessed?—A. By the county criminal courts, presided over by the county judge. The prosecuting attorney's fees are \$10 in each case.

Q. It is made the duty of the county judge to hire these people out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If there is anything else that you can state in connection with this subject, you may do so; I do not know of any other question to ask you.—A. No, sir; I know of nothing else.

TESTIMONY OF ANGELL MATHEWSON.

ANGELL MATHEWSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside, Mr. Mathewson?—Answer. At Parsons, Kans.

Q. Are you a member of the present legislature of Kansas?—A. I am a member of the State senate.

Q. What is the name of the county in which Parsons is situated?—A. Labette County.

Q. Has your attention been called to the arrival of colored emigrants at your place?—A. It has.

Q. Where do they seem to be coming from to your place?—A. Those that have come to the southern part of the State are mostly from Texas.

Q. Are there many of them there now?—A. I think there are perhaps 300 estimated.

Q. How many in all have arrived there?—A. As near as I could estimate, perhaps a thousand have come in since last fall.

Q. Where are they scattered to?—A. Many of them have been sent in the Neosho Valley, to the towns up there.

Q. Have they stated about the towns or gone out into the country?—A. Most of them are about the town, but many of them have gone to the country.

Q. How do they seem to be doing?—A. There has not been employment for those who have arrived at Parsons, and up to the time that I came away, they had not been employed except at odd jobs. We have done the best we could for them by a committee there through which the citizens work, and of which the Hon. M. W. Reynolds is chairman, in furnishing them with employment and getting them away.

Q. Is there any demand for their labor in Kansas to justify this immigration?—A. No, sir; there is not.

Q. Do you know where there is any demand for them?—A. I do not, except it be in the western part of our State where they might go and develop the country.

Q. That is on the frontier?—A. Yes, sir; but they cannot do very well in the old settled part of the State.

Q. What, from your experience and observation with them, are their chances for getting along in Kansas?—A. My experience would be that without capital to get through the first year with, it is not advisable for any class of people to go there.

Q. Have any of these people returned South from Parsons?—A. I believe about 50.

Q. Did they return in a body?—A. I think they did. At one time there were some planters or parties from Texas who came and induced them to go back. I have been employing perhaps a thousand of them chopping wood on the Neosho River, at a couple of wood-farms I had over there.

Q. State in general anything else that you wish to communicate to the committee.—A. Well, sir, I know of nothing else except that I took special pains to make inquiry as to whether this exodus from Texas had been caused by any ill treatment there.

Q. With whom did you have such conversation; with the colored men themselves who came from there?—A. I talked with one man named Thomas Duckett, who has a farm in Texas and left it to come to Kansas. He put it in the hands of my firm to sell, but he said nothing

of any ill treatment he had suffered in Texas. He said that he had saved that farm since he had been free. I asked an old man from Grimes County about it, and he assured me that it was not through ill treatment that they were coming to Kansas, but through representations of other parties offering land in Kansas at cheaper prices and on long time. He said that they were told that there would be a train to bring them there, having certain flags to designate them, and on which they could ride free. He said from what he had seen, that they could do better in Texas; that the white men there were their friends, and they always got assistance from them if they deserved it. He said that the only cause of complaint with was those who got into debt on the plantations and did not want to pay it. He told me it was customary for the planters to furnish them with supplies, and the only cause of complaint he had heard was from those who got behind and were unable to catch up; but that if a man behaved himself, there was no cause for any abuse or bulldozing of him in Texas. I make these statements as they were made to me.

Q. And these statements are the ones you have heard from all these people?—A. Yes, sir. I never heard a complaint of ill usage or abuse from any of them. I did not talk with the fifty who went back, but I knew the man was there to take them back.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. How do you find those whom you employ?—A. They are very good hands, sir, and willing to work.

Q. Do you know if the others have a disposition to work whether they can get it or not?—A. Yes, sir; I think these men are a better class of hands who come from Texas than those others who have gone further to the North.

Q. Do you know of any inducements that were offered to these fifty who went back to return?—A. I understood they came up there expecting to be given 40 acres of land and a mule.

Q. Was that an inducement to them to return?—A. I was speaking simply in a preliminary way. They were induced to come by these promises, and not finding it the case when they got there, they were glad to go back.

Q. Do you know what inducements were given them to get them to go back?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether their fare was paid?—A. I suppose it was, as the class who came there mostly had no money. Some who came had money. One man came into our office and had \$3,000 in money. I sold several of them city lots for cash. One man bought a lot for \$400. Some of them had money, but the great majority of them had not.

Q. Do you know how many have gone back except this 50 who were taken back?—A. That is the only batch that I heard of. I know of none others.

Q. Are those who came last winter employed?—A. Much of the time some of the old colored population who have been there several years have steady employment. The others get it by a day's labor at a time around the city.

Q. What proportion of the whole number have failed to get employment?—A. I should judge from one-half to two-thirds of them are out employment, by the looks of the number on the street corners.

Q. How many do you suppose have arrived there altogether?—A. I have just estimated it at 1,000 as to Parsons.

Q. Do you think there are five hundred there who are not employed?

—A. The most of them have been sent away from there; I do not think there are more than three hundred there now. I think the most of those who came early in the winter have got employment. There were 180 who came there the day I left, and who were sent up the Neosho division of the railroad.

TESTIMONY OF GEN. THOMAS W. CONWAY.

GEN. THOMAS W. CONWAY was sworn and examined as follows:

By Senator WINDOM:

Question. General, have you had occasion to give special attention to the matter of the removal of the colored people from the Southern to the Northern States?—Answer. Yes, sir; I have.

Q. To what extent have you done so?—A. I have given it a good deal of attention. I devoted my time chiefly from about the first of March to the first of November to it.

Q. Have you been identified with it in any manner, and, if so, how?—A. Well, sir, I was inquired of by some Quakers in Philadelphia when the exodus first began (I having been identified with the work of the education of the colored people on a large scale) about their troubles and necessities. At their instance I began communication with parties in the South and in Saint Louis, and finally was requested to make a trip to Saint Louis and Kansas with the view of inquiring into the condition of the immigrants. I went down there and spent three or four weeks.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What year was this?—A. Last year—1879.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. What time last year?—A. Early in May, 1879. I saw them as they arrived and talked with them; as also with the captains of the steamboat companies and with some parties who came upon the boats with them.

Q. We will ask you to tell us in a general way what you saw and heard bearing on the causes of the exodus?—A. Without any exception the hundreds of colored people whom I saw stated to me that they left the South because of the cruelties and oppressions they endured and their hopelessness with regard to the education of their children. They thought that by going to Kansas they would do better for themselves and be able to educate their children. That was the burden of their complaint and their hope. Some of them had means with which they hoped to buy land, but generally they were poor. I busied myself to get them aid and to write to parties in the North in their behalf, and I succeeded in stirring up a good deal of sympathy for them. I went in the month of September to Kansas and attended a meeting of the "old settlers" at Lawrence, where I met a great many persons—farmers, lawyers, doctors, clergymen—from all parts of the State and from places to which these colored people had gone. I found them pleased with the people and a great demand for their labor, and I was asked to get the better class of them to go to points where they were needed. I visited some of the points and found them generally employed—those of them who were able bodied. Governor St. John wrote to me, as he told me afterwards himself, that not a half dozen, perhaps, of those who went to Kansas were paupers, and he referred to his books of the com-

mittee they have organized there to prove they were not an expense to the State.

Q. Do you mean to the county or the State?—A. To anybody, sir. The money used was generally expended in taking care of them in transit and for their assistance immediately upon their arrival.

Q. Give us as specifically as you can the causes they allege for leaving the South. You gave them in general terms; now, did you ascertain specifically the causes they allege?—A. I was particular about that. There were a number of visitors there at Saint Louis, and some correspondents of papers North; but many were there simply as visitors and representing no organization. We tried to probe the thing as far as we could, and the causes which they gave as leading them to come out of the South (to state them more specifically) were that they would work a whole year down there on hired lands, and when they came to settle at the close of the year the owners of the land would manage to bring them in debt; that they would manage, in most cases, to sell the crop, and when they came to settle with their tenants would bring the tenants in debt to them. Others who worked by the month and the year told the same story—that they would work a whole year and at the end of the year they were in debt. They thought they had no redress for these things; that when they would go into the courts and expect justice they were treated with a mockery of justice; they complained that the courts gave them none, and as a last resort they left with a view of doing better in the West and Kansas, where they could have education for their children, and where, if they worked, they would get their wages.

Q. Did they say anything of political troubles?—A. Yes, sir; they generally stated that when elections occurred they could not vote, because they were not allowed to.

Q. What do you know of efforts made to prevent them from coming away?—A. Well, sir, that became a matter of great public concern at the time, some of the newspapers affirming and some denying that there was any organized opposition to their coming away. I went to the proprietors of the Scudder line of steamers in Saint Louis—the only one of the parties who was then in the city—and he said it was undeniable that efforts were made to keep the boats from taking the refugees on, and that the boats would pass points where there were large numbers of them waiting to get on board because the boats were afraid to stop; they were afraid if they did they might be sunk. Suits were instituted against the steamboats at Vicksburg for carrying more passengers than were allowed by law, although such a thing had never been done before this exodus began. It was a trumped-up affair to keep the boats from bringing the people off. He said they knew where, in some instances, colored people who had come aboard the boats were pursued by officers and taken off—sometimes by serving processes issued in Louisiana on the Mississippi side—and thus taking them off by process of law, claiming that they were in debt and were running away without paying their debts.

Q. Did you hear anything of any of them being run by bloodhounds?—A. I saw some who had been pursued by bloodhounds and badly torn to pieces, and their wounds were dressed after their arrival in Saint Louis.

Q. For what cause were they pursued?—A. They were pursued by armed bands of desperadoes, who wished to prevent them from emigrating.

Q. Were there any other complaints?—A. I did hear of cases where they had been shot at as well as pursued by dogs.

Q. Did you take some pains to ascertain these facts and relieve these people?—A. Yes, sir; I took some pains to do so and made haste back to Washington to see the President. I had an interview of probably two hours with the President, myself and Mr. Turner, who was with me. I told him the facts and that Scudder was saying he would stop the boats and let them “lay up” at Saint Louis, as he was afraid they would be sunk or injured by those who were opposing the exodus; that he had been petitioned by twenty-five leading merchants of Saint Louis to make the rates so high that the colored people could not pay them. That petition was sent in while I was out there.

Q. Who were these merchants?—A. They were merchants engaged in the Southern trade, who stated that they had been corresponded with by the planters (who traded with them) along the Mississippi Valley, and who urged them to this course to assist them in stopping the exodus.

Q. Will you please state what your connection has been with the education of the colored race, or your opportunities for knowing its condition generally?—A. I was commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau by appointment of the President. I was superintendent for the Department of the Gulf, under General Banks, in 1864; and when the bureau was organized, in 1865, I was appointed commissioner for Louisiana, and also Alabama until General Swayne was appointed for that State; then I remained commissioner for Louisiana until 1866. Subsequently I was State superintendent of education for that State.

Q. For how long a time?—A. For five years; up to 1872.

Q. Did you live there in 1872?—A. I lived there in 1872. I was there from 1863 to 1873, ten years. I went there as an officer of the Army. I became identified with the interests of the colored people in that way, and am now, and expect to be for some time to come.

Q. From your experiences among them, do you think they have cause to leave the South?—A. Yes, sir; and have had all the time. Even when we had soldiers down there, it was with difficulty we could get the planters to pay them. The disposition there is to get all they can out of the negro, and to avoid paying him if they can.

Q. The negroes having been taken from them by force, do they recognize that as a rightful severance of the relations of master and slave, or do they think they have a right to recover their control of him and his labor, if they can, in any other way? I mean, to regain the substantial benefits of the labor of the colored man because they have been forcibly deprived of them; or, what is their theory?—A. I do not think the general sentiment of the planters is to get the labor of the negroes in that way. I think they recognize that the negro is free, and entitled to pay for his labor, and the better class of planters will say that they are willing to pay him, but the public sentiment of the white people in the plantation region, especially in Louisiana, is entirely averse to dealing fairly with the colored man, not because he was forcibly freed, but because they do not think he has the same rights as a white laborer, and because he is a negro, and they can knock them about as they please.

Q. What is their doctrine as to the right of the negro to vote?—A. They were never inclined to recognize the right of the negro to vote; I was down there when the right was given, and I know the whites were opposed to it, and that they were determined, in one way or another, to so control them as that their votes would not amount to much.

Hence, there were almost yearly riots while I was there, and the negro was invariably the victim.

Q. What is the change, if any, in the condition of things then and now?—A. I think they are worse now than then.

Q. In what respect?—A. I think the courts are in the hands of the whites—the native whites—as also the State government and all the machinery of elections; and all of these are employed to deter the negro from voting freely and according to his choice.

Q. Do the negroes like that state of affairs?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do they value, the same as other people, their right to vote?—A. Yes, sir; but many of them told me they valued it less than they did the payment of their wages and the education of their children; they said they would not leave for that alone, but they saw no chance for improvement of their condition.

Q. You spoke of the maltreatment and murder of the negroes during your residence in Louisiana; do you mean that those acts were numerous or only occasional?—A. They were very numerous.

Q. Did you ever have occasion to ascertain the number of them?—A. I did, when I had official duties to discharge in that connection, but I cannot say now. I have given testimony before several committees here, and that will show. They were very numerous just after the war and during the reconstruction period; in fact, they occurred almost every week.

Q. What was the cause of these murders—the motive for them?—A. It was to overawe them with respect to the elections and bring them into subserviency and subordination.

Q. Have you any recollection of any specific cases of that kind?—A. Away back, do you mean?

Q. Any time in the last ten years?—A. I could cite several.

Q. I suppose they are the same that you say are in the several reports?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about that affair in 1868, in Bossier Parish?—A. I heard of it, but I was not there.

Q. Do you think the same spirit which prompted those murders then continues now?—A. So far as I have been able to learn from these people whom I saw, I think the same spirit exists there still.

Q. Is there any remedy, do you think, then, for this exodus?—A. No, sir; there is no way to stop it. It is assuming larger proportions now than ever.

Q. Don't you think if the planters were to change their policy and treat them fairly, that would stop it?—A. I do not think it would. I think the movement has got to the point where even that would not stop it.

Q. Why not?—A. Because the negro has no faith in the planter, as a rule. There are some exceptions. I have heard of places where the colored people were fairly paid and there is no pressing desire upon their part to leave; but my knowledge leads me to believe that it is the general desire of the Southern negroes to change and go into the North and Northwest.

Q. You think it is too late to stop the exodus?—A. Yes, sir. They feel that they have the right to go, and they are going.

Q. What do you think of the possibility of their finding employment where they are going?—A. I took some pains to ascertain that fact. I stopped in Indiana on my way back and made inquiries, and I had letters from farmers and railroad companies, who wrote that labor was in demand in portions of the West. I used my endeavors to meet that

demand and to induce parties identified with the colored people at Saint Louis and elsewhere to have these people scatter, so as to meet the demand. Mr. Osborne, the general freight agent of the Wabash Railroad, thought fifty thousand or sixty thousand of them could be employed in Illinois, and I thought there was a good demand for them in Indiana also. My correspondence led me to think there was a great demand for their labor. I had letters from Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and some from Vermont, even, stating that the farmers would employ them.

Q. Are you connected with this movement in any way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what it is, if you please.—A. I am now on my way to New Mexico to pioneer for about one hundred thousand of these people who are coming out of the South this spring and summer, with means to buy land and farm on their own behalf. There is a company formed in New York to buy the land in large tracts, and it will sell the land to them for even less than the government price for public lands.

Q. You say there is an organization in New York for that purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I suppose you do not mean to take them to New Mexico for political purposes?—A. Well, sir; I don't believe in excluding political purposes from any affair where they may properly belong.

Q. You do not expect to carry the next election out there with them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor to affect the census, particularly?—A. No, sir; but we think their political future and that of their children will be improved by the change.

Q. I was speaking of the effect on present political parties.—A. Well, so far as New Mexico is concerned they do not enter into any of our plans.

Q. Do you know of any effort to colonize any State with negro voters?—A. There has been some talk about it, and I have been trying to help carry Indiana by their aid.

Q. What have you done in that direction?—A. I encouraged as many of them to go there as I could: first, because I believed they could get good wages, and second, to help out the Republican cause and raise the negro to a higher civilization. I think he is a good Republican and a good loyal citizen, and should be allowed to vote; therefore, I have not liked the idea to exclude politics from the exodus. I think the negro ought to go where he can do the most good for himself and the Republican party.

Q. Hasn't it been something of a failure rather—your trying to get them to go to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I think so. I have been desirous to see a good many of them go in there. I wanted to see the Democrats beaten, and I wanted the negroes to go in there and help do it.

Q. How many voters do you suppose have gone in there?—A. If all had gone whom I advised to go, there would have been fifteen or twenty thousand.

Q. Well, as they did not go, the movement in that line has been a failure?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had anything to do with the North Carolina negroes going in there?—A. I have not. I have been written to from several points, and of the others I think from nine to twelve hundred have gone into Indiana. It is a far less number than I calculated on, but it is all I have got to show. And, sir, if I were a black man in Louisiana I would emigrate; I would go where I could get the best wages, where I could see my family educated, and where I could vote without the fear of losing my head.

Q. This organization you speak of, in New York, is not for the purpose of bringing negroes into Indiana?—A. No, sir; but to New Mexico.

Q. Have you ever belonged to any organization to bring them into a Northern State?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you have expressed simply your own wishes in the matter?—A. Yes, sir, and of other people, also; I have found some who thought as I did; and I thought them right.

Q. What did you do to settle that transportation question, except to come to Washington and see the President?—A. After I saw those parties in Saint Louis, and told them that unless they treated the colored people well, and gave them transportation the same as they did others, we should charter boats and go down the river and bring them up ourselves, I came on here. The general idea was that it would break up the river business, and break up the labor on the plantations; and that if they went down there to bring the negroes away it would cause a riot, and all that. After that interview, and after our talk with the President, some of the committee went to see the Scudders, and said that the company had entered into an agreement with them to do as they had formerly done. So the interruptions in that form ceased. We had gone so far that we had taken steps to charter the boats; still, we discontinued them, and things have gone on easy ever since.

Q. What reason have you for thinking that a hundred thousand of these people will go from the South this year?—A. I have had correspondence which shows me that the number will aggregate that; I have taken considerable pains to ascertain the facts. I knew that they were organized last year to go, but they did not want to go until they knew where to go; where lands where to be had the cheapest. Those who are going are the best and most industrious class.

Q. You think you will take the most of them into New Mexico?—A. Yes, sir; perhaps not this year, but to a large extent. Many, of course, will go whether we advise them to or not.

Q. Is not that about the only way to prevent an inundation of these people into the Northern States?—A. I think it is the best way.

Q. What would be the effect of this emigration upon the condition of the country generally?—A. I think it will be good. I think that, already, in some instances, the effect has been good. I think it will lead the Southern planters to educate their sons to work, and to work themselves; and to look for a new class of labor altogether. I am satisfied that they will lose this labor.

Q. Do you think the South will be improved by it?—A. Yes, sir; I think if they had labor that was not that of their old slaves it would be better for them. I do not think harmony will ever be brought about between them. The same temper of the old master exists in them yet; and the spirit in which the negro is ordered about is the same as formerly, and he is constantly annoyed, and made to smart under the old spirit, and is eager to get away from it.

Q. You visited several points in Kansas I believe?—A. Yes, sir; I found that the Kansas people were very kind to the colored people; I found that they took work wherever they could get it, and that they were disposed to work. I found that they had bought little lots in several places, and some of the old settlers at Lawrence told me that some of the colored people who had gone out into the State were better off, within the same length of time, than the whites who had come there; their children were going to school—admitted into the same schools, in

the country and smaller villages, with the white children without hinderance or friction.

Q. Have you seen any of the colored people who wanted to go back?—A. I saw some of them at Saint Louis, who said they were having their way paid back by the planters, and that they were going to induce their friends to come back to Kansas with them. They were playing a trick on the planters in order to get down there.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. I would like to know a little more specifically about the extent and character of this organization for exodus purposes. I would not inquire solely in regard to such measures as you are connected with, but in regard to all with which you are acquainted?—A. I have knowledge only of the one with which I am connected. That there are organizations for the purpose of aiding colored people in the exodus, in a charitable way, I know; but I have no connection with them in my present work. The organization with which I am connected is of a business character, composed of business men, aiming to buy lands in New Mexico and Arizona, probably, in large tracts, which is cheaper, and which will enable us to sell them cheaper than government lands are sold. They will be divided into tracts of from fifty to a hundred acres, and sold to these colored people.

Q. Giving them time to pay for them?—A. Yes, sir; as cases may require.

Q. At what price per acre do you think you will be able to sell?—A. I think, perhaps, fifty cents per acre less than government lands.

Q. What character of lands are they?—A. They are ordinary valley and plateau lands, adapted to grazing, and to the methods of irrigation adopted by the New Mexicans, which can be done the same by the colored people. I think that in the lower section of Arizona cotton can be raised, the same as in Louisiana and Mississippi; and, in the higher regions, corn and the cereals.

Q. You think it might be made self-sustaining to these people?—A. Yes, sir; besides, there are mining facilities there, and enterprises going on, so that the colored people, when they first go in there, will be able to get employment.

Q. Do you find similar inducements in Arizona?—A. Yes, sir; some of the best valleys there are offered for sale; I have a list of them, and will go out there to inspect them.

Q. From what parts of the South are these colored people going?—A. From all parts of it.

Q. Your communications go into all the States?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And most of the counties?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then the feeling seems to be so rooted as to extend everywhere?—A. Yes, sir; it extends everywhere.

Q. Are there any other of these organizations that you know of?—A. No, sir.

Q. And this, you say, is a purely business organization?—A. Yes, sir; a purely business organization.

Q. Then I suppose you select your men, whom you propose to take out there?—A. Yes, sir; we do not propose to encourage pauper emigration, or people likely to be the victims of exposure in travel, and who would be no better off there than in the States where they are now.

Q. Do you know whether there is any of this feeling in Kansas?—A. Some of it.

Q. By what routes will most of these people go there?—A. We have

not clearly defined that, yet. Some propose to go overland, just as the original settlers did; and those who can reach some point on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad, which now runs to Santa Fé, and who can pay the low rates that they are asking, will go that way; but all that I am to ascertain when I get there.

Q. You will be likely to establish towns and villages then of colored people?—A. There is no plan to do that. Our plan is to aid them in being self-supporting.

Q. But if you purchase these Mexican land grants and take them in large tracts, when these people get there, if they take up the land they will take most of it in these grants, so as to form large communities, and perhaps towns and cities?—A. They can scarcely go anywhere there, where the lands are good, where they will not mix with the native New Mexicans who have squatted there.

Q. Now, tell us of him—I want to know something of these people?—A. Well, they are a good many of them half-breeds, a good-natured, generous, hospitable people. Those that I saw seemed to like the plan, and stated that they would welcome the colored people; and I apprehend that, so far as the race is concerned, there would be no clashing between them.

Q. Which would be the superior race?—A. I think the negro, who now, for a few years, having educated himself and his children, would be, I think, superior to the native New Mexican.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You live in Jersey, don't you?—A. No, sir; in Brooklyn.

Q. You did live in Jersey—in Vineland?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You stated that you had become interested in this exodus something over a year ago?—A. Yes, sir; about a month after the exodus broke out.

Q. Did you visit here before going South?—A. I did.

Q. Did you consult with some prominent men in this place before going South?—A. I did.

Q. With whom?—A. With Senator Chandler and Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, and with his brother, E. C. Ingersoll, whom we call General Ingersoll.

Q. Did you consult with the President at that time?—A. No, sir; I think not. I think it was after I got back that I consulted the President. It became known that I was going on that errand, and parties came and talked to me about it; and I met the national relief committee here also.

Q. Was the subject of putting a portion of these moving emigrants into Indiana for political purposes mentioned at that time?—A. I think that was after I got back. I mentioned it myself.

Q. How long were you down South?—A. I think five or six weeks.

Q. What parts of the South did you visit?—A. I visited in St. Louis then, and Kansas City. I did not go further South on that trip; I went further South afterwards—into Kansas.

Q. You visited Indiana on that trip, did you not?—A. I stopped at Indianapolis on my way.

Q. You made some pleasant acquaintances there, I hope?—A. I did, sir.

Q. Whom did you meet?—A. A number of the citizens; I knew some parties there; and some whom I did not know I made the acquaintance of while I was there.

Q. How long did you remain there?—A. I think three days.

Q. During that time you saw Mr. Martindale, the editor of the Journal?—A. I believe I did.

Q. You saw Mr. New, the chairman of the Republican State committee?—A. I saw Mr. New; I didn't know whether he was the chairman of the Republican State committee or not.

Q. Did you know Colonel Dudley?—A. The name is familiar to me, but I do not remember meeting him.

Q. Do you know Colonel Holloway, the postmaster?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Colonel Straight, a candidate for governor there?—A. No, sir; I knew him by name, but not personally.

Q. Well, General Conway, you know we have a prying curiosity in this committee. I want to know of you now why you staid there these three days?—A. Well, sir, I was tired, and the journey was a tiresome one, and Indianapolis is a pleasant city, and I wished to see what could be done regarding these laborers, as to getting employment for them, and I thought these gentlemen would know about that as well as anybody I could find.

Q. Did you meet with reasonable encouragement?—A. Yes, sir; a good deal of it. I was told, and information came in there, that five or ten thousand could find employment in Indiana.

Q. Was that the opinion of these gentlemen?—A. Yes, sir; I think it was. I also met two or three Quakers there, and one of them said he had been through the State, and he showed me a long list of names of farmers who would give them employment.

Q. Then it was not disguised between you and these gentlemen that it would be of political advantage to the State, as well as to these negroes themselves, to bring them there, was it?—A. Not at all, sir; I so regarded it, and I think so still.

Q. And so did they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From your party standpoint, you think it is desirable to carry Indiana for the Republicans?—A. Undoubtedly so, sir.

Q. And they looked upon it in the same light, did they?—A. I think they would be great fools if they did not; I think they did.

Q. You spoke of going to Saint Louis and Indianapolis, and then returning here?—A. I returned to Indianapolis.

Q. Where from?—A. I returned from Kansas to Quincy, Ill., and to Chicago, and then came back to Indianapolis.

Q. How long were you there the second time?—A. About a day.

Q. Did you meet some of the same gentlemen?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you find the negroes arriving at Saint Louis, when you got there?—A. Yes, sir; they were arriving before I started.

Q. And you tried to divert them to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I told the committee I thought it advisable not to send any more to Kansas—that many of them were wanted in Indiana, Illinois, and other States, and I thought it would be better for them to go there.

Q. Did you report to these gentlemen in Indianapolis that you had met and encouraged these people to come to Indiana, in other words, did you inform them of what you said to that committee at Saint Louis?—A. I think I did give them a general idea of what I had done.

Q. Then did you return further east—come back here?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. When you returned here, please state whom you met and consulted.—A. I think I met the parties whom I met before—the gentlemen of the National Relief Committee—and stated to them what I saw of the suffering of these people, and made some suggestions to them as to how they should be relieved. I had several interviews with Mr.

Chandler, and also Mr. Ingersoll, who took more interest in the matter than anybody else whom I met.

Q. Mr. Chandler was chairman of the National Republican Committee at that time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he warmly favored it?—A. Yes, sir; so much so that he said if I would furnish him with one hundred good men he would build homes for them and start them on his own land in Michigan. I was in correspondence with him about that at the time of his death.

Q. Who was furnishing the money for you in your work?—A. Well, I furnished the most of it. Colonel Ingersoll, more than anybody else except myself, paid the expenses. He was the readiest and most philanthropic friend to facilitate the work that I was engaged in; and Mr. Chandler told me he would assist in the expenses when I got through in the fall; but when I was ready to meet him again I saw by the dispatches in the newspapers that he had died. The result was that I got from Colonel Ingersoll and friends in Boston and Newburyport about \$250 to pay expenses of one thousand or twelve hundred dollars. The balance I paid myself. There was no political work in what I was doing. There was no organized party backing to my work.

Q. You mean the Republican party was not backing you as a party?—A. No, sir.

Q. And the only political aspect of it was that you thought to help Indiana a little and the Republican party out there a great deal?—A. Yes, sir; and other individuals thought so. So did I then and do now.

Q. Did you see the President on this subject?—A. Yes, sir, when I came back.

Q. May I ask you what your object was in seeing him?—A. I stated, in reply to Senator Windom, the Scudder line reported to me the threats and trouble in their way; the situation was very grave, and the rights of a large number of colored people were threatened on a still larger scale. I stated in Saint Louis that I would have boats chartered to bring these people away, and I was told if we sent boats down there the people would fire into them and sink them. I went to see the President to know if we went down the river for that purpose we would be protected by the United States. Mr. Turner went with me at the same time.

Q. What were the President's views?—A. We went over the whole subject with him. He was alone and he gave us the whole evening. He said from all reports the desire of the negroes was general to emigrate, and that if this terroism prevailed, and our boats were fired upon we should be protected; that if there was any interference by armed bodies it would be a violation of law; that the Mississippi was a national highway, and we should have protection for our boats upon it.

Q. Why did you not undertake the expedition?—A. The excitement became so great over the matter that the owners of the Anchor line agreed with the committee to change their programme, and bring the people the same as before. When that was reported, although the money had been offered to facilitate the chartering of vessels for that purpose, we desisted, deeming it unnecessary to carry out the measure.

Q. Recurring to the point, whom did you principally see at Indianapolis?—A. I saw a number of gentlemen there who were interested in the matter—some who were purely philanthropic, and some who were distinguished politicians.

Q. Name some of those distinguished politicians.—A. I do not think I could name any except those whom you mentioned—Messrs. New and Martindale and others.

Q. They knew what your purposes were?—A. Yes, sir; distinctly sir; and the whole country knew it.

Q. And as you understood them, they were willing to co-operate with you in turning a portion of this emigration into Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. With whom did you principally talk in Kansas upon this subject?—A. I talked with a great many everywhere I went. There were probably fifteen thousand people at Lawrence, where I made a speech on the subject, and that attracted a good deal of attention to me.

Q. Apart from that, did you talk with prominent men there about the desirability of diverting a portion of these people from their State to other Northern and Western States?—A. Yes, sir; I talked to Governor St. John, the reverend Mr. Munjoe, and others.

Q. The sentiment in Kansas among prominent men like Governor St. John was that there was some dread they would get more of these people than was good for the State or the colored people; and one feature of the plan was then to divert a good deal of it elsewhere?—A. Yes, sir; that was the sentiment.

Q. When you came back to Indianapolis, did you make known to Mr. New and Mr. Martindale that you had conversed with prominent men in Kansas, and that an effort would be made to divert some of these people to Indiana?—A. I believe I did. I desire just here to make this further statement: In regard to the inquiries made of me as to whether I had any political objects in view in connection with Indiana, or any other State, I wish to interpolate this: I believe that the negro is a useful man; that he is a law-abiding man, naturally; and I deem it a great wrong to him to express the opinion that he would be a detriment to any Northern State. He served us faithfully in the war, as he had previously worked faithfully in time of peace. There are fewer dependents, and paupers, and vagabonds, in proportion to their number, among them than among the whites. I have had as much to do with their education and their care as any white man in this country, and I have generally found them willing to work; willing to abide by the laws, even though they are oppressive; willing to go to school and get an education to whatever extent is possible. I should not hesitate to advise any community to welcome them, or hesitate to advise them to go to any community or any State, Indiana included. Of course they vote the Republican ticket; I am very glad they do; I hope they always will; I have, and I always expect to. To whatever part of the country they may go, I hope they will continue to vote the Republican ticket, because it is in the interests of their race, and in the interests of the country at large—in the interests of a higher civilization. Hence I have no hesitation in saying that I should advise the negro to go to Indiana, both on the ground of his usefulness and his merits.

Q. Both as a laborer and as a voter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is very delightful, general, to listen to your testimony, on account of its refreshing frankness, especially as contrasted with that of some of our folks from Indiana. It has always seemed to me just as it has to you, that if their condition could be improved, or if they could be taken care of, or if they are going to move at all, it has always seemed to me a very natural thing for our Republican friends in Indiana to go into, for they need some votes?—A. I have been in Indiana, and have known of men going over from Kentucky to vote in that State, which I considered an unfair thing to do. But that these men should go there to live, and, living there, should vote there, seems to me entirely proper.

Q. Now, general, tell me when and where you ever knew of men go-

ing over from Kentucky to Indiana to vote?—A. I was on my way, in 1868 and 1870, going through from the North to the South or from the South to the North; I stopped at Louisville, and there I saw some evidence that that was going on. I heard it talked of at the hotel where I was. I saw there parties who were engaged in it.

Q. Were they negroes?—A. No, sir; they were white people; connected with the Democratic party, so they said.

Q. Tell us all about it.—A. During the election, or rather, just prior to the election, I was on my way back and forth from North to South and from South to North. I stopped in Louisville, at the Galt House, where I generally put up. I am in the habit of keeping my eyes and ears open to see and hear all I can. While there I heard two or three times sufficient to satisfy me that that work was going on. I mention it now merely because I am satisfied that the thing was done, from hearing people talk about what was going on.

Q. You think that justifies you in engaging in a work which shall offset that?—A. It more than justifies me, if any justification were necessary, for they were going to Indiana to vote, when their home was in Kentucky; while these colored people propose to make Indiana their home, giving them a legal and equitable right to vote there.

Q. Who were these men that were talking about going over to Indiana to vote; did you know them personally?—A. No, sir.

Q. They were just talking casually?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you say this occurred—in 1870?—A. In 1868 and 1870; it occurred several times.

Q. At the same place each time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At the Galt House each time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the public office?—A. In front of the office, in the hall-way. I had some conversation with some of the parties at the time.

Q. You have never given up the hope of carrying Indiana by these men?—A. I do not know that I ever was certain that Indiana could be carried by these men. I was hoping it could be carried by the Republicans, whether by these men or without them.

Q. You think that five or ten thousand of these men put in there would help carry it for the Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. These gentlemen whom you saw at Indianapolis thought so too?—A. They did not express anything to the contrary.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What has been your purpose, General Conway? To colonize the States to which you have referred with voters, or to find homes for these colored people?—A. My purpose was to aid the colored people to find homes and employment.

Q. Whatever occurred in the way of seeing these politicians was merely incidental?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You regarded the negroes as being forced out of the South in a suffering condition, and you were trying to find homes for them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And expressed that purpose wherever you went?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were trying to find men who would sympathize with their sufferings and with your purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And other matters were merely incidental?—A. Yes, sir; I introduced the political bearings of the subject as frequently as they did, and I presume generally more so.

Q. How much money in all did they contribute, to the best of your knowledge, to take these people to Indiana?—A. I have no knowledge of their contributing a single cent.

Q. How much have they raised to assist you in your purpose?—A. Not a dollar.

Q. Do you know of a single dollar being contributed by anybody to aid in colonizing Indiana, or any other State, with colored people for voting purposes?—A. I do not.

Q. Then the original and main idea was to find homes for these colored people, believing that they had a right to come and that it would be an advantage to them and to the State for them to come—without reference to what ticket they would vote?—A. Yes, sir; but of course nobody doubts that they would vote the Republican ticket; that I should consider self-evident.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. It was just adding so many to the column of figures on the Republican side?—A. Certainly.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You did not find any very vigorous co-operation in your project of colonizing Indiana with colored people for voting purposes?—A. You misunderstand me; I never had any project of colonizing Indiana with colored people for voting purposes.

Mr. WINDOM. I did not misunderstand you; but that was the impression that the Chairman seemed to be desirous of making.

The CHAIRMAN. O, no; I did not try to convey any such impression. I understand the gentleman's position very well.

The WITNESS. I have no hesitation in saying that *I* hoped that the effect of the colored people going to Indiana would be to increase the Republican vote of that State.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. But you did not find anybody to contribute a dollar for that purpose?—A. No, sir; I had nothing to do with that matter further than to give information.

Q. You never heard of a dollar being contributed for that purpose?—A. No, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. It was not long after that before they commenced coming in?—A. No, sir; I wish it had occurred earlier.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You understand that about twelve hundred colored people in all have gone to Indiana, including women and children?—A. That is what I have heard.

The CHAIRMAN. For your comfort, I will inform you that there are more than that.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You said that you had conversation with those parties who were engaged in getting white voters from Kentucky into Indiana?—A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was it that you heard?—A. I heard them talking about the matter, and laughing over it. I had read of it in the papers, and I entered a little into the conversation. The parties stated that they were doing what they could to send some of their fellows over to help the Democrats in Indiana.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. It seemed to be common talk there in the hall-way of the hotel, did it?—A. Yes, sir. Remembering that, in connection with the objection to the colored people going to live permanently in Indiana, I think that if there is any odium to be attached to the matter it ought to attach to those Kentuckians who were going over there just for the purpose of voting.

The CHAIRMAN. There can be no question as to that.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. But you never heard of any investigating committee being appointed to inquire into that matter?—A. It seems to me I heard of some investigation that embraced that, some time or other; but I cannot say what it was.

Q. You did not hear of its emanating from Indiana, did you?—A. I do not remember.

In regard to the inquiries made of me as to whether I had any political objects in view in connection with Indiana, or any other State, I wish to interpolate this: I believe that the negro is a useful man; that he is a law-abiding man naturally, and I deem it a great wrong to him to express the opinion that he would be a detriment to any Northern State. He served us faithfully in the war, as he had previously worked faithfully in time of peace. There are fewer dependents, and paupers, and vagabonds, in proportion to their number, among them than among the whites. I have had as much to do with their education and their care as any white man in this country, and I have generally found them willing to work, willing to abide by the laws, even though they are oppressive, willing to go to school and get an education to whatever extent is possible. I should not hesitate to advise any community to welcome them, or hesitate to advise them to go to any community or any State—Indiana included. Of course they vote the Republican ticket; I am very glad they do; I hope they always will; I have and I always expect to. To whatever part of the country they may go, I hope they will continue to vote the Republican ticket, because it is in the interests of their race and in the interests of the country at large, in the interests of a higher civilization. Hence, I have no hesitation in saying that I should advise the negro to go to Indiana, both on the ground of his usefulness and his merits.

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Q. These gentlemen, whom you saw at Indianapolis, thought so too?—A. They did not express anything to the contrary.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What has been your purpose, General Conway—to colonize the States to which you have referred with voters, or to find homes for these colored people?—A. My purpose was to aid the colored people to find homes and employment.

Q. Whatever occurred in the way of seeing these politicians was merely incidental?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You regarded the negroes as being forced out of the South in a suffering condition, and you were trying to find homes for them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And expressed that purpose wherever you went?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were trying to find men who would sympathize with their sufferings and with your purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And other matters were merely incidental?—A. Yes, sir; I introduced the political bearings of the subject as frequently as they did, and I presume generally more so.

Q. How much money in all did they contribute, to the best of your knowledge, to take these people to Indiana?—A. I have no knowledge of their contributing a single cent.

Q. How much have they raised to assist you in your purpose?—A. Not a dollar.

Q. Do you know of a single dollar being contributed by anybody to aid in colonizing Indiana, or any other State, with colored people for voting purposes?—A. I do not.

Q. Then the original and main idea was to find homes for these colored people, believing that they had a right to come, and that it would be an advantage to them and the State for them to come, without reference to what ticket they would vote?—A. Yes, sir; but of course nobody doubts that they would vote the Republican ticket; that I should consider self-evident.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. It was just adding so many to the column of figures on the Republican side?—A. Certainly.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You did not find any very vigorous co-operation in your project of colonizing Indiana with colored people for voting purposes?—A. You misunderstand me; I never had any project of colonizing Indiana with colored people for voting purposes.

Mr. WINDOM. I did not misunderstand you; but that was the impression that the chairman seemed to be desirous of making.

The CHAIRMAN. O, no; I did not try to convey any such impression; I understand the gentleman's position very well.

The WITNESS. I have no hesitation in saying that I hoped that the effect of the colored people going to Indiana would be to increase the Republican vote of that State.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. But you did not find anybody to contribute a dollar for that purpose?—A. No, sir; I had nothing to do with that matter further than to give information.

Q. You never heard of a dollar being contributed for that purpose?—A. No, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. It was not long after that before they commenced coming in?—A. No, sir; I wish it had occurred earlier.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You understand that about twelve hundred colored people in all have gone to Indiana, including women and children?—A. That is what I have heard.

The CHAIRMAN. For your comfort, I will inform you that there are more than that.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You said that you had conversation with those parties who were engaged in getting white voters from Kentucky into Indiana?—A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was it that you heard?—A. I heard them talking about the matter, and laughing over it. I had read of it in the papers, and I entered a little into the conversation. The parties stated that they were doing what they could to send some of their fellows over to help the Democrats in Indiana.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. It seemed to be common talk there in the hallway of the hotel, did it?—A. Yes, sir. Remembering that, in connection with the objection to the colored people going to live permanently in Indiana, I think that if there is any odium to be attached to the matter, it ought to attach to those Kentuckians who were going over there just for the purpose of voting.

The CHAIRMAN. There can be no question as to that.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. But you never heard of any investigating committee being appointed to inquire into that matter?—A. It seems to me I heard of some investigation that embraced that some time or other, but I cannot say what it was.

Q. You did not hear of its emanating from Indiana, did you?—A. I do not remember.

FIFTY-FIRST DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Saturday, April 24, 1880.*

Committee met pursuant to adjournment.

—— KENNEDY recalled.

By Senator BLAIR:

Question. How many white Republicans are there, do you suppose?

—Answer. I should say fifty in the county.

Q. How many white voters in the county?—A. About eighteen hundred.

Q. You are a Republican?—A. Yes, sir, and have ever been.

Q. Are you a native of Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I would like to have you tell me how you came to be a Republican?—A. My father was a Union man, and during the war was bitterly opposed to secession, and was badly treated by the people down there, for he was arrested and taken to Grenada, and there was harshly dealt with. Since the war, the results of the war ruined him, for he was in good circumstances before. That made him determined he would not vote the Democratic ticket. But when Alcorn ran for governor he voted for him. I voted in 1873 the first time. He trained me up in his way, and I voted for a Republican candidate, and have continued to do so ever since.

Q. Are there many white native Republicans in Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir; there are a good many.

Q. Do you suffer any from social ostracism, or do you stand the same with your people as if you were a Democrat?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. How is it as to your business patronage?—A. No, sir; we do not stand the same in any respect.

Q. Give us an idea of how the Southern white Republican is treated.—A. Well, sir, I was reared there with some of the boys who belonged to the best people in that community; some of them I love very much, and went to school with them; but since I have been a Republican I have received the cold shoulder from them, and the doors of society have been barred against us.

Q. That is, yourself and your family?—A. Yes, sir. They think that a white man lowers himself to speak to us, much less to associate with a native Republican. They try to tear down their business, and they organize in sort of clubs, and say they will not speak to or patronize them at all.

Q. What are you called down there?—A. "Scalawags" and radicals.

Q. What headway are you making in overcoming this social prejudice?—A. None at all, in that Democratic county.

Q. What college did you go to?—A. To the University of Mississippi.

Q. Before the war, before you voted Republican, how did your family stand?—A. I can refer you to Colonel Lamar, who is the Senator here, and he will tell you that my family stood as high as any family in the county or State.

Q. Is there any reason why society has changed toward you, except on account of your Republican sentiments?—A. That is the only thing that could have made that change; and I defy the world to prove differently.

Q. Is that confined to your community alone, or is it the general way they have of doing?—A. It is a universal thing, all over the State. I was going to suggest another fact to you: Colonel Powers was marshal for awhile there, and we did not have a better citizen in the county; but he was ostracized, and they went so far as to turn his wife out of the church, saying they could attend to their own affairs without her assistance.

Q. Was he a carpet-bagger?—A. No, sir; he was a native of Kentucky.

Q. What did they term him?—A. They called him like they do me, a scalawag.

Q. In the estimation of the white people down there, do they consider the negroes with a better feeling than they do the white native Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; their feeling is stronger against myself than it is against any of the negroes.

Q. You are a more despised class, then, than the negroes, and more hated by the dominant class?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Perhaps that is because you are more intelligent, and therefore more dangerous to them?—A. Yes, sir. They do it because they think that a man who has been reared there and joined the Republicans has turned against his people. They consider him their common enemy.

Q. Do you see any indication of a change there, toward yourself and these others?—A. We cannot see any change. The Greenbackers may get up such a division that the Republicans by assisting them will get recognition in that way; but I do not think they will, very soon.

Q. If you should be killed on account of your testimony here, would you expect your murderer to be punished in Mississippi?—A. Of course not; he might be, but I think not. I know there was a man murdered there in 1877, near the court-house. He was attacked by two men, and he begged them for mercy. He was named Joe Brooks, a colored man, and every officer in the county was a Democrat, from the judge down to the constable, but nobody was ever indicted for the murder.

Q. Where do you live?—A. At Oxford.

Q. In what part of the State is that?—A. About eighty miles from Jackson, to the north.

Q. In the northern part of Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you explain why there should not be an exodus of white Republicans from the South?—A. Well, sir, those who are there have their homes there; their relatives and friends and their children are buried beneath that soil, and they are so fixed that they cannot leave.

Q. Do you think that is the only thing that keeps them there?—A. I think it is; in fact, I know it is, for they say so.

Q. Do you, or not, find among what might be called the more reasonable and humane portion of the ruling class, any disposition to change this state of affairs?—A. Yes, sir; there are very many fair and honest Democrats among them who want to do what is right, and I think they do accord to freedmen all the rights he needs to have; but the rabid element is so great they cannot always do it.

Q. How is it as to the negroes?—A. There is no hope for them.

Q. Do you think that state of feeling, that opposition to white and colored people, especially if they are Republicans, is liable to change with another generation? State as near as you can the feelings of the younger part of the population.—A. No, sir; I think there is no hope of any change. The younger persons are taught the lesson from their elders, and when they are eighteen or twenty years old, they think it is a righteous deed to murder a Republican.

Q. I suppose that since the war, you find a growing attachment in that section of the country to the national government?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that I do.

Q. What do they say about the Union, and all that?—A. I hear them, when they are conversing very freely on the subject. I have talked with all the leading men of the State; and they say that you may have the government—the general government, that is—Republican; but they will take care of the State. Mr. Sloan, of Cincinnati, who has a large business in the State, has been thrown with them a good deal; and he told me they said to him, “So far as we are concerned, you may have the general government, and all the balance of the States; just give us our State, and we do not care for the rest of the country.”

Q. Well, now, with reference to those of your own age with whom you have come in contact; what is their sentiment as to the nation?—A. They try to make a little light on the hill-top, while the fog is pretty thick in the valley. I think they have not buried their discord and hatred to the government. I know a man who is high in the State and county, Judge Phipps, who has been a very fair-minded man; but he writes to me since I have been here in Washington, stating that his respect and sympathy for Republicans has destroyed his business. I have his letter here.

Q. What are his politics?—A. He has been a Democrat all his life.

Q. Give us those lines in which he makes that declaration.—A. He says: “My friendship for him and other Republicans has nearly ruined me; it has destroyed, in a measure, my entire practice, as you well know.”

Q. If there is any other matter in this same direction that occurs to you, I would be glad for you to state it.—A. There is not, unless it is with reference to this immigration. I was requested by the negroes to act as secretary of an exodus meeting called to consider their leaving Mississippi and going to Kansas. In their resolutions they expressed a desire to go to Kansas and other places.

Q. Have you those resolutions with you?—A. No, sir. They wanted to have enough money, though, to carry them there, and to sustain them there for a year, before they left.

Q. Do you think they have a chance to get fair treatment, and fair advantages in the race of life, in Mississippi?—A. I do not think their prospects are very flattering.

Q. Do they have a fair chance now?—A. No, sir; not altogether.

Q. In your early testimony you make no distinction as to the law applying to whites and blacks; but you say it works hardships in both races, in many cases?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that on account of a difference in the administration of it?—A. Yes, sir; in the execution of it.

Q. What about the chances for education among the colored people, and the poorer whites in Mississippi; I do not ask you what the law is, but what chance a boy has to get an education?—A. We have a

free-school system down there, which gives to white and black free schools. I see no difference in the execution of the law.

Q. How long, on an average, do you have the schools?—A. Five months in the year.

Q. How many can read and write and cipher when they are fifteen years old?—A. I reckon about one in a hundred. They have not sufficient time to acquire that.

Q. What is the close of the school age in Mississippi; sixteen years?—A. No, sir; twenty-one.

Q. Is that when they quit going to school?—A. Yes, sir; they can go on until they are of that age.

Q. Well, now, when they quit, how many of that whole child population can read and cipher well enough to do business?—A. I never made a calculation, but I would not suppose more than fifty or a hundred in a county. I do not suppose there are more than a hundred and fifty colored people in the county who can do that.

Q. How many are there altogether?—A. There are sixteen hundred voters.

Q. Do they average two children to a voter?—A. I suppose three or four.

Q. You say there are sixteen hundred colored voters?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any doubt that there are three thousand voters in the county?—A. No, sir; I forget the exact number.

Q. And you think that not more than a hundred and fifty in the county capable of doing business?—A. I said who can read and write.

Q. When I speak of education sufficient to do business, I mean to read and write their own contracts, and keep their books.—A. Well, sir, I would not think there are more than a hundred and fifty people altogether in the county who can do that. Many of them cannot read or write at all. A great many of the school-teachers there cannot draw up contracts or keep their books.

Q. Is the school system there increasing or losing efficiency?—A. It has been just as the Republicans left it, except to increase it one month.

Q. And to this extent the law is general throughout the State?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. How long have you been in the city?—A. I think about a month.

Q. Where were you subpoenaed from?—A. I was subpoenaed here in the city.

Q. Is there another man of your name in the city?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know him?—A. He is from Nashville, Tenn., though Mississippi was his home.

Q. What part of Mississippi?—A. Oxford.

Q. Is he a relative of yours?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What relation?—A. He is my brother.

Q. Where was he subpoenaed from?—A. I do not know.

Q. Did you find him here?—A. Yes, sir; I had not seen him before in five years.

Q. I do not mean any disrespect to you, sir; but are you in any way identified with the colored race by blood?—A. No, sir.

Q. Your father owned slaves, did he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your brother's first name?—A. Kavanaugh.

Q. You say you refer me to Senator Lamar about the standing of yourself and your family?—A. Yes, sir; Senator Lamar or anybody

down in my county; not particularly to him, but you can go to the faculty of the university there, or any fair man in the county.

Q. Did you come up here on this business?—A. No, sir. I had some claims here to look after.

Q. Are you going back home when you leave here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have any apprehension of being interfered with?—A. No, sir; not unless I jump into politics.

Q. Could you say anything more offensive if you were to jump into politics than you have said here about those people; for you have testified to a state of utter lawlessness on their part?—A. I do not know that I shall go back there to live.

Q. Then you were a little too hasty in saying you would go back there?—A. I expect to go back to see my old father and mother.

Q. Where do you expect to go to live?—A. I have been thinking of going out to some of the Territories.

Q. Who was it you said told you that General George said to the Democrats to level their guns on the negroes?—A. Otway L. Carter, who was a member of the State committee. He told me that General George said so.

Q. Is he a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he just came to tell you this secret that belonged alone to the State Democratic committee?—A. He did.

Q. Did he think you were a Democrat?—A. No, sir; he knew I was a Republican, but we were reared together, and our offices were right together; and he supposed that all the hostility was over, and he came into my office and told me about it. He had been taking a turn of whisky, I suppose, and was not very careful.

Q. So he gave away General George in that manner?—A. That is what he told me.

Q. Who is the district attorney at Oxford?—A. Greene C. Chandler.

Q. Is he a Democrat?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who was he appointed by?—A. Mr. Devens, I suppose.

Q. Who is the United States marshal?—A. J. L. Morphis.

Q. Is he a Democrat?—A. He is a Republican, though he supported Greeley in 1872, and Hayes in 1876, and Lincoln in 1863.

Q. Well, the court is in the hands of the Republicans, too, as you understand it; the marshal is a Republican, the district attorney is a Republican, and the judge is neither a Republican nor a Democrat. Is not that judge universally respected down there by all classes of people?—A. Yes, sir, he is, and so are all the officials.

Q. You say a man may be sent to the penitentiary in Mississippi for stealing a pig, goat, sheep, or anything of the value of a dollar?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you aware that the same thing is done in Indiana?—A. No, sir; I am not aware of it.

Q. Do you know that we can send a man to the penitentiary there for stealing less than a dollar?—A. No, sir; I was not aware of it.

Q. Speaking of the high prices that are paid and charged in Mississippi, have you heard this testimony or a good deal of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is your understanding, is it, that the negroes are charged such prices?—A. No, sir; I have heard some statements that I thought were right, and some that were not fairly stated. I never had to pay as much as some of these witnesses say in my section.

Q. Are the schools administered the same for the one class there as for the other?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if young colored people cannot read and write at eighteen, whose fault is it?—A. It is their own.

Q. They do as well as white children, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. If they have the same privileges as the whites, five months in the year, why cannot they read and write the same as white people?—A. I cannot tell any reason except that they are naturally stupid.

Q. Do you know whether they are any more stupid than the whites, or whether they do not learn as well as the whites in the common schools?—A. I do not know, sir; I never taught school in my life.

Q. Is not that the understanding generally?—A. I never thought of it before; but I would not think that they would be as apt, as a mass.

Q. In some matters that would be true; but in matters of memory, is it not true that after the war, this being a new experience to them, they took to these schools with a great deal of avidity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And people among them who were well advanced in life learned their letters and learned to read and write?—A. Yes, sir; and a good many of them are teaching school now.

Q. Are these schools paid for out of the State funds?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they have white or colored teachers?—A. I think they have both kinds, but they seem to prefer their own teachers.

Q. You said if a colored man conducted himself properly and paid his debts he was treated as well as anybody in the courts and everywhere else, unless he got into politics. Can you tell me any instance in which a colored man was defrauded out of his rights in court on account of his politics?—A. I was speaking of what I have heard them say.

Q. You are a lawyer, are you not?—A. Yes, sir; but I do not know of my own personal knowledge where any leading Republican has been defrauded on account of his politics.

Q. Lafayette County is a Democratic county, is it not? I have been down there myself and that is my recollection.—A. Yes, sir; I saw you there.

Q. It is Democratic, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it has a local court?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know any instance of any interference, in that court, with the rights of any Republican on account of his politics?—A. No, sir; I do not know, of my own personal knowledge, but I have heard some complaint about it.

Q. Who is the judge of that court?—A. John W. Watson is the judge.

Q. Where does he live?—A. He is from Holly Springs.

Q. Well, white people complain that they are defrauded of their rights, sometimes, when they fail to gain their cases, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are pretty much as Mr. Lincoln once said, when he had lost a case for one of his clients; he remarked to him, "We had got nothing to do now but go over to the hotel and cuss the judge."—A. Yes, sir; I think the most of them complain when they lose.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You did not come here for the purpose of testifying before this committee?—A. No, sir; of course not.

The CHAIRMAN. I have received a note from K. K. Kennedy, with reference to yourself, was the reason I asked you these personal questions a while ago.

The WITNESS. He has been a wayward boy, all his life. He left us,

my father, and went with the Democratic party, and I suppose he wanted to back up his side.

The CHAIRMAN. You think, then, that he is on the other side of this question from yourself.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; I know he is.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. It was after I had spoken to you that you were subpoenaed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that was the first you knew of your appearing here?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Did you not tell Mr. Barnes to have your brother subpoenaed?—A. I do not think so.

Q. Just think, now; do you not remember that you told him so?—A. No, sir; if I did, I do not remember it. I will state that it makes some difficulty to me that I have a brother here that is to be a witness. I think I ought to be here when he comes to testify, so as to tell Mr. Windom or Mr. Blair the questions to ask him if he has anything to say about me.

Senator WINDOM. I will see about that myself.

TESTIMONY OF W. E. HORNE.

W. E. HORNE called, sworn, and examined:

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. My residence is in Texas.

Q. At what point?—A. In Sherman.

Q. Of which State are you a native?—A. Of Alabama.

Q. How long have you lived in Texas?—A. I was before the war on a plantation—in 1858 and 1859.

Q. Have you been there ever since, until recently?—A. I had been away during the war to California and Mexico.

Q. Were you a Union man?—A. My prejudices were that way.

Q. Have you had occasion to learn anything of the condition of the colored people, so as to throw any light on this movement of those people from the Southern to the Northern States?—A. After the inauguration of President, or rather Mr., Hayes, and after the terms had been agreed upon at the Wormley conference by which peace was to be established and harmony restored in Louisiana, I went to Louisiana, to Shreveport. Prior to that time I was in Texas, and was a member of the constitutional convention and also a member of the legislature. I was elected on the Republican ticket, and served there until the convention adjourned. I lived there in that State up to a few years past. I was here, as I stated, and after the inauguration of the President I was requested to go South and open the canvass at Shreveport in the Congressional campaign of 1875. I appeared in Shreveport and announced in the press that I would speak in the court-house, and I did so. While there, and since that time, I have learned more or less of what has occurred between the two races so as to bring about this exodus. I did not believe there was any want of sincerity in the Wormley conference when the terms were agreed upon there by the Democrats of

Louisiana and the Republicans who were there. I had full faith and confidence in those terms, which are before you. They agreed to recognize fully and in good faith all the issues of reconstruction and those growing out of the war. It was a frank and full recognition of all of them. Believing and trusting in that I went to Louisiana to advocate the election of a Republican candidate for Congress. I think it was the 16th of August when I spoke in the court-house there. I had had my speech prepared before I left Washington, and it was a general review of the line of policy that I thought should be presented by the Republicans. It was in the main confined to a discussion of the rights and duties growing out of the amendments as they affected all parties in Louisiana, and the duty of all parties to respect them. Just then there was some doubt as to the feeling in South Carolina and the good faith with which they would stick up to their agreement, but we accepted their promises as we did in Louisiana; but the feeling grew bitter again, so much so, that we Republicans there doubted the feasibility of a campaign in Louisiana. There came reports of outrages which at first I doubted. I stated that I would go to Louisiana and make a speech in the canvass, and I believed that I could do it freely and without interference, and I prepared myself for that purpose I appeared in Shreveport and found there was considerable feeling there about the yellow fever. There was none there nor in the vicinity at the time, but the canvass was forming, and Judge Elam was the candidate of the Democrats and Governor Wells the candidate of the Republicans. He was nominated, and I spoke in the court-house in advocacy of the Republican party. I remained there at Shreveport some little time, and I regret very much to say that on my arrival there I found a state of feeling very intense and hostile to a fair and free discussion of the principles distinguishing the two parties. I was then in that locality preparing myself for what subsequently occurred. There were not only words of contention, but armed hostilities. It was in that shape and state of being when I got there. The Democrats were arming and had their clubs, and I learned afterwards on my trip down there as an officer of the Department of Justice that they were the same old organizations of '76 and of '78, and the White Camelias. They had also different organizations based on the prior organizations, and so much of this was done that it created an intense feeling throughout the country. No Union man or Republican but had to speak with bated breath; and they told me there that if I spoke in the court-house I would be insulted and cause a difficulty. I spoke to Mr. Leonard, now the United States district attorney, who had been formally a leading man among the bulldozers. I informed him that we must have fair and impartial discussion, that that was the theory of the political leaders of the country, and that we must take our example from them, and take up Republican white native men, that we must take up no aliens and no carpet-baggers; and that was in fact the character of the ticket nominated. It was made up almost entirely of Louisiana men. The campaign opened, and I spoke in the court-house that night. I heard after my speech was made that threats had been made against me. In my speech I only referred to the status of affairs and advocated the rights of the Republican party and the right of free speech, and so stated to several parties that such would be the tenor of my remarks. I have parts of it in my pocket, which I submitted before I left to Secretary McCrary and others, who said there was nothing objectionable in it. But after my speech was over I heard from two colored men that two parties sitting by the stand had said they were going

to shoot that damned Republican as soon as he got off the stand. I had invited all kinds and classes of men to come in and hear my speech, for I thought I could make a speech which was not calculated to arouse anybody; but I heard that they did not like it, and I heard of frequent threats. They talked of killing me, as though I was an incendiary, and the papers came out the next morning and denounced me as a political hireling and called me all manner opprobrious names.

Q. Did you go elsewhere and speak during the campaign?—A. No, sir; I did not. The state of feeling was such that I could not.

Q. Were you going to Bossier Parish?—A. Yes, sir; I intended to go to all the parishes and speak, but I could not do so. The state of feeling was such that I could not dare to do it. Mr. Leonard, who was formerly a bulldozer, was driven from the stand there at Spring Hill. I knew it would bring about a riot if I did speak, and I do not think that anybody could go in there and make a Republican speech, and frankly state what the rights of the people were, and what ought to be done to secure them.

Q. You felt safer in Shreveport than elsewhere in the district?—A. Yes, sir, at that time; and I think that it was very questionable whether a man was safe who was walking around there.

Q. What do you know as to the means used to keep the colored men from voting there?—A. The fact is known that there is concord and harmony in the Democratic party to prevent a free ballot. Prior to my going there I heard the same statements from a great many people. I went down there with the Teller committee, and as a member of the Department of Justice, and I met with colored people from Tensas and other parishes of the State, and they stated what had occurred to them; that early in June, before I went in August, these rifle clubs would meet together, and whenever there was a Republican meeting they would disperse the parties. They would find freedmen in the road, and in some instances they were killed. One case in Point Coupée Parish in June or July, 1878, I remember. Some 80 or 90 persons from an adjoining parish were collected together between 11 and 12 o'clock, and their object was to get one Williams, a colored man, who was trying to make up political organizations. Williams persisted in organizing the colored people. They got Williams into this crowd and they were going to take him and hang him. They tied his thumbs together, and he appealed to his old master who was in the crowd, and said he was not guilty of the charge they were making against him. That charge was that a white man had been shot at the night before, and they accused Williams of it. He begged and entreated his old master to intercede for him and save his life; and the statement is that his master did intercede for him, and said that he should not be killed, and further said that by God he should not be killed while he could protect him, and so saying he drew his pistol; whereupon Legendre, who had a plantation near by, said, "Boys, you can take five of my negroes and hang them; nobody has a right to interfere in that;" and the statement goes and the proof shows that the five men were taken and hung. They took them a mile below and they were hung, and the next morning Legendre went down and took the bodies of two of these men and buried them in two pits. They were Catholics and their friends wanted to have them buried from the church, but they were refused. The witness of it, who is a French negro, saw them as they came down to the levee, and I asked him about it, and he described the trees to me, and he said that one of the negroes had his tongue out while he was hanging there. I was so much outraged by this double murder that I afterwards saw Governor Nicholls and told him

about it, and he said he would try to have the perpetrators of it prosecuted. He said it was a horror, and that there was a Republican judge down there, but that he himself had done all he could to right these things. That was one instance that I know of; there is no question about it. There is no doubt that in 1878 Louisiana was prepared to prevent a full, free, and fair vote of the Republicans. I met numbers of parties here and in New Orleans, and I got letters confirming that fact. I submitted some of them and made a statement of all the testimony and facts when I came back to the President. He asked me about it, and I told him that I never saw such a condition of affairs. I told him it was a political boiling cauldron of hate, in which no truth could live. He asked me if it was political, and I said it was; and he asked for the proof, and I sent and got it. I wrote a part in Shreveport and all through the State, and I got the testimony to confirm what I saw myself.

Q. Is there any freedom of the ballot to the colored people down there?—A. No, sir; not in Louisiana; and the white Republicans, no matter how liberal they were, were treated in the same way. It was evident that they intended to carry that election, and they made no secret of it. They proposed to go right ahead and do it. That district up there has a majority of the Republican votes, and Ludeling's district is the same way, but he was barricaded during the campaign, and parties were driven from the State who tried to make speeches for the Republican ticket, and a good many of them were killed. I heard of it there that night, and referred to it in my speech. There was one fellow there who came from down that way, and he said the majority of the men in his district were Republicans, but by God he carried in his pocket Democratic ballots, at the same time pulling out a handful of buckshot.

Q. He pulled out the buckshot to represent what he meant by Democratic ballots?—A. Yes, sir; and it struck me at the time when I heard of this killing at Caledonia, in the unprovoked manner in which it was done, that his remark illustrated the Democratic methods pretty well.

Q. Did you investigate that affair?—A. Yes, sir; there is a great volume of testimony about it. There was a set of that class of men who do these things, who brought about some difficulty one with another. One of them threw another of them up against a colored man. He turned around on the colored man and pulled out his six shooter and said, "What did you run against me for?" and shot. The negroes then began to run and they were shot down right and left all that day and the next day.

Q. How many of them were shot, can you remember?—A. Fifty or sixty of them were shot.

Q. Were they the only persons who were shot?—A. I heard of no white man being shot.

Q. Are there any portions of the State where such outrages as those are condemned?—A. Certainly; in any well regulated community where the planters control that element, it never occurs. In Texas the planters do control it and barricade against the marauders. An old planter instanced to me that in one case eight miles of river front were barricaded against three hundred of these men. They built the barricade out of cotton bales, and Mr. King, who is here now in Congress, is charged with leading that raid, and as one who recognized and enlisted that party. If he had not, they would not have recognized him, and he could not have been elected. These planters were not partisans

who would vote against King, but their laborers were demoralized by these constant raids, and when they came and attempted to disturb them on their plantations they barricaded against them and made them leave. One man, a large planter, told me in the St. Charles Hotel that he was sorry he was not at home to arm every negro on his place with a Henry rifle when they came around there.

Q. Why did not the planters combine to put down this lawless spirit?—A. Because they cannot stop it. There is a lingering feeling of hostility to the negroes throughout that whole country; but there is a feeling growing up there that the real interests of the country demand a change so as to promote the harmony between the whites and the blacks in the South, the one as the laborer of the other; and I think that they may be able to harmonize them without bringing in the question of social equality, which is most feared there.

Q. Did you ever hear of any of those planters who did not seem ready to accept these Democratic methods?—A. Yes, sir; it did not use to be so, but it is so now, and they will force their leaders to accept the principles of protection and the guarantee of personal rights that are recognized by the Republican party.

Q. Do you think any of them have accepted those results, and will endeavor to see them enforced?—A. Yes, sir; I think they will, and that a change will be brought about. The majority is the other way, and have no sympathy with these people; they have not a humanitarian among them. There is a disposition among the planters to treat the negro fairly on the sugar plantations, but this lawless element from time to time attempt to bulldoze them out of it. I think that it will continue to increase, unless these planters take some radical course in regard to it.

Q. You are speaking of the exodus movement?—A. Yes, sir; I say I think the exodus will continue unless the planters take some radical steps to stop all this bulldozing and interference with them. Unless that is done, I do not believe the negroes will stay.

Q. Do you understand that these things are the cause of the colored people leaving the country?—A. I do; and unless the planters make some radical change in their course I do not believe the negroes will stay.

Q. They will not stay unless they are protected in their personal and civil rights?—A. No, sir; as it is now, any attempt to exercise those rights results in riots, in which more or less persons are killed. I found, in Bossier Parish, some colored men organized into clubs; they asked me to come over there and speak; they said, "Come and speak, and if there is a conflict we will fight back." But I said, "If I can't speak without being intimidated, and shot at, I won't speak at all." And I didn't.

Q. Have you examined the laws of the Southern States bearing upon this question?—A. I have; and they exhibit and illustrate the will and disposition of the majority of the white people of the Southern States; they show how the Democratic party has pandered to the prejudice which exists generally among the white men against the negro.

Q. What is the character of those laws, generally?—A. I have looked into the statutes of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and several other States; but especially into the statutes of Alabama, because that seems to be the leading State; its code was adopted in 1876, which the other States seem to have followed, in many respects.

Q. What is there in those statutes that tends to create dissatisfaction?—A. I do not think there is a statute enacted under the head of

felonies and misdemeanors, that is not an outrage against humanity. They run misdemeanors into felonies, and felonies into misdemeanors, with a penalty of from one hundred to five hundred or a thousand dollars for each offense, or imprisonment in the penitentiary; or they are hired out on public works, or to planters; and the probate court, or court of local jurisdiction, has within its discretion the imposition of these enormous fines and other severe punishments. They are imposed for the most trivial and insignificant offenses; if a negro is negligent and breaks down a fence, and goes away without putting it up, that is felony.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Punishable by confinement in the penitentiary?—A. He is hired out to some planter to work.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. In what State is that?—A. In Alabama.

Q. Can you refer us to that law?—A. Yes, sir; if you have here the Statutes of Alabama, revision of 1876. If you are tenant on another man's land, you cannot take any part of the growing crop; if you do it will be a felony or misdemeanor, punishable, at the discretion of the court, by imprisonment or fine, the fine to be worked out. The person guilty of such an offence may be hired out by the board of county commissioners, either upon the public works, or, at their discretion, to private citizens, anywhere within the State.

Q. What is the reason that this hiring out at a nominal sum is not a convenient and effectual way of practically re-establishing slavery?—A. That is just what it is; that is undoubtedly the very intention; there is but little difference. The power is given to manacle and chain, and all that sort of thing. These things the colored people find very oppressive, and are determined not to endure them any longer. There are two things for them to do; to rise against them or to flee from them. It may be the best for both races that they have chosen the latter course. If we do not meet these questions fairly, if we dodge these issues, the condition of affairs in the South will grow worse and worse; the oppression and lawlessness will increase, and the planting interests of the whole South, the interests of the whole country, will suffer. I believe that the quickest way to bring about a harmonious condition of things, and prevent such disaster, is not to hide or try to smooth over such abuses, but for every one to state the facts in the case.

Q. You think it will be more likely to cure the evils by stating the facts than by covering them up?—A. Yes, sir; and such a course will meet with more sympathy than you would be apt to think for, from the planters and better class of citizens down there.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. In regard to the solution of this question, have you an idea that the rifle in the hands of negroes would put an end to the exodus?—A. I do not know exactly what you mean.

Q. You spoke of some planters, somewhere in Louisiana, who set themselves in opposition to the more violent element, and barricaded themselves against the bulldozers; and one man you mentioned regretted that he had not been at home at the time to arm his negroes to defend themselves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think that, if the negroes were armed, and showed a disposition to defend themselves, it would end the necessity of the exodus?—A. No; it would lead to disastrous results; they are unarmed and

undisciplined in warlike tactics ; they would simply be overwhelmed and slaughtered.

Q. But if they were in accord with the planting interest, acting with the better class of white men, as they were on the occasion to which you refer, would that lead to helpful results?—A. I think it will come to that yet.

Q. That is to say, if the negro remains in the South it will come to that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To that, or worse?—A. Yes, sir ; the colored people may endure such oppressions, or flee from them ; but white men will not. I don't feel very kindly myself about going to a place where I am liable to be outraged and traeted as I was there, by publications and denunciations in the newspapers of the character that I have alluded to. I don't think any man will stand it who has any independence of character. It will result in destruction to the vital interests of the South, unless the better class of men come to the front.

Q. But what I want to know is, whether the better class are strong enough—numerous enough—to come to the front?—A. No, sir ; not now.

Q. Suppose that they were to arm the negroes, and lead them, would they then be strong enough?—A. Yes, sir ; in that case thirty-five men stopped three hundred.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Did I understand you to say that the leader in those proceedings was Mr. King, at present a member of Congress from Louisiana?—A. I have been informed by several parties that he was the author of the whole thing.

Q. In regard to this matter in Mississippi, as early as 1868, or 1869, or 1870, or whenever it was that it occurred, do you know who originated that?—A. It is an open fact that Mr. George, who has been recently elected Senator from that State, was the author of the " Mississippi plan," better known, perhaps, as the " shot-gun policy." Mrs. Chisholm told me that.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Now, if the better class of white men and the negroes should unite, and if the right of every American citizen to bear arms were to be exercised down there, and the negroes were armed as well as the white, and as generally, do you not think they would get their rights?—A. Yes, sir ; but that would bring about a conflict of races at once.

Q. But do you think the bulldozers would continue to carry on their work at the risk of their own lives? If General King had been shot when leading those three hundred ruffians—A. He was not at their head ; it was he that originated the whole thing. It was a part of his plan of the campaign ; but he was not the immediate head of the gang.

Q. But suppose he had been killed ; just as Republican leaders down there have been killed, and suppose that sort of thing should come to be pretty general, do you think it would be looked upon as the sort of practice that Southern whites would want to indulge in?—A. No, sir ; I think not. I think it would have a very beneficial effect. If the better class of the white planters, the men of commanding influence, would come to the front, and would kill a few such characters when they conduct themselves in such a way as to deserve it, when engaged in these lawless outrages upon the rights of their fellow-men, I think it would have a very wholesome effect. And it will come to that yet.

Q. But the difficulty is there are no Henry rifles in the hands of the negroes?—A. Not now, but there will be.

Q. Rather than have such a state of things as that, don't you think it better for the colored men to get up and go away, and if the white people want that kind of pandemonium, let them have it all to themselves?—A. I think it would be better for the better element among the white men to come to the front and put down the bulldozers.

Q. But can they, and will they, do it; that is the question?—A. I do not know; but if they can't or don't, the negro won't stay.

Q. Then, as you leave it in that doubtful way, until this better class of the white people, of which you speak, does come to the front, the negro had better get up and go off. You have already said that it would be useless for them to attempt to defend themselves without assistance?—A. Yes; that would only lead to a war of races, in which the negroes would be sure to get the worst of it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do you know anything about the laws of Texas forbidding negroes to go armed on plantations?—A. No, sir, I do not know. We have had very few outrages comparatively in Texas.

Q. Did you leave there before a man was killed in what is called "Egypt?" You know that the sheriff of Wharton County was killed?—A. That very thing illustrates the truth of what I was saying. A set of desperate characters live around Eagle Lake. They went to Bowman's house at night; Bowman was the sheriff's name. He was a respectable man; a man of good character; a man of nerve; a Northern man. He was elected sheriff of Wharton County.

Q. Was he a Republican?—A. Yes, sir. Wharton County is a county largely colored. I lived in that county before the war. I lived there with my relative, Governor Wharton. I knew the personnel of nearly everybody in the county. I know nearly every person in Wharton County. These men came there and met at Eagle Lake, near Columbus. Bowman was endeavoring to establish a large plantation there, on a sort of co-operative system. While Bowman was sleeping in his house he was fired on through the walls, which were only made of thin boards. They killed him in his bed. They killed some freedmen, I think, about the same time. At any rate, some were killed. The better class of the white people denounced this assassination of Bowman. Oliver Walker, a planter near there, and the son of an old planter, denounced it, saying it was an infamous outrage. He had Bowman buried. But his murderers were never prosecuted in either the Federal or the State courts.

Q. What was he killed for?—A. Because he was going to segregate these men, and locate them——

Q. Furnish them homes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What reason did they give for killing him?—A. They said that "his record was bad."

Q. Why was his record bad—in what respect?—A. Because he was a Republican; that was all.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Where is Eagle Lake?—A. It is in Texas, on the line of the railway, thirty or forty miles from Houston.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Where do you live now?—A. Here.

Q. How long have you lived here?—A. Two or three years—three or four years, or thereabouts.

Q. Can't you tell any nearer than that?—A. About four years.

Q. What do you do here?—A. I have been an officer of the Department of Justice a part of the time.

Q. What are you doing now?—A. I am now in the Treasury Department.

Q. A clerk?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had a detail to attend this committee-room?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have been here pretty much all the time?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. I have seen you here almost ever since it begun.—A. That cannot be; for I have been here only three or four days, recently.

Q. Do you mean to say that you have been here only three or four days?—A. Not consecutively.

Q. How long since you severed your connection with the Department of Justice?—A. Something like a year—a little over a year, I think.

Q. Were you acting as an agent of the Department of Justice when you were down in Louisiana making Republican speeches?—A. I was not connected with the Department of Justice then.

Q. When were you first connected with the Department of Justice?—A. Just subsequent to my return.

Q. Where were you living when you went down to Louisiana?—A. Here.

Q. How came you to go down there?—A. I went down there to make speeches in behalf of the Republican party.

Q. At whose solicitation?—A. At the solicitation of Republicans here from Louisiana.

Q. Did anybody from the Department of Justice here send you?—A. Not at all.

Q. Who was candidate for governor in Louisiana that year?—A. We had no candidate; it was not a gubernatorial campaign; it was a Congressional election.

Q. Who were the candidates?—A. Wells on the Republican side, and Elam on the Democratic.

Q. What Wells—J. Madison Wells?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did Wells get you to go down there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you see him here?—A. I did not.

Q. Were you sent down to help elect Wells to Congress on account of the services he had rendered on these returning boards?—A. No, sir.

Q. What orders were given you?—A. I never had any orders.

Q. Where else did you speak besides at Shreveport?—A. Nowhere else.

Q. You did speak at Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then a couple of negroes told you that some fellows standing by you had threatened to shoot you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But they didn't shoot you?—A. No.

Q. But they scared you so that you did not fill your next appointment?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did scare you?—A. Nothing scared me; but when I learned that there was a general combination of the Democrats against the Republicans, that rifle clubs were armed and organized for the purpose of violence, I concluded it was better not to give them any occasion, or even pretense of an excuse, for making any trouble.

Q. I think you said that some negroes offered to go with you, armed, and protect you. You had not so much pluck as these negroes, had you?—A. If you think so you make a mistake. I did go into Shreveport and make this speech.

Q. Did they not offer to go into Bossier Parish and protect you?—A. Yes, sir; they said, if I would go, they would protect me.

Q. But you would not go?—A. I did intend to go at that time.

Q. Nobody had hurt you, had there?—A. Well, yes; I had been wounded in my feelings and convictions.

Q. Where are they? In what part of your person are they located?—A. My convictions were that I had a right to make a speech.

Q. Did you not go and make a speech?—A. Not in Bossier.

Q. Why not?—A. Because I thought it would bring about a riot between the whites and the blacks.

Q. But the blacks said that they would go?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then they were braver than you were?—A. I think I had better judgment.

Q. Well, discretion is a good thing.—A. There were others to be considered besides myself. I think you would not have gone, if you had been in my place.

Q. Well, I have been in that very place?—A. Making Republican speeches?

Q. O, no; but I have been where I have seen the blood flow freely for my right to make a Democratic speech, but I generally made it.—A. I did not propose to be the means of raising a riot between the whites and colored people there.

Q. Well, undoubtedly you are right; you evidently belong to the peace establishment.—A. No, I do not; I would kill a man very quick, when occasion called for it, if he did not kill me. I would kill him just as quick as any man living; now mark me, and don't you forget it.

Q. If you mean that for me, you will find that you cannot make any stuff of that sort go down with me. You can only make yourself ridiculous.—A. I only wanted to show you that you did not know anything about me.

Q. O, yes, I know about you very well. You say the newspapers assaulted you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they say about you?—A. Well, they denounced me very bitterly.

Q. In what language? Did they say that you were dishonest in Texas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they say that you were a loafer there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nothing of that kind?—A. No, sir. Does anybody else say so?

Q. I asked you whether the newspapers said so. How long did you live in Texas?—A. Before the war.

Q. What was your attitude during the war?—A. I was not in Texas during the war.

Q. Where were you?—A. In California and Mexico.

Q. What were you doing there?—A. I was in business out there with Morrison, Bryant & Barlow.

Q. What were you doing in Mexico?—A. I was a miner in the mines there. I will add that I have lived on a plantation, with three or four hundred negroes, with Governor Horton, who is my relative. Besides that, I have owned negroes myself.

Q. Do you consider that a matter to your credit?—A. No, sir; I say that to show that I was not a loafer.

Q. I do not see how that proves anything of the sort, for some men who were loafers have owned negroes. Mr. Horne, did you ever occupy any official position in Texas?—A. I did.

Q. What?—A. District attorney.

A. Of what courts?—A. Several courts were embraced in my district.

Q. What were your politics then?—A. Republican; I never was a Democrat.

Q. How long were you in office as district attorney?—A. I do not remember, now.

Q. How long were you down in Louisiana at the time you made this Shreveport speech?—A. Eight or ten days.

Q. And then you came right back here?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you go?—A. Into Texas.

Q. You had a week or ten days in Louisiana to investigate the situation there and then went to Texas?—A. I went to Louisiana again, as an officer of the Department of Justice, and there saw thousands of refugees from the different parishes, that had been driven out by these raiders, and talked with them, and afterward I appeared before a committee of the Senate, and testified in regard to the matter.

Q. After that did you come back here and tell the President the condition of affairs down there?—A. No, sir; I had been here before that. He wanted to know if these outrages were for political reasons; and I told him that they were; and he wanted proof of that—

Q. He did not believe you, then?—A. He wanted to know more about it, so he could act understandingly. I was not fully satisfied myself; I thought, at first, it might be a local matter, right there in Shreveport, but on inquiry I found that it was general.

Q. I understood you to say that there were not any troubles there—only that you were afraid there would be trouble if you spoke?—A. O, there were troubles in plenty.

Q. Now, Mr. Horne, do you not know that only one man was killed in that parish, and that he was a Democratic commissioner of elections, who was killed by the Radical candidate for sheriff of that county?—A. I know nothing of that sort.

Q. You would not believe it if a hundred men were to swear to it?—A. No, sir; for I know all about the case to which you refer.

Q. Well, if you know all about it, tell us about it.—A. I will, sir. Mr. Alston, the Republican candidate for sheriff, I know personally. He did not expect to be bulldozed, because he was born and raised there. When election day came, one of the polling places in that parish was located in an out-of-the-way place so that many of the voters had to go twenty-five or thirty miles to vote, wading through swamps and bayous, and improvising bridges and other ways to cross the streams in order to get to the polling place, which was on Black Bayou, away up on the border of Arkansas. After between two hundred and fifty and three hundred of these men had voted, and were on their way home, this man that you say was a Democratic commissioner of elections, with twelve or fifteen other shot-gun gentlemen, came up and perpetrated one of the most infamous deeds in all the history of Louisiana outrages. They came up and took possession of the ballot-box, scattered and destroyed the votes, defiled the box in a most beastly way, and then made Mr. Alston put it under his arm and walk off with it. They threatened violence, but Alston and his friends got onto their horses and started for home; they were pursued by these fellows, but managed to elude their pursuit, and got back into Shreveport safely. One day a little while after that, Mr. Alston met this man that you say was a Democratic commissioner of elections, and to avenge the most infamous and dastardly insult that had been put upon him, shot him. He said to him, "You met me at such a time, at such and such a place, and you did this and that in the ballot-box, and now take that;" and with that he shot him. The man died either that evening or the next day.

Q. How do you know all this?—A. I am acquainted with Mr. Alston,

and spoke with him about it; and I got letters from there telling me about it; and everybody that knew the circumstances of the case said that it was the best killing that had ever been done in Louisiana.

Q. Now, I want to know what you meant when you said you were as ready to kill anybody as any man living?—A. I just wanted to negative the idea of a want of personal courage, that I thought was employed in your case.

Q. But you said, very emphatically, that you did not want me to forget it. What did you mean by that?—A. O, that is just a slang phrase—a common expression that I suppose everybody has heard. Of course I did not mean anything personal.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You did not mean to kill Mr. Voorhees?—A. O, no; I never supposed that a carelessly uttered slang phrase could ever possibly be interpreted in that way.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. It is always better to have a distinct understanding, you know.—A. Yes, sir; we have to be very guarded.

Q. You saw nothing yourself of these scenes that you have described?—A. My knowledge of it is such as I have explained to you; it is just such evidence as——

Q. Can you answer me whether you saw it yourself?—A. I did not see it myself; no, sir. But I have seen a great deal.

Q. What did you say?—A. I have seen these men, and heard their statements.

Q. What men?—A. The colored people who had been run off from the different localities—and white men, too.

Q. You spoke of a place where the planters barricaded themselves against the bulldozers; where was that?—A. In Teusas Parish, below Saint Jo.

Q. You say that they built barricades?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of what kind?—A. Of cotton bales.

Q. The planters did?—A. Yes, sir; and then armed themselves with Henry rifles, and other first-class weapons, and prepared themselves for whoever might come to attack them.

Q. Who was likely to come and attack them?—A. The men who had been killing negroes in the upper end of the parish.

Q. Who had been killing negroes there?—A. A lot of armed white men. A company of men, under the leadership of a Captain Peck, went to the residence of Mr. Fairfax, to kill him; they forced their way into his house, and shot at him, but he escaped. While they were forcing their way in, Peck was killed—I don't know by whom, whether by Fairfax, or one of his own men. I do know that Fairfax, if he did not kill him, ought to have done so. This Captain Peck broke into Fairfax's house with an armed body of men, and killed one or two there—at least they died shortly afterward. Fairfax saw them coming, and escaped through the back door. From there the bulldozers went on around the parish, killing the negroes. This alarmed the freedmen so much that they left the fields, abandoned the plantations, and hid in the woods; and on that account the planters suffered great loss, from the interruption to the labor at that season of the year; and a great many of the negroes got sick, and some of them died. One planter that I know of said that he regretted that he had not been at home when the thing occurred, or he would have armed his freedmen with rifles, and given the bulldozers as good as they sent. He was very indignant; several of his freedmen, from

staying out in the swamp of nights, in the cold and wet, died from pneumonia. Pending the killing in the upper end of the parish, these fellows from Saint Jo—I do not think that any planters proper were in it at all—these fellows came down into that part of the parish, and when it was found out that they were coming, these planters built this barricade, and said that they would not stand it any longer. They gave fair notice to the bulldozers that if they put one foot on that bridge they would fire upon them.

Q. You spoke of Leonard as a bulldozer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he one of those brands plucked from the burning, who once were Democrats, but joined the Republican party to get office?—A. Yes, sir. I had never met Mr. Leonard at that time, and I had no confidence in that kind of officials.

Q. Did you know anything, or hear anything, about my friend Jack Wharton down there?—A. He was one of the men, I heard, that helped do the killing in Bossier Parish.

Q. Don't you think it rather remarkable that two men of that kind should be appointed to office by a Republican President, and that our Republican brethren in the Senate should vote to confirm them?—A. I can hardly be supposed to be able to give the reasons in the bosoms of the Senators for their course.

Senator WINDOM. It is quite possible that the Republican Senators were not fully informed with regard to them.

Q. Was it not perfectly notorious that these men, Leonard and Wharton, were rebels during the war, and bulldozers afterward?—A. I supposed that it was generally well known. But Leonard has changed his tactics; and has since come very near being killed. Wharton, I am told, is making a very efficient marshal.

Q. Were there no Republicans in the United States who were not rebels nor bulldozers?—A. O, yes, sir. I do not understand that I am here to make any apologies for the errors and mistakes made by the government during the reconstruction policy, or since; I am here to state the facts, as they occurred in Louisiana.

Q. You have testified with a great deal of feeling—more than any one else since this investigation began; now, let me ask you how you can account for this: A number of old and prominent negroes have come here from Shreveport, and some others, not so old and not so prominent—varying from twenty to sixty or seventy years of age. And they unite in stating that matters there, as regards freedom from violence and intimidation, are entirely different from your statement.—A. I account for that in this way: These men live there; they have got to go back there, where they have their property and their families; and they think that the best thing they can do is to keep on good terms with the Democrats down there. There is nothing else for them to do. Every man from there, within the sound of my voice, knows that I am telling what is true; that if these colored witnesses here should tell the exact truth in regard to matters there, they never could go back and live there in safety.

Q. You were there only ten days, made your speech, got yourself abused in the newspapers, like all the rest of us that ever made speeches, whereupon you got mad and left, and have staid mad ever since.—A. No, I am not mad at anybody. If the facts are true which I have stated, and they are, and if these colored men living down there should testify to them, it would of course be known back there; and when these men got down there the white Democrats down there would say, "When you were up there before that committee, you testified to this and to

that, and now, God damn you, you can get out of here." Or the colored men who are working--teamsters hauling goods for white men, and so on--would lose the patronage of Democratic merchants and planters, which is pretty much all there is there, and their business would be ruined for life. You can hardly expect a man to face such a prospect as that.

Q. Do you think that fear would control such men as we have had here?--A. I do not know, but I do know that it controls a great many men down there.

Q. Men that own plantations and houses?--A. Yes, sir; the very fact that their property is in a shape such that they cannot take it with them renders them all the more careful about saying or doing anything that will prevent their living there in peace. They do not want to get into trouble.

Q. How long did you speak there at Shreveport, that day?--A. An hour and a half or two hours.

Q. That is a reasonable amount of enjoyment of free speech, is it not?--A. I was interrupted several times.

Q. In what way; by questions?--A. Yes, sir; and in other ways.

Q. Did anybody throw anything at you?--A. No, sir; but I could tell the temper of the people. If I had not had two or three hundred colored men, fixed for business, there would have been trouble. I was armed, for I had been told that there was a prospect of trouble.

Q. Did you tell them that you were armed?--A. No, sir.

Q. Did you make a good Republican speech?--A. Well, it is not for me to say whether it was a good speech or not. I have it here with me. You can judge for yourself, if you want to take the time and trouble to read it.

Q. I see that you say here (reading from the speech):

I am here, gentlemen, to discuss the issues which pertain solely to the present Congressional canvass, and the notice which convenes you here so states.

I should be glad if I could confine my remarks to an effort at convincing your minds that Governor Wells is a man of sound political views, with masterful power and energy to enforce them in Congress, but the history of the last ten years instructs me that I cannot efficiently advocate his election, or give him the support to which he is entitled, if I do not insist upon a free ballot and a fair count.

Q. Do I understand from this that you were speaking especially in behalf of Governor Wells?--A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you undertake to say that you considered Wells to be a representative of a "fair count"?--Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are taking a very grave responsibility upon yourself.

Senator WINDOM. I take the responsibility of doing that, here or in the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing to read):

I am here to demand decent obedience to the laws governing in this election. It is useless to convince men's minds that Governor Wells is the best candidate if those men are to be prevented from depositing their ballots for him, or if, after they have been so deposited, the count shall be false.

Q. Did anybody take any exception to that?--A. I think there did. I guess you would have thought so if you had seen the newspapers the next morning.

Q. Did you expect the Democratic newspapers to praise your Republican speech?--A. No; I expected to be a target for their abuse, but I did not expect they would vilify me and circulate falsehoods about me. They pointed me out as an incendiary.

Q. We all think we are not criticized fairly. I have had worse terms than that applied to me. Did you write this before delivering it?—A. I did.

Q. Did you deliver it from manuscript?—A. I did.

Q. Did you write it before you went down there?—A. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it a very bold and determined speech; and the people who let you have a chance to deliver it must have been friendly to the rights of free speech.

Senator BLAIR. That is no doubt a good Republican speech, but it is quite a lengthy document—what is the use of printing it all?

The CHAIRMAN. I want it to be seen whether he went down there and had his mouth muzzled or not. You will see that he spoke as boldly there as he ever spoke anywhere—except in this committee-room, where he comes out especially strong, and seems to be extraordinarily brave.

Mr. Horne's speech was then put in evidence by the chairman, as follows:

Speech of Hon. Wm. E. Horne, of Texas, delivered at Shreveport, La.

I am here, gentlemen, to discuss the issues which pertain solely to the present Congressional canvass, and the notice which convenes you here so states.

I shall make no apology for my presence, for I follow in the wake of a custom long since established in this country, for a citizen of one State, in national elections, to appear and speak in another and different State from that in which he may reside.

I should be glad if I could confine my remarks to an effort at convincing your minds that Governor Wells is a man of sound political views, with masterful power and energy to enforce them in Congress, but the history of the last ten years instructs me that I cannot efficiently advocate his election, or give him the support to which he is entitled, if I do not insist upon a free ballot and a fair count. These have been denied in the history of this district. I am here to demand decent obedience to the laws governing in this election. It is useless to convince men's minds that Governor Wells is the best candidate if those men are to be prevented from depositing their ballots for him, or if, after they have been so deposited, the count shall be false. I make no allusion in this to the exclusion of ballots where no lawful election has been held. The votes, under such circumstances, cannot be legally counted. I simply mean what my plain words import.

I now challenge gentlemen on the other side to show any district in the United States where Democratic speakers have to appeal to us to allow Democratic votes to be counted.

The question then, by which I am confronted, and one which meets me upon the threshold, and lies at the foundation of this canvass for members of Congress in this State—the fact, above all others, to be ascertained is, whether the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and the acts of Congress to carry into effect and protect the *rights* created and guaranteed by these amendments, are to be respected?

Whether the colored Republicans who were taken out of bondage, made free by the thirteenth amendment, declared citizens and their civil rights guaranteed by the fourteenth, and whose right to vote was protected by the fifteenth amendment, shall now exercise full, free, and unrestrained, the right to vote.

If, by the action of the people of this Congressional district, or any portion of them, by any illegal means whatever, the colored voter is deprived of this right, or, if voting, does so under duress, then there is a clear infraction of the law—an end to argument, and if as successful in this election as it has been in some instances heretofore, it will be the triumph of brute force over reason. If the colored Republicans in this State are to be prevented from organizing, registering, or voting, or in any manner influenced by illegal means in the exercise of their right of suffrage, whether by threats sufficient to intimidate, or by overt act, then we will call a halt to this discussion, for to argue other political issues in the face of insulting and armed mobs, or organized clubs, determined to force the election their way, would not only be a humiliation to which I will not submit, but will not be tolerated further by those who are charged with the administration of public justice. The same political rights belong to these people that we, from time immemorial, have enjoyed ourselves. No law of any State can take away these rights, guaranteed, as they are, by the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

These facts then being conceded as embraced in the organic law of the land, upon the observance of which our common liberties depend, you must, as good citizens, give in your assent to the freest enjoyment by the colored people of this district of the elective franchise. If you hold, on the other hand, that this privilege does not lie in the natural order of things; that the normal condition of the negro is one of slavery; and declining to obey the mandate of the law, proceed to organize a force sufficient to override this law, it is my opinion that your success will only be temporary; that you will find the stakes not worth the hazard, and either lead to your arrest, trial, and conviction by the United States authorities, or to the demoralization of society, effeminacy in labor, and common ruin. Should the last condition be the result, it too will drift away like the mists that rise from yonder red and angry stream which, piercing this vast and rich plateau of alluvium, has been *made to yield its unwilling waters* to the law of commerce and an *advanced civilization*.

It will not be sufficient answer, though by a cloud of witnesses it can be proven, that the law heretofore has not been enforced; that the past is full of scenes of outlawry, sickening in the recital; that the criminals walk your streets and go unwhipped of justice; for the passions engendered by the war and hate of race are paling their ineffectual fires before the purer, brighter, and more beneficent sunlight of reason.

Without citing in full the text of the laws under which this Congressional election will be conducted—laws made to carry into effect these amendments to the Constitution of the United States—it is sufficient to say that every act of the citizen, whether prior to or at the time of voting, if intended to prevent or in any manner interfere with the fullest and freest exercise of the right of suffrage, is punishable under these laws, such, for instance, as an interference with the organization of any political party by breaking up their meetings, preventing registration or voting, threatening and intimidating the voter; and I call the attention of gentlemen who may be disposed to indulge in these crimes to the Revised Statutes of the United States, secs. 5506 to 5532, and to the recent letter of Attorney-General Devens to your district attorney, charging him to be vigilant, and cause the arrest of every violator of the election law at this canvass. President Hayes, in his inaugural address, upon his accession to power as the Chief Executive of this nation, on the 5th of March, 1877, said:

“The permanent pacification of the country upon such principles and by such measures as will secure the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, is now the one subject in our public affairs which all thoughtful and patriotic citizens regard as of supreme importance. Many of the calamitous effects of the tremendous revolution which have passed over the Southern States still remain. The immeasurable benefits which will surely follow, sooner or later, the hearty and generous acceptance of the legitimate results of that revolution, have not been realized. Difficult and embarrassing questions meet us at the threshold of this subject. The people of those States are still impoverished, and the inestimable blessings of *wise, honest and peaceful self-government* is not fully enjoyed.

“Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the cause of this condition of things, the fact is clear that, in the progress of events, the time has come when such government is the imperative necessity required by all the varied interests, public and private, of those States. *But it must not be forgotten* that only a local government which recognizes and maintains inviolate the rights of all is a true self-government. With respect to the two distinct races whose peculiar relations to each other have brought upon us the deplorable complications and perplexities which exist in these States, it *must be* a government which guards the interests of both races carefully and equally; it must be a government which submits loyally and heartily to the Constitution and the laws—the laws of the nation and the laws of the States themselves—accepting and obeying *faithfully the whole Constitution as it is.*” * * *

The President does not attempt to define the powers to be exercised by the “local self-governments” of the States, nor to draw the line between Federal power and State authority, but, as I understand it, rests his argument upon the right of the States to exercise all the powers of legislation and the enforcement of whatever laws may be enacted, which pertain solely to their local affairs and domestic economy. Upon this theory, when it does not trench upon national powers, all parties can agree. But our memories are still fresh and green with bitter memories of the past; and these wasted fields, deserted and impoverished homes—these black men who stand about me, once slaves, now freemen—remind us that the question of the sovereignty of the States entered largely into the late unhappy and fratricidal conflict, and we trust never again to be submitted to the arbitrament of the sword.

So far, save now and then the sporadic utterances of Lamar, of Mississippi; Hill and Gordon, of Georgia, we have had no attempt at founding, on the part of Southern statesmen, a system of political ethics which will bring the South, with its new and novel elements, into political homogeneity with the issues settled and ideas evolved by the war.

In the absence of some expression from a thoughtful source at home, I quote here from a learned authority abroad, Mr. Gladstone:

"The result of the late struggle between the North and South decided that *to the Union*, through its federal organization, and not to the State governments, *were reserved* all the questions not decided and disposed of by the express provisions of the Constitution itself."

Senator Bayard, of Delaware, from whom we may justly expect much in the future—a Democrat who has no sympathy with its baser elements—advises the people of the whole country that we "need badly, vigorous utterances of independent opinions, for it is from the conflict of honest, outspoken minds that truth is obtained, just as the steel and the flint are both required to strike the light."

"And to the tyranny of unchecked popular opinion is added the terrorisms of political partisanship, by which American intellect and personal conscience are so rudely assailed, overcome, and dragged in the dust of wild and clamorous error."

Mr. Hayes, upon his induction to office, caused the troops to be withdrawn, and in other ways removed whatever barrier there was to the legitimate exercise of local authority. It was expected in return that nowhere in the South would there be an overthrow of the legitimate order of things or a violation of law, unless followed swiftly by a readjustment and return to a normal obedience to the law, and the enforcement of its prescribed penalties.

Upon this subject I read from a speech recently made by one of his advisers, the Hon. Geo. W. McCrary, Secretary of War, as applicable to the present hour. He says:

"The South is now on trial. There is surely no excuse now, even by their own confession, for a continuation of the process by which, prior to March 4, 1877, all the Southern States but three, and nearly all the Congressional districts, many of them having confessedly large Republican majorities, were carried over to the Democratic party. When another election comes we shall see whether, when left to themselves, the Southern Democrats will allow a free ballot to guarantee a fair and honest count of the votes cast. If the process of "bulldozing" is continued, or if the plan of systematic fraud be adopted in lieu of that systematic outrage, the whole country will understand that it is because the white Democrats of the South do not intend to respect and obey the amended Constitution, and are resolved that they, whether in the majority or in the minority, will rule in all that section."

The Hon. Roscoe Conkling, United States Senator from New York, recently said:

"Assassination strikes down blameless men and helpless women; families perish by violence; no one is punished, and the officials who connive at murder are re-elected and rewarded for being accomplices in shedding innocent blood. The tragic death of one maiden roused pagan Rome to vengeance, but Americans are very patient when the blood of the Chisolms and others sicken humanity, and justice lays no hand on such frightful butchery. The officials of the United States are shot down and imprisoned for performing their duty, and the whole power of the nation is openly defied.

"In the Gulf States majorities are powerless and prostrate, their committees extinct, and they trampled under foot by the men they faced in battle. As in slave days, the colored people are counted to swell the number of Southern Representatives in Congress, but for any other purpose they hardly appear now in the political account.

"Turn from this picture to the three free amendments of the Constitution. There they stand, and they declare that such wrongs shall never be. Yet this is the great republic—the men thus degraded and despoiled are its citizens—they stood by it and fought for it, and are persecuted for its sake—and this is the last quarter of the nineteenth century!

"The mission of the Republican party is not ended.

"It has done much. It has put down a vast rebellion, freed 4,000,000 slaves, made a free Constitution, united the fragments of a shattered empire, manages war and finances to the amazement of mankind; it has carried railways over deserts and mountains to the Pacific Sea; it has made harbors, built breakwaters and light-houses, and established life-saving stations on perilous coasts; it has stretched out a network of signal service to give warning of storms on land and sea; it has cheapened foreign and domestic postage, founded a postal money-order system, put post-offices on wheels, and doubled the cheapness and swiftness of transmitting intelligence; it has secured to every man who will have it a homestead of 160 acres of fertile land; it has stood for free speech, free labor, and free men always; it has upheld the public credit, and its aims have been those of humanity and right. Like every human agency, it has, no doubt, sometimes fallen into error; but its record is filled with great and useful achievements."

Why not act upon the suggestion of the President, from whose inaugural I again quote: "The evils which afflict the Southern States can only be removed or remedied by the united and harmonious efforts of both races, actuated by motives of mutual sympathy and regard." Born upon a plantation, and to the inheritance of human slaves, I recognize the obligations such a birth may have imposed—the debt of grati-

tude due from me to them. Who are they, and what has been their life history? They are a people whose ancestors, from time immemorial, had worn the nude and untrained dress of the jungles of barbaric Africa. From these wild and forest shadows, landing upon our shores their eyes for two hundred years had opened only to the lights of American slavery. From their cradle to the hour of their enfranchisement, from generation to generation, their backs had borne the burthen of a dominant race, and their stout arms and toiling hands had furrowed the yielding earth, enriching their masters. Whatever of refinement and mental culture, whatever of leisure wealth could bestow, sprang from a civilization based upon their labor.

Through a long and bloody conflict, when the Inevitable was solving the great problem of human rights, and though untutored, yet conscious that *their* liberties were at stake, they remained at home, nor violated a trust; they stood guard over households where women and children only remained. If he who had gone away following the flag that emblemed their enslavement, had escaped the incidents of battle with his life, he returned to find his household gods still upon his altars, his penates unbroken. If no return, that desolate home found him, as a freeman, true to the trusts imposed. When the historian shall write of the slaves of the South, he will chronicle this virtue to their honor. When a more ambitious race would have by such means deemed success apparent, even to attain their liberty, they turned with horror from the torch, the dagger, and the pistol of the assassin.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. Horne, how long were you down there agent of the Department of Justice, pending the examination of those witnesses before the Teller committee?—A. It was not for that purpose I was down there. I was there pending the prosecution of the cases growing out of those riots under the rifle-club administration.

Q. Were you appointed to your present position by this administration for your efforts to help Wells in this business?—A. No, sir. I did not get any reward for anything in that direction. I do not hold any position that amounts to much.

Q. You think the newspapers did not treat you fairly?—A. No, sir; not by any means.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, maybe they do not. I have had them treat me anything but fairly, I thought, for the time being.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Have you any other matter in your mind that would be of any benefit to us, in the purpose we have in view, to discover the causes of this exodus?—A. I could state a great many more things than I have that occurred down there in the way of outrages that have made it very uncomfortable for colored men to stay there.

Q. I suppose that is understood—that you could prolong that indefinitely. Are the matters to which you refer such as have been brought before the public in any shape, before this?—A. Some of it has been given to the President, in the records; and some of it was testified to before the Teller committee.

Q. That includes the affair which led to the killing of this Democratic commissioner?—A. Yes, sir; you will find that in the testimony taken by the Teller committee.

Q. What was the name of the man that was killed?—A. Legendre.

Q. What was the name of the man that killed him?—A. Alston.

I wish to say that the only motive that prompts my testimony here, so far as I can know myself, is simply to dissipate, not in the interests of the Republican party, nor of any other party, but in the interests of the nation, South as well as North, and of humanity in general, the prejudice—perhaps the natural prejudice—which has taken this violent form, hurtful in its effects both to the colored man and the white man. I am certain that, under the old *régime*, the plunder principle, there is no chance for the South to advance, either materially or in any other respect, in the path of prosperity and success.

TESTIMONY OF W. J. BUCHAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 24, 1880.*

W. J. BUCHAN sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Buchan, where do you reside?—Answer. My residence is Wyandotte, Kansas, sir.

Q. Have you given any attention to the arrival of colored people in your State?—A. Yes, sir; to some extent I have.

Q. When did they first begin to arrive in Wyandotte?—A. About the first of April a year ago.

Q. There was some trouble, as we have been informed by a witness, upon the arrival of a portion of them there. I wish you would tell us what you know about it.—A. Well, sir, there was a good deal of feeling manifested by a portion of our citizens on account of their coming in such large numbers and in such a destitute condition. They came there by the boat-load, and had aggregated to the amount of something like two thousand, I guess, and our place is a small town.

Q. How large?—A. About five thousand inhabitants, and no vacant houses; those that are ordinarily vacant, being all in use by the employés of the railroads, and there was no shelter for them. They were dumped off the boats there on to our levee, and in a most destitute condition; and we had no means to provide either for their temporary wants or to send them off; and our people, a large portion of them, were a good deal excited about it.

Q. Tell us about what time that was.—A. It was along about the first of April.

Q. When the first arrivals began to come in?—A. Yes, sir; I fixed the time by our court term, which commences the first Monday of April; and it may have been a day or two before; and it continued during the forepart of April.

Q. Tell us what was done by the people of your town (growing out of that inundation coming upon them so unexpectedly and finding you so unprepared to provide for them) in the expression of a desire to get rid of them.—A. When they first began to arrive at Saint Louis we noticed in the papers that they were expected to arrive there in great numbers, and shortly after that they began to come to our town. We then began to get funds with which to provide for their temporary wants and with which to get them away. There were two committees organized. In the first place the Congregational Church Association organized a committee, and when they came in such increased numbers a meeting was called in the town hall, and a general relief committee was organized composed of citizens generally, appointing the mayor president and chairman of the committee, and as soon as the funds were received their temporary wants were provided for. An executive committee was appointed, whose duty it was to see that they were temporarily provided for; and as soon as could be—in a few days—arrangements were made with the railroad companies, and they were scattered out through the State. I think the first train-load was sent to Lawrence.

Q. Some public meeting gave expression to disapprobation of their arrival. Tell us about that?—A. Yes, sir; there was a public meeting called there in the town hall, in which some resolutions were attempted to be passed, declaring that they would prevent the landing of any more boats there of colored people, but the meeting was somewhat boisterous.

Q. I want you to give an exact statement.—A. These resolutions were prepared by gentlemen very much exercised, and I may say that one cause of alarm was the yellow fever. These people came with great bundles of ragged clothes, and that was the principal cause of alarm among our people, that they would spread the yellow fever. It was just after the season of yellow fever, and the opinion of some of the physicians was that it would be conveyed and create a general alarm.

Q. Yellow fever was the principal cause, was it?—A. That was the principal cause, and the fear also that the city and county would be subjected to great expense, which we felt unable to bear.

Q. It was made up of general complaints?—A. Yes. These resolutions were prepared by some gentlemen who were rather more than ordinarily excited, and they organized a meeting themselves, appointed their chairman, and appointed a committee on resolutions; they went out and reported in a few minutes. A vote was taken on the resolutions, and they were declared carried, and the meeting declared adjourned; but it was immediately reorganized, and other resolutions were passed. The fact is, it was generally mixed up. The resolutions differed from those at first passed.

Q. Had the majority of them gone away when the second resolutions were passed?—A. No; it was the same night.

Q. The same meeting substantially?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They offered resolutions that they would prevent the landing of colored paupers, as they called them, peaceably, if they could; forcibly, if they must. It was suggested by law-abiding citizens that that was a good deal like a vigilance committee, and for the reputation of the town did not want that to go on record; and the resolutions at their second meeting, at which another chairman presided, were to the effect that the mayor use means to raise money and send them away.

Q. Is the mayor a Republican?—A. No, he is not a Republican; he is a Greenbacker, in fact. Since 1872 he has been opposed to the Republican party, and has been a candidate for office once a year anyway, perhaps twice, on an average, always in opposition to the Republican party.

Q. Did you take occasion to talk with many of these colored people that came up at that time?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with a great many.

Q. What was the general expression of the cause which led them to come there at that time, Mr. Buchan?—A. Their general complaint was bad times and political difficulties. They claimed they were debarred of political rights, and that they were mistreated in dealing with traders and planters down there.

Q. Did you see any specific illustrations of that from any statements they made?—A. I took some pains to get at the facts in the matter, and while I took their expressions of political troubles with a good many grains of allowance, I wanted to see something tangible. I made inquiries of some leases and contracts with land-owners—that was a great complaint, that they were defrauded in contracts—and I gathered up some of these, and I gathered up some of their store bills.

Q. Have you any of them with you?—A. Yes, sir; I think I have a number of them with me.

Q. I should like to have some specimen bricks.—A. (Handing contracts.) I have a number here, some of them are alike, some different.

Q. Just give us a sample of them. These purport to be original leases?—A. Yes, sir; these are leases that I got from the people themselves. They vary but little.

Q. Well, give us the specimens you have.—A. Well, I will submit these that I got from the parties themselves.

This indenture, made and entered into this 2nd day of January, 1875, by and between Mrs. A. S. Crane, of Nil-Desperandum, Madison Parish, La., on the first part, and Lewis Robinson, of said parish and State, of the second part, witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the rent hereafter stipulated to be paid, the said Mrs. A. S. Crane has leased and let to the said Lewis Robinson the following described lands and tenements: 6 acres, containing in all about six acres, more or less, to have and to hold the said lands and tenements for the term of one year from the first of January, 1875.

And the said Lewis Robinson agrees to pay rent for the said lands ten dollars, payable in cotton at the market price, from the first cotton ginned, and six dollars per acre for grass land, secured by a lien, with the right of distress on all the personal property on said premises, and all the crops grown or growing thereon, without any relief whatever from stay, valuation, homestead, or exemption laws.

And the party of the second part hereby agrees to give and does give the same security and the same rights to secure the full and prompt payment of all advances made to him by said Mrs. A. S. Crane, during the year, for the purpose of enabling him to make and secure a crop.

But it is distinctly understood and agreed that the party of the first part reserves to herself the right to expel said tenant, the party of the second part, if at a proper and reasonable time he does not prepare to put said lands in cultivation, open all cross ditches adjacent to land occupied by said Lewis Robinson and does not thereafter show due diligence in cultivating and securing the crop thereon, or if he should practice, or attempt to practice, any fraud in the payment of rent, or for supplies advanced.

It is further agreed that the party of the second part shall have the right of using any dead timber on the place for the purpose of fuel, or for the necessary repairs or improvements on the place, but for no other purpose, and that no green timber is to be cut except by special permission. All improvements to belong to the place, and not to be taken down or removed.

It is further agreed that no part of the crop or stock is to be moved off said premises until the rent and supplies are paid for, without the consent of the proprietress. All cotton to be ginned as the party of the first part directs.

MRS. A. S. CRANE. [SEAL.]

his
LEWIS X ROBINSON. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witness:

R. M. BARBER.
WILLIAM RESAR.

This indenture, made and entered into this first day of January, 1873, by and between Geo. M. Barber, of Nil-Desperandum, Madison Parish, Louisiana, of the first part, and Lewis Robinson, of said parish and State, of the second part, witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the rent hereafter stipulated to be paid, the said Geo. M. Barber has leased and let to the said Lewis Robinson the following described lands and tenements: containing in all about nine & three-fourths ($9\frac{3}{4}$) acres, more or less, to have and to hold the said lands and tenements for the term of one year from the first of January, 1873.

And the said Lewis Robinson agrees to pay rent for the said lands eight dollars per acre and six dollars for ginning 400 bale, secured by a lien, with the right of distress on all the personal property on said premises, and all the crops grown or growing thereon, without any relief whatever from stay, valuation, homestead, or exemption laws.

And the party of the second part hereby agrees to give and does give the same security and the same rights to secure the full and prompt payment of all advances made to him by said Geo. M. Barber, during the year, for the purpose of enabling him to make and secure a crop.

But it is distinctly understood and agreed that the party of the first part reserves to himself the right to expel said tenant, the party of the second part, if at a proper and reasonable time he does not prepare to put said lands in cultivation, open all cross ditches adjacent to land occupied by said Lewis Robinson, and does not thereafter show due diligence in cultivating and securing the crop thereon, or if he should practice, or attempt to practice, any fraud in the payment of rent or for supplies advanced.

It is further agreed that the party of the second part shall have the right of using any dead timber on the place for the purpose of fuel, or for the necessary repairs or improvements on the place, but for no other purpose, and that no green timber is to be cut except by special permission. All improvements to belong to the place, and not to be taken down or removed.

It is further agreed that no part of the crop or stock is to be moved off said premises until the rent and supplies are paid for, without the consent of the proprietor. All cotton to be ginned as the party of the first party directs.

G. M. BARBER. [SEAL.]

his
LEWIS + ROBINSON. [SEAL.]
mark.

Attest:

A. O. KELSEY.

This indenture, made and entered into this 17th day of October, 1876, by and between Mrs. A. S. Crane, of Nil Desperandum, Madison Parish, La., on the first part, and Alfred Thomas, of said parish and State, of the second part, witnesseth: That for and in consideration of the rent hereafter stipulated to be paid, the said Mrs. A. S. Crane has leased and let to the said Alfred Thomas the following-described lands and tenements, containing in all about 12 acres, more or less, to have and to hold the said lands and tenements for the term of one year from the first of January, 1877.

And the said Alfred Thomas agrees to pay rent for the said lands ten dollars per acre in cotton at the market-price from the first cotton ginned, secured by a lien, with the right of distress on all the personal property on said premises, and all the crops grown or growing thereon, without any relief whatever from stay, valuation, home-stead, or exemption laws.

And the party of the second part hereby agrees to give, and does give, the same security and the same rights to secure the full and prompt payment of all advances made to him by said Mrs. A. S. Crane during the year for the purpose of enabling him to make and secure a crop.

But it is distinctly understood and agreed that the party of the first part reserves to herself the right to expel said tenant, the party of the second part, if at a proper and reasonable time he does not prepare to put said lands in cultivation, open all cross-ditches adjacent to land occupied by said Alfred Thomas, and does not thereafter show due diligence in cultivating and securing the crop thereon, or if he should practice or attempt to practice any fraud in the payment of rent or for supplies advanced.

It is further agreed that the party of the second part shall have the right of using any dead timber on the place for the purpose of fuel or for the necessary repairs or improvements on the place, but for no other purpose, and that no green timber is to be cut except by special permission. All improvements to belong to the place and not to be taken down or removed.

It is further agreed that no part of the crop or stock is to be moved off said premises until the rent and supplies are paid for, without the consent of the proprietress. All cotton to be ginned as the party of the first part directs, and in case of any violation by said part of the second part, of any of the conditions of this lease, it is hereby expressly stipulated and agreed that said part of the second part shall forfeit all right, title, and interest in the crop that is growing, or may have been grown on said lands, under this lease, and that in such case said party of the first part may take, hold, and dispose of said crops at her pleasure, as stipulated damages for such violation.

MRS. A. S. CRANE. [SEAL.]

his
ALFRED + THOMAS. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witness :

_____.
_____.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Parish of Madison :

This agreement, made and entered into this day, by and between Mrs. A. S. Crane, party of the first part, Alfred Thomas, party of the second part, witnesseth :

That said Mrs. A. S. Crane, as owner of the Nil Desperandum plantation, leases to the said party of the second part 20 acres of land on said plantation for the year ending December 31st, A. D. 1872, for the consideration of eight dollars (\$8.00) per acre, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of one hundred & sixty doll's (\$160), which said aggregate sum is to be paid out of the first cotton picked, on or before the first of November, A. D. 1872.

Said Alfred Thomas further agrees to have all the cotton produced on said leased premises ginned and baled at the gin on said plantation, and further agrees to keep securely penned all his stock during the continuance of this lease.

It is further understood and agreed between the parties to this contract that should said Mrs. A. S. Crane furnish any stock or supplies to enable said Alfred Thomas to make a crop on said leased premises, that no cotton shall be removed from the plantation until the amount of said supplies or price of said stock, together with all the

rent, shall have been paid, and full satisfaction given. Said party of the second part also agrees to keep all ditches clean that lay adjacent to his land.

In order to secure the full and punctual fulfillment of the stipulation of this contract, said Alfred Thomas hereby grants, to its fullest extent, both the lessor's and furnisher's lien and privilege on all crops, and upon all the stock he now owns, or may become possessed of during this lease.

Witness our hands at the Nil Desperandum plantation, this 12th day of January, A. D. 1872.

MRS. A. S. CRANE.

ALFRED ^{his} + THOMAS.
mark.

Witness:

O. T. MELVIN.
DAVID W. FELL.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Parish of Madison:

Personally appeared before me, ————, who, being duly sworn, declared that he was present and saw the parties to the foregoing agreement sign the same, and that he and ———— signed with them as witnesses.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this ——— day of ———, A. D. 187 .

5.75 acres, @ \$8.00=\$46.00 }
5.67 @ \$10.00= 56.70 } \$102.70.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Parish of Madison:

This contract of lease, entered into, written, and signed on this the 24th day of April, 1878, witnesseth that James B. Corkern, a resident of said parish and State, as agent and attorney for Mrs. Lucy V. Semple Ames, for one-half, and John A. Klein, Mrs. Almeda W. Burney, wife of John A. McDonough, Miss Anna V. Burney, Mrs. Mary Ella Burney, wife of Claude H. Laurence, and Albert T. Felt, tutor of the minor, Minnie Agnes Burney, each for one-fifth of the other half, hereby lease, for the current year, unto Wilson Jones, also a resident of said parish, eleven & $\frac{43}{100}$ acres of land of the Burney tract, in and near the town of Delta, for the total price of one hundred & two $\frac{70}{100}$ dollars, for which this lease is made. This lease to have effect from the first day of January, 1878, to the 31st day of December, 1878, when it shall expire absolutely.

And the said Wilson Jones hereby binds and obligates himself to pay said price, \$102.70, on or before the 1st day of October, 1878, with eight per cent. interest thereon from maturity till paid, and ten per centum on the whole amount for attorneys' fees in case of suit for recovery hereon by reason of active or passive violation of this contract or the legal rights of the lessor; also, ten dollars for each & every tenement hereafter placed on said land.

Now, to secure the said price, with interest and attorney's fees, with all costs, the said Wilson Jones hereby recognizes the lessor's privilege, and grants a special lien and privilege on all the crops, work animals, buildings and moveables on, to be made on, used on or placed on said leased premises during said term of lease, and he, the said Wilson Jones, hereby farther agrees and binds himself not to sell, alienate, or in any manner encumber any of said property subject to said lien and privilege, to the prejudice of this contract or the rights of the lessor herein.

(Duplicated.) Thus done and signed at the place and on the date first herein, in the presence of the undersigned.

JAS. B. CORKERN.

Agent & Att'y for Lessors.

WILSON ^{his} + JONES.
mark.

Witnesses:

JNO. B. STONE.
FRED. WEIRING.

VICKSBURG, MISS., *March 25, 1878.*

This is to certify that I, R. F. Beck, agent of Mrs. Mary A. B. Rigby, have this day rented to Fred Dailey for this year, 1878, a part of the ground (10 acres) known as the Salmon tract, in Warren County, State of Mississippi, the said Fred Dailey agreeing to pay as rent of said land for this year three bales of cotton weighing 400 lbs., or the sum of \$120.00 in cash; the cotton to be delivered or the money to be paid to the said Beck, in the city of Vicksburg, on or before 25 day of October, 1878. And it is further agreed

by & between the parties, that all the crops raised on said land, together with all the stock & farming implements of every kind, shall be liable for the rent of said land if the three bales of cotton is not delivered, or the money paid according to the above contract.

Given under my hand & seal this 25 day of March, 1879.

R. F. BECK. [SEAL.]
his
FRED + DAILEY. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witness:
W. E. BECK.
his
MINGO + HARRIS.
mark.

And I do further agree to pay R. F. Beck, agt. for Mrs. M. A. B. Rigby, the sum of fifty dollars due on the back rent of 1877.

his
FRED + DAILEY. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witness:
his
MINGO + HARRIS.
mark.

Q. Have you any of the bills for goods?—A. I think I have some of them here.

Gilbert Wilson to Jno. W. Condon.

Mar. 16.	1 brl. pork.....	30 00	
" "	1 " flour.....	8 00	
" "	1 " meal.....	5 50	
" "	1 keg molasses.....	8 75	
" "	1 sack corn.....	3 75	
" 30.	2 " ".....	6 00	
" "	1 gall. whiskey.....	1 75	
May 4.	2 sack corn.....	7 50	
Aug. 4.	14½ lbs. meat.....	2 59	
Sept. 17.	30 yds. bagging.....	5 40	
" "	56 # ties.....	5 60	
" 20.	1 qut. whisky.....	75	
			\$85 59
" 17.	By cash.....		35 00
			\$50 59
	Balance due.....		8 50
	Coms. 10 %.....		\$59 09

Paid.

GILBERT WILSON.

JNO. W. CONDON.

VICKSBURG, MISS., April 7, 1877.

1877.

April 7.	3¼ yards cotton cloth, @ 20.....	65
" "	20 lbs. D. S. meat, @ 20 c.....	4 00
" 10.	1 pair shoes.....	2 50
" 15.	2 gallon molasses.....	2 70
" "	1 bbl. meal.....	6 25
" "	9 lbs. D. S. meat.....	1 80
" "	½ lb. tobacco.....	60
" 25.	1 bushel corn.....	1 10
" "	Salt.....	25
" "	15½ D. S. bacon @ 20 c.....	3 10
May 8.	4 lbs. D. S. meat.....	60
" 9.	1 sack corn.....	2 50
" "	1 gallon molasses.....	1 35

1877.

May	9.	21 lbs. D. S. bacon	4 20
"	19.	1 bbl. meal	6 50
"	"	2 bush. bran	2 50
"	"	2 bush. oats	2 50
"	"	1 pair shoes	2 50
May	19.	9 lbs. bacon	1 80
"	26.	2 gallon molasses	2 70
"	"	1 bbl. flour, 167 lbs	9 75
"	"	Corn	05
June	2.	12 lbs. D. S. bacon	2 40
"	12.	1 bushel oats	1 25
"	"	1 bushel bran	1 25
"	12.	12 lbs. D. S. bacon	2 40
"	"	1 pair shoes	2 50
"	16.	5 lbs. D. S. bacon	1 00
"	23.	1 bbl. meal	6 25
"	"	1 gallon molasses	1 30
"	"	20 lbs. D. S. bacon	4 00
July	4.	2 bushels corn	2 50
"	"	Salt	25
"	"	Sugar	35
"	7.	8 lbs D. S. bacon	1 80
"	11.	8 lbs. meat	1 40
"	12.	Molasses	30
"	26.	14 lbs. meat	2 80
"	"	1 gallon molasses	1 30
July	24.	24 lbs. side meat, @ 22	5 28
"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ bushel meal	1 00
"	"	1 gallon molasses	1 50
"	"	Mdse	50
Aug.	2.	10 lbs. D. S. bacon	2 00
"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ bushel meal	75
Aug.	3.	2 lbs. coffee	80
"	"	2 lbs. sugar	40
"	"	Sdr.	75
"	"	Salt	50
"	"	Tobacco	1 50
"	12.	11 yards	4 50
"	14.	15 lbs. bacon, @ 20 c.	3 00
"	"	8 yards cloth	1 20
"	"	10 lbs. side meat	2 20
"	"	1 bushel meal	1 50
"	19.	Shoulder "	2 35
"	"	1 pair shoes	2 70
"	"	Mdse	75
"	25.	Coffee	40
"	"	Sugar	20
Sept.	12.	12 lbs. meat	2 65
"	"	Flour	1 00
"	8.	20 lbs. side meat	4 40
"	"	1 gallon molasses	1 25
"	"	Tobacco	75
Sept.	10.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ gal. molasses	\$2 25
"	"	17 lbs. flour	1 00
"	"	1 lb. tobacco	1 25
"	"	$3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. sugar	55
"	"	12 lbs. S. meat	2 04
"	"	bbl. meal	6 25
"	17.	$\frac{1}{2}$ barl. XXXX flour	6 75
"	17.	14 lbs. meat @ 18	2 52
"	17.	2 plow lines	60
"	24.	22 lbs. D. S. meat @ 20 c	\$4 40
"	28.	Tobacco	40
"	28.	1 sack corn	2 50
"	"	$2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels @ \$1	\$2 50
"	"	1 gallon molasses	\$1 35
Oct.	24.	$\frac{1}{2}$ bbl. flour	5 50
"	"	D. S. meat	3 50
"	25.	Side meat	3 45
"	"	Sugar	50
"	"	Coffee	50

Q. That seems to be different in form?—A. Yes, sir; somewhat different. Here are some of the store bills that they gave me.

Q. We will have them read, or put in without reading, just as the chairman pleases.

The CHAIRMAN. Just put them in. Do you know yourself what places these came from?—A. All from Louisiana, Madison Parish. I can tell by looking at them. I got these from the first that came there, and they were all from along the river about Vicksburg. Mostly in Louisiana. I think these were by the way.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. The burden of their complaints, then, was their treatment with reference to business matters, leases and purchases?—A. Yes, sir; and they complained largely of not having school facilities. Some of them complained they were taxed for schools and had very little, if any, schooling for their children. I made some inquiries on about what they were taxed. They were taxed two dollars a head personal tax, and then on their personal property. They seemed to have no exemption. They complained, also, of personal violence to some extent, although I did not find in my inquiries any persons who had received personal violence themselves. I found one or two women, whose husbands or sons, as they claimed, were killed; but I took these matters with a good deal of allowance.

Q. Did they say anything about political bulldozing, or persecution?—A. Yes, sir; they talked a great deal about that. I talked with several who had been run away from their homes, they claimed, by night-riders. They said further from the river the oppression was harder than immediately on the river; but I gathered that their principal tangible cause of complaint was in their dealings with the planters and storekeepers. 'I lived there for a year or two, and I know something about that. They deal entirely with the storekeeper at the landing. They buy their goods from him, and when their cotton is raised it goes through his hands, and their complaint is, that in many instances, when their store bill was run up, and the cotton had gone through their hands, when it returned it was very difficult to get a settlement. When they would go to get a settlement with the storekeeper for returns from their cotton, he would keep putting them off until they had about taken up everything in the store bill. But that is negro-like; they are inclined to do that anyway; I don't think much of that.

Q. Did you find anything concerning their desire to go back from Kansas?—A. I found no disposition to go back; there were a great many applications made for them to go back; and notice was sent from Saint Louis and also Kansas City that their transportation would be paid back if they would go.

Q. Was that a public understanding?—A. Yes, sir; that was a public understanding; and parties came there in the interest of the planters to get them to return.

Q. Do you know of any offers made to them, and of what character?—A. They offered to pay their way back, and made a great many promises as to what they would do for them. I don't remember anything specific, although they were made and published in the papers.

Q. What was the effect of that, so far as you know, upon the colored people; how many of them went back under that inducement?—A. I do not know of any going back except one man. I went to Saint Louis—the mayor and myself—afterwards, in reference to this matter, and I made inquiries as to whether a certain man had gone back, and learned he had gone back after his family. A number of them came to the

mayor and to different parties connected with the committee there, and said they wanted to go back, and on inquiry I always learned that they never wanted to go farther than Saint Louis.

Q. At the time the offers were made to pay their expenses back, and other inducements, they understood they were not going to get a mule and forty acres of land in Kansas free, didn't they?—A. The objection they made was, they did not seem to rely upon the promises made by the people at all, and about getting a mule or forty acres of land, that seemed to be a myth. I made particular inquiries about that also, because it was rumored they had been induced to come there by false representations; but I could not find any knowledge of any such facts. It was a sort of myth through the air; but none of them had any such expectations. Some of them made inquiries about government land, something of that kind, but did not expect to get anything.

Q. You did not find any that had this fancy inducement offered to them?—A. The only thing I found at all was quite a party of them; and I will say that they were a little better fixed than the majority of them. They had a team, some of them, and a little money. There seemed to be twenty-five or thirty families of them, and they wanted to go to Ottawa, Kans.; and upon inquiry, I found that they had among them, some of them, an old circular issued by the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad Company, in 1868, eleven years before that, offering their lands for sale along the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston road. That paper was old and dirty, as if they had had it a long time. My idea was, that they had got hold of this, and kind of treasured it up and followed it; but it was no donation they expected; it was some advertisement of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston road.

Q. You did not find that any of them had these handsome chromos with cottages surrounded by trees, &c.?—A. No; that was the only paper of the kind I found among them, and I made particular inquiry about it.

Q. Have you had any occasion to know what Governor St. John's views and sentiments were, and his probable action in reference to their coming to the State?—A. Well, I have talked with Governor St. John a number of times, and I never learned anything from him; that he made any offers, or was desirous of their coming at all. In fact, I have heard him say that his idea seemed to be—what he most impressed upon my mind was this—that Kansas had heretofore appealed to the generosity of the country for aid during the grasshopper time, and it had been generously given; and it would be an act of ingratitude for Kansas not to do something for these people when they arrived there, or something of that kind.

Q. You are a Republican, are you not?—A. Yes, sir; I am a Republican.

Q. And you are a friend of Governor St. John, are you not—well acquainted with him?—A. Yes, sir; I am well acquainted with him.

Q. If he had had any political motives to try to fill up Kansas politically, would he have been likely to confide them to you?—A. I would have been likely to know it. We have forty thousand majority now.

Q. You are not aware that he was desirous to import voters to carry the State?—A. I am aware of the sentiment of Kansas. We do not want the colored people to come, if we could get out of it, simply to take care of them.

Q. Then the motive of your people was simply a charitable one?—A. Yes sir.

Q. And being forced upon you you felt that you must do what you could to take care of them?—A. Yes, sir; that has been entirely the idea of the people there. I know that Governor St. John wrote a letter in answer to an inquiry made from Saint Louis—it seemed to be a public letter; I cannot remember the name of the gentleman—he wrote a letter in answer to that, in which he expressed this sentiment: that the State of Kansas was open to immigrants from every direction, but that there was no inducement offered to immigrants of any kind.

Q. Do you understand that the Republican party objected to these people on account of their color, or simply because they were paupers?—A. No; it was simply their impoverished condition.

Q. And the same objection would have been expressed to the coming of any other class of immigrants in the same condition?—A. Yes; they would have had the same objection to any other class of immigrants in the same condition.

Q. Tell us what their condition was, as you saw it on the levee, when these people came in.—A. They came there in a condition of the most abject poverty, speaking generally.

Q. I speak generally.—A. They had nothing but bundles of old rags; and the majority of them consisted of old men, women, and children—probably not more than one able-bodied man in a family, and they would not average that hardly. They seemed to be helpless and in rags; and seemed to be destitute in every respect.

Q. Would you infer from their appearance that they came from a very prosperous country, where they had been doing well?—A. No, sir; I would infer from their appearance that they came from a very unprosperous country.

Q. It would seem to be difficult to make their condition very much worse, would it not?—A. It would be difficult for their condition to be much worse. There appeared to be scarcely any of them that had been in a prosperous condition.

Q. And the stories they told as to their hardships and treatment would seem to be borne out pretty well by their appearance, would it not?—A. Well, it impressed me that way; yes, sir.

Q. If you think of anything else that will throw light upon the subject, state it.—A. I think of nothing else except in relation to that affair at Wyandotte; it was not a political affair; both sides were engaged in it; it seemed to be fright and alarm; some parties were complaining that we had commenced improving and building up quite rapidly there, last spring, and it would stop other people from coming there, and it would make their property valueless to have so great a number thrust upon us; and that yellow-fever cry was not a political matter at all.

Q. You say two thousand were thrown on a population of five thousand?—A. Yes; and they were coming by the boatload from Saint Louis.

Q. And the expectation was that they were coming in still larger numbers?—A. Yes; and they did continue to come. The mayor and myself went to Saint Louis after the organization of this State committee, and we made arrangements that they should be forwarded to Topeka in the care of the general committee, and we had very few of them afterwards, although they kept landing in numbers after that.

Q. How do you account for the fact that these people, being in that utterly destitute condition and having been offered the means of going back to their homes in the South, and their expenses paid, would not accept these offers?—A. They seemed to place no reliance on the prom-

ises made, and would say, they made all kinds of promises, but when they got back it would be just as bad as ever.

Cross-examination of witness by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What has become of that crowd?—A. They are mostly scattered through the State. We sent a train load to Lawrence, and a train load to Topeka.

Q. You say they were mostly old men, women, and children?—A. The majority of them.

Q. How are they being supported now?—A. Indeed I could not tell you; we kept a number of them among us, and the great mass have been sent for; those that remain there are getting along. They seem to be industrious and thrifty. There is a piece of public land down on the levee, where they have erected quite a little village; put up little houses. They are working around at job work. They are not inclined to loaf as bad as our old population of colored boys up there, and there are not as many colored men of them loafing on the streets; but they are very unskilled, the mass of them.

Q. Totally unadapted to the style of farming done in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; totally. I may say they have been used to using the old fashioned hoe and the wooden plow.

Q. That is about the only implement they have been used to handling?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the universal sentiment of the State; you did not want these people there?—A. Well, the feeling was, that we would rather have a more thrifty class of emigrants.

Q. Why, yes; of course you would rather these folks would go somewhere else?—A. Yes; I would prefer to have them go to Indiana, or some other place. I am only speaking for myself.

Q. I know none of you Republicans speak for your party; I have never known so much care taken on the part of any one not to speak for his party. You speak for yourself as an individual, of course?—A. I have no right to speak for the party.

Q. Do you know of any other individual Republican that does not feel the same way as you do?—A. I think that is the feeling of a great many of them, that they would prefer to have them go somewhere else.

Q. That is the universal sentiment of your party, is it, Mr. Buchan?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, you have not called a convention, appointed State central committee, or passed resolutions on that ground, but isn't it just as true that you are all of the same mind, however, as if you had had a State convention on this subject, and resolved that you would rather these people would not come to Kansas in such numbers, or would rather they should go to Indiana or some place else?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that. The general opinion is, that we would rather they would go somewhere else. So far as going to Indiana is concerned, I will say for myself personally that I think they would be more useful there.

Q. Well, do you know any Republican who differs with you on that point?—A. Yes, sir; I know a good many—a good many Republicans who perhaps are not as much of party men as I am, who do not want them to come North at all. A great many Kansas Republicans think that the proper place for them is at the South.

Q. Do you know any who would not rather they would go to Kansas?—A. I know a good many who, in talking about it, think that it is a good suggestion to send them there.

Q. Did you meet General Conway when he was out on that mission

a year ago?—A. I don't recollect that I did; I met a colored man, a white man, and a mulatto from about Meridian, Miss., there, and the Yazoo district, and a colored man—Brown, I think, was his name—from Hinds County, Mississippi, and a number of them.

Q. You would know whether you had met Mr. Conway, for he is a man of mark; not a man you would be likely to forget, if you had once met him.—A. I don't recollect meeting him at Wyandotte.

Q. Or any place else?—A. No, sir; I never saw him in my life, to my knowledge.

Q. Well, in speaking with other people, did you converse with them about diverting the immigration from Kansas to anywhere else?—A. No, sir; the only conversation about diverting them from Kansas was this: when the mayor and myself went to Saint Louis to see if we could not have the tide diverted from Wyandotte—that was our particular care—and we made arrangements by which they agreed to ship them to Topeka; but no arrangements were made to divert the tide anywhere except from our own town. It was a local matter with us—it was a burden.

Q. Now, first you would like to spare Wyandotte some, and next Kansas some, but still you would like them to go somewhere else?—A. Are you asking me personally?

Q. O, yes; we are not committing the party—we will be very careful about that.—A. I am much in favor of their leaving the South. My opinion is their condition there is about as bad as it could be.

Q. You are in favor of their leaving South, but not in favor of their coming to Kansas?—A. I cannot say that exactly; they have come there in numbers that are a great injury to us.

Q. How much more could you stand?—A. I could not make an estimate.

Q. You are a representative man?—A. No.

Q. You are a member of the State senate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And elected by your party?—A. Partly; I was assisted by Democratic friends.

Q. So they have got a choice on some things; you do speak for your party on some subjects, then?—A. I may, perhaps, to some extent—very limited.

Q. You are sure you do not speak for the party on this subject?—A. The party has spoken for itself on this subject.

Q. In Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Very well; have you had a State convention on the subject?—A. No, sir; we have not had a State convention on the subject.

Q. Well, one in which this subject was spoken of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you pass a resolution on that subject?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you that resolution with you?—A. I have.

Q. Please read it.—A. These resolutions were offered at the last convention assembled at Topeka.

Mr. BLAIR. When was it assembled; the 29th of March?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAIR. The Blaine convention?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; the resolution is as follows (reading):

Fifth. That the unhappy cause of the emigration of the colored people from the South to the North is the apprehension of persecution and robbery by the white people, their former masters, and the present owners of the soil; and it is the duty of the Government of the United States to extend to the colored people of the South such protection that removal from their native land shall cease to be a necessity.

That is an expression of principles, as you may say.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Why has not some Republican Senator introduced some measure to protect them. The general government is clothed with the power, and some believe that covers the case, but I do not. Why has not some one introduced some measure?—A. I am not responsible for that. Perhaps the majority would not give them the opportunity.

Q. Have you heard, Mr. Buchan, that the majority has in any way obstructed their opportunity?—A. No, sir; no the other hand, I think the majority have given them immense opportunities.

Q. When you say perhaps the majority would not give them an opportunity, that was a slip of the tongue?—A. No, sir; that was not a slip of the tongue; simply an answer to your question; a question you thought I was not competent to answer; and that you knew, perhaps, I was not.

Q. Inasmuch as you come clothed with a resolution on this subject—A. No, sir; I did not come clothed with this resolution, I cut that out of a Washington paper.

Q. I don't mean that you brought it, I mean you as a Republican, and a prominent man in the State, are involved in that resolution. When it passed, were you a member of the convention?—A. Yes; I was a member of the convention, but did not attend on account of the death of my wife.

Q. But you would have voted for that resolution?—A. I would, sir.

Q. So you feel as responsible for it as any other Republican of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; I feel as responsible for it as any other Republican of Kansas.

Q. Yet you do not know of any Republican member of the house or Senate who has taken steps to enforce the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution or any other provision of the law that has been violated down South?—A. No, sir; I don't know of any personally.

Q. Have you heard of any?—A. Not particularly—in a general way I think I have; I could not specify.

Q. Let us hear, in a general way, who has made the slightest move in that direction?—A. I say I cannot specify at all.

Q. No! Have you heard any expression at all?—A. I have heard expressions of members of Congress frequently on the subject.

Q. In their places on the floor? If you have, you have heard, my friend, more than I have?—A. I cannot say particularly, but I have heard that there have been expressions—I could not say what. It may have been the general idea I have got.

Q. But there has been no measure introduced?—A. O, no, sir; not any measure or anything of that kind.

Q. Mr. Buchan, the feeling was quite violent there at Wyandotte, was it not?—A. It was, sir.

Q. And you shared in it about as much as anybody else?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, you went down to Saint Louis with your mayor to keep the tide off?—A. Yes, sir; I went to Saint Louis, by resolution of the committee—the relief committee—to see after the organization of this State committee; whether it would not be less expensive and better to have them shipped directly to Topeka, in place of landing them at Wyandotte and shipping them from there.

Q. Who went down with you except the mayor?—A. Nobody, officially at least; it seems to me somebody went along down.

Q. From your description of his political status, he was not author-

ized to speak for anybody on the face of the earth, was he?—A. Nobody except the Greenback party.

Q. Now, Mr. Buchan, when you got down to Saint Louis, did you take steps to instruct Saint Louis to turn them East and not let them come up on you?—A. None whatever.

Q. Well, what did you go for?—A. We went to turn the tide over to the general committee of the State that was organized, in place of having them sent to Wyandotte.

Q. O, yes; not so much to keep them out of Kansas as to keep them out of Wyandotte?—A. To keep them out of Wyandotte; yes, sir.

Q. Why; was not Wyandotte as well worthy of assuming this population as any other part of Kansas?—A. We thought we would have too many of them. We were told in Saint Louis that they would probably stop coming in such numbers. The reason given us by some gentlemen and clerks of steamboats and transportation companies was that they had had anonymous circulars or notes that if they did not stop taking negroes their boats would be burned.

Q. Did you not join in these public meetings in your town?—A. Yes, sir, in one meeting; it was simply the one meeting.

Q. Well, you joined in the one meeting from beginning to end?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you any official connection with the meeting?—A. None whatever.

Q. Did you make a speech?—A. I think I suggested that the resolution was a pretty severe one. Yes, sir; I said it looked very much to me like organizing a vigilance committee, and for the good name of the town I did not want to do anything of that kind; that portion of it was struck out of the original resolution.

Q. And on your speech it was stricken out?—A. No, sir; I don't think it was.

Q. On your speech was not this move made to go to Saint Louis?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not make that suggestion yourself, and thereby you became one of the party that went down?—A. I was elected a member of the committee, but was not present at the time; it was the term of our court. I am not certain about that, however.

Q. Well, now, you have said that you thought the general sentiment was against too many of these folks coming to Kansas, but you don't know whether you have got too many now or not; how is that? I want to know how soon we may look for the balance of the tide?—A. I don't know as I understand your question.

Q. I want to know how many more you think the sentiment of Kansas would bear.—A. O, I have no idea of that at all. I think this—whenever the people of the State begin to think they are becoming an oppressive burden they will do as they are doing now, only with a louder voice—complain that there are too many.

Q. Is not that the general feeling now?—A. The general feeling is that it is not a desirable class of immigration. That is my opinion; they are totally unskilled.

Q. Then, as a matter of course, you don't think they want any more of them.—A. No, I don't think they want any more of them; but do not understand that if they come we are not going to do the best we can for them.

Q. O, no, not going to kill or hurt them?—A. And not permit them to starve.

Q. But as you do not want them and are in favor of their leaving the

South, then you are in favor of their going somewhere else?—A. I am, in general; but in favor of their going wherever they can better their condition, let it be wherever it may. Some have gone as far north as Minnesota.

Mr. WINDOM. That is a good place for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; voting in public meeting in less than five years to keep them out of your State.

Q. Now, Mr. Buchan, do you think it is for the betterment of the condition of the negro himself that you desire him to go to Indiana or for the Republican party?—A. My desire about the Indiana business was simply this; if they are coming North, personally I think that is a good place for them. I have no desire whatever for their leaving the South and coming North for that purpose. I don't think that is what brings them there.

Q. You don't think Indiana is a good place on account of soil and climate, or anything of that kind, for the negro, or rather it is a good place, as General Conway says, to level up the plain of civilization of that part of the United States?—A. I don't know anything about the civilization of Indiana. I think it is fair there.

Q. Did I understand you in your examination-in-chief to say that you had been in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When?—A. After the war I remained there a year and raised cotton in 1867. I left there about January, 1867, I think. I was in Tensas Parish.

Q. You say these colored folks complained of their treatment by their storekeepers?—A. Yes, their storekeepers and their landlords. I ought to say this, which I know to be a fact: In that portion of Louisiana where the large majority of those I talked with came from, Madison, Tensas Parish, and Providence, and along through that country as all know was devastated during the war, all the buildings were burned down and a majority of the old planters, who did not live there, have not rebuilt their buildings. They reside largely in Vicksburgh, and the towns, and as near as I can learn they had to deal with storekeepers largely.

Q. These are mainly on the rivers and at the railway stations, are they not?—A. Yes, those they dealt with—whoever they made the contract with—in some cases an agent and in others with the owner of the land; but they do not seem to reside on the place.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You were treated well, were you?—A. Well, I was there just after the close of war—the first year after they went back on to the plantations and went to work—and it is a pretty hard question for me to answer. I could see a feeling of dissatisfaction among the old planters; that is, they felt cross and ugly that these people that had been their property should now come up and be able to treat with them about terms and conditions. And I know we had difficulty. They would give them so much a month and food and clothing—our contracts there were that they should have so many dresses and pairs of pants during the year. One instance particularly—a great source of annoyance—was the number of yards a woman should have for a dress. They say, "We pay for this—this comes out of our wages—and we want more material—more yards"; and the planters had the idea they could get along with less. Some such little troubles as that.

Q. When were you there? before bulldozing began?—A. O, yes; it was in sixty-seven before I left there.

Q. Now, Mr. Voorhees has asked about your wishes as to where these people should go. Would it not be your wish, as a radical Republican, that these people should be treated rightly so they could stay there?—

A. Most certainly. The colored people would stay there if they could. They are not migratory people.

Q. And you think they are needed in the South?—A. I think they are needed in the South and should stay if they could have fair dealing.

Q. As a lover of freedom and humanity, you think they should stay there and be properly treated?—A. If not treated well, I think it would be better for them and the country that they should go where they could better their condition.

Q. Mr. Voorhees has asked you why the Republicans did not pass measures to protect them, and as to the opposition of the majority. Isn't the opposition of the majority pretty well understood on this subject throughout the country?—A. In answering that question I am a little like I was in answering Senator Voorhees; I have my opinion about that and so have people generally.

Q. Well, we can answer that in the Senate.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Are you not aware that the Statutes of the United States are exceedingly full and explicit in affording ample protection to citizens of the United States, North and South, if they could be enforced?—A. I think, if they could be enforced. I do not think them ample if not enforced.

Q. Are you aware that the States South, while under control of the Republicans, contained like provisions, and both the State and national statutes were nullified by armed force at the South?—A. Yes, sir; and one great cause of complaint now is that the courts are against them—that the courts are organized against the colored man. There is no use of going to law, they say, because they cannot get justice. Since you have recalled it, in gathering up these items of information, I found a receipt that an old fellow brought to me, a bill of sale for a mule that he had paid one hundred and fifty dollars to a commission man for, and it was receipted on it that he had paid one hundred and forty-six dollars. I think it was—no, one hundred and sixty dollars was the price he was to pay for it, and they had received from him from time to time one hundred and forty-odd dollars. It was to be paid during the year. At the end of the year, I think twelve to fourteen dollars still remaining due, they took his mule away from him and said they put it up for sale again, although there was but twelve dollars due the commission man, and returned him two dollars.

Q. He agreed to pay \$160?—A. Yes; and my recollection is there was only \$12 due on the mule. They took it from him and sold it and gave him back \$2; that was all, they said, that was due him. I think he sued and commenced proceedings, but never got anything. I learned that when making inquiry. I do not know where that receipt is; maybe it is among those papers; I am not certain.

Q. You inquired about the feeling of the Republicans in Kansas who preferred to have these negroes go elsewhere. Have you any reason to doubt that the Republicans of Indiana felt just the same in regard to their coming to Indiana as the Republicans of Kansas felt about their coming to Kansas?—A. I only judge from what I understand to be the general feeling of Republicans on all these questions.

Q. No, no; you misunderstood me. You say you are willing to have them go where it is necessary for them to go, but rather prefer that

they should not come to Kansas. Would not the same reasons that make you as a Republican feel that way about their coming to Kansas create the same state of mind among the Republicans of Indiana as to their coming to Indiana? Would they not rather have them go some place else?—A. I should think so. I have seen no Republicans from any State that have any desire for it.

Q. Then this little effort to show that the Republicans want the negroes to go to Indiana does not have a tendency to prove that the Republicans of Indiana are engaged in a conspiracy to bring them to Indiana, does it?—A. No, sir.

Q. On the contrary you feel that the Republicans of Indiana would want them, to go somewhere else than to Indiana?—A. I should think so.

Q. That is all that comes to, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; that was only a by-play on that.

Q. Exactly, but you state your honest feeling about their coming to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it not probably the truth that the Indiana Republicans would desire that they should go some place else than Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is what you would testify?—A. Yes, sir; that would be my feeling.

Q. But it don't seem to be satisfactory to some people to have it go so. The Democrats of Kansas feel just the same as the Republicans about their coming to Kansas, don't they?—A. I think so. I do not think it has any political significance in Kansas at all. I will say that I know Republicans as well as Democrats who are mixed up in our little excitement there at home. I do not think there is a political fear of it there at all; it is a general feeling of fright, probably.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a lawyer?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you understand yourself when you answered Mr. Blair's question, when you answered that the laws of the United States were not enforced by the courts?

The WITNESS. I did not use such language.

The CHAIRMAN. The report will show that you used such language.

Mr. BLAIR. No; nullified by the courts.

The CHAIRMAN. Or nullified in the courts.

The WITNESS. I do not so understand it.

Q. You are aware that there is a Federal jurisdiction in this country?—A. I am also aware that the juries are drawn from the body of the people.

Q. Don't you know that they are drawn from the negroes as well as the white people all over the South? Don't you know that that has been proved here?—A. I don't know what you have proved.

Q. Don't you know that to be a fact?—A. No, I don't know that to a fact.

Q. Do you know anything on the subject?—A. Simply what I have heard. I do not understand that they are drawn to such an extent as before.

Q. Well, there is a Republican judge, and district attorney, and a Republican marshal, and Republican deputies, and who is to blame if the negroes are not properly represented on the juries?—A. I do not know.

Q. That is all.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. But you know that in fact a large majority of the courts that try petty offenses may be most oppressive?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Justices of the peace, &c., those that have jurisdiction over them ?
—A. O, yes.

Q. That is the general rule ?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. I suppose you are also aware that it takes an agreement of twelve men to get a verdict, and that a divided jury is just as bad for a man who wants a verdict as the one that is against him ?—A. Yes; most everybody knows that.

Q. Most everybody knows that; but you don't know that all the juries of the South are made up exclusively of colored people ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or that white people are eliminated from juries ?—A. No, sir; you may find half a jury colored and the other half white down there. They are influenced largely by the white men on the jury. That is a pretty broad field to go into. That is a divided question, you know.

TESTIMONY OF ABSALOM H. KENNEDY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 24, 1880.*

ABSALOM H. KENNEDY sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Kennedy ?—A. I live in Oxford, Miss.

Q. How long have you lived there ?—A. I was born and reared there.

Q. Have you given any attention to the laws of Mississippi, as bearing upon the condition of the colored race, Mr. Kennedy ?—A. Not particularly upon the colored race more than the balance of the poor class of people there—the laws generally.

Q. The laws that bear upon the poor class of people generally ?—A. Certainly.

Q. Can you give us a statement of some of these laws ? You are a lawyer, I believe, are you not ?—A. Yes, sir; I have been practicing law. Well, the negroes and poor people as a general thing have complained of a great many laws that are said to be hurtful among them there. It is a felony, that is a penal offense, to steal, I think, over ten dollars' worth; it can be a penitentiary offense—a term of five years in the penitentiary; and it is made a felony to steal a pig, shoat, cow, goat, kid, or anything about one dollar in value.

Q. Can you refer us to these statutes ?—A. Yes, sir; they are the acts of 1871, and the sheet acts of 1876 and 1878.

The Revised Code of the statute laws of Mississippi of 1871 has these provisions :

[Witness reading:]

ARTICLE XXIV.—*Larceny.*

§ 2652. Every person who shall be convicted of taking and carrying away feloniously the personal property of another, of the value of twenty-five dollars, or more, shall be guilty of grand larceny, and shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term of not exceeding five years.

§ 2653. If any person who shall feloniously take, steal, and carry away any personal property of another, under the value of twenty-five dollars, he shall be deemed guilty of petit larceny, and shall be punished by imprisonment in a county jail for a term not exceeding three weeks, or by fine, in any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, or by both such fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court.

The laws of Mississippi of 1876 provide as follows on the subject of grand and petit larceny :

[Witness reading] :

CHAPTER LVII.

AN ACT to amend section 2652 and 2653, Revised Code of 1871, in relation to grand and petit larceny.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Mississippi,* That section 2652 of the Revised Code of 1871, be, and the same is hereby, amended, so as to read as follows : Every person who shall be convicted of taking and carrying away feloniously the personal property of another, of the value of ten dollars or more, shall be guilty of grand larceny, and shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding five years : *Provided,* That it shall be grand larceny to feloniously steal any hog, pig, shoat, cow, calf, yearling-steer, bull, sheep, lamb, goat, or kid of the value of one dollar or more, and shall be punished in like manner.

SECTION 2. *Be it further enacted,* That section 2653 of the Revised Code of 1871 be amended so as to read, under the value of ten dollars, instead of twenty-five dollars, as it now reads.

SECTION 3. *Be it further enacted,* That this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved April 5, 1876.

Q. Now, you were stating the general effect of these laws as to the penalties. How are the people treated who are convicted of these small offenses?—A. I have just spoken of the larger offenses—offenses that would penitentiary them. There were other offenses that they may commit, of a smaller nature, that will imprison them equally as long, and the punishment they would be subjected to would be more severe than the others I have spoken of.

Q. Give us an illustration of some of these minor offenses, and how they would be treated under the law, and are treated.—A. I do not suppose the distinction is made to a great extent. If a man were to get into a fisticuff fight, or assault and battery, or anything of that sort, he would be taken before a justice of the peace and fined in a sum of not less than one dollar nor more than fifty or five hundred. It is regulated by the law in the acts referred to.

Q. If they have jurisdiction to fine for fifty dollars or five hundred dollars.—A. I think so. Some of the minor offenses are not subject to punishment in the penitentiary.

Q. For stealing an animal worth a dollar, he is penitentiared for that? Must it be the penitentiary or a fine?—A. It must be by punishment. The judge can modify that. It is discretionary.

Mr. BLAIR. Modified how?

The WITNESS. Hiring out for so many months, and a fine of five hundred dollars, fifty dollars, or one dollar, with costs. These parties in the country are hired out by the sheriff, by consent of the board of supervisors of each county, at the rate of twenty-five cents per day, with board; and in case he is sick for two days he is to take four days to pay for these two days which he was sick.

I will read you the law in regard to that. I read from the laws of Mississippi of 1878. (Reading :)

SEC. 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, 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 cost; 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 on 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.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That in any county in which there shall be a contractor for keeping prisoners, as provided for in this act, if any person committed to jail for an offense that is bailable shall not consent to be committed to the safe-keeping and custody of said contractor, and to work for the same under the provisions of this act, such prisoner shall be entitled to receive from the common jailer, as diet for each day, only six ounces of bacon or ten ounces of beef, and one pound of bread and water: *Provided*, Such prisoner may furnish, or cause to be furnished, without expense to the county, whatever diet he sees proper. But if said prisoner shall be afterwards convicted, he shall, nevertheless, work under said contractor a sufficient term to pay all costs of prosecution, including the regular jail fees for keeping and feeding him, unless the same are paid or secured as provided for in this act: *Provided*, The sheriff shall only receive twenty cents per day for feeding prisoners under this act.

SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That in all cases where a prisoner has been sentenced to the State penitentiary, and he shall sue out a writ of error, if he does not give bail he shall not be entitled to a supersedeas of the judgment, unless he shall give sufficient security to the sheriff to pay the jail fees, in case the judgment shall be affirmed. And in all cases of convictions in the circuit court for misdemeanors, the same rule shall apply. And when a party convicted of a misdemeanor before a justice of the peace shall appeal to the circuit court, there shall be no supersedeas of the judgment unless he shall give to said justice of the peace bond and sufficient security in the penalty of one hundred dollars, conditioned for the payment of all the costs of the prosecution in case he shall be convicted in the circuit court, which bond shall be transmitted by the justice of the peace as part of the records of the appeal. And in case of conviction, judgment shall be entered on it in the circuit court against both principal and sureties.

SEC. 11. *Be it further enacted*, That when no one will contract for the prisoners in any county, the board of supervisors of such county may contract for the work of their prisoners with the contractor of any adjoining county, according to the provisions of this act for contracts for prisoners within the county, and when no contract can be made under this act, the prisoners shall be disposed of as now required by law.

SEC. 12. *Be it further enacted*, That whenever any prisoner shall be sentenced to the penitentiary of this State, it shall be the duty of the circuit clerk of the court passing said sentence to certify to the superintendent of the penitentiary the costs, if any, of the prosecution due by the prisoner. It shall be the duty of said superintendent to keep him in custody after the expiration of the term for which he was sentenced, and to work, or cause him to be worked, at the rate of twenty-five cents per day, not including Sundays, until said fine and costs are paid, and, when so paid, he shall pay them over to the treasurer of the proper county.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. He has to work double the length of time that he was sick, at twenty-five cents a day?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What class of officers have power to hire them out?—A. The board of supervisors directs the sheriff.

Q. To whom may they hire?—A. Any planter or farmer.

Q. So if a man is fined five hundred dollars for a trivial offense, he may be hired out for two thousand days?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if he is sick one hundred days out of that time, he must work two hundred more to pay the planter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is the hiring process allowed to convicts in the penitentiary, also?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. They are hired out, too?—A. Yes, sir; they are hired out all over the State.

Q. To private parties?—A. No, sir; to contractors.

Q. State contractors?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Others, for minor offenses, may be hired to private parties?—A. Yes, sir; others, for minor offenses, may be hired to private parties.

Q. How are they treated when they are hired out in that way?—A. Tolerably well. In some instances they are put in the calaboose and kept there. In some instances they are worked on the streets. A man may take a contract to fix up a certain street in town, and he has probably four or five of these convicts, and takes them out under ball and chain and works them out for a day, and then takes them back to the calaboose.

Q. A private planter does not work them with ball and chain?—A. No, they trust the honor of the planters to bring them up at night.

Q. Do they hire white convicts in that way?—A. I have never known of white men being hired in that way.

Q. You have seen negroes hired in that way?—A. O, yes; I have seen negroes hired in that way.

Q. Have you ever seen them work under ball and chain?—A. I have seen them in corporations; not in the country on farms; I have seen them on the streets.

Q. Do you know anything about the mode of catching them if they get away from the contractors; do they use the bloodhound in Mississippi?—A. No, sir; I have never seen them there since the war.

Q. Does that style of securing the labor of a man for an indefinite period, all on account of a small offense, give dissatisfaction to the colored people there?—A. As a general thing they have somewhat complained of it. For instance, the negroes were not allowed to marry before the war, and they contracted the disposition to cohabit together—adultery, or unlawful cohabiting.

Q. Was marriage not allowed?—A. No, sir; marriage was not allowed. The statute of Mississippi makes it an offense with imprisonment for not less than three months, and a fine of not less than fifty dollars or more than five hundred, if they are caught at acts of that sort and found guilty.

Q. That is now?—A. Yes, sir; now. Here is the law on adultery and fornication. I read from the laws of Mississippi, the Revised Code of 1871, as follows: (Reading)

ARTICLE III.—*Adultery and fornication.*

§ 2486. If any man and woman shall live together in unlawful cohabitation, whether the same shall be in adultery or fornication, upon conviction thereof they shall be fined in any sum not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars each, and imprisoned not more than six months, or by such fine or imprisonment alone, at the discretion of the court.

§ 2487. Persons being within the degrees of consanguinity within which marriages are declared by law to be incestuous and void, who shall cohabit, or live together as husband and wife, upon conviction, shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding ten years.

§ 2488. The penalties of this article shall not apply to any man or woman who, at the time of the adoption of the present constitution of this State, were, and had been, living together as husband and wife, although they may not, in fact, have been married according to law.

Q. Well, you are a Republican, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there perfect freedom of voting allowed to the colored people down in that country?—A. Well, no, sir; I could not say there is.

Q. How is it prevented?—A. Well, it is prevented in various ways. Not in my immediate county. My county has always been Democratic; yet there is more violence resorted to in the adjoining counties than in La Fayette; it is a Democratic county.

Q. In your own county not so much?—A. No, sir.

Q. What is the character of that violence?—A. Various ways. They go in the dead hours of night and take a man out and whip him half to

death, and a crowd of bulldozers try to kill him—the leading Republicans, both white and black.

Q. Are you, as a native Republican, permitted to make speeches and speak your sentiments as freely there as you could in the North?—A. I never have.

Q. Have you ever met any trouble in expressing your sentiments as a Republican?—A. Well, I have been interrupted several times there. In the fall of 1876, I think, I was appointed by the Republican executive committee to canvass our county and see that every vote was gotten out; and one night in town there was a fuss occurred; that is, they interrupted me so many times that Marshal Pierce interfered and told them he would have to call for assistance if they did not quit. The next day I was met by a drunken sort of villainous fellow, who was filled up with mean whisky, and, goaded on by the better class, ran up behind me and stabbed me in the side, and came near killing me.

Q. Was he punished in any way?—A. No, sir; turned loose. He was taken up to a Democratic mayor, and a Democratic sheriff released him on his own recognizance, and he did not have a dollar in the world, and they turned him off in consequence.

Q. Was no effort made to get him?—A. None at all; they had him and turned him loose.

Q. Had you had any personal difficulty with him before?—A. I never saw him before.

Q. You understand that it was purely, wholly political?—A. It seemed so; I had no animosity toward the fellow, and did not dream of bad feeling existing between him and myself.

Q. Were you in the Army during the war?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any other persons being attacked on account of their political sentiments?—A. I suppose Colonel Pierce has been attacked several times; I know of one occasion; he wrote to Mr. Guthrie, editor of the Falcon, I think. Guthrie published some pieces stating that he had not dealt fairly in his official capacity as marshal, and accused him of dirty acts. Mr. Pierce wrote him three or four notes, and wanted him to correct it. He refused to do so. He said he was going to post him as a rascal and slanderer. He posted him, and told him he would guard his posters with a double-barreled shot-gun. He stuck posters leading to the court-house, and formed a company and filed down towards his house.

Mr. BLAIR. Towards whose house?

The WITNESS. Towards Colonel Pierce's house; he is the United States marshal.

Mr. BLAIR. Who does the posting?

The WITNESS. The marshal.

Mr. BLAIR. Posted the editor?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; as reflecting upon his official character in an unwarrantable way, and so on; and because he would not retract it he posted him as a rascal and a slanderer.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Now what is your general understanding as to whether they can freely vote in those localities where they have a majority?—A. Well, my understanding is from all of them that they have never had free expression at the polls since 1873.

Q. What was the year of the so-called shot-gun policy in Mississippi?—A. 1875.

Q. The State was then carried for the Democratic party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has there been any full vote of the Republicans since that time?—
A. No, sir.

Q. Why not, according to your understanding of it?—A. Well, it is generally believed and conceded all over that State by everybody, Democrats and Republicans, that the Democrats had formed themselves all over the country into an organization called the regulators, and like that fellow Dickson did down in Yazoo, everywhere they found the Republicans in a respectable majority they would kill a few, and run the balance off, and scare them away from the polls. There was General George elected to the United States Senate in place of Mr. Bruce; General George was chairman of the State executive committee. He told them all—advised them to level the shot-gun on a few, and kill a few of them in each county, and that would scare the balance of them off, so that they would not come up to the polls to vote; and that was generally done all over the State.

Q. And that was carried out?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. He was chairman of the Democratic committee of the State?—A. Yes, sir; and would call a meeting of the committee, and advise the members of the committee of the respective counties to advise the county committees to that effect, and it seems to have just gone all over the State.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. And the result of that policy was a Democratic victory?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And has the Republican party been organized and vigorous since that time, or was it broken down by that policy?—A. It was broken down by that policy. They had organized companies all over the State, so they said.

Q. Can you tell us why the negroes, where they are in a majority, do not unite and defend themselves against such a bulldozing policy as that?—A. Well, yes, sir, I reckon I can; as a general thing the negro is very timid—been raised by his old master—and even a voice in a threatening way seems to stifle his energies and ambition, and he is afraid to raise any arms against him, in the first place; and in the next place—well, they are unarmed; none of them have got a gun in the whole State, while the opposite side is well armed, and they need the conveyance and one thing or another. They will charter a train, when there is a difficulty in Granada or Tallabatchie, or anywhere down in the State. They can get as many recruits from all parts of the State; they fall in in hundreds from Tennessee, Arkansas, and Alabama.

Q. So when the negroes who are in the majority attempt to resist, they are overwhelmed from the surrounding counties and States?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are the white people generally organized over the State in military companies?—A. They were in 1875. I had no idea of such a thing, but I went up into Mr. Beland's room to get a cigar. I ran up the back steps; I noticed that the windows in both stories were darkened; and I ran in on a company drilling there. That was the first I ever knew of the fact. The first I knew there was such a company in existence. I ran up on them.

Q. Were they secretly drilling?—A. They had the curtains down and the back door open. There was no one there but their own members; they were occasionally running down into the store and getting a glass of beer.

Q. Was that just prior to the election of 1875?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it fact that the white people are well armed?—A. O, yes, sir; they are well armed. I saw a piece in the paper—

Q. How is it about election officers; how are they appointed; do you know about that?—A. The officers are appointed by the governor—the registrars for each county. The law requires that each party shall be represented. As a general thing he appoints two Democrats and one Republican, and these registrars go to work and appoint judges and clerks at the elections.

Q. There are three registrars, two Democrats and one Republican, in each county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they appoint the judges who hold the elections?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are these judges of one party or both?—A. Sometimes one; the law requires they shall be of both.

Q. But the majority of Democratic registrars and judges select such Republicans as they choose, and men that they can call a Republican, and put two Democrats with him?—A. Certainly. I wrote to Governor Stone and told him—recommended a first-class Republican. We recommended a Republican. Mr. Lewis and I think Mr. Lorance recommended Jim Jefferson, a negro boy, who could hardly read and write, and he appointed a man who was objectionable to the masses of the Republicans.

Q. In your county the Republican appointment was upon the recommendation of a Democrat, and the man you Republicans recommended was not appointed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in that way they generally selected the Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that the Democrats select the Democratic and Republican judges of election also?—A. O, yes, sir. It excites the darky's fancy to be appointed to a position of that sort, especially if he is ignorant. They go to work and appoint the judges and clerks at election. They appointed in my beat, in the town where I vote, two shrewd, sharp Democrats, that I don't suppose had much scruples of conscience about stuffing ballots, and Bill Kennedy, a negro boy my father used to own. I know him; he is as timid as a mouse and can't read or write, and he just sat back there and let them vote as they pleased.

Q. What kind of a Republican did you and your Republican friends recommend?—A. He was a well-educated man, a shrewd, fair fellow, who had been appointed registrar two or three times there.

Q. Not a Democrat?—A. No, sir; a good Republican, born and bred in one of the best families in the State.

Q. Has there been any complaint about cheating at the ballot box as well as of bulldozing?—A. All over the State.

Q. So that they may be cheated out of their vote even if they get the ballots in the box?—A. Yes, sir. In the western part of the State there was great complaint of stuffing the ballot boxes when Mr. Muldrow and Mr. Davis ran for Congress. The United States court has the power to punish parties for stuffing the ballot box, while they have not the power in State elections. Mr. Smith, I think, an old gentleman that came over there, went before the United States court and a great many true bills were found, and the parties were arrested and a good many came up and pleaded guilty to the charge, and acknowledged that they had stuffed the ballot boxes against General Davis, a greenbacker. Mr. Smith went back home in June; the bills were found in December, and he was assassinated three or four days after his return. He was one of the judges of election and the main witness that had these bills found

against the parties that stuffed the ballot boxes against Smith, and in favor of Muldrow.

Q. He was assassinated?—A. Yes, sir; he was assassinated when he returned.

Q. Was he a white man?—A. Yes, sir; an old citizen—an old man.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. The judge of that Federal court is a Republican, is he not?—A. I don't know what he is.

Q. I allude to Judge Hill of the Federal court, and appointed by Mr. Lincoln?—A. By Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Johnson.

Q. Mr. Lincoln.—A. He has never voted and is appointed through a clerk, and the clerk has one or two deputies and they are all active working Democrats.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Are you sure whether it was Lincoln or Johnson?—A. My impression is that it was Johnson who appointed him. I think I heard it on good authority; I may be mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN. You are mistaken; the date will show it.

Mr. BLAIR. What is the man's given name?

The WITNESS. A. R. Hill.

By MR. WINDOM:

Q. Would it be possible, even though the judge were a Republican, to convict a man, with the kind of juries they have—to convict a man of an offense of that kind? Are not the juries made up of Democrats and Republicans, both?—A. Yes, sir. Judge Hill is one of the best men we have in the State. He is a Christian man and a fair man; the only fault with him is he is too lenient. He is always on the side of mercy.

Q. What is the probability of convicting a Democrat when half the jury are Democrats?—A. A jury, you know, has to be unanimous. Probably the jury will hang and there will be no conviction at all.

Q. Have you known of anybody convicted straight?—A. I believe there were two or three convicted at that term, but the parties I speak of pleaded guilty.

Q. It don't seem to be a healthy performance to inform on them and have them indicted?—A. Not very.

Q. What do you have to say as to the administration of justice in the courts, if you know anything about it, when colored people are concerned?—A. I think when a colored man tends to his own business, pays his debts and taxes, and is a good citizen generally, and does not interfere with politics at all, he will get the good will of the masses of the people there, among the Democrats especially, and before a court of any kind he will get impartial justice.

Q. Suppose he is inclined to be a pretty active Republican, then what?—A. Just the other way. It will embitter their feelings towards them and pressure will be brought to bear to such an extent as to prevent him from getting justice, I think.

Q. It is quite as much, then, a prejudice against and hatred of the colored man as it is against the Republican?—A. White Republicans.

Q. Either white or black Republicans?—A. O, yes; certainly it is very bitter against Republicans.

Q. What proportion of the colored people are Republicans down there?—A. I don't know any Democrats that do their own thinking down in my county.

TESTIMONY OF J. W. WEIK.

J. W. WEIK called, sworn, and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Greencastle, Ind.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I have been a merchant until two years ago. Since that time I have been studying law.

Q. Have you given any attention to the arrival of these colored people in your place?—A. Yes, sir; I have at my own native place. A great many of them have come there from the Southern States.

Q. Do you think there is any demand for them in that portion of the State?—A. There is an absolute demand for them.

Q. Do you know of any of them who have failed to find employment who were willing to work?—A. I can think of none who have not employment if they desire it.

Q. How are they regarded by the people out there?—A. They are regarded as very good hands. I have interviewed several of the farmers, who told me that they regarded them as very good hands indeed.

Q. Have you received any communication from farmers who needed any of them on their places?—A. I have talked with some of them and seen letters from others.

Q. From all you have seen and heard, is the demand equal to the supply or greater?—A. From the information I have received I rather think the demand is in excess of the supply. I base my information from what I received from Mr. Laugsdale, and the applications made to him. He receives about two letters a day. When he arrived home there were six negroes who came two days before, and two days afterwards they were gone to places in the country. Two farmers came 13 miles by wagon and 10 by rail to get them.

Q. Have you ever talked with Mr. Stevenson who lives out there?—A. I have. There are some on his place, and he desired to correct a portion of the testimony given here. It was stated here that he paid them 25 cents a day for work and 25 cents per 100 for cutting rails or wood; but he told me to say that it was 75 cents in all instances. He has some of these new negroes on his place, and some who have been there for some time, for he is one of the largest farmers in our county.

Q. Does your father farm in that county himself?—A. My father is a merchant, well known all over the county. Three different men have been in there to his store inquiring for the purpose of getting colored labor. I do not know from what part of the county they came. I know in general that there is a demand for these people. They are well received, and those who employ them like them very much. They receive good wages, all the way from \$8 to \$16 a month. I know one who receives \$8 a month, who lives in town and is a porter, and gets his board besides. There is one man there who runs with a who gets \$16 a month, and there are some Democrats who have hired some of them.

Q. Do you know of any Democrats who have hired colored help?—A. Mr. Dryden, some one told me, had some colored help, and Mr. Dudley Burke, and I am informed that Dr. Morrow has some on his place. It is east of our place, in the adjoining county.

Q. Are these colored people well placed, as a general rule?—A. Yes, sir. I think that all of them have good places.

Q. How are they pleased with the surroundings, and the way in which they are getting along?—A. I think the negroes are well pleased, as a rule. There is a family of O'Haras, who have large bodies of land there,

and I drove out and asked the negroes on their place how they liked it. They said they liked it better than anything they had ever found, and would not go back to North Carolina on any account.

Q. Unless you think of something more to state I do not know of any other question to ask you.—A. I would state that there is also a demand for colored women to live in the houses.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. They cannot vote, can they?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. Then, what do you want them out there for?—A. We want them to live in the houses as servants.

Q. Then, the demand for colored help is not of a political nature?—A. No, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. When did you come here?—A. Last Monday evening.

Q. Were you subpoenaed before this committee?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you think you want more of these people out in Indiana?—A. I stated that the demand exceeded the supply, and I think so.

Q. You say you got your information mostly from Mr. Langsdale?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is the postmaster and a Republican editor in your town?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he thinks they want more of them to come out there?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose he does. I go round there to his office very often, and I know the applications that are made to him. I came here on business purely.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I believe I have no more questions to ask you. I will make out your voucher for your attendance.

The WITNESS. I do not want it; if you please, sir, I would rather not have it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the reason you do not want it?

The WITNESS. Well, sir, I came here on business purely, and when I go home I do not want them to say that I came here to testify before this committee, as it may impair my testimony, on the ground that it is political.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have testified, have you not?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, you are entitled to your pay, and I will give a voucher to you, and you can do as you please about drawing it and keeping it.

Mr. KENNEDY, a former witness, states: Mr. Chairman, in reference to my telling Mr. Barnes to subpoena my brother, I would like to have him make a statement of it.

Mr. BARNES. He merely stated that when this bald-headed man, Avery, was testifying here that he had a brother here in town who could tell us all about the things as they were in Mississippi. That is about all I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right, Mr. Barnes. That was Avery who was testifying.

Mr. BARNES. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF E. A. J. McHENRY.

E. A. J. McHENRY called, sworn, and examined.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. You reside where?—Answer. At Macon, Miss.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Fifteen years.

Q. Where did you live prior to that time?—A. In the State of Tennessee.

Q. Were you born and educated there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were in the Confederate service?—A. I was four years in that service.

Q. And you have been in Macon most of the time since?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What have you been following there?—A. I have been a planter in Mississippi, and since then I have held various positions there.

Q. Are you a Republican or a Democrat?—A. I am a Republican, sir.

Q. Will you give us your knowledge and opinion with regard to the causes of this colored exodus from your state and vicinity to the Northern States?—A. Well, sir, I do not know that I can state the causes. There may be several causes.

Q. Just give us such as may occur to you.—A. I think the cause with some of them is to better their condition, in part; they think a change would probably be better for them by moving to another country where they could accumulate money faster and have opportunities of getting on better generally. Others may want to get from under the domination of the Democratic party; in other words, get into another country where they can exercise the rights of the ballot with more freedom.

Q. What restriction is there in Mississippi upon the exercise of the ballot?—A. The opportunities for voting freely are not as good there as in some other places, for the reason that the Democratic party tries to control them in their voting.

Q. By what methods do they try to control them?—A. Well, by different methods. I do not know what kind of language to use to you to express the idea; for instance, in holding elections they have charge of the polls and the machinery of the ballot boxes, and they influence the negroes' ballots in such a way that they do not express their wishes. Last fall there was a Republican candidate for sheriff in our county. They have men stationed at the door of the polling place, and when the negroes would go through to vote they would take their tickets and examine them; and when they stated that they wanted to vote for this man, they would write the man's name down under the head of constable or district attorney, so that the ballot, when they came to count it, was not legal and could not be counted.

Q. Would the colored man go and put it in after it had been thus manipulated?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he understand what he was doing?—A. Of course not. At the poll where I voted it has always gone Republican. There are but four or five hundred Democratic votes and seven or eight hundred Republicans. It has always gone Republican by never less than 400 majority. Even Judge Chisholm, when he was a candidate for Congress, carried it by 400 majority; but last fall, when the Republicans intended to vote as solidly as ever, when they came to count out the votes, the Democrat was ahead by 12 votes.

Q. There must have been a good many scattering votes at that election?—A. Yes, sir; their votes were changed, and in that way they were made to vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Are there any other ways in which they are thus bulldozed or intimidated? Are there any cases of violence that you know of in that place?—A. Yes, sir. Some time about a year ago there was a solid exodus boom there, when a crowd of fifty to a hundred men rode into

the town about two o'clock. They came into contact with a negro woman who was passing along the street. She saw them and became excited and began to run. They told her to stop, but she did not do it, and they shot at her. They ran and caught her and commenced beating her, and she was beaten most unmercifully and was confined to her bed for some weeks on account of it. They went to the houses of some prominent colored men and arrested them and carried them off some distance, but turned them loose. They did not hurt them, and they came back next morning and told the facts of the case. The woman was the only one where anybody was hurt. These men who were riding in and about said they were looking for the leading men of the exodus, and that was the reason they went to see these colored men who they took off with them but turned loose.

Q. They thought that the colored men that they arrested knew where the leaders were?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But the leaders were concealed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they think it was dangerous enough for them to be concealed?—A. Yes, sir; the excitement was quite great for a while; so much so that several men there were arrested and convicted of vagrancy because they were prominent in this exodus matter.

Q. What had they done?—A. Nothing; but the report got out in the country that there would be a free train to take negroes to Kansas, and a great many came in to go; but they found that they had been deceived. They staid about the town for a while, and those were the parties who were arrested.

Q. Then it was true that this crowd of men came in there that night; where did that crowd come from?—A. It was not known where; probably from some other county or from Alabama, over the line.

Q. Were they disguised?—A. Some of them were; so the negroes said.

Q. What was the reason for firing on this colored woman?—A. I understand the object was to keep her from reporting that they were there. They were afraid that she would give the information.

Q. So that the leaders or the parties they were looking for would get out of the way?—A. Yes, sir; or possibly she would get the authorities or other parties after them.

Q. You say that this was last year, and was done with special reference to suppressing the exodus movement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is this movement going on in your section of the State?—A. I have heard nothing of it in that region since.

Q. Is that a planting region?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Generally speaking, are things getting better or worse there with reference to the material prosperity of the people?—A. It is better now than it was then. They made a fine crop there last year, and the laborers are better satisfied. They are accumulating funds and getting out of debt.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What is your profession?—A. I have been chancery clerk for four years until the last two or three years, when I was defeated. I was a revenue collector then; but I am nothing now.

Q. You have been in the Revenue Service?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you are from the South?—A. I am a native of Tennessee.

Q. Were you subpoenaed from down there?—A. No, sir.

INTRODUCTION OF LETTERS, ETC.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read a letter, to make it a part of the record. General Singleton vouches for the character of the writer of it. It is the testimony of an old friend of General Singleton, a colored man who has come back from Kansas. It is written to Captain Pettus, and sent to General Singleton.

NEWTON, MISS., *April 20, 1880.*

Hon. O. R. SINGLETON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C. :

DEAR SIR: Your old friend, Berry Thompson, freedman, last February left here for Kansas, taking with him his daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren, numbering 21 persons. He was in good circumstances, owned a farm 200 acres, well improved, worth \$1,000; had mules, horses, cattle, hogs, plenty corn and fodder. He sold everything at a great sacrifice; his farm for \$400, mules \$60, and so on. Was out of debt. And to the surprise of every one he got back here last Sunday, bringing all back except three children and one son-in-law. The children died. I have just had a long talk with him; he gives a woful account of his sufferings. He says the people of Kansas were exceedingly kind to them, and that he does not blame them for the exodus, but says he received several papers urging him to come, and finally he received a paper stating that he had better come to Kansas, for if he did not he would be forced to come this fall, and he says that scared him, and he thought it better to go than be forced. And he now says that he thinks parties sending those papers to the freedmen ought to be heavily punished, for he is an old man, and that they have ruined him; that he only got back here with \$30, and has seventeen persons on his hands. He came to me for assistance. I have let him have some land, and will rent him a mule. He has been a powerful Republican, and I think he is as good a Democrat now as you could find. But, Col., this is a terrible thing, to break up an old negro who had plenty, and was well satisfied. And now his condition is a pauper. Some one has a powerful sin to answer for. It is true his return will stop any from leaving here, for he and his family give a most woful account of the country, and their sufferings. I thought I would write you these facts, and if the Senatorial committee on the exodus wishes a good witness of the Republican stripe, Berry Thompson would be the man. Remember us kindly to Mrs. Singleton, and when you return home will expect you both to come and see us.

Your friend,

S. S. PETTUS.

Since I saw you last, have been in business troubles, but think we have arranged our matters satisfactorily, and will be again all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I ask that this letter from Senator Maxey and an extract from a newspaper be also inserted:

SENATE CHAMBER,
Washington, April 22, 1880.

Hon. D. W. VOORHEES,
*Chairman Select Committee on Causes of Emigration of Negroes
from Southern to Northern States :*

DEAR SIR: I herewith hand you a copy of the North Texan of 17th instant, a respectable Democratic paper, published in Paris, Lamar County, Texas, where I reside, and to direct your attention to an article showing that during the present season 105 colored laborers from Lowndes County, Mississippi, had immigrated into Lamar County, and had settled on the Morgan plantation, and had pitched a crop of 1,000 acres, evidently corn and cotton.

The kindly expressions of Mr. Boyd, the editor, properly represent the sentiments of the people there in respect to the colored people. I know Mr. Morgan, and the plantation referred to, and from knowledge of both have no doubt these people have chosen wisely. And I would add that, as far as I know or believe, the relations between the two races in Texas are kindly, and that the colored people of industry are doing as well as they could in any State in the Union, and are treated as well and kindly as elsewhere.

Yours, truly,

S. B. MAXEY.

A remarkably intelligent colored man dropped in some days ago. His name is J. S. Dawson, and he brought out a colony of 105 colored laborers, now employed on J. D. Morgan's farm, on Sulphur, 9 miles from Paris. He represents that they are well pleased, and are planting over 1,000 acres, to be worked by 64 hands. He says they are comfortably situated, have good houses, and are all well satisfied. They are represented to be of the best class of the colored farmers of Lowndes County, Mississippi, and we are sure they will do well.

FIFTY-SECOND DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Monday, April 26, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m., and proceeded to take testimony.

TESTIMONY OF T. W. CAMPBELL.

T. W. CAMPBELL sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Campbell, where do you live?—Answer. I live in Vicksburg.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Murrell, who testified here?—

A. Yes, sir; I know something of him; have known him for some time.

Q. How long have you known him?—A. I have known him for about seven years. I think it was about seven years ago that I first made his acquaintance.

Q. Do you know what was his position in regard to this so-called exodus when it first commenced?—A. When it first commenced he was decidedly opposed to it. He addressed a colored meeting in Delta in opposition to it. He advised them to remain there, as it was the best place for them; and I think he also addressed the labor convention at Vicksburg in the same strain.

Q. He was advising these people to remain where they were?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what you know in regard to his action in 1873 in the Congressional race between Mr. Morey and his opponent?—A. Mr. Murrell was the Republican candidate for Congress, and Mr. Spencer was on the other ticket. Murrell came to me to print some tickets for his parish, and he told me to leave off Morey's name, and put the name of the Democratic candidate (Spencer) on.

Q. He was at that time the Republican candidate for the legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he told you to leave off the name of the Republican candidate for Congress?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything else about his record?—A. In 1877, in Warren County, Miss., there was no authorized opposition to the Democratic ticket, but Captain Speers ran as the opposition candidate against Mr. Furlong, and Mr. Murrell came over from Louisiana and assisted in the election of Furlong.

Q. What was Furlong's politics?—A. He was a Democrat.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What did Mr. Murrell do?—A. He assisted in his election.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. When was this?—A. In 1877.

Q. Did you ever hear any complaints on his part about the treatment of his people in the South?—A. No, sir; never. The first I heard of it was the reading of his testimony here before this committee.

Q. How are affairs generally at Vicksburg at this time, so far as the races are concerned?—A. Politically they are very quiet.

Q. Where is Vicksburg situated?—A. It is in Warren County, on the Mississippi River.

Q. At the election there last fall the Republicans elected several parties on their ticket?—A. Yes, sir; they elected the sheriff, the chancery clerk, and the circuit clerk.

Q. Was the election fair and free?—A. Yes, sir; nobody was refused the right to vote that I know of.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you think it is anything against Mr. Murrell that he acted with the Democrats at one time?—A. No, sir; I think it is to his credit, and very greatly so, but I think it was against him in 1877, for I did not think that Furlong was the right man to elect.

Q. He was a Democrat, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are a Democrat?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that I am. I have not acted in any political capacity for some time.

Q. Where did you come from when you went to Mississippi?—A. I came from Virginia.

Q. What is the name of your paper?—A. I publish the Commercial.

Q. Is it a political paper?—A. It is a political paper now. I started it as an independent paper, and supported Hayes. I sold part of it seven months ago, and then it became a political paper.

Q. Do you vote yourself?—A. Yes, sir; I vote.

Q. Which way do you vote, generally?—A. Whichever way I please; I usually vote for the man, and not for the party. I voted for the Republican candidate for sheriff, and I voted for Hooker against Hill, and for Shaughnessy against Hooker for Congress.

Q. I suppose your testimony is taken here for the purpose of discrediting Mr. Murrell; now do you think it is worse for him to select his candidate than it is for you to select yours?—A. Mr. Murrell, when he acted with the Democratic party in 1877, and aided in the election of Furlong, got paid for it; and when he substituted Spencer, the Democratic candidate, for Morey, he got paid also; at least I believe that.

Q. Mr. Murrell might say the same of you, but unless he was positive about it, do you think that it would be right for him to come here and say so?—A. If he believed that I acted in that way, I think it would be proper for him to say so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Blair says that my object in examining you is to discredit Mr. Murrell. I will state that my object is to show that a man who was running on the same ticket with Frank Morey, left Morey off and put a Democrat on, and that a man who would do that is, in my opinion, a great scoundrel.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not think it is just right to say that, under the circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; that is my opinion.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not think there is any necessity for that remark from the chairman, when I did not mistake the question. I do not think it is exactly right to put in the word "scoundrel" about a man who is absent.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not do it in order to interrupt the examination unpleasantly.

Mr. BLAIR. It is unpleasant for you so to interrupt me, and apply that epithet to an absent man.

The WITNESS. I think, Senator, it is no worse in him to vote for another man than it is for me; I have answered that before; assuming that his motive was the same as mine; but I say I believe he was paid for what he did in both of these cases.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You assume that his motive was a bad one, and yours was a good one?—A. Yes, sir; that was my belief.

Q. Suppose I were to recall Mr. Murrell, and he, knowing of your oscillatory method of voting, were to say that you were a scoundrel, as the chairman says he is; do you think he would do right in saying so?—A. If he believed it I think he would have a right to say so.

Q. Courts of justice and investigating committees are supposed to deal with things a little closer than they do usually in conversation; and you would not expect to come here and testify in the same way that you would express yourself to me in common conversation?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you think Mr. Murrell would be justified in coming here and saying that you were corrupt, unless he knew it?—A. I do not say that he is corrupt; but I say I believe he was paid to take the action he did.

Q. Do you think that he would be justified in saying that you were corrupt in your action in voting for Democrats and Republicans indifferently?—A. No, sir; unless he had some evidence of it.

Q. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Murrell?—A. No, sir; but I read a synopsis of it in the papers.

Q. You began your testimony by saying that he was against the exodus; did he not say so here in the testimony?—A. I do not know that.

Q. Well, he did say so, and said that he opposed it; but at last he found that it was impossible to stop the people from going, and he gave in his testimony, so far as he knew them, the causes of the movement, and you do not contradict him?—A. No, sir; I do not contradict him in so far as he said that he was opposed to it.

Q. You say he came to you in a certain year and got you to print some tickets, and that in that year he was a candidate for the legislature himself?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he was opposed to the Republican candidate for Congress?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he make a secret of that fact?—A. I do not know that he did everywhere, but I was enjoined to keep it a great secret.

Q. Have you ever known of candidates before being opposed to others that were on the same side with them?—A. Yes, sir; but not of their having tickets printed against candidates on their own side.

Q. How long have you been printing; for three years past?—A. Yes, sir; I have been in the business some time.

Q. The tickets used down there are printed generally?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Printed tickets are used by both sides?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Do you think he is a good man who runs on the same side with another man, and who goes and gets tickets printed so as to have the voters vote without knowing that they are voting against one of their own candidates; do you call that man a good man?—A. No, sir; I do not.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You put the name in in the same way that you did the others, did you not?—A. Yes, sir; I simply substituted Spencer's name for Morey's.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Who was elected to Congress that time when Mr. Murrell tried to throw Mr. Morey off?—A. Morey was elected, and Spencer contested his election, I think, but I am not positive.

Q. Morey was a man of character, standing, and influence, was he not?—A. Yes, sir; he was a man very well liked there.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Was that Frank Morey?—A. Yes, sir; I liked him very much myself.

Q. You do not agree with the mass of the Democratic party in your opinion about him, do you?—A. No, sir; but I am a friend of his.

Mr. BLAIR. I knew him myself in the Forty fourth Congress.

The WITNESS. I think if I had lived there in his district I would have voted for him.

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER YERGER.

ALEXANDER YERGER sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Yerger, where do you live?—Answer. I live in Rosedale, Bolivar County, Mississippi.

Q. What position do you occupy there in public affairs, if any?—A. I have been for two years, until January last, county treasurer, and have been superintendent of education for five years, and am now.

Q. State superintendent?—A. No, sir; county superintendent.

Q. As county superintendent have you become entirely conversant with the school system of the State?—A. Yes, sir; I think I understand it as well as the balance of them.

Q. State the provision that is made there for education, and if there is any distinction made between the whites and the blacks?—A. No, sir; the legislature levies a tax of three mills throughout the State for educational purposes; and they make it necessary to keep the schools open five months in the year. It was four months originally, but the Democrats have added one month. The four-month system was fixed under Republican administration, and the Democrats added one month. In counties where the school fund is not sufficient to keep them open that length of time it is the duty of the superintendent of the county to make out an estimate of the amount of money necessary to run the number of schools in his county that he thinks are necessary to supply the demand, in connection with the board of supervisors, fix the sum, and call on them to levy a tax to make up the deficiency. Then the superintendent and the board select the proper places in the county where the schools shall be opened, which is generally done by each member of the board for himself. There are five police districts in the county and each member confers with me, and I generally take his statement as to the proper location in his ward or district. Having been in Bolivar County continuously since 1857, except a few years during the war, I am acquainted with everybody in it.

In 1879 we had 42 schools, according to my report, eleven of them white and the balance colored. This year I have only opened twelve schools so far, because the distribution of funds was made very late and was only received by the treasurer, who receives the money, a short while ago. He went in on the 6th of January, and received the money but recently. I am not allowed under the law to pay a teacher by certificate until the money is there to meet it. The fund is only used to pay the teachers and the superintendent's salary. The salary of the superintendent for many years ranged from \$900 to \$1,800 a year. In every instance in appointing superintendents there were colored gentlemen named; among them Senator Bruce.

Q. Do you live in the same county with him?—A. Yes, sir; for some time the salaries have been reduced. I think the highest paid at any time was \$240. Mine is \$180. I do not blame any of the superintendents for taking the larger salaries that were given to them, because men of any party will do that; but the salaries were too high, and the Democrats reduced them.

Q. The Democratic legislature thought that the salaries were too high?—A. Yes, sir; they thought that the money instead of being paid in salaries should go into the school-fund proper. Now, in my county I was not an applicant for the position, and I do not know why I was appointed, and I did not know what the salary was until I was appointed, when I was informed that it was almost nothing; but they said that I was a county officer, and they wanted me to take it. I will leave it to Mr. Stubblefield here, who is from my county, that if it was left to a vote I do not think there is one Republican in the county who would vote against me. There might be a few Democrats who would do it.

Q. Who did you say cut down those salaries?—A. The Democratic legislature. The salaries have been raised a little since they passed the first act. Now each representative names the salary of the superintendent of his county, and we have a Democrat and a Republican from our county. The Republican desired to raise my salary, but the Democratic member thought it was not proper on account of the poverty of the county, and I agreed that it was useless, as the duties of the office are never very great; still I never complained of the salary.

Q. Take Bolivar County, for instance; how many months in the year do you have schools?—A. We have had them four months always, until last year, when we did not have money enough. The Democratic and Republican members of the board were willing to levy the tax, but there was a law of the State not to allow them to levy a tax except up to a certain amount, and they were afraid there might be trouble if I *mandamus* them, as I had a right to do. I ran some of the schools four months, and the majority of them three, but none of them less than three.

Q. Does the school law apply to all classes alike?—A. That law applies to whites as well as blacks, and I have never found anybody disposed to quarrel with the number of colored schools that I have established, as the colored people have more children in the county than the white people. In fact the law, as it stands, was passed for the benefit of the colored race, and I desired them to have the schools. A large majority of the planters in our section prefer not to take any of the benefits of the public schools themselves, and very few of them do so; they generally send their children off to be educated.

Q. How about the employment of teachers; do you make any discrimination between qualified colored men and women, and white persons?

—A. No, sir; since I have been in office I have never asked the question of a man whether he was a Democrat or a Republican, whether white or black, where he was from, or anything of the kind. All that I expected was that he should be capacitated, and then to ascertain his moral character and standing, along with his other qualifications. I have only discharged one teacher, and that was a white man, for drinking.

Q. What kind of teachers do the colored people make? Are educated colored men and women apt in imparting what they know to the children?—A. I have only appointed two colored female teachers. They were educated as free persons, and they are the only two I have met whom I thought qualified to teach. They got along very well. Most of the colored teachers, though, are lazy devils of men, who want the money, and who hire somebody for \$5 a month to cultivate a little crop for them. Unfortunately for the colored people they care very little who teaches their children. They think it is enough for them to know how to scrawl a little and spell. I have letters from people wanting to be appointed as teachers who do not seem to be able to spell three words in the English language correctly.

Q. Do the colored people generally want to send their children to school?—A. No, sir; I reported to the State superintendent that a majority of the people in our county do not care much about it, and the children do not desire to learn much. The people always want the schools open, and after they are opened they don't care much about them.

Q. Do you think the people there do not desire to educate their children?—A. No, sir; but it is just their way of doing. I have been there a number of years, and was a planter of means at one time; but the negro has big ideas but very little energy.

Q. How is it with the white people; do you think that they do not desire to educate these colored people?—A. No, sir; I never heard a decent genteel gentleman object to it. Many of them think that it is better to educate them; and that if they were educated we would have no difficulty with them.

Q. That is your view of it?—A. It is, sir.

Q. Do you think that affairs would be more hopeful there if they were educated there?—A. Yes, sir; and I am the advocate of education for these people, either by direct taxation or any other way.

Q. You want to get them into schools without regard to who they are?—A. Yes, sir; I am a Democrat, and have been ever since I was a Whig, and I believe in the improvement of the people.

Q. What is the proportion of colored to white people in your county?—A. The last census, which was taken in 1870, showed that we had 9,732 population. Of this number 7,862 were colored. The last registered vote, just taken during the fall election, shows a little over 5,000 voters; about 4,000, quite that many, are colored voters, and the remainder are white voters.

Q. Has there been any exodus or effort of the colored people to get away from your county?—A. Very little; they have never been troubled much on that question. Our lands are so rich that we have no trouble in making a living on them.

Q. Just where is Bolivar County, Mr. Yerger?—A. It lies on the Mississippi River, just half way between Memphis and Vicksburg—two hundred miles below Memphis, and it is four hundred miles from Vicksburg to Memphis.

Q. Is that north of Jackson?—A. No, sir; it is northwest of Jackson.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you mean it is four hundred miles from Vicksburg to Memphis, following the river, or in a direct line?—A. Following the river; but there is very little difference between the river and the road.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You are on the river and in a section of heavily settled counties?—A. Yes, sir. Before the war I planted very heavily myself, but since the war I have got busted and quit.

Q. You were going on to say something about a little exodus movement in your county, I believe?—A. Well, sir, there were only a few persons who left. They left the very extreme lower end, about Williams Bayou, and I think the movement was confined to one plantation, and there was a little movement over at Colonel Stokes's plantation. I saw the most if not all of that. I happened to be at Terene Landing when they were camping there waiting for the boat. I was very much surprised at the time, as they were on one of the finest plantations in the world. I asked them about it, because I knew Colonel Stokes was a good man, and they said they wanted to go where they could buy land on time and work it out. They thought they would get land in Kansas, and they thought that the government was interested in the movement, and told me that the Grand Tower was the boat set aside for them, and that it declined to take them. I was on her when she was hailed by men who said they had no money, and thought it was a government boat. One of them said that they thought the Anchor Line boats were government boats, and in collusion with the railroads to get these people. One of the captains told me that the colored people believed that the Anchor Line boats were interested in the exodus, and that it made his boat unpopular. General Conway stated here that the Anchor Line refused to take colored people for money. He must have been mistaken, for Mr. Scudder said himself that there was no armed resistance threatened to his taking passengers on his boat. I knew all the captains on the line, and have been on most of their boats. I venture that no man ever saw on board of any armed force in Mississippi trying to keep these people from going away. The general opinion was to let them go, that there were plenty more left.

Q. Do you know these captains, or any of them, who ever refused anybody except such as had no money, or when their boats were loaded as far as they were allowed to load them by law?—A. That is what the captains told me. There is a provision of law there—

Q. The provision that they shall only take so many on board?—A. Yes, sir; and I know that they frequently take people who are without money, but not in large numbers. I have heard one of them say that he never refused any who had the money.

Another thing was said here, by a gentleman from Mississippi, in regard to the planters cheating negroes out of their wages. I have been there in that State before, and during a portion of, and since the war, and I never knew a man who could pay who refused to pay his hands. He cannot do it if he wanted to, for there is a lien given on the products, which makes it so that they cannot carry it away until the laborers' wages are paid or secured.

Q. Is that a lien in favor of the laborer?—A. Yes, sir; both the laborer and the landlord must be paid first.

Now, a thing happened to me that I would not have thought of un

less for the testimony on that point. In 1868—I think it was in 1868, or 1867—I was planting considerably. Amongst my hands was a returned woman who belonged to my father-in-law. She had gone off during the war, and she brought her husband and some others back with her. She sent for me, and I went to get them, as they were good negroes. Our contract was made, and signed in the presence of an officer of the Federal Army, a Captain Dunnington, who had come to Greenville. I told them to do that, for I wanted them to be satisfied; and when the end of the year came I told one of these men to go and gin up the cotton, and we would settle. He had a contract—he had a copy and I had a copy. I divided the crop and said, “This is yours and this is mine, and these bales contain so many pounds. You owe me for what I have furnished you.” He said, “O, yes.” I said, “Now here is the book; listen to me and I will read what I have furnished to you, and the prices, and you see whether it is wrong.” He said that I had got down all that he got. I said, “Have I charged you too much?” and he said, “I reckon not;” but I saw there was some lingering hesitation about him, so I said, “There is Mr. Wetherby who has got a store over there.” He is a gentleman from Maine, and has been in the Federal Army, and I think he is a correct man, though I have not spoken to him. “Now,” said I, “do you take the book over there to Mr. Wetherby and let him say whether I have charged you too much or not.” He took the book over, and Mr. Wetherby said to him that he had got his supplies cheaper than he himself could have furnished them. But I saw that the negro thought differently. He said finally that it would cut him down so that he would not have much left. So I said, “Very well, I will take \$15 off,” and then I paid him \$18. He said to me, “Mr. Yerger, you are a gentleman, and I will work for you next year.” Afterwards I heard that he had said to a good many people that I charged him too much, and charged him for things which he did not get. I asked him about it, but he denied it afterwards to me.

Another servant of mine had me arrested, and I went eleven miles before a Federal captain for a hearing. He said that the man charged me with stealing a bale of cotton and selling it. He was a boy named Turner, and he is there now in our county. I asked him to state the case against me. He did so, and I went home and got the books and showed that I had sold it in his name, and that I had his receipt to contradict him. He is there now, and comes to me often to try to get me to hire him, but I do not want him.

Q. Is there anything else that you desire to state, Mr. Yerger?—A. Well, I do not know. General Conway spoke to me and asked me what I thought of his testimony, and I said I thought it was in the main correct; but I told him that his statement as to General George’s sending messages to use shot-guns and rifles was incorrect. General George’s character is such that I know he never sent any such messages. He would no more do so than Senator Voorhees, or Senator Blair, or Senator Windom. His instructions were sent to the chairmen of the county committees, and I had access to them. One of the chairmen in my county was my son-in-law, and there was Mr. Montgomery, whom I know, and I never saw any kind of armed men at an election to prevent people from voting, and I never saw an attempt at intimidation at an election, except last November, and that was by colored persons.

Q. How was that?—A. There was a colored man who got on the court house steps and was rallying there, and everybody going to the polls was obliged to go through the crowd. The tickets used were colored, and as a colored person would go by he would say to them, “That is

not your ticket," and would snatch it from them and tear it up. I said to him that that was very wrong. Said I, "Let them vote as they please." If a Republican wanted to vote the Republican ticket, I would see that he was not interfered with; and I said, "If these colored people want to vote the Democratic ticket let them vote it."

Q. What do you know of the misuse of public school money at any time in your State?—A. I will tell you an instance of that: A colored man, named Bowles, came there to Bolivar County. I returned from Washington County about that time. I found him there. He was a Republican senator in our legislature. I was very much straightened in circumstances, and I went to Jackson to try to get something to do to make my bread and meat. While I was there Colonel Newgent told me there would be a bill called the omnibus levy bill passed to sell all the lands forfeited to the State and counties for levy taxes. The bill was passed and produced a great deal of excitement. He said to me, "There will have to be a commissioner, and you are the man who ought to have it; you have been a levy-tax collector, and," he said, "You have been satisfactory in your dealings with the treasury and with all the board." I said I would like to have it, and I asked who appointed the commissioner. He said "Judge Stafford, who was appointed by Alcorn" (he was a very clever man and a Northern man—and had not been confirmed by the senate as yet), and I asked him to appoint me, and he would think about it, and he led me to think that I would get the position. Everybody thought so, and I had the good will of Mr. Vasser, auditor—a letter from Mr. Percey and others—and Colonel Clark recommended me. All of these were prominent men, and men of influence. But I found out, in a few days, that he intended to appoint this man Bowles. I knew what that amounted to. Bowles was a senator, and could help confirm him, and he was afraid that they would defeat him with the aid of the Democrats. Bowles was appointed, and proceeded with the work. I was there at the sale day after day and week after week, and saw the money paid for these lands; and after the sale he ran off with \$7,000 of the money. Mr. Bruce was on his bond, but not a cent was recovered except what I heard Senator Bruce lately paid, after he had made a compromise; that was some \$2,000, and I only heard that a short while ago.

I will give you another instance. L. T. Weber was sheriff of Bolivar County, and Alcorn wanted to make a place there for an ex-rebel named Starke. He changed Weber to Washington County, and put Starke in Bolivar County. Pretty soon there came an election for county officers. I was living on Deer Creek, in Washington County. I knew Weber, and he came to me and said: "I want you to act as judge out there at that precinct; I do not care to act in an election." He said he wanted somebody of character, and I said that I was about to leave for Jackson and Vicksburg, and did not want to act. On the morning of the day of the election it was cold and snowing. I went over there, and supposed there would be no polls opened; so I went back home. About the middle of the day Judge Clark, who is district attorney now, come to my house, and said, "You ought to go down there; there will be some trouble about this election." Allen Ross, a colored man, was a candidate against Weber. I said to Clark to send me word if the polls were opened, which he did, and I went down there. Some seventy or eighty ballots had been cast when I got there, and they handed me my commission. There were two other judges and the clerk present. One, I think, was a man I knew—Gus. Calvert. When they closed the polls I said "Come in here, Gus., and we will make up our returns." One of

the fellows said, "What do you want with that damned nigger in here?" I said, "Damned nigger as he is, he is a judge of this election as much as I am, and has as much right in here as I have." After we had got in the room they sent him out after some whisky, and said to me, "What did you bring him in here for; we are going to carry this poll for Weber." I said, "You can't do it unless you falsify." I made out the return and sealed it up, and wrote my name across it, and left it there and went home. The next morning I left to go to Jackson, and cut across through the woods to find a near way from my house. As I was going through the woods I saw some pieces of paper torn up and lying under a tree. I looked at them, and saw that it was my name and the report I had made from that Burdeck box. I met Weber, and he said to me, "Weber's majority was 72 at Burdeck's." I met one of the fellows who was there, and I said, "What did you tear up my report for?" He said he wanted a white man to be elected, and did not want that "damned nigger." I went on and got on the boat, when Judge Triggs said he wanted me to stay there, as there might be trouble about the election. I could not stay, but I said, "If you put me on the stand I will tell what I know. I know that Weber got no majority there." I was at Jackson when some gentleman came down there from Washington County. I think it was Mr. Haycraft, who said, "Weber says you can go on to New York, or wherever you please, but don't come home." I said, "Why not?" He said, "Well, that is what he told me to tell you." When I went home, Judge Triggs said that Weber paid Allen Ross \$1,500 to withdraw and let him take the office. These men out there I know made a false report from that box. That I know of my own knowledge.

Q: Is there anything else that you wish to say?—A. No, sir; but I do not think the statements of this man Brown, who was examined, were correct. I do not know as to all of them, but I know that some of it is very incorrect.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. When was it that this case of the fraudulent return occurred what year?—A. It was the first election after the war; there had been appointees there before by the military governor and by Governor Alcorn, but this was the first election.

Q. That was about 1866 or 1867?—A. I do not remember the exact date, but it was the first election held after the war.

Q. I do not want you to go into particulars, but I want you to state whether things are getting better or worse between the two races in Mississippi.—A. They are decidedly better; there is no mistake about that.

TESTIMONY OF DR. F. A. WILMER

Dr. F. A. WILMER sworn and examined.

By Mr. PENDLETON:

Question. Where do you reside, doctor?—Answer. I reside in Dallas, Tex., sir.

Q. Do you know anything about this exodus of which we are inquiring?—A. I do, sir.

Q. Well, go on and in your own way state whatever information or knowledge you have on the subject.—A. I know that there have been a few

parties of these colored people that have left our section of country and gone to Kansas ; and that some of them have returned. They have gone principally for individual reasons, thinking to better their condition, having been told that they could do so, and believing that they could better their circumstances, they have gone just as other people move for like reasons.

Q. Has the exodus been large from your neighborhood?—A. No, sir, not large ; it has been larger from below us than it has been from our section. Quite a number have passed through our city, perhaps several hundred, and a good many have returned through our city, as high as fifty or sixty in one body.

Q. Do you know whether any special inducements were held out to those who left your neighborhood that led them to leave their homes and go North?—A. Some of them have told me the reasons that led them to go.

Q. What did they tell you?—A. They said that circulars were circulated among them, holding out the inducements of cheap land—sold on credit and at low prices—and assistance so far as beginning their farming was concerned, and other advantages, such as that they would perhaps have more social consideration and equality there. They seemed to entertain some ideas of that kind, sir. In my place they mostly occupied two or three distinct portions of the city by themselves. They have not mixed up promiscuously or generally with our population, but have kept pretty much in their own quarter, where they have several churches and schools. Their idea was, however, to become landowners and bosses themselves.

Q. Did you see any of those circulars holding out these inducements to removal?—A. I did not, sir. I only heard of them through the negroes themselves.

Q. You say that a good many of those that went from the neighborhoods below you have returned?—A. Yes, sir ; several parties have returned.

Q. Have you seen any of them who returned?—A. Yes, sir ; quite a number of them.

Q. What do they give as the reasons for their return?—A. They spoke of the difficulty they had in finding anything to do ; they could not get work suitable for them ; and some spoke of the climate as being too severe for them ; they found no houses for shelter ; and various reasons of that general nature they gave. They said that they preferred a milder climate, and a place where they could get something to do that suited their habits and peculiarities of work.

Q. What are the public school facilities in your neighborhood and State for the colored people?—A. They are good, sir ; Texas has unusually good public school facilities, we think, for all classes.

Q. Is there a distinction made between the white and colored children in the public-school facilities in your State?—A. Well, the colored people have their separate schools ; there is only that distinction between them and the white population.

Q. The public schools, for the colored as well as the white population, are supported out of the general school-fund, are they?—A. Yes, sir ; and the colored schools are enabled to keep some longer than the white schools, from the fact that the salaries of the teachers, being of the second and third class, are less than those of the white teacher ; and by economizing in that way their schools generally run a month or two longer than the white schools, in any one year. Another thing operates in their favor, namely, the fact that, comparatively, very few white peo-

ple take advantage of the public schools, but send their children to the private institutions, of which there are a great many there; and as a general rule they prefer them to the public schools, and those that are able to do so, almost universally send their children to these private schools. Of course that leaves the fund larger for the maintenance of the others, and enables the colored people to keep their schools open longer.

Q. How long have the public schools usually kept open?—A. They have usually kept open from five to seven months in the year; that is my recollection of it in our vicinity, sir; I don't know how it is all over the State in that particular.

Q. In reference to the elections and election law, and the administration of these laws in your neighborhood, how have they been administered; has there been any discrimination made against the negroes in that respect?—A. No, sir; and it is shown by the fact that we have as quiet elections there as I ever saw anywhere in my life. I have lived North the greater portion of my life, and I can say that there has been no more trouble there in elections than I have observed in other places; in fact, the elections are as quiet as the laws and the police regulations can make them anywhere—our Sunday laws and election-day laws amount to about the same thing—that is, the saloons are closed, and no liquor is allowed to be sold publicly, and no drunken person is allowed on the streets, or about the polls, and no one is interfered with in casting his ballot in any way whatever.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Doctor, what are your politics?—A. Well, sir, that is pretty hard to say; I am something like the gentleman that preceded me—independent in politics. I am no politician; I belong to no party whatever, and have not belonged to any since I left the army. I was identified for a short time with the Republican party in Brenan, Texas. I received my commission in the army, and very shortly after my resignation I was appointed mayor of the city by Governor Davis, at the solicitation of citizens, and not at my own suggestion. That is the only office I ever held, and I accepted the position for the sake of harmony among some of my friends that insisted on it. I occupied that office for a while, and then resigned.

Q. At any rate you have no prejudice against the Democratic party any more than against any other party, and none that would give a coloring to your testimony?—A. None in the world, sir.

Q. Did you hear Mr. Ruby's testimony?—A. No, sir; I did not hear his testimony.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. In what part of Texas do you reside, doctor?—A. In Dallas, sir.

Q. That is in the northeastern section of the State, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that portion of the State is settling quite rapidly, I believe?—A. Yes, sir; very rapidly, indeed.

Q. From what States of the Union does your population chiefly come?—A. Mostly from the West, sir.

Q. From the North and West, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir; a great many Northern people are coming in.

Q. And you have some emigration from the Gulf States, also?—A. Yes, sir; some.

Q. Of white and colored people alike?—A. Yes, sir; of white and colored alike.

Q. A colored population has been there for some time, I believe?—A. Yes, sir; the colored people have been there a good while; old residents of the section.

Q. But the white population is increasing more rapidly now than the colored?—A. Yes, sir; excepting about the towns. The colored people are getting into the towns; are leaving the farms a great deal, and coming into the towns.

Q. Don't you consider that somewhat of an evil, and to be discouraged?—A. I do.

Q. I have observed that the testimony given here has shown that tendency. Is there any way you can account for that general tendency of people of small means to go into the cities rather than out into the country places?—A. I have observed the tendency, and account for it from the fact that in the towns they can get odd jobs to do, and work around during a part of the year, and then go out into the country in cotton-picking time. They then get good wages, and return to the towns, and manage to bring a good deal of money with them; and they seem to prefer working in this way to any other.

Q. Is there much inclination manifested among the colored people, and the poor white people, to become husbandmen and farmers, and in this way to become self-supporting?—A. Amongst those that remain in the county, yes; I know respectable colored farmers that own their own lands, and are doing well, and are respected as much as other persons.

Q. There is, then, very little race prejudice in that part of Texas?—A. Of course there is some prejudice amongst individuals, but as communities, I think there is very little.

Q. You were of what State, originally?—A. I was originally of Southern Illinois; was born there.

Q. And you are a practicing physician?—A. Yes, sir; and have been for twenty odd years.

Q. Are you acquainted quite generally throughout Texas? A. Well, I am acquainted with a good many points—have visited a great many—and there are a great many I have not visited. I am acquainted along the lines of the railroads pretty well.

Q. What portions of Texas are most rapidly settling now?—A. The northern and western portions.

Q. Dallas, and so on westerly, in about the same latitude as Dallas, you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you acquainted with the character of the lands directly west of you, and so on, to the border of New Mexico?—A. Pretty well, I think, sir.

Q. What is the character of that country, and what are its resources after you get, say, fifty miles west of Dallas?—A. It is generally a rich sandy loam, except on the hills, after you get across the Brazos River, where the hills begin to rise; there the soil is rocky and thin on the the hills, but the valleys there are very fertile and abound in the richest of grasses, especially adapted to grazing; the richest grasses for such purposes that I know of.

Q. And so on, all the way to New Mexico?—A. Yes, sir; pretty much all the way, except in "The Staked Plains." There is a section of country in the extreme west and north of Texas called "The Staked Plains" that is almost a desert.

Q. Why called "The Staked Plains"?—A. Because the first parties that went across there staked the plains, so as to get their direction or to let others follow them.

Q. The soil was moved by the winds in the absence of turf?—A. Yes; the tracks could not be retained, and they had to stake out the way.

Q. Now that same soil, if cultivated, or if once subdued, and the turf started, will become fertile and valuable will it not?—A. The difficulty there is that there is so much sand that it continually shifts, and bunches of grass that come up would be very likely to be covered. The grass grows there in bunches; it is a kind of buffalo grass.

Q. Is there a lack of rainfall?—A. Yes; in that immediate section there is.

Q. But they are not very extensive?—A. Yes, sir; they cover a large area there.

Q. Do these plains extend in a northerly and southerly direction, or is their general direction east and west?—A. There is not much difference; they are nearly as long as wide.

Q. And your drift of population is rather in this northern belt, across the State, than towards the south and southwestern portions?—A. Yes, sir. There was a movement to have a colony of colored people go up into this pan-handle portion of Texas, as it is called, the extreme northwestern corner, and an organization was effected and speeches were made to that end, to remove a number that had gathered into the cities there—too many in fact that had gathered into the cities and towns.

Q. Did the colored people themselves take any interest in this movement and are they managing it?—A. In that movement, yes, sir; a portion of them wish to take that into their own hands.

Q. Do you find among these colored people a goodly number of enterprising, far-seeing men, who have noticed this evil tendency to drift towards the cities, and are devising plans to prevent that?—A. A few of them are enterprising and far seeing; they are generally the ministers and the school-teachers. We have some educated colored people there from the North, graduates from Northern schools, who are instructing the colored people there now.

Q. As a citizen of Texas, do you think that the colored population you have there is in any way less desirable as a permanent population than the average of the emigration that comes to you, or would you prefer it to be white?—A. Well, speaking individually, I should prefer it to be white.

Q. At the same time these people are there, and being there, and having their natural and political rights, you want them to have a fair chance in the race of life?—A. O, they do have a fair chance; that is, those of them who are industrious and thrifty. The trouble is that so many of them want to live without work. They don't understand but what freedom was meant to give them the liberty of living without work. A portion of them—the working portion—are doing well, and are respected accordingly. The loafing portion of them are not respected at all; but that is the case there with white or black; if that class is respected anywhere, I do not know of it; certainly that class, the loafing population, is not respected with us.

Q. Well, take them as a whole, what do you think of the tendency of these people towards improvement; are they doing better year by year, or getting worse off in their physical and political and general condition?—A. I think they are improving and doing better from year to year.

Q. And things are generally hopeful in that State?—A. They are, more so than in any State I have visited; and I will say this, that not only the blacks but the whites are becoming more intelligent.

Q. I had reference to all classes.—A. What applies to one applies to the other also.

Q. I was glad to hear what you said about the school system and support in Texas. Your public lands in that State are appropriated, I believe, to the school fund?—A. Not all of them.

Q. But a large portion?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know the extent of the public lands in your State that are thus appropriated?—A. No, sir; the last appropriation made took eleven counties bodily—up in the pan-handle portion.

Q. For the public schools?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they ordered to be sold?—A. No, sir; just located; eleven counties have just been located for school purposes.

Q. That is, laid out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the proceeds of the sales of these entire counties are appropriated to the school fund?—A. Yes, sir; these eleven counties are for our State universities and high schools.

Q. And the interest accumulating on that fund is available annually, but no part of the principal?—A. Yes, sir; no part of the principal—simply the interest.

Q. So that ultimately you are like to have many millions for that fund?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that will give the schools of Texas the best chance of any anywhere?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAIR. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS STUBBLEFIELD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 26, 1880.*

LOUIS STUBBLEFIELD (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Stubblefield?—Answer. In Bolivar County, Mississippi.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there for fourteen years, sir.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Alabama, sir; in Wilcox County, Alabama.

Q. What do you follow for a living, Mr. Stubblefield?—A. Farming, sir, is my occupation.

Q. Do you hold any position or office in your county?—A. Yes, sir; I have a position.

Q. What is it?—A. I am a member of the board of supervisors in my county.

Q. How long have you held that position?—A. For the last eight years and turned into nine.

Q. State, Mr. Stubblefield, whether you have been able to acquire some property since the war.—A. Yes, sir; I have been able to gather in some little property.

Q. About how much?—A. I am to-day in possession of one hundred and sixty acres of very good land, and also nine head of horses and mules, 'twixt thirty-five and forty head of cattle, between fifty and sixty head of hogs—is about the property that I own myself and my family.

Q. Did you own anything at the close of the war?—A. No, sir; nothing whatever.

Q. Were you a free man before the war?—A. No, sir; I was a slave before the war.

Q. And this property you have acquired since you got your freedom and after the war closed?—A. Yes, sir; I have gained it all since 1870.

Q. Where did you live in Mississippi before you went to Bolivar County?—A. I lived in Yazoo County.

Q. And you were born in Alabama?—A. Yes, sir; I was born in Alabama, but I just consider that I was raised in Yazoo County, Mississippi; for I left Alabama when I was only five years old, and I am now in my fifty-third year. With the exception of the five years in Alabama, I have been in Mississippi, and for fourteen years I have been in Bolivar County. I came there right after the close of the war.

Q. In carrying on your farming, do you hire any help?—A. Yes, sir; I have hired help.

Q. How much do laborers' wages amount to down there—what do you pay?—A. The general wages range from twelve to fifteen dollars a month and board in addition.

Q. Is there any difficulty in laboring people down there getting employment?—A. No, sir.

Q. It's the other way, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir; the great trouble is, they can get more employment than you can employ them.

Q. You mean there is a greater demand for labor than supply of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that is the general condition of things?—A. Well, there is a great many persons there that ain't doing nothing, and you can't hire 'em to do nothing longer than a day or two at a time.

Q. What is the difficulty about that?—A. Well, sir, if I express my own opinion about it, I would say it is laziness—emphatically *laziness*—that's what we tell the people there that's in that fix, and I speak the same here.

Q. How did you acquire this property that you have?—A. I raised cotton for it, sir.

Q. And you worked?—A. Yes, sir; myself, my wife, and three children—all hands of us, working night and day.

Q. You think others might also acquire property as you have if they would work for it as you have worked, or, in other words, as you have put it, if they were not lazy?—A. Why, yes, sir; that's what we tell 'em there. In the year 1868 I done as good a day's work as I ever done in my life, on parched corn—that was all. I went to the crib and got a nubbin of corn and I only scorched it, and had to keep knocking the biggest ashes and coals outen ot, and on parched corn I have done as big a day's work as I ever done in my life.

Q. Who were you working for then?—A. For a man by the name of Round Bridge.

Q. Why did he not give you better living than parched corn?—A. He was not able to furnish it to me.

Q. You were all poor there together, is that it?—A. Yes, sir; about that time.

Q. Mr. Stubblefield, is there any political trouble down there in Bolivar County, Mississippi, now?—A. Not with us; I am happy to say that we get along as well as could be expected.

Q. What ticket do you vote?—A. I vote the Republican ticket, sir.

Q. You are not molested in voting it?—A. Not at all, sir; I advocate my rights, and speak my political opinions as boldly as anybody.

Q. And you have held office for seven or eight years?—A. Yes; going

on nine years—my fifth term on the board of supervisors; I have served eight years, and turned into nine since January last.

Q. Why don't others do as well as you do, if there is plenty of employment for all who will work?—A. Well, others I suppose, probably, have not taken the same stand I have taken. I have always thought that I must look to myself and work myself up, and so I have never waited a moment for any person to pick me up and carry me and make something outen me; I have always thought it was my duty to make something of myself and respect myself, and I thought I would then be respected by respectable persons.

Q. Are there other people of your race around you who have got along as well as you have?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Any considerable number?—A. Yes, sir. There is a section there in my immediate neighborhood, about four miles through, that was taken up on a little stream there known as Bayou Fabayos, where the colored people own all the land with the exception of two lots of seventy-five acres in one and a hundred in another—and I am agent of these two lots to sell.

Q. And with that exception for the space of four miles the colored people own the whole land?—A. Yes, sir. That Bolivar County, to my thoughts about it, is one of the best places a man can go to get a living. The soil is good, and a man that will work and has got any management and energy to him, why he certainly can make some money—there is no question about it. I would to-day have been further advanced than I am by four or five thousand dollars if I hadn't spent my own money in trying to help my own color along. I have lost a great deal in this way. I am running a place about two miles from where I live, with four hundred acres of cotton land on it. I have been in possession of that place for the last seven years. I have bought the mules and I have furnished supplies, and the hands who I had employed went back on me. The year before last, when the yellow fever broke out in Memphis, I were feeding sixty-seven hands in a solid body, besides those that I had on my hands at home, and I sent an order into Memphis just as the yellow fever broke out and got supplies for that whole mass of hands to do them to the month of Christmas; they didn't lack for anything in the world they stood in need of; and the whole country at large was hard pressed for provisions, for they could not get anything out of Memphis. These persons had everything they needed. I hauled it to their houses and issued it to them, and the balance I carried home and told them, "Now, when this is out let me know it and I will let you have more." But unfortunately in 1878 the crops were light, and the prices were low, and they became very much disgusted at that thing and they fell terribly behind with me, besides what they had failed in one way or another, for the last four or five years—though the fall were heavier all at once at that time than it ever had been before; and I am satisfied, as I say to the people there, that if they cannot make a living in Bolivar County, they cannot make it anywhere by the tilling of the soil.

Q. Is it not true when the crops are short, and things go badly with these colored people, they are apt to complain of their employers?—A. Yes, sir; I am accused of the same things as any other planter in Bolivar County, or anywhere else.

Q. You are accused of oppression and of not dealing fairly with them?—A. Yes, sir; I am satisfied of that, and the man you are dealing with closest and try and show him the most, is the one that finds most fault.

Q. State whether they have complained of want of fair dealing on your part?—A. O, yes, sir; and I have generally got some person to do my writing for me and keep my accounts with them, for I am not educated in those things, and when there is a mistake complained of, I give them the privilege to carry that bill to anybody they please, and if they find a mistake they can bring it to me, and I will correct it; and very often they carry that bill to one man and another and don't find a mistake. But it seems they don't have no confidence in themselves or in nobody else, and they just think they are swindled, and they ridicule me and say I have swindled them.

Q. And you know it is not so?—A. O, yes; I know it is not so, positively.

Q. Well, when people do not get along—white or black—do they not generally try to lay the blame of their failure on somebody else?—A. Well, that is the case there.

Q. It is a universal trait of human nature, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is.

Q. What is your opinion of the cause of the exodus from your county, Mr. Stubblefield?—A. Well, so far as the exodus from our county is concerned, I don't believe there ever would have been any man to leave there if it hadn't been for a colored man that lives in Helena, by the name of Doctor Collins. He came down there in '78, and he got it into the minds of the people there that they could go to Liberia; that there was one tree there that bore the bread and another tree that bore the lard, and they had nothing at all to do but to go to one tree and dry the fruit and that gave the bread, and to the other tree and cut it and set a bucket under it and catch the lard. It was the most outrageous thing ever perpetrated on an ignorant race in the world.

Q. A great many of your people are like children, and are ready to believe anything that is told them, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; it is for want of elevating them.

Q. For want of knowledge?—A. Yes, sir; and if it had not been for that, there wouldn't have been a single family to leave our county.

Q. Did that doctor make speeches of that kind down there?—A. Yes, sir; and he was very shrewd in it. Any man he thought could overcome him, or catch up with his trickeries—well, he reported there, for instance, that he had papers from New York or Baltimore, and Livingston, who is right here now, down stairs, was there at the time, and can tell you about it—they refused to let him join the club, and they were making up clubs all over the county, and they refused to let him join and they refused to let others join who he had an idea were men that had some understanding and some intelligence to see into these trickeries. They came on down into my immediate neighborhood where I had been for ten years, and in all our political matters there was never a meeting called but that I must be there. I saw the man and I didn't like his face. I told the boys that was down on the place I had rented, when I saw him sitting there in my engineer's house—they were talking to me about the meeting. I looked at the man, and I said to the boys, "Boys, you had better let that man alone; he is a swindler, and we can't carry so many people, it is all we can do to carry ourselves, and it is best to take a man from amongst ourselves to transact our own business, and not depend so much on strangers and foreigners." Well, they had a great anxiety to let the man go on and see what he had to say. At his first meeting, which was a secret meeting, he did not tell them first about going to Liberia, the full mass of people. He told them that that was a good country where they were and to stay in it; that it was

as good a country as they could get in. But he had taken another part in the secret meeting, and told them to get ready to go to Liberia. He told them about those trees, and that they had nothing to do but to cut down one tree and dry it and it made the bread, and to go to the other tree and cut it and catch the lard. I didn't let anybody in my employment at home that I had the full control of go there. So I asked them after the meeting was over what was the result. "Well," they said, "it was just about what I had been saying for the last five or six years." Then I replied to them, "Why not take up what I have said and put it in practice, than to wait to this late moment and take up with a foreigner?" They had a meeting appointed then on the next Saturday, and at that meeting this Liberia question sprang up. Well, I asked them then about this Liberia, and told them: "Now, people, don't you all know, don't your common sense teach you, that this man is lying to you; that there ain't no such place on God Almighty's earth where a tree bears bread and a tree bears lard? That shows you that this man is swindling you, and it is better for you to put that man down, and have nothing more to do with him."

He went on that way and had them organize in nearly half of the county. I discovered there was a good deal of excitement getting up; in fact I was excited about it myself, because I knew where things of that sort are going on, where colored people are connected with it and no white people, that the white people were liable to get excited about it too, and wonder what the movement was. So I made up my mind I would urge upon the best men in our county, to fall in and join these clubs, and get inside in some way or other, in order that we might have a combination against this thing, because I saw where it was going to lead to. So consequently I got into it too. It hurt my feelings to do it very much at the time, but I had some very near and dear friends there, and men that was worth as much as I am, and they were getting carried away with it, and they were ready to throw down everything they had in the world and go off and leave it. I knew that would be the ruin of them, and I was ready to go into it, to get at the head that I might have some chance to break it up. So sure enough I got into it, and Livingston here done so at the same time. We then called upon this fellow for his credentials, and we found he had no credentials, no authority in the world. When we came to find out, we learned he was from Helena, and he told the people that he had a boat and was going to carry them free of charge; and if it had not been for that, not a man would have gone from Bolivar.

Q. By joining these clubs yourself, and getting other good men to join, you exposed the leader of this movement and stopped the thing?
—A. Yes, sir; we stopped it right there.

Then this Kansas movement was the next thing that sprang up. We got into that too, and managed to keep our people at home.

Q. Do you have any reason to suppose that your race would be bettered in their condition in any way, by going away from their homes in your county?
—A. There is no reason in my mind that I can produce, whatever.

Q. Mr. Stubblefield, how is it about opportunities for schooling your children in your county?
—A. Well, sir, our people in Bolivar has the same chance that the whites does for schooling their children; there is no exception made in the schools at all.

Q. The schools are kept up by the taxation of the people are they?
A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where the colored man has property he pays the school taxes the same as the white man does?
—A. Yes, sir; it is all equal as to that.

Q. And all share alike in the privileges of the schools?—A. Yes, sir; that portion of the business has been passing through my hands for the last eight years; I am identified with that sort of work.

Q. How many members are there in your board of supervisors?—A. Five men on our board, sir; one member from each of the supervising districts.

Q. How many of these supervisors on your board are white and how many are colored?—A. Three are white and two are colored; but the three whites are there by my consent. We would have elected on last Tuesday a week ago, another member, a colored man, but I would not consent to it.

Q. You preferred the white men to remain?—A. Yes, sir; I do not know where you would find over one or two men that would serve on that board and keep out of all difficulty. It is a very dangerous and difficult office.

Q. Is the county superintendent of schools selected by this board?—A. No, sir; he is appointed by the attorney-general, I think, and then we act together; the board of supervisors and the county superintendent act together.

Colonel YERGER (the preceding witness, explaining). The superintendent of education is appointed by the paid board of education, composed of the secretary of state, the attorney-general, and the State superintendent. He is appointed and the senate confirms him.

Q. (To the witness.) And your board and Colonel Yerger here act together?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any further statement to make?—A. I don't know of anything more that is necessary, sir. I think I have told you just about what is perfectly so, and I have told you just what I have expressed myself at home. I have not made one particle of difference in my expressions there or here.

Q. So that if your testimony as taken here is read there, nobody will be surprised at what you have said?—A. No, sir; nobody can be surprised at it, because I have spoken these words thousands and thousands of times just as I have spoken them here.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR :

Q. What is this office that you hold?—A. Member of the board of supervisors.

Q. Of what?—A. Of the county.

Q. What duties do you perform?—A. We act as legislators of the county, sir.

Q. What laws do you enact?—A. Well, we don't enact the laws; we are governed by the laws of the legislature, but we make the levy for the county of the funds for the county purposes.

Q. Levy the taxes of the county for the county purposes?—A. Yes, sir; we do that.

Q. You are administrators for the county then?—A. Yes, sir; that is our duty.

Q. And you say it is a very difficult and dangerous office—that was your expression?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Wherein is it dangerous?—A. Because—I spoke of it as being dangerous because we have to make allowances you know for claims for each persons that does county work. Well, a man without experience on the board would make allowances and vote "aye," when he really ought to vote "no." Well, then he will be liable to be indicted by the grand jury.

Q. How is that?—A. We have to pay for all county work—the men that builds the bridges or does any public work, we have to pay their bills when they come in. Well, in case a bill is too large—and some men make their bills too much—well, if a man on the board would vote just as the bill many times is put before him, he would be indicted.

Q. He is in danger of being indicted for misconduct in office, is that it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that the only “danger” you spoke of?—A. Well, then there is another danger. If he takes any share or part in any public work, he is liable to indictment for that.

Q. Yes, very properly.—A. And that is very critical, sir; a critical position.

Q. Certainly.—A. A man that doesn't understand that; of course, he would vote just as the thing was put before him.

Q. Well, you mean to say that it is a dangerous office for an ignorant or corrupt man to hold?—A. Yes, sir; that is just what I mean to say to you.

Q. A man needs to be honest and capable in order to discharge the duties of this board of supervisors and avoid the “danger” you speak of?—A. That is it precisely.

Q. You say you have been in the county fourteen years?—A. Yes, sir; about that long.

Q. And from your description of the soil and climate and other advantages, you think it is as good a place to live in and work and gain a living as any other place in your knowledge?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Perhaps the best place you know of anywhere?—A. I consider it the best, sir, that I know of. For all I know of other places I think it may be the best place there is anywhere for our people to work or make a living.

Q. Well, is it not known generally in the State of Mississippi that Bolivar County and that section is the best section of that country?—A. It is so considered, I believe.

Q. A majority of the people in that county are colored people, I believe?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There is no place within your knowledge where the colored people are nearly as well off as in Bolivar County, is there?—A. No, sir; there is nowhere that they could be better off if they would only do what they ought to do, and be industrious and work as they ought to work to make their own way.

Q. Well, I understand you, then, that there is no place you know of, where the colored people are as a fact as well off as they are in Bolivar County?—A. No, sir; not to my knowing, there isn't.

Q. And by reputation you consider it the best place for colored people of any place within your knowledge?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I consider it, positively.

Q. Do you know what the population of the county is?—A. I do not, precisely.

Q. Well, how extensive is your knowledge of other places—of other portions of the State of Mississippi, and of places in the State of Louisiana? Have you traveled much?—A. No, sir; I do not do much traveling.

Q. Your public and private duties confine you mostly to your own county?—A. Yes, sir, very closely, I do not travel at all; I have not been out of Bolivar County, with the exception that this time last year I was called to Vicksburg—I went therewith a committee to Vicksburg—as near this time last year as can be—only lacking a day or two;

we was to be there on the fifth of next month, and I have not been out of the county since I returned back on the tenth of May—I have not been out of the county since that time till I started to come here.

Q. Since when?—A. May, a year ago.

Q. And prior to that time you had been in the county how long?—A. All the time.

Q. In other words, you have been out of the county but once since the close of the war?—A. O, I have been out of the county several times—I have been to Memphis, as I said; but I have not been out of it since the tenth of last May, till I started to come here to Washington.

Q. And when you have been absent I suppose you have just made a short business trip and returned?—A. Yes, sir; from three to five days only at a time; not more than that.

Q. And always upon some business of your own or of other people?—A. My own business only.

Q. Business of a private nature only; not in your capacity as an officeholder?—A. Only of a private nature.

Q. Have you ever been a member of the legislature of your State?—A. No, sir.

Q. But you held this county office during the time you have named—eight years and over?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I think you stated in your direct examination that you had not had the advantages of an education yourself?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are not able to read or write?—A. No, sir.

Q. But have to rely upon others in those matters—in your accounts, and so on?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are not familiar with the contents of the papers, for the reason that you could not read?—A. No, sir.

Q. And what you know of other parts of the country you knew only from others?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever heard of any difficulties your race has encountered anywhere else, in other sections, since the war?—A. O, yes; I have heard of plenty of it.

Q. Well, won't you state what you have heard?—A. I can only state what I have heard in this committee-room on Saturday; I heard some things stated in Vicksburg when I was there, and I heard some testimony given here Saturday by a gentleman who was giving testimony.

Q. You heard statements similar to those given here, at Vicksburg when you were there, and they are usual and quite current throughout the South, in regard to the wrong treatment of your race; do I understand you to mean that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But in Bolivar County you have surmounted that—have got above it, and beyond it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you all get your rights there?—A. Yes, sir; there is nothing of that sort with us.

Q. How much are you worth, Mr. Stubblefield; you have told us what property you have; what is it all worth, according to your estimate of it?—A. Well, I don't know how I could give you an estimate.

Q. Is it worth twenty thousand dollars?—A. No, sir; it is not worth that much.

Q. Ten thousand?—A. It is worth that to me.

Q. It is probably worth that amount to one who can take hold and employ the capital invested?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there many colored men in your county who are worth a like amount?—A. Yes, sir; several.

Q. How many?—A. Well, taking the county over there are some fifteen or twenty men.

Q. Some fifteen or twenty men that are worth ten thousand dollars each?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much land did you say you own?—A. One hundred and sixty acres, sir.

Q. And that is all?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have rented land?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much land do you rent?—A. Four hundred acres.

Q. This one hundred and sixty acres that you own, and this four hundred acres that you rent, are all that you are interested in?—A. Yes, sir; all I am working now.

Q. How much is this one hundred and sixty acres that you own worth?—A. To me, sir?

Q. What could you sell it for, in open market, if you were to offer it for sale?

(Witness hesitating.)

Q. Well, what did you give for it?—A. Twelve dollars an acre; but I bought it in the woods.

Q. That would be nineteen hundred dollars and a little over?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much do you think it is worth now?—A. Well, it is worth now three times as much as when I bought it.

Q. About six thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is with the improvements you have put on it?—A. Yes, sir; with the improvements.

Q. Of what do these improvements consist?—A. A dwelling-house, cribs, stables, ditches, fences, and so on.

Q. And cabins for your laborers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many laborers do you employ on these one hundred and sixty acres?—A. I have ten.

Q. How many cabins have you besides your own house?—A. I have four cabins.

Q. What do you raise?—A. I raise cotton and corn.

Q. How much cotton?—A. From seventy to eighty bales of cotton, sir.

Q. And how much corn?—A. From a thousand to fifteen hundred bushels of corn.

Q. Varying, I suppose, with the character of the season?—A. Yes, sir; according as it is good or bad.

Q. And you know of twelve or fifteen men, I think you said, in that county, who are situated like yourself as to the amount of property they own?—A. Yes, sir; taking the county for it.

Q. How many colored men do you know that own land in the county?—A. I could not tell you that without going back to study it.

Q. Do you think there are fifty colored men who own land in the whole county?—A. No, sir; I don't reckon there is.

Q. Are there twenty-five that own land?—A. Yes, I reckon there is that many, and more.

Q. But you don't think there are fifty?—A. Well, there could be a hundred if they would work for it.

Q. If they made the extra exertion that you have, or would work like yourself, there might be a hundred, you think, that could own land?—A. O, yes; I know they could.

Q. And you think that is a fair estimate of the proportion of your

population who could by industry and economy come to be land owners?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If they worked as hard and were as saving as you have been?
A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. And lived on parched corn and the like, when necessary?
A. Yes, sir; they could.

Q. Could they all have worked as hard as you have? You look like a strong, brawny, muscular man; could these hundred that you have estimated have endured as much physically as you have?
—A. Well, not exactly.

Q. A great deal depends upon a man's ability to manage too, does it not?
—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. And all these others may not be endowed with quite as good faculties as you possess?
—A. Maybe not, sir.

Q. A man is not to blame because in his physical and mental powers he is not equal to others, is he?
—A. No, sir.

Q. And you don't blame any of your race because they are not equal to you in this respect?
—A. O, no, sir.

Q. Well, then, the smartest of the colored men down there, like yourself, could, if they had been equally industrious and economical, to the number of one hundred, as you think, have come to be owners of land and prosperous people?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Not all have been worth the amount that you are worth, perhaps?
—A. No, sir; perhaps not.

Q. But they could have had some land and been worth nearly as much?
—A. Well, sir; a good many of them could have had more than I have.

Q. Because they have had a better chance—is that it?
—A. Yes, sir; many of them have.

Q. But at least one hundred of them could have come to be owners of land?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many colored men live in that county?
—A. I cannot tell how many.

Q. What is the whole population of the county?
—A. There is thirteen hundred registered voters—I do not know now how many white and how many colored.

Q. The majority are colored?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A large majority?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Two to one?
—A. Two to three, to one.

Q. Which would you have it, three-fourths or two-thirds colored?
—A. I think you can fix that in estimating better than I can.

Q. Well, say, eight hundred out of the thirteen hundred, colored?
—A. I think about that, just about.

Q. Registered voters, that is?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Heads of families, most of them?
—A. Yes, sir; I think most of them are heads of families.

Q. Do you think that your race in Bolivar County are on the whole a pretty lazy, shiftless set, or are they up to the average of the poorer class of white people North and South, as far as you have known them?
—A. About up to the average.

Q. About as good as white people of the same pecuniary circumstances?
—A. Well, all the difference in the world I can discover is in their skin and hair.

Q. You don't see that the black man there is any lazier than the white man?
—A. Not a bit.

Q. You see no reason why he should not get along as well?—A. No, sir.

Q. How many poor laboring white people are there in your county?—A. A good many of them.

Q. How do they compare with your folks as laborers?—A. They are just about the same thing.

Q. How do they compare as to their condition—their pecuniary circumstances?—A. Just about the same; put them all in a bag and shake them, you don't know which would fall out first.

Q. You would not feel as though you were honored at all by sitting at the same table with that kind of white folks, would you?—A. No, sir; they very often sit at the table with me; very often, sir.

Q. They seem to be glad to get the chance to do it, don't they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They find something to eat there, no doubt?—A. O, yes, sir; they would be very apt to find something to eat at my table.

Q. Well, in reference to the matter of schools, which stands the best relatively, the colored or the white children, in Bolivar County?—A. In what way do you mean?

Q. I am not speaking of the planters' children, who have the extra advantages of the private schools, but of the great Democratic and Republican masses; how do the white and the colored children stand as to the improvement they make of the opportunities of schooling they have?—A. Well, I think they stand about equal. I have looked at them both, and have passed my opinion on that as I have been going among them, and I am not able to discover any difference, in my own judgment, and it is a thing I have very often taken notice of and spoken about, and I have called my people's attention very strongly to the necessity of taking advantage of the school system and of every opportunity to educate their children.

Mr. BLAIR. That is all, Mr. Stubblefield.

Adjourned.

FIFTY-THIRD DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 27, 1880.*

Committee met pursuant to adjournment. The chairman and quorum present.

LOUIS STUBBLEFIELD recalled.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Stubblefield, I want to ask you a few more questions. You gave us a good description of Bolivar County, and how you are getting along. State whether it is not your understanding that Washington County, just below you on the river, is not in pretty much the same condition as Bolivar?—Answer. About the same, sir, I understand.

Q. Are there any other of your neighboring counties that you would class with Bolivar and Washington?—A. Yes, sir; Coahoma County.

Q. That is above you, on the river?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Those rich river counties, you think, are getting along pretty well?—A. Yes, sir; I think they are all about the same, sir.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You are rather a head man among your people down there, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The lines have fallen to you in rather pleasant places, have they not?—A. Not extra, I guess.

Q. Do you not think that you are as well off as any other colored man you know?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who is better off than you?—A. Well, there is Carpenter Burrill and William Johnson; I think they are better off than I.

Q. Wherein are they better off than you are?—A. They own more property.

Q. Do you consider that the highest good in life?—A. I do not think that.

Q. Which would you prefer, to be a slave and worth a hundred thousand dollars, or to be free and worth five dollars?—A. I would rather be free if I was worth nothing.

Q. No man is any freer than you are?—A. No, sir.

Q. But these other men are worth a little more property?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What public positions do they hold?—A. Neither one hold any public position at this time.

Q. They have no leadership of your race as you have?—A. One has.

Q. What is he?—A. At this present time he is beaten; but about four years ago he was treasurer of the county.

Q. How long was he county treasurer?—A. For two years.

Q. You have a pretty good understanding with the Democratic party in your county and vicinity, have you not?—A. Yes sir.

Q. You are on perfectly good relations?—A. Yes, sir; I am happy to say so.

Q. I am happy to have you say so.—A. If it was not so, I would not say so.

Q. Of course not; nobody has any doubt that you would tell the truth?—A. I do not make a practice of ever telling anything else.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Do you vote your own party ticket—the Republican ticket?—A. Yes, sir; I vote the Republican ticket, and express my own party views to my satisfaction.

Q. Which one of the men that you spoke of was elected county treasurer?—A. That was William Johnson.

Q. So some of your people hold office sometimes?—A. Yes, sir; there is some of our people in office all the time.

Q. What offices do they hold?—A. Magistrates, constables, and so on; at one time Senator Bruce was our sheriff.

Q. Mr. Bruce who is now here as United States Senator?—A. Yes, sir; and since that time, Mr. Owsley, a colored man, has been State senator.

Q. Who is State senator now?—A. I forget who is senator at this time.

Q. Who is your member of the legislature?—A. We have two members from our county now—a colored man named Beaufort, and a white man, Colonel Montgomery.

Q. There is a colored man in the legislature from your county now?—A. Yes, sir; Mr. Gales is our State senator. He is chairman of our committee there.

Q. Of your Republican county committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is in the State senate now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Why do you pick out those three counties to speak of especially?
—A. Well, I live in one of the counties, and the other counties are one above me and the other below me.

Q. Do you not think that they are better than the other counties of the State, for the colored people?—A. I cannot say, particularly, that they are the best; I cannot say whether they are the best or not, because I do not know the other counties.

Q. You never have heard that the colored people have had any trouble in these counties, or in one of them?—A. Well, yes, sir; when it comes to that I must—

Q. You must tell the truth?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, out with it?—A. Well, I have heard of some trouble.

Q. Where was that?—A. In Coahoma County some years ago.

Q. What was it?—A. They had a riot there at one time.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. About five or six years, I should say.

Q. Was anybody hurt?—A. Not to my knowing.

Q. Did you hear that anybody was hurt?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did you hear?—A. I heard—wait until I get it right in my mind before I express myself.

Q. Certainly; take your time to collect your thoughts, and get the account correct.—A. I heard that the sheriff of the county, Brown, I think his name was, attempted to rise against the white people.

Q. He was sheriff of the county, and began to make war on the white people?—A. So I heard.

Q. Was he a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And attempted to make war on the white people on that account?
—A. Yes, sir; my understanding was that he had ammunition prepared for that purpose.

Q. But he was sheriff of the county, was he not?—A. Yes, sir..

Q. And did you understand that he was trying to exterminate—to kill off the white people?—A. So I understood.

Q. Did you believe it?—A. Well, I am telling you what I heard.

Q. Did you ever know of an instance where the colored people organized to kill off the white people?—A. Not until then.

Q. How far did he carry this?—A. I do not know, really.

Q. Do you say that you understood he had arms and ammunition?—A. I understood that he had ammunition.

Q. How was he hindered from carrying out his plans? Did the white people get the start of him and prevent it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did they prevent it?—A. My understanding was that they got arms themselves, and overpowered him.

Q. Was anybody else overpowered? Was he alone, or did he have somebody with him?—A. He had somebody with him.

Q. How many? How large an army did he have?—A. I never heard any specified number.

Q. Had he a thousand men?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. How could he expect to kill off all the white people in that county without a thousand men?—A. I do not know anything about his expectations.

Q. You heard how many men he had?—A. No, sir.

Q. You simply heard that he was organizing a war against the whites, and was going to kill off all the white people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you believe it, or did you think that it was right the other way—that the white people intended to kill off the colored people, and invented this story as an excuse?—A. I noticed that very often the col-

ored people, the Republican party, would unite to take possession of all the offices; and I think that was the nature of the case then.

Q. How take possession?—A. Elect colored people to all the offices.

Q. Had they votes enough to do that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you thought they sometimes tried to get all the offices that they had votes enough to get?—A. Yes, sir; and I think that tells the secret in that case.

Q. The colored folks, having a majority, tried to elect the officers, and the white folks would not submit?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that was the way the trouble arose?—A. Yes, sir; that is, as far as I have heard.

Q. Well, you say a row or riot resulted?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What happened to the sheriff?—A. My understanding is that he left there—ran away.

Q. What made him run away?—A. He had conducted himself in such a manner that he thought it was not safe for him to stay there.

Q. That is all you heard of his ever doing that made it unsafe for him to stay there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When these people came down there—this man from Helena, who preached to your folks that there was a tree of bread and a tree of lard for them to go to—state whether he, and others like him, got any of the property when these emigrants left your county?—A. Yes, sir; from one man he got everything he owned; he got the worth of a cow and a mule and a horse. Nic. Alvin sold his property, and got the money for it, and turned it over to Collins; Collins told him that he was going to New Orleans to get a boat, and would be back by the first of March. This man, the way he presented the thing, wanted everybody to turn over their stock to him, and he would turn it over to some other man, and they would get on a boat and go to Liberia, and he would have the property sold and the money sent to them in Liberia. It was a fat thing; if it had been such a year as it was last year—if there had been as much money in the country as there was last year, he would have made an independent fortune.

Q. As it was he got some?—A. O, yes, sir; and he would have got more, but for Mr. Livingstone, who is here on the police watch, in this building, and myself, and others. But Mr. Livingstone was the first to find out that he had no credentials. He said that he had authority from the United States; he had some little pamphlets that he said contained these credentials. But Livingstone worked around, and got hold of one the pamphlets, and found that there was no United States there—no authority of no description, except a pamphlet that he had got up himself to show to the people. After he found out that we were getting after him so sharp—Livingstone and myself and some others of us—and that we were taking a very active interest in putting the thing down, he left, before he had got more than about half way through our county. And when we heard of him again, he was at Helena, and well situated.

Q. Mr. Stubblefield, have you noticed whether there are any Northern men settled in your county since the war?—A. There were Northern men there three or four years ago; I do not think of any that I know of now. There were men there who said that they were from the North; but they were strangers to me.

Q. Do you know Major Adams?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is a Northern man, is he not?—A. I do not know.

Q. He is getting along pleasantly, is he not?—A. Yes, sir; so far as I know.

Q. There is no hostility shown him by any class of people, is there?
—A. Not to my knowing.

Q. Is he not getting along as well as anybody that you know in Bolivar County, and is he not as highly respected as anybody you know?

—A. He is getting along very well.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You do not know where Major Adams is from?—A. No, sir.

Q. Does he own a plantation?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he married into a family down there?—A. I do not know.

Q. Did he come there with a family?—A. I do not know.

Q. Where does he live?—A. He lives below me there.

Q. How many miles from you?—A. About twenty or twenty-five.

Q. What are his politics?—A. I understand he is a Democrat.

Q. Do you know of any Northern Republicans anywhere down there?

—A. I do not know of any. I must tell you the truth—I have but little faith in Republicanism there among the whites. There are men there who say they are Republicans, but they are no more Republicans than I am a Democrat.

Q. Do you know of any Northern men down there who claim to be Republicans?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any Southern white men down there who claim to be Republicans?—A. I know three or four in Bolivar County.

Q. Poor white trash?—A. No, sir; they are respectable men.

Q. Do they take much part in politics?—A. They take a great deal of part in trying to get office, but they do not stump speak any.

Q. Do you know of any Republicans, white men, who do get office down there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now, in regard to this Helena man; you do not charge him upon any particular party, or any particular part of the country; he was simply a local scoundrel?—A. That is all.

Q. He was not a Northern man, nor indorsed by the Northern people; he was simply deluding and cheating your people on his own account.

A. That is what I think.

Q. You notice that the chairman's question was in regard to him and other men like him, performing such acts—obtaining property in this way. Have you known of any other man like him, trying to delude your people in that way?—A. He is the only man.

Q. And you put an end to his operations very soon, did you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much do you think he got out of your folks?—A. I do not know.

Q. Did he get a thousand dollars?—A. I cannot make any estimation.

Q. He was talking about going to Liberia.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And not to the North?—A. No, sir.

Q. He told you about a tree that grew bread?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And lard?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You never heard anybody preaching that any such thing as that could be found up North?—A. No, sir.

Q. You never heard that anything of that kind could be found in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor even in Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you suppose that there is a negro in the South who believes that he can take an ax and go up and chop down lard in Indiana?—

A. No, sir.

Q. Or that he can cut a tree down up there, and eat it for bread?—

A. No, sir.

Q. Your people are not going to Indiana or Kansas with the supposition of getting anything of that sort?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you expect that any of them are going to take a knife along with the supposition of being able to cut vegetable bread or vegetable lard?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there any general expectation of finding oleomargarine growing on trees up North?—A. I do not know what that is.

Q. Well, I don't either; but it is some sort of nutritious grease.—A. I guess they never heard of that.

ALEXANDER YERGER recalled.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. I want to ask you in regard to any Northern men that you know of that are living in the South, whether there are any living in Bolivar County now?—Answer. Yes, sir. there is A. L. Gunnison, who is a large planter. He came from Maine, I believe.

Q. Has he come there since the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think of any others?—A. Mr. Libbey is living there; he is a Northern man, and a planter too.

Q. What are his politics?—A. He is a Republican.

Q. What are Mr. Gunnison's politics?—A. I do not know; but I know that Mr. Libbey is an outspoken Republican.

Q. Are there any others there that you know of?—A. There is Mr. Huntington; he is president of the Greenville and Birmingham Railroad; he was a large planter there for many years, but sold his plantation, and is now president of that railroad. He is originally from Connecticut, but has been living in Greenville for many years past. He is very highly esteemed.

Q. Do you know Major Adams?—A. Yes, sir; he lives in my county; he is a Northern man; he is said to have been an officer in the Northern Army—a major in a colored regiment. I believe he admits the fact. He married a lady down there, a sister of William L. Nugent, one of the ablest lawyers in our State, and one of the most respected. He visits everybody, goes everywhere.

Q. You have named four men—mostly New England men it seems—at least one is from Maine and another from Connecticut—who are down there engaged in business. Are they socially ostracised, or do they visit with your families, the same as Southern people do with each other?—A. Huntington, Adams, and Gunnison, these three I particularly remember, all Northern men, stand as high as anybody in the country; they are invited to every place; I mean, of course, invited wherever they are acquainted, the same as anybody else. Then there was Major Hunt, an officer of the Republican party, the major of a colored regiment; after the war he rented a plantation from my brother, and lived there a year or two. He is received into every house, goes everywhere, and has a great many friends there now. Then there is Mr. Flory, clerk of our chancery court; he is a pronounced carpet-bagger; at one time he was very much censured, but he has outlived it. He was clerk of our court, and chief manager of the Republican party for years. He made a good deal of money; he sold out, only two years ago, on account of ill-health, to my son-in-law, in the town of Rosedale, and went to California, and died there. Then there is General Lease, clerk of our circuit court; he has been a vowed Republican and a member of the Republican committee; he has been invited to my house, and to General Clark's, and to various other places—when-

ever anybody was ; that is, he was not excluded on account of his Northern origin, nor of his politics.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You spoke of one of these men as being a carpet-bagger ?—A. They are all what are sometimes termed “carpet-baggers.”

Q. You only applied that term to one of them ?—A. I said of Mr. Flory that he was a “pronounced” carpet-bagger.

Q. What is the difference between a “pronounced” carpet-bagger and a carpet-bagger of the ordinary kind ?—A. I meant by that that he had been an avowed manager of the Republican party in the State. The others managed, but he was the chief manager ; he was at the head of the Republican party in Bolivar County.

Q. You say that he “outlived” it ?—A. Yes, sir ; I meant he outlived the prejudice that people had against him when he first came there.

Q. What was the prejudice based upon—the fact of his having pronounced his carpet-bagism ?—A. No, sir ; principally because when he first came there he was supposed to be encouraging the negroes to unkind and unpleasant feelings toward the white people. I never saw a man molested on account of his origin.

Q. Have you ever known the colored people to be the source of any danger to the white people in your State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What danger ?—A. I have seen them when I think they could be readily influenced by bad whisky and bad counsel to do anything.

Q. Have you ever known them to be a source of actual danger ?—A. No, sir ; I do not think they have been.

Q. Do you not know as well as you know that you live, that the white race has made war upon the colored race in Mississippi, and committed at least two thousand murders since the war ?—A. I know exactly the contrary, and deny it.

Q. You deny it ?—A. I do.

Q. Do you not know that the testimony elicited by the investigating committees show that such has been the fact in your State ?—A. I deny emphatically that the white people have ever made war upon the negroes there.

Q. Do you mean to be understood as asserting that the colored people in Mississippi have had their full and free rights as American citizens—the right to vote, without violence, or obstruction, or intimidation ?—A. I do.

Q. You do ?—A. Yes, sir ; I do, so far as I know. I never saw anything of that kind.

Q. Do you mean to say that the ballot has been free in Mississippi, to the colored people, since the close of the war ?—A. I have never seen it interfered with.

Q. As a citizen of Mississippi, are you ready to swear that the ballot is free—the exercise of it—on the part of the colored race there, as on the part of the white race ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the violence that you say you have been afraid of ?—A. I am not afraid of any violence.

Q. You spoke of violence there, did you not ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have there never been any violence— ?—A. [Interrupting.] No, sir.

Q. [Finishing the sentence.] On the part of white men of your State toward the colored men, having reference to the exercise of suffrage ?—A. I have never seen any.

Q. Do you know of any that you have not seen ?—A. I do not know of any.

Q. You do not know of any difficulty in your State having a political origin?—A. I know of difficulties that have occurred originating in politics—fights, and so on; but nothing arising from any effort to keep the negroes from voting.

Q. Do you undertake to say that there has been no failure to have the ballots that were cast honestly counted, and properly declared? That there has been an honest return of the vote as actually cast, generally, in your State?—A. No, sir. I could not undertake to say that; I know that honest returns were not made in one case.

Q. I believe you said that in one case a Republican sheriff was falsely returned. You have never known anything of the sort to be perpetrated in the interests of the Democratic party?—A. If there was, I have never known of it.

Q. Have you ever heard reliable reports to that effect?—A. I do not believe they have ever made any unfair count or unjust returns.

Q. You do not believe that there has ever been a single election, general or local, in your State, in which a fraud was committed against the Republicans and in the interest of the Democratic party.—A. I know of none, and I do not believe that there has been any.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. What is the relative population in your State, of the white and colored?—A. I cannot tell you, in the State; I knew, but I have forgotten.

Q. What is it in your county?—A. The last census gives 9,782 persons, and out of that there are forty-eight hundred and some odd colored persons; but both races have increased since that time; the white people have increased probably a little the fastest.

Q. The white people are in the majority in your county, then?—A. No, sir. The vote is about five thousand, and the whites have about one thousand of that.

Q. How many colored men do you know of who are Democrats?—A. Well, I know of a great great many that claim to be, and vote the Democratic ticket of their own accord.

Q. Can you give us the names of any of them?—A. Yes, sir; a great many names.

Q. Of colored people who vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Be so kind as to give the names of a few of them.—A. Well, there is Mason Monroe, and Daniel Clarke, and Hayward Taylor, and Gideon White, and—I cannot think of the others just now. I just happened to think of them because they live in the same town with me.

Q. How do the elections generally go in your county?—A. About three thousand majority.

Q. The Republicans have about three thousand majority?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they have that majority in 1875?—A. The Republican party split in 1875.

Q. What split it—the shot-gun?—A. No, sir; two Republican candidates wanted office, and one bolted; and the Democrats elected one of them.

Q. Nearly all the Republican counties in your State split in 1875, did they not?—A. I am not able to say. I never saw anybody split with a shot-gun.

Q. Was there a general split in the Republican party in your State in 1875?—A. I believe the Democrats carried the State in 1875.

Q. They carried it by a good large majority, did they not?—A. I believe they did.

Q. Was not that a very sudden political change?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The most of the strong Republican counties—the counties that had been strongly Republican before—have been Democratic ever since?—A. I believe not.

Q. The State has not gone Republican since 1875?—A. No, sir; and I do not believe it ever will again.

Q. Nor I, until you fellows are compelled to obey the law down there. Do you know how it is about hiring out colored people who are committed to jail in your State?—A. Yes, sir: I know that there is such a law.

Q. Do you know whether white men are ever hired out?—A. Yes, sir; I knew a case in which a white man was sent to jail for a trivial offense, and fined a considerable sum; Senator Bruce hired that man, as a boot-black and servant generally, until he paid it.

Q. What had the man done?—A. He was accused of rape.

Q. Do you consider rape a trivial offense in your State?—A. Under the circumstances of this particular case, I should consider it so.

Q. When did this occur?—A. A good many years ago, when Senator Bruce was sheriff of our county.

Q. Is that the only white man you ever knew of being hired out?—A. He was not hired out; he just had the privilege of working out his fine.

Q. Then you never knew of any other white man being hired out?—A. O, white persons are hired out just the same as anybody else.

Q. Do you know of more than this man ever being hired out?—A. I remember of no other.

Q. Do you remember of any colored people being hired out?—A. Yes, sir; at every term of court—whenever they are convicted.

Q. Who hires them out?—A. The county—the board of supervisors.

Q. At what rate per day?—A. I do not remember; my recollection is about thirty cents a day; I will not be positive about that. Board and medicine and clothes are included in the amount, whatever it is.

Q. How many of these gentlemen whom you name as having come from the North and being received into society down there are Republicans?—A. Well, Flory was a Republican, and Lease was a Republican, and Hunt was a Republican, and Libbey was a Republican. I think Gunnison was a Democrat, but I will not be positive.

Q. Then you do not know of any Northern Democrat down there except Gunnison?—A. Yes, sir; there are other Northern people there who are Democrats.

Q. You gave the name of but one—Mr. Gunnison?—A. The Northern Democrats there are so numerous that I could not name them.

Q. There are large numbers of them there?—A. Yes, sir; I think Huntington is a Democrat.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Going back to 1875, and the splitting of the Republican party, is not this the fact, so far as Bolivar County is concerned, that the colored folks themselves split about the offices?—A. They did.

Q. The ticket was made up of colored people on each side, and the Democrats made their choice between the two tickets and elected one of them?—A. That is true.

Q. There were no shot-guns around?—A. Well, sir, they held their convention, and got into a quarrel in the court-house, and one part of the convention bolted—and I think Mr. Stubblefield was there among them. I live opposite the house where the bolfers came to hold their

convention. I remember that I furnished them the light. They nominated a ticket. The Democrats, then, did not nominate any ticket, but took their choice and voted for whom they pleased. A good many of them voted the regular Republican ticket.

Q. Do you know of any law of the government to prevent Democrats taking their choice and voting the Republican ticket if they choose?—A. No, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. There is no law to prevent Democrats from voting down there, is there?—A. There is no law to prevent anybody from voting.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Now, in this hiring-out system, a white man, convicted of an offense, worked out his fine with Sheriff Bruce, who is now United States Senator Bruce, a colored man?—A. Yes, sir; it is perfectly ridiculous to talk about white men not being hired out, just the same as negroes. There is no respect paid to color when a man is convicted of crime.

Q. Can you mention some other instance of a white man being convicted and working out this sentence?—A. I have seen plenty of white men at work in that way, but I do not know their names.

Q. Where have you seen them?—A. I live at the county-seat, not far from the road that they are marched through on their way to their work; but I do not know the names of the convicts. My personal acquaintance with that class of people is not large.

Q. How many have you ever seen?—A. I have seen several.

Q. Four or five?—A. Yes, sir; whenever they are convicted they are hired out at work without regard to color or anything else.

Q. You say you have seen four or five; have you seen any more than that?—A. I would not undertake to say; I have never paid any particular attention to the matter.

Q. If you have never paid any attention to the matter how can you undertake to say that white and colored persons are hired out to work without respect to color?—A. Because I have been at the court-house frequently and seen them started out to their work.

Q. Have you any special cause for being at the court-house frequently?—A. Yes, sir; the law compels me to be there at every term of the court and hear the charge of the judge, as I am treasurer of the county; I have to be there at the opening of the court.

Q. You are not obliged by law to remain there through court?—A. No, sir; but I generally am there every day.

Q. How many terms of court do you have a year there?—A. Two.

Q. You have been there ever since the war?—A. No, sir; not ever since the war.

Q. How many years?—A. Seven.

Q. And during that time, with close observation, being in attendance upon the court every day when it was in session, you have seen four or five white men hired out to work out their sentence?—A. That was not a law until recently. Until a short time ago, a person, when convicted, had a right to go to work out his sentence or not, as he chose; he could not be compelled to do so; he could stay there until his term of sentence expired, and then they would turn him out. The change was made to relieve the county of expense. Our jail is a poor and miserable jail.

Q. At the time when this division took place in the Republican party to which you have referred, did the Democrats act with the wing

of the Republican party to which Mr. Stubblefield belonged?—A. The Democrats, as a party, did not vote any particular ticket.

Q. As a matter of fact, did the larger number of Democrats vote for the wing of the Republican party to which he belonged?—A. I can only answer for myself; I myself voted for a portion of the regular Republican ticket.

Q. Did you vote for Mr. Stubblefield?—A. I never failed to vote for him in my life when I had an opportunity to do so. I have voted for him ever since I knew him, and in fact before I knew him personally, because he bore the reputation of being an honest, honorable man, a good man, performing the duties of any position to which he might be elected with fidelity.

Q. Did the Democratic party usually vote for him?—A. Not as a party.

Q. Did they vote for him as a fact—whether as a party or not?—A. A great many of them did.

Q. And he was elected?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Enough Democrats voted for him to elect him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How close was the division; how equally divided was the Republican party?—A. I cannot remember now. I believe we only got one man in by voting for him, and he was a Republican—Colonel Clay.

Q. This was in Bolivar County—a sort of Eden for colored people down there?—A. Yes, sir—as much so as for white men.

Q. That same year the entire State was carried by the Democrats, was it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that owing to a general division in the Republican party throughout the State?—A. I did not say that.

Q. I observed that you did not say that—that was the reason I inquired about it particularly. What was the reason that the State was carried against the Republicans that year?—A. I have no more idea of the reason than you have.

Q. You have not the remotest idea?—A. No, sir; I never cared; the party claimed that it had been done fairly and squarely, and I have no doubt that it was; I never have heard anything to the contrary, except from Republican papers.

Q. And your impression is that all was right and fair?—A. Yes, sir; that is my belief.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You say that the law of compulsory hiring is of very recent origin.—A. Yes, sir; the law was changed on account of the county being burdened with such an enormous expense.

Q. It is a Democratic law, then, as changed?—A. Yes, sir; I should think so.

Q. Passed by the Democratic party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Before that there was no compulsory hiring out?—A. I do not know who passed the first law.

Q. But there was no compulsory hiring out until this last law was passed?—A. No, sir.

Q. A man had his choice to work out his sentence in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in the case of Senator Bruce, this man of whom you spoke preferred to work out his sentence in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he chose this colored man as the man for whom he would work?—A. Yes, sir; Bruce hired him; he was not compelled to work for Bruce or for anybody else.

Q. He worked for Bruce because he would rather work for him than for anybody else?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. The election of 1875 was a very close one in your county, was it not?—A. Yes, sir; there was a majority of only forty-five votes on sheriff, and one for chancery clerk; he was a Republican, and I elected him. for I voted for him and worked for him.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You voted for him because he was a Republican, did you not?—A. No, sir; I voted for him because I thought he would make a good officer.

Q. Were you not inclined, then, to think that Republican principles were about the right thing?—A. No, sir; I had the most perfect horror of them of anything in the world.

TESTIMONY OF R. S. ELLIOTT.

R. S. ELLIOTT sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Elliott, where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La.

Q. What do you do?—A. I am employed by the Texas Pacific Railroad, and I have a plantation eight miles from Shreveport, and am engaged in planting now.

Q. Are you acquainted with the colored people in your section of the State?—A. Yes, sir; in Caddo Parish.

Q. State what you know about any of them owning land and prospering there in a material way.—A. There is quite a number of colored people in my parish who own land and are engaged in planting; some have land and gin-houses of their own.

Q. Are their places pretty well stocked?—A. Yes, sir; tolerably well stocked.

Q. Has your attention been attracted to their leaving there and going to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir. I have seen quite a number of them since I have been connected with the railroad.

Q. What do they say is causing them to leave there?—A. They give different statements; some of them say they are moving to better their condition, and others said that they had been shown chromos of fine places in Kansas that they could get at reduced prices, and they were going to seek new homes. One of them showed me a picture he had of a house, a fine white-painted house, with a winding stream in front of it, and hogs and cattle and horses all about it, with a negro and his family in front. He belonged to a squad that came from Edger plantation, in Bossier Parish.

Q. It was a picture of a nice little house with a stream in front of it?—A. Yes, sir; a very pretty little landscape.

Q. What was his idea in having that with him?—A. I do not know; I suppose he thought he would get such a place when he got there.

Q. Did he seem to think so?—A. Yes, sir; they seemed determined to go, and thought that their condition would be bettered.

Q. Where did he say he got this picture from?—A. I do not think

he told me; it was late in the evening when they came there to deposit their household goods at the depot. There were some others who were interested in going who were there, and he was showing it to them and I got to look at it.

Q. Were they complaining of any bad treatment?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are they treated badly?—A. No, sir; I think they are treated the best of any laboring people in the world.

Q. Do they have plenty of work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And get good wages?—A. Yes, sir.

A. What about the system of furnishing supplies and the charges made that they are cheated there by the merchants and planters?—A. I do not know of any system of cheating that prevails there. There are some men who come there and rent land for a season and then go away, who may take advantage of them.

Q. Well, such men are to be found in every part of the world, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; but no man who is a planter there and living there will do it. It is not to his interest to treat them that way; if he does, he cannot get hands or get his work done; the man who pays best gets the best hands.

Q. Have you taken any notice of your elections down there?—A. Yes, sir; I have been to every election since the war, either at Shreveport or at Sunny Grove.

Q. Have you ever seen anybody interfered with there?—A. No, sir; I have never seen anybody prevented from voting any ticket he chooses.

Q. We had a very animated statement here a day or two ago concerning a meeting at Shreveport, where a gentleman by the name of Horn—I won't say blew his horn, but made a Republican speech. Do you know anything about that?—A. A gentleman came there two years ago by that name, while the city was quarantined, and he spoke at night at the court house. There were a good many white people and a good many black people there—probably 300 or 400. He was speaking when I went up there, and I left him speaking.

Q. Was he interfered with in any way?—A. There was no disturbance that I heard of.

Q. If there had been any would you have heard of it?—A. I saw none and no signs of any.

Q. Did you hear of any afterwards?—A. No, sir; I heard of none afterwards. I do not think that anybody tried to molest him, for I did not hear a word spoken except by him while I was there.

Q. Did he relieve himself freely?—A. Yes, sir; I thought very freely.

Q. He did not seem to be intimidated?—A. No, sir; he said that the papers abused him the next morning.

Q. O, yes, just as partisan newspapers will do. Do you remember what they said?—A. I cannot recall what they said, but they were pretty tight on his speech.

Q. Well, that is not so very bad, is it? I have heard the same things said of speeches that I have made. It is nothing more than to be expected of papers in a political contest?—A. Yes, sir; they will make remarks against one another.

Q. Was there any feeling in the public mind at Shreveport against him that you were aware of, or any sentiment of a threatening kind?—A. No, sir; I was very much surprised to hear him speak of it here in his testimony.

Q. Did you recognize his description of things there at that time?—A. No, sir; not in that view of it. I am satisfied that he could not come there, nor anybody else, and excite that number of men that he says were

there that might to hurt or molest any man. I know nearly all the negroes about there, and they know me, and when he said he had 300 men to back him I was satisfied he was mistaken.

Q. Did the colored folks understand that he was in any danger there that night?—A. Certainly not.

Q. Could they have been impressed that they were defending him without their knowing it?—A. There was no necessity for it. Some men may have told him what he said, and may have tried to make him think that he was in danger. I do not know anything about that.

Q. Well, I have been told that I was in danger when I was making speeches.—A. Well, sir, I have no doubt some person may have told him so; but I have lived there thirty years, and yet I cannot see how he could have been.

Q. Do your people know that it is to their interest to have a peaceful, quiet community?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. There never has been any one molested there on account of his politics?—A. No, sir; not in Shreveport.

Q. Did Wells come there during his canvass?—A. Yes, sir; I believe so.

Q. Is there anybody who is more odious to the people of Louisiana than he?—A. I believe he is about the worst.

Q. Did anybody molest him?—A. No, sir; nobody molested him that I ever heard of.

Q. How is it as to your schools there?—A. The school facilities there are about the same as they are in any other parishes.

Q. Have you schools for the whites and blacks?—A. Yes, sir; we have no mixed schools, but we have schools for the whites and blacks alike. I know that down in the next parish I helped the colored people to build their school-houses.

Q. Have you seen any of these people who have come back to Louisiana from Kansas?—A. I have seen several who came back from Kansas—some of Colonel Foster's men and several others.

Q. What did they say about their experience out there?—A. They say they found it just the reverse of what they thought when they went out there.

Q. Did they think they would better their condition by coming back?—A. Yes, sir; there was one man who worked for us at the depot before he went, who went out there and came back. He said when he went there he would have no work to do, and that he would eat and sleep with the white race, but when he came back he said that a man who would eat and sleep with the white people in Kansas he wouldn't eat and sleep with himself.

Q. What was his name?—A. His name was Bob, and we were all very much amused at the ideas he expressed about it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You are a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir; I vote that ticket.

Q. Do you always vote it?—A. No, sir; but generally, with the exception of some county officers or city officers, and then wherever the best men are running I have no regard for party. I vote for the best men in my judgment.

Q. Did you ever hear of any disturbance there between the whites and the blacks?—A. Yes, sir; there have been some riots there of which I have heard and which have been spoken about here. I heard of that Bossier riot.

Q. Where there were two or three whites and four or five blacks

killed?—A. I have no way of ascertaining the number. I have a friend who told me that there was some six or seven persons killed.

Q. How long was that killing kept up?—A. I think he said until the next day.

Q. If you were to see the testimony showing that it ran six or seven days, and that 300 or 400 were killed, you would not believe it, would you?—A. I have heard that tale told at home, but this man I know. He is a Kentucky man, and I am disposed to believe him and what he told me about it.

Q. You think you have peace and harmony down there with the exception of a few riots?—A. We have a very good state of feeling in our parish.

Q. How is it in Louisiana generally?—A. In Louisiana generally there are powerful rumors from time to time, and reports of terrible riots.

Q. Then I suppose you don't believe them?—A. All those that I have inquired about were greatly exaggerated.

Q. Do the Democrats down there like the negro?—A. I think they are not unfriendly to them, but you know political people always like to influence each other both ways.

Q. You never heard of shot-guns being used to influence them?—A. Never.

Q. Are these men who cheat the negroes in the manner that you describe Northern men?—A. I cannot say that they are. They are men who come in there and stay a year and then go away. I do not say they are Northern men. They might be from Texas for all I know.

Q. Do you think any Louisianian would do that?—A. Yes, sir; they might come in there from other parishes and do it.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You say you know every negro man there about Shreveport and that they know you?—A. Yes, sir; I said so. I think there are thousands of them who know me that I do not know by name.

Q. How did that acquaintance come about? How came they to know you so unanimously?—A. I don't know, sir, further than that I was a steamboat man and a pilot on the river, and also a railroad man, and I think there are very few of them about there but know me.

On motion, the committee adjourned subject to call by agreement of the members.



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