

1876

Report of the Committee on Outrages in Mississippi

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

ON

OUTRAGES IN MISSISSIPPI.

The report of the committee is as follows :

The special committee appointed under a resolution of the Senate adopted on the 31st of March last, and instructed to inquire how far the rights of the people of Mississippi, guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and secured especially by the fifteenth amendment, were violated by force, fraud, or intimidation at the election held in that State on the 2d of November, 1875, respectfully submit to the Senate the testimony taken, with the conclusions of the committee thereon.

The testimony will fully support the allegation that force, fraud, and intimidation were used generally and successfully in the political canvass of 1875.

But before proceeding to a detailed statement of the facts and conclusions sustained and warranted by the proof, the committee think it proper to refer to the suggestions and excuses offered in justification of the outrages committed.

It has been alleged that Governor Ames was an unfit person to hold the office to which he was elected in the year 1873; but, on the contrary, the committee find from the evidence as well as from general report in Mississippi that Governor Ames was not only not amenable to any just charge affecting his personal integrity, his character as a public officer, or his ability for the duties of chief magistrate of that State, but that his fitness in all these particulars was sustained by the testimony of those who were not in accord with him politically. The committee refer especially to the testimony of Hon. J. A. P. Campbell, appointed by the existing government one of the judges of the supreme court of the State of Mississippi.

The evidence submitted tends strongly to show, what cannot be denied, that there were many persons in office in the State of Mississippi, especially in elective offices, in the several counties, who were either incapable or dishonest; and there were a few of the same character connected with the State government. The conduct of these persons, however, was not approved by the governor nor by the masses of the republican party.

Complaints and charges against a class of persons called "carpet-baggers" are

frequent in the depositions of witnesses opposed to the republican party in the State. It is to be admitted that a small number of the immigrants from other States misused the confidence of the black people, secured office, and betrayed the trusts confided to them. But the number of such persons, compared to the whole number of immigrants, was very small; and it is but just to say that the great majority are intelligent, upright, and brave men from the North, who are entirely incorruptible, and who, in peril of their lives, are now struggling against serious odds to maintain their political opinions and to secure a just administration of the government.

It is alleged that during the last six or eight years the expenses of the State have been unnecessarily increased and that heavy taxes have been imposed for which no adequate return has been received by the people. Comparisons are made between the rate of taxation previous to the war and since the year 1870, and the conclusion is drawn that large sums of money are extorted from the people and wasted, or through negligence and extravagance misapplied.

It is undoubtedly true that taxes are higher in the State of Mississippi than they were previous to 1860; but the rate of increase is far less than in some of the northern States, where no serious complaints are made against the administration of public affairs.

It is to be observed also that previous to the war taxes were not levied for the support of schools in Mississippi; indeed, there was no system of public instruction; and that since the war school-houses have been erected in all parts of the State for the education of the children of both races, and large sums of money have been expended annually for the maintenance of schools, including schools for training teachers.

It is also true that previous to the war the taxes were imposed upon slaves and upon business, while since the war the taxes have been laid chiefly upon personal property and upon land.

In 1873 the State expenses were \$953,000; in 1874, \$908,000; and in 1875 the expenses were only \$618,000. The State

debt, not including trust-funds, is only \$500,000.

A tax of \$1.60 upon each person will pay the public debt and meet the current expenses for a year. (Testimony, page 8.)

Attorney-General Harris makes the following statement in regard to taxation for the period of twenty-six years. He says:

"Take, for example, twenty years of democratic rule in Mississippi, and see what amount of money their own records show were expended, and they held uninterrupted sway, as we can best ascertain from the reports of the auditor and treasurer, made to biennial sessions of their Legislature. Take the twenty years from 1850 to 1870 and compare it with six years of republican rule, from 1870 to 1875, inclusive, the following is shown:

Expenditures:			
1850.	\$23,933 48	1860.	\$663,536 55
1851.	229,407 41	1861.	1,824,161 75
1852.	802,679 76	1862.	6,819,894 54
1853.	29,288 45	1863.	2,10,794 23
1854.	584,290 84	1864.	5,446,732 06
1855.	311,573 19	1865.	1,410,250 13
1856.	794,896 79	1866.	1,860,819 88
1857.	1,037,086 67	1867.	625,617 29
1858.	614,659 00	1868.	525,678 80
1859.	707,015 00	1869.	463,219 71
	5,623,741 49		20,288,894 95
			5,623,741 49
Total expenditures for twenty years,		25,832,646 44	

Now, take the republican administration for six years. Expenditures for—

1870.	\$1,061,249 90	1873.	\$953,080 00
1871.	1,319,625 19	1874.	908,339 00
1872.	1,098,031 69	1875.	6,825,900 00
	3,478,906 78		2,479,619 00
			3,478,906 78
			5,957,525 78

"Total expenditures for six years, \$5,957,525.78.

"The twenty years of democratic administration show an annual average of \$1,291,632.32. The six years of republican administration show an annual average of \$992,920.96.

This may be claimed to be unfair, as it embraces four years of the war; but, for the sake of fairness, let us strike out the four years of the war, or the amount expended during those four years, 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1864, and add in lieu thereof the amount expended in 1860, \$663,536.55, and we have an expenditure of \$12,184,119.08, or an annual average of \$609,200.95, as against \$992,920.96. From this it would appear that the republican administration has been more expensive than the democratic administration; but there are several reasons for this: Before the war the taxes were paid in gold and silver, and everything much cheaper than since the war; and in January, 1870, when the republicans came into power, the State warrants were worth about sixty or sixty-five cents on the dollar; the capitol and mansion were dilapidated; the penitentiary and lunatic asylum were too small, and had to be extended and repaired, and all the improvements cost nearly two prices, because payments were made in warrants at their reduced value. And the judiciary system was rendered more expensive to the State by dispensing, with the probate court, the expenses of which had been formerly paid by the counties; this jurisdiction was given to the chancery court, and the number of citizens had more than doubled, and all departments of State government rendered necessarily more expensive. And, again, the school system has been carried on at an expense very large, a thing that had never existed before the war. The expenditures for school purposes in the six years have been about \$320,000 per annum. Let us add

a few items which have been necessary since the war, and for which no expenditures were ever made by the democracy, by way of annual averages, and it will be seen at a glance why it is that the expenditures have been larger than formerly:

For school purposes, (as above).	\$320,000
Probate court business by the chancery court, (probate salaries by the counties,) (Code, 1857, (p. 4-3).	36,700
Average annual improvements on public buildings, about	100,000
County record, &c., furnished, (destroyed during the war, and exhausted, &c.).	12,500
Making an average per annum of	469,200

"Taking this from the average, \$992,920.96, leaves \$623,720.96. These were necessary expenses, never incurred by a democratic administration. The only common-school system in the State before the war seemed to be a well-organized system to squander the school fund of the State as rapidly as the same was donated to the State by the Government, as the history of the fund will show. Take these items from the annual expenditures of the six years of republican administration, and the average is reduced per year to \$537,730.96; thus showing the average annual expense of the republican administration to be, on the old basis of State expenses, actually \$75,480 less than the average expenses under the democratic rule of twenty years, with less than one-half of the citizens to be governed, and at a time when expenditures everywhere were largely in advance of former years. Many other items of extraordinary expenses have been incurred since January, 1870, not included in these statements.

"This, I think, shows a fair statement of the expenditures for the last twenty-six years, twenty years of democratic rule and six years of republican rule.

"The taxes have been increased and decreased for the various State purposes, for the six years alluded to, as follows: 1870, 6 mills on the dollar; in 1871 it was 4 mills; in 1872, 8½ mills; in 1873, it was 12½ mills; in 1874, it was 14 mills; in 1875, it was 9½ mills. In the last three years there was a school tax as follows: 1873 and 1874 a school tax of 4 mills, and for 1875, 2 mills. This is included in the above estimate, and the counties were restricted in their levies for county purposes as follows: By act of 1872 the counties were prohibited from levying a tax which, with the State and school tax added, shall not exceed 25 mills on the dollar, and in 1875 they were restricted to 20 mills on the dollar.

"It seems that the real complaint of the people of the State, as to the burden of taxation, grows out of the fact that the taxable property of the State is, in the main, unproductive; and to evade the tax the tax-payers, in giving their property to the assessor, place it far below its actual value, and continue year after year to reduce the taxable values of the property."

The statements made by Hon. G. E. Harris, attorney-general, Captain H. T. Fisher, and Mr. E. Barksdale are referred to as presenting both sides of the case, and furnishing the best means at the command of the committee for a just judgment.

The testimony taken tends to show that those who participated in the means by which the election of 1875 was carried by the democratic party rely, for justification, upon the facts of maladministration, as set forth in the testimony submitted with this report.

In the opinion of the committee, those errors and wrongs, if admitted to the extent claimed, furnish no justification whatever for the outrages and crimes established by the testimony.

It is also alleged in justification of the acts of intimidation, and of the crimes committed during the canvass and at the election, that Governor Ames had organized, or attempted to organize, a force, termed the negro militia. At the time of the riot at Clinton, on the 4th of September, 1875, which resulted in the death of at least thirty persons, there was no military organization in the State. The sum of \$60,000 had been appropriated by the Legislature at its preceding session, for the organization and support of a military force; and the event at Clinton, in connection with the fact of disturbances in other portions of the State, led Governor Ames to attempt its organization. At the same time he issued the following proclamation:

PROCLAMATION.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Jackson, September 7, 1875.

Whereas persons have formed themselves into military organizations in various parts of the State without sanction of law, and such organizations are moved to the support of each other from point to point in counties and from one county to another without the approval or consent of the peace officers of such counties, and without the knowledge or authority of the State Government, and

Whereas such organizations have overthrown the civil government in Yazoo county, set it at defiance in Hinds county, and created distrust and fear in Warren and other counties, causing the loss of many lives, and compelling many persons to flee from their homes; and

Whereas such action has already caused great injury to the interests of the people, and, if persisted in, will result in incalculable evil:

Now, therefore, I, Adelbert Ames, Governor of the State of Mississippi, do hereby make proclamation and command all persons belonging to such organizations to disband forthwith; and I hereby require all citizens to render obedience to and assist the peace officers of the various counties in the preservation of peace and order and the enforcement of the laws of the State.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the great seal of the State of Mississippi to be affixed, this the 7th day of September, A. D. 1875.

[L. S.]

ADELBERT AMES.

By the Governor;

JAMES HILL, *Secretary of State.*

Some of the officers selected by him were native-born white citizens who had served in the late war on the side of the confederates, and he solicited and accepted recruits from the white as well as from the black population. (See testimony of General Hurst, page 87.)

This effort on the part of the governor, it is now claimed, was the occasion seized by the democrats for organizing and arming themselves, ostensibly to resist the black militia; but, in fact, such organization had been effected previously, as is shown by the testimony concerning the Clinton riot, and in the end it became the means by which the colored inhabitants and the white republicans of the State were overawed, intimidated, and deprived of their rights as citizens. (See testimony of Hon. H. Swann, pages 307, 308; W. A. Montgomery, page 546; and others.)

These organizations were the instruments also by which numerous murders were committed upon persons who were then active, or who had been active, in the republican party.

By the terms of the peace conference entered into by General J. Z. George, the chairman of the democratic State committee, and Governor Ames, on the 13th of October, 1875, the attempt to organize the militia was abandoned, General George on his part agreeing to secure a peaceful election and the full and free enjoyment of the elective franchise by every citizen. The stipulation on the part of the governor was faithfully kept, but the promise made by General George was systematically disregarded by the democrats in the larger portion of the State.

The outrages perpetrated by the white people in the canvass and on the day of election find no justification whatever in the acts or the policy of Governor Ames concerning the State militia.

The effort on his part to organize the militia for the preservation of the public peace seems to the committee to have been not only lawful but proper, and the course of the democrats in organizing and arming themselves to resist the governor in his efforts to preserve the public peace was unlawful, and the proceedings should have been suppressed by the State authorities if possible, and, in case of failure on their part, by the Government of the United States.

The constitution of the State provides that the militia shall consist of the able-bodied male citizens between the age of eighteen years and the age of forty-five years, and the Legislature provided for its organization by an act passed at its first session in the year 1870. It was the duty of the governor to use the militia for the suppression of such riots as those of Vicksburg and Clinton, and this without regard to the question whether the white or the black race was most responsible therefor.

In the opinion of the committee the riot at Clinton was in harmony with the policy previously adopted by democrats in that vicinity, and designed to intimidate and paralyze the republican party. The testimony shows that the riot was inaugurated by a body of eight or ten young men from Raymond, who acted, apparently, under the advice of the *Raymond Gazette*, a democratic newspaper, edited by G. W. Harper, an aged and highly respected man, according to the testimony of Frank Johnston, W. A. Montgomery, (page 550,) and others.

The riot occurred September 4, and the *Raymond Gazette*, as early as June or July, gave this advice:

"There are those who think that the leaders of the radical party have carried this system of

fraud and falsehood just far enough in Hinds county, and that the time has come when it should be stopped—peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary. And to this end it is proposed that whenever a radical pow-wow is to be held the nearest anti-radical club appoint a committee of ten discreet, intelligent and reputable citizens, fully identified with the interests of the neighborhood and well known as men of veracity, to attend as representatives of the tax-payers of the neighborhood and county, and true friends of the negroes assembled, and that whenever the radical speakers proceed to mislead the negroes, and open with falsehoods and deceptions and misrepresentations, the committee stop them right then and there, and compel them to tell the truth or quit the stand."

Nor do these outrages find any excuse in the statement made repeatedly by witnesses, that the negroes were organizing or threatened or contemplated organizing themselves into military bands for the destruction of the white race. The evidence shows conclusively that there were not only no such organizations, but that the negroes were not armed generally; that those who had arms were furnished with inferior and second-hand weapons, and that their leaders, both religious and political, had discountenanced a resort to force. Many rumors were current among the whites that the negroes were arming and massing in large bodies, but in all cases these rumors had no basis.

In a sentence it may be asserted that all the statements made that there was any justifiable cause for the recent proceedings in Mississippi are without foundation.

On the other hand, it is to be said, speaking generally, that a controlling part and, as we think, a majority, of the white democratic voters of the State were engaged in a systematic effort to carry the election, and this with a purpose to resort to all means within their power, including on the part of some of them the murder of prominent persons in the republican party, both black and white.

There was a minority, how large the committee are unable to say, who were opposed to the outrages which by this report are proved to have taken place. This minority, however, is for the time overawed and as powerless to resist the course of events as are the members of the republican party. Under more favorable circumstances they may be able to co-operate with the friends of order and redeem the State from the control of the revolutionary element.

(1.) The committee find that the young men of the State, especially those who reached manhood during the war, or who have arrived at that condition since the war, constitute the nucleus and the main force of the dangerous element.

As far as the testimony taken by the committee throws any light upon the subject it tends, however, to establish the fact that the democratic organizations, both in the counties and in the State, encouraged the young men in their course, accepted

the political advantages of their conduct, and are in a large degree responsible for the criminal results.

(2.) There was a general disposition on the part of white employers to compel the laborers to vote the democratic ticket. This disposition was made manifest by newspaper articles, by the resolutions of conventions, and by the declarations of land-owners, planters and farmers to the workmen whom they employed, and by the incorporation in contracts of a provision that they should be void in case the negroes voted the republican ticket.

(3.) Democratic clubs were organized in all parts of the State, and the able-bodied members were also organized, generally into military companies, and furnished with the best arms that could be procured in the country. The fact of their existence was no secret, although persons not in sympathy with the movement were excluded from membership. Indeed their object was more fully attained by public declarations of their organization in connection with the intention, everywhere expressed, that it was their purpose to carry the election at all hazards.

In many places these organizations possessed one or more pieces of artillery. These pieces of artillery were carried over the counties and discharged upon the roads in the neighborhood of republican meetings, and at meetings held by the democrats. For many weeks before the election members of this military organization traversed the various counties menacing the voters and discharging their guns by night as well as by day. This statement is sustained by the testimony of Captain W. A. Montgomery, Captain E. O. Sykes, J. D. Vertner, leading democrats in their respective counties, as well as by the testimony of a large number of trustworthy republicans.

(4.) It appears from the testimony that for some time previous to the election it was impossible, in a large number of counties, to hold republican meetings. In the republican counties of Warren, Hinds, Lowndes, Monroe, Copiah, and Holmes meetings of the republicans were disturbed or broken up, and all attempts to engage in public discussion were abandoned by the republicans many weeks before the election.

(5.) The riots at Vicksburg on the 5th of July, and at Clinton on the 4th of September, were the results of a special purpose on the part of the democrats to break up the meetings of the republicans, to destroy the leaders, and to inaugurate an era of terror, not only in those counties, but throughout the State, which would deter republicans, and particularly the negroes, from organizing or attending meetings, and especially deter them from the free exercise of the right to vote on the day of

the election. The results sought for were in a large degree attained.

(6.) Following the riot at Clinton the country for the next two days was scoured by detachments from these democratic military organizations over a circuit of many miles, and a large number of unoffending persons were killed. The number has never been ascertained correctly, but it may be estimated fairly as between thirty and fifty.

Among the innocent victims of those days of horror and crime was Mr. William P. Haffa, a white man, a teacher by profession, a justice of the peace by the choice of his fellow-citizens, and a candidate for re-election upon the republican ticket. He was a resident of Philadelphia with his family until the year 1870, when he emigrated to Mississippi for the purpose of planting. The story of his assassination, as related by his wife, is here given in full :

ASSASSINATION OF MR. HAFFA.

WASHINGTON, D. C.. *July 7, 1876.*

Mrs. Elzina F. Haffa sworn and examined.

PERSOAL STATEMENT.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Have you lived in Mississippi; and if so, how long?

Answer. Yes, sir; it will be seven years next February since I went there.

Q. Where did you live before that?

A. In Philadelphia, my native place.

Q. What was your husband's name?

A. William P. Haffa.

Q. Did you go to Mississippi with him?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is not living now?

A. No, sir.

Q. Will you state to the committee the time when he died and the circumstances of his death?

A. Do you desire me to state anything previous to that?

Q. You can state just what took place in Mississippi that you think important.

A. We were there about two months and a half or three months—

Q. When did you go there?

A. In February.

Q. What year?

A. Eighteen hundred and seventy; seven years next February. Mr. Haffa went there for the purpose of raising cotton and corn.

Q. Where did you live?

A. In Hinds county, third district.

VISITED TO DEFINE HIS POLITICS.

Q. Near what town?

A. I cannot tell you how many miles from Vicksburg, I don't remember; but we lived within a few miles of Auburn, Mississippi; I think it was two or three

miles. After we had been living there about three months we were waited upon by the owners of the land, and they asked Mr. Haffa whether he was a friend to the white people or to the nigger, using a profane word. They called him outside and I followed him and stood at the door and heard what they said.

Q. Do you know who these people were?

A. Frank and William Bush, the owners of the land. William Bush was not an owner, but Frank was. William Bush was the agent for his wife and did all the business connected with the estate, which belonged to his wife. Her name was Molie Bush.

Mr. Haffa said he was a friend to any one, be he black or white, that was deserving of his friendship. They then said to him, "We understand that you are a friend of the nigger," using profane language; and they made some other remarks, I don't remember what; but they went away, and a short time after that they came back and inquired for him. He was not in; he was out in the field. They went out there where he was, and my little boy, who was out there, said that they used some insulting language toward Mr. Haffa, and that they threatened him. He came in very much excited from the field and said to me, "Mamma, I am afraid there will be difficulty here."

ELECTED JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.

Then the colored people nominated him for squire—magistrate—and he received his appointment from Governor Alcorn, who was then Governor of Mississippi. That raised the indignation of the white people. They declared no Northern man should come down there and rule them, so they sent up a number of petitions to have him removed. Governor Alcorn said there was nothing against him that he could find out, and unless there was something else against him than his birth he could not do anything, as long as it was the desire of the majority of the people, who are colored people.

So then he fulfilled his office for two years, and the first election came on and he was renominated for the same position, and he was elected by the people at that time. Then he had occasion to have some business with these people, the Bushes.

MR. HAFFA LASHED.

Q. Was it private or public business?

A. I have forgotten now; I cannot say. They came to the house one Saturday afternoon; I don't know what time it was, but anyhow they got the colored people all to leave the premises except one, an old colored woman; she could not get away. They came to the house and asked me if Mr. Haffa was in. I said yes. They said they wanted to see him. I went to the door as

usual—I always went to the door when there was white people come around, for I was very much afraid of them myself.

So they got him out by a tree a short distance off, and they had hitched their horses to that tree. I watched them and they took a cowhide and commenced to lash him very freely with it. I ran out and grasped him around the waist. They said, "We will show you what Southern blood is." Mr. Haffa never said a word. I said, "Mr. Bush, you have a wife in heaven and a child also, here; remember what your fate will be. I am here among strangers." He says, "Well, you have got no business to be down here among such an illiterate class of people."

MRS. HAFFA INJURED.

And finally, I kept on, and I presume it lasted over an hour, perhaps two hours; and they kept on until they got up to the house, and then Frank Bush took hold of me and threw me violently against a sill in front of the door, and the effects of it I have never got over yet. I was laid up in consequence of it for about a month. I was taken to Jackson, Mississippi. Senator Caldwell, of Mississippi, a colored man, paid my expenses there, which cost him \$50. I was there for a month to be recuperated; I was not able to be home at all; they had no hopes of me.

In the meantime Mr. Haffa had gone to Jackson to make his bond for his position as magistrate for the second term. He was there for a few days and then went back and attended to his business, leaving me there.

HER HUSBAND INSULTED—HER BOY FIRED AT.

Then I went home, and there was nothing of any moment occurred for several months. Then Robinette, a brother-in-law of these Bushes, met Mr. Haffa coming from the depot with my little boy, who was on a mule, and Mr. Haffa was on a horse. Robinette came up to Mr. Haffa and took hold of his whiskers and told him he wanted him to come down off his horse and he would have it out with him there. Mr. Haffa somehow got away from him and put spurs to his horse, and the horse ran, and then Robinett fired at my little boy.

ATTEMPT AT ASSASSINATION.

Owing to the excitement he could not get out any warrant to have the man arrested, and there was never anything done with him. So, repeatedly after that, the Bushes made attempts at Mr. Haffa, and Mr. Haffa had always somebody with him wherever he went. He had to be guarded by the colored people. Even in going to the stable, which was no farther than from here across the street, he was afraid of his

life. One evening after he came home from the depot—he went there generally of a Saturday to get his mail—a son of a member of the board of supervisors—I think he was a supervisor; he was an officer anyhow; his name was Fatherree. I always answered the door if anybody called at night; and, in fact, in the day time as well as night, for I thought I might do better than Mr. Haffa—he came to the door and says: "Is Mr. Haffa in?" Says I: "Yes, sir." He says, "I wish to see him on business." I said, "Won't you alight and walk in?" He said, "No." I went in and told Mr. Haffa, and I went out with a candle, and he says to me, "Mamma, you go in; it is too cold for you here, you will take cold." The young man says to him: "Send your wife in. I want to talk about business, and it is not prudent for ladies to be present." There was a colored woman, a school-teacher, there, standing by me. Mr. Haffa then spoke in a more emphatic manner than usual for me to go in, and I went to turn around with the candle to go in when this colored woman just shook her head that way, [indicating,] and I said, "I will not go in," and I turned, and at that moment saw a pistol aimed at Mr. Haffa. He had it cocked, but Mr. Haffa snatched it from his hand and made him get down off his horse and put him in the cotton-house and locked him up until the next morning. In the morning he knocked at the door and prayed to be let out, and asked Mr. Haffa's pardon, and said he did not intend anything.

Mr. Haffa thought, probably, on account of the feeling, that it would be better to be lenient than to use harsh means, though he had him in his power, so he let him out; and, said he, "Squire, won't you give me my pistol?" It was a small Derringer pistol. Mr. Haffa said, "I don't know that I will." He said, "Will you give it back to me, please? I will promise you I won't do any such thing as that again, and I am very sorry for it, but I was put up to do it." Mr. Haffa said, "Who put you up to do it?" and he would not say who it was; and he gave him back his pistol and he went home.

Two or three days after that his mother called on me—Mr. Haffa was absent at the time—and made an apology to me for the conduct of her son. Mr. Haffa says, "We will think nothing about it; we will let it slide, as long as he made reparation for it. In that way probably I can overcome them by kindness."

MRS. HAFFA TEACHES SCHOOL AND ADVISES COLORED VOTERS.

Then he came on North here and remained a year, and left me there as teacher. I have been teacher there ever since the public schools have been in vogue. The school-house was only twenty or thirty

yards from my house, and we held all our club meetings there, and in the absence of Mr. Haffa I attended to the business of the colored people; was their secretary part of the time, and I did various other things for them.

During the election of McKee the colored people waited on me and asked me if I would persuade them to vote for McKee. They left it all to me whether he was the right kind of a man for them to have to represent them in Congress. I had heard Mr. Haffa speak very happily of Mr. McKee, as well as several of his intimate friends, at Jackson, one of whom, I think, was Captain Fisher; so I said to them, "Vote for McKee; vote the republican ticket straight through; don't allow anything to influence you against voting that ticket." They had implicit confidence in me from the fact of my being there so long; and they always consulted me in every respect during Mr. Haffa's absence.

I taught day school and night school up to the day of Mr. Haffa's murder. He came back, I don't remember exactly what time, but I think it was in May—April or May, somewhere.

MR. HAFFA TEACHES SCHOOL.

Q. How long ago was that?

A. I think it was three years ago last May, if my memory serves me right. The colored people waited on him and asked him if he would take their school to teach, about seven miles from there. He said he did not know whether he would or not. They asked him whether he would take an office at the next election. Said they, "We are determined to have you somewhere, because we are afraid we are going to lose you. We are very much afraid of that, and you have got to remain here with us."

He always consulted me in every question. Said he, "Mamma, what would you advise me to do?" Said I, "Do just as you think best. If you think it will be remunerative, perhaps you had better take the school." He said he would give them an answer. So they came again, and he finally determined to take the school, and he taught the school up to the time he was assassinated.

WARNED OF IMPENDING DANGER.

The school closed on Friday, and the public school was opened the following Monday, the 6th of September—I have forgotten whether it was between two and three or three and four o'clock in the morning—but my affidavit that I made out in Jackson has the precise time, but I have forgotten now. There was a number of colored people waited on Mr. Haffa on the Sunday before. He attended their Sunday school, and always preached there Sunday for the colored people; and he came back and they said to him, "Squire, don't you feel afraid of your life? Don't you feel

timid?" He said, "No, I am not timid." They said that the white people said they were going to destroy very many, and that they were not going to escape a limb, and that he was mentioned as one of them. Said he, "O, no; there is so much braggadocio about them, I don't suppose they will harm me now, after we have been living here so many years, and they have attempted it so often."

A FEDERAL OFFICER APOLOGIZES FOR HIS NEGLECT OF DUTY.

I neglected to say that when we were first struck how he would take it to court, and a gentleman that has a United States position he came to him and apologized for not doing his duty to him. I think he is now United States marshal. When we first went there he was sheriff, and the Bushes were wealthy, and he said, "Mr. Haffa, it is no use for you to be butting yourself against the bricks while you have no money and the Bushes are wealthy, and you might as well drop the case right away, for you can't gain anything."

But Mr. Haffa laid his damages at \$10,000. I heard Mr. Haffa say that myself; and he got defeated out of it. Through Mr. Lake not sending the papers to the proper place at the circuit court our damages were all lost and we never got anything.

When the election came around again Lake came to Mr. Haffa and apologized to him. He said, "I am very sorry for what has happened; it was my fault that those papers did not reach their destination." Says Mr. Haffa, "Is it so?" Says he, "Yes."

Q. Do you remember Mr. Lake's first name?

A. No, sir. They told me that he had a position there when I was in Jackson.

THE ASSASSINATION OF MR. HAFFA DESCRIBED.

We were aroused by the barking of our dog furiously on the morning of the 6th of September. I halloed, "Who is there?" and no answer. I repeated it, and there was no answer. And then Mr. Haffa got up and said, "Who is there?" They said, "We will let you know who is there;" or, "You will know who is there," or something to that effect; and I said, "My God, they have the yard full of men." I presume there were from fifty to seventy-five men barricading the whole house. And they had not only armed themselves with one or two weapons, but they had, some of them, half a dozen, because I could see them. They had them buckled around them, besides the musket that they carried.

They tried to unfasten the door to get in, but we had a small crevice where we could insert our foot between the door and the sill, and I inserted my foot between the

door and the sill and kept the door closed, and they could not get in. My daughter assisted me also. Finding they could not get in they finally took one of the fence-rails and broke the door down and part of the furniture; and we were hallooing all the time, "Murder! murder!" and no one came to our assistance. They could hear me halloo "murder" for about two miles, as the neighbors told me afterward. Finally, Mosely, the agent of the Singer sewing machine, came up to me and choked me, and held a revolver close to my head. Before he choked me I said, "I am not afraid; if you will take me and spare my husband that is all I ask." And Mosely said to me, when I called his name several times, "Sh—! sh—!" I had a nursing baby then, and it was lying on the bed screaming. After I was choked so I could not halloo any longer my daughter came, and she left me and went over to her father; and they broke a shutter off the window and fired at Mr. Haffa; and my little boy told me yesterday—I have him at boarding-school, at least at a house out in Germantown—he said that he would take oath any time that it was Jimmy Whitehead who fired one of the shots at Mr. Haffa; and Sid. Whitehead, the owner of the land that we rented our land from, he had threatened Mr. Haffa's life several times which the children know of.

They fired twice, and I went to him, and he asked me to take him to the bed; so my daughter and I assisted him to the bed; and—we had no light; it was utter darkness there—and says to me, "Mamma, I want water." As soon as I could get a light I gave him water and laid him down and ran out for assistance, and sent my little boy over to some colored people and they came rushing over.

Finally Sid. Whitehead came along and refused to let me have a physician. He said it was no use, that he would die anyhow. Mr. Haffa spoke as strongly as I am speaking, and he asked for water, and that was all he asked for. He said, "Mamma, I am going to die," and he asked God to have mercy on his soul, and he laid his head on my shoulder and expired.

THE WIDOW FORCED TO DENY THAT SHE KNEW ONE OF THE ASSASSINS.

So after the colored people had laid him away I said to Mr. Sid. Whitehead, "Mosely is the one that choked me; and he held a revolver at my head;" and Sid. Whitehead said, "You know Mr. Mosely was not here." I said, "Yes, sir; he was;" and he spoke out—that is Jimmy Whitehead—to say that I had to recall those words for the sake of my life. They made me recall it, and say it was not him.

PROFANE LANGUAGE—ABUSE OF NORTHERN PEOPLE—A COFFIN REFUSED.

They came there together and set up the first night—Whitehead and two or three

other gentlemen—and they did nothing but use profane language all the time, and abuse the northern people. They said that they would show them that they were fully armed now and ready for war at any time, and that they could not rule over them and do as they pleased with them.

They would not allow me to have a coffin for him at all. Col. Griffin, formerly United States Senator here—so he told me—he came and said, "Mrs. Haffa, I regret this very much." Says he, "I cannot get a coffin for you, for they won't allow any travel through."

Do you want to know anything about the other men that were assassinated the same day?

ASSASSINATION OF A FATHER AND SON.

Q. If you know any others you may specify them. You have not yet given the date of the night when this took place?

A. This was the 6th of September, 1875. Well, after Mr. Haffa was gone, the colored people, who were very friendly toward us, all the colored people, they were there, and they said, "Well, I would like to see any one come to my house and kill me in as brutal a manner as they did the Squire. We have lost our best friend." The names of the people who said this were Stevens; and his wife said, "I must go home." He says to her, "Yes, you better go home, for I will be the next one." Mr. Whitehead said, "Dolph,"—his name was Adolph—"you better be careful how you talk or the men will be after you." So about 11 o'clock these men came back to see if Mr. Haffa was gone, and they were looking like hungry wolves; the most fiendish-looking men I ever saw. They said, "Any colored people secreted about your premises here? Says I, "No, sir." There was nobody in the house then but my children and Mr. Haffa. I said, "There is nobody here, but you are privileged to come in and examine the premises and look up the chimney." Two of them alighted and came in and looked around, and they said that was all they wanted to know.

They went over to these colored people's houses and took the Stevenses, father and son, out and stood them on a stump and shot them, and killed them instantly.

Q. Did you know these people who came to your house the last time?

A. No, sir; I could not know them.

Q. Were they disguised in any way?

A. No, sir; not the last time, they were not; the first time they were disguised. They did not give them any warning, any more than they did Mr. Haffa, when they came in the house and took them out.

They said they had a large days work on hand, and that they had to commence early; and during that day they perpetrated a number of murders. They were after Senator Caldwell, but I don't know

whether they got him at that time or not; I never found out.

THE WIDOW ORDERED TO LEAVE.

Mr. Whitehead then gave me ten days' notice to leave; and so the colored people harbored me. I could not get away from there, as no one came in and out of the depot, for they were afraid to go there.

Mr. Haffa was buried in a rude box, and just the colored people and my son went along. He was just wrapped up in a sheet; they would not allow it in any other way.

Mr. Whitehead said that I must leave, that we were looked upon as spies here. The colored people harbored me until I got a conveyance to take me to the depot. Finally there was a man, an intimate friend of Mr. Haffa's, came out with three pistols belted around him, and said he would take us in.

THE COLORED PEOPLE DISARMED.

They disarmed all the colored people through the country there, took their arms from them, and would not allow them to have any; and before I left for the depot they made the colored people break up their clubs, and every one of them joined the democratic clubs; they compelled them to do so or their life, one or the other. They were given ribbons, and I could see them marching along to the democratic clubs at Auburn and Utica; they went to and fro.

CAPTAIN MONTGOMERY GIVES HELP.

We went to the depot, and there they sent for Captain Montgomery. I had no money, and I was obliged to leave everything; I had not even a change of clothing; and Captain Montgomery raised me a purse of between thirty and forty dollars, and I went to Jackson. I had to make some purchases there for the children; and after I got there I was taken into Mr. Wolf's house, the superintendent of education, and his family received me very kindly. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Haffa's, and he said he would do all he could for me; but he could not have me there at his house at all, because his life would be in jeopardy; but said that he would call on the Governor, and that he would send his officials around to take my affidavit, and he would secrete me at the hotel, and pay my board while I was there. This is the document that he drew up [exhibiting paper.]

And he went around among the Republican members of the Government, and he was chagrined at the Republicans not doing more than they did. Governor Ames donated \$5 and gave me a ticket half way to Cincinnati; and after I arrived at Cincinnati with my children I had to beg my way on to Philadelphia. I was only a few hours at Mr. Wolf's house, and then was taken to the hotel there.

Q. How many children have you?

A. I have two; I have lost my baby.

Q. What is your age?

A. Thirty-eight.

The story of the murder of Square Hodge, a colored man, Sunday morning, September 5, is thus told by his wife:

ASSASSINATION OF SQUARE HODGE.

JACKSON, Miss., June 19, 1876.

Ann Hodge (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

PERSONAL STATEMENT.

Question. How old are you?

Answer. Eighteen years old.

Q. Have you been married?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your husband's name?

A. Square Hodge.

Q. Where do you live now?

A. Eight miles below Raymond.

Q. Do you know anything about the Clinton riot last September?

A. I was not there. I know my husband came home; he was there.

Q. What day of the week was that?

A. On Saturday. The riot was on Saturday.

Q. Did your husband come home to your place?

A. Yes, sir; he came home Saturday night, in the night.

Q. Was he hurt?

A. He was shot in the arm.

Q. Could he use his arm?

A. No sir; he could not use it all. He had it in a sling.

Q. Did he tell you how he got hurt?

A. Only that he got shot. That is all he told me.

Q. Did he stay at home that night?

A. Yes, sir.

WHITE PEOPLE CAME FOR HIM.

Q. On Sunday morning what happened?

A. The white people came there after him in the morning.

Q. Who were they?

A. Henry Quick, Willy Locke, Bryan McDonald, John McDonald, George Allen, John McNeir, and Allen Grafton came.

Q. Any more?

A. No, sir; I did not know any more. Two or three, I didn't know them.

Q. Did they have horses or come on foot?

A. All riding.

Q. On horses?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they have any guns?

A. Yes, sir; guns and pistols.

Q. They came to your house?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was in the house besides yourself?

A. Me and my brother there and another brother.

Q. Who is he?

A. John Jones.

Q. Who else?

A. My other brother, Lewis, and brother William, and my mother and little children.

Q. How many children?

A. Five of them.

Q. Have you any children yourself?

A. Yes, sir; I have two.

Q. Did these men come in the house?

A. Allen Grafton and John McNeir came in. The rest staid around the house.

THEY FIND HODGE.

Q. What was done?

A. They made my brother come out from under the bed—my brother John—and asked where Square was, and said, "[Is he in the room?]" and I did not tell, and said I did not know, at first. Then he asked if they had been at the Clinton riot, and I said that I did not know. Then he said, "If you don't tell, I will shoot your God damned brains out." They made him come out from under the bed, and started to shoot under the house—mother put the children under the house; she was scared and put the children under the house, and they gone around. There is two doors in the house. They had pistols pointed under the house, and I told them that nobody was under but the children. Then they came into the house, but could not find Square, and they went out right where he was, and snatched off the weatherboards, only one in the room, and the other went outside the door and snatched the weatherboard and turned back the bed, and made him come out, and called him a damned son of a bitch, and said he must come with them. Mr. Quick says, "I told you this; if you had listened to me you would not have come to this, and they told him to put his shoes on, and I got them and said I will put them on; and I had to put them on and could not tie them very well; and some one said, "Let the God damned shoes be; he don't need any shoes." I put my brother's coat on him, and they carried him before them.

Q. On the horse?

A. No, sir; he walked before them away toward Raymond.

Q. Now what happened?

A. Nothing else.

"THEY KILLED HIM."

Q. What became of your husband?

A. They killed him. I never did find him for a week, until the next Saturday.

Q. Where did you find him?

A. Near about a mile and a half to the last bridge to Raymond, in the swamp.

Q. Who found him?

A. A colored man who was running off, keeping out of the way of the rebs, too, and he come across the body, and went and got a spade, and dug a hole and put a blaze on the trees all the way out, and

then we got the news; and Mr. Quick he took and made a box for us, and he loaned us a wagon, and we went after him that Saturday.

THE BODY FOUND.

Q. You found his body?

A. The buzzards had eat the entrails; but from the body down here [indicating] it was as natural as ever. His shoes were tied just as I had tied them. The skull bone was on the outside of the grave, and this arm was out slightly and the other was off. Some we didn't find. We picked up the rings of the backbone. We got the pocket-book, and there was the hat hanging up, and this ring was put on the tree and the black one was on the ground; this one.

By Mr. BAYARD:

Q. Did you ever take an oath before?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know the meaning of taking an oath?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know what the consequences are of swearing falsely?

A. No, sir.

ASSASSINATION OF SENATOR CALDWELL.

An equally horrid crime was the murder of Senator Caldwell and his brother, at Clinton, Christmas night. A history of the events of that evening is given by Mrs. Caldwell, which we here quote in her own words.

Mrs. MARGARET ANN CALDWELL (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. What is your name?

Answer. Margaret Ann Caldwell.

Q. Where do you live?

A. In Clinton, Hinds county.

Q. Was Mr. Caldwell, formerly senator, your husband?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was his first name?

A. Charles.

Q. When did he die?

A. Thursday night, in the Christmas. Him and his brother was killed.

Q. You may state to the committee what you know of his death.

A. I know when he left the house on the Thursday evening, in the Christmas, between dark and sundown. In the beginning of the day he was out on his fox-chase all day. The first commencement was an insult passed on his nephew, and he came out home.

STORY OF HIS ASSASSINATION.

Q. Who was that?

A. David Washington; he is in Washington city now. He is there in business; watchman in the Treasury Department now; has been ever since October, I think. So they picked a fuss; Waddy Rice in George Washington's blacksmith shop in

Clinton. They commenced talking this way: I think David asked, "How many did he kill on the day of the Moses Hill riot; who did he shoot?" David said that he did not know as he shot anybody; said he didn't know that he shot anybody. They told him, they said, "he came there to kill the white people, and if he did, to do his work in the day, and not to be seeking their lives at night." David came immediately back to my house. His uncle was at the fox-chase. I said, "Don't go out any more. Probably they are trying to get up a fuss here."

His uncle sent him down for something. He staid in the house until he came.

That was about four o'clock in the evening, and some one had told about the fuss picked with his nephew, and he walked down town to see about it, I suppose. He was down town a half hour, and came back and eat his dinner, and just between dark and sundown he goes back down town again. He went down town knocking about down there. I do not know what he was doing down there, until just nearly dusk, and a man, Madison Bell, a colored man, came and says, "Mrs. Caldwell, you had better go down and see about Mr. Caldwell, I think the white folks will kill him; they are getting their guns and pistols, and you had better go and get your husband away from town."

I did not go myself; I did not want to go myself, but went to Professor Bell and said would he go and get him. Mr. Bell went, and he never came back at all until he came back under arrest.

I was at my room until just nearly dark.

The moon was quite young, and the chapel bell rang.

We live right by it. I knew the minute the bell tolled what it all meant.

And the young men that lived right across the street, when the bell tolled they rushed right out; they went through the door and some slid down the window and over they sprang; some went over the fence. They all ran to the chapel and got their guns. There was one hundred and fifty guns there to my own knowing; had been there since the riot, at the Baptist chapel. They all got their guns.

I went down town, and then all got ahead everywhere I went; and some of them wanted to know who I was, but I hid my face as well as I could. I just said "woman," and did not tell who I was.

As I got to town I went to go into Mr. Chilton's store and every store was closed just that quick, for it was early, about six o'clock. All the other stores were closed. Chilton's was lit up by a big chandelier, and as I went over the lumber-yard I saw a dead man. I stumbled over him, and I looked at him, but I did not know who it was, and I went into Chilton's, and as I put my foot up on the store steps, stand-

ing as close may be a few feet, (everything was engaged in it that day,) there was Judge Cabinis, who was a particular friend of my husband; a particular friend to him. He was standing in the center with a gun with a blue strap, in the centre of the jam; and as I went to go in they cursed me and threatened to hurt me, and "make it damned hot for me," and the judge among the balance; but he said he didn't know me afterward. And they all stood; nobody would let me go in; they all stood there with their guns.

I knew there was two dead men there, but I did not think it was my husband at the time.

I stood right there, and as I stood they said to me, "If you don't go away they would make it very damned hot for me;" and I did not say anything, and walked off, and walked right over the dead man. He was right in my path where I found the body. He was lying broadside on the street. I did not know who he was. I then stooped and tried to see who he was, and they were cursing at me to get out of the town—to get out.

Then I went up, and there was Mrs. Bates across the street, my next-door neighbor. I saw her little girl come up by us and she said, "Aunt Ann, did you see my uncle here?" I said, "I did not. I saw a dead body on the street; I did not see who he was." She said, "What in the world is going on down town?" Says I, "I don't know, only killing people there." Says she, "Aaron Bates's hand is shot all to pieces, and Dr. Bangs is killed." He was not killed, but was shot in the leg; nobody killed but my husband and brother.

I went on over to the house, and went up stairs and back to my room and laid down a widow.

After I had been home I reckon three-quarters of an hour, nearly an hour, Parson Nelson came up—Preacher Nelson—and he called me. I was away upstairs. He called several times, and I heard him call each time. He called three or four times, and says, "Answer; don't be afraid; nobody will hurt you." He says, "Don't be afraid; answer me;" and after I had made up my mind, I answered him what he wanted; and he said, "I have come to tell you the news, and it is sad news to you. Nobody told me to come, but I come up to tell you." I didn't say anything. "Your husband is dead," he said; "he is killed, and your brother, too, Sam."

I never said anything for a good while. He told me nobody would hurt me then; and when I did speak, says I, "Mr. Nelson, why did they kill him?" He says, "I don't know anything about it." He said just those words: "I don't know anything about it." He says, after that, "Have you any men folks about the place?" I

says, "No." He says, "You shan't be hurt; don't be afraid of us; you shan't be hurt."

I never said anything whatever. He went off.

Sam's wife was there at the same time with three little children. Of course it raised great excitement.

After a length of time Professor Hillman, of the institute, the young ladies' school or college, he brought the bodies to the house; brought up my husband, him and Frank Martin. Professor Hillman and Mr. Nelson had charge of the dead bodies, and they brought them to the house; and when they brought them they carried them in my bed-room, both of them, and put them there; they saw to having them laid out, and fixed up and all that.

Mr. Nelson said in my presence, I listened at him, he said, "A braver life never had died than Charlie Caldwell. He never saw a man die with a manlier spirit in his life.

He told me he had brought him out of the cellar.

You see when they had shot Sam, his brother, it was him who was lying there on the street. They shot him right through his head, off of his horse, when he was coming in from the country, and he fell on the street. He was the man I stumbled over twice. I did not know who he was. When they shot him they said that they shot him for fear he would go out of town and bring in other people and raise a fuss. He found out, I suppose, that they had his brother in the cellar, so he just lay there dead; he that was never known to shoot a gun or pistol in his life—never knew how.

Mr. Nelson said that Buck Cabell carried him into the cellar; persuaded him to go out and drink; insisted upon his taking a drink with him; and him and Buck Cabell never knew anything against each other in his life; never had no hard words. My husband told him no, he didn't want any Christmas. He said, "You must take a drink with me," and entreated him, and said, "You must take a drink." He then took him by the arm and told him to drink for a Christmas treat; that he must drink; and carried him into Chilton's cellar, and they jingled the glasses, and at the tap of the glasses, and while each one held the glass, while they were taking the glasses, somebody shot right through the back from the outside of the gate window and he fell to the ground.

As they struck their glasses, that was the signal to shoot. They had him in the cellar and shot him right there, and he fell on the ground.

When he was first shot he called for Judge Cabisin and called for Mr. Chilton; I don't know who else. They were all around, and nobody went to his relief; all them

men standing around with their guns. Nobody went to the cellar, and he called for Preacher Nelson, called for him, and Preacher Nelson said that when he went to the cellar door he was afraid to go in, and called to him two or three times, "Don't shoot me;" and Charles said, "Come in," he wouldn't hurt him, and "take him out of the cellar;" that he wanted to die in the open air, and did not want to die like a dog closed up.

When they took him out he was in a manner dead, just from that one shot; and they brought him out then, and he only asked one question, so Parson Nelson told me, to take him home and let him see his wife before he died; that he could not live long.

It was only a few steps to my house, and they would not do it, and some said this.

Nelson carried him to the middle of the street, and the men all ballooned, "We will save him while we've got him; dead men tell no tales." Preacher Nelson told me so. That is what they all cried, "We'll save him while we got him; dead men tell no tales."

Whether he stood right there in the street while they riddled him with thirty or forty of their loads, of course I do not know, but they shot him all that many times when he was in a manner dead. All those balls went in him.

I understood that a young gentleman told that they shot him as he lay on the ground until they turned him over. He said so. I did not hear him.

Mr. Nelson said that when he asked them to let him see me they told him no, and he then said, taking both sides of his coat and bringing them up this way, so, he said, "Remember, when you kill me you kill a gentleman and a brave man. Never say you killed a coward. I want you to remember it when I am gone."

Nelson told me that, and he said he never begged them, and that he never told them, but to see how a brave man could die.

They can find no cause; but some said they killed him because he carried the militia to Edwards's, and they meant to kill him for that. The time the guns were sent there he was captain under Governor Ames, and they say they killed him for that; for obeying Governor Ames.

After the bodies were brought to my house, Professor Hillman and Martin all staid until one o'clock, and then at one o'clock the train came from Vicksburgh with the "Modocs." They all marched up to my house and went into where the two dead bodies laid, and they cursed them, those dead bodies, there, and they danced and threw open the m' . . . deon, and sung all their songs, and challenged the dead body to get up and meet them, and they carried on there like a parcel of wild Indians

over those dead bodies, these Vicksburgh Modocs." Just one or two colored folks were sitting up in the room, and they carried on all that in my presence, danced and sung and done anything they could. Some say they even struck them; but I heard them curse and challenge them to get up and fight. The Vicksburgh Modocs done that that night. Then they said they could not stay any longer.

Then the day after that Judge Cabinis asked me was there anything he could do, and I told him, I said, "Judge, you have already done too much for me." I told him he had murdered my husband and I didn't want any of his friendship. Those were the words I told him the next day, and he swore he did not know me that time; but I saw Judge Cabinis with this crowd that killed my husband. I saw him right in the midst, and then he made this excuse. He said he did everything he could for Charles, and that he was crazy. Well, they could not tell anything he had done.

They said Aaron Page was shot during the fuss.

In the league that was held here in that town, that day my husband was buried, they all said that they did not shoot him. They said that Aaron Page was shot accidentally; that my husband did not kill him. All started up from picking a fuss with his nephew.

As for any other cause I never knew; but only they intended to kill him because for carrying the militia to Edwards's; for obeying Governor Ames; and that was all they had against him.

THE MODOCS AFTER THE CLINTON RIOT.

At the same time, when they had the Moses Hill riot, the day of the dinner in September, when they came over that day, they telegraphed for the Vicksburgh "Modocs" to come out, and they came out at dark, and when they did come, about fifty came out to my house that night; and they were breaking the locks open on doors and trunks; whenever they would find it closed they would break the locks. And they taken from the house what guns they could find, and plundered and robbed the house. The Captain of the Vicksburgh "Modocs," his name is Tinney.

Q. What day was that?

A. The day of the Moses Hill riot, in September.

THREATS AGAINST MR. CALDWELL AFTER THE CLINTON RIOT.

Q. When; the Clinton riot?

A. The 4th day of September. They came out and Tinney staid there, and at daybreak they commenced to go, and he, among others, told me to tell my husband that the Clinton people sent for him to kill him, and he named them who they were to

kill—all the leaders especially, and he says, "Tell him when I saw him"—he was gone that night; he fled to Jackson that evening with all the rest—"we are going to kill him if it is two years, or one year, or six; no difference; we are going to kill him anyhow. We have orders to kill him and we are going to do it because he belongs to this republican party, and sticks up for these negroes." Says he, "We are going to have the South back in our own charge, and no man that sticks by the republican party, and any man that sticks by the republican party, and is a leader, he has got to die." He told me that; and that "the southern people are going to have the South back to ourselves, and no damned northern people and no republican party; and if your husband don't join us he has got to die. Tell him I said so." I told him what he said. I did not know Tinney at the time; and when I saw my husband enter I told him, and he knew him from what I said, and he saw him afterwards and told him what I said. He just said that he said that for devilment. They carried on there until the morning, one crowd after another. I had two wounded men. I brought them off the Moses Hill battlefield, and these men treated me very cruelly, and threatened to kill them, but they did not happen to kill them.

CLINTON RIOT.

Next morning, before sun-up, they went to a house where there was an old black man, a feeble old man, named Bob Beasley, and they shot him all to pieces. And they went to Mr. Willis's and took out a man, named Gamaliel Brown, and shot him all to pieces. It was early in the morning; and they go out to Sam. Jackson's, president of the club, and they shot him all to pieces. He hadn't even time to put on his clothes. And they went out to Alfred Hastings; Alfred saw them coming. And this was before sun up.

Q. This morning after the Clinton riot?

A. On the morning of the 5th; and they shot Alfred Hastings all to pieces, another man named Ben. Jackson, and then they go out and shoot one or two further up on the Madison road; I don't know exactly; the name of one was Lewis Russell. He was shot, and Moses Hill. They were around that morning killing people before breakfast. I saw a young man from Vicksburgh that I knew, and asked him what it all meant.

Q. Who was he?

A. Dr. Hardesty's son; and I asked him what did it mean, their killing black people that day? He says, "You all had a big dinner yesterday and paraded around with your drums and flags. That was impudence to the white people. You have no right to do it. You have got to leave these damned negroes; leave them and come on our side. You have got to join

the democratic party. We are going to kill all the negroes. The negro men shall not live." And they don't live, for every man they found they killed that morning and did not allow any one to escape them, so he said. So he told me all they intended to do about the colored people for having their dinner and parading there, and having their banners; and intended to kill the white republicans the same; didn't intend to leave any one alive they could catch; and they did try to get hold of them, and went down on Monday morning to kill the school teacher down there. Haffa, but he escaped. Jo Stevens and his son, Albert Stevens, I believe, was his name—they just murdered them right on through. These people staid there at the store and plundered it, and talked that they intended to kill them until they got satisfaction for three white people that was killed in that battle here. I can show who was the first white man that started the riot; and I can show you I have got his coat and pants, and can show you how they shot him. They blamed all on my husband; and I asked what they killed Sam for; asked Dr. Alexander. They said they killed him because they were afraid he would tell about killing his brother. They killed my husband for obeying Governor Ames's orders, and they cannot find anything he did. He didn't do anything to be killed for. Then they have got his pistols there and they won't give them to me. I have asked I don't know how many times.

The outrages were generally confined to the republican counties where it was necessary to overcome the republican majority by unlawful means; but in two or three counties, as Wilkinson and Issaquena, there was comparative peace at the election and during the canvass.

Captain William A. Montgomery, a leading democrat and a commander of five military companies, with the designation in rank of major of battalion, testified that in some of the counties there was no military organization; that in those counties the democrats did not try to carry the election. This appears to have been true of the two counties named; but since the election, namely, in December and May, 1875, great outrages, attended with violence and murder, have been perpetrated, and evidently with the design of overawing the colored voters and preparing them to submit to a democratic victory in the coming election.

The attention of the Senate is directed to the testimony concerning the events in Issaquena county, which took place in the month of December last. A Colonel Ball, an officer in the confederate service during the war, who at the time of the outrage was officiating as a clergyman, took command of a body of armed and mounted men Sunday morning, December 5, and traversed the country below Rolling Fork during the day; and that night the men of his command took from their homes at least seven unoffending negroes and shot them in cold blood. Within the next two days five other leading negroes were summoned to Rolling Fork, and there compelled to sign a statement by which they became responsible for the good conduct of all the negroes in their vicinity, with the exception of fourteen, who, in fact, by that stipulation, were made outlaws,

and, as a consequence, fled from their homes and their families, and abandoned their property. (This statement may be found in the testimony of W. D. Brown.) Reference is made to the testimony of W. D. Brown and William S. Farrish, both democrats and participants in the outrages, although they did not admit that they had personal knowledge of the killing of either of the seven men who were massacred on the night of the 5th of December.

(7.) The committee find, especially from the testimony of Captain Montgomery, supported by numerous facts stated by other witnesses, that the military organization extended to most of the counties in the State where the republicans were in a majority; that it embraced a proportion not much less than one-half of all the white voters, and that in the respective counties the men could be summoned by signals given by firing cannons or anvils; and that probably in less than a week the entire force of the State could be brought out under arms.

(8.) The committee find that in several of the counties the republican leaders were so overawed and intimidated, both white and black, that they were compelled to withdraw from the canvass those who had been nominated, and to substitute others who were named by the democratic leaders, and that finally they were compelled to vote for the ticket so nominated under threats that their lives would be taken if they did not do it. This was noticeably the case in Warren county, where the democratic nomination of one Flanagan for sheriff was ratified at the republican county convention, held in Vicksburg, the members acting under threats that if it were not done they should not leave the building alive. Similar proceedings occurred in other counties.

(9.) The committee find that the candidates in some instances were compelled, by persecution or through fear of bodily harm, to withdraw their names from the ticket, and even to unite themselves ostensibly with the democratic party. J. W. Caradine, a colored candidate, of Clay county, was compelled to withdraw his name from the republican ticket and to make speeches in behalf of the democratic candidates and policy. An extract from his testimony is herewith given, as follows:

They told me that I would have to go round and make some speeches for them; that I had risen up a great element or some kind of feeling in the colored men that they never could get out of them for the next ten years to come with the speeches I had made, and that I had to go around and make some speeches in behalf of them in some way or else I might have some trouble. They told me if I would do that I could demand some respect among them, and have no further trouble with them.

Q. What did they say would be the consequence if you did not go with them and make speeches?

A. They did not say if I did not do it what would be done, as I remember; but they came to my house and fetched a buggy for me, and told me I had to go with them to make speeches for them. And they said, "You know what has been said and what has been done; you have got to go along if you don't want any further trouble." I then got in and went along with them, and they did not really appreciate my speeches at length; but I went along with them and made three speeches; and they had some fault to find with my speeches at last, but I have never had any trouble with them since.

(10.) The committee find that on the day of the election, at several voting places, armed men assembled, sometimes not organized and in other cases organized; that they controlled the elections, intimidated republican voters, and, in fine, deprived them of the opportunity to vote the republican ticket.

The most noticeable instance of this form of outrage occurred at Aberdeen, the shire town of the county of Monroe. At half past nine o'clock on the day of the election a cannon in charge of four or five cannoneers, and supported by ten or twelve men, a portion of the military company of that town, was trained upon the voting place and kept in that position during the day, while the street was traversed by a body of mounted, armed men under the command of Capt. E. O. Sykes, of

Aberdeen. Captain Sykes testified that he did not know the men under his command, but admitted finally that they were probably from Alabama, and that they had come there upon the suggestion or the request of a Mr. Johnson, who was a member, as was also Captain Sykes, of the democratic committee of the county of Monroe.

Captain Sykes had also given orders that the ford-ways across the Tombigbee river, over which negroes from the east side having a right to vote at Aberdeen must pass, should be guarded by squads from the military company under his command.

During the night preceding the election the draw in the bridge crossing the river was turned, so that there was no passing from the east to the west of the Tombigbee river during the early part of the day of election.

As a matter of fact, the republican voters who had assembled abandoned the polls between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and Captain J. W. Lee, the sheriff of the county, and a leading republican, a man who had served during the war in the Confederate army, abandoned the polls and took refuge in the jail, of which he was the custodian.

This statement in regard to Monroe county is set forth in detail by Captain Lee, and it is corroborated in all essential parts by Captain Sykes, a democrat, and the principal actor in the events of the day. Similar outrages were perpetrated in Claiborne, Kemper, Amite, Copiah, and Clay counties.

(11.) The gravity of these revolutionary proceedings is expressed in the single fact that the chairman of the republican State committee, General Warner, owes the preservation of his life on the day of the election to the intervention of General George, chairman of the democratic State committee, as appears from a dispatch sent by General George to Messrs. Campbell and Calhoun, and a reply thereto, both of which are here given:

To CAMPBELL and CALHOUN,
Canton, Mississippi:

If Warner goes to Madison, see by all means that he is not hurt. We are nearly through now, and are sure to win. Don't let us have any trouble of that sort on our hands. He will probably be at his store to-night.

J. Z. GEORGE.

CANTON, 2, 1875.

To General GEORGE:

Your telegram last night saved A. Warner at Calhoun.

GART. A. JOHNSON.

The circumstances of this affair are given in the testimony of Chase.

The testimony of General Warner, to which attention is invited, gives a detailed account of his experience, showing that the fears of General Warner's friends were well founded, and that the intervention of General George was essential to his personal safety.

(12.) The committee find in several cases, where intimidation and force did not result in securing a democratic victory, that fraud was resorted to in conducting the election and in counting the votes. In Amite County, the legally appointed inspectors of election, to whom in Mississippi the duty is assigned of receiving and counting the ballots, were compelled by intimidation to resign on the morning of election, in order to secure a fraudulent return. The inspector so forced to resign was a democrat, a man of established character for probity at his precinct—Rose Hill.

"When the voting began," said General Hurst, an eye-witness, "the democratic club drew up in line and demanded that Straum should not act as one of the inspectors of election. They said, 'We don't want you, not because you are dishonest, but because you will not do what we want you to.' He said, 'If that is the case, I will go,' and they got a man by the name of Wat Haynes and appointed him inspector."

General Hurst, who was brigadier-general of the

State militia in that county, thus explains what resulted:

"When it was time to close the polls I asked one of the inspectors if he wanted a guard placed over the ballots, so that they would be unmolested while they were counting these votes. I thought that he was a very honest, high-minded man. He said, 'I am afraid to count the votes.' He had been notified by this party of Louisianians, and told what they were going to do with the box. Wat Haynes, when I told him I had concluded to place a guard around there that night, said: 'Don't you do it; I want to manipulate that box to-night. We want to carry this thing.'"

The party of Louisianians referred to were a company of outlaws, notorious in that district, whom the democrats had invited to come into that precinct, and who fired at a crowd of colored citizens when they were in line waiting to deposit their votes. About seventy of them were thus driven into the woods.

Nor was this the only precinct at which armed invaders from the adjoining States took conspicuous part in the election. It is testified to both by republicans and democrats that they came over from Alabama and helped to swell the democratic vote in the counties adjoining that State.

In Amite county the republican sheriff, the superintendent of education, and other officers were driven into exile as soon as the polls were closed. Here the pretext that the officers were obnoxious to the people, or that the negroes and northern men monopolized the offices, is refuted by the facts that both Parker and Redmond, who were expelled, were offered the democratic nomination for sheriff; that the republican candidates for sheriff, circuit clerk, treasurer, coroner, and three of the supervisors were white men, leaving only the assessors and two supervisors to be colored, which, as Mr. Parker remarks, "as four-fifths of the republican voters were black, was the best that we could do." There were only three northern men on the republican ticket, and two of them had married southern women; all the others were natives of the State.

(13.) The evidence shows that the civil authorities have been unable to prevent the outrages set forth in this report, or to punish the offenders. This is true not only of the courts of the State, but also of the district court of the United States, as appears from the report of the grand jury made at the term held in June last, when the evidence of the offenses committed at the November election and during the canvass was laid before that body.

In support of this statement reference is made to the testimony of J. W. Tucker, and to the letter written by him to Colonel Frazee as well as to the report made by the grand jury to Hon. R. A. Hill, judge of the district court for the northern district of Mississippi. (See document evidence, pp. 150, 151; tes. of H. P. Hurst, p. 98.)

(14.) The committee find that outrages of the nature set forth in this report were perpetrated in the counties of Alcorn, Amite, Chickasaw, Claiborne, Clay, Copiah, De Soto, Grenada, Hinds, Holmes, Kemper, Lee, Lowndes, Madison, Marshall, Monroe, Noxubee, Rankin, Scott, Warren, Washington, and Yazoo, and that the democratic victory in the State was due to the outrages so perpetrated.

(15.) The committee find that, if in the counties named there had been a free election, republican candidates would have been chosen and the character of the Legislature so changed that there would have been sixty-six republicans to fifty democrats in the house and twenty-six republicans to eleven democrats in the senate; and that consequently the present Legislature of Mississippi is not a legal body, and that its acts are not entitled to recognition by the political department of the Government of the United States, although the President may, in his discretion, recognize it as a government *de facto* for the preservation of the public peace.

(16.) Your committee find that the resignation of Governor Ames was effected by a body of men calling themselves the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, by measures unauthorized by law, and that he is of right the governor of the State.

(17.) The evidence shows, further, that the State of Mississippi is at present under the control of political organizations composed largely of armed men whose common purpose is to deprive the negroes of free exercise of their right of suffrage and to establish and maintain the supremacy of the white-line democracy, in violation alike of the constitution of their own State and of the Constitution of the United States.

The events which the committee were called to investigate by the order of the Senate constitute one of the darkest chapters in American history. Mississippi was a leading State in the war of the rebellion and an early and persistent advocate of those fatal political heresies in which the rebellion had its origin. To her, in as large a degree as to any other State, may be charged justly the direful evils of the war; and when the war was ended the white inhabitants resisted those measures of equality which were essential to local and general peace and prosperity. They refused to accept the negro as their equal politically, and for ten years they have seized every fresh opportunity for a fresh denial of his rights. At last they have regained supremacy in the State by acts of violence, fraud, and murder, fraught with more than all the horrors of open war, without its honor, dignity, generosity, or justice.

By then the negro is not regarded as a citizen, and whenever he finds a friend and ally in his efforts to advance himself in political knowledge or intellectual culture, that friend and ally, whether a native of the State or an immigrant from the North, is treated as a public enemy. The evil consequences of this policy touch and paralyze every branch of industry and the movements of business in every channel.

Mississippi, with its fertile soil, immense natural resources, and favorable commercial position, is in fact more completely excluded from the influence of the civilization and capital of the more wealthy and advanced States of the Union than are the distant coasts of China and Japan. Men who possess capital are anxious to escape from a State in which freedom of opinion is not tolerated, where active participation in public affairs is punished often with social ostracism, always with business losses, and not infrequently, as the record shows, with exile and the abandonment of property through fear of death.

Consequently, lands depreciate in value, the rewards of labor become more and more uncertain, taxes more and more burdensome, the evils of general disorder are multiplied and intensified, and by an inevitable rule of social and public life, the evils themselves, reacting, increase the spirit of disorder. Unless this tendency can be arrested, every successive chapter in the annals of that State will be darker and bloodier than the preceding one.

This tendency cannot be arrested by the unaided efforts of the peaceful, patriotic, and law-abiding

citizens. There is a small body of native white persons, who, with heroic courage, are maintaining the principles of justice and equality. There is also a small body of men from the North, who, with equal courage, are endeavoring to save the State from anarchy and degradation. If left to themselves, the negroes would co-operate with these two classes.

But arrayed against them all are a majority of the white people, who possess the larger part of the property; who uniformly command leisure, whether, individually, they possess property or not; who look with contempt upon the black race, and with hatred upon the white men who are their political allies; who are habituated to the use of arms in war and in peace; who in former times were accustomed to the exclusive enjoyment of political power, and who now consider themselves degraded by the elevation of the negro to the rank of equality in political affairs.

They have secured power by fraud and force, and, if left to themselves, they will by fraud and force retain it. Indeed, the memory of the bloody events of the campaign of 1875, with the knowledge that their opponents can command, on the instant, the presence of organized bodies of armed men at every voting place, will deter the republican party from any general effort to regain the power wrested from them. These disorders exist also in the neighboring States, and the spirit and ideas which give rise to the disorders are even more general.

The power of the National Government will be invoked, and honor and duty will alike require its exercise. The nation cannot witness with indifference the dominion of lawlessness and anarchy in a State, with their incident evils and a knowledge of the inevitable consequences. It owes a duty to the citizens of the United States residing in Mississippi, and this duty it must perform. It has guaranteed to the State of Mississippi a republican form of government, and this guarantee must be made good.

The measures necessary and possible in ap extinction are three:

1. Laws may be passed by Congress for the protection of the rights of citizens in the respective States.
2. States in anarchy, or wherein the affairs are controlled by bodies of armed men, should be denied representation in Congress.
3. The constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government to every State will require the United States, if these disorders increase or even continue, and all milder measures shall prove ineffectual, to remand the State to a territorial condition, and through a system of public education and kindred means of improvement change the ideas of the inhabitants and reconstruct the government upon a republican basis.