SUPPLEMENT

THE EXODUS INVESTIGATION.

Senator Voorhees' Great Speech on the Importation of North Carolina Negroes.

That Portion of the Speech of Senator Voorhees Relative to the Movement Into Indiana—Delivered in the United States Senate, June 4, 1880.

SENATOR WINDOM'S CONNECTION WITH IT.

Sir, I have known the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Windom] many years, and I hold him in the most perfect respect and esteem. In assigning to him, therefore, the principal authorship of the colored exodus, with all its consequences, he will understand that I do so in the spirit of absolute personal good-will and friendship. On the 16th of January, 1879, he introduced into this body the following resolution:

Resolved, That with a view to a peaceful adjustment of all questions relating to suffrage, to the effective enforcement of constitutional and natural rights, and to the promotion of the best interests of the whole country, by the elimination of sectionalism from politics, a committee of seven Senators be appointed by the Chair and charged with the duty of inquiring as to the expediency and practicability of encouraging and promoting by all just and proper methods the partial migration of colored persons from those States and Congressional Districts where they are not allowed to freely and peacefully exercise and enjoy their Constitutional rights as American citizens into such States as may desire to receive them and will protect them in said rights, or into such Territory or Territories of the United States as may be provided for their use and occupation; and if said committee shall deem such migration expedient and practicable that they report by bill or otherwise what in their judgment is the most effective method of accomplishing that object; and that said committee have leave to sit during the recess.

A PROPOSITION TO ENCOURAGE IT.

Here was a direct proposition for an investigating committee, to be composed of seven Senators, with a view of encouraging and promoting the migration of colored persons into the Northern States and Territories. It was the first ever made in either branch of Congress, and was regarded at the time as a harmless novelty. On the 7th of February, less than a month later, however, the Senator from Minnesota addressed the Senate in support of his resolution, making a very elaborate and carefully prepared speech. In this remarkable speech, he deplored what he styled the shameful failure of the Government to vindicate our citizenship within our own borders, and, assuming that the negro was deprived of his constitutional rights in the Southern States, advised him to go elsewhere. A new Canaan, in the rich language of the Bible, was proclaimed by the Senator from Minnesota to the fervid imagination of the negroes if they would arise and leave their present habitations. A Moses was also promised them in express words by the Senator to lead them by thousands to the new Canaan which he described. He lures them into his scheme by saying that the privilege of taking from forty to eighty acres of good land should be extended to millions of colored people, and that they should have their land in a locality suited to their wants. As to the expense of such movement the Senator treats it lightly. He says:

"If it should cost a few millions to provide the territory for them, who would weigh that fact in the balance against a solution of the most perplexing and dangerous problem that menaces our future as a nation, the performance of partial but tardy justice to a race, and the permanent pacification of the country?"

Again, the Senator says:

"Let it be understood that such a place is ready for them, and the bishops and ministers of their various churches will head the exodus to the promised land, with songs of praise and devout thanksgiving to God for this mighty deliverance. Do you say they are too poor to pay the expenses of the proposed journey? Doubtless the great majority are so, but the enterprising, the intelligent, and the ambitious will find some means of getting there; and should any difficulty occur at this point, the patriotism and philanthropy of the people may be confidently relied upon to organize and provide the needed funds."

ORGANIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT.

It will be seen from this passage of the Senator's speech of February 7, 1879, that he not only proposed a select committee to encourage the exodus of the negro, but that he likewise suggested the very plan by which it could be best promoted. He declared that "the patriotism and philanthropy of the people," meaning of course the people of the North, "could be confidently relied on to organize and provide the needed funds." This was the first suggestion, as far as I know, of the organization of emigrant aid societies which sprung up so rapidly almost immediately afterward. "Organize and provide the needed funds!" These are the words of the Senator from Minnesota, spoken with reference to the action of the Northern people in their efforts to promote the negro exodus from the Southern to the Northern States, and they were acted upon at various points without delay. The voice of the Senator was heeded, as it ought to be, by his party followers. His counsels were accepted by his party associates, both white and black, and societies were at once organized to "provide the needed funds." One was formed in this city and one in Saint Louis. It is a circumstance to be noted and remembered that between Washington City and Saint Louis the only other emigrant aid societies were established in Indiana. * * * * * * *

These societies were secret so far as the general public was concerned. Their existence was unknown except to those connected with them until the present investigation exposed them. The great body of the people of Indiana did not know that secret organizations were at work in their midst, pursuant to the suggestion of the Senator from Minnesota, to induce negroes in large numbers to come into the State, and to provide means for the transportation of such as were paupers. It was at first a hidden conspiracy so far as Indiana was concerned, to stock the state with a worthless black population. The conspirators—of course I do not use that word in connection with the Senator from Minnesota—moved about for a time in the dark and fancied themselves secure from exposure. That the object of the conspiracy was to assist the republican party and to secure its ascendency in Indiana, if possible, is a matter of the clearest demonstration under the proof.

GENERAL CONWAY'S MISSION AND TESTIMONY.

Other results, however, beside the formation of secret emigrant aid societies immediately followed the speech of the Senator from Minnesota. In the course of that speech the Senator quoted from and complimented Rev. General Thomas W. Conway, who seems from his mixed title to have handled the weapons of both spiritual and temporal warfare. And who is General Conway? The Senator, not content with quoting him as high authority here in the Senate, called him as a witness before the exodus committee. We there learned the history of his connection with the affairs of the negro race. I read from his testimony before the committee:

Question. 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 of 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 1863, 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.

In point of fact General Conway is recognized as one of the most prominent men in the country connected with the agitation and promotion of negro emigration. When before the committee he stated that he was then on his 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 in their own behalf." Bearing General Conway's conspicuous position on this subject in mind, let us next see what his movements were almost immediately upon the delivery of the speech of February 7, 1879, by the Senator from Minnesota. Within less than a month afterward General Conway reached this city for consultation with the leaders of the republican party in regard to the negro exodus. He states in his testimony that he especially consulted the late Senator Chandler, who was at that time the very able chairman of the republican national committee. No one will dispute that Mr. Chandler, when alive, and in that position, dictated and shaped the policy and political management of his party more than any other man in it. General Conway says that he warmly and enthusiastically embraced the exodus movement, thus giving it the full and cordial approval and support of the official head of the republican party. Thus equipped and strengthened in his faith and purposes General Conway tells us that he started South by way of the West. Let it be remembered that this was in March, 1879, at least six months before negroes commenced to arrive in Indiana, and the following testimony of the General's before the committee becomes luminous with meaning:

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 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 don'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 Streight, 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 any 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 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 stand-point, 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, Illinois, 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.

THE POSITIVE PROOF OF CONSPIRACY.

Sir, it has been iterated and reiterated until the very air is weary of the falsehood that no proof has been made before the committee inculpating the leaders of the republican party of Indiana as conspirators to overthrow the democratic majority in that State by an importation of negro voters. Men have been hung and justly hung on evidence far less conclusive of crime than is here submitted against the most prominent men of the republican party of Indiana, implicating them in an attempt to rescue their broken political fortunes by colonizing the African element of the South. I challenge and defy contradiction on this point. I have no desire to assail anybody; very far from it; but General Conway is the peer in character, position, and influence in the republican party of any man in Indiana mentioned by him in his testimony, or met by him while in that State on the exodus business. I do no injustice to Mr. New, Mr. Martindale, Colonel Dudley, Colonel Holloway, or General Streight, or any one else, in making this statement. Yet General Conway, with no possible motive to injure his brethren, but rather a strong motive to shield them, swears directly and explicitly that he halted three days at Indianapolis on his trip South to aid the exodus in order to ascertain what encouragement, if any, there was for negro emigration to Indiana; that he there met the chairman of the republican State central committee, the editor of the recognized State organ of the republican party, the postmaster of the city of Indianapolis, and many others, and that he was assured by them that from five to ten thousand negroes could find employment in that State.

The numbers here spoken of were to be voters, not encumbered by women and children, for when General Conway was asked whether the gentlemen with whom he was in consultation at Indianapolis understood that the emigration of the negroes was to be of political advantage to the State, and for the purpose of carrying the State for the Republicans, he answered that they understood the whole thing and gave it great encouragement. Thus again assured of political co-operation in his efforts, General Conway journeyed on from Indianapolis to Saint Louis and then to Kansas City. His mission to those cities was a most natural one in the light of his stay at Indianapolis. He says that he found negroes arriving there from the South, and tried to divert them to Indiana. Of course he did; it was so arranged, so stipulated in secret political conclave. Conway's movements and labors were the result of no vague, uncertain, ill-defined plan of action. He moved from the National headquarters of the Republican party in this city to the headquarters of that party in Indiana, and from there under instructions to Missouri and Kansas. He even returned to Indianapolis to report his proceedings further west. He testifies that on his return East he stopped over and reported to his friends in Indianapolis that he had met and encouraged emigrating negroes to come to Indiana, thus putting them in the entire possession of every detail of this scheme of colored colonization for political purposes. He had advised with the leading men of Kansas, and it had been agreed that the heavy stream of colored emigration should be diverted, if possible, from that State into Indiana, and all this he faithfully communicated to his political coadjutors at Indianapolis. Hear him, in the following passage of refreshing frankness:

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 philantrophic, 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, Rev. 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? 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?

THE PERSISTENT GLORIFICATION OF THE NEGRO RACE.

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 interpelate 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.

GENERAL CONWAY ON CROSS-EXAMINATION.

And still further, when this most conspicuous and active evangelist of the exodus was under examination by the Senator from Minnesota, he testified in regard to the plot against the people of Indiana in the following explicit terms:

Question. Do you know of any effort to colonize any State with Negro voters? Answer. There has been some talk about it, and I have been trying to 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 them 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.

THE UNDOUBTED DESIGN OF THE MOVEMENT.

Must I pause to dwell upon and enforce the conclusive character of such testimony as this? Who now will prate of the absence of proof that the emigration of negroes into Indiana was a political scheme known, planned, fostered, and carried on by the leaders of the Republican party? General Conway was not my witness; he is a Republican of stalwart proportions, a prime mover in the exodus agitation, following closely in the wake of the speech of the Senator from Minnesota. Out of the mouths of their own political friends and associates the now revealed conspirators against the right, the sovereign right of the people of Indiana to govern themselves without the assistance of imported pauper negroes, stand naked and condemned. What answer has been made or can be made? General Conway says that the plan so far as Indiana is concerned has been a failure; he says he wanted negroes nough there to defeat the Democratic party; and advised that fifteen or twenty thousand should be colonized in that great State, and in the absence of something like that number he concedes that his missionary labors for the Republican party in the matter of negro importation has not been a success. The failure of this unworthy undertaking, however, is not due to any amount of zeal or unscrupulous industry on the part of its authors. It has failed as a political conspiracy because it has been exposed by an honest, active, aggressive investigation. It was only dangerous while it was comparatively in the dark. A scheme so unnatural and nefarious perishes when dragged to the light of day. Those engaged in it are crippled and rendered powerless by the scorn and contempt of the public as soon as they are disclosed by reliable evidence.

MENDENHALL'S TESTIMONY.

But leaving at this point the overwhelming, crushing testimony of General Conway, I proceed to other facts which establish the existence of an infamous political plot to subvert the will of the people of Indiana by the procurement of an objectionable negro population. Among the earliest witnesses called before the committee was H. W. Mendenhall, of Wayne County, Indiana, and now in Government employment in this city. He was a member of the original emigrant aid society founded in this city, and was placed on the committee to audit accounts. It was understood that he had made a significant speech at the first or second meeting of the society, and the following is a portion of his testimony when called before the exodus committee:

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Q. Didn't you state in your speech that as these negroes were going to emigrate you would like to have a large number of them to come to Indiana? A. Yes, sir; I knew that a great number of them, if not all, voted the Republican ticket, and I would like amazingly to see them come there, just the same as you see the Irish coming in there because they generally vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. You were in favor of their going there to vote? A. Yes, sir; I was.

Here we find a representative man of the republican party of Indiana, holding office under the present Administration, striking out at once at the earliest possible moment for political advantages arising out of the transportation of negroes from the South to the North. If it is claimed that he spoke simply for himself alone, his testimony contradicts a statement. He testified that he had been in correspondence with Colonel Dudley, United States Marshal of Indiana, and others on this subject. He said that Colonel Dudley disclaimed the negro emigration into Indiana as a republican party measure, but hoped nevertheless the negroes would come. The following is the interesting colloquy which took place in committee between Mr. Mendenhall and the chairman in regard to the position of Colonel Dudley, the United States marshal for Indiana:

Q. Did he seem to think he would like to have them there to vote us down? A. Yes, sir; I think he did.

Q. Then he disclaimed the act but was willing to take the fruits? A. Yes, sir; that is about it.

I hope the exposure of this coy prudence of Colonel Dudley, here so graphically described—a prudence as old as the world—which simpers and halts somewhat in the face of temptation, but always at last accepts the profits of crime while washing its hands of the blood of criminal commission, I hope that its exposure by Mr. Mendenhall will not be attributed by the marshal and his friends to any other than its true source—a Republican source.

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INDIANA THE OBJECTIVE POINT.

Sir, every particular of this evidence, great and small, indicates the State of Indiana as an objective point for the movement of the colored people in their emigration Northward. There is no exception or qualification to this statement. In every ramification of the exodus scheme its long and repulsive arms are found reaching out to embrace the only western State which is reliably Democratic. Every thought and every circumstance connected with the negro emigration movement takes hold upon Indiana as a cardinal feature and condition of the whole affair. There is no other reason why that State should have such an unsought and degrading association except that a desperate and unscrupulous political party, defeated over and over again by her people, have determined to win a victory by the basest means ever yet known in American politics.

The efforts to change the current of emigration from Kansas to Indiana not meeting with desired success, a new field was entered upon. All of a sudden, with only here and there a symptom of the conspiracy apparent, a tide of negro emigrants broke loose from the State of North Carolina and came rushing pell-mell through this city on their way to the State of Indiana, filling the country with their charges of bad treatment in the South, and their visions of a negro paradise in the North. It is a strange spectacle, and struck the country with amazement. The emigration was composed of the most worthless, thriftless, and indigent portion of the colored population, and they appealed for charity at every step, and talked loudly about being fugitives from a house of oppression and virtual bondage. The sympathy of the country was aroused, and the groundwork of the approaching Presidential campaign was being rapidly laid on a fresh and enormous supply of alleged Southern outrages. There were two strong and controlling circumstances, however, which inclined men to suspect, even in the absence of further proof, that the movement was a fraud, and that the real oject of it was not disclosed. The first of these two circumstances was the fact, which I personally know, that the people of Indiana, not the Republican politicians, but the honest, industrious masses of both parties, had no inducements to offer to such a class of emigrants to settle in their midst.

THE PROMISED NEW CANAAN.

I knew that Indiana had never courted the presence of a large negro population in her borders, and that she especially did not encourage the advent of the pauper element of that population in the South. I knew further that the negroes themselves, if left to their own minds, uninfluenced by political emissaries and glowing circulars describing a country of ease, high wages, and abundance, would never have chosen Indiana as their New Canaan, their promised land, filled with corn and wine and flowing with milk and honey. It was plain to my mind that they were not guided in their selection of that State by any instinct or judgment of their own, nor did they follow a cloud by day, or a pillar of fire by night, or any other lofty agency in their journeyings thither. No Moses, with the light of the burning bush in his face and the oracles of God on his tongue, called them forth to go up out of Egypt, beyond Jordan, into a land set apart for them and their posterity forever. The book of Israel's exodus and the book of the negro exodus do not read alike. For the one there was the inspiration of the Almighty; for the other the inspiration of political ambition. For the one the Almighty spoke and commanded; for the other ambitious politicians conspired in the dark and schemed together to dethrone the sovereignty of a State. Upon the exodus of Israel depended the fulfillment of the decrees of Heaven, while upon the exodus of the negro depended the election of a republican President, which can not take place without the subversion of the will of the majority in Indiana. The one was led by him who from the the top of Pisgah, with an undimmed eye, overlooked all the land of Gilead, and there died and was buried by the angels; the other was led by the furtive, hurrying, false-tongued agents of a corrupt conspiracy against the purity and integrity of American suffrage.

Sir, knowing that Indiana did not want the negro population which was on its way there, knowing that there was no natural demand for the negro in that State and no call for his labor, and knowing also that the negro himself would have so decided but for a wholesale deception practiced on him, I next took into consideration the State of North Carolina, the second circumstance of the two I have just mentioned I did not believe that the kindly-tempered and conservative people of North Carolina had made fugitives of large bodies of their colored countrymen by injustice and cruelty. No such bad reputation, or even the taint of it, clung to that old and honored State. On the contrary, she has been known as perhaps the most considerate, thoughtful, and benevolent of all the Southern States in her care and provision for the colored race. Why, therefore, a rush of negroes should be made from her humane borders, and from her climate and soil so adapted to their temperament and habits, was a mystery which could only be solved fairly to the colored people and fairly to the white race of North Carolina by a thorough investigation. Let us now see what that investigation still further established as to the real motives which governed the origin and the origin and conduct of the negro exodus.

THE PLOT THICKENS.

In connection with the movement after it was fully launched and under way the evidence of a political plot thickens and deepens on all sides. Take the testimony of William B. Tinney, the passenger agent of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad at Indianapolis. A party of colored emigrants had reached Washington City, and were here stranded for the want of money to carry them further. Mr. Tinney swears that therenpon he received a telegraphic dispatch from Mr. Koontz, the passenger agent of the same road at this point, instructing him to collect the sum of $625 to pay for the transportation of these negroes from Washington to Indianapolis. He was instructed to call upon three active Republican colored politicians in order to obtain this money. He did so. They did not have the money that evening, but it was promptly raised the next day, placed to the credit of negro transportation, and the negroes were promptly landed in Indiana. There is not an intelligent person in Indianapolis who for a moment believes that the colored people of that city raised this very considerable contribution among themselves. Their slender resources were already sorely taxed for charity in behalf of the destitute of their own race. They were in no condition to promptly pay down $625, nor does any one pretend they did. Every circumstance goes to prove that it was paid by the Republican State central committee.

FEDERAL OFFICERS ENGAGED IN THE WORK.

In proof of what I have been stating I invite attention to the testimony of L. C. Morris, of Indianapolis. After describing himself as a railroad passenger-agent to solicit emigration business, he furnishes the following piece of interesting information:

Q. Mr. Morris, state to us what you know of money being raised to send negroes to Greencastle by Mr. Reynolds. A. I learned that there was a party coming through, and I was interested in having them come over the Vandalia road. I found that Reynolds had something to do with it, and I said to him that I wanted them to go that way. I wanted him to give me the numbers of the tickets. He said he would give them to me, and he did so.

Q. How many tickets did he give you the number of? A. Of twenty-seven tickets.

Q. He gave you the numbers and he gave you the tickets? A. No, sir, I asked him to give me the tickets and their numbers. It was necessary to show up the business over the lines of road; and that was the only way in which we could do it.

B. Do you think you were instrumental in getting them to go over that road? A. I hoped to be so.

Q. I mean did you get them to go, or did Reynolds get them? A. Well, sir, I was talking to Perry and others to go over that road, and Reynolds did not seem to care which way they went. I tried to influence them to go over that road, and they went.

Q. Mr. Morris, what number of tickets did he furnish you? A. He did not furnish me the tickets; he furnished me the numbers of twenty-seven full tickets.

Q. Where did he get these tickets? A. He purchased them at the Union depot.

Q. He bought them? A. Yes, sir.

Q. With his own money? A. I do not know, sir, where the money came from. I saw him at the window, and afterward he came and gave me the number.

Q. He is the railroad transfer mail agent there, is he not? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Employed under the Government? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you don't know whether he was buying those tickets with his own money or somebody else's? A. No, sir.

WHERE THE MONEY CAME FROM.

Here we witness the local mail agent at Indianapolis, an office-holder, and of course a Republican, engaged in buying tickets for the transportation of the constantly-arriving colored voters to different parts of the State. Twenty-seven tickets, which Morris saw him purchase at that time, from Indianapolis to Greencastle, would cost about $42. Who furnished Reynolds with that money? It is not pretended that it was his own. Where did he get it? But before answering that question I will read a portion of the testimony of Thomas P. Mills relating to another transaction similar to that described by Morris. His testimony on that point is as follows:

Q. Is there any other financial transaction in reference to this matter with which you are acquainted? A. Yes, sir. There was money raised to send them to Greencastle.

Q. Do you know how much? A. I don't know exactly how many went, but I know it was a grand day in the business.

Q. It was a pretty good day in the business? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who raised that money to take them to Greencastle. A. Well I went down to see in reference to it, because, as Mr. Morris has told you, we wanted to get the number of the tickets, and I heard there was quite a number of them down there, and I went to see how many of them there were and where they were going. I went down there and saw about it, and I spoke to Mr. Reynolds about it.

Q. What occurred between you and Reynolds? A. He reached me the tickets and took the numbers; and I asked if they were fixed, and he said: "I have sent a man up town to get the money and fix them."

Q. Do you remember how many tickets there were? A. There were from fifty to seventy-five.

Q. Are you personally acquainted with Mr. Reynolds? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What position does he hold? A. He is a mail agent.

Q. Where? A. At the Union depot at Indianapolis.

Q. If you understand it, what is his duty? To see that the mail is transferred from the depot to the office, and from the office to the depot? A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is a very important office, then? A. Yes, sir; I believe so.

Q. Is it an office of appointment by the Government or by the postmaster? A. Yes, sir; I think it is by appointment of the Government.

Q. Do you know Mr. Reynolds' politics? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a republican? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know how he came possessed of those fifty or sixty tickets? A. Well, sir, he bought them. I saw him buy them, but I don't know where the money came from. He said to me that he sent up town for the money.

Q. And you saw him buy the tickets? A. Yes, sir. I saw him inside the office; and he came out and gave me the tickets, and I took the numbers of them.

Q. Do you remember what the fare is from Indianapolis to Greencastle? A. It is something over a dollar.

Q. A dollar and fifty-five cents? A. Yes, sir; a dollar and fifty-five cents exactly.

Q. And he had money enough to purchese fifty or sixty tickets at that rate? A. Yes, sir.

THE REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ENGAGED IN IT.

In this instance the amount of money required by Reynolds would be something like a hundred dollars, and he told Mills he had "sent up town for it." He knew where to send; he knew where the money provided for this business was to be promptly had. There was no delay in running around with a subscription list. The money was all ready, and dedicated to the scheme then on foot. It was subject to Reynolds's orders as depot-master of negro distribution throughout Indiana. Now, recurring again to the testimony of L. C. Morris, who is a Republican, I think an explanation of Reynolds's unfailing financial resources will be found:

Q. State whether you ever had any communication with or from any member of the State Central Republican committee, or anybody employed by them, on the subject of this emigration business? A. I do not know certainly. I believe there was a gentleman who clerks there who came down and inquired of me how much it would cost to send these people to Greencastle and Terre Haute.

Q. What was his name? A. G. W. Horton.

Q. You say he clerks for the State central Republican committee? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a full clerk there? A. I think he is a deputy clerk.

Q. Well, he is employed there any way? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he made inquiry to know what it would cost to send these people to Greencastle and Terre Haute? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that before or after this lot was sent? A. It was before.

Q. Did you tell him? A. Yes, sir; I gave him the rate.

Q. Did he make a memorandum of it? A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. Did the conversation between you stop there? A. No, sir; we talked on in a general way as to the number that were coming, and all that.

Q. What did he say? A. He asked how many I thought had gone out, and how many would come. That was about the substance of it.

The clerk of the State central committee of the Republican party of Indiana is here discovered making special inquiries of a railroad passenger agent as to the cost of sending negroes from Indianapolis to Greencastle and to Terre Haute. It was no casual or accidental meeting between Morris and Horton, as men meet on the street. Morris says he "came down and inquired of me how much it would cost to send these people to Greencastle and Terre Haute." A general talk on the subject ensued; the number already arrived and the probable number yet to come were discussed. Will it be presumed that Horton was doing all this on individual account? On the contrary, when General Conway's testimony was remembered, implicating Mr. New, the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, the inference is irresistible that the clerk of this committee was acting under his instructions in ascertaining how much money was likely to be needed in locating these people after their arrival at Indianapolis in the close or doubtful Democratic counties in the State. In the light of all the proof no candid man can doubt that Reynolds, the mail-carrier, relied upon the Republican State Central Committee for the means to carry out the work he was instructed to do; and there is just as little doubt that the prompt response to the demand for $625, transportation funds, came from the same source.

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT TAKES A HAND.

What next, however, do we find as evidence of a political scheme to colonize negroes in Indiana in the interest of the Republican party? Almost every Federal official in the State has taken an active interest in it. The Post-Office Department and the postal service generally seems to have been placed at its disposal. This is most natural. The Department has agents on every railroad and officials at almost every station in the United States. Its means for promoting and facilitating an emigration like the one under consideration are vast and widespread, and they have not been idle in this instance. The post-master at Indianapolis, Colonel William R. Holloway, one of the most efficient Republicans in the State, put his hand to the work. A colored man by the name of A. W Heath, from Lenoir County, North Carolina, reached Indianapolis, and after sojourning there a few days was seized with a desire to visit Greencastle. When he arrived at Greencastle he met Moses T. Lewman, the sheriff of the County, and in speaking of the kindness extended to him told Lewman that he had come over in the mail-car free of charge. This was a criminal violation on the law on the part of the mail agent in that car, but it appears that Heath had equipped himself before starting with high authority for all his movements. Colonel Holloway had given him two small slips of paper full of meaning. They will be found on page 189 of the first volume of the evidence. On one was written, "Union depot, mail office, Reynolds." This was a direction to the negro, who could read and write to call on Reynolds at the mail office in the Union depot for a start. On the other paper was written the following:

"Postmaster Langsdale, and Mr. Clay, colored, at Greencastle, Putnam County, on the Terre Haute Railroad. Private. Tell these gentlemen more are coming."

And on the back of this paper is written, in a well-known hand, "Holloway, P. M." Heath was thus commended by Holloway, postmaster, to his brother postmaster, Langsdale, and to Mr. Clay, a colored preacher, engaged in sending false and sensational circulars to the South to induce colored emigration to Indiana. Heath was also instructed to tell Langsdale and Clay that more were coming, and the whole thing was then marked "private." "Tell these gentlemen more are coming." Yes; more were coming, and Colonel Holloway and all his prominent political associates at Indianapolis not only knew the fact, as he here states, but they were engaged in bringing them. Do these papers, given by Holloway to the negro, Heath, appear to have emanated from one who was ignorant of the colored emigration to Indiana or opposed to its success? The very reverse is true. They prove conclusively that there was a plan arranged, a conspiracy organized, whose future operations were known to the writer, and that he was engaged with others in laboring to advance the cause *They show that Langsdale, in his open and shameless avowal in his paper that negro colonization was necessary and proper in order to defeat the democratic party in Indiana, had the full confidence and zealous co-operation of the most prominent leaders of his party. Instead of their condemnation, he received confidential words of warm encouragement. "Private. Tell those gentlemen more are coming."*

Let these watchwords of a nefarious conspiracy to outrage the people of Indiana, debauch her ballot-box, and degrade her laboring men and women by an association with the pauper blacks of the secrets of such plots as this are always kept with the utmost care, but here and there a fact or a circumstance will escape concealment, in the light of which everything is at once made clear.

FURTHER MODEL WORK IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

But to proceed. At the fair and beautiful city of Terre Haute, my own home, my neighbors and friends are blessed with a United States mail agent whose duties are the same as those performed by Reynolds at Indianapolis. He transfers the mail between the post office and depot. He has found it consistent with his Government duties and with the instructions of his superiors to engage very exensively in the business of negro importation into Vigo and surrounding counties. Being of that race himself, he has been used as a decoy to induce others in large numbers to light down in that part of Indiana. The postal service appears to have received general orders on this subject throughout the State. Early in the investigation we overtook Walker, the Terre Haute mail agent, working with a zeal which blinded him to the truth, and showed him so intent on the scheme that he cared but little for the correctness of his representations. On page 92 of the first part of the printed testimony will be found three letters from him, obtained in the examination of Captain Wall, the President of the Washington Emigrant Aid Society.

In one of these letters, addressed to Mr. Adams, former secretary of the society, and written in November last, Walker holds out bewildering inducements to the emigrant. He makes and repeats the statement that "there never was such a demand for farm-hands and laborers of all classes" as prevailed at that time in Indiana. He says that farmers were paying from $15 to $20 per month and board. Speaking of the great coal mines in Western Indiana, he says that within the last few days, prior to writing this letter, he had received applications for at least five hundred miners, and that one mine alone, at that time, two hundred men could get work. The miner, he said, could make from $2.50 to $3 per day. With an enticing reference to the equality of the races in the schools of Indiana, his letter concludes.

In another brief note Walker makes the following important statement:

I am goint to Saint Louis, Missouri, which is one hundred and sixty-five miles from here, and making arrangements to get refugees to come this way, but this is a private matter.

Under the laws and regulations of the postal service a United States mail agent has no right to leave his post of duty without official leave granted. I presume Walker had no difficulty in obtaining such leave when he made known the object of his errand. Whether carrying the mail from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, at Terre Haute, or absent in Saint Louis arranging for negroes "to come this way," he was still in the employ of a Republican administration, and under pay out of the public treasury.

The third of these epistles from Walker reads as follows:

TERRE HAUTE, IND., January 5, 1880.

My Dear Sir: I am directed to write you concerning the colored refugees leaving Washington for Indiana. I was directed by Mr. Perry to write you. Now, what I want is this: The first time you have any of those people on hand, and wanting to come to this State, please send me about fifteen families. I have places for them as soon as they can get here; and if such should be the case, telegraph me at my expense what day they will leave Washington for Terre Haute.

J. H. WALKER, Terre Haute, Indiana.

CAPTAIN WALL.

It would be curious to ascertain who furnished not only Walker's traveling expenses to Saint Louis and other distant points, but also who contributed to assist in defraying his telegraphic correspondence. Whatever may be his zeal and energy in the cause, he was not doing all this himself.

But there is still another exploit of Walker's which calls for passing attention. He obtained leave of absence to attend a colored convention, during the summer of 1879, at Nashville, Tennessee. Upon his return he issued his circular, not for publication in the newspapers, but for distribution in quarters where they "would do the most good." As it has, however, been widely published during the progress of this investigation, I will not read it here in full. In it he announced that he had demands from different localities in Indiana for the presence of eighteen hundred negro families in the State. He cried to the negro population of the South to come—come one, come all; that the laborers were few in Indiana, and the harvest was great. Eighteen hundred families! Whether Walker exaggerated the number he has to look after or not, this statement shows on what a vast scale he understood the importation to have been arranged by those above him. It was no light shower that Walker had been taught to expect. He anticipated flood. He was jubilant at the prospects for the Republican party. Paul K. McCoskey, a Republican, and one of the oldest, most reliable, and respected citizens of Terre Haute, speaking of Walker in his testimony before the committee, says:

"A day or two after he came back from that convention down South he saw me, and ran over to meet me on the street. He seemed to be in a very good way, and I think he had liquor in him. I asked him what was the matter, and he said he had made a good thing out of his trip. He said he had made arrangements to turn the negro emigrants into Indiana so as to get ten thousand in there and carry the State."

STRONG CONFIRMATION OF THE MATTER.

Walker states in the letter I have just quoted that he was going to Saint Louis to turn the negro emigrants to Indiana and yet, when McCoskey swears that he told him he had been in the same business exactly at N