

# TESTIMONY.

## CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

### GEORGIA.

WASHINGTON. D. C., July 7, 1871.

ALFRED RICHARDSON (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND):

*Question.* Where do you live?

*Answer.* In Clarke County, Georgia.

*Question.* What is your age?

*Answer.* About thirty-four years.

*Question.* Were you born in that county?

*Answer.* No, sir; in Walton County, the adjoining county to Clarke.

*Question.* Were you born a freeman or a slave?

*Answer.* I was born a slave.

*Question.* Did you remain a slave until the general emancipation?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* What was your master's name?

*Answer.* William Murray.

*Question.* Were you ever owned by any other master?

*Answer.* I was born the property of his mother-in-law. She owned me until I was about seven years old. She got in debt some way or other, and he bought me and the rest of the family all in.

*Question.* Did he live in the same place where you now live?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; he is living in the same place.

*Question.* Since you became a freeman what have you been doing?

*Answer.* I have been house-carpentering.

*Question.* Have you a family?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Of how many does your family consist?

*Answer.* My wife and three children.

*Question.* Since you became a freeman have you voted?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* With what party have you voted?

*Answer.* The republican party.

*Question.* State to the committee whether you have been attacked in any way by anybody; if so, when and how. Tell us the whole story about it.

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I was attacked twice. The first time was just before last Christmas; I cannot recollect exactly what day.

*Question.* Tell us all the particulars.

*Answer.* There was a set of men came down to about a quarter of a mile of where I live. They were all disguised. They had taken out an old man by the name of Charles Watson. They commenced beating him. His wife and children all ran out, and screamed and hallooed for help to stop the men from beating him to death. We, who were in town, came out to see what was the matter.

*Question.* You heard the outcry?

*Answer.* Yes, sir, and came out to see what was the matter. We went up the street a piece, out on the edge of the town, and heard a great parcel of men talking beside the fence. It was the Ku-Klux, who had this old man down in the corner of the fence, knocking him and telling him he had to tell where Alfred Richardson was, and had to go with them to his house and show how he was fixed up. The old man seemed to be sort of dilatory in telling them, and they rapped him over the head again and told him he had to go.

*Question.* They wanted him to tell where you were?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they wanted him to tell where I was, and how I was fixed up; they said he had to go and get me out. In the mean time, while they were telling him this, a crowd of boys came on behind me, and we all ran up, after we heard what they were

up to. They all broke and ran, and carried this old man with them. We followed them to the forks of the road, about three hundred yards from where we met them. They all stopped and got over into the field, taking the old man with them. I ran up, and looked first up one road and then the other, to see which way they had gone. I could not see anybody for a long time; a cloud had got over the moon. After a while I saw one fellow slipping alongside the fence. He had a pistol in his hand, as if to shoot me. When I saw him doing that, I took my pistol, and shot at him. When I shot at him there were three or four men who shot me from through the fence. I did not see them. They shot about twenty shots into my leg and hip. I went off home, and went to the doctor's office. The doctor examined me, and fixed my wounds up. In three or four days I got so that I could travel very well. Things went on till after Christmas. On the 18th of January a man by the name of John O. Thrasher came to me —

*Question.* Was he a white man?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; a very wealthy man. He came to me. My brother was keeping a family grocery; and I was in with him. I did not stay in the store; I worked at my trade.

*Question.* Were you a partner in the concern?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. This man told me, "There are some men about here that have something against you; and they intend to kill you or break you up. They say you are making too much money; that they do not allow any nigger to rise that way: that you can control all the colored votes; and they intend to break you up, and then they can rule the balance of the niggers when they get you off." He said, "They said they wanted me to join their party, but I told them I did not want to do it; I never knew you to do anything wrong, and these are a parcel of low-down men, and I don't want to join any such business; but I tell you, you had better keep your eyes open, for they are after you." He talked to me about it that evening for three or four hours. I told him I didn't know why they had anything against me. I talked to the ordinary, and the clerk of the court, and several other citizens. They said they didn't see why anybody wanted to interrupt me; that I had always kept the peace between the colored and the white people; that when there was a fuss I was the only man that could break it up and make the colored people behave themselves; that they hated to let me go away. I talked with all the citizens, and they told me they did not see why anybody had anything against me. I said, "I am told that some men are coming to kill me or run me off, and I think I had better go away. I don't know whether I can stay safely." They told me, "No, don't move away; they are just talking that way to scare you. I reckon." The same night this man was telling me that, I went to bed about 9 o'clock. Between 12 and 1 o'clock these men came; there were about twenty or twenty-five of them, I reckon. About eight or ten of them got abreast and ran against my door. I sort of expected them, and had my door barred very tight; I had long staples at the side, and scantling across the door. They ran against the door and tried to burst it in. They could not do it. One fellow had a new patent ax with him; and he commenced cutting down the door. One lit a candle and put it down in the piazza; the other man cut the door till he cut it down. I stood and looked at him until he cut it spang through. Then I thought I had better go up-stairs. I did so. I thought I would stand at the head of the stair-steps and shoot them as they came up. But they broke in the lower door and came up-stairs firing in every direction. I could not stand in the stairway to shoot at them. I had some small arms back in the garret. There was a door up there about large enough for one man to creep in. I thought I had better go in there, and maybe they would not find me—probably they would miss me, and I could make my escape. They all came up-stairs. My wife opened the window to call out for help, and a fellow shot at her some twelve or fifteen times through that window while she was hallooing. A whole crowd came up, and when they saw that window open, they said, "He has jumped out of the window," and they hallooed to the fellows on the ground to shoot on top of the house. Thinking I had gone out the window, they all went down-stairs except one man. He went and looked in the cuddy-hole where I was, and saw me there. He hallooed to the rest of the fellows that he had found me; but they had got down-stairs, and some of them were on the piazza. Then he commenced firing, and shot me three times. He lodged two balls in my side, and one in the right arm. That weakened me pretty smartly. After he had shot his loads all out, he said to the rest of them, "Come back up here; I have got him; and I have shot him, but he is not quite dead; let us go up and finish him." I crept from the door of the little room where I was to the stairway; they came up-stairs with their pistols in their hands, and a man behind with a light. I shot one of them as he got on the top step. They gathered him up by the legs; and then they all ran and left me. I never saw any more of them that night; and I have not seen them since. I have heard talk of them; and they say they will have me, they don't care where I go. After that they attacked a man five miles from town—a man who was raised in the county where I was. I think he was born about the mountains, and brought down to Clarke County when he was a little child. He was an orphan boy—had no mother—

and was brought down to old man Durham's, and he staid there till he was a young man. I think he was twenty-four or twenty-five years old.

*Question.* What was his name?

*Answer.* James Ponder.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* Was he killed?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I think he was killed dead.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND:)

*Question.* How large a number of men do you think were about your house on that night?

*Answer.* As near as I could judge from the noise about the house, I thought there were twenty or twenty-five. Some people say there were thirty or forty, and some say fifteen or twenty. I allow there were twenty or twenty-five.

*Question.* You did not have an opportunity to count them?

*Answer.* O, no, sir; they had me in too hot a place for me to count them.

*Question.* Were those men disguised?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I think I saw only about one that had no disguise on.

*Question.* How were they disguised?

*Answer.* Some had on the regular old-fashioned doeface; some had on black cambric, with eye-holes, and tied around the face; some wore cambric caps. I have two of those caps in my trunk; and I have one of their little horns that they carry about and blow. I have, too, a long white gown in my trunk at my boarding-house. I have got seven of their caps. A part of them were found at a man's plantation—about his barn or shuck-house. Some of them were brought to me, and some were dropped there in the yard. Some three of the caps I got out of the yard there at my house. I have one of the little horns that they blow when they are gathering, or when they get scattered and want to blow one another together!

*Question.* Did those men say anything to you that night?

*Answer.* No, sir; they never said a word. When they ran against the door, I asked who was there. They said, "Never mind; God damn you, we'll show you who it is; we'll have you to night." When the man found me in that room, he said, "God damn you, I've got you," and then he commenced firing.

*Question.* He did not say what it was for?

*Answer.* No, sir.

*Question.* The first time you saw these men when they had that old man, were those you saw in disguise?

*Answer.* O, yes, sir; they were disguised.

*Question.* They wanted him to go and show where you were, and how you were fixed up?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they said he had to go and show them where I was.

*Question.* What did they mean by saying he must show them how you were fixed up?

*Answer.* They wanted to know whether I had any guns, or whether my door was barred. Generally there, when people go round to whip and beat of nights, if a door has got a common catch on it, five or six men run against it, and burst it right in; and before a man can get out of bed to get hold of anything to fight with, they are right on him.

*Question.* Were you wounded on that first night?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I was shot in the right leg from my ankle up to my thigh.

*Question.* How many shots did you receive at that time?

*Answer.* I think about twenty shots—small shot; I mean there were twenty shot-holes.

By Mr. BECK:

*Question.* All from one firing?

*Answer.* I think there were about two men that shot at one time.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND:)

*Question.* They were small shot?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* You mean that twenty different shot went into your leg?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I was not shot twenty times.

*Question.* You suppose that they came from two discharges?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; the last time I was shot it was with pistol balls—three of them—two my side, and one in my arm.

*Question.* Did you hear what those men said on the first night?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* What did you hear them say?

*Answer.* I heard them say to this old man that he had to tell them where I was, and how I was fixed up.

*Question.* What had they against that old man?

#### 4 CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

*Answer.* Well, I don't know. They said that he had stolen something from somebody down by where he lived. I did not know anything about where he lived. He was working fifteen miles from where his home was.

*Question.* He did not live in your town?

*Answer.* No, sir. His wife staid up close to me—I suppose three or four hundred yards from me; but he was working fifteen miles away. I think he was working in Greene County.

*Question.* His wife lived near you?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; she lived in the town where I lived.

*Question.* And that was his home?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* But he had been working fifteen miles away?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. He bought a piece of ground up there, and put his wife in a house he built there. He worked all through the settlement.

*Question.* What was said about his stealing something?

*Answer.* They said he stole a beef, and they were coming up there to whip him for it. That was all they said after I got wounded; that I ought not to have come out—that they were not after me, but after this old man who stole a beef.

*Question.* Did these men come from fifteen miles away?

*Answer.* O, yes, sir; one man came nearly twenty miles. The man who got shot came ten miles.

*Question.* What did they want with you if they came merely for this old man?

*Answer.* Well, that is the question. They were after me at first; but that was the turn-off they had.

*Question.* When they came to this old man, was the first thing they wanted of him that he should go and show where you were?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. His wife and all the citizens living right around came out when they heard him hallooing; and they say the men never named anything to him about anything he had done, but commenced knocking him, and asking him where I was, saying that he must go and show them where I was. They asked him, too, how he voted, and told him if he ever voted any other ticket besides the democratic ticket, they would kill him.

*Question.* What did they do to him?

*Answer.* They knocked him some over the head, and commenced leading him down the road toward my house. They had got half way down from his house to mine.

*Question.* When you heard them?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. They were leading him on. Some of the crowd said to the others, "Don't knock him any more; he'll holler so as to disturb all the others down here, and they will all get waked up before you got there." Then they stopped knocking him, and commenced talking to him.

*Question.* Did all the men come from a distance of twenty miles?

*Answer.* No, sir; it is supposed among citizens that some of them did not live more than four or five miles from town. I don't believe myself, and I never found anybody else that believed, it was any of the citizens of the place where I live.

*Question.* You do not think it was anybody living in the immediate neighborhood?

*Answer.* No, sir; I don't think it was anybody living less than five or six miles away.

*Question.* Where did the man you shot live?

*Answer.* Close to the edge of Greene County, about ten miles from where I live.

*Question.* Were you acquainted with him?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I had seen him, but I had not been with him lately. I knew him when he was a boy.

*Question.* How old was he?

*Answer.* About twenty-four or twenty-five years old, I reckon.

*Question.* He was some ten years younger than you?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Do you know who any others of the party were?

*Answer.* No, sir; I do not know for certain who they were. I did think I knew some by the voice; but I knew that would not be worth anything in court.

*Question.* Had you had any trouble or difficulty with the man you shot?

*Answer.* No, sir; I never had a cross word with him nor with any other white man in the county, so far as I know.

*Question.* You never had any quarrel with anybody?

*Answer.* No, sir.

*Question.* Since you became a freeman you have been at work at your trade as a house carpenter?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. I worked on until 1868; and I have been working off and on ever since. In 1868 I was elected a member of the legislature. I was turned out the first session, but was reelected. I served out that session and went home. The ordinary and clerk of the court hired me to fix up the court-house and the county building.

*Question.* Is that the county seat where you live?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. I was engaged at my work all the time then.

*Question.* That was work in your line of trade?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* How long have you and your brother been connected in the grocery business?

*Answer.* About one year, I think.

*Question.* You were a partner with your brother, but did not have anything to do with the actual management of the business?

*Answer.* No, sir; he managed all the business.

*Question.* But you had an interest in it?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* What was this man's name that came and talked with you, just before you were attacked at your house?

*Answer.* His name is John O. Thrasher.

*Question.* Does he live in your town?

*Answer.* No, sir; about two miles from town. He came in every day.

*Question.* Is he a farmer?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; he is a heavy farmer; he has got three or four plantations.

*Question.* Of what politics is he?

*Answer.* He is, I suppose, a democrat. He is a very clever man, though, to the colored people.

*Question.* He was friendly with you?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; he was very friendly with me. He was as good to me as a man could be.

*Question.* You had conversation with several people of your town in regard to the attack on you?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I talked with several of the citizens all round; I talked with almost all of them. None of them could see what these men had against me. After the fuss was over I met several leading citizens of the place, and they told me they had met several people and had asked what in the world the Ku-Klux were after me for, and they said, "We cannot tell; you will have to go to somebody else; we cannot see what they are after him for; there is nothing that he has ever done, more than that he was a member of the legislature." Doctor Durham said he expected my politics was at the head of it; he did not know anything else.

*Question.* He thought the attack was on account of your politics?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Is it true that you have been somewhat of a leader among the colored people of your immediate neighborhood?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I was one of the leaders.

*Question.* Have the colored people in your section been guilty of any outrages toward anybody?

*Answer.* No, sir; I have heard of none.

*Question.* What course have you taken with them; how have you advised them in relation to their behavior and conduct?

*Answer.* Well, I always told them to treat everybody gentlemanly, and never create any difficulties with the white people. I would come up sometimes when there would be a fuss with white men, round the bar-rooms and places, and I would tell the colored men to break it up and quit fussing. I could control almost all of them, and make them quit fusses, whenever I came across them.

*Question.* So far as you had any control, or could exercise any influence, you endeavored to make all your people behave quietly and peaceably, and respect the rights of other people there?

*Answer.* O, yes, sir; I can get a recommendation signed for that from every man in that place. The clerk, the ordinary, and all the rest will say that any day I ask them.

*Question.* When this band of disguised men came there and took out this old man, was that the first time that any body of disguised men had appeared in your vicinity?

*Answer.* No, sir. It was the first time they ever came to town; but they had been all through the settlement for some time, and whipped and knocked the people about. There had been nobody shot, I believe, before that. There had been whippings round through the country—none closer than seven or eight miles from town.

*Question.* How long is it since bands of disguised men began to appear in your county?

*Answer.* Something better than a year, I think.

*Question.* Can you tell any instances where they abused anybody?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they got hold of a man down about Farmington, about seven miles from the town I live in. There was a man there by the name of Hilliard Poldo, a colored man. He was working on the road, and he got into a quarrel with a white man named Middlebrooks—Barton Middlebrooks, I think. They had a quarrel; and the colored man, I suppose, stood up as if he was willing to jump in and fight with the white man if he hit him. Middlebrooks let him alone, and the colored man went on to his work. No more was said on that day. A night or two after that, about fifteen

## 6 CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

or twenty men came and broke Poldo's door down, jumped in, and commenced beating him. He rushed through the door and ran. They shot after him, and shot him through a leader in the foot. They caught him and beat him. Some of them named to him how he had sauced Barton Middlebrooks on the road. They cursed him and knocked him about powerfully. He was laid up, I suppose, for about a week.

*Question.* This colored man and Middlebrooks did not come to blows?

*Answer.* No, sir; they did not have any fuss; they threatened one another. The colored man told him that if he hit him he would hit back; and there was no more said. These men came in a night or two, took him out and beat him.

*Question.* Were they disguised?

*Answer.* O, yes, sir.

*Question.* Was there any cause assigned for what they did, except that Poldo had had a dispute with Middlebrooks?

*Answer.* I never found out exactly what the dispute was, more than that they had a quarrel on the road.

*Question.* Was there any charge against this colored man except that he had had this dispute with Middlebrooks?

*Answer.* No, sir, no charge more than the quarrel which there had been between them on the road.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* When did this case occur?

*Answer.* Last summer—the latter part of the summer.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND):

*Question.* Nearly a year ago?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* That was the first thing of the kind in your county, so far as you know?

*Answer.* Yes, sir, that was along with the first cases. There may have been some little whippings before that. A heap of whippings down there have never been reported; and a heap I don't get hold of, without I happen to see them in the paper. What I am telling you is what people come right to me and tell me. Thousands of things are done there that are never reported in the papers, and nobody ever knows anything about them.

*Question.* State any other case of the same kind that you know of.

*Answer.* There was a man who lived down at Elder's—Dr. Elder's. This man, Jim Elder, has been dispatched for; but I don't know whether he will come; I believe he is not able to come himself. His case happened just two nights before mine. My last attack was on the 18th, and his was on the 16th. Jim Elder was living with a man called Dr. Elder. Jim and one or two of the old man's sons were hanging up meat in the meat-house, about the 14th, I think, of January. This black man's little daughter went to the shuck-house to get some shucks to feed the cows, or something of that kind. When she got there she found some disguise clothing—doeface, and long caps, and gowns, and one thing and another. She got scared, and ran into the house, and said she had found a whole parcel of curious things out yonder. The little child's mother went into the shuck-house, and got the things, and brought them to the house. The old man of the plantation walked out, and when he saw them, grabbed hold of them, and took them away from the woman, and carried them into the house.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* Was he a white man?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; he was the owner of the plantation—Dr. Elder. He carried them into the house, and said to the boys, "I never have seen such things before in my life; how came they here?" The young white boys did not say anything. Jim said, "They are some of you boys' clothes; I thought it was some of you that were Ku-Kluxing all around here all the time; and here are the clothes you have been putting on, in the shuck-house. I thought it was you, and now I know it." He had been raised with them, and talked as he pleased. They said, "Now, Jim, you have got to take that back, if you accuse us of Ku-Kluxing." Jim said, "I will not do it; I believe it is true," talking in a kind of joking way. They said, "We'll be damned if you had not better take it back, Jim." Nothing more was said. A night or two afterward they came and took him, and gave him two or three hundred lashes. He laid around there till he got over it.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND):

*Question.* He lived in the same house with those young men?

*Answer.* On the same plantation.

*Question.* In the same house or another?

*Answer.* In another house on the same plantation. He then moved from there over to Athens.

*Question.* Were the men who took him out and whipped him disguised?

*Answer.* Yes, sir, they were all disguised.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* Did they ever whip him any more?

*Answer.* No, sir; he moved to the city of Athens, and they never come to a big town. People who get scared at others being beaten go to the cities; many are afraid to stay at home.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND:)

*Question.* Within the past year have there been many instances of colored people being taken out in the night and whipped by bodies of men in disguise?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; not a week passes now but what there is somebody whipped. The week before I came up here, Noah Thrasher, a black man, was whipped. He lived within about two miles of Watkinsville, and about two miles from my house; but I don't stay at my home now; I stay in Athens.

*Question.* You have gone away from your former home?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I am in the same county, but in another town, a larger place. They took him and whipped him and his wife and child the week before last.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* Do you say that they whipped also his wife and child?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND:)

*Question.* What was that done for?

*Answer.* He hired his daughter out to a man, and after she was hired there she was confined and had a child born. After her month was up she did not care about staying there; she wanted to leave, and Thrasher says this white man gave her a whipping. She went off then to her father's. Her father saw this man, who told him that he wanted him to bring her back. He took his daughter and carried her back to the man. They said he whipped her again. She left there again, and he carried there a boy, big enough to do as much as she could do, he thought, and told the man he would let the boy stay there in place of his daughter. The man said that would not do, that he must make her come back there. The black man went off and never carried his daughter back. So, about fifteen or twenty men came to his house week before last and beat him powerfully, and beat his wife and the girl too. They were a parcel of disguised men.

*Question.* This girl was the one who had been at service and left?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they whipped her and her father and mother.

*Question.* Have these bodies of disguised men whipped anybody except colored people in your region of country?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they have whipped a fellow by the name of Haycock.

*Question.* Where did he live?

*Answer.* About seven miles above Watkinsville.

*Question.* You say that the girl whose whipping you mentioned in the last case had a child?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; she had a child. Her month was up, though. She was at work when she was whipped; she was well.

*Question.* Was this whipping in any way on account of her having a child?

*Answer.* O, no, sir; I suppose not.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* You say she was a colored woman?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Was her child black or white?

*Answer.* I never understood, and never inquired whether the child was black or white.

*Question.* Did she accuse anybody of being the father of it?

*Answer.* No, sir.

*Question.* The whipping did not grow out of that?

*Answer.* No, sir; I never heard anything of that sort.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND:)

*Question.* Go on and state the circumstances in regard to the whipping of this white man, Haycock.

*Answer.* Haycock was living between seven and ten miles from the place where I lived. He had some dispute with some man concerning his sister, I understood. The fellow, I suppose, was fooling round his sister, and he said something about it. They got up a kind of a fuss between them. These men came in on him one night and whipped him pretty smartly. That is the only white man, I think, that has been whipped there.

*Question.* Do you know how it has been in other counties in that part of the State?

*Answer.* Well, sir, several have been whipped, and some killed. A blacksmith by the name of Jake Dannons was shot dead about ten miles from where I live.

*Question.* In your county or another?

*Answer.* I think he lived on the edge of Walton County.

*Question.* When was that?

*Answer.* That was, I think, about two or three months before Christmas.

*Question.* Some time last fall?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* You say he was killed?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I think they shot seven balls into him.

*Question.* Was that done by a body of men in disguise?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; a body of disguised men.

*Question.* What was that done for?

*Answer.* This black man was keeping a blacksmith shop. He had done work for a man named Kemp. I was not acquainted with Kemp, though I had seen him. Kemp had been having his work done there for about a year or two, and had never paid the black man. The black man complained to the man he was renting the shop from about Kemp's account. He said, "Kemp don't pay me; it looks like he won't pay me. I am getting tired of working for him. Now he has brought a buggy here for me to fix, and I am not going to work for him any more till he pays me." This white man said to him, "I would not work for him any more; put the buggy outside the door, and work for somebody else that you can get money from." Dannons laid the buggy aside, and would not fix it. Kemp came up after a while and asked why he had not fixed the buggy. Dannons said he did not care about working any more for him till they settled up. Then Kemp took the buggy—the wheels had been taken off—he took the carriage part and set it on the anvil, and said, "Don't you move this off till you take it off to work on it."

*Question.* He put the wagon on the anvil so that Dannons could not work?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; and told him that he should not move it unless he was going to fix it. Dannons then went to the man he was renting the shop from, and asked him what he must do. The man told him, "You take the buggy and set it aside, and go on with your work."

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* Was the man who owned the shop a white man?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. Dannons took the buggy off the anvil and set it down. Kemp came along and asked why he had moved that buggy from there without he was going to fix it. Dannons told him he wanted the anvil to go to work at, and took the buggy off. Kemp said, "God damn you, I will kill you." He went off and said no more to him. In a night or two about fifteen or twenty men came down there and hallooed to Dannons to come to the door.

*Question.* Were they in disguise?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. They came and told him to come to the door. He told them to hold on till he got his pants on. They told him, "Never mind about your pants; come to the door." He came and opened the door, and saw these men all standing in the yard disguised. He turned his back on them, and ran into the house. As he turned back they shot him right in the back of the head. I think the first ball struck him. He fell. They ran in and shot some five or six more shots into him; and then they all went away. That was the last of them that night.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND):

*Question.* Do you know of any other case in which those bands of men have killed anybody?

*Answer.* They killed a man in Morgan County, about five or six miles from Madison—a fellow by the name of Anthony Robinson.

*Question.* When was that?

*Answer.* That has been over a year ago, I reckon.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* Does Madison County adjoin your county?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND):

*Question.* Do you know anything as to the reason why that act was committed?

*Answer.* I do not know how the fuss got up between them. I never heard anything about that more than that the disguised men came down there after him, and knocked at the door for him to open it, and he would not open it; then they commenced breaking the door down. He ran to the door to resist with an ax, I think, and they shot him. He made a licker at one of the men with the ax, and in making the licker he jumped out of the door to run. As he went to run they shot him dead.

**Question.** Had he had a quarrel with anybody, out of which this attack grew?

**Answer.** I do not know; I never heard of any.

**Question.** Do you know of any other instance where bands of this kind have killed anybody?

**Answer.** No, sir; I do not recollect of anybody being killed after that.

**Question.** Has this practice of taking people out and whipping them prevailed in other counties besides yours?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; in the same way.

**Question.** Did it begin in those other counties about the same time it did in yours?

**Answer.** A little before. They commenced in Walton and Morgan before they did in my county.

**Question.** Has this thing been general in your part of the State?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; it is a general thing of whipping there all the time. There is not more than three or four weeks but what there is somebody whipped. If they don't whip they ride anyhow, and scare people; they ride up and down at nights. Sometimes they ride through a whole settlement and never touch anybody. Sometimes they go by colored people's doors and shoot some five or six balls through the door and ride on without stopping.

**Question.** What is the effect of all this conduct upon the colored people? How do they feel about it?

**Answer.** Well, they don't know hardly what to think about it.

**Question.** Do they feel frightened?

**Answer.** O, yes, sir; it frightens them. Several of them where I live had bought land there, two or three acre lots, put houses on them, and were living there and getting along very well. Since this thing has been going on, they have commenced selling their lots for little or nothing. Some of them don't get for the house and ground half what they paid for the ground. They go away to some large town where they lay around and get whatever they can.

**Question.** You yourself have removed?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; I have moved to Athens.

**Question.** Why did you do so?

**Answer.** Well, I thought I would be killed down where I was.

**Question.** Was that your sole reason for removing?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; that is the sole reason. If I could have had peace there, I would rather live there than in any other place I have been in.

**Question.** You were getting along well?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; I was getting along well. I had as much work as I could do. Every white man who had any work of my kind to do would hire me if he could get me.

**Question.** Did you own any land there?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; I owned one lot of seven acres, another of one acre, and another of about a quarter of an acre.

**Question.** Have you sold your lots?

**Answer.** No, sir. I tried to sell them, but I could not get anything for them. The ordinary told me I better let them stand; he said probably the feeling would wear down after a while. He said that may be it would become quiet there, and he would like me to come back again. I told him I did not think I could live there any more, and I would rather sell out if I could.

**Question.** Have you moved to Athens solely because you felt you could not be safe where you were?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; I moved there to keep from being killed, and perhaps my wife killed. She is injured a good deal. She was in a delicate state at the time they came to my house, and it has injured her. She will never be of any more account, I think.

**Question.** You say that many people there have moved away in the same manner on account of feeling unsafe?

**Answer.** Several that had bought lots adjoining mine moved away. Some have moved to Atlanta. One fellow bought two acres at \$20 an acre, and put a house on the ground. He fenced it and fixed it up. He sold the house, fencing, &c., for \$40, and got nothing for the land. He moved to Atlanta.

**Question.** Why did he leave?

**Answer.** He thought he was in danger of his life.

**Question.** Is that feeling of fright and fear general among the colored people?

**Answer.** Yes, sir. It is general among the colored people in the county where I live. They told me when I left that if I could find a place where I could make a living, I should write back to them. I have never written back. They said that they wanted to leave if they could make anything above their support. There are lots of men down there whose crops are running away with grass, and they cannot get hands on account of this thing; the men are running away so and leaving the county. A heap of farmers there can't get labor enough to make their crop.

**Question.** Has anybody been punished for any of these things?

*Answer.* Nobody has been punished at all. The attempt is made sometimes to punish people, that is, they try to prosecute some few; but it is the hardest thing to do in the world. If a man knows two or three men in a crowd, or knows one man for certain, that man gets forty or fifty men to swear that he was at some other place that night. You cannot prove it on a man to save your life. I thought once I would try to prosecute the parties in my case, to the best of my knowledge. I got some papers fixed up to go to the governor and see him and get some advice from him. I went to the ordinary and clerk of the court, and they told me they would sign in a minute, but they said they were afraid of their lives, and they were afraid to do it. They told me to tell the governor and the leading men at the capital of the State how they were fixed—that they could not sign the paper for the reason that they were in danger of their lives.

*Question.* That was what these officers told you?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they told me they could not do anything at all.

*Question.* Are the people upon whom these acts of violence are inflicted afraid to prosecute—afraid to testify?

*Answer.* Yes, sir, they are; if they think they know a man they are afraid to call his name.

*Question.* In the case of the attack on you, you say you know of no reason in the world for it, except that you were a somewhat leading republican among the colored people?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; that is about what I think. The white citizens and black could not find any other way to account for it.

*Question.* In some of these other instances which you have given, there seems to have been some quarrel out of which the attack grew. Are there many cases like yours, in which you think the attack was for political reasons?

*Answer.* In my county I don't recollect of any case of whipping or shooting on account of political affairs, but mine. Every man they whipped they asked him how he voted. Sometimes the men would say they did not vote at all; they were afraid to tell the party they did vote for. Sometimes they would say they voted for the republican party, and then the men would say, "If you ever do it again, we will kill you."

*Question.* The advice these disguised men give is to vote the democratic ticket?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they say, "If you vote any other sort of ticket besides the democratic ticket, we will kill you when we come again." They say they have just come from the grave; that they were killed at Manassas, and are just out of the grave.

*Question.* It is a kind of spiritual advice they give?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Has there been in your county or your part of the State any disturbance of your schools?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; threats have been made against school teachers which caused them to run off and leave the schools—not in my county; none have run away from my county. In the adjoining county there was a man teaching school, a colored man that I saw in Atlanta. He said they threatened to come after him, and he got wind of it and left before they came.

*Question.* Do you know of any other instances where teachers of schools have been frightened away?

*Answer.* In my county there was a white woman that commenced teaching school. That was directly after the surrender. They burned her school-house down; somebody did it; they don't know who, whether it was disguised parties or not. It was supposed to be that class of people that did it.

*Question.* The school-house is supposed to have been set on fire purposely?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* It is not supposed to have been an accidental fire?

*Answer.* No, sir; it was set on fire on purpose.

*Question.* That was some years ago?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Have there been any recent instances of burning school-houses in your part of the State?

*Answer.* No, sir; not in my county. I don't think there has been any school-house burned lately in my county or any of the adjoining counties.

*Question.* Does what these disguised bands say to these people about voting have any effect upon the colored people?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. Several of them say that excepting they can get protection against these disguised men going about, they do not intend to vote any more.

*Question.* Why?

*Answer.* They say they cannot vote excepting they vote the democratic ticket, and they say, before they do that they will not vote at all. They say that if they can't vote as they want to vote, they don't care to vote at all.

*Question.* Do they feel afraid to vote as they want to vote?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they tell me they are afraid to vote the way they want to vote.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* You said you were a member of the legislature?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Have you talked with members of the legislature from other parts of Georgia?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I have talked with several of them.

*Question.* The condition of things of which you have been speaking exists in other parts of the State of Georgia?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Did members of the legislature tell you of the existence of such things in other places?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* From your conversation with them, how extensively do you suppose this condition of things prevails?

*Answer.* Well, sir, it is throughout Georgia pretty well—all the farming parts of the State, where there are no towns close around; it is generally there.

*Question.* You learned from your fellow representatives whom you met in the legislature that this condition of things is general throughout the State?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* And that the colored people are in a state of terror and alarm?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. While I was in Atlanta they were coming there every day or two, stopping there.

*Question.* You mean colored people from different parts of the State?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* What did they come to Atlanta for?

*Answer.* They came there to get out of the way of the Ku-Klux, and to be protected some way or other. They think they cannot stay around where they have lived without being killed or whipped.

*Question.* Do you now refer to counties distant from where you live?

*Answer.* That is what people told me whom I saw coming to Atlanta to see the governor.

*Question.* To represent their grievances to the governor?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Have you ever heard of an instance in which any man belonging to this disguised organization of Ku-Klux, who are committing these outrages, has been convicted or punished in your State?

*Answer.* I heard about three weeks ago that there was one sentenced to be hung in Crawfordsville, Georgia; I think that was the place.

*Question.* What became of him?

*Answer.* Well, he is there yet, I suppose. The time had not arrived for him to be hung. I understood the 4th of August was the time he was to be hung; and his friends were trying to get a pardon for him, I understood.

*Question.* Was he to be hanged for a crime committed in disguise?

*Answer.* That is what I understood.

*Question.* Have you ever heard of any other instance?

*Answer.* No, sir. About two weeks before I left Atlanta, I saw it mentioned in the papers that Captain Anderson and Captain Murphy, United States marshals, had been down to Dawson County and brought up two prisoners who had not had their trial.

*Question.* Captain Anderson and Captain Murphy were United States officers?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Was this man who was convicted and sentenced to be hanged tried in the United States court?

*Answer.* I do not know whether he was or not.

*Question.* Have you heard of any other instances of that kind in the State?

*Answer.* No, sir; I have heard of no other instance where they have been convicted.

*Question.* How many persons do you think have been whipped, attacked in their houses, or molested in any way in your county within the last year?

*Answer.* Well, as many as one hundred, I reckon, have been whipped.

*Question.* In your county within the last year?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; some have been got hold of and afterwards got away; they run off and didn't get any whipping. There have been many disturbed in that way, though some would get away.

*Question.* Do the colored people generally sleep in their houses?

*Answer.* Some do; and some who hear of these threats do not sleep in their houses.

*Question.* Suppose a colored man votes the republican ticket, is he safe there?

*Answer.* I suppose that if he is not a leader and has not much influence, they are not apt to bother him, excepting he gets into some cross words with some white man.

*Question.* But suppose a negro should vote the democratic ticket?

*Answer.* Well, he would never be interrupted then. I never heard of one being interrupted. There are several that vote it down our way. There are lots of them that

## 12 . CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

vote it in the city of Atlanta, the great mass of them. In the town where I live several vote it.

*Question.* Do they vote it for the purpose of making themselves safe by so doing ?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they think it is the best plan to get along among the white people.

*Question.* Is it generally understood there among the colored people that if they will vote the democratic ticket, they are then safe from these attacks ?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; that is the impression among the people. They have told me that if I would act with that party I would be as popular as any white man, and would do well the balance of my days.

*Question.* Who told you that ?

*Answer.* The white men of the county.

*Question.* Democrats?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. They said if I would vote for their party and use my influence for it, I would never suffer for anything. I told them I thought I was doing right, and I did not care to deceive the party that I was in with; and I thought I would do wrong to go over to the democrats; for then my present party would be as hard against me as the opposite party was now. I said I didn't care to deceive anybody at all. We had no hard words; it all passed off in good terms; there was no trouble and no argument. They just gave me advice what it would be best for me to do.

*Question.* Then it is the general feeling among the colored people, and it is your opinion, that you might buy your safety by voting the democratic ticket ?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; if I had never voted the republican ticket, if I had stood with the democrats ever since I have been enfranchised, I don't think I would ever have had a cross word with a man in that county, and would never have had a hurt of any sort.

*Question.* Do you think you could now buy peace and safety by changing and going with the democratic party ?

*Answer.* I don't think I could, after shooting that man. I think that would make them kill me still. If it had not been for that man being shot, I suppose I could go back there, change my politics, and live as well as I ever did.

*Question.* Suppose an election were to occur now in your county, would the colored people vote ?

*Answer.* No, sir; I do not think they would in the county where I live. Around the city of Athens, where there is no trouble, they might vote.

*Question.* I mean outside the city ?

*Answer.* Outside the city in the country I do not think you could poll twenty votes among the colored people, unless they were persuaded to vote with the democrats.

*Question.* I mean, would colored people dare to vote the republican ticket ?

*Answer.* You could not get twenty.

*Question.* How many colored voters are there in your county outside of the town ?

*Answer.* I don't know; I suppose in the whole county there are about nine or ten hundred.

*Question.* Do you think, if an election were to occur now, not twenty out of that ten hundred would dare to vote the republican ticket ?

*Answer.* Not twenty out of the portion in the country.

*Question.* Is the case the same in the adjoining counties ?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; that is pretty much so all through the adjoining counties, except in the towns, where they are protected by the police or something of that sort.

*Question.* Do these bands of men ever whip women ?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Why do they whip women ? They do not vote.

*Answer.* Many times, you know, a white lady has a colored lady for cook or waiting in the house, or something of that sort. They have some quarrel, and sometimes probably the colored women gives the lady a little jaw. In a night or two a crowd will come in and take her out and whip her.

*Question.* For talking saucily to her mistress ?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Does that state of things control colored labor down there ? Do these bands make the negroes work for whomever they please ?

*Answer.* Do you mean the Ku-Klux ?

*Question.* Yes, sir.

*Answer.* Well, they go sometimes so far as this: When a man is hired, if he and his employer have any dispute about the price, and there are hard words between them about the amount of money to be paid, they whip the colored man for disputing the white man's word, or having any words with him.

*Question.* They whip the colored man for having any dispute with his employer about what shall be paid him ?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Is that common ?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; that has been done several times. Sometimes colored people are working for a part of the crop. They work on till the crop is nearly completed and

ready for gathering. Then a fuss arises between them and the employer, and they are whipped off—whipped off by these men in disguise. If they do not whip a man, they come and knock his door down and run him out, and he gets scared and moves away, leaving his share of the crop. He will sometimes go to the employer, and the man will say, "Your crop in the field is worth such and such a price, and that is all I will give you." The man will have to take what he can get and move off. Some of the colored people swear that they do not intend to farm any more, excepting they can have peace to gather what they plant. Now, they work a part of the year and then get run off and make nothing. So they conclude it is best to go to some city and work by the day for what they can get. Every town in our State where there is any protection is overrun with colored people. Many of the farm hands are there; and there is a great mass of loafers who stand round town because they have got no work to do. Yet people's fields around in the country are running away with grass. Some men go to town and try to get hands. The colored men will ask, "In what part of the country do you live?" The man will mention such and such a place. They will say, "We can't go down there; the Ku-Klux is down there. If it wasn't for the Ku-Klux we would go down and work for you."

**Question.** Are there many white republicans in your county?

**Answer.** No, sir; I do not suppose there are over four or five. In the city of Athens the man who attends the post office, I think, is a republican; then he has got two or three sons who are clerks in the post office; then there is the tax collector. They are republicans; they vote the republican ticket.

**Question.** Have you ever known colored men to be whipped for leaving the plantations upon which they had been working?

**Answer.** I have heard of their being threatened; they were told that if they did not go back and go to work, these men would come and beat them to death some night. Some of them would go to the houses where the colored men were living off to themselves, and tell them if they did not leave there and go to some white man's yard and live, they would come in on them some night and kill them.

**Question.** Do the colored people generally obey such orders?

**Answer.** Some of them get scared. I heard of a case in Jackson County, which adjoins Clarke County. In that case one or two families left their houses and went to some white man's yard to live. They complain that they do not know what to do; that they are afraid on account of the Ku-Klux. Then the citizens will tell them, "Come to my house and stay, and I'll be bound they won't pester you."

**Question.** You live in the county of Clarke?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** Do you know anything about the condition of things in Walton County?

**Answer.** I have heard of several whipping spells out there by the Ku-Klux. A colored man came to Atlanta a day or two before I left there, and said that he came in because he was afraid.

**Question.** How is it in Jackson County?

**Answer.** Two or three families moved down to Athens from Jackson County two or three months ago.

**Question.** On account of the Ku-Klux?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** Did they report any whippings?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; they said they whipped one; and one who had moved to Athens and brought his family had been shot at, I think, but they missed him.

**Question.** How is it in Madison County?

**Answer.** I have not heard of any particular whipping spell in Madison County. I have heard of the Ku-Klux being out there deviling people. I have not heard much about Madison; I don't suppose there has been much of it done there.

**Question.** Does the riding round of these men in disguise terrify the colored people, whether they commit any acts of violence or not?

**Answer.** Sometimes they ride round there and never pester anybody at all—just go by the house and wake the colored people up and let them see them. Sometimes they come in and take a gun or pistol away from them, or powder, if they have any.

**Question.** Have they generally disarmed the colored people in that section?

**Answer.** Sometimes they just go through the country and never do anything but take guns and pistols away from the colored people.

**Question.** How is it in Oglethorpe County?

**Answer.** The same way.

**Question.** Have you heard of anything of the kind in Morgan County?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; it is the same way in Morgan.

**Question.** And Greene?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** And those counties that border on Clarke?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** How is it in Wilkes County?

## 14 CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

*Answer.* I do not know anything about it in Wilkes—whether they are doing anything there or not. I have heard of a great deal of outrage and whipping in Taliaferro County and in Warren County. Taliaferro, I reckon, is a hundred miles from my place.

*Question.* From what is said generally by these men while going around whipping colored people or parading through the country, and from your knowledge of the kind of men they are, is it your opinion that their object is to prevent the colored people from voting the republican ticket?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they intend to do it till they get the government in their own hands. They say that if they had started soon enough Grant never would have been elected, and Bullock never would have had his seat as governor.

*Question.* Do those persons to whom you have spoken at the capital of your State, and who report the condition of affairs in other sections, have the same impressions?

*Answer.* Yes, sir, it is about the same thing.

*Question.* Have you talked it over with them?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; that is the chat when we are together; that is the first thing we name when we meet one another—to find out how times are in their counties, and to report from our counties.

*Question.* Do they say that the object of the organization is to influence the colored vote?

*Answer.* Yes, sir, all say the same thing.

*Question.* Do these disguised men talk about voting when they are committing their outrages?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* On the days of election, do any of these disguised men make their appearance at the ballot-boxes or around the polls?

*Answer.* No, sir.

*Question.* Do you see any violence on the days of election?

*Answer.* No, sir; not at our polls; we never have had any trouble at all.

*Question.* Your idea is that the intimidation is done beforehand?

*Answer.* Yes, sir, it is done beforehand.

*Question.* To keep the colored men from coming there?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* This intimidation is carried on at night by these men in disguise?

*Answer.* Yes, sir. I recollect now there was one man shot in the day-time—the day of the presidential election. A man by the name of Mitchell Stroud was shot in the day-time; he was shot through the hand; he was going to town to vote.

*Question.* Have you heard of any instances where men have gone to a man's house and left a warning with his wife that he had better not go to the election?

*Answer.* No, sir.

*Question.* You have heard of nothing of that sort being done in the day-time?

*Answer.* No, sir, I have heard of nothing said in the day-time at all, that I know of, concerning going to the polls.

*Question.* Have you heard of any instances where neighbors, without any disguise, would go in the day-time and, as a friendly act, give such warning?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; they would advise them to vote their way.

*Question.* Would they advise them that it would not be safe to go to the election and vote the republican ticket?

*Answer.* They would say to them, "You had better vote the democratic ticket; we are your friends now, and it is not worth while for you to vote to put in power these men from the North who do not care as much about you as we do."

*Question.* Do they tell them at the same time that they will be safe from the Ku-Klux if they will do so?

*Answer.* They don't tell them so right out. They say that they will have no trouble. They say they don't know who the Ku-Klux are, but if they will do that, they will not be in any danger from the Ku-Klux.

*Question.* You say that men who are known do this in the day-time?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; men who are known tell the colored people they know nothing about the Ku-Klux-Klan, but that they are just after those who are going ahead in politics, pretend to be leaders in politics, that they are not after anybody else; and they say, "Just let politics alone, have nothing to do with it, don't vote at all if you can't vote any other sort of a ticket than the republican ticket, have nothing to do with it, and you will have no trouble."

*Question.* You said that these disguised men spoke of being men who had been killed at Manassas. Do they pretend to be persons who have risen from the grave?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; that is their chat. They took a man that lived right close to me and carried him two or three miles from town, hunting a woman that had run away from the part of the country where they came from, eight or ten miles off. They asked him who he belonged to before the war. He told them he belonged to Barton Thrasher, but that Barton Thrasher was dead now. One of the men said "Oh, yes; he

is dead ; I saw him the other day ; I am just from hell ; I saw Barton Thrasher there. I was killed at Manassas. I just came out of the grave to-night. I see Barton Thrasher every day or two."

**Question.** Do you know whether these men have places of meeting ? Do you hear of their assembling together at particular places ?

**Answer.** Well, I am not certain where they have met ; but I heard a man say they met at Fontenoy Mills. I do not know whether it is so or not. I have never been down there. I saw a man down the railroad the other day who told me they came there every week ; that he saw their horses hitched there, covered with white cloth.

**Question.** Do they disguise their horses ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir ; they have a white cloth spread over the horses.

**Question.** So that the horses cannot be recognized ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** Do you know whether they have divided themselves into separate camps—whether part of the men belong to one camp under one commander, and part to another ? Have you heard anything about that ?

**Answer.** No, sir ; I never heard of it.

**Question.** You do not know anything about the inside working of the organization ?

**Answer.** No, sir ; not a thing.

By Mr. BECK:

**Question.** Did you say that, in your opinion, your case is the only political case you have heard of as occurring in the county of Clarke ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir, so far as I can recollect.

**Question.** All the other cases in your county were matters of private quarrel ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir ; private quarrels.

**Question.** You know nothing, of your own knowledge, of any of the facts that you have stated as occurring in counties other than your own ? You only know what you have heard people say ?

**Answer.** That is what I hear people say about surrounding counties.

**Question.** Your county is all you know anything about yourself ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** In your opinion, your case is the only political case that has occurred in your county ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir ; I think my case was the only political case, so far as I know. People have said they approach them about voting when they first get hold of them. They tell them about voting as soon as they get hold of them.

**Question.** That is what other people tell you ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** These men never mentioned to you anything about voting in their talk with you on the night they visited you ?

**Answer.** No, sir ; they did not say anything to me ; they just cursed me, and commenced shooting me.

**Question.** When they first came after you, you went out from the place where you lived, and heard them asking this old man where you lived, and how you were fixed ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** What was his name ?

**Answer.** Charles Watson.

**Question.** Did they accuse him then of having stolen a beef ?

**Answer.** I did not hear them say anything about the beef ; this chat about the beef came out afterward—a day or two after the fuss was over. The news came then that they were not after me ; that they came there after Charles Watson for stealing a beef.

**Question.** They did not on that night go to your house ?

**Answer.** No, sir ; they were on the way to my house.

**Question.** How many were there in your party ?

**Answer.** About four of us ran up first, and I think there were thirty or forty coming up behind us. They heard us coming, and they broke and ran.

**Question.** Were you all armed ?

**Answer.** Those who were with me were. As to the others, some were armed and some were not.

**Question.** Did you shoot the man in the field ?

**Answer.** I shot at the man in the road ; he was walking alongside of the fence.

**Question.** Did you shoot him ?

**Answer.** I never hit him.

**Question.** Was no one of them shot that night ?

**Answer.** There was a man shot that night ; but they said the Ku-Klux shot him.

There was a man wounded that night in the eye.

**Question.** One of their fellows ?

**Answer.** Yes, sir ; but he said the Ku-Klux shot him.

**Question.** What was his name ?

## 16 CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

*Answer.* His name was Malcom; I think it was George Malcom; he lives in Walton County, fifteen or eighteen miles from where I live.

*Question.* How long after this night when you had the shooting with them did they come to your house?

*Answer.* I suppose it was about three or four weeks; five or six weeks, I reckon.

*Question.* Were any of those men who were at your house identified afterward, in any way?

*Answer.* No, sir; none that I know of particularly. People said they knew pretty well who they were. Some people told me they knew pretty well who some of them were; but they were afraid to say anything—afraid they would get killed.

*Question.* What white man was it who told you that if you voted the democratic ticket you would be safe, and that you would not be unless you did?

*Answer.* Dicken was one.

*Question.* Is he a democrat?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Does he live in the county of Clarke?

*Answer.* Yes, sir, he was living there.

*Question.* Do you tell this committee that he said to you that your only chance to be safe was to vote the democratic ticket?

*Answer.* No, I do not think he said it was my only chance of being safe. He told me if I would turn and vote that way, I would be always protected—would always do well, and never suffer for anything.

*Question.* Did you understand him to tell you that you could not live there unless you did vote the democratic ticket?

*Answer.* No, sir; he did not tell me I could not live there if I did not vote that way.

*Question.* Did any white man ever tell you that you could not live there unless you voted the democratic ticket? If so, tell who it was.

*Answer.* No, sir; none ever told me I could not live there without voting the democratic ticket.

*Question.* Did you ever hear any white man tell any person that he could not live there in safety unless he voted the democratic ticket?

*Answer.* No, sir; I never heard anybody tell them that.

*Question.* Did you yourself ever hear anybody threatened with any wrong to his person or property if he did not vote that way? If so, give us the names of the men who made such threats. Did you ever know any one threaten anybody with any harm if he did not change his politics from republican to democratic?

*Answer.* None, except what I was speaking of a while ago.

*Question.* Did you hear that yourself?

*Answer.* No, sir.

*Question.* I am asking you as to what you know yourself.

*Answer.* I do not know about it myself.

*Question.* Can you give us the name of any white man whom you have heard threaten anybody?

*Answer.* No, sir; I never heard them threaten anybody.

*Question.* You do not know yourself of any such threats?

*Answer.* No more than what they tell me that they say to them.

*Question.* That is, what you get from other people?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; all I tell you outside of my own case is just what other people tell me who have been whipped and come in there. Some come in who are laid up and crippled, and they tell me that.

*Question.* You spoke of men saying that if they had begun this thing sooner Grant never would have been elected; did you ever hear any white man say that?

*Answer.* That is the chat among the colored people there; they tell me that.

*Question.* Did you ever hear anybody say that?

*Answer.* No, sir; never myself.

*Question.* Then I understand that all you have been telling about is what has been said; the fears and apprehensions and threats are what you get from other people?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* No part of which you have ever heard yourself from anybody whose name you can give?

*Answer.* No, sir; I was not present myself at any of these talks.

*Question.* Who is the judge of the circuit court in the county of Clarke?

*Answer.* Charles Davis.

*Question.* Are your grand juries made up of white and black?

*Answer.* No, sir; they are all white.

*Question.* They will not allow black men to sit on a jury in Clarke County, and the jurymen are all white?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* And all your officers are white men?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* How many counties are in Judge Davis's circuit?

*Answer.* Three.

*Question.* What are they?

*Answer.* Jackson, Clarke, and Walton.

*Question.* You mentioned some white man who talked to you on the day before you were attacked; what was his name?

*Answer.* John Thrasher.

*Question.* What did he say to you?

*Answer.* He told me he had known me a long time; that he wanted to tell me something that he thought would make me safe, or get me out of some trouble in some way. He said he had heard them talking around that they intended to kill me or make me leave, one or the other; and he said that they tried to get him to join the party to go help do it, but he said he was above such things as that; he did not want to have anything to do with it. I told him I did not know why they had anything against me—why they wanted to do anything to me. He said, "They say you are making too much here; you are running a grocery and making more money than some of the white men, and they do not intend to allow it." He said, "It is a parcel of low-down fellows that begrudge it to you; I would just as soon buy from you as anybody; but some of them about here are after you, and are going to have you if you don't mind."

*Question.* Even in your own case, there was some other feeling besides politics mixed up with the difficulty?

*Answer.* No feeling outside of what this man Thrasher said that they said—that I was making too much there; that is all the feeling I could understand. I questioned the citizens all around town, and none of them could find anything at all that they thought these men had against me.

By Mr. COBURN:

*Question.* You were talking about having seen men who had been thrashed and injured; did you ever examine their wounds?

*Answer.* I have looked at the lashes; sometimes they would take off their clothes and show me the marks.

*Question.* How many persons have you seen in that way?

*Answer.* Jim Elder and Abe Colby; I also saw a fellow with a hole shot in the side of his head.

*Question.* These men whom you name, how were they injured?

*Answer.* They were whipped.

*Question.* You saw the stripes?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Did you see anybody else who was wounded or in any way injured?

*Answer.* Well, I saw persons, but never examined the wounds of every one of them; there was only one or two that I examined the wounds of.

*Question.* Describe the wounds that you yourself received.

*Answer.* I have a ball in my right arm and two in the right side.

*Question.* Where in the side?

*Answer.* Right above the hip-bone.

*Question.* Did the ball come out?

*Answer.* No, sir; it is in there now.

*Question.* Where did the other ball go in?

*Answer.* About six inches below the arm-pit. It ran around into the fleshy part and stopped. The doctor probed for it, but said he had better let it stay there.

*Question.* Then two balls are now in your body?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; all three. The doctor said at first that the one in the arm had glanced off, but it was sore some time, and he thought maybe it was there after all.

By the CHAIRMAN (Mr. POLAND):

*Question.* You have said that your case is the only political case you know of in your county?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; I think my case is the only political case, as folks suppose. These men never said anything to me about what they were shooting me for, but people suppose it was on account of politics.

*Question.* There was no other reason?

*Answer.* No, sir; no other reason; that is what people thought was the reason, and I thought so too.

*Question.* In these other cases in your county, do you say there has been nothing said about how the persons attacked voted?

*Answer.* I say they would speak to them about voting; that is the first thing they would say when they commenced whipping them.

*Question.* Do you mean that remark to apply to these other cases in your county? Do you mean to say that the men inquired in the first place how the persons voted?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

## 18 CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

**Question.** Do you mean to say that there was nothing political in these other cases in your county?

**Answer.** No, sir; I do not say that there was not.

**Question.** But in most of them there had been some quarrel or some difficulty that had something to do with the attack?

**Answer.** Yes, sir. Where women were whipped it was mostly on account of disputes with their employers. When men were whipped, it originated sometimes from quarreling; and then when they got hold of them, the first word they would say to them would be, "How do you vote? Do you vote the radical ticket?" They would tell them that if they voted any other sort of a ticket than the democratic they would kill them.

By Mr. COBURN:

**Question.** How many women have been whipped about there?

**Answer.** I can not tell; several women have been whipped.

**Question.** How do they whip them?

**Answer.** They just strip them; maybe they take a bolt that they belt their pistols around with, and strap them with it—buckle and all sometimes; and then they knock them over the head with a pistol-stock or pistol-barrel.

**Question.** How do they strip them? Do they strip all their clothes off, or only partially?

**Answer.** Mostly when they come in the night the women have hardly any clothes on; they have all gone to bed; they strip their clothes nearly all about off.

**Question.** Do they strip them naked?

**Answer.** In several cases I never questioned particularly whether they stripped them naked or not. They just stated the facts about being beaten, and I never asked them whether they were stripped stark naked or not.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND):

**Question.** State precisely what has been said to you in regard to your being better off or safer if you would change your politics and vote the other way.

**Answer.** I was telling you a while ago about this man Dicken. He told me that if I would turn my politics and go the other way, I would be better off; that I could get as much work as I wanted to do as long as I lived about there, and I could make a fortune there—that I could make as much as I wanted to make.

**Question.** Has anything been said to you by anybody as to your safety from these Ku-Klux?

**Answer.** No, sir; nothing at all more than they told me that I had better leave there, that they expected I would get killed if I staid there. Some of them told me that.

By Mr. POOL:

**Question.** You said that you did not know that they had at any time actually threatened that if you did not vote the democratic ticket you would not be able to live there in safety?

**Answer.** I do not understand the question.

**Question.** I understood you to say that you did not know any particular case in which they told the colored people that if they did not vote the democratic ticket they could not live there in safety?

**Answer.** None, only these disguised men; they told them that if they voted any other ticket besides the democratic ticket they would kill them or beat them.

**Question.** You have heard of its being put in this form: that if they would not vote the republican ticket they could live there in safety?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; they told them not to have anything to do with politics at all—not to vote at all.

**Question.** Then it is not so common for them to threaten them?

**Answer.** No, sir.

**Question.** The acts themselves terrify the colored people without threats?

**Answer.** Yes, sir?

**Question.** But they tell them they can be free from those acts if they will vote the other way or will not vote at all?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** Then they do not threaten what they will do to a man if he votes, but tell him that if he will not vote the republican ticket he will be free from such things. Do you know whether they have alleged as a reason for putting it in that form that their purpose is to endeavor to evade the law against threatening voters?

**Answer.** Yes, sir; to keep from being charged with intimidation.

**Question.** To evade the law?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** That is an improvement they have adopted which they think will evade the law against threatening voters?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

**Question.** They let the acts stand for threats and then promise protection if the negroes will vote in a particular way?

**Answer.** Yes, sir.

By Mr. BECK:

*Question.* Senator Pool asks you if you know all these things, and you say, "Yes, sir." Now, how do you know them?

*Answer.* I thought he was asking me whether I supposed that was the notion or not

*Question.* The question was put to you, "Do you know these things?"

*Answer.* I do not say that I know it for certain.

*Question.* Did you ever hear a white man say any such thing to anybody as Senator Pool has just stated; if so, what white man?

*Answer.* I just answered him according to the way I thought he asked the question.

*Question.* Did you ever hear any white man say any such thing to anybody?

*Answer.* No, sir, I did not; I was only informed so and so.

By Mr. POOL:

*Question.* Did you hear this from colored people who had been attacked by these men?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* Did you hear it generally from colored people who reported the attacks upon them?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; people who would come up with these wounds on them would say so; they would come up for me to go with them to the justice of the peace, or to the governor, to get some protection, and they would tell me all about it, and I would go with them.

*Question.* And it was from what those men said that you learned these things?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1871.

C. D. FORSYTH sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN, (Mr. POLAND):

*Question.* Where do you reside?

*Answer.* I reside at Rome, Georgia.

*Question.* How long have you resided there?

*Answer.* I have lived at Rome only about one year. I was raised within forty miles of the place, however.

*Question.* You are a native of the State of Georgia?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* And until within about a year you resided forty miles from Rome?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; in Paulding County.

*Question.* Do you hold any official position, and if so, what?

*Answer.* I am solicitor general of the Rome judicial circuit.

*Question.* By your law do you have a solicitor or solicitor general in each judicial circuit in the State?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* And you hold that position in the Rome circuit?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* How many counties compose your circuit?

*Answer.* Six counties.

*Question.* By virtue of this office you are the State prosecutor?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; the State's attorney.

*Question.* To what political party do you belong?

*Answer.* Well, sir, I have been acting with the republican party since the war.

*Question.* Were you in any way connected with either army during the rebellion?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* With which army?

*Answer.* I was a captain in the rebel army.

*Question.* During the entire war?

*Answer.* Yes, sir; however, I did not hold that position all the time, but I was in the rebel army all the time.

*Question.* Were you in practice as a lawyer before the war?

*Answer.* No, sir; I was admitted to the bar only a few months before I went into the army. I was a young man then, only twenty-one, about the time the war commenced.

*Question.* You had just been admitted to the bar at the outbreak of the war?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Question.* The object of this inquiry is to ascertain the condition of the country in the late insurrectionary States, especially in relation to the degree of order and peace there, how far person and property are respected, to what extent there are unlawful violations of either, and whether offenses of that character, if committed, are duly