Certification of the 13th Amendment by Secretary of State William H. Seward, December 18, 1865 (Pg.1)

APPENDIX.

heart and one mind Implore the Divine guidance in the ways of national virtue and holiness.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the ninetieth.

ANDREW JOHNSON,

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

No. 51.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, by the Proclamation of the President of the United States, of the fifteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus was, in certain cases therein set forth, suspended throughout the United States;

And whereas the reasons for that suspension may be regarded as having ceased in some of the states and territories:

Now therefore be it known, that I, ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare, that the suspension aforesaid and all other proclamations and orders suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in the states and territories of the United States, are revoked and annulled, excepting as to the States of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, the District of Columbia, and the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the ninetieth.

BY THE PRESIDENT:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

No. 52.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

To all to whom these presents may come, greeting:

KNOW YE, that whereas the Congress of the United States on the 1st of February last passed a resolution which is in the words following, namely:

"A resolution submitting to the legislatures of the several states a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two thirds of both houses concurring,) That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by
APPENDIX.

three fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said constitution, namely:

“ARTICLE XIII.

SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereas the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

And whereas it appears from official documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed, as aforesaid, has been ratified by the legislatures of the States of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia; in all twenty-seven states;

And whereas the whole number of states in the United States is thirty-six; and whereas the before specially-named states, whose legislatures have ratified the said proposed amendment, constitute three fourths of the whole number of states in the United States:

Now, therefore, be it known, that I, WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of the second section of the act of congress, approved the twenty-sixth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and entitled “An act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States and for other purposes,” do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS.

No. 1.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 10, 1863.

In pursuance of the twenty-sixth section of the act of congress entitled “An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes,” approved on the third day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President and commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, do hereby order and command, that all soldiers, enlisted or drafted into the service of the United States, now absent from their regiments without leave, shall forthwith return to their respective regiments.

And I do hereby declare and proclaim, that all soldiers now absent from their respective regiments without leave, who shall, on or before the first day of April, eight hundred and sixty-three, report themselves at any rendezvous designated by the General Orders of the War Department number fifty-eight, hereto annexed, may be restored to their respective regiments without punishment, except the forfeiture of pay and allowances during their absence; and all who do not return within the time above specified shall be arrested as deserters, and punished as the law provides.

March 10, 1863.

Soldiers absent without leave to return to their respective regiments.

Soldiers reporting before April 1, 1863, at designated rendezvous, to be restored, etc.

Others to be arrested as deserters.
Hampton Plantation Account Book, 1868

“Family record. Before the war and since the war,” 1880. Courtesy of Library of Congress
“Proportion of the Colored to the Aggregate Population: 1890,” 1898

“Startling Revelations from the Department of South Carolina,” 1864 (Pg.1)

who had been kidnapped in Africa in their childhood, who told me they could get no clothes from the Freedmen’s Association without buying them, and that they could not do. I found Scipio, who is not less than one hundred years old, lying one night on the bare floor, suffering from the cold. I went and obtained a blanket, the fruit of a Christmas Fair gotten up for the benefit of the poor colored people who could get no assistance from the Freedman’s Relief Association, and gave it to him, which filled him with gratitude, and brought from him a hearty, “God bless you, massa.”

The above Association keep a store in Beaufort for the sale of their goods and also, from time to time, make sales of their clothing at public auction, some of which auctions I have myself attended. Several persons have told me that they have declined to buy at this store, and have gone, in preference, to the cutters, and bought of them, because they could buy cheaper.

I have been informed by reliable persons that all moneys obtained from these sales of the Association, are paid into the hands of Gen. Saxton, to whom all goods are assigned.

Seven months of intimate relations with the people of the Department of South Carolina, has enabled me to communicate with many thousands of the colored inhabitants, and all, with one accord, confirm the gross violation of public faith and charity of the National Freedmen’s Relief Association. And I will add that among all these thousands, I have not found a single person who had received a garment from the Association as a gift.

In the commencement of the establishment of schools in Beaufort, both colored and white children met together in the same schools; but recently they have introduced the odious Northern system of caste, by establishing separate schools for the negro children, thus perverting the very object of this mission among the freedmen of the South, which was to elevate the colored people, break down the prejudice against color, and thus produce a homogeneous society, as the basis of freedom and peace.

I will also add a word in respect to the general management of the plantations. These plantations are monopolized by Northern speculators to the almost entire exclusion of the freedmen, who are made the mere serfs of these lords of the soil. On the plantations, the highest price paid to colored laborers, to my knowledge, is thirty cents a day, they subsisting themselves. Many have told me that they have worked all the year, producing from three hundred pounds to five hundred pounds of cotton, and have received only from $5 to $15 for their year’s toil. They who plant a small patch for themselves, are often denied the use of mules and necessary implements unless they will plant the same amount, gratuitously, for the superintendent; and in some cases they have been driven off the plantations because they would not work on the agent’s terms. I have met with hundreds of these poor laborers, and all say they have never received the amount of wages secured to them by act of Congress, viz: $8 per month for men, and $4 per month for women.

Colored laborers, on the wharf at Beaufort, get but $8 per month, and not fully paid at that, while white men, doing the same work, get from $90 to $100 per month.

Capt. Isaac Simmons, Black Isaac, as he is called, is a pilot, and the best in those waters, and who has more brains than nine-tenths of the whites, gets only $45 a month, while the white pilot gets from $60 to $75; a wicked and oppressive discrimination against the black man.

Under this inhuman and oppressive treatment, universal sadness is written on every countenance. Many have told me their present condition under these "Buchramen," as they call them, is worse than under their old masters; proving to them what “Old Massa” told them, that the Yankees were not their

* This pay was promised, however, by the Commander of the post.
friends. Cheating these people is in proportion to their ignorance, and as a consequence universal ill-will prevails among them towards the whole horde of plunderers who have come down there, not for the good of the freedmen, but for their own profit. The cry of these suffering people comes up: “Pay us for our labor, and treat us as free men and women, giving us an equal chance in the participation of the soil, and we will buy our own lands, keep our own store, and relieve the Freedmen’s Association of the benevolent task of drawing on the charities of our real friends in the North, for donations for our benefit, which we never receive as a free gift, as the donors design.”

Witnessing for many months, these high handed acts of oppression under the rule of General Saxton, I have not failed, in season or out of season, to lift up my voice against them, and rebuke their authors, to their faces. As a consequence, a conspiracy was formed among these guilty officials against me, prominent among whom was the Quartermaster John A. Moore, formerly a slaveholder of Augusta, Ga., and a slaveholder still in spirit, as his acts do testify. These men chanted against me, carrying their complaints to Gen. Saxton, who was very willing to join with them to further their designs, feeling himself, no doubt, implicated in the censure I had brought against the mismanagement in the Department; for upon their representations it was that he so summarily removed me from my position of Assistant Contract Surgeon. The injustice of Gen. Saxton, in his treatment of me, is more fully demonstrated by his own statements, in an interview I had with him on the subject of my removal.

After receiving notification from him of my removal from office, I called on him, on the 21st of February, to learn the reasons of his action, when the following conversation took place. I said, “Gen. Saxton, I have been condemned, it seems, without a hearing.” To which he replied, “Did you ever tell the colored people that they did not get as much pay as the whites?” “Yes, I have.” “Have you ever told them that second hand clothing has been sent to them that they never got?” “Yes.” “Then,” said he, “that is enough; I don’t want to hear any more; I did not appoint you clothing inspector.” I replied, “I have nothing to regret, nothing to retract; I thank God I have spoken the truth. I serve the same God here that I did in Boston.” He then advised me to leave the Department.

Not choosing to take the advice of the General, I continued in my work among the colored people, who universally and gratefully accepted my services, and gave me their sympathy and support, while I became more and more obnoxious to their Northern oppressors, until my office culminated in the part I took in the Convention that met on the 17th of May, held for the purpose of electing delegates to the Baltimore Convention. This Convention was called, without distinction of color; I accordingly instructed the colored people as to their rights in the Convention. On the assembling of the meeting, the colored men were largely in the majority. Judge Smith was chosen President by the votes of both whites and blacks. I was nominated for Vice President and elected, but only in consequence of the excess of colored members, for on the vote being taken, every colored man voted for me, and every white man voted against me. The Convention then proceeded to the election of delegates, sixteen being the number required. I proposed that four of these should be colored men. Several white men were first nominated and elected. Then the colored men nominated their four delegates, whereupon great confusion prevailed, and the chair directed that the white and colored members be divided, the whites taking one side of the house and the blacks the other. The vote was taken, and the colored delegates were elected almost wholly by colored votes, the whites being almost unanimously opposed to the election of any colored delegates.

The part I thus took in the Convention in rallying the colored men to the exercise of their rights as freemen, in securing men of their own color to represent them in the Baltimore Convention, seemed to set on fire the wrath of their white
“The Freedman’s Bureau! An agency to keep the Negro in idleness at the expense of the white man. Twice vetoed by the President, and made a law by Congress. Support Congress & you support the Negro Sustain the President & you protect the white man,” 1866. Courtesy of Library of Congress
THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS. Sess. I. Res. 46, 47, 48. 1866.

Joint Resolution proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, June 16, 1866.

which he is entitled, and which is now or may hereafter be withheld by reason of such omission, but where nothing appears on the muster-roll or of record to show that a colored soldier was not a freeman at the date aforesaid, under the provision of the fourth section of the “Act making appropriations for the support of the army, for the year ending the thirtieth of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-five,” the presumption shall be that the person was free at the time of his enlistment.

SEC. 2. And be it further resolved, That in determining who is or was the wife, widow, or heirs of any colored soldier, evidence that he and the woman claimed to be his wife or widow were joined in marriage by some ceremony deemed by them obligatory, followed by their living together as husband and wife up to the time of enlistment, shall be deemed sufficient proof of such marriage for the purpose of securing any arrears of pay, pension or other allowances due any colored soldier at the time of his death; and the children born of any such marriage shall be held and taken to be the lawful children and heirs of such soldier.

APPROVED, June 15, 1866.

[No. 47.] A Resolution making an Appropriation to enable the President to negotiate Treaties with certain Indian Tribes.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That one hundred and twenty-one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five dollars and seventy-seven cents, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to enable the President to negotiate treaties with the Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri, and the Upper Platte rivers; said sum to be expended by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

APPROVED, June 15, 1866.

[No. 48.] Joint Resolution proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XIV.

SEC. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which

the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Sec. 2. No person shall be a senator, or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who has previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each house remove such disability.

Sec. 3. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or in any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Sec. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

SCHUYLER COLFAX,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

LA FAYETTE S. FOSTER,
President of the Senate pro tempore.

Eow. McParron,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

J. W. FORNEY,
Secretary of the Senate.

Received at Department of State June 16, 1866.

[No. 49.] Joint Resolution relative to Appointments to the Military Academy of the United States.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the age for the admission of cadets to the United States Military Academy shall hereafter be between seventeen and twenty-two years; but any person who has served honorably and faithfully not less than one year as an officer or enlisted man in the army of the United States, either as a volunteer or in the regular service, in the late war for the suppression of the rebellion, and who possesses the other qualifications prescribed by law, shall be eligible to appointment up to the age of twenty-four years.

Sec. 2. And be it further resolved, That cadets at the Military Academy shall hereafter be appointed one year in advance of the time of their admission, except in cases where, by reason of death or other cause, a vacancy occurs which cannot be thus provided for by such appointment in advance; but no pay or allowance shall be made to any such appointee until he shall be regularly admitted on examination as now provided by law; nor shall this provision apply to appointments to be made in the present year. And in addition to the requirements necessary for admission as provided by the third section of the “Act making further provisions for the corps of engineers,” approved April twenty-nine, eighteen hundred and twelve, candidates shall be required to have a knowledge of the elements of English grammar, of descriptive geography, particularly of our own country, and of the history of the United States.

Sec. 3. And be it further resolved, That in all appointments of cadets to the military academy after those who enter the present year, the person authorized to nominate shall nominate not less than five candidates for each vacancy, all of whom shall be actual residents of the Com-

Made of ap-

1866, ch. 72.

1913, ch. 72.

1866, ch. 110, § 3.

1866, p. 457.
services, and participated in the first public honors that were ever rendered to the 13,116 "brave boys" who sleep there, by decorating the cemetery with procession, prayer, and solemn hymns to God, as described in Appendix A.

My time and labors were sacredly given to the Freedmen. In addition to the usual Sabbath services I visited them in their cabins around the stockades, and in the vicinity of the cemetery, reading the Bible to them, and talking and praying with them. It was in the prosecution of these labors that I saw and heard more of sufferings and horrible outrages inflicted upon the Freedmen than I saw and heard of as inflicted upon slaves in any five years of constant horseback travel in the South before the war, when I visited thousands of plantations as agent of the American Tract society, the American Bible Society, and as President of Cumberland College, Princeton, Kentucky. As illustrations of the sufferings of these oppressed, outraged people, and of their utter helplessness and want of protection from the State or Federal courts, I give a few of the "statements" that I wrote down from their own lips. I know these men, and have entire confidence in their "statements."

STATEMENT OF CANE COOK.

Cane Cook now lives near Americus, Sumter County, Georgia. I heard through the colored people of the inhuman outrages committed upon him, and sent word to him to come to me if possible, that I might get a statement of the facts from his own lips. With the greatest difficulty he got into the cars at Americus, and came here to-day. He says:

"I worked for Robert Hodges, last year, who lives about two and-a-half miles from Andersonville, Georgia. I had my own stock, and rented land from him, agreeing to give him one-third of the corn, and one-fourth of the cotton for rent. We divided the corn by the wagon load, and had no trouble about that. I made three bags of cotton, weighing 506, 511, and 479 pounds when it was packed. Mr. Hodges weighed it again, and I don't know what he has got it down, but that was the right weight; one-fourth was his, and three-fourths mine. He told me he would buy my cotton and pay me the market price, which was twenty-one cents that day, and I told him he might have
Interview with Cane Cook, a Former African-American Sharecropper, with Reverend H.W. Pierson, 1870 (Pg.2)

I got some meat and corn and other things from him during the year, and he paid me $50 in cash Christmas. I went to him last Friday a week ago, (January 29th, 1869) for a settlement. When he read over his account he had a gallon of syrup charged to me, and I told him I had not had any syrup of him. He asked me if I disputed his word I told him that I did not want to dispute his word, but I had not had any syrup from him. He got up very angry, and took a large hickory stick and came towards me. I went backwards towards the door, and he followed me. He is a strong man and I did not want to have any trouble with him, and I gave him no impudence. I had a small piece of clap-board in my hand, that I had walked with. He told me to throw it down. I made no attempt to strike him, but held it up to keep off his blow. I went backwards to the door and to the edge of the porch, and he followed me. As I turned to go down the steps—there are four steps—he struck me a powerful blow on the back of my head, and I fell from the porch to the ground. I was not entirely senseless, but I was stiff and could not move hand or foot. I lay a long time—I do not know how long—but he did not touch me. Jolly Low was at work upon the house, and he came down where I was, and Mr. Hodges told him he might lift me up if he was a mind to. He lifted me up and set me on the steps. Mr. Hodges then sent about three miles for Dr. Westbrook, and he came and bled me in both arms; but I was so cold my left arm would not bleed at all, and my right arm bled but a very little. The Doctor then told me to go to my friend’s house and let him take care of me. Two colored men—Anthony Dukes and Edward Corrillius—took me under each arm and carried me to Burrell Corrillius’ house, about one hundred and fifty yards. I could not bear my weight upon my feet or stand at all. The Doctor rode by and told Mrs. Corrillius to take good care of me and keep me there a couple of days. I staid there until Sunday afternoon, when two men lifted me into a buggy and Mr. Corrillius carried me to my wife near Americus. My hands, arms, back, and legs are almost useless. I have not been able to lift a bit of food to my mouth. I have to be fed like a baby. I have not gone before any of the courts. I have no money to pay a lawyer, and I know it would do no good. Mr. Hodges has not paid me for my cotton, and says he will not settle with me, but will settle with any man I will send him. While I lay before his door he told me that if I died he would pay my wife $50. I hope there will be some law sometime for us poor oppressed people. If we could only get land and have homes we could get along; but they won’t sell us any land.”

Andersonville, Ga., Feb. 7, 1869.


Courtesy of Library of Congress
Interview with Cane Cook, a Former African-American Sharecropper, with Reverend H.W. Pierson, 1870 (Pg.3)

Mr. Cook is about fifty years old, has a large frame, has been an industrious, hard-working man, but is now almost entirely paralyzed and helpless. He is the most shattered, complete, and pitiable wreck from human violence I have ever seen. Mr. Hodges, I am told, owns about six thousand acres of land, and is one of the most prominent and respected citizens of Sumter county. He is a Methodist preacher, and Mr. Reese informs me, as I write, that he has heard him preach a great many times in the last twenty years to both white and colored people at camp-meetings and different meeting-houses in this region. He refuses to sell any of his land to the colored people, and will not allow them to build a school-house on it.

STATEMENT OF FLOYD SNELSON.

Floyd Snelson, foreman of the hands employed by the Government in the National Cemetery, Andersonville, Georgia, says:

"That in July, 1868, after the work was suspended in the cemetery, and the Lieutenant in charge had gone to Marietta, Georgia, and the schools for the freedmen were closed, and the teachers had left for the North, Mr. B. B. Dikes notified all the colored people who occupied buildings on the land now claimed by him, formerly occupied by the Confederate Government, in connection with the Andersonville prison, that they must get out of their buildings within four days, or he would have them put out by the Sheriff, and they would have the cost to pay. Nearly all of these men had been in the employ of the Government, at work in the National Cemetery, many of them from the commencement of this work after the surrender. They all occupied these buildings by permission of the officer in charge of the cemetery, by whom they were employed. Many of them had built these houses at their own expense, and cleared, fenced, and cultivated gardens of from one to four acres, which were covered with corn, potatoes, and other vegetables, which, with their houses, they were required to leave without any compensation. Including these laborers and their families, about two hundred persons occupied these buildings. On account of the great difficulty of getting homes for so many on such short notice, most of these colored people applied to Mr. Dikes for the privilege of occupying their houses and
The Struggle between the Civilization of Slavery and that of Freedom, recently and now going on in Louisiana.

S.N.D.North

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED

By EDWARD C. BILLINGS, Esq.,

OF NEW ORLEANS,

AT HATFIELD, MASS.,

Oct. 20, 1873.

"Since the truth should harm no man, let us have the truth."

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

GAZETTE PRINTING CO.'S STEAM PRESS.

1873.

light, how much of the national elevation and national liberalization, of the permanent advancement of our own republic, and, so far as we are experimenting for the world, for all republics, does that provision suggest! And shall the heavens be hung in black because the constitution and the law have been applied, to effect just the result in just the way intended? The amendment was right, the law was right, the application was right; and, thank God, all were in the interests of humanity.

You, who dwell in these secure New England homes, where the statutes of your several Commonwealths, freely administered, are implicitly obeyed, where correct principles, imbedded in the public mind, propagated and maintained by the church and the school-house from generation to generation, would for the most part control and regulate individual conduct, independently of the consequences which the law establishes, cannot readily picture to yourselves a community where the civilization, the controlling ideas have been begotten and educated under the domination of American Slavery. Well might such a community have hung a man for the utterance of the eternal truths of freedom; for with free speech down went slavery. It was wholly a thing of force. It had no merits; nothing but enormities, and so free enquiry could not be tolerated. It was physical force, commencing with making it a crime to teach a slave to read and write, and ending with making it unlawful to emancipate him. So with the civilization which, born of it, still survives it. It relies upon the blow and the bullet, and not upon the argument. Human life is held most cheaply. Murder and assassinations crop out continually. Without the moral power and the sanctions and penalties which come to us from the laws of Congress, the contest in Louisiana would be most bloody. Even with these, it is in some respects a most terrible struggle.

Do you think I exaggerate? I call to your attention the riot of 1866 in New Orleans, when a body of inoffensive men were, in broad daylight, attacked and decimated in the most bloody manner because they sought to meet in a harmless convention; I call to your attention the hundreds of Republicans, black and white, who were openly or secretly slain during the Presidential Campaign in 1868; I call to your atten-
tion the slaughter at Colfax in this present year, when, em-
boldened by the strictures of some of our friends in the Sen-
ate, to whom the side of the Kellogg government seems not
to have been properly presented—a band of men organized
and armed, fell upon two hundred harmless colored men and
slew them, leaving their bodies unburied, and there they
were found with hands which had been clasped in supplication
to their murderers, and which in the rigidity of death
attested that supplication. The details of this last massacre,
in bloodiness and blood-guiltiness only equalled by that of
St. Bartholomew, sicken the heart. I have seen two men who
acted as a sort of ambassadors between the two gatherings.
They assured me that there was no hostile purpose on the part
of the colored people. They were being hunted for slaughter
and remained together solely for the purpose of self-protection,
asked only that the party which assailed them would sign a
paper that they should not be molested, that they might be
put in communication with the military forces of the United
States, and then they were willing to disperse, each to his place
of business and his usual avocation. But no, the report of
four of our friends in the Senate had come out; the case of
the Republican party went by default before them and there-
fore, as I think, they had censured it; Grant Parish thought
an opportunity had come for unpunished murder, and so two
hundred men were most brutally killed, most mercilessly
killed, and their bodies left to putriy, unburied. In the later
New Orleans newspapers I see chronicled the murder of
Judge Crawford, a gentleman who was well known by me
and who was a most worthy man and judge.

Let me call to your attention the numerous unchronicled
and unpunished murders of freedmen, which month by month
occur. The spirit of brutality and implacable hatred of
freedom which fell to the floor, even in the Senate cham-
ber, one of your own Senators in the midst of his immortal
labors, still lurks in and even stalks forth on the fields of the
South.

More than half our population are colored. They avoid
violence almost to a fault. Hardly ever do they provoke an
attack. Whenever you read of a skirmish between the for-

Billings, Edward C., “The Struggle between the Civilization of Slavery and That of Freedom, Recently and
Now Going on in Louisiana. An Address Delivered by Edward C. Billings, Esq., of New Orleans, at Hatfield,
mer slaves and the former masters, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, you may know that the masters compelled it. I raise my voice here tonight to tell you, that, for years to come, you must protect the former slave in the exercise of the rights of the citizen, by legislation on the part of Congress. The United States armies and the United States courts must stand between him and over-awing violence, or you have but mocked him by making him a citizen. All his succor thus far has come from the general government; none of consequence from the governments of the states. The features of slavery, its effects upon enslaver and enslaved and the recency of its abolition render it certain that the same thing will be true in the future. If then the lives of the freedmen are to be preserved, and their rights guaranteed, the preservation and guaranty must come from Congress.

I pass on to the aspect of our government as presented by the decisions of our Supreme Court. Directly and indirectly, in at least twelve cases—cases where the most subtle ingenuity, outtaxing itself, can find no ground to question their jurisdiction, the Supreme Court of Louisiana have solemnly decided that the Kellogg government was the lawful government. Here then was an election for state officers, and a contest, springing up about it, has been finally settled by the court of last resort of the state. Where is there room for federal legislation on this case thus situated? In what I say here, I exclude from immediate consideration the power of the Congress under the fifteenth amendment. For, while it is clear that under that amendment it has no direct judicial power, it is equally clear that it can, by all means fairly within the scope of legislation, regulate, revise, and correct elections. Still, it can exercise this power only so far as to prevent or remedy exclusion from voting on account of race, color or previous condition. But in this case, no voter dissatisfied with the existing state of things was excluded. The party against whom the exclusion was practiced, is, in spite of that attempt, in possession of the offices of the state.

How then can Congress interfere to oust or install any one? Is not the case, just as it stands, purely a matter of State controversy and state decision, except so far as the Con-
“Shall we call home our troops? We intend to beat the negro in the battle of life & defeat means one thing — Extermination,” Birmingham (Alabama) News, 1875. Courtesy of Library of Congress
“Black Laws” of 1861, 1864 and 1878, March 10, 1886 (Pg.1)

BLACK LAWS OF 1861.

Sec. 6987. A person of pure white blood, who intermarries, or has illicit carnal intercourse, with any negro, or person having a distinct and visible admixture of African blood, and any negro, or person having a distinct and visible admixture of African blood, who intermarries, or has illicit carnal intercourse, with any person of pure white blood, shall be fined not more than one hundred dollars, or imprisoned not more than three months, or both.

Sec. 6988. A probate judge who knowingly issues a license for the solemnization of any marriage made penal by the last section, and every person who knowingly solemnizes any such marriage, shall be fined not more than one hundred dollars, or imprisoned not more than three months, or both.

January 31, 1861.

BLACK LAWS OF 1864.

Sec. 4. That section thirty-one of said act be so amended as to read as follows:

Sec. 31. The township boards of education in this state, in their respective townships, and the several other boards of education, and the trustees, visitors and directors of schools, or other officers having authority in the premises, of each city or incorporated village, shall be and they are hereby authorized and required to establish, within their respective jurisdictions, one or more separate schools for colored children, when the whole number, by enumeration, exceeds twenty, and when such schools will afford them, as far as practicable, the advantages and privileges of a common school education; and all such schools so established for colored children, shall be under the control and management of the board of education, or other school officers who have in charge the educational interests of the other schools; and such schools for colored children shall be continued in operation each year until the full share of all the school funds of the township or district belonging to said colored children, on the basis of enumeration, shall have been expended; provided, that when the number of colored children residing in adjoining townships or districts, whether in the same or in different counties, shall exceed twenty, the boards of education of said townships or districts so situated, may form a joint district for the education of colored children, and said school shall be under the control and direction of the board of education of the township or district in which the school-house is situated. When the whole number of colored children enumerated is less than twenty, or when owing to the great distance they reside from each other a separate school for colored children is impracticable, the board of education shall set apart the full share of school funds raised on the number of said colored children, and the money so set apart shall be appropriated each year for the education of such colored children, under the direction of the board.

March 18, 1864.

“Black Laws” of 1861, 1864 and 1878, March 10, 1886 (Pg.2)

Black Laws of 1878.

Sec. 4008. When, in the judgment of the board, it will be for the advantage of the district to do so, it may organize separate schools for colored children, and boards of two or more adjoining districts may unite in a separate school for colored children, each board to bear its proportionate share of the expense of such school, according to the number of colored children from each district in the school, which shall be under the control of the board of education of the district in which the school house is situate.

May 11, 1878.

67th General Assembly, 2 Session.

Mr. Arnett.

A BILL

To repeal Secs. 4008, 6987 and 6988 of the Revised Statutes of Ohio.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That sections 4008, 6987 and 6988 of the Revised 3 Statutes of Ohio be and the same are hereby repealed.

SECTION 2. That this act shall take effect and be in force 2 from and after its passage.

VOTE OF THE HOUSE ON THE REPEAL.

Yea—Albaugh, Ames, Arnett, Bader, Bailey, Beatty, Boehmer, Boyd, Brown of Cuyahoga; Brown of Warren; Brumbach, Cameron, Clement, Coates, Cope, Cowgill, Deyo, Dickson, Eggers, Emerson, Fimple, Geyer, Graydon, Green, Haley, Harris, Hartpence, Hilles, Holcomb, Johnson, of Van Vert; Johnson, of Williams; Kennedy, Kitchen, Lampson, Linduff, Little, Matthews, McBride, McClure, Merrick, Nieman, Outcalt, Palmer, Poorman, Rawlins, Ryan, Shepard, Smalley, Stewart, of Muskingum; Stewart, of Trumbull; Stranahan, Strecker, Taylor, Terrell, Tomlinson, Tomkins, Washburn, Whittlesey, Williams, of Columbiana; Williams, of Noble; Worthington and Entrekin—62.


Not Voting—Turner.

Attest: David Lanning
March 10, 1886, 67th General Assembly.

Clerk, H. R.

Note from N. S. Townshend, Concerning Repeal of Black Laws in 1848.

The committee on Privileges and Elections was subsequently elected by the House. The contest for Governor did not come before the committee referred to, except in their individual capacity, but was determined in joint convention of the Senate and House.

N. S. T.
therefore null and void. The new Constitution is now ratified, and will become the fundamental law of the land, whenever Congress shall signify its acceptance. Under its provisions, the whole people will have the unimpeachable right to vote; and I am unwilling to believe that Congress will sanction the unconstitutional and fraudulent scheme of a portion of the people, to usurp to themselves the entire control of affairs, to the exclusion of thousands of the most intelligent and respectable of their fellow-citizens.

NORTHERN SENTIMENT.

Having disposed of this question of usurpation, on the part of the majority of the late Convention, as it regards Constitutional power, I now propose to review the situation of affairs from other aspects, in order that you may have the whole case before you. In doing so, I must advert for a moment, to the state of public opinion which prevailed at the close of the war, on the vexed question of conferring political franchises upon the colored population. You were then, as now, the uncompromising friend of universal suffrage, without regard to race, color, or former condition. But you cannot have forgotten that you had few sympathizers, even among Republicans. The great and good Mr. Lincoln, not long before his death, had signified his willingness to extend a qualified educational suffrage to the black people, coupled, perhaps, with the ownership of property; and there were not many members of either house of Congress who were willing to go beyond this point, by their votes, whatever some of them might think and say privately. They feared the revision of public sentiment at home, which has since developed itself, in the elections, in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and perhaps in other States, which have rejected the proposition to give suffrage to negroes, by decisive majorities. It is too true that the Northern people are unfriendly to civil and political equality with black men; and the prejudice is by no means confined to copperheads and rebel sympathizers. Taking into view the difference in the numbers of the colored people in the two sections, I am inclined to the opinion that the prejudice against color is stronger in the Northern than the Southern States; and I cannot doubt, if the conditions were reversed—if the North contained the bulk of the black population—that we should see exhibitions of violent opposition to “negro equality,” corresponding to those which are witnessed here.

THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION OF NORTH CAROLINA.

In support of the remark that the prejudice against color is stronger in the Northern than the Southern States, I refer you to the fact that North Carolina, by her Constitution, framed in 1776, extended suffrage to the free people of color, at a time when the privilege was denied to them in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and I believe, in most, if not all of the New England States. Tennessee, the child of North Carolina, received this principle of even-handed justice, to the free colored race, from the latter; and in both States the franchise was practically enjoyed by that unfortunate class, until about the years 1834 and 1835. The exclusion which was then engraven upon the amended State Constitutions, in violation of every legal and equitable principle, was one of the consequences of the great reaction which followed the Southampton Insurrection, of 1831. William Gaston and other members of the Convention of 1835 opposed the outrage which was done to the colored men, but to no purpose. The fears of some, and the prejudices and passions of others, conspired to exact the great injustice into the forms of fundamental law; and thus, after enjoying for sixty years a Constitution as free as that of Massachusetts is to-day—in which there was no covert under which slavery in any of its forms could hide itself—North Carolina relapsed into the narrow and illiberal policy which prevailed in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and other States North and South of her.

If we consider the large number of negro slaves which the State contained in 1776, the liberality which was manifested towards the free blacks, is as surprising as it is honorable to the great and patriotic men who framed the Constitution. You will allow that that instrument is a noble memorial of the great-souled patriotism and love of freedom which prevailed in North Carolina; and that it places per public men far above those of the Northern States of that day. North Carolina was liberal and
cognize their previous mistake, and to repent of it, when it is too late. The repugnance of the disfranchised class to the measure was natural, but not disinterested and patriotic. The rejection of the amendment by the States most concerned laid open the whole question of reconstruction, a third time. Congress in this emergency acted on the conviction that it was necessary to take some safe security for the loyal and equitable conduct of communities which had rebelled against the government, in order that they might be unrestrained in the management and propagation of politics. To this end, the series of reconstruction acts were passed. They embrace the Constitutional Amendment as a part of the policy of reconstruction; and to insure its adoption, and to secure a loyal majority in the States, two other conditions were annexed to the terms of restoration. The right of suffrage, as well as the right to hold office, was taken away from the governing class, and at the same time, every negro and person of African descent in the ten States was disfranchised. I confess I thought these hard conditions. The utter incapacity of the negroes to exercise the elective franchise with discretion and for the best good of the State was manifest. But it was believed that at least, they would be true to themselves, and that they would vote for none but arrowed friends to their rights. I never doubted them on this point, even when the democrats who now lead them on to the destruction of whatever was venerable and valuable in the institutions of the past, were afraid to trust them, and opposed their disfranchisement. The trouble is that they will vote for any man who makes a noisy demonstration of devotion to their rights, without the slightest regard to his past public career, or to his private character; and the result is, that they have placed the control of the State and its affairs in the hands of men who rose to eminence, or notoriety, as the champions of slavery and secession; or to wealth as dealers in slaves. I regret to say, also, that they elected a quite a number of their own race, to the late Convention, and again to the legislature, most of whom could not stand an examination before a Massachusetts committee empowered to ascertain the educational qualification of voters. Men have been elected as judges of the circuit court who obtained their license to practice law within six months past. One of the "judges" is held open to have been licensed as a lawyer; and others, on account of character and qualifications, would be regarded as presumptions if they should aspire to the office of justice of the peace in a well ordered and enlightened community. Still others, of both races, have been elected to office, who have been either convicted of or indicted of slavery murders and other infamous crimes. The number of felonious aspirants for office, with their success and failure, would form a curious statistical inquiry. The vindictive partizan may explain that the rule of such men will be good enough for rebels. But the statesman, whose reputation for all time will rest upon the wisdom and success of his measures, must act on more generous principles, if he would have his name held in honor by future generations.

UNJUST AND IMPOLITIC TO DISFRANCHISE THE WHITES.

If it was necessary to disfranchise the whole illiterate black population, and in that policy, thought not without misgivings I acquiesced, it, alone, was a sufficient guarantee of the loyalty of the South. When that great measure was resolved on, Congress ought by no means to have taken a step backwards, as it regards the disfranchisement of the white people. The National dignity may require that certain prominent leaders in the rebellion should be disfranchised; but when the whole black population was admitted to the polls, the whites, with these exceptions, should have been released from political disabilities. The consequence would have been a far more cheerful acquiescence in the elevation of the colored people, a comparative freedom from the bitterness towards the North, which a sense of wrong and degradation has implanted in the bosoms of the whites, and a more creditable issue of the experiment that induced a million of emancipated slaves to the enjoyment of political franchises. The government should act on a principle. It should free all by a general act of amnesty, and not "pudify out amnesty" to the highest bidders. The latter course is sure to draw to the ranks of the dominant party all the more facile and mercenary classes; while men of honorable and independent minds, to avoid the suspicion of a base compliance, if for no other reason, will stand aloof.

It was, at best, a very hazardous experiment to disfranchise the whole illiterate black population at one fell stroke; but to accompany so radical a change by the disfranchisement of the governing class of whites, was to turn society upside down. In Great Britain it would be only paralleled if the nobility, the gentry, the professional and the mercantile classes were all put under the ban, while the lowest of the working
George Smith's Statement on the Ku Klux Klan in an Interview with Reverend H.W. Pierson, 1870 (Pg.1)

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engaged in these outrages, has ever been arrested or punished in any way, and no one of these freedmen has ever had any redress for his sufferings and losses. I will make oath to these statements.'

ANDERSONVILLE, GA., Feb. 12, 1869.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE SMITH.

George Smith now resides five miles from Ellaville, in Schley county, Georgia. He says:

"Before the election of Grant, large bodies of men were riding about the country in the night for more than a month. They and their horses were covered with large white sheets, so that you could not tell them or their horses. They gave out word that they would whip every Radical in the country that intended to vote for Grant, and did whip all they could get hold of. They sent word to me that I was one of the leaders of the Grant club, and they would whip me. I saw them pass my house one night, and I should think there were thirty or forty of them. They looked in the night like Jersey wagons. I supposed they were after me, and I took my blanket and gun and ran to the woods and lay out all night, and a good many other nights. Nearly all the Radicals in the neighborhood lay in the woods every night for two weeks before election. The Ku Klux would go to the houses of all that belonged to the Grant club, call them to the door, throw a blanket over them and carry them off and whip them, and try and make them promise to vote for Seymour and Blair. The night I saw them they went to the house of Mr. Henry Davis and ordered him out. He refused to come out and they tore down both of his doors. He fired at them and escaped. I heard a good many shots fired at him. He lay out about a week in the woods, and then slipped back in the night and got his family and moved off. He had bought a place and paid $250 on it; but he could not get a deed, and he has gone off and left it. They then went to the house of Tom Pitman and Jonas Swanson, called them to the door, threw blankets over their heads, carried them off and whipped them tremendously. They told them that they were damned Radicals and leaders of the Grant club, and that they would whip every one that voted for Grant, and would not give any work to any but Democrats.

Bob Wiggins, a preacher, was whipped all most to death because they said he was preaching Radical doctrines to the col-
George Smith’s Statement on the Ku Klux Klan in an Interview with Reverend H.W. Pierson, 1870 (Pg.2)

ored people. It was supposed for a good many days that he would die, but he finally recovered.

I attended the election at Ellaville. None of the Radicals that had been Ku-Kluxed tried to vote; but a good many Radicals did try to vote, but the judges made them all show their tickets, and if they were for Grant they would not let them vote. I saw how they treated others and did not try to put my vote in. I went early in the morning, and the white and colored Democrats voted until about noon, when I went home.

ANDERSONVILLE, February 7, 1869.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD REESE.

Richard Reese, President of the Grant club of Schley county, confirms the statements of George Smith in regard to the treatment of the Radicals in Schley county. He says:

"When the Ku-Klux commenced riding about the country I was at Macon attending the colored convention. When I got home some white men, Democrats, who were friends of mine, told me that the Ku-Klux would certainly kill me if I stayed at home at nights. I took my blanket and hid in the woods. I have never had a gun or pistol in my life. I lay in the woods every night until after election. Day times I came home and worked my crop. One day, as I was in my yard, Mr. Jack Childers, a Democrat, came along from Americus, and said to me, 'Where is old Dick, the damned old Radical?' I said, 'Here I am.' He said, 'Well, you will be certain to be killed.' I said, 'Well, if they kill me they will kill a good old Radical, and I haven't got much longer to live noway.' He then started to get out of his buggy and come at me, but the man with him held him in and drove on. I had the Grant tickets in my house, and went to the Bumphead precinct, but there were more Radicals than Democrats there, and they would not open the polls at all. We staid there till twelve o'clock, then started for Ellaville. The white and colored Democrats were voting, but they would not let a Radical vote until about two o'clock, when Charley Hudson got upon a stump and said no man could vote unless he had paid his taxes. He then got down, and he and nearly every white man there went around to the colored voters and told them that if they would vote the Democratic ticket their tax was paid. I offered my ticket, and they said my tax was not paid, and if I put in my ticket they would put me in jail, and send me to the penitentiary. I had already agreed

APPENDIX.

And whereas, due inquiry having been made and satisfactory answers having been received that similar provisions are in force in France, Prussia, and the other States of the North German Union and Italy:

Now, therefore, be it known that ULYSSES S. GRANT, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the same accordingly.

Done at the City of Washington, this 15th day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy, and of the Independence of the United States of America the ninety-fourth.

U. S. GRANT.

By the President:
HAMILTON FISH, Secretary of State.

No. 10.

HAMILTON FISH,
SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

March 30, 1870.

To all to whom these presents may come, greeting:

Know ye, that the Congress of the United States, on or about the twenty-seventh day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, passed a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:

"A Resolution proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of both Houses concurring), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XV.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in this Department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the legislatures of the States of North Carolina, West Virginia, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Maine, Louisiana, Michigan, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, New York, New Hampshire, Nevada, Vermont, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Nebraska, and Texas, in all twenty-nine States.

And, further, that the States whose legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

And, further, that it appears from an official document on file in this Department that the legislature of the State of New York has since passed resolution claiming to withdraw the said ratification of the said amendment which had been made by the legislature of that State, and of which official notice had been filed in this Department.

And, further, that it appears from an official document on file in this Department that the legislature of Georgia has by resolution ratified the said proposed amendment:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, HAMILTON FISH, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of the second section of the act of Congress approved the thirtieth day of April, in the year eighteen hundred and eighty, entitled "An act to provide for the publication of the laws of the New York Assembly.

Amendment declared valid.
15th Amendment.
Secretary of State Hamilton Fish’s Certification of the 15th Amendment’s Ratification, March 30, 1870 (Pg.2)

APPENDIX.

United States and for other purposes," do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington, this thirtieth day of March, in the year [L. 8] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy, and of the Independence of the United States the ninety-fourth.

HAMILTON FISH.

No. 11.

May 24, 1870.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION.

Preamble.

Whereas it has come to my knowledge that sundry illegal military enterprises and expeditions are being set on foot within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, with a view to carry on the same from such territory and jurisdiction against the people and district of the Dominion of Canada, within the dominions of Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with whom the United States are at peace;

Now, therefore, I, ULYSSES S. GRANT, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States, and all persons within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, against aiding, countenancing, abetting or taking part in such unlawful proceedings; and I do hereby warn all persons that by committing such illegal acts they will forfeit all right to the protection of the government, or to its interference in their behalf to rescue them from the consequences of their own acts; and I do hereby enjoin all officers in the service of the United States to employ all their lawful authority and power to prevent and defeat the aforesaid unlawful proceedings, and to arrest and bring to justice all persons who may be engaged therein.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of May, in the [L. 8] year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy, and of the Independence of the United States the ninety-fourth.

By the President:

HAMILTON FISH, Secretary of State.

No. 12.

August 22, 1870.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION.

Preamble.

Whereas a state of war unhappily exists between France, on the one side, and the North German Confederation and its allies, on the other side;

And whereas the United States are on terms of friendship and amity with all the contending powers, and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions;

And whereas great numbers of the citizens of the United States reside within the territories or dominions of each of the said belligerents and carry on commerce, trade, or other business or pursuits therein, protected by the faith of treaties;

And whereas great numbers of the subjects or citizens of each of the said belligerents reside within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, and carry on commerce, trade, or other business or pursuits therein;

“The First Colored Senator and Representatives in the 41st and 42nd Congress of the United States,” 1872

“Radical Members of the First Legislature After the War, South Carolina,” 1876.