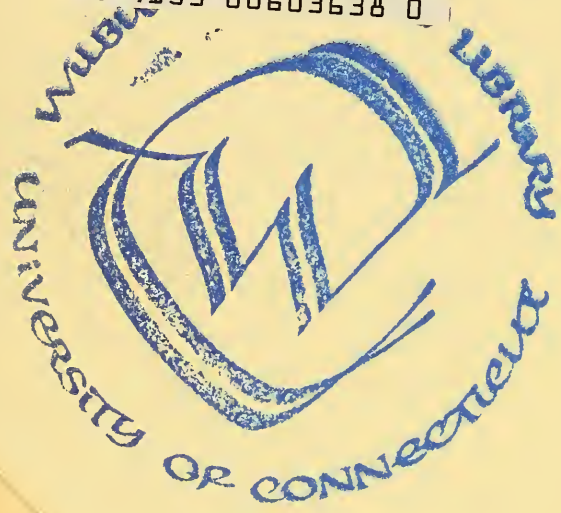

THE

FREEDMEN OF THE SOUTH.

By Linda Warfel Slaughter.

Authoress of "Early Efforts" "Summerings in the South," etc.

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To

The Missionary Teachers of the South,

THIS VOLUME

Is Affectionately Dedicated

BY ONE WHO HAS SHARED

Their Privations, Their Persecutions.

And their Rewards.

Preface.

IN lieu of an introduction to the accompanying work, the writer would fain offer an apology for its incompleteness. Some months ago the finished manuscript of a similar, but more ambitious, work was totally destroyed by the explosion of a lamp, and the present volume, a mere skeleton of resurrected ideas evoked from the scattered ashes of the former and written in the intervals of labor as a missionary teacher among the Freedmen, is necessarily imperfect.

The writer has long been of opinion that, were the true character and condition of this "peculiar people" correctly set forth, it would tend greatly to lessen the unreasoning prejudice of the North against them personally, while on the other hand, were the South capable of comprehending the unselfish motives and self-sacrificing zeal that characterize the great body of the despised "Yankee Teachers" who have had the effrontery to beard the Lion of Chivalry in his den, it would doubtless ameliorate in great measure the malignant bitterness that has heretofore prompted their persecutions.

A work of the present nature the author is convinced can not but be conducive to a more thorough understanding of the vexed question, as well as conciliative of kindly feeling between the two sections whose interests, though divided, are one.

With such a motive, and for such a purpose, was the present work designed. It is a registrar of *facts*, not of *opinions*, a record of history, and a "plain, unvarnished" statement of events as they occurred, penned in no spirit of malice, but kindly in behalf of "God's poor."

Trusting it may be instrumental, in some slight degree, in effecting so desirable a result, the author sends it adrift upon the sea of literature, bidding both it and the courageous laborers in the lowly vineyards of the beautiful, sunbright South an earnest "God speed!"

PART I.

Origin and History of American Slavery.

IT is not within the scope of the present work to enter into a lengthy dissertation upon the growth and progress of a system the history of which is so closely interwoven in our national politics. Exercising, as it did in federal legislation, an influence second to none other, and rendering the name of liberty in free America a byword and a mockery, negro slavery comprises in its history the political history of the United States; for, deny it as you may, the despised negro, toiling hopelessly in the cotton plains of the South, ignorant, degraded, smarting under the lash of his taskmaster and crushed out of all semblance of manhood, has been, in the Court of the Republic, the Archimedean lever that moved the western world. In the politics of the past he was the passive "bone of contention" gnawed in succession by the hungry office-seekers of each successive presidential period. He was the one concrete idea about whose mental, moral, social, political, physical and acquired status and responsibility editors wrangled, priests dissembled, politicians schemed, statesmen legislated, states disputed, scholars argued, writers wrote, poets prosed and "doctors disagreed." On the one hand, he was

the unconscious object of pity and prayers that were unavailing, of benevolence and sympathy that could not reach him, of stirring appeals and impassioned eloquence that he could not hear, of earnest pleadings and plans of release that were ever unsuccessful; and on the other, the patient recipient of scorn and ridicule and cruelty and hatred that ground him to the dust and adjudged him destitute of all "rights a white man was bound to respect," that severed him from family ties and ignored his marriage relations, that shut out from him the light of Christianity, denied his right to "liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and granted him life only as a season of servitude, that condemned him to an endless round of thankless toil and cheerless drudgery, and buried him at last as a beast of burden in the lowest ditch by the way-side.

But the annals of this licensed traffic in the souls of men have already been recorded by abler pens than mine. Aye, more than that! Its history is graven as with a pen of iron into thousands of living human hearts; it is carved with fetters of steel and lacerating blows upon hundreds of scarred and mutilated bodies, and its baleful effects still live in the debased intellect and brutalized minds of the surviving millions of its unhappy subjects.

But slavery in these latter days has written its own epitaph in letters of blood, and the creatures of its making, the helpless objects of the world's scorn and loathing, stand up tremblingly to receive the world's baptism of civilization. 'Tis for them, dear reader, that I would enlist your interest, your sympathy, and your charity.

But first let us turn to the pages of the past, and trace through each successive era the influence of this national wrong upon national legislation.

In the year 1620, in the cold and silence of a winter's day, the bark Mayflower landed its precious freight of human courage, endurance, and patriotism upon the inhospitable shores of an untried wilderness, and from that little colony of determined men and women has sprung the Great Republic of modern days—the United States of North America! That tiny settlement upon the Atlantic coast has steadily extended its domain until now it embraces in its limits upward of 2,464,035 square miles, comprising thirty-seven States and ten Territories, the largest of which alone is equal in compass to four times the entire area of England; and boasting a population of thirty-eight million inhabitants, it holds the key to the inland gulf, and stands face to face with Asia, upon the newly bought territory of the Russian, while the sun that rises daily from its ocean bath, upon the landing place of the Pilgrims, sinks nightly into the blue waters of the Pacific, within sight of its western borders.

But the same year that witnessed the obscure birth of the new nation, looked also upon the arrival of another ship freighted like the former, with the integral elements of the future Republic, but unlike the "Mayflower of the Puritans," it bore in its hold and implanted in the infant colony the seeds of strife and discord that were fated to dismember the nation. A Dutch man-of-war landed a cargo of twenty negro slaves at Jamestown, Virginia., in the month of August of that year, who were readily purchased by the colonists, and from this slight beginning arose the monstrous system of wrong and oppression that grew up with the growth of the commonwealth and strengthened with its strength. From the decks of that Pilgrim bark issued the courageous embodiments of prin-

ciples that were pure and stainless as the snow beneath, stern and inflexible as the wintery sky above, that leavened the shapeless lump out of which was to arise the young republic, with the leaven of purity, of religion, of charity, fidelity, and good-will to man, and hardened at last into the corner-stone of the crude nation.

From the hold of the slave ship proceeded the unclean representatives of enervating luxury and unhealthy opulence: the hideous harbingers of a national leprosy, purulent and pestilent as the sultry summer season that welcomed them; death-like and unnatural as the black corpses of those more fortunate victims famished by the way, and flung sullenly overboard into the freedom of the sea; and whose virus, touched lightly upon the yet unformed republic, became a foul ulcer upon the body politic, and permeated its every pore.

Thus liberty and slavery in the new world were coeval, and walked hand in hand through all the years of its subsequent history, upon soil professedly free. Fostered alike by its institutions and protected equally by its laws, each grew so much a part and parcel of the national system, that to separate them would have been as dividing asunder the joints and marrow.

But united, as it were, in one destiny, bound together in one union, and bearing a common name and brotherhood, the opposing elements, under the battle names of the "North" and "South"—the one the representative of slavery, of oppression, of political intolerance; the other the spokesman of liberty, of political equality, and enlightened freedom of speech—were early arrayed against each other in a conflict that was irrepressible, because a conflict old as time itself, the right against the wrong. Intrenched each in the stronghold of its own peculiar section, the two combatants glared fiercely at

each other across the State line landmarks where the North ended and the South began, and disputed inch by inch the possession of governmental territory and governmental offices. Nor were there wanting within the limits of the former, "enemies at home," veritable "traitors in the camp," who aided and abetted the foes of freedom; and to the weight of their ponderous influence, thrown unjustly in the scale, is attributable the final supremacy in political power of the South, herself greatly the inferior in wealth and population, and the fact that for full fifty years she administered the government, and dispensed its official patronage only to followers of her faith.

The disheartened advocates of freedom, true to the faith of the fathers of Plymouth, abated not a whit of their zeal and struggled manfully against fearful odds; but the chains of the bondmen seemed indissolubly welded. The representatives of slavery filled the Presidential mansion, the halls of Congress, the foreign missions, and their counsels prevailed in the councils of the Cabinet. The four million successors to the score of hapless passengers in that hateful vessel had become, unconsciously to themselves, a power in the land. By an unjust system of unequal representation, the slaves themselves were made to contribute to the aggrandizement and extension of the slave power. Thus their very increase in numbers but rendered their condition more pitiably hopeless.

Previously to the war of the Revolution, it can not be denied that the English Government was largely instrumental in sustaining and encouraging the African slave trade. In a declaration of Congress, dated Oct. 8th, 1774, a remonstrance is uttered against George III. for his complicity in the abhorred traffic, and especially

for an abuse of his kingly prerogative in preventing the prohibition by law of the importation of slaves into the several colonies. Even Virginia, the cradle of the monster, protested in the Williamsburg Convention against the royal interference, which, in like manner, compelled her unwillingly to submit to their landing on her soil. Thus, in the beginning, it was virtually forced upon the States; but after the cessation of hostilities it again revived, and continued uninterruptedly to increase until its final abolition by act of Congress.

England subsequently made ample atonement for the wrong, and her efforts in suppression of the iniquitous system were wide-spread and successful. By twenty-three treaties, entered into in less than thirty years, she prevailed upon almost all the Christian nations to interdict the slave traffic and throw their influence on the side of "God and humanity," the United States alone refusing the right of search.

At the framing of the Constitution, in 1787, the Government had pledged itself not to abolish the slave trade until 1808, the States of Georgia and South Carolina refusing to enter the confederation unless it was tolerated at least twenty years. The framers of that instrument, with their habitual fastidiousness of language in regard to the "peculiar institution," the word *slave* or *slavery*, even in acts relating solely to them, never once appearing in its pages, delicately foreshadowed their design as follows:

Article I. Section IX. § 1: "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the existing States shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808."

Thus Congress, by granting it a twenty years' lease of life, gave it an additional impetus, the interval be-

tween the framing of the law and the prohibition of the traffic being actively filled by the slavedealers. Like wise merchantmen they laid in an abundant supply of human flesh, and this being effected, the non-importation of slaves from abroad acted as an effectual tariff to protect the domestic trade; and, as a consequence, the value of the resident slaves was very materially hightened.

Happily, however, the progressive spirit of liberty gradually pervaded the minds of the people, and compelled the American Congress of 1794 to anticipate, by a dozen years, the contemplated legal *coup de grace.*

In the Northern States of the federation, where, from the first, the system had met with but doubtful favor and feeble encouragement, it had begotten so healthful a state of public sentiment, that slavery was already extinct in their borders. When the United States Constitution was adopted, every State, except Massachusetts, tolerated slavery; although, in 1780, before the close of the Revolutionary War, Pennsylvania had likewise voted its gradual extinction, an example afterward followed in succession by all the other States north of the Delaware River; and twenty years later, slavery existed in none save the six States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia.

By the census of 1790 the whole number of slaves in the original thirteen States was given at 670,633, but so great was the increase that in 1820 there was shown to be in those six States alone an aggregate of 1,620,340 slaves.

A spirit of opposition to its growth and increase was early manifested at the North, culminating at length in the American Anti-Slavery Society, the object and aim of whose being, viz: immediate and unconditional

emancipation, is explicitly set forth in Article II. of its Constitution:

"The objects of this Society are the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State, in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in that State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God; and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor in a constitutional way to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade; and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country, which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may hereafter be admitted to the Union."

In contradistinction to the Anti-Slavery Society appeared the American Colonization Society, organized in 1816, the ostensible object of which was the gradual extinction of slavery, by the removal of all the blacks to Africa, by means of compulsory emigration. Its operations, however, appear to have been confined almost exclusively to free persons of color; and its animus and purpose are sufficiently shown in this remark of Mr. Randolph, one of its projectors:

"So far from being in the *smallest degree* connected with the abolition of slavery, the proposed Society *would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.*"

And further in the first report of its President, Henry Clay:

"It is not proposed to deliberate upon, or consider at all, any question of emancipation, or any that is *connected* with the abolition of slavery."

And again in the seventh Annual Report:

"An effort for the benefit of the blacks, in which all parts of the country can unite, of course must not have the abolition of slavery for its immediate object; *nor may it aim directly at the instruction of the blacks.*"

We copy further from the proceedings of its Auxiliary Societies, from its organ, the *African Repository*, and from the speeches of its members, as showing the spirit of the times in the great body of the North:

"The treatment of the slaves is in general *as good as* circumstances and the *cruel necessity* of the case will permit." *Proceedings of N. York Col. Soc. 2d Ann.*

"Suppose the slaves of the South to have the knowledge of freemen, they would be free, or exterminated by the whites. This renders it *necessary* to prevent their instruction, and to keep them from *Sunday-schools*, or the means of gaining knowledge." *Proceedings of N. York Col. Soc. 2d Ann. Rep.*

"It is the business of the free, *their safety requires it*, to keep the slaves in ignorance." *Proceedings of N. Y. Col. Soc. 2d Ann.*

"To set them (the slaves) loose among us, would be an evil more intolerable than slavery itself." *Report of Kentucky Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* VI. 81.

"As long as our present feelings and PREJUDICES exist, the abolition of slavery can not be accomplished without the removal of the blacks." *2d Report N. York Soc.*

"By removing the most fruitful sources of discontent (free blacks) from among our slaves, we should render them more industrious and attentive *to our commands.*" *Address of Putnam (Georgia) Col. Society.*

"To remove these persons from among us, will *increase the usefulness*, and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, *and with whose labors the country is unable to dispense.*" *Address to a N. Carolina Col. Soc. Af. Rep.* III. 67.

"The removal of *every single free black* in America, would be productive of nothing but SAFETY to the slave holder." *Af. Rep.* III. 202.

"By removing these people (free blacks), we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design they may conceive." *Address to a Col. Soc. in Virginia. Af. Rep.* I. 176.

"It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids *either* the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves." *7th Report*, p. 94.

"The Society having declared that it is in no wise allied to any *Abolition* Society in America or elsewhere, is ready when there is need, TO PASS A CENSURE upon such Societies in America." *11th Report*, p. 14.

"We would say, liberate them ONLY on condition of their going to Africa or Hayti." *Af. Rep.* III. 26.

"So far from having a dangerous tendency, when properly considered, it will be viewed as an additional *guard* to our peculiar species of property." *New Orleans Argus.*

"So long as we can hold a pen, we will employ it heart and hand, against the advocates of immediate emancipation, or ANY emancipation that does not contemplate *expatriation.*" *N. Y. Courier and Enquirer, a Col. paper*, 10*th July*, 1834.

"What right, I demand, have the children of Africa to a homestead in the white man's country?" *Speech of Mr. Custiss*, 14*th Report*, p. 21.

"The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither *refinement*, nor *argument*, nor *education*, NOR RELIGION ITSELF, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of degradation *inevitable* and *incurable.* The African *in this country* belongs *by birth* to the very lowest station in society; and from that station HE CAN NEVER RISE, be his *talents, his enterprise, his virtues, what they may.* They constitute a class by themselves—a

class out of which *no individual can be elevated*, and below which none can be depressed." *African Repository*, vol. iv., pp. 118, 119.

Later, a determined effort for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, in the District of Columbia, was made by a minority at the North, the Constitution of the United States having granted to Congress, by the 8th Section of the 1st Article, the right to "*exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatever*," in the seat of Government, and over the territory of the District. And, by the 1st Article of the Amendments, it was restrained from making any law "abridging the freedom of speech, or the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Thus the Abolitionists, as they were called, even at that early period, perceiving the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District, and arrogating their own authority to petition for its removal, urged upon Congress the propriety and expediency of its gradual extinction.

In 1828 the Pennsylvania Legislature, by an almost unanimous vote,

"RESOLVED, That the Senators of this State, in the Senate of the United States, are hereby requested to procure, if practicable, the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in such a manner as they may consider consistent with the rights of individuals, and the Constitution of the United States."

In 1828 a petition for the suppression of this trade, and for the gradual abolition of slavery, and signed by more than ONE THOUSAND of the inhabitants of the District, was presented to Congress. From this document we extract the following:

"While the laws of the United States denounce the *foreign* slave trade as piracy, and punish with death those who are found engaged in its perpetration, there exists in this District, the seat of the National Government, a DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE scarcely less disgraceful in its character, and even more demoralizing in its influence. These people are without their consent torn from their homes; husband and wife are frequently separated and sold into distant parts—children are taken from their parents, without regard to the ties of nature, and the most endearing bonds of affection are broken for ever.

"Nor is this traffic confined to those who are legally slaves for life. Some who are entitled to freedom, and many who have a limited time to serve, are sold into *unconditional slavery*, and owing to the defectiveness of our laws, they are generally carried out of the District before the necessary steps can be taken for their release.

"We behold these scenes continually taking place among us, and lament our inability to prevent them. The people of this District, have, within themselves, *no means of legislative redress*, and we therefore appeal to your honorable body, as the ONLY ONE vested by the American Constitution with power to relieve us."

In 1829 a resolution to that effect was introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Miner, a member from Pennsylvania. We make the following extracts from his speech in support of the resolution:

"The slave trade, as it exists and is carried on here, is marked by instances of injustice and cruelty scarcely exceeded on the coast of Africa. It is a mistake to suppose it is a mere purchase and sale of *acknowledged* slaves. The District is full of complaints on the subject, and the evil is increasing. So long ago as 1802, the extent and cruelty of the traffic, produced from a grand jury, at Alexandria, a presentment so clear, so strong, and so feelingly drawn, that I shall make no apology for reading it to the House."

Mr. Miner then read the following:

"*January Term*, 1802.

"We, the grand jury for the body of the County of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, present as a grievance the practice of persons coming from distant parts of the United States into this District for the purpose of purchasing slaves, where they exhibit to our view a scene of wretchedness and human degradation, disgraceful to our characters as citizens of a free government. True it is, that these dealers, in the persons of our fellow-men, collect within this District, from various parts, numbers of those victims of slavery, and lodge them in some place of confinement until they have completed their numbers. They are then turned out in our streets and exposed to view, loaded with chains as though they had committed some heinous offense against our laws. We consider it a grievance that citizens from distant parts of the United States should be permitted to come within this District, and pursue a traffic fraught with so much misery to a class of beings entitled to our protection by the laws of justice and humanity; and that the interposition of civil authority can not be had to prevent parents being wrested from their offspring, and children from their parents, without respect to the ties of nature. We consider these grievances demanding *legislative* redress."

"In August, 1821, a black man was taken up and imprisoned as a runaway. He was kept confined until October, 1822—four hundred and five days. In this time, vermin, disease, and misery had deprived him of the use of his limbs. He was rendered a cripple for life, and finally discharged *as no one would buy him.* Turned out upon the world a miserable pauper, disabled by OUR means from gaining subsistence, he is sometimes supported from the poor-house, sometimes receives alms in your streets."

"There is now a man in this District who was in the hands of the slavedealers, about to be sent off to the South, when he laid his hand on a block and with

an ax severed it from his arm. Can the slave trade on the coast of Africa be more horrible, more dreaded, or more prolific of scenes of misery?"

Referring to the infamous law by which negroes could be arrested on *suspicion* of being fugitive slaves and imprisoned until claimed as such, and in default of that *to be sold as slaves for life*, to liquidate their *jail fees*, Mr. Miner adduced the disgraceful facts, that, in the five previous years, no fewer than *seven hundred and forty two* colored persons had been lodged in the United States prison at Washington, not one of whom was convicted or even accused of crime. Four hundred and fifty-two were imprisoned for safe keeping, prior to exportation by the slave traders; the remainder were merely *suspected* of being fugitive slaves, and, by *authority of Congress*, liable to be sold into perpetual bondage, if indeed no generous claimant appeared to pay the expenses of their imprisonment, no further proof of ownership being necessary.

Thus the *American slave trade*, under the protection of Congress, had attained a most flourishing condition in the capital of the confederate republic. What wonder that the "boasted banner of the free" was hailed by the English satirist, as

> "The fustian flag that proudly waves,
> In splendid mockery, o'er a land of slaves!"

But, perhaps, the most biting sarcasm ever uttered is contained in the following:

"A troop of slaves once passed through Washington on the Fourth of July, while drums were beating and standards flying. One of the captive negroes raised his hand, loaded with irons, and waving it toward the starry flag, sung, with a smile of bitter irony, 'Hail Columbia! *happy* land?!"

On the 28th of January, 1829, a Committee of the New York Assembly reported to the House:

"Your Committee can not but view with astonishment that in the capital of this free and enlightened country, laws should exist by which the free CITIZENS of a State are liable, without trial, and even without the imputation of a crime, to be seized while prosecuting their lawful business, immured in prison, and, though free, unless claimed as a slave, to be sold as such for the payment of JAIL FEES."

The Committee recommended the following resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly:

"RESOLVED (if the Senate concur herein), That the Senators of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be and are hereby instructed, and the Representatives of this State are hereby requested, *to make every possible exertion*, to effect the passage of a law for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

These urgent petitions, as will be seen, were not without effect upon the honorable body to which they were addressed. On the 9th of January, 1829, the House of Representatives

"RESOLVED, That the Committee of the District of Columbia, be instructed to inquire into the *expediency* of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District, in such manner that no individual shall be injured thereby."

The American Anti-Slavery Society likewise threw the weight of its influence into the scale, to induce Congress to exercise its right of removal. Indeed the great body of the New England people were united and firm in their desire for its total extinction. The Hon. John Q. Adams was intrusted with fifteen petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, yet, strange to say, he offered them to Congress,

protesting strongly against their spirit. Another member from Massachusetts, who was commissioned with a like memorial, had not the moral courage to present it.

Mr. Adams, however, who had always warmly contended for the right of petition, continued to present in the House all memorials on the subject sent to him, nothing daunted by the violence and opposition of the Southern members.

At length, so numerous and importunate became these petitions, and so determined was Mr. Adams in upholding the right of the people to petition for any purpose whatever, that some action on the part of the House became necessary. A Committee was accordingly appointed to consider what disposal should thereafter be made of similar memorials; and on the 18th of May, 1836, they returned a lengthy report, and recommended the adoption of the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery, in any of the States of this confederacy.

"Resolved, That Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia.

"And Whereas, It is extremely important and desirable that the agitation of this subject should be finally arrested, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity to the public mind, your Committee respectfully recommend the adoption of the following additional resolution, viz:

"Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."

The resolution passed the House by a large majority.

In 1845, however, the resolution was rescinded, and Congress consented to receive and treat respectfully all petitions on the subject of slavery.

But petitions, entreaties, protestations, and arguments, alike failed of their purpose. Slavery continued to flourish in the capital of the "freest nation upon the earth." The crack of the driver's whip, and the cries of his helpless victim, arose to the God of justice, within hearing of the highest dignitaries of the land; yet silently they assented to this hourly crucifixion of freedom, and, Pilate-like, washed their guilty hands of all complicity in the matter.

The domestic slavery of the Southern States, being under the exclusive control of the several Legislatures of those States, Congress had no authority (even had the inclination not been wanting), to interfere in the emancipation of their slaves, or in anywise to regulate the laws applying to them.

In these States, the domestic commerce having superseded the foreign, it was carried on, both by land and water, with a degree of energy and success unequaled in the latter, but marked with all its attendant horrors of separation and suffocation. Several entire States were engaged in the business of raising and selling slaves to supply the extreme Southern *market.* The mode of transportation, by which this strange species of live stock were transmitted by water, is shown in this brief extract from a description of a slaver belonging to a wealthy firm of dealers in Alexandria, and employed in conveying slaves from that point to New Orleans.

"The hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments. The after-hold will carry about eighty women, and the other about one hundred

men. On either side were *two platforms*, running the whole length; one raised a few inches, and the other half way up to the deck. They were about five or six feet deep. On these the slaves lie, as close as they can stow away."

Scarcely less pitiable was the plight of those who were conveyed by land into the interior. A gentleman thus describes a coffle he met entering Paris, Kentucky:

"About forty black men were chained together; each of them was handcuffed, and they were arranged rank file. A chain, perhaps forty feet long, was stretched between the two ranks, to which short chains were joined, connected with the handcuffs. Behind them were about thirty women, tied hand to hand. Every countenance wore a solemn sadness; and the dismal silence of despair was only broken by the sound of two violins. Yes—as if to add insult to injury, the foremost couple were furnished with a violin apiece; the second couple were ornamented with cockades; while near the center our national standard was carried by hands literally in chains."

As may well be imagined, the North did not look on with indifference while crimes of such magnitude were being perpetrated in the name and under the sanction of the republic.

A New York paper, November, 1829, contains the following caution:

"*Beware of Kidnappers.*—It is *well understood* that there is at present in this city a gang of kidnappers, busily engaged in their vocation of stealing colored children for the Southern market! It is believed that three or four have been stolen within as many days. A little negro boy came to this city from the country three or four days ago. Some strange white persons were very friendly to him, and yesterday morning he was mightily pleased that they had given him some new clothes. And the persons pretending thus to be-

friend him, entirely secured his confidence. This day he can not be found. Nor can he be traced since seen with one of his new friends yesterday. There are suspicions of a foul nature, connected with some who serve the police in subordinate capacities. It is hinted that there may be those in some authority, not altogether ignorant of these diabolical practices. Let the public be on their guard! It is still fresh in the memories of all, that a cargo, or rather drove, of negroes, was made up from this city and Philadelphia, about the time that the emancipation of all the negroes in this State took place under our present Constitution, and were taken through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee, and disposed of in the State of Mississippi. Some of those who were taken from Philadelphia were persons of intelligence, and after they had been driven through the country in chains, and disposed of by sale on the Mississippi, wrote back to their friends, and were rescued from bondage. The persons who were guilty of this abominable transaction are known, and now reside in North Carolina; they may, very probably, be engaged in similar enterprises at the present time—at least there is reason to believe that the system of kidnapping free persons of color from the Northern cities has been carried on more extensively than the public are generally aware of."

Steadily the North continued its opposition; and as new States were formed and admitted into the Union, it resisted openly, and at times defiantly, its encroachments upon their domain. In 1787 the territory northwest of the Ohio River had been organized with the stipulation that slavery should never be introduced into that section of country; but gradually the influence of the South dominated in legislation, and this predominance was arrogantly visible in the public measures and policy of the Government.

By the Constitution of the United States, represent-

ation was distributed among the States in proportion to the amount of population, as follows:

Article I. Section II. § 3: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States according to their respective numbers; which shall be ascertained by adding to the whole number of free persons, *including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.*"

Thus, five slaves, in the apportionment of the representatives, counted as much as three freemen, thereby giving to the South an undue proportion of Congressmen, in relation to the free, white population; an advantage they were not slow to improve in the advancement of their own peculiar interests.

A direct appeal to the selfishness of the North was the motor power that won from it a reluctant consent to the unequal arrangement.

The South assumed a proportion of direct taxes to be increased in the same ratio as their representation, and conceded to the small States an entire equality in the Senate. This was, at the time, viewed as a concession on the part of the slaveholding to the free States; and, although at first regarded with distrust and repugnance in the North, yet immediate self-interest prevailed. Esau-like it bartered its birthright, and for these equivalents slave representation was accepted.

To this representation, which in 1832 amounted to twenty-five representatives, in excess of the white population, the South is indebted for its uniform success in shaping the course of the Government so as to insure the preservation and extenuation of the slave-power. We copy from the eloquent speech of John Adams, on the Tariff, February 4, 1833:

"The history of the Union has afforded a continual proof that this representation of property, which they enjoy, as well in the election of President and Vice-President of the United States, as upon the floor of the House of Representatives, has secured to the slaveholding States the entire control of the national policy, and, almost without exception, the possession of the highest executive office of the Union. Always united in the purpose of regulating the affairs of the whole Union by the standard of the slaveholding interest, their disproportionate numbers in the electoral colleges have enabled them, in ten out of twelve quadrennial elections, to confer the chief magistracy upon one of their own citizens. Their suffrages at every election, without exception, have been almost exclusively confined to a candidate of their own caste. Availing themselves of the divisions which, from the nature of man, always prevail in communities entirely free, they have sought and found auxiliaries in the other quarters of the Union, by associating the passions of parties, and the ambition of individuals, with their own purposes, to establish and maintain throughout the confederated nation the slaveholding policy. The office of Vice-President, a station of high dignity, but of little other than contingent power, had been usually, by their indulgence, conceded to a citizen of the other section; but even this political courtesy was superseded at the election before the last, and both the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States were, by the preponderancy of slaveholding votes, bestowed upon citizens of two adjoining and both slaveholding States. At this moment the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Chief Justice of the United States, are all citizens of that favored portion of the united republic."

Thus, from the beginning, the North, while socially, morally, and intellectually the superior of the South, was politically the weaker. A strong feeling of sectional dislike and jealousy, engendered in great degree

by the constant rivalry between the two halves of the nation, was the animus that moved the latter in its measures of State. The interests of the free and slave-holding communities were directly antagonistic; and whenever they clashed, the latter was invariably the victor. The will of the one was made subservient to that of the other, and thus was the majority of a great nation ruled by the minority.

The acquisition of new territory on a basis of slavery, likewise operated as a powerful auxiliary in building up and sustaining the power of the South. Louisiana was purchased from the French; Alabama and Mississippi were wrested from the Indians; and, afterward, Arkansas and Florida, thereby, with the previous addition of Kentucky and Tennessee, greatly increasing her slave population, although this preponderance was in a measure counteracted by similar annexations of free territory at the North.

In 1818 Missouri having attained a population of 40,000 inhabitants, applied for admission into the Union, having sanctioned slavery in its Constitution, Twice was it rejected by the House of Representatives, and twice the bill admitting it, with its adjunct of slavery, passed the Senate. The popular excitement became intense, and at no previous period of our country's history had the Union been so near the verge of dissolution. The South talked violently of disunion, and civil war seemed inevitable. It was

"RESOLVED, That the General Assembly of Virginia, will support the good people of Missouri, in their just rights, and admission into the Union, and will co-operate with them in RESISTING WITH MANLY FORTITUDE any attempt which Congress may make to impose restraints, or restrictions on the price of their admission,

not authorized by the great principles of the Constitution, and in violation of their rights, liberty, and HAPPINESS!"

In 1820 Henry Clay proposed its admission with its Constitution permitting slavery, but with the famous agreement known as the *Missouri Compromise:* that henceforth slavery should not be established north of the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude to the east and west of Missouri.

This proposition was at length adopted, the South willingly accepting a compromise, which secured it an immediate gain of two more votes in the Senate, and a desirable market for its surplus slaves; and the North consoling itself with the *ignis fatuus* hope that the matter was set forever at rest, and the vast territories of the West saved to liberty in the future. Accordingly, in 1821, Missouri become a slave State of the confederation.

Slavery being now restricted to certain limits, an extreme interest attached to the annexation of new States to the South, that it might be enabled to perpetuate its predominate influence by adding to its representation.

The North meanwhile was not idle. A jealous rivalry sprang up between the two sections as to which should first colonize and organize new States; each seeking first to become the tutor and future guardian of the infant candidate for territorial honors.

The constantly varying fluctuations of public feeling at this period are shown by the following excerpts. The Augusta *Chronicle* (Georgia), of October, 1833, says:

"We firmly believe, that if the Southern States do not quickly unite and declare to the North, if the question of slavery be longer *discussed* in any shape, they

will instantly secede from the Union; that the question must be settled, and very soon, by the SWORD, as the only possible means of self-preservation!"

"Public sentiment at the North, in reference to *Southern interests*, was never in a *sounder state* than it is now. The language of the Northern press is cheering in the extreme; he feeling in favor of the South, *and against the Abolitionists*, is deep and almost universal." *Charleston Courier*, 21*st of July*, 1834.

South Carolina having failed in her scheme of nullification, the purchase or conquest of Mexico next became a favorite scheme with the South. Their politicians exultingly declared that nine slave States, as large as Kentucky, could be formed from it; and many sanguine planters had already calculated the consequent rise in the value of their slaves.

In 1836 an insurrection of the American colonists of Texas, in conjunction with a feeble minority of the inhabitants, was supported by an army sent by the United States, then in full peace with Mexico. The rebellion was speedily put down, the Mexican army defeated, and the United States, not content with its victory, generously took possession of the conquered territory under pretext of protecting it.

In 1843 its annexation as a State was refused, but not without violent and warm discussion. It was subsequently admitted as a *slave State* in 1845.

The territory of New Mexico being claimed by Texas, of Mexico, the claim was disputed, and war with that country was immediately proclaimed by Mr. Polk, the newly-elect President. The Mexicans made a determined resistance, but the victorious armies of the United States swept the fertile valleys of that feeble Republic, from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the western base of the Rocky Mountains, devastating its

beautiful provinces, and defeating the opposing army with overwhelming slaughter. The war terminated in 1847, the concession of California and New Mexico to the United States being among its results.

A new difficulty between the North and South, arising from a dispute in regard to the formula known as the *Wilmot Proviso*, in which Congress declared that the subsidies necessary to the operations of the war should be granted only on condition of the prohibition of slavery in the conquered territories, having previously distracted the country, a most unhappy state of affairs ensued. The Proviso was frequently passed by the House of Representatives, but the Senate rejected it. On the occasion of the treaty with Mexico it was again considered in the House, the new territories meanwhile being left provisionally without organization. Complications and dissensions continued to increase. The popular excitement reached its hight in 1850, when California applied for admittance as a free State. The South resorted to its well-worn threat of separation, thinking thereby to coerce the north into submission to its terms. In Congress a resolution was introduced by the Southern delegates, that the adoption of the measures, then pending, would be considered as sufficient grounds for secession.

Again Mr. Clay applied his favorite remedy of compromise. California was admitted without slaves; New Mexico was detached from Texas, the latter receiving an indemnity of $10,000,000; the terms of the Proviso were discarded, and the right of organizing new territories was given over exclusively to their citizens. Thus the difficulty was temporarily gotten rid of, only to be again revived with added vexations. The same year gave birth to that stupendous outrage

known as the *Fugitive Slave Law*, whose provisions authorized masters to pursue and capture their runaway slaves in the free States, compelled civil officers to assist in their seizure and return to bondage, and imposed a heavy fine upon any one sheltering the fugitives or conniving at their escape.

Thus the free States were forcibly transformed into partners and accomplices of the South; and their citizens converted into creatures at the service of every Southern master, whose trembling vassals sought the asylum of their soil. In many instances citizens of the free States submitted to fine and imprisonment rather than comply with its requirements; and their refusal to acquiesce gracefully in its unhallowed provisions became a fresh grievance in the already surcharged bosom of the South.

Not content with having made the North an unwilling partaker in its legalized shame, the South insisted on the abolition of the Missouri Compromise in 1854; and that magic line, so long the charmed boundary, separating freedom from servitude, accordingly ceased to exist, and the territories were left untrammeled by its presence to incorporate slavery in their Constitution, or powerless to resist its introduction.

The territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized in 1854; and later Kansas applied for admission as a State. The disgraceful quarrels and contentions originating from and following this request are still fresh in the memory of all, and will forever remain a stigma upon the fair fame of the land. At the called election of a delegate, in November, to present its petition in Congress, the State was invaded by a large body of armed men from Missouri, best known by their distinctive appellation of "*Border Ruffians*," who drove

away the citizens from the polls, and by their *own votes* elected as delegate a sworn ally of the South. On the following March, at the election of the territorial Legislature, the State was again overrun by a horde of several thousand mounted men, who again by their illegally cast ballots elected a Legislature composed exclusively of the partisans of slavery.

Murders were committed with impunity; newspaper offices were mobbed, and their presses destroyed; the town of Lawrence was burned, and the lives and property of free State men were constantly in jeopardy. The spurious Legislature, convened at Lecompton, declared that no member could be sworn without affirming that slavery was right; and decided, that to maintain the contrary involved the penalty of two years' hard labor; that to give shelter to a fugitive slave, or to print or circulate any writing against slavery, was punishable by four years' imprisonment. *Death* was the penalty incurred for inciting insurrection among the slaves, or for aiding in their escape or concealment; while disfranchisement followed the refusing to support the Fugitive Slave Law.

Thus the "virgin territory" seemed hopelessly given over to the minions of the slave power. The sanctity of the ballot-box was again violated in November, 1855, at the election of a new delegate to Congress. The whole country was aroused to a pitch of fearful excitement. The waves of political and party feeling ran mountain-high, and sectional strife and discord were augmented to the highest degree. In the Senate Chamber Charles Sumner made an eloquent appeal in behalf of the helpless territory, for which, two days later, he was attacked in his seat, and beaten with a cane, by Congressman Brooks, of South Carolina, who,

no doubt, felt the Senator's masterly arguments unanswerable through any other medium. This dastardly stroke of policy met with the utmost enthusiasm throughout the South; meetings of approval were held, and a handsome cane was presented to the chivalrous knight who had shown himself so well worthy the suggestive present; and, to the shame of the Republic be it said, *he was not expelled from Congress.*

On the other hand, a corresponding degree of indignation was manifested at the North. Even at the South there were a few who dared to disapprove the deed, and a beautiful lady of South Carolina gave utterance to the sentiment which, for the sake of the early Revolutionary heroes of that State, deserves to become historical: "*South Carolina presents her heroes with swords, and her cowards with canes.*"

Matters in Kansas continued to grow worse. Murderers and outlaws were suffered to go unpunished, and the whole country seemed on the eve of a violent outbreak. Every possible expedient was resorted to by the South to strengthen the hands of the pro-slavery party in the West. In 1856 the Governor of South Carolina promulgated in his official message the secret hope that fired the Southern heart, a proposition afterward reiterated by Alabama:

"To maintain our position we must have cheap labor. This is only possible through one means—*the reopening of the slave trade;* and nothing but a mawkish sentimentality would swoon at the idea of legalizing this trade."

In 1858 troops were sent to Kansas, by the President, to protect the ballot-box; and a new Legislature was elected, who proceeded to frame another Constitution. The great question of slavery was still undecided, the

elections being alternately against and in its favor. When the former, the election was annulled by the withdrawal of the inspectors; when the latter, the people vehemently protested against it. Through two entire sessions of Congress the matter was dragged, and even then did not receive a satisfactory adjustment. Congress advocated the amendment of its territorial Constitution before its admission as a State; and the President advised its immediate admittance, leaving to its citizens the construction of a new Constitution.

An expedient known as the *English Compromise* was adopted, by which, on a slight pretext, hinged on the quantity of school-lands demanded by the territory, its admission was deferred until the people should declare their willingness to accept lesser grants, a proposition decidedly rejected by the people in a new election, and a new Constitution therefore became necessary, which Congress, in conformity with the principle of non-intervention known as the Nebraska Bill, reserved to itself the right of approving, without interfering in the question of slavery. It was further provided and reiterated in the President's message of 1859, that every citizen of the United States had a right to transport his property of every kind, *including slaves*, into the territories, and to be protected therein by the Constitution. Mr. Buchanan thus expresses his satisfaction at the result:

"It is a striking proof of the sense of justice which is inherent in our people, that the property of slaves has never been disturbed in any of the territories. Had any such attempt been made, the judiciary would doubtless have afforded an adequate remedy. Should they fail to do this hereafter, it will then be time enough to strengthen their hands by further legislation."

A new difficulty was subsequently opened by the President himself. It being a matter of doubt that the population of the territory amounted to 93,420, the requisite number to entitle them to a representative, a new census was required. As many of its original citizens, by the early struggles and disturbances of the infant territory, had been intimidated to quit the country, the census would doubtless have resulted in a further postponement. Thus, from both the Executive and Congress, measures had originated calculated to produce a delay in its admission. To the fearless spirit and admirable patience of its long-suffering people, is to be awarded the merit of the fact that Kansas to-day is a free and sovereign State; it having been triumphantly admitted as such in 1861.

Disgraceful as were such recriminations, they would have doubtless wrought comparatively little harm had it not been for the presence of a third party, crushed "between the upper and nether millstones," whose humanity and claim to Christian recognition were utterly ignored, and whose very existence was tacitly unacknowledged, save for purposes of legislative oppression. Let us learn from the *code noir* of the South the position and status of this silent, irresponsible element of the national confusion.

"A slave is one who is in the power of his master, to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, or his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master." *Laws of Louisiana.*

"*None shall be slaves* EXCEPT *those who are so when this chapter takes effect, such free negroes as may be sold as slaves pursuant to law, such slaves as may be lawfully brought into the State, and the future descendants of female slaves.*" *Laws of Virginia.*

"Children born of a mother then in a state of slavery, whether married or not, follow the condition of their mother; they are consequently slaves, and belong to the master of their mother." *Laws of Virginia.*

"All their issue and offspring born, or to be born, shall be, and are hereby declared to be and remain FOREVER HEREAFTER absolute slaves, and shall follow the condition of their mother."

"Slaves shall be deemed, taken, reputed and adjudged to be chattels personal in the hands of their masters and possessors, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

"The slave is entirely subject to the will of the master, who may correct and chastise him, though not with *unusual* rigor, nor so as to maim or mutilate him, or to expose him to the danger of loss of life, or to cause his death."

"A slave may be whipped, cropped, or branded on the cheek with the letter R, or otherwise punished, not extending to life, *nor so as to unfit him for labor.*"

"In case any person shall willfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, *cruelly* scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment—[*otherwise than by whipping, or beating, with a horsewhip, cowskin, switch, or small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining, or imprisoning such slave*]—every such person shall, for every such offense, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money."

"*Slaves can not marry without the consent of their masters, and their marriages do not produce any of the civil effects which result from such contract.*"

"If any person shall hereafter be guilty of willfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man.

"*Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of assembly of this State, or to any slave in the act*

of resistance to his lawful owner or master, or to any slave DYING *under* MODERATE CORRECTION."

"If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slaves shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slaves, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any* white person, it shall be lawful for *any* white person to pursue, apprehend, and *moderately correct* such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be LAWFULLY KILLED."

"The slave is incapable of exercising any public office, or private trust; *he can not be a witness in either civil or criminal matters.*"

"Trial by jury is utterly denied to the slave, *even in criminal accusations which may affect his life.*"

"*The slave is not allowed to resist any white man under any circumstances.*"

"If any slave shall presume to strike *any* white man, such slave, upon trial and conviction before the justice, shall, for the *first* offense, suffer such punishment as said justice thinks fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the second offense, *death.*"

"A slave stood by and saw his wife whipped as long as he could possibly endure the sight; he then called out to the overseer, who was applying the lash, that he would kill him if he did not use more mercy. This probably made matters worse; at all events the lashing continued. The husband goaded to frenzy, rushed upon the overseer, and stabbed him three times. White men, what would *you* do if the laws admitted that *your* wives might *die* of *moderate correction*, administered by your employers? The overseer died, and his *murderer* was *burned.*"

"If any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or *free*, shall at any time lift his or her hand, in opposition to *any* person not colored, they shall—the offense being proved before a justice of the peace—receive thirty lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on."

"*Any* person finding more than seven slaves together

in the highway without a white person, may give each one twenty lashes."

In the Maryland House of Delegates, in 1834, Mr. Mann moved an inquiry into the expediency of abolishing slavery, *after a certain period.* So great was the excitement produced by this motion, that the mover withdrew it, *and the minute of the motion was expunged from the journal.*

In South Carolina, if a slave be killed "on a sudden heat or passion, or by *undue correction*," the murderer is to pay a fine and be imprisoned six months.

The law of Louisiana stipulates that a slave shall have *one* linen shirt—usually made of a kind of coarse bagging—and a pair of pantaloons for the summer, and *one* linen shirt and a woolen great-coat and pantaloons for the winter; and for food, one pint of salt, and a barrel of Indian corn, rice, or beans every month. In North Carolina, the law decides that a quart of corn per day is sufficient.

"'*Whereas, teaching slaves to read and write has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds*, and to produce insurrection and rebellion,' therefore it is enacted that teaching a slave to read or write, or giving or selling to a slave *any* book or pamphlet, shall be punished with thirty-nine lashes, if the offender be a free black, or with imprisonment at the discretion of the court; if a slave, the *offense* is punishable with thirty-nine lashes, on his or her bare back, on conviction before a justice of the peace."

In Georgia any slave, or free person of color, is for a similar offense, fined or whipped, or fined *and* whipped, at the discretion of the court.

In Louisiana twelve months' imprisonment is the penalty for teaching a slave to read or write.

"And if any person shall use any language from the

bar, *bench*, *stage*, *pulpit*, or any other place, or hold any conversation having a *tendency* to promote discontent among free colored people, or insubordination among slaves, he may be imprisoned at hard labor, not less than three nor more than twenty-one years; or he may suffer death, at the discretion of the court."

"In Mississippi a white man, who prints or circulates doctrines, sentiments, advice, or *innuendoes*, likely to produce discontent among the colored class, is fined from one hundred to a thousand dollars, and imprisoned from three to twelve months."

"In Virginia *white* persons who teach any colored person to read or write, are fined not exceeding fifty dollars; for teaching slaves for pay, from ten to twenty dollars for each offense."

"In Georgia if a white teach a free negro or slave to read or write, he is fined $500, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court; if the offender be a colored man, bond or free, he is to be fined or whipped at the discretion of the court."

"Any person that teaches a person of color, slave or free, to read or write, or causes such persons to be so taught, is subjected to a fine of thirty dollars for each offense; and every person of color who shall teach reading or writing, is subject to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned ten days and whipped thirty-nine lashes."

"The North Carolina law declares, that the *Alphabet* has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction; and if a white person teach a slave to read or write, or give or sell him *any* books, Bible not excepted, he is fined from one to two hundred dollars."

"In Kentucky white men are condemned to death for *four* crimes only; slaves meet a similar punishment for *eleven* crimes."

"Any justice of the peace may, at his discretion, break up any religious assembly of slaves, and may order *each slave present* to be 'corrected without trial, by receiving on the bare back, twenty-five stripes with a whip, switch or cow-skin.'"

"Slaves may not meet together for the purpose of

'religious worship' before sunrise or after sunset, unless the *majority* of the meeting be composed of white persons, under a penalty of twenty lashes well laid on."

In Mississippi if a master allow his slave to cultivate cotton for his own use, he incurs a fine of fifty dollars; and if he license his slave to trade on his own account, he forfeits fifty dollars for each and every offense. Any person trading with a slave forfeits four times the value of the articles purchased; and if unable to pay, he receives thirty-nine lashes, and pays the costs.

"If a slave visit another plantation without leave in writing from his master, the owner of the plantation may give him ten lashes."

"All horses, cattle, hogs, or sheep, that shall belong to any slave, or be of any slave's mark in this State, shall be seized and sold by the County Wardens."

"Slavery was not confined to *color*. Mr. Paxton, a Virginia writer, declared, that, 'the best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of the slaves.' In the description given of a fugitive slave, in the public papers, it was stated, 'He has sometimes been mistaken for a white man.'"

"A case of a slave, suing for his freedom, was tried a few days since in Lincoln County, of which the following is a brief statement of the particulars. A youth of about ten years of age sued for his freedom on the ground that he was a free white person. The court granted his petition to sue as a pauper upon inspection of his person. Upon his trial before the jury he was examined by the jury and by two learned physicians, all of whom concurred in the opinion that very little if any trace of negro blood could be discovered by any of the external appearances. All the physiological marks of distinctions which characterize the African descent had disappeared.

"His skin was fair, his hair soft, straight, fine and white, his eyes blue, but rather disposed to be hazlenut color; nose prominent, the lips small and com-

pletely covering the teeth, his head round and well formed, forehead high and prominent, the ears large, the tibia of the leg straight, the feet hollow. Notwithstanding these evidences of his claims, he was proven to be a descendant of a mulatto woman, and that his progenitors on his mother's side had been and still were slaves; consequently he was found to be a SLAVE."

The laws of South Carolina and Virginia expressly recognize *Indian* slaves.

Governor Miller, of South Carolina, in his message to the Legislature in 1829, remarks:

"Slavery is not a national evil; on the contrary, it is a NATIONAL BENEFIT. Slavery exists in some form every where, and it is not of much consequence in *a philosophical* point of view, whether it be voluntary or involuntary. In a *political* point of view, involuntary slavery has the advantage, since all who enjoy political liberty are then in fact free."

"In Missouri it is *death* to prepare or administer medicine without the master's consent, unless it can be *proved* that there was no evil intention."

"In Georgia a fine of thirty dollars a week is imposed upon any master who allows his slave to hire himself out for his own benefit."

"The following is the testimony of Jefferson, who had good opportunities for observation, and who certainly had no New England prejudices: 'There must, doubtless, be an unhappy influence on the manners of the people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in a circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exer-

cised in tyranny, can not but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy, who can retain his morals and manners undepraved in such circumstances.' "

A correspondent of the Charleston (S. C.) *Observer* remarked:

"Let us establish missionaries among our own negroes, who, in view of religious knowledge, are as debasely ignorant as any one on the coast of Africa; for I hazard the assertion, that throughout the bounds of our synod, there are at least one hundred thousand slaves, speaking the same language as ourselves, who never *heard* of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer."

The editor, instead of contradicting this broad assertion, adds:

"We fully concur with what our correspondent has said respecting the benighted heathen among ourselves."

General Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, in a public address, delivered in 1824, maintained that slavery as it existed in that State is—

"No greater or more unusual evil, than befalls the poor in general; that its extinction would be attended with calamity to the country, and to the people connected with it, in every character, and relation; that no necessity exists for *such extinction*—that slavery is sanctioned by the Mosaic dispensation—that it is a fulfillment of the denunciation pronounced against the second son of Noah—that it is not inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christianity, nor considered by St. Paul as a moral evil."—*Address before the Agricultural Society of South Carolina.*

On the 5th of December, 1833, a committee of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, to whom was referred the subject of the religious instruction of the

colored population, made a report which has been published, and in which this language is used.

"Who would credit it, that in these years of revival and benevolent effort, in this Christian republic, there are over TWO MILLIONS of human beings in the condition of HEATHEN, and in some respect in a worse condition. From long continued and close observation, we believe that their moral and religious condition is such that they may justly be considered the HEATHEN of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The negroes are destitute of the Gospel, *and ever will be under the present state of things.* In the vast field extending from an entire State beyond the Potomac, to the Sabine River, and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are to the best of our knowledge not *twelve* men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes. In the present state of feeling in the South, a ministry of their own color could neither be obtained NOR TOLERATED.

"Generally speaking they (the slaves) appear to us to be without God and without hope in the world, a NATION OF HEATHEN in our very midst. We cannot cry out against the Papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and keeping them in ignorance of the way of life; for we *withhold* the Bible from our servants, and *keep* them in ignorance of it, while we *will* not use the means to have it read and explained to them. The cry of our perishing servants comes up to us from the sultry plains as they bend at their toil—it comes up to us from their humble cottages when they return at evening to rest their weary limbs—it comes up to us from the midst of their ignorance and superstition, and adultery and lewdness. We have manifested no emotions of horror at abandoning the souls of our servants to the adversary, the roaring lion that walketh about seeking whom he may devour.

"In Rome the introduction of Christianity abolished slavery; the idea of exclusive property in our fellow-

men was too obviously at variance with its holy precepts; and its professors, in the sincerity of their hearts, made a formal surrender of such claims. In various ancient instruments of emancipation, the masters begin by declaring, that 'for the love of God and Jesus Christ, for the easing of their consciences, and the safety of their souls,' they set their bondmen free."

Nor were the slaves alone in this merciless proscription. "Free persons of color" all over the United States seem to have been regarded with a mixture of prejudice and distrust entirely unwarranted in the premises; and the legislative measures were taken to render them helpless and incapable of harm.

The Maryland Legislature, in their session of 1831, adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the increased proportion of the free people of color, in this State, to the white population—the *evils growing out of their connection and unrestrained association with the slaves, their habits and manner of obtaining a subsistence, and their withdrawing* A LARGE PORTION *of employment from the laboring class of the white population*, are subjects of momentous and grave consideration to the good people of this State."

"In Georgia, a white man is liable to a fine of *five hundred dollars* for teaching a free negro to read or write. If one free negro teach another, he is to be *fined* and *whipped* at the discretion of the court! Should a free negro presume to preach to, or exhort his companions, he may be seized without warrant, and whipped thirty-nine lashes, and the same number of lashes may be applied to each one of his congregation."

"In South Carolina, any assembly of free negroes, even in the presence of white persons, 'in a confined or secret place, for the purpose of *mental instruction*,' is an unlawful assembly, and may be dispersed by a

magistrate, who is authorized to inflict twenty lashes on each free negro attending the meeting."

"The corporation of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, passed an ordinance, making it penal for any free negro *to receive from the post-office, have in his possession*, or circulate, any publication or writing whatsoever of a *seditious* character."

"In Virginia, should free negroes or their children assemble at a school to learn reading and writing, any justice of the peace may dismiss the school with twenty stripes on the back of each pupil."

"For publishing, or circulating, in the State of North Carolina, any pamphlet or paper having an *evident tendency* to excite slaves, or free persons of color, to insurrection or resistance, imprisonment not less than one year, *and* standing in the pillory, *and* whipping, at the discretion of the court, for the first offense; and death for the second."

"In North Carolina the law prohibits a free colored man, whatever may be his attainments or ecclesiastical authority, to preach the gospel."

"In Louisiana the penalty for instructing a free black in a *Sunday-school*, is, for the first offense, five hundred dollars; for the second offense, DEATH ! !"

The law of Louisiana gravely declares:

"Free persons of color ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but, on the contrary, they ought to yield to them *on every occasion*, and never speak or answer them but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offense."

"By a late law of Maryland, a free negro coming into the State is liable to a fine of fifty dollars for every week he remains in it. If he can not pay the fine, he is SOLD."

"A free colored man, living near the line of the District of Columbia, petitioned the Maryland House of Delegates for leave to bring his grandchild from the

city of Washington. The child had probably been left an orphan, and he naturally wished to take it into his own house. The petition was rejected!!"

"In Maryland a justice of the peace may order a free negro's ears to be cut off for striking a white man."

"*Henceforth no slave or slaves can be manumitted except under the express condition that, when the said slaves shall have been manumitted, they shall be transported out of the United States.*"

"A manumitted negro becomes again a slave if he remains twelve months in the State."

"All slaves for years now found in the State, as soon as they shall become free, *shall be transported out of the State at the expense of the last owner.*"

"In Tennessee slaves are not allowed to be emancipated unless they leave the State forthwith. Any free colored person emigrating into this State is fined from ten to fifty dollars, and hard labor in the penitentiary from one to two years."

"Any attempt to free a slave, in any other manner than the prescribed form, is punished by a fine of two hundred dollars for each *offense*; and the slave or slaves are still, to all intents and purposes, in a state of slavery."

"In Mississippi every negro or mulatto, not being able to *prove* himself free, may be sold as a slave."

"If any omission is made in the forms of emancipation established by law, *any person whatsoever* may seize the negro so manumitted, and appropriate him to his own use."

"If a free colored person remain in Virginia twelve months after his manumission, he can be sold by the overseers of the poor for the benefit of the *literary fund!*"

"In Georgia a free colored man, except a regular articled seaman, is fined one hundred dollars for coming into the State; and, if he can not pay it, may be sold at public outcry."

"No person may, under the penalty of five dollars, buy of a free negro 'any bacon, pork, beef, mutton,

corn, wheat, tobacco, rye, or oats,' unless he shall at the time exhibit a certificate from a justice of the peace, or three respectable persons, that he or they believe the said negro came honestly by the identical article offered for sale."

"We all know from a variety of considerations which it is unnecessary to name, and in consequence of the policy which is obliged to be pursued in the Southern States, that it is extremely difficult to free a slave; and hence the enactment of those laws which a *fatal necessity* seems to demand." *Af. Rep.* II. p. 12.

"We all know that the Southerners have a high sense of what the world calls honor, and that they are brave, hospitable and generous to people of their own color; but the more we respect their virtues, the more cause is there to lament the demoralizing *system* which produces such unhappy effects on all who come within its baneful influence. Most of them may be as kind as can be expected of human nature, endowed with almost unlimited power to do wrong; and some of them may be even more benevolent than the warmest friend of the negro would dare to hope; but while we admit all this, we must not forget that there is in every community a class of men who will not be any better than the laws compel them to be." *Mrs. Child.*

Nor can it be denied that the condition of "free persons of color" was at one time comparatively little better at the North. In Hartford, Connecticut, a Miss Crandall was tried, on the 23d of August, 1828, for the *crime* of having established a school for the purpose of educating colored youth, and from a Northern writer we adduce this astonishing argument which, ridiculous as it may appear, was the creed of many worthy persons, even occasional theologians disputing the fact that the negro was a human being:

"The negro's lips are thick—his zygomatic muscles large and full—his jaws large and projecting—his

chin retreating—his forehead low, flat and slanting, and, as a consequence of this latter character, his eyeballs are very prominent, apparently larger than those of white men. All of these peculiarities at the same time contributing to reduce his *facial* angle almost to a level with the BRUTE. If, then, it is consistent with science to believe that the mind will be great in proportion to the *size and figure of the brain*, it is equally reasonable to suppose that the acknowledged meanness of the negro's intellect only coincides with the *shape of his head;* or, in other words, that his want of capability to receive a complicated education renders it improper and impolitic that he should be allowed the privileges of CITIZENSHIP in an enlightened country."

And lastly, the verdict of the North upon the legalized crimes of the South—the judicial summing up of all these legislative villainies—"*A negro has no rights a white man is bound to respect!*"

The slave faction, disappointed in their designs upon the new territories of the West, now turned avaricious eyes toward Mexico, and the tempting morsel of Cuba, lying so conveniently near. To quote from Mr. Buchanan's message, of 1859:

"The island of Cuba, from its geographical position, commands the mouth of the Mississippi, and the immense and annually increasing trade, foreign and coastwise, from the valley of that noble river, now embracing half the sovereign States of the Union. With that island under the dominion of a distant foreign power, this trade, of vital importance to these States, is exposed to the danger of being destroyed in time of war, and it has hitherto been subjected to perpetual injury and annoyance in time of peace. Our relations with Spain, which ought to be of the most friendly character, *must always be placed in jeopardy, while the existing colonial government over the island shall remain in its present position.*

"Whilst the possession of the island would be of

vast importance to the United States, its value to Spain is, comparatively, unimportant."

And again:

"Cuba is almost within sight of our shores. Our commerce with it is far greater than that of any other nation, including Spain itself, and our citizens are in the habit of daily and extended personal intercourse with every part of the island."

But his most admirable stroke of diplomacy lies in the following:

"It is the only spot in the civilized world where the African slave trade is tolerated, and we are bound by treaty with Great Britain to maintain a naval force on the coast of Africa, at much expense both of life and treasure, solely for the purpose of arresting slavers bound to that isle. . . . . .

"As long as this market shall remain open, there can be no hope for the civilization of benighted Africa. Whilst the demand for slaves continues in Cuba, wars will be waged among the petty and barbarous chiefs in Africa, for the purpose of seizing subjects to supply this trade. In such a condition of affairs, it is impossible that the light of civilization and religion can ever penetrate these dark abodes."

Again, what can equal this touching and pious appeal?

"But we are obliged, as a Christian and moral nation, to consider what would be the effect upon unhappy Africa itself, if we should reopen the slave trade. This would give the trade an impulse and extension which it never had even in its palmiest days. The numerous victims required to supply it would convert the whole slave coast into a perfect Pandemonium, for which this country would be held responsible in the eyes both of God and man. Its petty tribes would then be constantly engaged in predatory wars against each other, for the purpose of seizing slaves to

supply the American market. All hope of African civilization would then be ended.

"On the other hand, when a market for African slaves shall be no longer furnished in Cuba, and thus all the world be closed against this trade, we may then indulge a reasonable hope for the gradual improvement of Africa. The chief motive of war among the tribes will cease whenever there is no longer any demand for slaves. The resources of that fertile but miserable country might then be developed by the hand of industry, and afford subjects for legitimate foreign and domestic commerce. In this manner, Christianity and civilization may gradually penetrate the existing gloom."

Such is the specious reasoning under which the spokesman of the slave power vails his plot for the annexation of a new slave State. Well may the French satirist exclaim:

"It is through interest for Africa that America wishes to despoil Spain; it is through aversion to the slave trade that the South burns to annex one slave State more!"

But what says Spain, the unconsulted owner of the property in question? On being interrogated by the House of Representatives, her minister returns the indignant reply:

"The government is disposed to demand the satisfaction due such an insult, ... that it decidedly rejects propositions so dishonorable, and that, if need be, it will oppose, *even by force*, the dismemberment of the smallest portion of the Spanish territory.

And again, he declares to the Senate:

"If any representative of a foreign power had attempted to make me an offer for the alienation of Cuba, I should have interrupted him at the first word, to tell him the effect that such insinuations would produce on the mind of Spaniards. The preservation of

the island of Cuba is not to us a question of interest or convenience, but of dignity and honor; all the interest that might result from it, all the gold that might be heaped up from it, would not suffice to persuade Spain to make the sacrifice of this glorious relic of the precious discoveries and surprising and magnificent conquests of our sires. The alienation of Cuba! Such an insane thought could only enter the minds of those who know nothing of Spain, and have never penetrated her inmost thoughts."

Cuba, therefore, not being immediately available, Mexico next excited the cupidity of the Government, and its docile instrument thus skillfully manipulates the delicate subject in his annual messages:

"The wrongs which we have suffered from Mexico are before the world, and must deeply impress every American citizen. A government which is either unable or unwilling to redress such wrongs is derelict to its highest duties. The difficulty consists in selecting and enforcing the remedy. We may in vain apply to the constitutional government at Vera Cruz, although it is well disposed to do us justice, for adequate redress. Whilst its authority is recognized in all the important ports and throughout the sea-coasts of the Republic, its power does not extend to the city of Mexico and the States in the vicinity, where nearly all the recent outrages have been committed on American citizens. *We must penetrate into the interior* before we can reach the offenders, and this can only be done by passing through the territory in the occupation of the constitutional government. The most acceptable and least difficult mode of accomplishing the object will be to act in concert with that government. Their consent and their aid might, I believe, be obtained; but if not, our obligation to protect our own citizens in their just rights, secured by treaty, would not be the less imperative. For these reasons, I recommend to Congress to pass a law authorizing the President, under such conditions as they may deem expedient, *to employ a suffi-*

cient military force to enter Mexico for the purpose of obtaining indemnity for the past, and security for the future.

"But for this expectation, I should at once have recommended to Congress to grant the necessary power to the President to take possession of a sufficient part of the remote and unsettled territory of Mexico, to *hold in pledge*, until our injuries shall be redressed and our just demands satisfied.

"I can imagine no possible remedy for these evils . . . . . but for the government of the United States to assume a temporary protectorate over the northern portions of Chihuahua and Sonora, and to establish military posts within the same. This protection might be withdrawn as soon as local governments shall be established in these Mexican States, capable of performing their duties *toward the United States*."

Such was the policy of the American government in 1858–59, already sufficiently shown in the semi-official recognition of "Fillibuster" Walker in Nicaragua. Clearly the gigantic scheme of the South included in its *chateau de espagne* the five little republics of Central America, and extended to the natural bridge of Panama. In reference to some existing difficulties with those powers, the President says:

"Unless this demand shall be complied with at an early day, it will only remain for this government then to adopt such other measures as may be necessary, in order to *obtain for itself* the justice which it has in vain attempted to secure through peaceful means."

But the Southern mind was suddenly and rudely awakened from its luxurious dreams of conquest and empire by the reckless raid of John Brown upon the Arsenal at Harper's Ferry. From contemplating the usurpation of Mexico, the annexation of Cuba, and the seizure of Central America, the bewildered Utopians

awoke to a realizing sense of the uncertain tenure of their own domestic institutions; and the wildest terrorism took possession of the South.

This Arsenal was the property of the United States government, and guarded by United States soldiers John Brown and his band remained two days in the Arsenal, taking nothing but guns, the property of the United States. He was captured by United States' troops, a company of ninety-three marines, sent from Washington by request of the Governor of Virginia, the three companies of volunteers raised and armed for the undertaking having proven unequal to the task of capturing his one hundred negroes; yet he was surrendered to the insane state of Virginia for trial and execution.

The whole community was in a state of the most cowardly and disgraceful panic. Absurd and impossible rumors were implicitly believed by the terror-stricken inhabitants, and a general uprising of the slaves was anticipated at Richmond. Travelers were arrested for uttering the slightest words of sympathy in favor of the brave but mistaken Brown. Large bodies of volunteers were raised, who drilled untiringly and patroled nightly. The universal excitement and indignation extended to the extreme Southern States, and in Savannah, Georgia, a respectable merchant was tarred and feathered for expressing pity for the unfortunate old man who bore on his person six wounds, and in his memory four murdered sons—two of them slain by his side; the others, the early victims of the Kansas outlaws. But Brown had strangely miscalculated the nature of the negro. He believed the slaves would flock to his standard and welcome him as their deliverer, but years of toil and abuse and ignorance and

degradation had brought their legitimate results. If dreams of liberty had ever haunted them, they had not learned that "to be free, themselves must strike the blow;" and they looked on in apathetic wonder, their dull minds scarcely able to comprehend the import of the movement. The North stood coldly aloof in indifference or disapproval, and Brown was abandoned to his fate. The proceedings of his trial were marked by the most needless haste, and the utmost caution was observed in guarding the prisoner lest he should be rescued. Indeed, the entire ceremony was a mere farce, and his sentence a foregone conclusion. Before the opening of the trial Governor Wise had written to the Ex-Mayor of New York:

"Brown will certainly be hung, and his body will be given to the surgeons to be carried beyond the boundaries of the State, so that the carcass shall not pollute the soil of Virginia."

On the 2d of December, 1859, Brown was hung; not a murmur of pain or regret or anger having passed his lips, and thus ignobly perished the unselfish originator of a wild scheme of liberation that wanted only *success* to have been sublime!

In 1860 an important decision was rendered by the Court of Appeals at Albany, which tended still further to exasperate the South. We subjoin a history of the case furnished by a citizen of New York to a foreign journal. By this it will be seen that freedom was guanteed to every slave, *not a fugitive*, on his landing on free soil:

"In November, 1852, a citizen of Virginia, Jonathan Lemmon, arrived at New York on board a Norfolk steamer, with his wife and eight young slaves, whom he was carrying to Texas, where he designed to settle. While waiting till he should be ready to start for his

place of destination, he placed the negroes in an obscure boarding-house. A free colored man discovered them there, and obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* to bring the eight slaves before a judge of the Supreme Court.

"Great agitation prevailed in New York. The Democrats claimed that an inhabitant of the South possessed the right of transit through the Free States with everything that was considered property by the laws of the State where he resided. The Abolitionists, and the various shades which have since formed the Republican party, maintained, on the contrary, that a negro was free from the moment that he touched the soil of a Free State, unless he had fled from the State where he was held in slavery.

"Judge Paine was of the latter opinion; he declared, by a long and elaborate decision, that slaves could under no pretext be introduced into the State of New York, and ordered the eight slaves summoned before him to be immediately set at liberty.

"This verdict produced a profound sensation in the Southern States. The Abolitionists of New York speedily raised a subscription of $300 or $400 to send the freed slaves to Canada. On their side, some merchants who had business relations with the South collected 5,000 piasters by voluntary contributions to indemnify Mr. Lemmon for the loss which he had sustained.

"Fully satisfied with the pecuniary reparation, the Virginian turned his face toward his State, thinking no more of either Texas or his slaves; but the Southern planters and politicians viewed the matter from a higher stand-point. The Governor of Georgia took it up in his message, of 1855.

"'If it be true,' said he, 'that the citizens of the Slave States, who, by force of circumstances, or for their convenience, seek passage through a Free State, accompanied by their slaves, are by this fact alone dispossessed of their property; if it be true that these slaves are thus emancipated, it is time that we knew the reasons of such an assertion. The repetition of

such acts of violence would be a *legitimate cause of war* with the State which should originate or suffer them.'

"The Governor of Virginia was still more explicit, and demanded of his legislature to interfere, to appeal, in the name of the State, from the decision of Judge Paine to the Supreme Court of New York.

"On December 12, 1857, the matter was brought before this court, which confirmed the decision of enfranchisement. The State of Virginia appealed anew to the Court of Appeal at Albany, and two years passed before the case was tried and a final decision rendered.

"The slavery interests were sustained with great talent by Charles O'Conor; William Evarts was the no less eloquent defender of the Republican cause. The latter won a complete triumph, and the decision rendered has dispelled all uncertainty in like matters. It declares that the laws of the State of New York neither protect nor tolerate within its limits property consisting in slaves, and cites in particular a statute of 1817, which, combined with the Federal Constitution, gives freedom to every one, not a fugitive, on touching the soil of a Free State."

Matters now became serious. The South for once was seemingly in earnest in her cries of disunion, and uttered no meaningless threats. The sympathetic Mr. Buchanan, at the head of the too-easily intimidated Democratic party, transferred the whole load of responsibility upon the shoulders of the long-suffering North, who in sooth had been so long the unresisting scapegoat of the whole body of political sins, that this undeserved addition to its burden occasioned no uneasiness. Mark the petulant tone of the President's last message to Congress, the cold-blooded effusion of a man who had not warmth enough in his bachelor heart to love a *woman*, least of all, his country!

"Why is it that discontent now so extensively pre-

vails, and that the Union of the States is threatened with destruction? The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. . . . . The incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century has at length produced its malign influence on the minds of the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. Many a matron throughout the South retires to rest in dread of what may befall herself and her children before morning. . . . . The agitation has been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county conventions, sermons, lectures, pamphlets, books etc. All for which the Slave States have ever contended is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their *domestic institutions* in their own way."

But Mr. Buchanan's term of office was now drawing to a close, and he having obviously failed of the one primary object of his administration, viz: a renomination, the press was actively engaged in canvassing the respective merits and chances of his several possible successors.

The Governor of Virginia, in his inaugural message, protested in advance against the election of a Northern President, and exclaimed:

"The idea of suffering such a man to have in his hands the army and navy of the United States, and the appointment of the highest functionaries, can not for a single instant be endured by the South."

As before stated, the South had invaribly been successful in its choice of President. Diverse parties in the North had hitherto distracted the public mind and rendered it impossible for all to agree upon any one aspirant.

Yet the North, with its two million votes against a single million, possessed the power of at any time exalting a candidate of its own choosing to the presidential chair, but as before said this certainty had heretofore been balked by its utter inability to agree upon a common platform and candidate, a large proportion of its citizens invaribly voting with the South.

This difficulty at length appeared to be in a measure surmounted by the formation of a new party, whose political creed was equally removed from the violence of Southern agitators and the fanaticism of Northern abolitionists. Justice tempered with moderation, strict impartiality and mildness commingled with firmness, were its distinguishing characteristics, embodied in the person of its representative—Abraham Lincoln.

The canvass was one of unusual interest and excitement. The threadbare threat of disunion, if defeated, was extensively promulgated on the part of the Southern States. Indeed, Governor Wise of Virginia had freely foreshadowed the views of his State in his message, of February, 1860:

"Is there not imminent danger of disunion, and are not the minds of the people, both in the North and South, deeply agitated by the fear that the days of the Union are numbered? Speeches in favor of disunion are the order of the day in deliberative bodies, and the press is full of editorials, letters, and quotations on the subject. The legislators of the South are occupied in seeking the best means of protecting the honor and rights of their States, and are taking measures for arming and disciplining the militia, with the sole end to defend and protect themselves, either in or out of the Union. Every one sees and feels the danger that threatens us; every one regards disunion, not only as a possible, but a highly probable event, and at a not very distant day."

Opposed to the nominee of the republican party were three candidates, representing almost imperceptible shades of difference in the slave faction, and any one of whom would have made an acceptable guardian of the slave interest at home or abroad.

Without entering into an analysis of the causes that operated in their threefold defeat, it is enough to say that Abraham Lincoln was the chosen President at the November election in 1860. On the following 20th of December, the State of South Carolina put into execution its life-long threat of disunion, and four days later its Governor issued proclamation as follows:

"His Excellency, Francis W. Pickens, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the State of South Carolina.

"While waiting until the brave people of this State assembled in Convention, by an ordinance unanimously adopted and ratified on the twentieth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1860, have abrogated an ordinance of the people of this State, adopted on the twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, and have thus dissolved the Union between the State of South Carolina and the other States known as the United States of America, I, as Governor and Commander-in-chief of the State of South Carolina, by virtue of the authority with which I am invested, do proclaim by these presents in the face of the world that this State is rightfully a separate State, sovereign, free and independent, and as such has a right to make war, to conclude peace, to negotiate treaties, alliances, or agreements, and to do all acts whatsoever belonging legitimately to a free and independent State.

"Given under my hand, and the seal of this State, at Charleston, on the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1860, and the eighty-fifth year of the independence of South Carolina.

"F. W. Pickens."

At this critical juncture of affairs, Governor Crittenden, of Kentucky, appeared upon the scene, and tendered the oft-tried remedy of compromise to heal the fast widening breach. The famous propositions proposed by him in the Senate of the United States provided that thenceforth slavery, or involuntary servitude, except for crime, should be prohibited in all the territories of the United States lying north of latitude *thirty-six degrees and tnirty minutes;* that slavery should not be interfered with by Congress in any of the territories south of that latitude: and that when the territories north of that line were entitled to admission as States of that Union, the question of slavery should be disposed of as their respective inhabitants should determine. They further provided that Congress should have no right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; they maintained the right of transit of slaves through the free States; and, finally, required that the States in which fugitive slaves had been rescued from their masters should pay their full value to their alleged owners. But the day of compromise had passed. South Carolina was fairly launched upon her absurd career, and a convention was called of all the slaveholding States, whose duty it should be to adopt a constitution for the government of a Southern Confederacy.

The six States of Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, hastily followed the ungraceful exit of South Carolina. Maryland hesitated, then stood firm; but not without casting many longing glances after the retreating forms of her slave-enamored sisters; Virginia was divided against herself. No longer the Virginia of old, the mother of presidents and the cradle of heroes, but the Virginia, whose

whole existence was warped by discord, and complaints, and threats of separation between her Eastern and Western portions. In these the antagonistic experiment of free and slave labor had been fairly elaborated side by side, to the manifest disfavor of the latter, and at last each found its own peculiar level and stood, the one on the side of freedom, the other among the enemies of the government of Washington.

Missouri, trembling with her own importance, attached herself as a dead weight to the tail of the Confederate kite, and oscillated for the next four years between good and evil.

Kentucky and Tennessee long quivered in the balance, but the gallant sons of the former were never found wanting in honor and allegiance to the flag they helped to consecrate. Though her fields were filled with the poisoned blossoms of that root of bitterness, slavery, yet the pulsations of her great heart evolved no truant blood. The latter followed close on the lumbering heels of Arkansas, though the strong arms of many of her children were outstretched to oppose her suicidal course. North Carolina, who had well weighed the matter, reluctantly brought up the rear of the stampeding squad, and thus arose upon the astonished eyes of the nations, the historical monstrosity, born in infamy and now dead in ignominy,—the "Confederate States of North America."

Such is the beginning of the chapter: the first page of the bloodiest record in the book of nations.

The North, true to her servile instincts, held public meetings in her principal cities, and passed conciliatory resolutions, setting forth her own hatred of abolitionists and fanatics of every description, deprecating

secession, and most earnestly beseeching the South to discriminate between those fanatics and the mass of conservative people of the North, and dwelling in the most affecting terms upon the high estimation which the latter placed upon the good will and intelligence of the slave States. But these well-meant demonstrations excited merely contempt, for the South, with all her terrible crimes and her still more terrible mistakes, had never yet been guilty of the sins of meanness and hypocrisy. Those political vices, as has been shown, were peculiarly Northern. Meanwhile the Southern Confederacy had become a fixed fact; its officers had been chosen and inaugurated; warlike preparations were progressing, and the Rebel Republic proceeded gravely to the transaction of weighty business, as though it were already a nation. But the new government, based on a false foundation, and resting on the unsound doctrines of negro inferiority, carried in its own bosom the elements of self-destruction.

Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the new experiment, in a speech at Savannah, Georgia, March 21st, 1861, asserted that the Southern Republic was founded upon the principle that "the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition;" and exultingly exclaimed that the new nation was "the first in the history of the world based on that great physical, philosophical and moral truths!" He declared that the most valuable ingredient in the Southern constitution was its final and admirable adjustment of the subject of slavery. He further asserted that the founders of the Federal government were grossly mistaken in the expressed opinion that slavery was a violation of the laws of nature. Their views

were short-sighted, false and erroneous; slavery was *not* a violation of the laws of nature; neither was it wrong socially, morally, nor politically: and the Vice-President proved himself a false prophet by affirming that it was not destined to be evanescent and eventually pass away.

On the 4th of March, 1861, the President elect of the United States was peacefully inaugurated; a single extract from his opening address gives its *thema*, and foreshadows the intended temperate policy of the forthcoming administration in regard to the peculiar institution:

"I have no design for interfering, either directly or indirectly, with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe that I have no right, and I feel no wish, to do so."

The policy thus proclaimed was rigidly adhered to. The Federal government looked upon the unnatural orgies of the apostate States with a strange mixture of wonder and apprehension, but raised not a finger to obstruct their exit. It was not until the Confederate government had amply completed its preparations for offense and defense and assumed a belligerent attitude, with an army of well drilled men, armed from the national forts and arsenals which had been ruthlessly seized in the very beginning of secession, that the Federal government asserted its independence. Only when Fort Sumpter fell beneath the fire of the rebel batteries, and the flames of war were enkindled throughout the land, did the Chief Executive of the nation take up the gauntlet so defiantly flung down. Immediately after the fall of Sumpter, on April 13th, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, calling for seventy-five thousand troops to suppress the rebellion,

and summoning Congress to meet in extraordinary session on the 4th of July following.

In reviewing the history of the slaveholder's rebellion, the most casual observer can not but be forcibly impressed with the singular delicacy and forbearance which, throughout the progress of the war, characterized the action of the Federal government in regard to the institution of slavery. It was not a war against slavery, but a war for the preservation of the Union. Yet the usages of warfare would have justified the employment of all lawful agencies that would contribute to the accomplishment of that result. Slavery was the soul of the rebellion, the moving spirit of the bristling tabernacle, and, if destroyed, the Confederacy would perforce have died with it; but with a strange favoritism the government at first not only refrained from attacking this, the most vulnerable point, but shielded and strengthened its weak places with a zeal and efficiency unsurpassed by its warmest supporters in the South. Like an unskillful surgeon the government directed its energies to allay the troublesome symptoms of secession, while the disease itself, untouched and carefully nourished, was daily increasing in force and rigor. As the Northern armies penetrated southward, the slaves who flocked in hundreds from the adjoining plantations, thinking to find at last beneath the starry flag the freedom of which they dared to dream, were by the United States' officers politely and obsequiously delivered up to their irate owners, who were granted every facility for entering the Union lines in search of their peculiar species of property. Even soldiers were obliged to assist in their recovery, and thus was the Union army at some points of its invasion but little more than a huge host of marshals,

engaged in enforcing, on an extended scale, the Fugitive Slave Law.

Subsequently, however, by an Act of Congress relative to the matter, it was provided, that whenever slaves should be required or permitted by their masters and owners to take up arms against the United States, or to assist the rebellion in any manner whatever, in such cases *only* should the said slaves become free, and their former owners forfeit all right, title and interest in them. Thus the sable tide that had exultingly risen to meet the invading armies was checked and driven back into the seething sea of slavery.

It is pleasant to turn from the perusal of such legislative and official drivelings to contemplate the whole-souled action of the gallant Fremont in Missouri. Had he performed no other act entitling him to a fair remembrance in his country's history, his proclamation against slavery in the early days of the rebellion, when President, Congress, and army officials, all stood in cringing awe of the sacred institution should win him the gratitude of posterity. In that proclamation he proclaimed, that by virtue of the authority vested in him, "The slaves of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, are hereby declared freemen." Thus at last was the ax laid at the root of the tree, but before a blow could be struck the timorous administration interfered to prevent damage to its favorite exotic, and President Lincoln, in alarm, wrote to General Fremont, directing him to so modify his proclamation as to make it correspond with the Act of Congress referred to above.

But General Fremont does not wear his honors alone.

In the spring of the following year Major Hunter, commanding the department of the South, issued a proclamation declaring the States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina under martial law, at the same time affirming, that as martial law and slavery were incompatible, he pronounced all those persons who had formerly been held to slavery in those States thenceforth forever free. This spirited pronuncianiento was however likewise speedily annulled by the more conservative President. Immediately after he issued a counter proclamation, repudiating the act of General Hunter as nuauthorized, and asserting that he alone, by virtue of his office, possessed the right to determine whether he possessed power to declare the slaves of any State free; and, also, if he possessed the power, whether it would become necessary for the preservation of the government to exercise it. Congress having previously passed a joint resolution, by which the United States was pledged to assist any State which might of its own accord resolve to abolish slavery in its limits, with pecuniary and such other aid as might be necessary to enable it to execute the design, the Chief Executive called attention to its provisions, as it stood recorded, as a solemn and authentic proposal from the nation to the slave States. None of the latter, however, availed themselves of the gracious proposal, and the law in its results was a dead letter.

But the logic of events brought with it the unerring proof that the conservative views and moderate policy of the administration were seriously damaging in their results to the Union arms, and the government became tardily convinced that a decisive blow, struck forcibly upon this, the only really vital part of the rebellion, would speedily be conducive to permanent success.

The Federal troops had suffered many reverses, and, at times, the fate of the Union seemed irrevocably sealed, yet still was the nation loth to use the effective weapon of emancipation that so soon would have turned the scale in its favor. But reverses and misfortunes multiplied, and necessity, at last, compelled a resort to the long ignored and unpopular remedy.

On the 12th of July, 1862, President Lincoln, in a message to Congress, recommended the adoption of a bill by them, referring to the abolition of slavery; said bill providing that whenever any State had abolished slavery throughout its limits, either immediately or gradually, the President, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, should prepare and deliver to such State an amount of interest-bearing bonds of the United States, equal in amount to the aggregate value of all the slaves existing in said State, according to the census of 1860. The bill also provided that, if the abolition of slavery in any State were immediate, the payment of the designated sum should be also immediate. If, however, the emancipation were gradual, the payment also should be gradual. This message, however, was simply referred to the Committee on Finances. An appeal was subsequently addressed by the President to the representatives of the Border States in Congress, in which he requested them to use their influence to induce their constituents to adopt the policy of emancipation as indicated in his message to Congress. To this appeal there were two replies. The majority of representatives thus appealed to, including those from Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland, denied that any necessity existed for the abolition of slavery in any of the States which they represented, and refused to believe that its abolition in the rebel States,

by Federal power, would assist in securing the triumph of the Union cause.

A minority of the representatives, however, concurred in the views of the President. They declared that slavery was the "Lever-power of the Rebellion," and expressed their willingness to make any sacrifice for the restoration of the Union, and concluded by affirming that, if the rebels could give up slavery to destroy the Union, "they could surely ask their people to consider the question of emancipation to save the Union."

This newly-inaugurated policy of the President was still further indicated by the publication of an order from the Secretary of War, under direction of the President, that the military commanders in the States of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas should employ as laborers, within said States, as many persons of African descent as could be advantageously used for military and naval purposes, giving them reasonable wages for their labor, while accounts should be kept recording from whom said slaves were taken, and the value of their labor, "as a basis upon which compensation can be made in proper cases."

Previously, however, a "Confiscation and Emancipation Act" had, in compliance with his message, been passed by both Houses of Congress, and, on July 17, was approved by President Lincoln, and, by his approval, was converted into law. By this act it was provided that whoever should thereafter be guilty of treason against the United States should suffer death, or be fined and imprisoned, and their slaves become free. Also, any person who should in any way encourage and assist the existing rebellion should incur fine and imprisonment, and his s aves be declared free.

It further enacted that the slaves of persons engaged in hostility against the Government of the United States, who escaped within the lines of the Federal armies, should not be restored to their masters, but be declared free, and that no fugitive slave who had thus escaped should be restored to his master, unless the master should prove he was loyal to the Federal government, and had in no way assisted and encouraged the rebellion; that, further, the President was empowered to employ persons of African descent to assist in the suppression of the rebellion, in such manner as he deemed expedient; and, lastly, rendered it lawful for him to make provision for the settlement and colonization of such negroes who, becoming free through the operations of this act, should desire to locate beyond the limits of the United States.

Again, on the 22d of September, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation that yet stands forth in bold relief, from the universal gloom that enshrouded the land, and inflicted a deadly blow upon the hitherto jealously-guarded institution of slavery. Circumstances had rendered it necessary, and this measure, so long deprecated by the President, was even then indispensable to the subjugation of the revolted States.

He declared in it his intention of recommending, at the next meeting of Congress, the adoption of measures tendering pecuniary assistance and compensation to all of the slave States whose citizens would not then be engaged in rebellion against the Federal government, and who might then or afterward adopt immediate or gradual emancipation within their respective limits, and advising the colonization of free negroes at some distant place on the American Continent.

Referring to the Acts of Congress of March 13th and

July 17th, 1862, forbidding the fugitive slaves within the lines of the Union armies to be returned to their masters, or employing the Federal forces in any manner to assist in restoring them, he announced that on the first day of January, 1863, he would designate those States and parts of States which were then in rebellion against the Federal government, and would decree that the slaves of citizens of such rebel regions should thereupon become free, and that all the slaves of persons actively engaged in hostilities against the United States should thenceforth be enfranchised. Such are the main features of this famous proclamation given to the world in the darkest days of the Republic When men's hearts were failing them, and the loyal millions who had labored and suffered so much to restore the once glorious Union were sitting in the shadow of despair, it lights up the surrounding gloom with an effulgent glory that shall brighten to the close of time, and shines all the fairer upon the page of history by contrast with the dreary days of national defeat. It was received throughout the North with general but calm satisfaction, a noteworthy fact, inasmuch as the preceding proclamations in reference to the subject had provoked a degree of opposition, and even indignation, from many of the friends and supporters of the government, that under the circumstances, was wholly uncalled for. But the North had now felt the bitterness of defeat. It looked forward to a doubtful issue of the dreadful conflict that had rapidly depleted it of its blood and treasure. Its colossal armies had fought with fluctuating and variable results. Sometimes their star of fortune seemed in the ascendency, and shining with unwonted brilliancy, again paling and scintillating sickly in the distance, the great hope

of victory vibrating in unison until it culminated in untoward disaster and wide-spread calamity; and now the Northmen who still prayed and worked for victory, were reconciled to the extremest measures that promised them success, and hailed with quiet satisfaction this portentous indication that the government had risen in its strength, and was about to exert the full measure of its powerful weight to crush the body of its foes.

The memorable year of 1862 was now drawing to a close. The history of its gigantic battles, its protracted sieges and its terrible slaughters, is still fresh in the annals of the nation, and the blood-marks are yet warm upon its portals. Steadily had the tide of war rolled on; sometimes spreading ruin and dismay throughout the Southland, but oftener threatening to engulf, in its angry waves, the struggling hosts who battled for the Union of their common forefathers. But the blood-besprinkled and battle-torn year went grandly down to its death, crowned with far more than war-won laurels, and was embalmed forever in the incense of the slave's remembrance. With its last expiring moment perished silently upon American soil the curse of human slavery. No more slaves in America! No more traffic in the souls of men! Oh! was not that a glorious result, worthy of the glorious cause so gallantly contested?

God's instruments clothed in humanity had wrought out the dread problem of the ages, and from the harassing clouds of fratricidal war had evolved the divine solution. On the morrow not a slave would stand upon the continent. The Emancipation Proclamation, that solemn death-warrant of a peculiar but most barbarous institution had received the signature of Abra-

ham Lincoln, the Chief Executive of a powerful but outraged nation, and the new year was already beginning to dawn upon a spectacle America had never heretofore presented—*a nation of free men!*

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and the people thereof in those States in which that relation is, or may be, suspended or disturbed; that it is my purpose upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the slave States, so-called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits, and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon the continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the government, existing there, will be continued; that on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, SHALL BE THEN, THENCEFORWARD AND FOREVER, FREE; and the military and naval authority thereof will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof re-

spectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto, at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof have not been in rebellion against the United States.

"Your attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled, 'An act to make an additional article of war,' approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figures following:

"'*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the Army of the United States, and shall be observed and obeyed as such:

"'ARTICLE —. All officers or persons of the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article, shall be dismissed from the service.

"'SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, that this act shall take effect from and after its passage.'

"Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled, 'An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes,' approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

"'SEC. 9. And be it further enacted, that all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping

from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them, and coming under the control of the Government of the United States, and all slaves of such persons found on (or being within) any place occupied by rebel forces and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude and not again held as slaves.

"'SEC. 10. And be it further enacted, that no slave escaping into any State, Territory or the District of Columbia, from any of the States, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offense against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due, is his lawful owner, and has not been in arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid or comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretense whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any such person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.'

"And I do hereby enjoin upon, and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey and enforce within their respective spheres of service the act and sections above-recited.

"And the Executive will, in due time, recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if the relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

"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 twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State."

PART II.

The Freedmen.

THE morning of the 1st of January, 1863, dawned upon the grandest spectacle the world had ever seen. The two halves of a great nation, sundered more widely by mutual hate and fear, than though a mighty ocean rolled between their hostile shores, were pausing, as if to gain fresh strength and courage for a renewed attack upon each other's armies; while out from the smoke of the conflict seemed to issue a white-winged angel of peace, proclaiming "Liberty to all the land and freedom to all the inhabitants thereof!" The sons and the daughters of Africa, scarce daring to hope that to *them* the heaven-sent messenger had brought the "glad tidings of good news," stood doubtingly upon the threshold of a new existence. Slavery was dead! murdered by the suicidal folly of its own too zealous advocates in a futile, though right-royal, effort for its preservation.

The sublime words of the Proclamation of Emancipation had already published its death-knell abroad to the listening nations, and the dull ears of the slave though scarce comprehending its import, were glad, dened by the sound. The dawning of the new year was likewise the dawning of a new era in the grand

cycle of the ages, for *slavery was dead*, and America, at last, was *free!*

But the liberty so reluctantly bestowed, and so doubtingly received, was not, as yet, the proud, exultant and intelligent liberty of the hereditary freemen. Instead, it was rather the spiritless, unreasoning freedom of the long caged animal suddenly turned loose, frightened, distrustful, and dreading to stir lest it should be remanded to its former prison house. The freedmen were free but in name. Ishmael-like, they issued from a worse than Egyptian bondage to wander for a season in a darker wilderness of doubt and sorrow than beset the weary feet of Israel's ungrateful sons.

The edict of Emancipation, though based firmly upon humanity, morality and religion, was still in itself but a military necessity, reluctantly resorted to when the fluctuating fortunes of the imperiled Republic were at the lowest ebb. Hitherto the armies of the rebellion had been strengthened and upheld in the field by the labor of the slaves. The negroes were employed in cultivating the farms, in providing for the support of the families of the soldiers, and upon the severer labors of the camp and fortification, thereby enabling the rebels to place a proportionably larger force in the field than the North; and thus the slave, who was really the friend of the Union, was made the powerful ally of the rebel government.

Emancipation, apart from any humane or moral consideration, was indispensable to the success of the Union cause, and the proclamation that bestowed freedom upon the slave ultimately brought ruin upon the fortunes of the rebels, by destroying the primary cause of the war, and removing the chief supporting pillar of the Confederacy.

Arising from the Proclamation, as a necessary corollary, was the consideration of the question of the relation of the negro race to the war. The question of enlisting as soldiers the free colored men of the North had for some time excited much discussion. The project in certain circles provoked much opposition, and many Congressmen, of both political parties, took decided ground against the measure as revolutionary and repulsive; and in the highest degree *insulting* to the feelings of the white soldiers.

But the body of the people felt convinced, from the compulsory method of reasoning which had led them to hail with satisfaction the enunciation of the proclamation of freedom, that the enlistment of negro troops would lighten materially the burdens and sufferings of their friends in the field; that in the desperate situation of the country the assistance, not of the free negroes in the North only, but of those so recently emancipated in the South, was absolutely necessary to enable them to make a determined resistance to the almost superhuman exertions of the rebels.

On the 28th of January, 1863, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Stephens, authorizing the employment of African troops in the Federal armies. It at first met with much opposition, and its passage was not secured until a later period. The bill as passed by Congress and approved by the President, was as follows :

" *Be it enacted, etc.*, That the President be, and he is hereby authorized, to enroll, arm, equip, and receive into the land and naval service of the United States, such number of volunteers, of African descent, as he may deem useful to suppress the present rebellion, for such term of service as he may prescribe, not exceeding five years ; the said volunteers to be organized

according to the regulations of the branch of the service in which they may be enlisted, to receive the same rations, clothing, and equipments as other volunteers, and a monthly pay not to exceed that of the volunteers; to be officered by white or black persons appointed and commissioned by the President, and to be governed by the rules and articles of war, and such other rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President.

"*Provided*, That nothing herein contained, or in the rules and articles of war, shall be so construed as to authorize or permit any officer of African descent to be appointed to rank or to exercise military or naval authority over white officers, soldiers, or men in the military or naval service of the United States; nor shall any greater pay than ten dollars per month, with the usual allowance of clothing and rations, be allowed or paid to privates or laborers, of African descent, which are or may be in the military or naval service of the United States. *Provided further*, That the slaves or loyal citizens of the States exempt by the President's proclamation of January 1st, 1863, shall not be received into the armed service of the United States, nor shall there be recruiting offices opened in either of the States of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee or Missouri, without the consent of the Governors of the said States having been first obtained."

The good effects of this measure became at once apparent. "*The colored troops fought nobly*," and by their bravery and good conduct in the battles in which they were engaged fully justified the most sanguine expectations of their friends.

Before midsummer of the year 1863 more than thirty thousand troops of African descent had been enrolled in the Union army. The tide of war again turned in favor of the Federal forces, and victory once more perched upon the banners of the Union. The negro

volunteers were first employed at the siege of Vicksburg, and rendered effective service; completely refuting the assertions so often made, that they were deficient in the courage and endurance requisite to the profession of arms. On the 6th of July an attack was made upon Milliken's Bend by the rebels under command of General Walker. The Union force then stationed there was composed for the most part of negro troops, portions of four regiments then forming for the service, but who had never been under fire. The attacking party was first repulsed by the colored troops, but not without great loss to the latter, nearly six hundred of whom were lost in the engagement that followed. Some two hundred of their number were taken prisoner, not one of whom was ever afterward heard from. The refusal of the rebel authorities to give any account of them, together with the semi-official avowal of the intention of the rebel government to indiscriminately slaughter the freedmen who became soldiers of the United States, should they fall into their hands, justifies the painful assumption that they were murdered after their capture. Indeed, the whole subsequent history of the rebellion is blurred by the record of many such inhuman butcheries.

In Louisiana a body of five hundred negroes, from the abandoned plantations of the Attakapas country, resolved to reach the Union camp and enlist as soldiers. Accordingly, they armed themselves with such weapons as they could find—pitchforks, old shot guns, etc., and proceeded peaceably on their way; but on reaching the town of St. Martinsville, through which they must pass, they concluded to demand the surrender of the place, deeming this the best plan to avert a collision with the citizens. The people of St. Martinsville went

out to meet them with the Union flag, and by professions of friendship induced them to lay down their arms and enter the town. On doing so they were at once seized by the inhabitants, and every one hung on the spot; the rebel officers who assisted in the murder afterward boasting of the number they helped to kill.

A month later occurred the massacre of more than two thousand helpless negro prisoners at Brashear, Louisiana, mostly the infirm, and old men, women, and children—the able-bodied men having joined the colored regiments. The rebels having defeated the Union forces and captured the town, rushed upon the contraband camp and slaughtered all indiscriminately, save a very few who managed to effect their escape. But the crowning act of butchery, which stamps upon the Southern Confederacy the ineffaceable disgrace of mingled cowardice and brutality, was reserved for General Forrest, at Fort Pillow. Having by the most pusillanimous treachery obtained possession of the fort on April 12th, an inhuman massacre of four hundred persons ensued, the heart-sickening details of which are almost too horrible for belief.

"Then followed a scene of cruelty and murder without parallel in civilized warfare, which needed but the tomahawk and scalping knife to exceed the worst atrocities ever committed by savages. The rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, white or black, soldier or civilian. The officers and men seemed to vie with each other in the fiendish work; men, women, and even children, wherever found, were deliberately shot down, beaten, and hacked with sabers; some of the children, not more than ten years old, were forced to stand up and face their murderers while being shot; the sick and the wounded were butchered without mercy, the rebels even entering the hospital building and dragging them

out to be shot, or killing them as they lay there unable to offer the least resistance. All around were heard cries of 'No quarter!" 'No quarter!' 'Kill the niggers; shoot them down!" All who asked for mercy were answered by the most cruel taunts and sneers. Some were spared for a time, only to be murdered under circumstances of greater cruelty. No cruelty which the most fiendish malignity could devise was omitted by these murderers. One negro, who had been ordered by a rebel officer to hold his horse, was killed by him when he remounted; another, a mere child, whom an officer had taken up behind him on his horse, was seen by Chalmers, who at once ordered the officer to put him down and shoot him, which was done. The huts and tents, in which many of the wounded had sought shelter, were set on fire, both that night, and the next morning, while the wounded were still in them—those only escaping who were able to get themselves out; and even some of those, thus seeking to escape the flames, were met by those ruffians and brutally shot down, or had their brains beaten out. One man was deliberately fastened down to the floor of a tent, face upward, by means of nails driven through his clothes and into the boards under him, so that he could not possibly escape, and then the tent set on fire; another was nailed to the side of a building outside the fort, and then the building set on fire and burned."

Yet such atrocities were unquestionably ordered and sanctioned by the rebel leaders, they justifying the outrages and asserting that they were under orders to show no quarter to the negro troops when captured.

On the next day, Forrest dispatched the rebel General Buford to Columbus, Kentucky, demanding the unconditional surrender of the post, and threatening, if his request were not immediately complied with, he would, if compelled to storm the fort, show no quarter to the negro troops.

Colonel Lawrence, commander of the fortress, re-

fused emphatically to surrender the post, and Buford, taking advantage of his flag of truce to steal a number of horses, prudently returned to the rebel camp, making no attempt to attack the Union garrison.

In nothing is the patient, forgiving disposition of the negroes more apparent than in their having abstained from taking retributive vengeance, in the many opportunities offered them afterward, upon the murderers of their families and kinsmen. Yet, as may be supposed, the recital of such bloody deeds nerved them for the most daring exhibitions of heroism. The certainty of a horrible fate, if captured, precluded all thoughts of surrender; and they fought desperately, to the death. The record of the negro regiments during the war is replete with instances of individual valor and of combined bravery. In nothing did they fall below the white soldiers of either of the opposing armies. They fought, as their commanding officers have testified, "like madmen," and freely flung down their lives to save the shattered country that heretofore had deserved no gratitude from any of their race.

But the military atrocities of the South were destined to meet a fitting parallel at the North. In the later years of the war the action of the Federal government had been seriously embarrassed by the opposition of a party calling themselves "Peace Democrats," who sympathized strongly with the slaveholder's rebellion, and lost no opportunity of covertly assisting it, or of conniving to defeat the aims and measures of the government. This party obtained a prominency in the second year of the war, and though highly unpopular at the North, yet maintained its organization and consistency until the close of the war, when the sudden conversion of its adherents to war

measures was edifying, not to say amusing. Their relation to the war of the rebellion is analogous to that of the Tories and Royalists to the Revolutionary era. The pernicious doctrines they had taken such pains to inculcate, culminated on July 13th, 1863, in a disgraceful riot in the city of New York, in which property to the amount of nearly two million dollars was destroyed, twenty-five of the police were killed, and about one hundred wounded, while thirty negroes were murdered and some seventy wounded. Never had the malignant hatred of a certain class of people at the North toward the negro obtained a more repulsive demonstration than on this occasion. Meetings of the prominent rioters had been held on Sunday the 12th, and their revolutionary schemes which had been under consideration for some time were fully perfected. At an early hour of Monday morning organized parties, chiefly but not exclusively composed of Irish, gathered in the streets, shouting their admiration for Jefferson Davis, the Southern Confederacy, Fernando Wood, and other prominent officials of their party. The authorities were panic stricken, and offered but little resistance to the mob; and the police, who alone opposed them, met with severe losses. The railroad tracks were torn up, and the telegraph wires cut. Frantic attempts were made to destroy the offices of the New York *Tribune* and New York *Times*, both of which had rendered themselves especially obnoxious to the rioters by their strong advocacy of the energetic prosecution of the war. But it was upon the hapless negroes that the most violent fury of the mob expended itself. If colored men or women appeared upon the street they were instantly pursued, hunted down like wild animals, beaten, stamped upon, hung to lamp-posts, or

thrown into the river. Their houses were plundered, torn down, or burned, and their helpless occupants, infirm women and little children, beaten and murdered. The Colored Orphan Asylum, a large substantial building upon Fifth Avenue, occupied by seven or eight hundred colored children, was plundered and burned to the ground, the teachers and children barely escaping with their lives. The negroes had been for years the most quiet, orderly, and unoffending class in the city. But for the offense of *being negroes* they were persecuted with the most relentless hostility. Men and women too of the lowest class, and chiefly Irish, were guilty of the most shameless atrocities and barbarity upon these unresisting victims of unprovoked brutality. On the evening of Tuesday Governor Seymour came to the city, and addressing the mob as "friends" begged them to desist from further mischief, but the rioters raged on unheeding. On Thursday Archbishop Hughes caused a placard to be posted throughout the city, addressed "to the men of New York, who are now called in many of the papers rioters," inviting them to his house that he might address them. Such conciliatory measures proved fruitless. Only when the mob had satiated its malignant desires for innocent blood, and exhausted its demoniac rage upon the poor, bruised black bodies of its victims, did the disturbances cease, and quiet once more resume its reign.

As may naturally be supposed, the remarkable events that characterized the four years' struggle, for the safety of the Union, excited no ordinary degree of interest in the nations of the Old World. From the beginning they had marked the progress of the war with varied emotions. Looking upon the United States as a powerful rival, they saw already in the decline of

her prestige their own future aggrandizement, and proclaimed her long-tried Republicanism already a failure. The sympathies of the sovereigns of Europe were not with her, but the people, the toiling observing masses, accepted her cause as their own, and watched prayerfully the progress of the dubious struggle. Especially was this true of the common people of England. On the last day of 1862, a meeting composed mainly of the working men and operatives of Manchester, but at which were present several distinguished persons, prepared and sent to Abraham Lincoln an address, in which was expressed their fraternal sentiments toward America, and lauding the United States as "a singularly happy abode for the working millions." The address then declared that but one thing alone had lessened the respect of its authors for the American people, and this was, that their politicians, so far from endeavoring to mitigate the existence of slavery among them, had endeavored to root it more firmly and extend it more widely. But since the efforts of the government were now powerfully directed to the extinction of slavery, their sympathies were bestowed wholly upon the cause of the Union. The address further declared:

"We assure you that you can not now stop short of a complete uprooting of slavery. It would not become us to dictate any details, but there are broad principles of humanity which must guide you. If complete emancipation of some States be deferred, though only to a predetermined day, still, in the interval, human beings should not be counted as chattels. *Women must have rights of chastity and maternity, men the rights of husbands, masters the liberty of manumission. Justice demands for the black, no less than for the white, the protection of law—that his voice be heard in your courts.*

Nor must any such abomination be tolerated as slave-breeding States and a slave market—if you choose to earn the reward of all your sacrifices in the approval of the universal brotherhood, and of the Divine Father.

"It is for your free country to decide whether any thing but immediate and total emancipation can secure the most indispensable rights of humanity against the inveterate wickedness of local laws and local executives. We implore you, for your own honor and welfare, not to faint in your providential mission. While your enthusiasm is aflame, and the tide of events run high, let the work be finished effectually. Leave not the root of bitterness to spring up and work fresh misery to your children. It is a mighty task, indeed, to reorganize the industry, not only of four millions of the colored race, but of five millions of whites. Nevertheless, the vast progress which you have made, in the short space of twenty months, fills us with hope that every stain on your freedom will shortly be removed, and that the erasure of that foul blot upon civilization and Christianity—chattel-slavery—during your Presidency, will cause the name of Abraham Lincoln to be honored and revered by posterity. We are certain that such a glorious consummation will cement Great Britain to the United States.

"Accept our high admiration of your firmness in upholding the proclamation of freedom,"

To this address the President returned an exceedingly appropriate and dignified response; while the loyal people of the United States received with pleasure this testimonial of friendly feeling from this estimable portion of the British people, many of whom had shown so decided a lack of sympathy for the Union cause.

The attention of the charitable people of the North had been early attracted to the destitute condition of the freedmen and refugees who pressed into the Union

lines, and accompanied the armies on the march. "Contraband camps" arose, as if by magic, all over the Southern country, and twenty-five thousand liberated captives joyfully toiled onward with the triumphant cavalcade that swept the verdant valleys of Georgia and South Carolina when "Sherman marched down to the sea."

Freedmen's Aid Societies in co-operation with the Soldiers' Aid Societies, were formed in the cities and villages of the North, and energetic measures were speedily inaugurated, looking to the relief of the unfortunates. Nor were their spiritual wants forgotten. Organizations were formed for the purpose of furnishing them with teachers, books, and whatever else was most needed. In this way much good was effected, and the war which had opened with slavery in the ascendency closed peacefully upon the ruins of the system, while the millions of its trembling bondmen joyfully accepting the long-denied right of liberty, stood ready to enter the new life, not of *freedmen* only, but of *free men*.

PART III.

The Freedmen's Bureau.

THE close of the war in 1865 found the condition of the masses of the freedmen but little improved. A fearful rate of mortality prevailed, and many had perished on the field of battle, or were massacred by the pitiless soldiery of the South. Many were wholly dependent upon the government for the means of sustenance, and many more eked out a bare subsistence upon scanty and unwholesome food, while all shared largely in the demoralization of the country. The South groaning under the burdens of its own binding, distracted with excitement and anxiety, impoverished and humiliated by the sacrifices and disappointments entailed upon its unhappy people by the fortunes of war, was shattered to the very center of its social system. Confusion and anarchy reigned supreme, save in those districts occupied by the national troops, and reduced to order by military commanders. The condition of the colored people at this early stage of emancipation was deplorable in the extreme. Suddenly set free, but scarcely realizing the full import of their freedom, without employment, without means of sustenance, and beyond the reach of friends who could assist or would advise—for strangely enough, their for-

mer masters looked upon this unoffending people as the primary cause of all the horrors and sufferings engendered by the reign of terror their own rash misdeeds had inaugurated, and regarded them with a bitter, revengeful spirit, that frequently found vent in unprovoked cruelty and outrage—while their isolated position, in the midst of a rebellious territory, debarred from them the charity and benevolence of the North. Thus a situation more horribly helpless, more hopeless, and more truly lamentable can not well be imagined. Thousands of men, women and children, wretched, destitute, suffering, sick, and in many instances perishing from lack of shelter, food, clothing, and medical care—crowded into the cities and villages of the South, while many of the more able-bodied, who had followed the invading armies on the march, were collected in miserable camps on deserted plantations, and commanding officers were obliged to issue rations from the commissariat to save multitudes from absolute starvation.

Naturally, the horrors of their situation were aggravated by their uncertainty and ignorance regarding their new relations, and by well-founded fears of punishment should they be obliged to return to their former owners and abandoned drudgery.

About 20,000 of such wretched refugees were in the District of Columbia; 100,000 in Virginia; nearly 50,000 in North Carolina; and as many more in South Carolina, Georgia, New Orleans, and along the Mississippi River.

Here indeed was a fruitful field for charity, and the active benevolence of the Christian people of the North —following in the wake of the army—began to flow in one broad and steady channel toward the homeless

exiles. Private associations and public societies were formed, and engaged zealously in the work of relief. But the work was too vast for private means and agencies, and the government came tardily with its powerful support.

Here were four million helpless human beings, appealing silently to the sympathy and charity of the world, and enduring their privations and misfortunes with a degree of heroism or stoicism, that showed, too well, they were inured to such hardships. Four million human beings destitute and ignorant, anxious to work should labor be provided to obtain food and clothing, silently demanding protection from injustice and brutality, scattered throughout the length and breadth of a rebellious and unfriendly territory, and threatened with utter immolation unless the strong arm of the government was extended to their relief, were to be provided with hospitals for their sick, homes for their orphans, labor for their middle-aged, asylums for their old, and schools for their young.

From such contingencies, and for such benevolent purposes, arose the Freedmen's Bureau, that grand combination of charity and protection that has stood as a wall of defense between the humble ex-slave and his revengeful master.

On the first day of January, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation was promulgated, and, on the following 12th of January a bill to establish a Bureau of Emancipation in the War Department was presented in the House of Representatives, and on the 19th of January was referred to a committee. Congress adjourned however on the 4th of March following, no action having been taken in the House upon the report of the committee.

On the 14th of December, 1863, at the first session of the thirty-eighth Congress, a bill to establish a Bureau of Emancipation was again introduced in the House, and again referred to a select committee of nine members. The bill was reported on the 22d of December, and came up for debate in the House on the 10th of the following February. Its discussion was continued until the 1st of March, 1864, when a motion to lay the bill on the table was rejected by sixty-two yeas against sixty-eight nays, and the bill passed by a vote of sixty-nine yeas against sixty-seven nays, with the title of "A bill to establish a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs." It was sent to the Senate on the 2d of March, 1864, and on the 29th of June was returned to the House with an amendment placing the Bureau under the charge of the Secretary of the Treasury. On the 2d of July the bill was reported back from the House Committee, with the recommendation that the Senate amendment be not concurred in. Its further consideration was then postponed, and on the next day Congress adjourned. At the second session of the thirty-eighth Congress the bill was again considered, the House dissenting from the Senate amendment, and a Committee of Conference was appointed on the 20th of December, 1864. On the 2d of February, 1865, the committee reported a bill "to establish a department of Freedmen and Abandoned Lands." Again a disposition to lay the whole subject on the table was manifested, but a motion to that effect was defeated by a vote of sixty-seven yeas to eighty-two nays. On February 9th the report of the committee was accepted by the House, but the Senate rejected it, and a new conference was ordered. On the 3d of March, 1865, a bill was reported as a substitute, by the committee entitled,

"An act to establish a Bureau for the relief of Freedmen and Refugees." This report was agreed to, by both Houses of Congress, and President Lincoln on the same day approved the bill; more than one year having elapsed since the first bill was passed by the House. By the terms of the law its duration was originally limited to one year after the close of the war, but it was subsequently amended so as to continue in force for two years. The Bureau was organized by General O. O. Howard, previously of the army of Tennessee, he having been selected as commissioner by President Lincoln, and afterward confirmed in the appointment by President Johnson. On the 15th of May, 1865, Commissioner Howard entered upon his duties. Congress having adjourned on the day following the passage of the act creating the Bureau, no appropriation had been made for its support, and its various officers and agents accordingly were detailed for service from the army, and these were directed to apply for the means of relieving the wants of the destitute to the different charitable associations of the country, which, during the one year of legislation required by Congress to enact a single humane statute, had labored faithfully and successfully in proportion to their means to assuage the sorrows and lighten the burdens of a shivering, starving, outcast people.

While no direct appropriation of moneys for the use of the Bureau was made by Congress until July 13th, 1866, yet by the provisions of the law authorizing it, arrangements were made for its support by means of abandoned property, rents of abandoned lands, and confiscated property of leading rebels. Thus, by means of material furnished by the rebellion itself, the Bureau, if properly managed, would doubtless soon have

become an independent and self-sustaining institution, and thus the terrible "*mistake*" of the Southern people, as an offset to the incalculable amount of harm wrought through the period of its duration, would eventually have been productive of no small amount of good through its *debris*. But shortly after the passage of the law appeared President Johnson's proclamation of pardon, and in the restoration of lands and property to pardoned rebels that followed, the Bureau was deprived of its expected support.

Commissioner Howard, in reply to a resolution of the House of Representatives, referred to the consequent disarrangement of his plans as follows:

"The real property turned over to it at its organization was seized, for the most part, as abandoned.

"It was intended not only to allot this to freedmen, but also to use it as a means of revenue. For the latter purpose it had already become exceedingly useful and valuable to the Bureau, and measures had been initiated to use portions for the former purpose, when, on the 16th of August, instructions were received to the effect that abandoned property should be restored to former owners when pardoned. Under these instructions the Bureau has parted with the greater portion of this property. Its tenure upon it has been rendered so uncertain that the steps taken to allot it to freedmen have been countermanded in most instances, and its revenue has been so curtailed that it is not now a self-supporting institution."

Previously to the formation of the Freedmen's Bureau, under what was then called the Department of Negro Affairs, a fund collected by the Treasury Department from the rent of abandoned lands and from the sale of property set apart for the use of the freedmen, and held by the Secretary of the Treasury, was by order of President Johnson transferred to the Bu-

reau on June 2d, 1865. Also such commissary, quartermaster, medical and hospital stores as were pressingly needed to supply immediate want were furnished by the war department:

"The whole expenditure since the passage of the law, March 3, 1865, down to January 1, 1868, from moneys appropriated by Congress for the Bureau, amounts to	$4,397,854 39
"But of that amount the sum of $500,000 was applied, under a resolution of Congress directing the Secretary of War to issue supplies of food to prevent starvation and extreme want, to destitute white persons in the Southern and Southwestern States, where failure of crops had caused destitution. This amount was set apart for that purpose April 3, 1867. A further sum of $50,000 was transferred by Congress to the Agricultural Department for seeds to the South	550,000 00
"These sums should not be charged to the expense account of the Bureau; so that the whole expenditure from appropriations by Congress for the use of the Bureau since its establishment amount to	3,847,854 39

"There has been expended by the Bureau, in addition to what Congress has appropriated, since the establishment of the Bureau, the sum of $1,561,602 62. But this sum had been collected from abandoned property and from property assigned to freedmen before the Bureau went into operation; and of this sum there has been expended for educational purposes $392,526 98.

Immediately on General Howard's accession to the charge of the Bureau, he began zealously and untir-

ingly the work of creating a new world of law and order from the floating, heterogeneous mass of crude material scattered through the South.

His first order to his assistant commissioners was to protect loyal refugees from abuse, and to maintain and declare everywhere the freedom of the freedmen. With the approval of the President they were authorized to adjudicate all difficulties arising between whites and negroes in cases where justice could not be obtained through the civil courts. They were also directed to exert all their influence to preserve peace and good order in the districts over which their jurisdiction extended. To execute these orders it was necessary for the officers stationed in the rebel States to resort to a variety of ways and expedients. As may be supposed in a community educated to believe in the divine origin of slavery, magistrates and judges could now seldom be persuaded to regard colored men as equals before the law with whites; and at first they positively refused to receive the testimony of negroes against white persons. Hence became necessary bureau courts, provost courts, and boards of arbitration for the settlement of all ordinary complaints. In cases of capital crime and felony, or involving titles to real estate, appeal was made to the military commanders.

Rarely indeed has an attempt been made by a civil officer to bring guilty persons to justice when the aggrieved party was a negro; and yet the reports of these bureau officers are replete with instances of cruelty and violence toward the freedmen. "Murders, whipping, tying up by the thumbs, defrauding of wages, over-working, combining for purposes of extortion, and binding out of children as apprentices without their parent's consent," are some of the varied

forms in which Southern planters and property holders testified their affection for their emancipated slaves; and no pen can do justice to the self-denying labors and steadfast exertions of the body of bureau agents stationed at remote parts throughout the subjugated but unsettled territory of the South. A position more isolated, more unenviable, more dangerous, and more productive of hard work can not easily be imagined. Probably, since the origin of the government, no single institution save the Freedmen's Bureau, and no separate body of men beside its agents in the South, have been so vigorously assailed, so maliciously misrepresented, and so bitterly maligned.

Many of the latter were mobbed, some were murdered, and all of them during their enforced sojourn in the South subjected to insults the most coarse, threats the most brutal, and annoyances the most contemptible, that ever disgraced civilized barbarians. But if attention to duty, persevering patience, and the consciousness of a good work well performed can compensate for lack of sympathy, social ostracism, and personal abuse, then verily they have their reward!

For the more successful furtherance of its objects the Bureau was divided into the several departments of the land and claim division, the financial, medical, subsistence, and educational divisions; each of which, in its offices, operations, and results, contributed to promote the primary ends of the institution, viz: to prepare the freedman for his new condition; to aid him during the transition period from slavery to freedom; to protect him in the enjoyment of his natural and acquired rights immediately consequent on emancipation; to inaugurate and secure a system of free labor, and to foster and develop education. It was not the

purpose of the Bureau to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged in the work of instruction, but to systemize and facilitate them. From the report of the Congressional Committee on Freedmen, March 10, 1868, we condense the following brief account of the operations of the Bureau in regard to the latter:

"When our armies entered the South two facts became apparent: first, a surprising thirst for knowledge among the negroes; second, a large volunteer force of teachers for their instruction.

"Without delay schools were successfully established and the earliest efforts to impart knowledge found the freedmen ready for its reception. Teachers of character and culture were ready from the first. To some extent the army had carried its own instructors. Negro servants of officers studied at the camp-fires of fellow servants. Chaplains of colored troops became instructors. In the campaigns of 1864 and 1865 the Christian Commission employed 50 teachers in colored camps and regiments.

"At the close of the war it is believed that 20,000 colored soldiers could read intelligently, and a much larger number were learning their first lessons.

"Really wonderful results had been accomplished through the disinterested efforts of benevolent associations working in connection with the government. But arrangements were soon made to give, on a larger scale, systematic and impartial aid to all of them. This consisted in turning over for school use temporary government buildings no longer needed for military purposes, and buildings seized from disloyal owners; also transportation for teachers, books, and school furniture, with quarters and rations for teachers and superintendents when on duty.

"Schools were taken in charge by the Bureau, and in some States carried on wholly (in connection with local efforts) by use of the 'refugees and freedmen's fund.' Teachers came under the general direction of the assistant commissioners, and protection through

the department commanders was given to all engaged in the work.

"Superintendents of schools for each State were appointed July 12, 1865, whose duty it was 'to work as much as possible in connection with State officers who may have had school matters in charge, and to take cognizance of all that was being done to educate refugees and freedmen, secure protection to schools and teachers, promote method and efficiency, and to correspond with the benevolent agencies which were supplying his field.'

"The total number of pupils January 1, 1866, in all the colored schools, as near as could be ascertained, was 90,589; teachers, 1,314; schools, 740.

"Wherever our troops broke through the lines of the enemy, schools followed. At Hampton, Beaufort, North Carolina, Roanoke Island, and New Orleans, they were soon in operation. A very efficient system was instituted for Louisiana in the early part of 1864, by Major General Banks, then in command of that State. It was supported by a military tax upon the whole population. Schools were opened in Savannah, Georgia, on the entrance of General Sherman, in December, 1864, and 500 pupils were at once enrolled. Ten intelligent colored persons were the first teachers, and nearly $1,000 were immediately contributed by the negroes for their support. This work was organized by the Secretary of the American Tract Society, Boston. Two of the largest of these schools were in 'Bryan's slave mart,' where platforms occupied a few days before with bondmen for sale became crowded with children learning to read.

"At the end of the school year, July 1, 1866, it was found that while complete organization had not been reached, the schools in nearly all the States were steadily gaining in numbers, attainment, and general influence.

"The official reports of superintendents gave 975 schools, 1,405 teachers, and 90,778 pupils. But these figures were not a true exhibit of the actual increase. They did not include many schools which failed to re-

port. It was estimated that in all the different methods of teaching there had been, during the preceding six months, 150,000 freedmen and their children earnestly and successfully occupied in study.

"Some change of sentiment had, at this time, been observed among the better classes of the South; those of higher intelligence acknowledging that education must become universal. Still, multitudes bitterly opposed the schools. Teachers were proscribed and ill-treated; school-houses were burned; many schools could not be opened, and others, after a brief struggle, had to be closed. Nevertheless, the country began to feel the moral power of this movement. Commendations came from foreign lands, and the universal demand of good men was that the work should go on.

"As showing the desire for education among the freedmen, we give the following facts: When the collection of the general tax for colored schools was suspended in Louisiana by military order, the consternation of the colored population was intense. Petitions began to pour in. I saw one from the plantations across the river, at least thirty feet in length, representing ten thousand negroes. It was affecting to examine it, and note the names and marks [X] of such a long list of parents, ignorant themselves, but begging that their children might be educated, promising that from beneath their present burdens, and out of their extreme poverty, they would pay for it.

"In September, 1865, J. W. Alvord, the present general superintendent, was appointed 'Inspector of Schools.' He traveled through nearly all the States lately in insurrection, and made the first general report to the Bureau on the subject of education, January 1, 1866.

"Extracts from this report give the condition of the freedmen throughout the whole South. He says, 'The desire of the freedmen for knowledge has not been overstated. This comes from several causes.

"'1. The natural thirst for knowledge common to all men.

"'2. They have seen power and influence among

white people always coupled with *learning;* it is the sign of that elevation to which they now aspire.

"'3. Its mysteries, hitherto hidden from them in written literature, excite to the special study of *books.*

"'4. Their freedom has given wonderful stimulus to *all effort*, indicating a vitality which augurs well for their whole future condition and character.

"'5. But, especially, the practical business of life now upon their hands shows their immediate need of education.

"'This they all feel and acknowledge; hence their unusual welcome of and attendance upon schools is confined to no one class or age. Those advanced in life throw up their hands at first in despair, but a little encouragement places *even these* as pupils at the alphabet.

"'Such as are in middle life, the laboring classes, gladly avail themselves of evening and Sabbath-schools. They may be often seen during the intervals of toil, when off duty as servants, on steamboats, along the railroads, and when unemployed in the streets in the city, or on plantations, with some fragment of a spelling-book in their hands, earnestly at study.

"'Regiments of colored soldiers have nearly all made improvement in learning. In some of them, where but few knew their letters at first, nearly every man can now read, and many of them write. In other regiments one-half or two-thirds can do this.

"'Even in hospitals I discovered very commendable efforts at such elementary instruction.

"'But the great movement is among *children of the usual school age.* Their parents, if at all intelligent, encourage them to study. Your officers add their influence, and it is a fact, not always true of children, that among those recently from bondage, the school-house, however rough and uncomfortable, is of all places most attractive. A very common punishment for misdemeanor is the threat of being *kept at home for a day.* The threat, in most cases, is sufficient.'

"The report goes on to say, 'Much opposition has

been encountered from those who do not believe in the elevation of the negro. A multitude of facts might be given. It is the testimony of all superintendents that if military power should be withdrawn, our schools would cease to exist.

"'This opposition is sometimes ludicrous as well as inhuman. A member of the legislature, in session while I was at New Orleans, was passing one of the schools with me, having at the time its recess, the grounds about the building being filled with children. He stopped and looked intently, then earnestly inquired "Is this a school?" "Yes," I replied. "*What! of niggers?*" "These are colored children, evidently," I answered. "Well! well!" said he, and raising his hands, "I have seen many an absurdity in my lifetime, but *this is the climax of absurdities!*" I am sure he did not speak from effect, but as he felt. He left me abruptly, and turned the next corner to take his seat with legislators similarly prejudiced.'

"The act of July 16, 1866, enlarged the powers of the Bureau in regard to education. It sanctioned co-operation with private benevolent associations, and with agents and teachers accredited by them. It directed the Commissioner to 'hire or provide, by lease, buildings for purposes of education whenever teachers and means of instruction, without cost to the government, should be provided.' And, also, that he should 'furnish such protection as might be required for the safe conduct of such schools.'

"The schools, on the passage of this act, assumed in all respects a more enlarged and permanent character. Schools in the cities and larger towns began to be graded. Normal or high schools were planned, and a few came into existence. The earliest of these were at Norfolk, Charleston, New Orleans and Nashville.

"Industrial schools for girls, in which sewing, knitting, straw-braiding, etc., were taught, were encouraged. School buildings, by rent or construction, were largely provided, and new stimulus was given to every department.

"The freedmen, in view of new civil rights, and

what the Bureau had undertaken for them, had gained an advanced standing, with increasing self-respect and confidence that a vastly improved condition was within their reach.

"Up to this time it had been questioned whether colored children could advance rapidly into the higher branches, but it was found that 23,727 pupils were in writing, 12,970 in geography, 31,692 in arithmetic, and 1,573 in higher branches; and that out of 1,430 teachers of the day and night schools, 458 were colored persons.

"The January report stated that 'the actual results reached, since these schools commenced, both in numbers and in advancement, were surprising.' At the end of the school year, July 1, 1867, it could be said, 'We look back with astonishment at the amount accomplished. Such progress as is seen under auspices admitted to be unfavorable; the permanency of the schools, scarcely one failing when once commenced; the rapid increase of general intelligence among the whole colored population, are matters of constant remark by every observer. Thus far this educational effort, considered as a whole, has been eminently successful. The country and the world are surprised to behold a depressed race, so lately and so long in bondage, springing to their feet and entering the lists in hopeful competition with every rival.'

"Reports from all the States show that there are 1,839 day and night schools, 2,087 teachers, and 111,442 pupils. By adding industrial schools, and those 'within the knowledge of the superintendent,' the number will be 2,207 schools, 2,442 teachers, and 130,735 pupils.

"Sabbath-schools also show much larger numbers during the past year, the figures being 1,126 schools and 80,647 pupils; and if we add those 'not regularly reported,' the whole number of Sabbath-schools will be 1,468, with 105,786 pupils; totals, schools of all kinds, as reported, 3,695; pupils, 238,342. Of these schools 1,086 are sustained wholly or in part by the freedmen, and 391 of the buildings in which these

schools are held are owned by themselves; 699 of the teachers in the day and night schools are colored and 1,388 white; 28,068 colored pupils have paid tuition, the average amount per month being $12,720 96, or a fraction over 45 cents per scholar. Only 8,743 pupils were free before the war.

"As showing the progress of the schools, it will be observed that 42.879 pupils are now in writing, 23,957 in geography, 40,454 in arithmetic, and 4 661 in higher branches. Twenty-one normal or high schools are in operation, with 1 821 pupils, the schools having doubled in number during the last year with three times the number of pupils. Of these schools not many are far advanced, but they are intended to be what their name implies.

"There are now 35 industrial schools, giving instruction to 2,124 pupils in the various kinds of female labor, not including 4,185 in the day schools, who are taught needle-work. The average daily attendance in all the above schools has been nearly 75 per cent. of the enrollment.

"There are now connected with these schools 44 children's temperance societies, called the 'Vanguard of Freedom,' having, in the aggregate, 3,000 members. These societies are constantly increasing, and doing much to train children in correct moral habits.

"Education in thrift and economy is effected through the influence of the 'Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company,' chartered by Congress, and placed under the protection of this Bureau. Twenty branches of this institution, located in as many of the central cities and larger towns of the Southern States, are now in operation Six of these banks have, at this time (January 1, 1868), on deposit an average of over $50,000 each, the whole amount now due depositors at all the branches being $585,770 17. Four times this amount has been deposited and drawn out for use in important purchases, homesteads etc. Both the business and the influence of the banks are rapidly increasing. Multitudes of these people never before had the first idea of saving for future use. Their former industry was only

a hard, profitless task, but under the instructions of the cashiers the value of money is learned, and they are stimulated to earn it."

In accordance with an act of Congress arrangements have been made for the discontinuance of the operations of the Bureau, save in the Educational and Claim Departments, after the 31st day of December, 1868. Having in great measure accomplished the work for which it was designed, its further continuance was deemed unnecessary, not even its founders having wished to engraft it as a permanent institution upon the government.

Did not the incalculable amount of good wrought through its instrumentality yet remain as witness to its beneficial influence, no higher eulogium upon the character of the Freedmen's Bureau could be produced than this significant fact: throughout all the South its enemies have been the men who persistently fought against the government; its steadfast and loyal friends were those, who, during the progress of the rebellion, faithfully adhered to the fortunes of the Union.

PART IV.

The Missionary Schools of the South.

THE ecclesiastical history of America has long furnished many of the most sublime instances of missionary faith and enterprise ever placed on record. The charities of her churches are unbounded; the zeal and liberality of her professors proverbial; and the labors of her ministers unsurpassed.

The various religious sects of the country have constantly vied with each other in extending the limits of their usefulness, and the number of their proselytes. Her missionary ships have sailed on every sea. Her boundless love embraces every land and nation. In every clime and for every race of men her missionaries have toiled and suffered. They have braved the dangers of the deep, the treachery of savage men, the sickliness of sultry climates, the loneliness of foreign and unfriendly lands; and amid the many difficult duties and weighty responsibilities that are none the less burdensome because voluntarily assumed, they have borne with a sublime courage and resignation the thousand trivial trifles and discouragements inseparable from their station.

But while thus keenly alive to the miseries and degradation of the ignorant natives of the Old World,

America was strangely blind to the existence of a class of heathen in her midst, who in point of ignorance and degradation were not a whit behind their benighted brethren on the coast of Africa. The beam of Southern slavery in her own eye occasioned no inconvenience, nor cost her a single pang of conscience, while busied in removing those unsightly motes in the clear vision of Christendom.

But a day of awakening came at last, heralded it is true by the confused sounds of battle, and defiled by garments rolled in blood; yet in the dread struggle that ensued the scales fell from her eyes, and she heard in the heat of the conflict the divine behest of the God of battles commanding her to let his people go!

And when strengthened and purified by the trying ordeal from whence she emerged victorious, she saw the last stronghold of rebellion subdued, with her own glorious ensign again raised in undimmed splendor over land and sea, and heard the united voices of millions of free men swell in the glad tones of rejoicing, the triumphant notes of victory; then, in the hour of her triumph, and the day of her rejoicing, America *remembered the poor!*

At the close of the war the whole Southern country, with its 4,000,000 of emancipated slaves, was opened to missionary effort. The Freedmen's Bureau was created by the government for their protection against violence and oppression. The steady stream of supplies which the generous people of the North had been pouring out for suffering soldiers was not permitted to subside. Naturally it reverted to the freedmen, and saved thousands from starvation. But millions of dusky hands were reached forth imploringly for knowledge, and eager tongues were asking for instruction. Nor did

they ask in vain. The various educational agencies of the North responded nobly. Philanthropic and Christian men and women tendered their services as instructors, and the people proffered means proportionate to the magnitude of the work.

The American Missionary Association was first in the field, and by a strange coincidence its first school was stationed at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, near the spot where the first slave ship had landed its cargo on the continent in 1620. Thus have the slave ship and the colored school marked the two great eras in the history of the Southern States; the one founding a system of error and iniquity, the other building upon the ruins of that system a fair structure of piety and intelligence that shall stand in its effects forever.

The Association was eminently fitted for the task of Christianizing the late slaves. Aside from its unsectarian character, which especially recommended it to the churches of the North as an impartial medium through which their charities could be dispensed, its history not only as an anti-slavery society, but as a *missionary* organization was well calculated to prepare it for the work. For fifteen years it had struggled against the terrible power of slavery, North and South, in Church and State, as well as in social and business life. Founded in sympathy for the oppressed, it found a fruitful field for the labors of its representatives among this unlettered people, and aiming to educate not their minds only, but to elevate their moral natures also, it early engaged in the glorious undertaking of lifting up the lowly from the deeps of sin made doubly dark by their ignorance and destitution.

Other similar societies and church organizations followed. Schools by various religious denominations

were organized in rapid succession, and the astonished eyes of the ex-confederates saw with amazement that their late chattels, personal, were actually possessed of *souls* and *minds*.

This was the great result of the war. The army of blue-coated heroes who had marched down to battle with so lofty a courage was succeeded by the army of "*Yankee schoolmams*," armed with the Bible and spelling-book, who invaded the South in as genuine a spirit of heroism, for as patriotic and deserving a cause, and with as triumphant results, as the grand army of pioneers who had led the way and thrown down the barriers of caste.

No eulogium is needed for them. They came in the name and in the spirit of Jesus, asking no reward, looking not for fame, and expecting no praise of men. They enlisted in an humble cause to contend with an enemy whose weapons were keener and more relentless than the bayonets of warriors—the terrible giant of *public opinion*.

They came to bring relief to humble homes, to read the blessed pages of the Bible to their ignorant but gladdened inmates, to breathe gentle prayers beside the bedside of the sick and dying, to teach daily lessons of meekness, of charity, and of self denial, to brighten the lot of the poor and lowly by their quiet presence, and above all to tell them of that Savior who had loved, and, in loving, had died for them. We will let them tell their own story in their own words, prefacing it with this vivid picture of their *personnel*, sketched by the artist pen of the gifted Mrs. Mary Clemmer Ames:

"HARPER'S FERRY, WEST VA.,
December, 1866.

"Yesterday, looking from my window, I caught a glimpse of 'animated nature,' which quickened with

new life the repose caught from the blending here of ruins, rocks, and rivers. What was it? It was a small procession of Yankee girls, just from the cars, coming into Harper's Ferry, to scatter through the valley of Virginia, as teachers of the freed-people. *That* was a sight you would have to come all the way to the old slave-lands to appreciate! There they were—'the teachers!' The teachers! for whom Virginians had the most chivalric contempt, and the few Northern hearts here the warmest greeting.

"A troop of maidens, who, in some undefinable way, suggest Tennyson's 'sweet girl graduates with their golden hair,' although I am very sure that their tresses are not all of the hue of the sun. I see jaunty hats and natty jackets, gay scarfs and graceful robes. I see elegance, beauty and youth; all come to brighten the lot of the lowly, to deliver from ignorance and vice that victim race which our brothers with their blood delivered from chains.

"Opposite my window they encounter a Virginian belle, arrayed in the splendor of a purple dress, a scarlet shawl, a green hat, and a blue vail. Her scornful eyes behold the object which of all others she despises most—'a nigger teacher.' What is worse, she beholds more than a dozen 'nigger teachers' all together. It is a dreadful, unbearable sight, is it not, my dear? I suppose I ought to be very sorry for you; but I am not sorry a bit. It is an affliction of great magnitude, to be sure, that your whilom servants should be taught by better and prettier teachers than you ever had in your life; but it is a humiliation which you will have to bear, and the only way that you can lessen it is to improve yourself.

"This old house, once occupied by the superintendent of the armories is now used as the temporary abode of the superintendent of the freed-people's schools in the valley of the Shenandoah, the Rev. Mr. Brackett, of Maine. In a grand old room, defaced by war, yet brightened with pictures and books from home, overlooking the prospect which I just inadequately sketched, I saw yesterday a scene not to be forgotten. That

lovely Sabbath afternoon no church-doors opened to the teachers! With their books in their hands, they surrounded this wide room, holding a simple service of their own. A room full of youthful women, far from home and all its loves, sang the Lord's song in a strange land. Those old walls, which within the last five years had resounded so often to the oath and jest of dissolute men, now sent back the echoes of sweet womanly voices, through which loving hearts trembled as they sang,

'Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee.'

"Here was the red-lipped school-girl, just from school; here the young widow, holding in tearful love the memory of buried husband and child; here were women in the prime of matured power, with their rare beauty of sumptuous womanhood—women, whose elegance and grace and fine mentality would have lent luster to the highest sphere. Such were the teachers of the freed slaves, who sat and knelt together; whose soft eyes dimmed with tears as they sang the hymns of home, and prayed for the blessing of God upon their work. After making due allowance for all superficial enthusiasm and the romance which may be inseparable from the womanly nature and missionary labor, who can measure the significance of the fact that hundreds of young, gifted and cultivated women from the North are now scattered through the South as teachers of its former slaves; and though much against their will, and almost contrary to their knowledge, teachers as well of the old-time masters?

"All unconsciously to themselves, in their mere presence, these women are educators. Their very appearance on the street has won the respect of people who at first despised and hated them."

Yes, retributive justice had at last frowned upon Harper's Ferry, and John Brown's murder was avenged. A correspondent writes:

"Here is the little Engine-house which John Brown

chose as his headquarters and his fortress when he undertook the liberation of the Virginian bondmen, and from which he came forth a wounded prisoner on his way to the cell and the scaffold. Eight miles away, at Charlestown, is the battered and gutted Court-house where his meek but sublime bravery and his simple eloquent words redeemed the trial-scene from contempt and rendered it historic.

"The great national struggle has here a cloud of witnesses. All along these slopes the white tents of the soldiers might be seen by day during all the years of war, and when the sun went down the whole area blazed with camp-fires till they seemed like a reflection of the constellations in the sky. Every one of these lofty hights frowned with the ordnance; all the hills were gashed with rifle-pits and the wounds are yet unhealed; in the midst of that field the hostile armies met in the shock of battle. * * *

"Harper's Ferry is now the headquarters of our missionary and educational work among the freedmen in the Old Dominion."

Another charming lady tells how Andersonville Prison was purified:

"How often, in the course of my rambles among missionary scenes in the South, have I longed that friends, far, far away, might see the things that I saw. Never, perhaps, did I long more intensely than last Thursday evening at Andersonville. As I stepped out from night school at half past ten o'clock, and stood with the ladies in the exquisite moonlight, watching the patient, plodding men and women disperse to their homes, how many thoughts crowded my mind.

"Did they ever imagine, those rebel officers, who used our poor boys to erect those buildings—buildings put up to enable them to hold 30,000 prisoners in unheard of torture—did they ever imagine, to what use those buildings were to be applied, and so soon? Did they dream that the wail of the captive would scarcely be hushed, and the last victim laid to sleep his last sleep in those awful witness-bearing trenches, before

two angels of mercy should take their abode there, transforming that hell upon earth into a little earthly heaven? Yes, Andersonville has been cleansed and sanctified, and, thank God, by the purity, the presence, the labor and the love of woman. Where the rebel soldier's jeer and oath used to be heard, now daily ascends the sweet sound of prayer and praise. For the howl of the hungry hound, eager to chase the perishing Union fugitive, you may now hear the sweet voices of the children blending in song. The jailer has fled, haunted by the memory of his crimes (for Wirz was not alone in the charge), and two gentle women have taken possession of his dwelling; the persecuted slave has found a shelter in the huts erected by his persecutors, and the freedman's corn is now growing in the empty stockade.

"Ye who dwell in luxurious houses, who rest on cushioned chairs and elastic mattresses, think of your sisters at Andersonville. Through the severest part of the winter, which has been severe enough even in Georgia, they have lived within rough boards whose cracks let in the cold in every direction, and without a single pane of glass in the whole frames, so that to exclude the cold the light must be excluded also. In addition to this, they were threatened by enemies from without, and actually sat up one entire night expecting their dwelling to be burned. Neither privation, nor loneliness, nor threats could drive them from their post, and He who walked with the three children in the fiery furnace has been with them; they sat down under His shadow with great delight, and His banner over them was love. J. A. S."

Another, a teacher in the old prison, has penned these touching words in a letter to a friend:

"You would scarcely know the place were you to come here now. The trees are heavy with the wealth of foliage, the air resonant with the sweet song of birds, and odorous with the breath of flowers. But the stockade with its silent tale of suffering, and the cemetery with its quiet sleepers, are still there. Ander-

sonville will ever be to me a memory of suffering, a home of dead heroes, a planting of freedom's seed. I am glad to have been here, glad of the record we shall leave—I only wish it were more glorious with fruit; but one soweth and another reapeth. I am content with sowing and with the evidence of life in the seed. It is germinating; already the mellowed soil is breaking from the struggles of the embryo which wants light and air. We have but to lay our ear to the earth, to hear the swelling and the struggling of the new life beneath. A few more rains of love, a few more dews of mercy, a few more suns of grace, and the blade will appear: after that, the going on from strength to strength till the harvest time shall come. Oh! it has been good to work here. I thank God for it and the rich experience it has brought!"

Yes, we will let the teachers* tell their own story in little fragments of letters, written for the most part with no thought of publication. Sweet sisters, if at first you feel inclined to blame the hand that seemingly betrays your confidence, reflect that it is not yourselves but the grace given unto you that we would fain perpetuate, and you must, perforce, forgive.

Another teacher gives the following statement:

"This is *the* Andersonville of dreadful memory—a place made sacred by the dust of sixteen thousand martyred heroes—a place at whose mention patriotic hearts throb with new impulse; for here was wrought out most visibly the spirit of the system which has so cursed our land with its presence. Here our brave men were distressed, persecuted, *murdered*, and here we institute our plan of revenge.

"Our school began—*in spite of threatenings from the whites, and the consequent fears of the blacks*—with twenty-seven pupils, four only of whom could read, even the simplest word. At the end of six weeks, we have enrolled eighty-five names, with *but fifteen unable*

* Of the American Missionary Association.

to read. In seven years' teaching at the North, I have not seen a parallel to their appetite for learning, and their active progress. Whether this zeal will abate with time is yet a question. I have a little fear that it may. Meanwhile it is well to 'work while the day lasts.' Their spirit *now* may be estimated somewhat, when I tell you that three walk a distance of four miles, each morning, to return after the five hours' session. Several come three miles, and quite a number from two-and-a-half miles.

"The night school, taught by Miss R——, numbers about forty, mostly men, earnest, determined, ambitious. One of them walks six miles, and returns after the close of the school, which is often as late as ten o'clock. One woman walks three miles, as do a number of the men.

"On Sabbath mornings, at half-past nine, we open our Sabbath-school, which is attended by about fifty men, women and children who give earnest attention to our instruction. The younger ones are given to the charge of 'Uncle Charlie,' a good old negro who wants to do something to help. Miss R—— takes the women, and leaves the men to my care. As they are unable to read, we take a text or passage of Scripture, enlarge upon and apply it as well as we are able, answering their questions, correcting erroneous opinions, extending their thoughts, and endeavoring to bring their souls from nature's darkness to the marvelous light of God's truth. Their views of the sacredness of life, its object, or of true living, are extremely limited; they need instruction absolutely in *everything.*"

The same lady narrates this touching incident:

"A few weeks since, I read from the 'Child at Home,' an article entitled 'No more Slaves in America,' which closes with Whittier's 'Laus Deo.' As I announced the title, every eye was fixed on me with a look of eager interest, and as the reading continued, tears began to flow—tears of joy and gladness—and from several directions we heard, 'Thank God! Thank God!'

"As I concluded the poem, poor, old, sick 'Uncle Charlie' slid from his seat to his knees, and with clasped hands and streaming eyes, looking toward heaven, cried, 'Oh! glory, glory to God for what he has done for us wretched people! Praise to God!' And so our school closed.

"Thinking that the tribute to the spirit of the poem might do good to the heart of the author, I wrote at once the simple story to John G. Whittier, and after a few days received an autograph letter from him, thanking me for the facts, and saying, 'Uncle Charlie's prayer is worth more to me than the praise of all the oppressors of his race,' and inclosing a sum of money for Uncle Charlie 'if he needs it.'"

From another teacher we have the following:

"I write to inform you of the close of the season at Andersonville. The numbers in the schools were well sustained, while the desire for learning was not a whit less the last week than the very first.

"In the *night* school great interest and diligence have been manifest. By the fire-light, and often till eleven o'clock, those determined ones toiled through the season, to find the reward of their perseverance in being able to read for themselves 'de bressed Word.'

"Our Sabbath-school has increased in numbers and interest. Every seat, every window, and sometimes the door steps have been crowded. All seemed quiet, eager, earnest. Although we have no great visible work of grace to report, still we speak what we do know when we say that the Spirit has been in Andersonville, working silently but surely in the hearts of those most constant at Sunday-school and prayer-meeting. One young man, whose course we have watched from the first, told us in our last meeting, 'I feels like I love Jesus; I not only feels like it; I *do* love him!' and certainly no one who knows him will doubt it. Another bore witness to the strivings of the still small voice; and yet another said: 'I hasn't yet foun' de Lord, but hope he'll soon find me.' Many others have their hearts open to good influences. May the work

be a sure work, laid on the sure foundation—Jesus Christ!

"We have said good-by to Andersonville, but more than any other will that place be remembered, for there we have felt more than elsewhere that 'God is our refuge and strength.'"

Another furnishes the following:

"WILD THORN (near Savannah).

"I had anticipated a most cordial welcome, but was not prepared for the demonstrations of joy which I witnessed. The people were expecting us, because they had been praying for our return. The first expression from almost every one was thanksgiving to God for answering their prayers. Old Aunt Rhina, whose head is frosted by age, and her feet so swollen that you would not think she could walk on them, came almost running from her cabin. I went to meet her. Her first words were: 'O! bress de Lord, you's come. My eyes is so proud to see you once more. Ise prayed for you ebery day.' Others exclaimed, 'Bressed Jesus, you heard my prayer, and I have saw my teachers once more.' One old man said, 'I seen you, I seen you. I know'd you was coming. De Lord showed you to me all ready to come.'"

A minister writes from Beaufort, South Carolina:

"To-day we need a thousand added to our corps of teachers. Applications came in from every quarter for books and teachers. All around us the freedmen are struggling hard against poverty, some against actual starvation, yet they beg harder for a school than for food or clothing. No philosophy can account for this intense thirst for education, only to say that God is here; that God can rouse a nation to wants unknown before, to thirst for waters never yet tasted. Oh! that those who love the Master might comprehend the extent of the work. A million of sable children thirsting for mental life!"

This is from a lady teacher in Milledgeville, Georgia:

"I wish I could say the ladies here had treated us with the kindness and respect that the gentlemen have, but it is impossible to say this, because it is untrue. They shrink from contact with us in the street, point us out, and stare at us in church, evidently desiring to annoy, and make us uncomfortable. It is very obvious to us that the *women* of the South are greater rebels than the men. 'They have not been whipped.' We find our work so pleasant and satisfying, however, that we can well put up with some unpleasant things. We are *more than paid* for slights and insults by the grateful tears and prayers of these humble children of our blessed Lord and Savior."

Another adds her testimony as follows:

"We shall ever look back with pleasure upon the days spent in teaching the colored people of Baton Rouge, and I should be very glad if health would allow us to prosecute the good work there.

"I feel extremely anxious for the prosperity of this great work among the victims of oppression, and, from my experience among them, am fully satisfied there is no nobler and more encouraging field in which wise and Christian men and women can engage."

From Halletsville, Georgia, the lady teacher writes:

"News of my arrival spread rapidly through the community, among whites and blacks, and as the latter had been in anxious expectation of that event for several days, they were now perfectly delighted that the teacher had really come, and very soon manifested their appreciation by calling at the room, sending up bouquets, etc. This is the first freedmen's school ever organized in the county, and the people were very bitterly opposed to it, making numerous terrible threats as to what would be done if an attempt were made to open a school; but on Monday, April 15th, the school commenced and has continued through the month without molestation; however, I attribute my peace and safety, not so much to the kind consideration of the citizens, as to their want of power.

"Our school-house consists of an old shell of a building with no ceiling overhead, and had no lining whatever, until the agent, fitting it up for a school-room, had the walls lined with canvas. The seats are benches such as the colored people have hewn out in the woods, consequently quite rough. For windows we have close blinds, which must be opened in order to have sufficient light, though considerable is admitted through the numerous openings in the walls. I have now, in school, forty-five pupils, and expect an increase in number next month. Many of the scholars come in from the country, from distances varying from two to eight miles, though those living farthest from town generally stay in the village from Monday until Friday. But one comes from a distance of five, and quite a number from three miles, walking each morning, and returning after a five hours' session. Many of them manifest great eagerness to learn, and are earnest in effort. When school commenced there were only four that could read, even the simplest words. Now, at the end of two weeks, I enrolled more than half the school ABLE TO READ.

"The colored people here, in town, have no houses of their own, but are still the servants of white families, which render my visiting among them impracticable, to say the least. I think the people in this section of the country, particularly, have suffered much from the hatred of their late masters, and are still suffering, though their condition is gradually improving. Quite a number have been murdered. One old 'Aunty' told me that her husband was shot while asleep, soon after they were freed—shot for being free.

"I have organized a Sabbath-school, which is attended by men, women, and children, all seeming interested and attentive."

Another says:

"DARLINGTON, *July 1st*, 1867.

"My work this month has been very encouraging. The scholars improve rapidly and are much interested in their lessons. On the 20th we had an exami-

nation; the proceeds were for the benefit of the school. It passed off very creditably. A number of white Marylanders deigned their presence, who, in spite of past and present prejudices, expressed their surprise and satisfaction with the system on which our school was conducted, and the promptness of recitations, especially in arithmetic, which they thought they had never seen excelled by such small children. I was gratified to think they spoke particularly of this branch of study, for by their manner I was assured they were among those who believe in the oft-repeated assertion of the incapacity of the negro to acquire a knowledge of arithmetic. So these little ones in their humble sphere made some converts, besides causing their parents to thank God and take courage, that they had lived to see the dawn of better days."

A brave young woman writes from Savannah, Georgia:

"I can hardly tell whether I have really been in much danger or not, but I truly believe myself to be, and I know that nothing but my being a lady, and utterly without protection, saved me. Bad as they were, they could not quite make up their minds to take a woman out of her house and whip her, as they threatened to do."

Another says:

"The children sing with a spirit and sweetness that is heart-satisfying. I defy any Northern skeptic to spend an hour in my school and depart unconvinced that Southern negroes are endowed with not merely common, but very noble manhood."

And still another:

"I know of no greater field for usefulness, and no happier work, than is to be found among this people, and I would gladly spend my life in such a work."

A lady in Milledgeville, Georgia, says truthfully:

"I think the Christian, or rather the religious com-

munity here, feel mortified, that they have in their midst so ignorant a people, and it really sounds very inconsistent on a Sabbath morning to listen to the earnest prayers which the Presbyterian minister never fails to offer, for the success of the missionaries laboring for the salvation of the heathen—one feels instinctively that his thoughts are across the sea—that his heathen live on the banks of the Ganges, or in some foreign climate. Among the thoughtless, the education of the freedmen is a special abhorrence, and an object of supreme contempt."

From Baltimore a lady writes:

"One day, our little ones were listening to the story of Ananias and Sapphira. On being asked why God does not strike everybody dead who tells a lie, one of the least in the room quickly replied: 'Because there wouldn't be anybody left.' This afforded the teacher an opportunity for impressing those little hearts with the love and patience of God, and with the meaning of that precious word *grace;* and many listened as if it were the first time they had heard of such things, and their eyes grew brighter and their faces seemed happier. How sacred the teacher's work, and how precious her reward!"

From Mississippi another writes:

"Sometimes I attend the cabin prayer-meetings. In these, of course, the wild, quaint modes of worship which prevailed in the olden time of slavery, are somewhat prominent; still I have often found them precious seasons, and felt that God was there. I went to Aunt P.'s cabin the other night. It was early when I arrived, but a few converts were shaking hands with older professors, and relating their experience. A single tallow candle threw a dim, uncertain light over the room, half revealing the wooden benches and scattered occupants. The cabin walls were adorned with a few prints—among them the immortal Lincoln—and with old copies of the *Freedman* and *Wellspring*. A log fire was blazing on the hearth. It was a strange but

impressive scene—that lowly cabin with its group of dark-browed worshipers, the constant hand-shaking, and the measured rise and fall of the convert's song: 'I am free; I am free indeed. He has taken my feet from the miry clay, and placed them on the Rock of eternal ages, where the winds may blow and the waters roll, but nothing shall ever disturb my soul.'

"It is impossible to describe the widely-varying notes and long-drawn syllables of this half-chant, half-song, as it rose and fell in that humble cabin. Sometimes it took the form of an address to the impenitent, and then it was full of solemn warning.

"Meantime the cabin became thronged. Singing and prayer alternated. As some of the hymns went up with a mighty chant, it seemed as if that humble roof must be lifted from its place. The prayers were full of quaint expressions, but were earnest and simple. One brother prayed, 'O Lord! please to hist the diamond winders of hebben, an' shake out dy table-cloth, and let a few crumbs fall among us.' Another plead for 'de mourners, 'way down in de lonesome valley, where de sun nebber shines.' Another asked God to 'open de diamond winders, lay back de lovely curtains, an' take a peep into dis world of sin an' sorrer.'

"Toward the close of the evening I read part of a chapter, and spoke for a few minutes. All gave earnest attention. After the benediction most of those present remained to sing. Verse after verse of those old plantation songs was chanted, every voice joining in the mighty chorus:

> "I am huntin' for a city,
> Where pleasure never dies:
> Come mourner, come mourner,
> Where pleasure never dies."

"As I walked home in the beautiful moonlight, I could but think that perhaps God was as well pleased with that lowly group in the humble cabin, as with many a gilded throng in splendid cathedrals."

Another, also from Mississippi, testifies as follows:

"But what is better than all this, a deep quiet work of grace is in progress, extending almost over the entire colored population, and to some of the colored regiments stationed there. The work is characterized by great stillness with a corresponding earnestness. Several of my pupils are indulging hopes, and others are inquiring. We are greatly encouraged and refreshed . . . God follows his work of justice with his work of grace."

From a Baltimorean lady:

"BALTIMORE, *May* 28, 1865.

"I have just returned from the Hospital where are our sick and wounded colored soldiers, many of whom I find to be from Kentucky and Missouri. A few of them can read. In distributing books among them I would ask, 'Can you read?' the answer would be 'No mam, but I'm trying to,' or 'I'm learning fast,' or 'I can spell a bit,' etc. All were anxious to have a prettily bound book. These men are of all shades of color, from very black to almost white. Most of them are in some way crippled; having lost either an arm or leg. As I watched their coming into church on their crutches, as I saw their earnest and devout attention, the intelligence manifested in their engaging in the different parts of worship, their bright faces lighted up in singing praises to their Great Deliverer, as if they felt that they were now freemen before the law, the uniform designating them as set apart to fight the battles of the country—theirs now as well as the white man's—I thought, can there be found a man who would dare deny these men the right of suffrage or any other privilege which freemen have? If so, God will by some *other* judgment teach us *His* will."

From Louisiana:

"Nor alone does the voice of duty or personal profit invite. There is a pure and exquisite pleasure to be found in this work, that few other forms of Christian effort afford.

"Even the old gray-haired men and women plod

along with their alphabet, with the hope that, ere they die, they may be able 'to read out of de good book what de Lord says, for demselves' It is touching to hear their expressions of devotion and trust, they are so simple and sincere."

From Virginia:

"One of the most beautiful instances of the power of grace that I have seen, is an old woman, who in a few months will be one hundred. She is entirely blind, but her mind seems clear and strong. She is living in sweet reliance on Christ from day to day, chiefly desirous that His will be done. It is a privilege to talk with her. She is delighted in hearing the Bible read, and with religious conversation, even her aged sightless face *then* becomes animated, and beams with an expression that could only originate in a heart enriched by the Savior's love. All her life in the prison and mire of slavery, branded by prejudice, never permitted to read the Word of God for herself, feeble, soon expecting the summons—in her hundredth year—*blind*, yet triumphing in her risen Savior. What a witness to the beauty of the Gospel, and the victory that is in Christ.

A teacher in Maryland thus writes of her pupils:

"They are remarkably susceptible to religious impressions and religious instruction; readily commit to memory passages from the Bible, little hymns and prayers. I have taught them the fundamental doctrine of our holy Christianity, simplified to their capacities, hoping that from the seed sown, a harvest will be gathered to the divine glory. God has given me great sympathy for them. I have been the repository of their perplexities, cares and griefs; and much of the time between the afternoon session and dark, I have spent in their tents, visiting the sick, distributing clothing, etc."

Another says:

"Our work here has its fruits, even now, and we believe that the harvest of which the first-fruits are

now given, will be a very bounteous one. But not unto us be the glory. It is God's work, and it is indeed marvelous in our eyes."

Another lady writes:

"I have always been taught to abhor slavery, but never, until I came among its victims, did I know anything of the blasting effects of that system; and the more I became acquainted with these people, the more do I realize the great work that is to be accomplished before their souls are brought from natural darkness into the marvelous light of God's truth. Their ideas of life, its sacredness or true purpose, are exceedingly limited. They need instruction in everything."

A young girl writes to a friend:

"I enjoy more, day by day, with my scholars. They have come to seem more like a family than a school, so well have I learned the character, the desires, the life of each—so much do they depend upon me for advice in their home affairs. The days spent in that little school-room will always be sunny in memory, through however long or bright a way I may look back to them."

A Christian woman writes prayerfully:

"We want no philosophy of the head and infidelity of the heart in our instructions. Our work shall be moral as well as mental, and the elements of a Christian faith shall inspire us. We are laboring for God as well as man—for the future as well as the present—for the elevation of the soul as well as the mind.

"We will try to do our duty in the fear of God, trusting in his care over us, and the efficacy he may give to our vineyard operations."

A delicate lady thus describes her school-room:

"The school-house is one that has been provided by the freedmen, and a very indifferent one it is. A part of the floor in the center of the room is bare ground, on which sat a little old cooking-stove, used to warm

the room. The roof of the house was covered with shingles, but the light was shining through in many places; and should it rain, water could easily come through. Its windows were open holes in its sides, and should it storm, there would be no light there, for the shutters must then be closed."

We make the following extracts from the journal of a teacher at Columbus, Kentucky:

"I had in my school at Columbus a strange, half-witted child, who by virtue of her supposed idiocy was allowed to go where she pleased, and spent the greater part of her time wandering alone by the riverside, gathering little shells and pebbles, talking to herself all the while in a weird, most unchildlike way.

"'Mandy' at length began to come to school, but refused to study or even to play with the other children, most of whom seemed rather afraid of her.

"She would sit for hours as if spell-bound, her large wild eyes fastened on my face with an intensity of gaze that pained me, eagerly watching my every movement, and occasionally putting out her hand timidly to touch the folds of my dress as I passed her seat.

"She would never answer any question, but when I spoke to her would close her eyes and seem to listen attentively. I could make nothing of the shy, shrinking child, and was for a time at a loss to account for her singular behavior. I had often observed her sitting quite still and gazing steadily up into the clouds, muttering to herself, as was her wont when alone. One day I came upon her thus engaged, and began to question her. For some time she made no reply, but at length suddenly opening her eyes and pointing to the sky said rapidly, 'I don't see no hole; I don't see no hole!' Completely puzzled, I said, 'What do you mean, Mandy? What hole are you looking for?' 'Why, Miss Linnie,' she said impatiently, 'didn't you make a hole in de sky when you cumed down?' I told her I did not come down from the sky, that I lived 'up North,' and had come down the river in a steamboat, when she spoke again more rapidly, 'Miss Linnie,

isn't you an angel? Uncle Pete say you is an angel, and I tot angels lib up in de sky. Didn't you lib where God stays 'fore you cumed here?'

"This then was the secret of my silent little worshiper's infatuation! Uncle Pete, in his gratitude for his new spelling-book and Sunday coat, had likened me to an angel, and poor Mandy had interpreted him literally. Never shall I forget her grieved look of disappointment when I told her that I was not an angel, but only a sinful, naughty child like herself; that I had never seen God, but He had promised us both, if we loved him, to take us up to heaven when we died, where we would see him always. She walked away slowly, with large tears rolling down her cheeks, and after that she seldom came to school, but though she seemed less afraid of me, yet all my efforts to induce her to return proved unavailing. 'I dos'nt lubs you any more,' she said plaintively; nor ever after would she enter into conversation with me.

"One morning on my way to school I met some men carrying upon a rough plank the dripping form of a child, in whose stiffened lineaments I recognized my poor little protege. She had slipped from the bank into the river and was drowned. I hastened onward with a saddened heart, but poor Mandy I trust has seen the angels, and is living 'where God stays.'

"This feeling of pride of color never was more strikingly illustrated than in the case of an old Irish woman, whose dilapidated shanty in one of my morning rounds I had mistaken for a negro cabin. The good woman, with her shockheaded brood of young Patricks, was just sitting down to a smoking breakfast of praties and mush, and as I looked in at the door greeted me volubly: 'And would yees be after coming in and taking a bite wid us the morning? Shure, and its not often the likes of yees comes into me poor house. Tim, yee spalpeen, git off of yer cheer!' And administering a sound box on the ear of the abashed youngster, she wiped the chair he had just vacated with her dingy apron and hospitably insisted on my coming in and sharing the meal with them, until I

make her comprehend that I was the teacher of the colored people and had mistaken her house for the residence of Aunt Winnie, when her sudden change of countenance and attitude was ludicrous in the extreme. 'Aunt Botherydab! Divil run away with yees, to be after takin the likes of me for a nagur! Git away from me house, ye pinkfaced hussey!' As the command was emphasized with a heavy stamp of her foot and a lengthened stride in my direction, I lost no time in making good my retreat, not daring to laugh or even stop to take breath until I had put a safe distance between us. Ever afterward we exercised great circumspection in our visits, and on one occasion, when, in response to our knock, a sharp-featured white woman appeared at the cabin door, my heart leaped up in my throat, and I stood speechless before her. 'Does Mrs. Jones live here?' asked my companion with remarkable presence of mind. 'No, marm, she don't live nowhars in the street as I knows on,' was the prompt response, and politely bidding her 'good morning,' we went our way congratulating ourselves on the success of our ruse.

"But how many of our Northern people could sympathize with this pride of Mrs. Biddy's and feel that *color* is the only distinction between themselves and the negro? Poor creatures! Let them enjoy their fancied superiority! They have nothing else to be proud of!"

"The daily life of a teacher in the South is replete with amusing incident and grotesque adventure. Once during a time of danger I was prevailed upon to carry a loaded pistol in my pocket to night school; but once arrived there, and finding no cause for alarm, I became terribly afraid of it that I scarcely dared to stir or even breathe lest it should explode in my pocket, and even a rebel would have been a relief.

"Another night we were awakened by a suspicious rattling at one of our windows, and clinging closely together for protection, we stole out frightened and breathless across the hall to the door of Lieutenant B——'s room, and aroused him with the startling in-

telligence that a man was trying to effect an entrance at our window! The good lieutenant, in an *undress* uniform, and with a pistol in each hand, made a hasty reconnoissance around the corner of the house, and returned shortly after in no very pleasant mood to inform us that it was nothing but an old cavalry horse affectionately rubbing his head against the shutter. Mortified and ashamed we slunk quickly back to bed, and next day made a mutual contract never to tell of our awkward midnight adventure so long as we lived —in Dixie.

"I was at first much entertained by the peculiar phraseology of the people: 'Well Aunty, what do you do for a living?' I asked of one old woman whom I knew to be extremely destitute. 'Oh! I just trusts in the Lord, Honey; and my ole man he patters roun'!' A new way of 'making a living' certainly, but Aunty after all was a true philosopher."

From Union City, Tennessee:

"Buckeye School, *May*, 1868.

"This school, though so recently organized, bids fair to rival in numbers and interest the older missions of the State. Aside from a few Ku Klux manifestoes I have been unmolested, and the people, though decidedly hostile, have done nothing worse than 'let me alone severely.' In Major F. H. Torbett, commandant of the Union troops at this post, the freedmen have friend a steadfast friend and judicious counselor, and to his exertions mainly are due the prosperity and progress of the school. Although a Southerner by birth and education, he has not scorned to listen to the lowest, nor to relieve the wants of the humblest among them, while they in turn regard him with unbounded gratitude and respect, relying upon his assistance, and asking and following his advice with the confidence and almost the helplessness of children."

From Columbus, Kentucky:

"On the 23d of February, 1868, in company with

Miss B——, I came to this place and organized the mission schools.

"A large, rudely constructed school-building has just been erected, which will answer our purpose nicely in summer, but is very uncomfortable at present. Our pupils attend regularly; all are so eager for instruction and progress so rapidly that it is a pleasure to teach them.

"We have also opened a night school for those who can not attend during the day, and thus far have met with success. Many of the old men and women would make almost any sacrifice to be able to read and write.

"Our Sabbath-school numbers one hundred and fifty pupils, and much interest is manifested in the Bible lessons. They love to learn of Jesus. Most of the people whom we have visited appear to be quite 'religious,' as the phrase goes; that is, they belong to 'meeting,' have knowledge of their Creator, of heaven, and a place of punishment, but the story of the life and death of the Savior is new to them, and they listen with pleased interest to its recital.

"The citizens of Columbus are bitterly opposed to educating the freedmen, and we are made to feel constantly that we are in the 'enemy's country.' Much of the opposition seems to arise from the non-education of the whites themselves. They are just beginning to feel their own deficiency in this respect, and it mortifies them to see the negroes receiving advantages which they and their children have never enjoyed. This was fitly illustrated by the remark of a rebel lady to whom I had spoken respecting the progress of our pupils. Lamenting her own lack of education, she said, 'Since its got to be fashionable to teach the niggers, I feel as if I'd like to know a little somethin' myself.' Thus it is probable that the impetus given to education by the colored schools, will lead in time to the institution of better schools for the white children of the South.

"Many outrages have been perpetrated upon the freedmen this spring, and several unprovoked murders were committed during the past two months. It is

rare, indeed, to find a case in which they have been fairly recompensed for their labor by their white employers. The State laws are insufficient for the protection of freedmen and poor Unionists, and, in fact, are almost wholly inoperative, as far as the freedmen are concerned.

"We find, usually, a strong feeling of gratitude toward the mission teachers and bureau agents. Often, while passing through the rows of shanties, Lieutenant B——, agent of the Bureau, is saluted by 'Dar go de Freedmen Bureau, may de good Lord bress him,' and similar ejaculations. In many ways they show their regard for us, and the mission work, though attended with many dangers and hardships, is still the most pleasant in which I have ever engaged. It is full of pleasing incident, instructive experience, and labor that is its own reward."

"TRINITY SCHOOL, ATHENS, ALABAMA.

"They often speak of the trials and triumphs of their fugitive brethren during those dark days when few among them dreamed that freedom's blessed light would ever dawn on *them*. But now says one, 'Here we is, right on the ole plantation, jist as free as dey is in Canada. *We* waited for de Lord and now he am come!'

"A few days ago I had a call from Aunt Milly, an old prophetess and quite a celebrity among her people. Having belonged to the Washington family in 'Ole Virginy,' she seems inclined to boast of royal blood, and of course knows all about 'Massy George,' and indeed of the whole line of presidents from Washington down to Abraham Lincoln. But when she spoke of our martyred President her voice quivered with emotion. Crossing her hands reverently upon her breast, she lifted her streaming eyes to heaven and exclaimed, 'Bress de Lord for Abraham Lincoln! Bress de Mancipation Proclamation! Bress de locomotives on de Underground Railroad! Dey has finally pulled we all into freedom. An now Jesus, he's tugging away to make us *free indeed*.' After a solemn pause she broke

forth again: 'Bress you, Honey! Pears like it takes a heap of pullin' to get some on us whar we can see his glory. We has awful wicked hearts, Honey; dey is a heap blacker dan dese ole bodies, and has worse scars dan our backs. But de Lord am going to wash em in his own blood, and den dey'll be white, oh berry white, an we'll be white too, case Jesus am white, an de Bible says we shall be like him. Yes, like him, Honey.' She warmed with her theme, and as she grew more excited her utterances became less distinct, and her ecstasy found vent in shouts, and finally her full soul poured out its joy in the sublime strains of Uncle Joe's 'Hail Columbia.' 'De Lord am come to save his people, now let me die.'

"Sometimes when I witness these joyful demonstrations as they dwell upon the blessings of freedom, I momentarily exclaim, can they, even in heaven, be any happier? But ah me, this full cup of happiness has its drops of bitterness. Yesterday we found two old helpless women and three small children huddled together in a rude cabin, with little or no fire, scarcely clothing enough to cover them, and with no means of support except the left hand of one of the women (the other hand being long ago disabled by rheumatism). The other woman is a cripple, has not walked for fourteen years. But now that she is free she is graciously permitted to go forth and perish. Such is the strong attachment existing between master and slave. Though the former owner of this woman is wealthy and abundantly able to provide for her, yet she brought her to town to be taken care of by the 'colored people,' when not one family in ten have any home for themselves.

"Yet Aunt Dinah utters no complaint; on the contrary, she rejoices that she is *free*, that none can sell her children or prevent them from learning to read; that 'by an by dey'll read de blessed Bible to poor ole Dinah.' We sent them some blankets which seemed to warm them soul and body, and their glad voices united in that grand old choral, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow.'"

From Buckeye School, Tennessee:

How I wish you could hear my children sing their strange, wild melodies, that bring back so vividly the old slave life with its toil and servile ignorance! Yet their old plantation songs are falling into disuse, and in their stead we hear chanted daily the hymns and psalms so familiar to Northern ears. Imagine if you can the effect produced by the shrill, untutored voices of several hundred children, clustered under the green arches of the forest and singing with wild energy and earnestness the teachers improvised song, "We are Free!"

Free! We are free! With a wild and joyous cry,
We children in our gladness are shouting far and nigh!
Free! We are free! Oh, let the tidings fly,
We are free to-day!

Chorus—Glory, glory, Halleluiah, etc.
We are free to-day!

Free! We are free! though dusky be the skin,
Pure may the spirit be that God has put within,
For Jesus has redeemed it from misery and from sin.
We are free to-day!

Chorus.

Free! We are free! and our toil shall be repaid,
The cravings of a hungry mind with knowledge shall be stayed;
And ignorance no longer bind the soul for glory made.
We are free to-day!

Chorus.

We will think of the President
Who signed the Freedom Bill,
We'll think of the Northern hearts who pray for freedom still.
We are free to-day!

Chorus.

Here is a rude snatch of song that possesses a peculiar charm when sung as it usually is with power and feeling:

"I'll hoist my flag in the wilderness, in the wilderness, in the wilderness;
I'll hoist my flag in the wilderness,
For I am a going home!
The grace of God is so sweet,
The grace of God is so sweet,
The grace of God is so sweet,
For I am a going home.

"I'll baptize John in the wilderness, in the wilderness, in the wilderness;
I 'll baptize John in the wilderness,
For I am a going home!
The grace of God is so sweet,
The grace of God is so sweet,
The grace of God is so sweet,
For I am a going home."

This is a graveyard song, usually sung by the grave of a buried brother or sister, and is frequently spun out to great length by the recapitulation of the names of all the community who have died during the year:

Brother Daniel don't sing no longer,
Brother Daniel don't sing no longer,
Brother Daniel don't sing no longer,
Lord, I don't want to stay behind.
See dark clouds a risin' in de mornin',
See dark clouds a risin' in de mornin',
See dark clouds a risin' in de mornin',
I don't want to stay behind.

Sister Martha don't sing no longer,
Sister Martha don't sing no longer,
Sister Martha don't sing no longer,
Lord, I don't want to stay behind.
Make ready to meet de angels in de mornin',
Make ready to meet de angels in de mornin',
Ready to meet de angels in de mornin',
Lord, I don't want to stay behind.

When sung at funerals this song is terminated by each of the singers taking up a handful of earth and tossing it with a muttered prayer into the open grave: "Down in the valley to pray," is a general favorite, and is likewise made a recapitulation of the names of all the members present at meeting:

Oh, Mother, let's go down, let's go down, in the valley to pray.
As the mother went down in the valley to pray,
Studying about dat good old way;
And who shall wear the starry crown,
Good Lord! show me the way.

Here is a wild refrain that sounds sweetly when well sung:

Oh, just behold that number!
Oh, just behold that number!
Oh, just behold that number!
Come up through tribulation,
From every graveyard;
Put on a long white robe,
We'll wear the starry crown,
Walk up and down the pale gold streets,
From every graveyard.

And here is another that fairly makes the blood curdle in the veins when sung by an excited shouting congregation:

Oh, Israel! Oh, Israel! Oh, Israel! in that great day!
Oh, Mother! where's you runnin'?
Oh, Mother! where's you runnin'?
Oh, Mother! where's you runnin'?
In that great day.
I'm runnin' from the fire!
I'm runnin' from the fire!
I'm runnin' from the fire!
In that great day.
Crying—Oh, Israel! Oh, Israel! in that great day,
The fire'll overtake you,
The fire'll overtake you,
In that great day.

Oh, Israel! Oh, Israel! Oh, Israel! in that great day,
You'll see graveyards a bustin',
You'll see graveyards a bustin',
You'll see graveyards a bustin',
In that great day.
Crying—Oh, Israel! Oh, Israel! in that great day,
You'll see the earth a sinkin',
You'll see the earth a sinkin',
In that great day.

This is of a different character:

Oh, do come along, we'll see Jesus,
Oh, do come along, we'll see Jesus,
Oh, do come along, we'll see Jesus,
When the last trumpet sounds.

Mary says Martha, Martha says Mary;
Dare's a band of angels waitin'
Till de last trumpet sounds.

A few more days and we'll see Jesus,
A few more days and we'll see Jesus,
A few more days and we'll see Jesus,
When de last trumpet sounds.
Go blow your trumpet, Gabriel,
Go blow a little louder,
When the last trumpet sounds.

Here is a disconnected link, from the singing of which the older members appear to derive peculiar satisfaction:

All Israel love feast in heaven to-day,
My soul will outshine the sun,
Love feast to-day;
Eat all de honey and drink all de wine,
Love feast in heaven to-day.

It is impossible to describe the wild, weird melody produced from these uncouth jargonic rhymes. To you who merely read them, they will doubtless seem to be destitute of rhythm, and incapable of being rendered into music; but who that has stood by their camp-meeting fires, and listened to the soul-swelling strains, in which the simple hearts of rustic worshipers poured forth their fervent feelings, can ever forget the waves of sound that rose and ebbed and died away among the overhanging foliage of the forest? It is the music of nature, the divine melody of untaught devotion, swelling rich and free from the fountains of untutored hearts.

A teacher writing from Dawfuskie Island, says:

"Twice per week we have an industrial school for the girls. They are quite interested in making garments which are to be their own when finished. Four nights each week we have an interesting night school—often have forty present—but the average is less. All come after toiling all day in the cotton field. One woman is

always present with her babe in her arms, except when sick; six young men walk two and a half miles, and several others three miles. How few of those who call the Freedmen 'lazy niggers' would walk five and six miles after working hard all day, for the sake of learning to read! Sabbath morning I have a school of forty-eight children who are intensely interested. Some of 'dem chilen' who are 'mindin birds' or 'de chile,' through the week, come in on that day, and I trust a seed or two falls into their young hearts."

Another writes of the opening of her school:

"Like untamed animals the children flocked in, without any ideas of order or application. Cleanliness was disregarded in many cases. Disorder prevailed, and it was almost disheartening to contemplate the array of untutored little ones moving about so uneasily upon their benches. The question naturally arose, can these turbulent spirits *ever* be quieted and subdued?"

Another writes this hopefully:

"It is scarcely requisite to enter into any detailed account of the amount of work I find daily necessary to perform. The fact of one hundred pupils under my charge, all of whom can read, and whom it is impossible to hear in concert recitations, which would economize time and strength, speaks for itself. In this school the teacher's body must be literally 'a living sacrifice' to God and duty. Through the hours of exhausting labor I repeat again and again, 'Be not weary in well doing, O soul; *be not weary*,—think of Gethsemane and the hill of Calvary, and forget your small burdens; Christ has done *so much* for you, it is so *little* you can do for him.' I know that every effort made from an earnest and conscientious desire to advance the Father's kingdom and to show forth his glory will be blessed; and so I trust his promise, that 'in due season ye shall reap if you faint not,' and that he who faithfully performs the duty to which he is appointed, 'shall doubtless come again rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.'

"I have a large and deeply interesting Sabbath-school class Our earnest and prayerful study of the divine word I trust may make them wise unto salvation, may lead them to become followers of God as dear children, and 'to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge.'"

From Nashville, Tennessee:

"The experience of the last month is quite like that of the past, only affording additional evidence of the great need of gospel truth in this community, and the importance of doing our work *now*. Soil kept in the dark produces little vegetation, but when exposed to the light and warmth, soon develops its latent activities; soil neglected may yield to its owner a crop of weeds, or a harvest from his neighbor's thistles or his enemy's tares. How like such soil is the mind committed to our care! Be it ours to let in upon it the genial light of education, and to sow the precious wheat of gospel truth, meanwhile guarding against the lodgment of evil influence from the vast moral wastes around."

The following is an extract from a letter written by a teacher, who gives her time receiving salary:

"I receive my pay daily, in feeling that I am [illegible] ing in the 'Master's vineyard.' After hearing Mr. Williams, an agent for the A. M. A. speak in behalf of the Freedmen I felt that I would like to do something for them, and offered my services as teacher for one year. I have never regretted so doing, but constantly thank God that he has permitted me to labor in this field. I am contented and happy. I never saw scholars who made as rapid advancement as do some of these knowledge-thirsty colored people."

From Staunton, Virginia:

"I am much encouraged by the interest manifested by my scholars in their books, and their industrious application, and by the earnest endeavor of many to 'walk humbly with God.' I have enjoyed precious

hours of prayer with my little ones, and the spirit of God has been with us. Even our usual morning devotions have been seasons of refreshment and profit. Oh, that the Father's gracious love may sustain us, and my efforts, poor and imperfect as they are, be by his grace blessed to the eternal welfare of these precious souls.

"The change in the school is very marked, so much so that it has attracted general attention, even from those who have felt no interest in the schools. The deportment of the pupils both in school and out, convinces me that the change is radical and permanent, that many are walking uprightly before God. The influence and example of these over the others is most happy.

"How tenderly God guides and preserves us when we rest wholly and unreservedly upon him; how weak we are in our own strength, but how strong when we do all things unto him."

From Augusta, Georgia:

"But the whole picture of our work is not as dark as I have painted it thus far. There are sunny places after all. As we have been from cabin to cabin, and found the inmates destitute and suffering, and had only to write on a bit of paper, 'Please give the bearer a pair of blankets, or clothing or food,' as the case might be, it seemed as if we must be in the land of 'Utopia.' Is it possible, we can not help asking, that in this world which sometimes looks so cold and selfish, we have only to say to the poor and oppressed— Be ye clothed, and it is done? Yes, thanks to the kind people of the North, it has been so. I have often wished that the donors of the articles could have been present when the garments were appropriated, to see how nicely they fitted, how perfectly adapted they were to the need of the wearer, and how happy they made him look. Well, they will not lose their reward."

From Atlanta, Georgia:

"I remember one case that seemed particularly

touching. A woman came to work for us, leaving three children at home. From her conversation we judged they were needy, and went to see. The oldest child, a boy about ten, was sitting by the stove barefooted; he kept the door open to admit light, for there was no window in the cabin. We looked around for the other children. The little woolly-headed sisters were smuggled together upon the bed, shivering beneath a piece of tent-cloth, a spread no thicker than a sheet, and a bed-tick. All the clothing that one had was a little cotton frock and stockings—the other had rather more. And yet this mother said, she knows God would never leave her to suffer. She had neither knife, fork nor spoon in the house, and no food excepting a little we gave her the day before. Surely, if she does not call this suffering she will never suffer."

From St. Louis, Missouri:

"It is almost impossible to convey any *adequate* idea of the school by writing—one only needs to see it in order to take in its peculiarities. Here is seated a middle-aged man intently studying the first principles of Arithmetic, yonder is his wife as diligently poring over her primer. Here a mother just commencing to read, there her son of sixteen, trying to conquer the Multiplication Table. In this class is a man just learning his letters; by his side are children five years old at the same lesson, and so on.

"May the grace of God enable me to do all that is acceptable to him."

From North Carolina:

"Every time I carry a pail of meal or a few potatoes to put into the bony fingers of sickly sufferers, I say, 'God sent you this.' And in their dark cabins they have a thanksgiving unknown in the lands of plenty."

From Mississippi:

"You who have looked in upon the filth of these most desolate homes, can measure the breadth of the tangled wilderness the people are crossing. And when

one after another arrives upon the very borders of civilization, their songs of deliverance are soul-stirring indeed. This month, too, has developed more than we remember, in any previous month, of the benefits of God's lessons, in his School of Affliction. Want and destitution are the order of the day. The government on which they depended too much, is to them a broken reed, so far as bread is concerned. Now, more than ever, they turn instinctively to God, and strike, with their own right arm more potent blows for the preservation of life under sore trials.

"The schools this month have been very prosperous. Their discipline is becoming easier. The first draught from fountains unopened before intoxicated them. 'Drinking largely sobers them again.' They are all coming to think education necessary. Some of our pupils are our fathers and mothers, in age. Sitting, the other day, beside a gray-haired man, while with difficulty he spelled out, 'Let not your hearts be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me,' he exclaimed, 'Thank God, thank God.' The religion of these people is not a cold abstraction. Its life giving influence lightens the eye, quickens the step, gives tone and vigor to the whole man. Where other hearts would sink under the weight of trial, their voices, often triumphant in prayer, exclaim, 'Give us this day our daily bread.' And God hears them. Do not we know that God hears them?"

A resident minister writes from Maryland:

"When, a few weeks since, I addressed gatherings of colored people, mutterings of distant thunder were occasionally heard, but when my daughter actually became a teacher—'a white lady teaching niggers'—the storm came on apace. As my daughter passes through the street, boys and middle aged men call out, 'Snowball!' 'Nigger teacher!' and, in passing our house, they jeer and ridicule. Yesterday something was hinted to me about mobbing abolitionists. The spirit of rebellion is as bitter here as in South Carolina, and we are without protection from government."

"The Freedmen are proving their appreciation of efforts in their behalf. They beg me to stay, and cling to me as if I were their Moses. A field for telling labor opens here, such as I never saw before, unless I except my labor in the army. Could I see any means of support, I should feel that I could not leave without being guilty of taking ship for Tarshish."

From the lady teachers of Charleston, S. C.:

"The return of the rebels to this vicinity, after the fall of Richmond, made our home a little less pleasant than before. Of course, they look down upon us 'Yankees' and 'Nigger teachers,' with 'superior disdain,' and wish us all sorts of unhappy fates; but this was to be expected when they saw us working right against the labor of their lives, that is, striving to elevate those whom they have made every effort to degrade, and so, as they dare do no more than talk, we pass it by unnoticed."

From Arkansas:

"Another failure of crops, with the fall of cotton, has spread over the whole community a general despondency. The entire withdrawal of government rations from hundreds of disabled men, women, and orphan children of both races, is the most severe misfortune they have ever met. How fondly had we hoped this year to be able to give a bright picture of Southern prosperity. But, alas! for earthly hopes. On the heels of war, famine presses. The darkening of the sun would not more visibly display God's displeasure against a nation's sins, but how long the poor Freedmen must suffer with the guilty, is unknown to us. We trust they will come up out of this sea of trouble, a purer, nobler race."

From Teachers' Home, Augusta, Ga., Oct. 18,

"Back again in my place, after three months absence, and right glad to be back too! The dusky faces seem a little strange to me after so unbroken a period of intercourse with the race which claims a feudal right over all the other races of the earth. Yet I find

my interest in these said dusky faces no less than formerly. Sickness and death have been making sad havoc among the people, and a report had spread among them that *I was myself dead.* Here comes a quaint epistle from a boy who learned to make the letters in the primary school last term, but who, during our absence, has contrived to wield the pen He writes thus: 'I am glad to see that you is not ded yet, and that the lord has not taken you to heven to fly with the angels, for you is a heep of use to the world, and I want you to live as long as the lord will let you.'

"I have no doubt that the dear boy will receive the accomplishment of his wish, and since he and a few others express their delight that I am still alive, I can not but reciprocate the sentiment"

A lady writes from Virginia:

"Only once had I occasion to administer reproof for untidiness and neglect of proper ablution. I spoke to the child, a flaxen haired, rosy cheeked little boy, privately and as tenderly as possible, understanding that little children have sensitive hearts as well as those of 'larger growth.' The little one's face flushed painfully, and turning his sad blue eyes filled with tears to my face, he said simply, 'My mother is dead, and I never had any father.' I think my own eyes filled then, and my heart yearned inexpressibly over this poor neglected orphan, whose Saxon face was sufficient evidence that he had said truly, 'I never had any father.' There are many such as he in the school; the great preponderance of the mulattoes over the blacks immediately arrests the attention of the spectator. Of the whole number (one hundred) there are not, I think, twenty blacks."

From Tennessee:

"This little school is a very oasis in the desert. I do not by this mean to imply that the field here is generally a barren one, for fact would warrant no such estimate.

"The men with whom this school brings me into contact are men who ask no *title* of nobility, but whose

whole bearing tells the story of a princely heart and a manhood that puts doubt to shame. They show a zeal in study which is a joy to their instructor, and the results attained are quite commensurate with the effort they make, for I never saw more rapid progress with any class of scholars. Does any man tell me that the negro was forgotten when God made man a living soul? my experience will be warrant for expressing the conviction that Providence favored *him* with only a scant supply of soul life."

But enough! We could go on multiplying instances indefinitely; and adduce still more abundant testimony from these girlish missionaries, who have forgotten race and color in their most womanly labors of love.

But let these suffice: gathered at random from a mighty pile of missionary correspondence, they express, in their unstudied language, the freshest feelings of youthful hearts overflowing with the dews of mercy, and refined by contact with the world's stern opposition.

We will close this brief tribute to their self-denying labors, by evidencing, as proof of the progress of liberal opinions in the South, this contrast between the tone of the leading journals of Norfolk, Virgela, before and after a year's toleration of mission schools.

From the leading editorial in the Norfolk *Virginian* of July 2, 1866:

"*They are gone or going.*—The only joy of our existence in Norfolk has deserted us. The 'negro schoolmarms' are either gone, going, or to go, and we don't much care which, whereto, or how—whether it be to the more frigid regions of the northern zone, or to a still more torrid climate; indeed, we may say that we care very little what land they are borne to, so not again to 'our'n,' even though it be that bourn whence no traveler returns. Our grief at their departure is,

however, lightened somewhat by the recollection of the fact that we will get rid of an abominable nuisance.

"Our only fear is that their departure will not be eternal, and like other birds of prey they may return to us in season, and again take shelter, with their brood of black birds, under the protecting wings of that all gobbling and foulest of old fowls, the well-known buzzard yclept Freedmen's Bureau.

"In all seriousness, however, we congratulate our citizens upon a 'good riddance of bad baggage' in the reported departure of these impudent missionaries. Of all the insults to which the Southern people have been subjected, this was the heaviest to bear. It was the refinement of torture. It did not draw our flesh off the bones as with hot pincers; nor did it stretch our muscles on the rack and fill our whole physical system with aches and pinches; but it was the more refined torture of an insult to our pride of manhood and our feelings; it was heaping coals upon our mental anguish—to have sent among us a lot of ignorant, narrow-minded, bigoted fanatics, ostensibly for the purpose of propagating the gospel among the heathen, and teaching our little negroes and big negroes, and all kinds of negroes, to read the Bible and show them the road to salvation, just as if we were Feejee Islanders and worshipers of the African Fetish gods, snakes, toads, and terrapins; but whose real object was to disorganize and demoralize still more our peasantry and laboring population.

"And the people of Norfolk have submitted to all of this—to this terrible indignity, without even a murmur. Was ever such respect shown for women, for order, for peace, for obligations imposed by the adverse fortunes of war? Would any other people—would the citizens of any of the Northern States—have allowed themselves to be so foully insulted?

"We hail with satisfaction the departure of these female disorganizers, and trust no favoring gale will ever return them to our shores, and that their *bureau* and other furniture may soon follow in their wake."

From the Norfolk *Journal*, June 1, 1867.

"To tell the plain truth, many people wish to see what these schools have done, but fear public opinion. They believe that a smart set of boys and girls are being educated by a smart set of people, all which is as true as Holy Writ. But it goes against the grain to *see* and *acknowledge* the fact. To some it would be a bitter pill. Not so to us; and when we dropped in on yesterday, we did it regardless of the world's fear—*public opinion*. We shall renew our visits and make up parties of acknowledged judgment and standing to go in with us, and encourage, not only the societies, but the ladies representing those societies, by showing our appreciation of their labors, and lauding them whenever merit is discovered. A quiet healthful system of gymnastics was combined with the intellectual culture of the pupils. The ladies who teach in this school were courteous and kind and took great pleasure in exhibiting the various faculties of their scholars. Their exertions must necessarily advance the colored boys and girls among us to a high order of talent, and more encouragement must be given by our councils to our public schools, to prevent our white children from being outstripped in the race for intelligence by their sable competitors.

Verily, the world *does* move, and reluctant Virginia moves with it.

We append a brief sketch of the various educational agencies of the North, which co-operated with the Freedmen's Bureau in the colored schools of the South. The list is not by any means complete; many energetic organizations making no public report of their proceedings; also many have labored, rendering effective service with no united organization whatever; but to the following societies, churches, and ecclesiastical bodies may be attributed the greater proportion of the work:

"*The American Missionary Association* was formed

September 3, 1846, at which time a number of temporary organizations preceding it and having the same object, were merged into this association.

"Dissatisfaction at the comparative silence of other missionary societies with regard to slavery was the main cause of this movement.

"At the opening of the rebellion the association found itself, by an experience of fifteen years' struggle with the spirit of slavery north and south, singularly prepared to enter upon the work of educating and elevating the colored race Accordingly, when emancipation followed the march of our armies, this association was among the first to meet the little bands of escaping slaves with clothing, schools, and the gospel of Christ.

"By a noteworthy ordering of Providence, its first school was established at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, near the spot where the first cargo of slaves was landed in 1620. From this small beginning the association has gone forward until its corps of teachers and missionaries, laboring among the freed people, numbered, at the date of its last annual report, 528, with over 40,000 scholars. In central localities its schools are rapidly advancing to the higher grades.

"The association has recently devoted a large share of its resources and attention to normal schools. It has purchased lands for this purpose, and by the aid of the Bureau erected permanent and commodious buildings. Its oldest school, founded before the war, is Berea College, Kentucky; a peculiar feature of which is, that of its 200 pupils this year a little over one-third are white. Many of its scholars are in the normal department.

"Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, another of its institutions, has a corps of 10 instructors and 413 pupils, 88 in the normal department, 85 in the grammar school, and the remainder in the lower departments. Atlanta University, Georgia, has a large number of pupils in the earlier stages of study, and is destined to exert a wide influence over the State.

"At Hampton, Virginia, the association is making

the experiment of an industrial school, with a three years' course of study, including a normal department. It is located on a farm of 120 acres of choice land, in the cultivation of which the young men defray a considerable part of their expenses the young women lessening theirs by doing the work of the boarding-house.

"The association has also normal schools at Charleston, South Carolina; Macon, Georgia; Talladega and Mobile Alabama; and high schools at Wilmington and Beaufort, North Carolina; Savannah Georgia; Memphis and Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Louisville, Kentucky.

"Its receipts have increased from $43 000, in the year preceding the rebellion, to $334 500 in cash and $90,000 worth of clothing and supplies in the year 1867; total, $424 500. Its funds of late have come liberally from all classes and denominations, and in considerable sums from other countries.

'All the labors of this association have been greatly blessed in the material, educational, and religious improvement of the Freedmen who have come within its influence.

"*The American Freedmen's Union Commission.*—This commission unites in its organization the Freedmen's aid societies of the country which are undenominational, with the exception of the American Missionary Association.

"A general desire to act for the poor of the South, without reference to color, had originated what was called the American Union Commission. It aimed largely at benefiting the ignorant white population, and commenced work with great and good effect.

"A central commission for all these societies was also felt to be desirable, and in January, 1864, the friends of the Freedmen in New York united with the American Union Commission in forming the American Freedmen's and Union Commission. The western societies did not at first co-operate, but on the 16th of May, 1866, a convention of delegates from all parts of the country met at Cleveland, Ohio, and formed the present American Freedmen's Union Commission. Its

object, as stated in the constitution, is 'to aid and co-operate with the people of the South, without distinction of race or color, in the improvement of their condition, upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality.' This commission has been of essential service in stimulating the efforts of the various societies, while they as branches have acted through this common center with great unanimity.

"The central office in New York has done much to draw public attention to the work, and gather funds from all parts of this and other countries.

"The last aggregate report from all the branches gave 458 schools as sustained by this commission.

"*The New England Branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission* was organized at Boston, February 7, 1862, and was called at first the Boston Educational Commission. The object of this commission, as defined in its own language, is 'the industrial, social, intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of persons released from slavery in the course of the war for the Union.'

"On the 3d of March, less than four weeks after, they nominated 31 teachers and superintendents, who (as accepted by the government agent, Edward L. Pierce, Esq.) sailed from New York to Port Royal. During the first year 72 teachers were sent to Port Royal, and four to Craney Island, Norfolk, and Washington. The committee on clothing and supplies expended the first year, besides forwarding a large amount of goods intrusted to its care, $5,306 93 for clothing, blankets, etc.

"As the work of the commission increased, it was deemed advisable to organize auxiliary societies. In 1865 there were 22 such societies; and at the present time there are not less than 70 who support teachers, besides a large number raising small amounts and sending their contributions directly to the commission. The whole number of these societies is now about 200.

"In May, 1866, when the various societies, east and west, united under the name of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, the New England society

took its present name. For the year ending April, 1866, the society reported 180 teachers, with 10,000 pupils under their instruction.

"Its schools are located in the District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. These were carried on through the year 1867 with unabated zeal, both its schools and teachers ranking among the very best in the field.

"The total expenditures of the commission to January 1, 1868, amount to $240,420 81, besides distributing clothing and supplies to the estimated value of $161,900.

"*New York Branch American Freedmen's Union Commission, formerly National Freedmen's Relief Association.*—This association, instituted February 20, 1862, has labored with great zeal and energy.

"The first year it had 34 teachers employed, mainly in South Carolina, and expended $5,420 22, besides sending very large quantities of clothing and books to the needy Freedmen.

"Its labors increased from year to year, until it became the above branch in 1866. It had then 125 schools in different parts of the South, with 14,048 pupils and 222 teachers. It also had two orphan homes and six industrial schools. Besides this educational work, the association that year received and distributed supplies for the relief of physical want valued at $194,667 73, making their total receipts for the year nearly $340,000.

"*The Pennsylvania Branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission*, at first called the Port Royal Relief Committee, and afterward known as the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, was organized March, 1862. During the first two years it expended $48,459 69 in cash, besides collecting and distributing $10,000 worth of clothing and other needful articles. The attention of this organization has been given latterly to the work of education alone. The average number of teachers employed by it has been 60 per year; the highest number employed at any one time being 65. Its schools are located in the District of

Columbia, and in the States of Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, North and South Carolina. It has expended monthly in support of its schools from $3,500 to $4,000 In October, 1865, there was organized at Philadelphia the Women's Central Branch of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission. This organization is connected with, and in some sense auxiliary to, the Pennsylvania branch. From October, 1865, to October, 1866, this organization raised by donation and subscription $8,347 75, and during the same time packed and forwarded for the benefit of the Freedmen 186 boxes of clothing, valued at about $35,000. The labors of these associations have been abundant and successful.

"*The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People*," commenced its work in 1864, and during the last year its receipts have been $58,608 50, of which $20,000 were from the mayor and city council of Baltimore, and $23,371 14 from the colored people of the State; the latter have also built, at their own expense, from lumber furnished by this Bureau, 50 school-houses, ready for use, and 30 others are in course of erection, which will compare favorably with the country school-houses throughout the State; the association, at its last annual meeting, reported 73 schools, numbering on their rolls 5,000 scholars. It has recently provided a normal school building in Baltimore, which will accommodate 150 pupils.

"*The Northwestern Branch American Freedmen's Union Commission*, formerly Freedmen's Aid Commission, was organized in the summer of 1864. For two years this association employed and supported among the Freedmen over 50 teachers.

"In May, 1866, this association merged itself into the American Freedmen's Union Commission, and since that time has been known as the Northwestern Branch of that central commission. Its operations are now carried on under the direction of an advisory committee. Leading men of all classes and religious beliefs lend their influence and contribute of their means to

forward its objects, and its operations give promise of larger results than in the past.

"*Michigan Branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission*.—This society was organized soon after the war began. Finding large numbers of colored orphan children in the seceded States, who were utterly destitute of home and friends, the society deemed it advisable to establish a home for such in the State of Michigan, where they might be cared for at less expense than they could be at the South. Accordingly an Orphans' Home was established, and on the first consignment of children, 70 or 80 in number, the task of care and instruction began.

"The support of the home absorbed all the funds of the commission until the close of the year 1866. In January, 1867, funds were furnished and teachers sent to Columbia, South Carolina, and Alexandria, Virginia; and more recently they have sent teachers to Louisiana.

"*The Western Freedmen's Aid Commission*, co-operating with the American Missionary Association, was organized in the winter of 1862.

"During that cold season it gave its attention to physical relief. In the spring of 1863 the commission sent a few teachers to the camps of the colored troops on the Mississippi. In 1864–'65 it expended for schools, etc., $26,128, and for physical relief $101,049 During the year the commission had 58 teachers in the South, located at the following points: Cairo, Illinois; Columbus, Kentucky; Island No. 10, Memphis, President's Island, Camp Holly Springs, Fort Donelson, Clarksville, Providence, Gallatin, Nashville, Murfreesboro, Tennessee; Helena and Little Rock, Arkansas; Goodrich's Landing and Milliken's Bend, Louisiana; Vicksburg and Natchez Mississippi; and in several colored regiments, and on a few plantations

"1865–'66 the work was somewhat enlarged, mainly by the co-operation of friends of the Freedmen in Great Britain, and the commission had 80 teachers in the field. The estimated value of stores furnished for physical relief was $78,000.

"In 1866–'67 71 teachers were employed, and there was expended in education and physical relief $226,939 37. It is proper to state that a portion of these funds was for a home in the vicinity of Cincinnati, which was a temporary refuge for children, and for decrepit and superannuated persons driven from homes where they could no longer be made profitable.

"In the fall of 1866 this society united its agency and office-work with the American Missionary Association. In so doing each association retains its incorporate existence, but it was considered by both that economy and harmony in the work required this union. Notwithstanding the scarcity of money, the number of teachers this past year under the supervision of the united office has been 129.

"*National Freedmen's Relief Association of the District of Columbia.*—This association was organized April 9, 1862, and was among the first of the kind in the country. The object of the gentlemen forming it was mainly to provide for the bodily wants of the fugitives arriving in large numbers at the capital, and to improve the condition of those remaining here permanently.

"Afterward, in addition to the above, they defended the legal rights of Freedmen in the courts, and rescued them from the remorseless grasp of slave-catchers. They also labored earnestly for the establishment of free schools for colored people in different sections of the city. The first school was opened by the association on November 23, 1863. Soon they reported 10 schools with 800 pupils, and 9 evening schools with about 1000 regular attendants. They have, for the six years past, done a good work in all respects; not only by ordinary teaching day and night, but clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, establishing industrial schools, and soup-houses in different parts of the city; and the same is still prosecuted with zeal, energy, and success.

"*The Soldiers' Memorial Society of Boston, Massachusetts*, is a continuation of the New England branch of the Sanitary Commission, and commenced with the

close of the war. It has devoted its labors to the distribution of clothing and supplies throughout the South, especially in Alexandria, Richmond, Hampton, Wilmington, Harker's Island, and Charleston. It has also furnished supplies to orphan asylums, both white and colored.

"At several prominent centers it has supported refugees' schools, employing in them some 75 teachers, and conducting its work with special reference to bringing the authorities to establish a system of public schools. In this school work for poor whites, it is the special successor of the American Union Commission of New York City.

"The society has expended about $2,500 annually, and has had in the field an average of about 50 teachers and missionaries.

"*O. S General Assembly Presbyterian Church.*—This body operates through a standing committee, who made their first report in May, 1866.

"The following summary will exhibit the results for the year ending May 1, 1868: Funds expended, $63,959 62, of which the Freedmen gave $8,264 38; missionary and teachers, 165; of these 110 were colored persons; day schools, 53; pupils in schools, 2,889; Sabbath-schools, 51; pupils in Sabbath-schools, 3,812; total schools, 104; pupils, 6,701; church buildings completed or begun during the year, 31; teachers' houses, 7; lots for church buildings secured, 7.

"Teachers labor five days in the week, six hours a day, and generally have night schools three nights of the week. One day of the week is usually spent in visiting the people, and in teaching them to order their households. They hold prayer-meetings, teach Sabbath-schools, and assist catechists in the conduct of Sabbath services in the absence of the ministers.

"No difficulty has been found in enlisting teachers. Females, with the true spirit of missions, are to be found in all parts of the church, who are ready to enter the work, and bear all its trials and reproaches, upon the promise of a bare support The committee bear testimony to the singular fidelity and moral hero-

ism with which these teachers have performed their work.

"*Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*—This society was organized in August 1866, and entered at once upon the educational work among the Freedmen It established schools in the States of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia. In these States this society, at the date of its last report, had 29 schools, in which were employed 51 teachers, having under their care about 5,000 pupils.

'In its first year the society collected and expended, in cash, goods books etc., over $33.134. The field of its operations has steadily widened and its labors are being crowned with abundant success

"*Baptist Home Missionary Society.*—This society has, since the war closed, sustained schools for the education of colored children, so far as special provision for their support has been made.

"Thirty of their missionaries and assistants have devoted themselves wholly, or in part, to the education of colored preachers. Their schools have been at Nashvile, Memphis, New Orleans, Beaufort, S. C, Raleigh and Charlotte, N. C., Alexandria, and Washington.

"They have all been engaged in giving elementary and theological training to preachers. The school in Washington has an average of 25 ministerial students for the last year, and the principal says:

''I have the satisfaction of knowing that one class of colored men have had a year of thorough discipline. As many as 20 of them have education enough to teach a good school. I am glad to say, also that the students seem to grow in grace as well as in knowledge. They teach in school or go among the poor every Sabbath afternoon'

"The teacher of the Nashville school writes:

"'They will not turn out great theologians; but, with the help of God, they will do much for their race. I have heard some of them preach, and have been amazed as well as pleased to perceive with what accu-

racy they reproduce in their own language the ideas conveyed in the recitation room.'

"*Home Missionary Society of the Free Will Baptist Church.*—The work of this society has been conducted by two branches, east and west.

"In the east it is confined mainly to the Shenandoah Valley. This valley is the home of 30,000 Freedmen, and is not only the garden of Virginia, but the colored people there are far more intelligent than where they have been herded together further south.

"Twenty missionaries and teachers commenced in in 1867 to labor in this valley, and about the same number at the west. The whole number of pupils taught in all their schools, for the year, has been 3,467, varying in age from 4 to 70 years. A very promising normal school has been commenced at Harper's Ferry.

"It has been the policy of this society, from the commencement of its work among Freedmen, to have some portion of these laborers devote their whole time to missionary work, and to the formation of churches. Their teachers and missionaries deserve great praise for their faithfulness. A number of colored preachers are employed, who have proved themselves worthy of the respect of the Christian Church.

"*New England Yearly Meeting of Friends.*—This society, through a select committee, has labored with great success for the last four years, mainly in the city of Washington.

"They purchased an estate on Thirteenth Street in the latter part of the year 1864, and soon after opened a store for selling goods to the colored people at cost; employed persons to distribute needed supplies among the suffering; commenced an industrial school for teaching ba-ket-making, straw-braiding, etc.; and established a Sabbath and evening school. The next year day schools were opened, which increased rapidly in attendance, and were ably and faithfully sustained.

"*The Pennsylvania Friends' Freedmen's Relief Association of Philadelphia* was organized on the 11th day of November, 1863; its object being to 'relieve the

wants, provide for the instruction, and protect the rights of the Freedmen.'

"During the year 1865 it supported a number of excellent schools in a large building, erected by itself, in the city of Washington. When, however, schools were provided for here in a large measure by other societies, the Friends withdrew from the field, and gave their attention and efforts more especially to the Freedmen of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and a portion of Delaware. They now operate mainly in North Carolina and Virginia.

"From the date of its organization to April, 1867, this association has expended in cash $210,500; distributing garments to the number of 118,453 pieces. The average number of schools supported has been 18; scholars, 4,300; teachers, 44.

"*Organizations among the colored people.*—The colored people of the country have shown no lack of interest in the matter of laboring, and giving of their scanty means for the education of their race now made free.

"In this connection the efforts of the African Civilization Society, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, are worthy of special mention In the annual appeal of the former organization for 1868, it is stated that 2,500 freed people have been taught in its schools during the past year, and thousands more of an older class have been reached and instructed in the duties of their new life of freedom.

"*The Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* has sustained, for the past four years, 74 missions among the Freedmen; and in co-operation with other educational organizations working in the South, has supported 60 schools. The children and older persons attending the Sabbath-schools connected with its churches number 40,000. The libraries of the schools contain 39,119 volumes.

"The whole expenditure of the society for all purposes, during the past fiscal year, amounted to $130,276 46, all of which was collected from colored persons. It received and expended, from 1862 to 1867, $36,383 06. Its work, as arranged for the coming year,

will require not less than $50,000, to obtain which they make a hopeful appeal to the benevolent public."

In the above voluntary agencies for the education of the Freedmen where all have done so nobly, it is impossible to discriminate in the bestowal of merited praise. All have labored untiringly, and with wonderful success, and deserve the lasting gratitude of mankind for their munificent and disinterested charities.

In addition to these there are a number of church organizations, purely sectarian in their basis and instructions, whose labors have likewise been amply blest in the conversion and education of this ignorant class of people. As the most prominent of these, we will give a brief sketch of

"*The United Presbyterian Board of Missions to the Freedmen of the South.*"—This society was organized in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, on July 4, 1863. Two corps of teachers were sent out in the fall of that year, one of which was located at Goodrich Landing, Mississippi. These schools continued and prospered for several months, when the government protection was withdrawn, and most of the contrabands removed to Davis' Bend. The teachers were then transferred to that point, and continued the schools for two years, with headquarters in the house of Jefferson Davis. After the close of the war, the schools at the Bend were abandoned. The other corps was located at Vicksburg, Mississippi. Their schools were well attended and great good was done. In the early part of 1863 schools were commenced in Memphis, Tennessee, but were in 1865 given up, as other associations seemed adequate to carry on the schools. In the same year schools were opened on President's Island, and in Nashville, Tennessee. The station at the latter place has

been a great success from the first, a colored congregation having been organized there. In 1867 a station was established at Leavenworth, Kansas, and a congregation organized with much success. Another congregation of colored people had been previously formed in Vicksburg.

From the beginning of the work among the Freedmen, over 150 persons have labored under the care of the board, many of them for three years consecutively. The number taught each year has been from 1500 to 2000. At present there are over 1600 pupils in the United Presbyterian schools, and about an equal number receive Sabbath-school instruction.

There are also a number of other sectarian societies, of which we would be pleased to make honorable mention, but the data of their operations are not at hand.

The Roman Catholics are likewise fully alive to the importance of securing a foothold among the Freedmen, and the College "De Propaganda," at Romeh, as carefully considered the field, as is shown in the following extract relative to the proceedings of the council of Roman Catholics recently held in Baltimore:

"The consideration of the condition of the Freedmen was pressed upon the council by a letter from Cardinal Barnabo, prefect of the Propaganda at Rome. The points to be discussed are the appointment of an apostolic prefect, with episcopal powers, for the special superintendence of missions among the blacks; the erection of separate churches for these people; the admission of colored men to the priesthood; the establishment of convents of colored nuns, and of schools for children; and finally, the introduction of congregational singing in the vernacular into negro churches."

Catholic schools are numerous throughout the South,

and the teachers and priests of this denomination have labored assiduously and with great success.

"*The Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions*," consisting of fifteen persons, was organized as a permanent committee, intrusted with the prosecution of the work of home missions, by the (New School) General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in May, 1861 and was duly incorporated by the legislature of the State of New York, in April, 1862.

The general assembly of 1868 charged this committee with the work among the Freedmen; which, in November, 1868, was made a separate department and intrusted provisionally to the superintendence of the chairman, Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D.D. It is now less than four months since the work of this department was commenced in the South, yet it has already in commission 3 general agents (one of them colored), 7 missionaries (two of them colored), and 61 teachers (of whom twenty-five are colored). It maintains 55 schools, in which are taught more than 3000 pupils. The schools are mostly in Tennessee; several are in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia; and others are in Maryland, District of Columbia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, and Missouri. With such encouraging results at the outset, the committee in the ensuing year will press forward to a more extended work. The New School Presbyterian Church is fully committed to do her part in elevating and evangelizing the colored people of the South, and no denomination of Christians in the land in respect to the past of slavery has a fairer record.

We also give a list of the various colleges, universities, and normal or high schools for the education of

Freedmen, together with several for colored persons in the Free States:

"*Howard University.*— Howard University, Washington, D. C., incorporated by Congress March 2, 1867, is designed to afford special opportunities for a higher education to the newly enfranchised of the South.

"The trustees, soon after obtaining their charter, purchased 150 acres of land in a very favorable location near the city, and by selling about two-thirds of it for building lots, secured, with a little additional help, the means of payment for the whole, reserving a very eligible site for university buildings, with a public square and park. Here, by the aid of educational funds of the Freedmen's Bureau, there have been erected two large buildings; one for recitation rooms, philosophical chamber, laboratory, library, offices and chapel; and the other for dormitories and a boarding hall.

"A competent number of able instructors has been elected, and others are to be chosen if the means for their support can be obtained. A department preparatory for college and to fit teachers was opened in May, 1867. This has been very prosperous, having over a hundred pupils the first year; and a small college class, to which additions are expected, has been formed. Preliminary lectures on theological study are given, to answer a present demand in the case of several who have not completed the usual academic course.

"The medical department will be opened in the coming autumn, and arrangements have been made for commencing the law department.

"The expenses for students are fixed very low, and measures have been taken to provide manual labor, that any one can earn, in part, the means of support; also, in exceptional cases, to remit more or less from the bills of tuition and room rent. Applications are constantly coming from various parts of the South for the admission of pupils to all the departments.

"While making special provision for Freedmen and white refugees, as demanded by the aid furnished by

the Freedmen's Bureau, still all classes, including both sexes, are carefully provided for.

"It is the design of the trustees to build up at the nation's capital a large and efficient institution, amply sufficient for supplying the demand of this new era, and to give intelligent youth, whatever may have been their previous condition, the benefits of a thorough collegiate and professional education.

"The great want of the institution now, is funds for scholarships of $150 each, the endowment of professorships, and for purchase of books, apparatus and other important material.

"*Fisk school, Nashville, Tennessee.*—This school was founded by the American Missionary Association and Western Freedmen's Aid Commission. In August, 1867 (the city of Nashville having provided free schools for all classes), a charter was secured for the Fisk University, and academic and normal departments were opened the following September. Its last catalogue shows, whole number enrolled 412; in the grammar school, 85, academic department, 88; normal department, 41. The normal pupils are mostly from different portions of the State, and board with the family in the Mission Home. Each normal pupil teaches in the model school at least one-half hour per day, under the direction of the principal.

"A commercial department, under the management of a competent master, has recently been added to the university. Special attention will be given to book-keeping, penmanship, and kindred branches, to fit young men and women for the transaction of ordinary legal, mechanical, and commercial business

"The average daily attendance in all the departments has been 232.

"The property secured for the university by the association and the Bureau is valued at $40,000

"*Berea College.*—This institution commenced in 1858, at Berea Madison County, Kentucky, was the outgrowth of previous missionary labor, and one of the first efforts south of the Ohio to found an educational institution whose privileges should be extended

to all, without distinction of race. During the war this school was suspended; but it reopened two years ago, and has since had a vigorous growth The last catalogue gives the names of 301 students, one-third of whom are white, and the remainder colored. Twenty-four are in the normal department.

"The institution furnishes labor for industrious young men sufficient to pay a portion of their expenses.

"Although the capacity of the college to accommodate students has been more than doubled the past year, it is still insufficient to meet the wants of those who are seeking its privileges.

"Berea deserves credit for its noble struggle, for years against pro slavery prejudice, and should now have a liberal patronage. It has an able corps of instructors. The president is its original founder, Rev. John G Fee, and the institution has been, from the first, under the patronage of the American Missionary Association.

"*Biddle Memorial Institute.*—This institute is located in the city of Charlotte, North Carolina It was founded by a generous donation from the widow of the late Henry J. Biddle, of Philadelphia, who gave his life to his country in the great rebellion.

"A beautiful site of eight acres has been secured near the city, the gift of Colonel W R. Myers, a citizen of Charlotte, and the main building is now being erected. Two houses for the professors have been completed free of debt. Eight thousand dollars are needed to complete the whole work.

"Since the 16th of last September, when the first session opened, 43 students have been admitted. Great care has been exercised in admitting students, and all of them are required to spend part of their time in teaching among the people. The institution has an incorporated board of trustees under the laws of North Carolina.

"The Freedmen themselves have taken hold of this enterprise with great vigor, and are spreading its reputation far and wide; but their absolute poverty pre-

vents them from actually doing much toward its material prosperity. If means were furnished, more than a hundred promising young men could be gathered to the Biddle Institute during its next session.

"*High School, Quindaro, Kansas.*—This institution was established under the auspices of the Old School Presbyterian Assembly's Committee. It is situated on the west bank of the Missouri River, on the line of the Pacific Railroad, and is thus of easy access from every quarter. The last catalogue shows 180 pupils, 95 of whom are males and 85 females.

"The institution has accumulated property, consisting of the seminary building of stone, 22 by 48 feet, with two stories and basement, and three dwelling houses for teachers, valued at $6,200. On this there is a debt of $500.

"Efforts are now being made to obtain an efficient principal, who shall be able to give instruction to a theological class. Also, to secure land for farming and gardening purposes, that the students may be instructed in agriculture and trained to habits of industry.

"*Lincoln University, Oxford, Pa.*—This university has now an efficient faculty of eight members and 115 students. Forty of these are Freedmen. These students are gathered from 15 different States, a fact which evinces the widespread influence of the institution. There are at present in the theological department 15 pupils; in the collegiate, 82; preparatory, 18; total, 115. Four professorships are already endowed, and above $10,000 is needed to increase the accommodations made necessary by the growing success of the university.

"*Avery College.*—Avery College, in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, was built and donated to the trustees of the institution by the late Rev. Charles Avery, for the education of colored youth of both sexes, and was incorporated by the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, A. D 1849. The edifice is attractive, convenient, and ample in its proportions, and furnished with

a fine library, and a good assortment of philosophical, chemical, and astronomical apparatus

"The course of study is substantially that adopted by other colleges in our country.

"Every person admitted must give satisfactory testimonials of good moral character, and those coming from other institutions must present a certificate of honorable dismission.

"The academical year is divided into three terms, as follows: The fall term, beginning on the second Monday in September and continuing 15 weeks; vacation for two weeks. The winter term, beginning on the first Monday of January and continuing 13 weeks; vacation of two weeks The spring term, beginning on the third Monday in April and continuing 12 weeks; vacation of eight weeks.

"This college is not under the control of any religious denomination, although its charter provides that all its officers shall be professors of Christianity. It is in no way connected with any sectarian organization, yet the design of its founders was to incorporate the teaching of Christian precepts with its appropriate course of studies.

"*Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.*—Under the auspices of the American Missionary Association this institution was opened in April, 1868. It received an incorporation the following September 'for the purpose of preparing youth of the South without distinction of color, for the work of organizing and instructing schools.' The extreme poverty of those who needed such an institution, and the value of self-help as a means of culture and true manhood, induced the association to purchase a farm of 120 acres and provide it with all appliances of profitable labor.

"This farm lies upon Hampton Roads. The school and home buildings, valued at $20,000, occupy a beautiful site upon the shore. They are so furnished and arranged as to offer students the aids to right living which belong to a cultivated Christian home.

"In the farm work, under the constant direction of an educated practical farmer, the graduates of this in-

stitution will have learned both the theory and practice of the most profitable methods of agriculture.

"The female students do all the housework of the boarding department. Thus, in the home, on the farm, and in the school-room, the students have the opportunity to learn the three great lessons of life—how to live, how to labor, and how to teach others.

"Pupils are received between the ages of 15 and 25; if younger or older, a special arrangement will be made. They must enter with the intention to become teachers and to remain through the whole course of study. Each student is on probation for three months after admission. Fifty-two were in the boarding department of this institution the last year.

"It is required that students shall abstain entirely from the use of intoxicating liquors and tobacco, and improve the fine opportunity for sea and fresh-water bathing, and always govern themselves by the laws of good deportment which belong to every well-ordered, cheerful Christian household.

"*Results of labor.*—The first crop has been planted and gathered under all the disadvantages of an experiment, and with a very heavy outlay in recovering a farm wasted by war, stocking it with fruit trees, small fruits, hotbeds, etc., and erecting a barn and an entire new fence, amounting to $4,059.

"The gross sales of produce in the northern markets have been $2156 56; crops now in the ground (estimated), $1800 00; total, $3956 56.

"The 19 male students who entered in April earned during the term and spring vacation an average of $1 10 per week above their expenses. The earnings of the 13 female students fell a little short of their expenses.

"In the summer vacation (six weeks) male students earned $3 per week above expenses; females from 50 cents to $1.

"It is believed that this institution offers superior advantages to all. Youth, who are in earnest and who come with a stout heart and two willing hands, may feel that it is entirely possible for them here to push

their way to a good preparation for the life work be-
them.

"*St. Augustine Normal School.*—The St. Augustine Normal School, under the charge of the Freedmen's Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church, is located at Raleigh, North Carolina. It was incorporated in July, 1867, but did not commence operations until January, 1868. During the first session there were in attendance 26 pupils. The second term commenced September 28, with 20 pupils. There is now a prospect of a very large increase.

"The trustees have purchased 100 acres of land in a most desirable location adjoining the city, and a commodious edifice is now going up. It will furnish accommodation for at least 150 pupils. The building is in a most beautiful grove, and is at once convenient and retired.

"It is purposed at the earliest moment possible to erect a building near the normal school as a home for pupils who come from a distance.

"There is on hand and promised to the institution a fund of about $43,000, which will be set apart as a permanent endowment.

"*National Theological Institute and University, Washington, District of Columbia.*—This institute commenced its organized work among the Freedmen in 1864. Revs. Solomon Peck, D. D., and J. W. Parker, D. D., were its pioneer laborers. The former began the first Freedmen's school south of Virginia, at Beaufort, South Carolina, in 1862. The latter made early public efforts and journeys South, having for his object the better instruction of the preachers of the colored people.

"In May of 1867 an executive committee was constituted to adjust all pre-existing agencies, and the institute, mainly under the care of the gentlemen in Boston of the Baptist denomination, assumed its present form.

"Their total expenditure for the year ending April 23, 1868, was $18,368 09.

"The work is not simply educational, for the maintenance of secular schools. but is missionary and evan-

gelizing, by means of a native ministry, trained, enlightened, and thoroughly finished.

"The institute has schools for this purpose at the following places: Washington, with a whole number in attendance during the first five months of 125; Richmond, with an attendance, night and day, of 88; St. Helena, South Carolina, with 50 pupils; Augusta, Georgia, with about 60.

"These pupils are nearly all mature men, of good native talent, many of whom have for a long time been preachers of the gospel among their brethren. Instruction is adapted accordingly; extremely elementary in many respects, but as time passes and the opportunity of these men presents, and especially as young men come from the children's schools, instruction will become more extended.

"Great good must ultimately result from the labors of such an institute, and we may hope it will in time grow to be, as its name implies, a broadly endowed and thorough university.

"*Miss M. R. Mann's School, Washington, D. C.*—This school, though small, and until recently a private enterprise, is an admirably conducted institution. It commenced December 5, 1865. Through the influence of the friends of the Hon. Horace Mann, in Massachusetts, a school-house, with the best appliances, was furnished. A small tuition fee was charged, but many pupils were taken gratuitously, particularly those wishing to become teachers.

"The teacher is a niece of Mr. Mann, and is well qualified for her charge. Visitors are surprised with the beautifully furnished room, the neatness and order preserved, and the high character of the recitations.

"All ages have been admitted, that the school might contain within itself its own experimental class for practice in teaching; and thus those who never entered for that purpose become qualified for the work.

"The average registered attendance for the past three years has been about 40, and a number of teachers have already been sent out from the school, all but one of whom are now successfully employed.

"The school is at present under the direction of the school board of Washington, and they propose to have it receive the most advanced pupils from several of the public schools. This plan carried out practically will make it, with the patronage these trustees can bestow, a model school, and one of the best for normal instruction in the city.

"*Talladega Normal School.*—Talladega is in Northern Alabama, just at the upper line of the best cotton lands and mineral regions. It is a central and excellent location for educational purposes. Here the Cleveland Freedmen's Aid Commission had maintained an excellent school since 1865, where most of the children in the vicinity received primary instruction.

"In November, 1867, the American Missionary Association opened the Talladega Normal School with 140 pupils. It now numbers 231, with the best prospects of success. A large three-story brick building is provided, with 30 acres of land. Normal students are carefully instructed in the rudiments of two or three of the most needed branches, and by practice in drilling the younger pupils in those branches. Nine months of such training in the elements makes of an earnest person a more than average teacher for the ordinary schools. Fifteen teachers have already been sent out from this institution, nearly all of whom are conducting both day and Sabbath-schools, in which their efforts prove to be very acceptable. It is expected that this normal class will be increased to 50 or 60 during the coming term.

"*Storer Normal School.*—The Storer Normal School is located at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, and is under the patronage of the Free-will Baptist denomination. It has 43 pupils enrolled, with an average attendance of 32. Sixteen of the pupils are over 16 years of age.

"An eligible site has been purchased by the society having the work in charge, and it is expected that a school of a high order will here be gathered. Suitable buildings have been furnished by the government.

"A benevolent gentleman, John Storer, Esq., of San-

ford, Me., has given $10,000 to assist this undertaking, on condition that an equal amount shall be raised for the same purpose on or before January 1, 1869. The larger part of this sum is already secured, and agents are still at work obtaining funds, with very cheering success.

"The location of this school is excellent, its managers are enterprising, and its prospects are full of encouragement.

"*Richmond Normal and High School.*—In October, 1867, the Richmond Normal and High School was fully organized and commenced operations. It is conducted by a board of directors under a charter from the circuit court of Richmond. The principal building is a handsome new brick edifice, 52 by 32, and two stories high. It is thoroughly constructed, well provided with the best modern school furniture, and supplied with all necessary educational appliances: philosophical apparatus, maps, charts, globes, books of reference, a new and well-selected miscellaneous library, with historical pictures and other works of art to add to the attractiveness of the rooms.

"The school has had two excellent teachers, and 65 pupils. These have made fine progress, their examinations eliciting much praise from gentlemen who have been present. This institution is exceedingly useful, not only for instructing and disciplining the pupils, but for its effect upon the whole community. It has elevated the aspirations of the colored youth of the city, and succeeded in conquering a portion of that unfounded prejudice which has hitherto existed among white citizens.

The school will hereafter accommodate 100 pupils and three teachers. As the average scholarship in schools of lower grade in the city becomes elevated, the conditions of admission to this will be advanced. The course of study and methods of instruction are those common to the best normal schools.

"*Shaw School, Charleston, South Carolina.*—This excellent school was first established in the Morris Street public school building, March 14, 1865, and is supported

by the New England branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission. At the beginning of the term, just closed in Military Hall, 375 pupils were received, after which, for want of room, nearly all applications had to be refused.

"The following facts, showing an interesting detail of instruction, are furnished by its principal, Mr. Arthur Sumner:

"'Beginning with the lowest classes, 48 scholars are in the Fourth Reader. They can read the books commonly used in families of children; 70 per cent. of these scholars are in the Third and Fourth Readers. There are 10 in fractions, and several more, equally advanced, have lately left school; 27 can perform examples in long division. They are taught the reasons of the process, and the brightest can explain it. Fifty-four can do short division; 43 are in multiplication; 51 in subtraction; 22 can only add numbers of four to six figures each. So that 207 in these classes can be said to be in written arithmetic, having also made equal progress in mental arithmetic.

"'In the higher classes of the school, most of the scholars can add, subtract, multiply, and divide long combinations of units and tens, given out orally and rapidly by the teacher. They display as much aptness in these exercises as children do at the North.

"'The larger number are writing in books, the remainder on the slate. Two hundred have been taught writing by dictation. This system has been eminently successful.

"'One hundred and twelve are studying geography. They have had the use of a large globe and Guyot's wall maps.

"'The highest class has been in English composition, with constant practice, having written carefully prepared compositions all the term. Very few of the pupils in this school had any education before the war.

"'The library of over 1300 volumes is a great feature of the school. More than 600 books have been issued since the library was first opened, and not one has been lost by the pupils.'

"*Institute for Colored Youth, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Ebenezer D. Bassett, Principal.*—This institute was founded about the year 1837, upon a bequest made by Richard Humphreys, member of the Society of Friends. Its design was to qualify colored youth to act as teachers. In addition to this, the founder also contemplated some instruction in mechanic arts and agriculture. In order to accomplish this, an association of Friends, which had been formed, purchased, in 1839, a piece of land in Bristol Township, Philadelphia County, and educated a number of boys in farming, and, to some extent, in shoemaking and other useful occupations. In 1842 an act of incorporation was obtained from the legislature.

"In 1844 the funds of the institute were increased by a bequest of over $18,000 from Jonathan Zane, another member of the Society of Friends. Several small legacies were also received about this time.

"The experiment of the combined literary, agricultural, and manual labor school was abandoned in 1846, and the farm and stock sold.

"During the next six years the managers endeavored to carry out the objects of their trust by apprenticing colored lads to mechanical occupations, and by maintaining an evening school. In 1851 a lot of ground on Lombard street, Philadelphia, was selected, and a building erected. In the autumn of 1852 it was opened as a high school, under the care of Prof. Charles L. Reason, of New York, the pupils being selected from those of a standing above that of the ordinary schools.

"The growth of the school soon demanded increased accommodations. The first step looking to this desirable end was taken in 1863, when the executors of the estate of Josiah Dawson made an appropriation of $5,000 to a building fund. Soon after two Friends offered to the board the sum of $5,000 each, provided an amount necessary to complete a building fund of $30,000 could be raised by the board. This movement was vigorously followed up, and resulted favorably.

"Since the early part of 1866 the school has been conducted in a large and commodious building, on

Shippen Street, west of Ninth Street, Philadelphia. The cost of the building and grounds was about $40,000. Its funds now amount to about $150,000.

"The institute is under the management of an association composed exclusively of members of the "Society of Friends" The teachers are all colored persons, four of each sex. Accommodations are provided for nearly 300 pupils.

"A small charge is made for tuition of $10 per annum for pupils in the high school, and $5 for those in the preparatory department. Its effect has been very beneficial, in relieving the pupils from a feeling of dependence, and causing an improvement in regularity of attendance and diligence in study.

"The current expenses of maintaining the schools for the fiscal year just closed have been $7,612 67; average cost of each pupil for the year $38 14. Whole number of alumni the present year, 48, 31 of whom are now teaching."

We regret that no authentic account of Wilberforce University, Xenia, Ohio, is at hand. The institution, we know, is prospering under the able management of its president, Rev. D. A. Payne, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

The American Missionary Association report the following normal classes.

"At Charleston, South Caralina, Avery Institute has a two-story brick building, erected by the Bureau, capable of accommodating 600 pupils, designed for normal school purposes. A normal class is organizing at the present time out of the graded classes which have been taught in this school for three years.

"At Macon, Georgia, in the Lewis School, erected by the Bureau at an expense of $12,000, a normal class of 20 is taught. These pupils are the most advanced scholars from the schools of the association in Andersonville, Albany, Americus, and other points in Southwest Georgia. They are received into the family with

the teachers in the mission home, and thus are under constant refining influence.

"At Atlanta, Georgia, the graded classes in the Storr schoolS having been under instruction for the past three years, furnish the material for a promising normal class. The association is making arrangements to open the boarding department for this normal school during the coming winter.

"At Mobile, Alabama, in the Blue Stone College, purchased by the aid of the Bureau, a large graded school has been taught, and a normal class has been organized. Provision is also about to be made for boarding pupils from abroad, similar to that at Macon, Georgia."

Thus, from our imperfect gleanings may be sifted a fair idea of the gigantic efforts that are made for the elevation of an alien and once despised race.

Scarcely a religious denomination exists in the land that has not, in some manner, done something to ameliorate the condition of these poor people, or to assist in reclaiming them from the viler bondage of vice and degradation. The good work still goes on with unabated interest, and already it has become the firm conviction, not of the "fathers of the church" only, but of the entire body of religious people of the North, that there is not in the wide world another field for missionary labor superior, or even equal, to that found among *the Freedmen of the South.*

PART V.

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROBABLE FUTURE OF THE FREEDMEN.

ONE of the most remarkable features that marks prominently the present age, is the rapid and complete development of the Freed people. The world never before beheld so eager and healthy a growth. At the opening of the war, in 1861, they were only little handfuls of escaping fugitives fleeing from the strongholds of slavery into the uncertain refuge of the Union lines. Emancipation swelled their numbers to millions, and the close of the war, in 1865, found them helpless and dependent as children cowering under the imperfect protection of military authority. Anon, they were shielded by law, emancipated, enfranchised, and now they are sitting in conventions framing organic laws for the government of the States in which they so recently were slaves! They were ignorant, but they sprang eagerly into the open doors of the missionary school provided by the generosity of the North, and speedily mastered the alphabet,

the primer, the reader, and the arithmetic. The foremost in the race are pressing into the normal school, and many will soon enter college. Their religion was wholly emotional and unenlightened, but they compelled the alphabet to lead them as quickly as possible into the Scriptures, and already they have felt the transforming power. But they have had many hardships to endure, many sacrifices to make. Enemies at home and abroad have conspired to oppress them, and trials and misfortunes have marked the way; but God's hand is still guiding them onward and upward to a higher destiny and a more developed manhood. Already has the Freedman been quickened intellectually. Partly is he regenerated morally, and in great measure has he been reclaimed from evil habits and the bondage of hereditary degradation. His incipient education has lifted him to a nobler level, and he sees dimly through the scattering mists of ignorance, and assays to grasp the grand realities of the higher life.

What has not freedom done for him? The brutish mind, the servile demeanor, and the clouded soul have given place to nobler impulses, polite but manly manners, and the Christian's faith and hopes of immortality. Slavery is a dead thing of the past, and with it has perished the old forms of superstition, of ignorant credulity, and of apathetic unbelief. A nation has been born in a day. A nation of earnest, humble, anxious men and women, hungering and thirsting for the divine word, for the truths of the gospel, and for the blessings of a Christian education.

Already they have drunk deeply of these perennial springs, and the transformation is permanent and unmistakable. Yet still is it progressing. The laborers of the church in these Southern vineyards have not

fallen nor fainted by the way, but, animated with a lofty purpose, have held down helping hands to raise these millions of eager aspirants to a level with their more favored brethren. Lovingly and reverently they have spoken of Jesus, and the new nation, listening in childlike wonder and veneration, has accepted this divine ransom.

A nation of Christians, humble, self-sacrificing, and devoted, has sprung suddenly from the smoldering ruins of the Southern Confederacy, and already in their meek example, their quiet orderly lives, and patient resignation have become a power in the land. They love freedom for its own sake, for the sake of their wives and children who are now all their own, as well as for the blessings of education and knowledge it has conferred upon them. They love their little homelike cabins with their modest improvements and simple attempts at elegance, for have they not purchased them with the fruits of their own honest and non-recompensed labor? They are good citizens, loving the land that gave them birth, and still more the government that has given them freedom. Abraham Lincoln is to them a martyred saint, a buried Moses, who divided the turbid waters of slavery and led them through in safety. A grateful, happy, contented people, they look forward to a peaceful, prosperous future, and cherish no resentment against their old time oppressors, but dwell quietly amongst them, asking and expecting no favors, but laboriously working their way to home comfort and independence.

They have disarmed prejudice, they have made friends even among the ranks of their enemies, and have borne their sufferings, their cruel persecutions, and their manifold wrongs with a lofty patience and

submission that in their very simplicity are sublime. Steadily are they rising; steadfastly are they progressing. Their unparalleled advancement is but the beginning of the end, and time, in its ceaseless march toward eternity, will bear them on its bosom triumphantly. Throughout the succeeding years the Freedmen will live and labor, as in the present, ambitious only for an extended freedom of soul and mind. A nation born from the ruin of another, they will supplant it in moral stamina, in honest intentions, and patriotic principle. The Freedmen are destined shortly to become the ruling race in the South. Labor and education, linked hand in hand and tempered with religion, soon will elevate them above the aristocratic level of their former masters. They have entered the broad highway to national respect, and self-elevation is the goal toward which their unfaltering footsteps are directed. Behind them are the ruins of the system which has blighted the South with the curse of unrequited toil, and desolated the whole land with the miseries of civil war. Before them is the prospect of rewarded industry, universal liberty, general education, freedom of speech, and an unfettered gospel!

For the following exhibit of the present condition of the emancipated slaves in the several States of the ex-Confederacy, we are indebted to the Report of Major-General O. O. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, October 14, 1868:

VIRGINIA.

"The tone of public opinion exhibits a gradual but constant improvement, though the prevailing sentiment of the white people leaves much to be desired with respect to a cheerful recognition of the rights of

the Freedmen as citizens. The assistant commissioner, in his report of operations for the month of April, 1868, states that the secret organization known as the Ku-klux Klan have made their appearance in various localities, visiting the houses of colored men at night, in some cases placing ropes around their necks and threatening to hang them on account of their political opinions. No further violence has been offered. The object of these midnight demonstrations, which have been very rare in this State, appears to be to intimidate and control the Freedmen in the exercise of their right of suffrage.

"In November and December, 1867, the opposition to negro suffrage developed itself in the general discharge of those colored laborers who voted contrary to the wishes of their employers.

"The interest of the Freed people in their schools remains unabated. The schools themselves have been highly prosperous, and their classification and discipline have been constantly improving. In November, 1867, the number of schools in operation was 197, of which 154 were public free schools. The number of teachers was 250 of whom 160 were white. Number of pupils, 12,657. In April, 1867, the number of schools was 269; teachers, 310; pupils, 16,403.

"The Freedmen have endeavored to the extent of their slender means to share the expense of conducting these schools.

"Many schools have been opened by the Freedmen and the expenses borne by themselves.

"Thus, in the month of May, 1868, of 249 schools which were in operation in the State, 72 were wholly and 67 partially sustained by Freedmen. The remaining 110 were wholly sustained by various benevolent agencies. One sixth of the entire expense of the schools during the month was borne by the Freed people."

NORTH CAROLINA.

"The progress of the educational work in this State is very gratifying. The greatest attention and interest have been aroused not only among the colored people, but also among the white. The school year opened in October with 158 schools, 158 teachers, and 7,897 scholars. In April, 1868, there were in operation 336 day and night schools, with 339 teachers (138 white and 201 colored) and 16,435 pupils in attendance. The number of Sunday schools reported during the same period was 238, with 1,034 teachers and 16,187 pupils.

"The duties of agents have been rendered more difficult in consequence of the animosities developed in the recent political contests. The great majority of the Freedmen, actuated by the same views of their interests, have been united upon one side, and many threats of revenge upon them for so doing have been made. These threats, and many petty persecutions in pursuance thereof, have helped to stagnate and paralize labor interests.

"The assistant commissioner bears emphatic testimony to the exemplary conduct of the Freed people through the entire canvass which resulted in the adoption of the new State constitution and the election of State and local officers."

SOUTH CAROLINA.

"In some districts land owners formed clubs agreeing to employ no Freedmen who would not vote in accordance with their wishes. These sentiments were controlled, however, by self-interest and the necessity of procuring labor.

"As a result of past habits and training under the slavery system, many cases of disregard of the obligations of the marriage contract and of wife desertion by Freedmen have been reported.

"The superintendent of education for the State, reports that during the term of nine months ending June 30, 1868, the average number of schools in operation

was 49; number of teachers. 87 white and 36 colored; number of pupils, 6,698. Though the number of scholars enrolled is less than that reported for the preceding school term, yet the average attendance has been better and the grade of schools much higher. In addition to the above the superintendent estimates that at least 8,000 pupils were, June 1st, attending voluntary or self-supporting schools, making a total attendance upon colored schools in the State, during the past term, of nearly 15,000 pupils. There are besides a large number of Sunday-schools throughout the State, which are well attended and doing much good. Many are located in places where no secular schools have been started, and through their agency large numbers of adults and children have learned to read who otherwise would have remained in total ignorance."

FLORIDA.

"The condition of the Freed people in this State, during the past year, has been very favorable. Their conduct and demeanor in their new relations to government and society, have been almost uniformly reported as excellent. Peace and good order have prevailed throughout the State. Acts of outrage or violence perpetrated upon Freed persons have been very rare. More harmonious relations between the races have obtained here than in most portions of the South.

"Wherever the local civil authorities have been influenced by prejudice against the Freedmen to the perversion of justice, the military power has been interposed to protect the colored man in the rights defined in the civil rights bill and other laws.

"Though the influence of political agitation has been to introduce a source of discord and difficulty, yet no active hostility on the part of white citizens toward the Freedmen in their new relations has been reported. On the contrary, the assistant commissioner, in his report for July, said:

"'Mutual interests and abundant crops tend to har-

monize the white and colored men, and cause them to acknowledge their mutual dependence upon each other.'

"The assistant commissioner, reporting for July, 1868, said:

"'The Freedmen of Florida will hereafter be comparatively independent. The majority of them have now a house or hut, and from 10 to 40 acres of land, well plowed and fenced. The character of labor has been much improved during the year.'

"The scattered and unsettled condition of the inhabitants of this State has not been favorable to interchange of views or association for school purposes, while the poverty of the Freed people has prevented any considerable contributions by them. The cause of education is therefore in a backward condition."

GEORGIA.

"In this State, also, Freedmen have been discharged and driven from their homes for voting contrary to the wishes of their employers. White men have also been abused for the manner in which they have exercised the right of suffrage. The assistant commissioner was directed to relieve distress or starvation occasioned thereby, and to appeal to the commanding general of the military division for a remedy of this evil.

"Much has been accomplished in the establishment and conduct of colored schools, and the educational interests of the State are in flourishing condition.

"The highest number of schools, day and night, reported during the year, is 132; teachers, 174; pupils, 8,930. Besides these there are 80 Sabbath-schools, with 502 teachers and 15,141 pupils, and three industrial schools, with 184 pupils.

"Public sentiment regarding colored schools has changed very little during the year, except that for the last three months there has been more bitterness exhibited toward all *men* engaged in the work, and there are few who have not received threats either openly or anonymously. It is not known that any have received

personal injury, except the colored teacher at Hawkinsville, who was shot and seriously wounded, yet he adds that there are 100,000 children in the State who have never learned the alphabet or been inside of a school-house, and says that there are 91 points in the State where, in all, 145 new schools might be organized, each in the midst of a dense colored population."

ALABAMA.

"The condition of affairs in this State throughout the year has, in general, been quiet and satisfactory.

"The stationing of troops in the more turbulent districts of the State by the commanding officer of the sub-district of Alabama, and the late action of military courts in punishing offenders for outrage upon loyal persons white or black, have greatly tended to restore the confidence of the Freed people in the government, and also prevent the repetition of these crimes.

"The great necessity of the thorough education of their children and the many benefits which would result therefrom are fully appreciated by the colored people; but their poverty has crippled their efforts in this cause. The unsettled condition of affairs and the opposition manifested in some sections have confined the operations of Freedmen's schools most entirely to towns in which agents are stationed.

"The superintendent of education, in August, estimated the number of schools organized and in operation in the State of Alabama at 72, with an average attendance of 3,562 pupils. Besides these, some schools have been maintained by private effort. These schools compare favorably with the average of schools in the North. No more competent or devoted teachers can be found anywhere, than those engaged in this work."

MISSISSIPPI.

"The condition of the Freed people throughout the State is not only improving but is satisfactory. The Freedmen have worked well.

"At all times the demand for labor has been greater than could be supplied, and consequently but a small degree of destitution has prevailed.

"The superintendent of education made a special effort to secure the continuance of those schools located in the healthy districts of the State, and succeeded in keeping open 75 day schools, with an average number of 3,500 pupils and 76 teachers (38 being colored).

"The number of teachers employed in the regular season is 102, and the number of pupils who have received instruction in the regular schools is about 14,000.

"The extreme poverty of the Freedmen has made it necessary for the Bureau to sustain a considerable proportion of the expenses of conducting the schools. But it is expected that when the crops are harvested the Freedmen generally will be able to contribute much more for this object."

LOUISIANA.

"The condition of the colored race in this State is not promising. The poor results of the year's labor have had a depressing effect upon many planters and Freed people. The latter have done all that was in their power.

"The educational work has been vigorously prosecuted. The measure of success attained is quite gratifying considering the obstacles that have been encountered—the poverty of the Freedmen, the small amount of aid received from benevolent associations at the North, and, in the more remote sections, the prejudice and opposition of white citizens. In May the total number of schools in operation was 217, with 244 teachers, and 10,971 pupils.

"While the Freedmen, as a class, exhibit a very general interest in religious matters, many of their habits still show the debasing influence of the slave system. Prominent among these is the want of a due appreciation of the obligations of the marriage contract. In

this respect, however, their conduct is undergoing much improvement, and cases of desertion of wife and family are becoming rare.

"The condition of society in the more remote and sparsely settled parishes is greatly disorganized. In some sections the treatment of the colored people has been deplorable. Outrage and crimes of every description have been perpetrated upon them with impunity.

"'Vigilance Committees' and 'Ku-klux Klans,' disguised by night, have burned the dwellings and shed the blood of unoffending Freedmen."

TEXAS.

"The unsettled condition of this district has rendered necessary the distribution of a large military force over the State.

"Armed bands, styling themselves Ku-klux, etc., have practiced barbarous cruelties upon the Freedmen. Murders by the desperadoes who have long disgraced this State are of common occurrence. From information on file in the office of the assistant commissioner it appears that in the month of March the number of Freedmen murdered was 21; the number of Freedmen assaulted with the intent to kill, 11. In July the number of Freedmen murdered was 32.

"In consequence of this condition of affairs a kind of a quiet prevails among the Freed people lacking but little in all the essentials of slavery. In the more remote districts, where Bureau agents are 50 or 100 miles apart, and stations of troops still further distant, Freedmen do not dare or presume to act in opposition to the will of their late masters. They make no effort to exercise rights conferred upon them by the acts of Congress, and few even of Union men are brave enough, or rather foolhardy enough, to advise them in anything antagonistic to the sentiments of the people lately in rebellion.

"Owing to these causes and the lack of schools the Freedmen of Texas do not compare favorably with

those of the States east of the Mississippi River. They have not made the same progress, and are less thrifty and provident. Nevertheless they have worked faithfully and industriously, as the condition of the crops testifies.

"The progress of the educational work in Texas has been much impeded by the poverty of the Freedmen, and in the more remote sections by the determined opposition of white citizens. The Freedmen's schools do not compare favorably with those of many other Southern States."

ARKANSAS.

"Great attention has been given to the important work of fostering the educational interests of the Freed people. It has been the aim of the assistant commissioner to dot the State all over with school-houses as thickly as possible. Schools previously confined to the principal towns, have been pushed into the interior and more remote sections.

"The Freedmen have shown great interest in the work, and nothing but their poverty has prevented them from assuming a large proportion o the expense incurred. Considering the disadvantageous circumstances under which the school work has been prosecuted, the progress secured is encouraging.

"The administration of justice by the civil authorities has been far from effective. Lawless violence and ruffianism have prevailed to an alarming extent.

"Three churches belonging to Freedmen in Ouachita county were burned by parties unknown on the night of April 4, 1868. The assistant commissioner attributes this wanton act to the bitter feelings aroused by the part the Freedmen had taken in the then recent election, and states that similar deeds are not uncommon 'The Ku klux Klan serve their mysterious notices and make their midnight rounds in different parts of the State Every precaution has been taken with the forces at hand Troops were stationed at 24 different points in the State; but even this distribution has failed to check the evil. The civil law in this State,

so far as the punishment of crime is concerned, exists only in name.'

"On the night of May 16 a Freedmen's church and school house (not erected by government aid) in Mississippi county was burned by incendiaries. Several other gross irregularities occurred in different sections of the State during this month. Each case was as fully investigated as practicable, but with no satisfactory result, so far as the arrest or punishment of the criminals is concerned."

KENTUCKY.

"During the year 31 school-houses have been erected by the Bureau in Kentucky The superintendent of education estimates that 20,000 children have received the rudiments of an education in the schools supported by the Bureau.

"More than 1,100 colored soldiers in Kentucky have received their bounty through the Bureau during the year. Having served in the Union army, they have been the especial objects of persecution, and in hundreds of instances have been driven from their homes. The outrages perpetrated by the Ku klux Klan have caused a great exodus into other States.

"Notwithstanding these disadvantages a majority of the Freedmen have labored faithfully. Many have become property-holders, and wherever they have been fairly treated they have shown marked improvement in every respect.

"The number of outrages reported as committed by whites upon colored people in the State of Kentucky during the year is: murders, 26; rapes, 3; shootings, 30; otherwise maltreated, 265; total, 324."

TENNESSEE.

"At the close of the year 1867 the organization of the secret society known as the Ku-klux Klan took place.

"The number of outrages perpetrated by this band,

or by desperadoes apparently belonging to it, has been very great. The intimidation of the colored people seemed to be its object, to effect which colored men are frequently taken from their beds at night and flogged unmercifully, and occasionally killed. These outrages, and occasional efforts of the colored men to resist them, have given to several counties the character of lawless and disorderly communities; but for several months past such outrages have ceased, and the opposition to colored schools is decreasing.

"The most important work of the Bureau during the past year has been the erection and repair of the school buildings and the employment of teachers. But little pecuniary aid has been received from the colored people. In the month of June, 1868, there were in operation 120 schools, with 161 teachers (49 colored and 112 white), and 8,246 pupils.

"A very important branch of the labor of the Bureau has been the collecting and disbursing of bounty claims to colored soldiers or their widows and heirs. The amount disbursed by the agent at Nashville alone during the year is $83,402 03."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, WEST VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, AND DELAWARE.

"More attention than usual has been devoted to educational matters in the district during the past year.

"This Bureau has aided in the construction of 111 school houses. The plan adopted has been to furnish lumber, and sometimes other material, and the Freedmen would procure a site and agree to pay for the construction.

"From the consolidated monthly reports are derived the following: Total number of schools (Sabbath-schools not included), 257; total number of teachers, 326; total number of pupils, 12 494.

"Public sentiment toward colored schools has improved during the year. And yet the only allowance made by law for the support of public schools for colored children in Maryland is that part of the school

fund derived from the taxes paid by colored people. In some parts of Maryland bitter hatred has been shown to colored schools. One case is reported of assault of a colored teacher in Cecil County, and another of a colored female teacher at Havre de Grace. In a locality of Anne Arundel County, known as 'the Forest,' the prejudice is so great that the Freedmen have not been able to obtain a site for a school house.

"In Delaware one school building has been burnt, but the judicious and energetic management of the Delaware Association seems likely to triumph over all opposition.

"In West Virginia, though the law allows an equal share of the public fund for the colored schools, yet the public sentiment in two or three counties was so strongly opposed that the school authorities took courage to resist the law.

"Negro testimony is now generally admitted throughout this district, but the difficulty remains that the juries and local magistrates allow it no weight when opposed by white witnesses.

"Under the heading Asylums,' the assistant commissioner reports the details of the breaking up of Freedmen's Village, Arlington. Average number of inmates during three months, 682. The superintendent in his final report gives an interesting history of many of the cases classified under 'old age,' 'disabled,' 'blind,' and 'insane or imbecile.'

"This class, including also orphans in the District of Columbia, from various causes, has accumulated during the war and since, and as they are not considered properly residents the local authorities have declined to make provision for their support. It would be impracticable to send them to be provided for by the counties of the various States where they were born in slavery, even were there any ground for believing the county authorities would consent to receive and care for them. They must therefore remain a public charge, and would seem to have peculiar claims upon the United States government.

"The records of the employment offices of this dis-

trict give: Number provided with employment from July 1, 1867, to August 31, 1868, 1,977.

"The Barry Farm enterprise mentioned in my last annual report, has continued to justify the expectations of the trustees. The land has been taken with avidity, and the payments, with some few exceptions, promptly and regularly made.

"The Freedmen who have made the purchases seem greatly encouraged at the prospect of owning a homestead. They have made up a fund among themselves for school purposes, and bought one of the lots upon which the erection of a school-house large enough to accommodate 150 pupils has been completed during the year, by aid of this Bureau.

"Any one who sees the prosperity of this community, and witnesses the new hopefulness with which most of its members seem to be inspired, can not fail to regard the experiment as one of the most judicious and beneficent yet undertaken in behalf of the Freedmen.

"Twenty industrial schools are reported in this district, with 823 scholars."

Thus, as has been seen, the pathway of the Freedmen, in their tortuous exit from the prison-house of slavery, has not been wholly lined with roses. Much has been done for them; they have done much for themselves—but the perils of the wilderness have been before and around them. Courageously they have surmounted many difficulties. Bravely and hopefully they have striven to overcome the obstacles in their way. Cheerfully and prayerfully they look forward to similar trials and greater victories. They are moderate in their desires and expectations. They ask not social equality, and have no thought of thrusting themselves into social notice and recognition. They demand equality alone before the law, and ask to be pro-

tected only in their political rights, their personal property, and their family relations. Yet in great measure they hold in their hands the destiny and will mold the future of America. Our modern politicians might learn a lesson from the humble ex-slaves.

A teacher writes from Carsville:

"The Freedmen are holding numerous political meetings. They always open them with prayer, and the whole assembly get upon their knees, and bow humbly before God, and thank him for the great privilege they have."

Public opinion in the South must change. Already are there indications that the change is half begun. Henry A Wise, Ex-Governor of Virginia, in a lecture at Norfolk for the benefit of the Southern Churches, made this extraordinary declaration:

"He is, I fear, an infidel who doesn't see that the fire and sword of this war were sent from heaven. God knew that we could be torn away from our black idol of slavery only by fire and blood and the drawn sword of the destroying angel of war. He sent them, and we ought to praise the Most High that he did not send worse plagues, like those of Egypt, against whatever weakness or wickedness we clung to like Pharaoh."

Many of the more intelligent and prominent Southern citizens sympathize strongly with the praiseworthy efforts of the Freedmen to elevate themselves, and lend them all the encouragement in their power, although the mass of the people are bitterly opposed to their education, and resort to every expedient both to discourage the colored people and to throw obstacles in the way of their instructors. But prejudice such as this will be mellowed and softened by time, and especially by the dissemination of a more liberal education among

the so-called "poor white trash" of the South, a class largely in the ascendancy, and from whom emanate the most intense and malignant opposition and persecution, although no class in the nicely graduated social scale is wholly exempt from the chivalrous weakness of hatred to "Yankee schools" and "Yankee teachers." In time, by their correct deportment, the Freedmen will compel the respect and win the co-operation of their white fellow-citizens, and with it the privilege of dwelling unmolested by their side.

A marked change is already visible in the children of these poor black people, and, compared with their elders who have never enjoyed the privileges of of school, one can scarcely realize that they are of contemporaneous generations. Who doubts that the little black boy who wrote this letter, at the request of his teacher, to the children of a white Sabbath-school at the North, will, if he lives, have good sense, and render efficient service to his race?

"TRINITY SCHOOL, ATHENS, ALABAMA,
"*Feb.* 15, 1868.

"*Dear Children*—My teacher asked me to write a letter to you. I am a little black boy. I don't suppose I'll ever be white. I'm free, though. My mother is dead, my father went off with the Yankees. I lived in the camps one year with the Yankee soldiers. I used to dance around the camp for sugar and bread:

"'Dey gives me hard-tack,
Tougher as a rack
It almost break my jaw.'

"When I left the camp, I went to live with Aunt Mary She beat me, and knocked me about, and almost put out my eye. One time they beat me very bad, and tied me to the fence to keep the chickens off the garden. I untied the string and *runned* away, and now I

has a nice home with Miss W. She teaches me to be good; and I am trying to be the best boy in the world.

"I have learned to pray and read the Bible. I recite my Sunday school lesson with the big class. I am going to be a minister, and preach the gospel; and I am going to do my work well. I am going to have good sense. I am going to be *energetic*, too!

"I had some Christmas presents, and I've got them yet. I pick up chips, and learn my lessons, and read the paper. I have read through the First Reader and the Second Reader, and now I am in the Third Reader, and I study Geography. I have very nice clothes, with pockets in them; I eat with a fork. I used to sit on the floor and eat with my fingers, and get grease and molasses all over myself. I didn't have any apron then, nor any manners, nor anything to eat hardly. Now I have everything nice, and I try very hard to be a nice boy. I am a temperance boy. I don't drink any rum, and I never will. I make temperance speeches, too; and Miss R. is teaching me a song about,

"'These temperance folks do crowd us so awfally.'

I shall sing it at the exhibition next summer. I played on the melodeon three times, and

"'I want to be an angel,
And have a harp within my hand.'

"Do you sing

"'Beautiful land of rest?'

I sing it every day.

"I am quick to duty, up and at it. I walk very still. I do what is told me, and do it cheerfully. I learn Latin, too, when Miss W.'s class recites their lesson: *Ille, illa, illud. Sum, esse, fui. Rego, regere, rexi, rectum!* 'The verb must agree with its subject in number and person.' I shall study Latin, I think, before I preach, and history too. History tells about George Washington who never told a lie; and Abraham Lincoln, who made us free; but Miss W. says 'twas God though.

"I go to bed early, and I always pray before I go to

bed. I love to pray. When I didn't live here, I didn't have any prayers, then I had whippings. But I like praying a good deal the best, don't you? I hope you pray every day, and every night before you go to bed, and think all about what you have done. Jesus hears me when I pray, and He loves me, too. Do you love Jesus? He is good and blessed, and he wants you to love him.

"Perhaps I shall get on the cars some time and come to see you. Would you speak to a black boy? I shall be 8 years old next May. I will now close my letter.

"GEORGE WELLS."

This child is not a prodigy. He is but one of the thousands of sprightly children now under the guardianship of the Northern teacher, and whom time will develop into earnest men and women. The nation has much to hope from them. When their fathers have passed from the stage of action, there will stand ready to succeed them a healthful, sanguine generation, bearing in their brains and cherishing in their souls the perfected fruit of mental energy and moral culture, the certain harvest already ripening from the good seeds of gentle words and pure example sown by the tireless hands of the fair girl missionaries of the North, who for such a result have courageously expended youth and health.

Nor is any class indifferent to their newly-acquired rights and responsibilities. We can not better illustrate the intense feeling prevalent among them than by adducing these extracts from the speech of Hon. H. M. Turner (colored), on the eligibility of colored members to seats in the Georgia Legislature, delivered before that body, September 3, 1868:

"I stand here to-day, sir, pleading for ninety thousand black men—voters—of Georgia; and I shall stand

and plead the cause of my race until God, in His providence, shall see proper to take me hence. I trust that He will give me strength to stand, and power to accomplish the simple justice that I seek for them.

"The great question, sir, is this: Am I a man? If I am such, I claim the rights of a man. Am I not a man, because I happen to be of a darker hue than honorable gentlemen around me? Let me see whether I am or not. I want to convince the House, to day, that I am entitled to my seat here. A certain gentleman has argued that the negro was a mere development similar to the ourang-outang or chimpanzee, but it so happens that, when a negro is examined, physiologically, phrenologically and anatomically, and, I may say, physiognomically, he is found to be the same as persons of different color. I would like to ask any gentleman on this floor, where is the analogy? Do you find me a quadruped, or do you find me a man? Do you find three bones less in my back than in that of the white man? Do you find less organs in the brain? If you know nothing of this, I do; for I have helped to dissect fifty men, black and white, and I assert that by the time you take off the mucous pigment—color of the skin—you can not, to save your life, distinguish between the black man and the white. Am I a man? Have I a soul to save, as you have? Am I susceptible of eternal development, as you are? Can I learn all the arts and sciences that you can—has it ever been demonstrated in the history of the world? Have black men ever exhibited bravery, as white men have done? Have they ever been in professions! Have they not as good articulative organs as you? Some people argue that there is a very close similarity between the larynx of the negro and that of the ourang outang. Why, sir, there is not so much similarity between them as there is between the larynx of the man and that of the dog, and this fact I dare any member of this House to dispute. God saw fit to vary everything in Nature. There are no two men alike — no two voices alike — no two trees alike. God has woven and tissued variety and versatility throughout the boundless space of His cre-

ation. Because God saw fit to make some red, and some white, and some black, and some brown, are we to sit here in judgment upon what God has seen fit to do? As well might one play with the thunderbolts of heaven as with that creature that bears God's image—God's photograph.

"The question is asked: 'What is it that the negro race has done?' Well, Mr. Speaker, all I have to say upon the subject is this: that if we are the class of people that we are generally represented to be, I hold that we are a very great people. It is generally considered that we are the children of Canaan, and that the curse of a father rests upon our heads, and has rested, through all history. Sir, I deny that the curse of Noah has anything to do with the negro. We are not the children of Canaan; and if we were, sir, where should we stand? Let us look a little into history. Melchisedek was a Canaanite; all the Phœnicians—all those inventors of the arts and sciences—were the posterity of Canaan; but, sir, the negro is not. We are the children of Cush, and Canaan's curse has nothing whatever to do with the negro.

"Why did your forefathers come to this country? Did they not flee from oppression? They came to free themselves from the chains of tyranny, and to escape from under the heel of the autocrat. Why, sir, in England, for centuries together, men—and *white* men at that—wore metal collars around their necks, bearing, in graven characters, the names by which they were known. Your great and noble race were sold in the slave-marts of Rome. The Irish, also, held many white slaves, until 1172; and even Queen Elizabeth, in her day, had to send a deputation to inquire into the condition of such white slaves as had been born in England. King Alfred the Great, in his time, provided that for seven years' work the slave should be set free. And, going back to more ancient and more valuable authority, did not God himself, when he brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, say unto them: 'Remember that you were slaves in Egypt?' I say to you, white men, to-day, that the great deliverance of

the recent past is not altogether dissimilar to the great deliverance of ancient times. Your Democratic party may be aptly said to represent Pharaoh; the North to represent one of the walls, and the South the other. Between these two great walls the black man passes out to freedom, while your Democratic party — the Pharaoh of to day — follows us, with hasty strides and lowering visage.

"These gentlemen do not consider for a moment the dreadful hardships which these people have endured, and especially those who in any way endeavored to acquire an education. For myself, sir, I was raised in the cotton field of South Carolina, and, in order to prepare myself for usefulness, as well to myself as to my race, I determined to devote my spare hours to study. When the overseer retired at night to his comfortable couch, I sat and read, and thought, and studied, until I heard him blow his horn in the morning. He frequently told me, with an oath, that if he discovered me attempting to learn, he would whip me to death, and I have no doubt he would have done so, if he had found an opportunity. I prayed to Almighty God to assist me, and He did, and I thank Him with my whole heart and soul.

"Personally, I have the highest regard for the gentleman, but I need scarcely say that I heartily despise the political sentiments which he holds. I would pledge myself to do this, however: to take the Holy Bible and read it in as many different languages as he will. If *he* reads it in English, *I* will do it; if *he* reads it in Latin, *I* will do the same; if in Greek, *I* will read it in that language, too; and if in Hebrew, *I* will meet *him*, also, there. It can scarcely, then, be upon the plea of ignorance that he would debar me from the exercise of political rights.

"I want to take your memories back to 1862. In that year the Emperor of Russia, with one stroke of his pen, freed 22,000,000 of serfs. What did Russia do then? Did she draw lines of distinction between those who had been serfs and her other citizens? No; that noble prince, upon whose realm the sun never sets,

after having freed these serfs, invested them with all the political rights enjoyed by his other subjects. America boasts of being the most enlightened, intelligent, and enterprising nation in the world, and many people look upon Russia as not altogether perfectly civilized. But, look at what Russia has done for her slaves; there were 22,000,000 of them, while there are but 4 000 000 of us in the whole South, and only half a million in Georgia. How can you say you have a Republican form of government when you make such distinctions and enact such proscriptive laws?

"But, Mr. Speaker, I do not regard this movement as a thrust at me. It is a thrust at the Bible—a thrust at the God of the universe, for making a man and not finishing him; it is simply calling the Great Jehovah a fool. Why, sir, though we are not white, we have accomplished much. We have pioneered civilization here; we have built up your country; we have worked in your fields, and garnered your harvests. for two hundred and fifty years! And what do we ask of you in return? Do we ask you for compensation for the sweat our fathers bore for you—for the tears you have caused, and the hearts you have broken, and the lives you have curtailed, and the blood you have spilled? Do we ask retaliation? We ask it not. We are willing to let the dead past bury its dead; but we ask you now for our RIGHTS. You have all the elements of superiority upon your side; you have our money and your own; you have our education and your own; and you have our land and your own, too. We, who number hundreds of thousands in Georgia, including our wives and families, with not a foot of land to call our own—strangers in the land of our birth; without money, without education, without aid, without a roof to cover us while we live, nor sufficient clay to cover us when we die! It is extraordinary that a race such as yours, professing gallantry, and chivalry, and education, and superiority, living in a land where ringing chimes call child and sire to the Church of God—a land where Bibles are read and gospel truths are spoken, and where courts of justice are presumed to

exist; it is extraordinary, I say, that, with all these advantages on your side, you can make war upon the poor defenseless black man. You know we have no money, no railroads, no telegraphs, no advantages of any sort, and yet all manner of injustice is placed upon us. You know that the black people of this country acknowledge you as their superiors, by virtue of your education and advantages.

"Where have you ever heard of 4,000,000 of freemen being governed by laws, and yet have no hand in their making? Search the records of the world, and you will find no example. 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' How dare you to make laws by which to try me and my wife and children, and deny me a voice in the making of these laws?

"Gentlemen talk a good deal abont the negroes 'building no monuments.' I can tell the gentlemen one thing; that is, that we could have built monuments of fire while the war was in progress. We could have fired your woods, your barns and fences, and called you home. Did we do it? No, sir! And God grant that the negro may never do it, or do anything else that would destroy the good opinion of his friends. No epithet is sufficiently opprobrious for us now. I say, sir, that we have built a monument of docility, of obedience, of respect, and of self control, that will endure longer than the Pyramids of Egypt.

"We are a persecuted people. Luther was persecuted; Galileo was persecuted; good men in all nations have been persecuted: but the persecutors have been handed down to posterity with shame and ignominy.

"You may think you are doing yourselves honor by expelling us from this House; but when we go we will do as Wickliffe and as Latimer did. We will light a torch of truth that will never be extinguished — the impression that will run through the country, as people picture in their mind's eye these poor black men, in all parts of the Southern country, pleading for their rights.

"I hope our poor, down-trodden race may act well and wisely through this period of trial, and that they will exercise patience and discretion under all circumstances.

"You may expel us, gentlemen, by your votes, to-day; but, while you do it, remember that there is a just God in Heaven, whose All-Seeing Eye beholds alike the acts of the oppressor and oppressed, and who despite the machinations of the wicked never fails to vindicate the cause of justice and the sanctity of his own handiwork."

But enough! the aptitude and ability of the negro race to receive the nobler grades of education, and to exercise understandingly the highest religious and political privileges, has been amply demonstrated by their own action and example.

As citizens of the restored Union, they will faithfully and intelligently discharge their sacred trust. Under the benign protection of the government, they will foster and develop all noble and praiseworthy sentiments. The Republic need not blush for these her true home-born sons; and the nations of the earth, who now are looking curiously and in astonishment upon their rapid transformation, well may learn a potent lesson from the humble, silent teachings of *The Freedmen of America*