WHAT OUGHT WE TO EXPECT?

"They are intensely human." — General Saxon.

"Human nature is every thing this side heaven and hell."

If we bear in mind these two mottoes, we may be interested, but can hardly be surprised, at the developments of good and evil that meet us in the progress of a race from slavery to free civilization; nor even, however shocked, shall we have difficulty in crediting the atrocities of slaveholding hate, or the malignity of treason disappointed of its triumph.

In considering what we have a right to expect from the negro, there are three influences which will modify his conduct, and make it different from that of any other in history. We must first consider the peculiarities of his race; secondly, the circumstances which have moulded him thus far, and which still continue to influence him; and, thirdly, that power of conscience; religious conviction, free will, which, however it may be denied by speculative philosophers, is individually recognized by every conscience, and, practically, by every lawgiver. Temperament, circumstances, individual fidelity to duty, are the three factors which constitute character.

While we do not admit the absolute inferiority of any race or nation of humanity, believing all to be fitted to act their parts in the great drama of humanity, and that one chord is as important as another in the grand harmony, there can yet be no question, that races, like nations and individuals, have their peculiarities. All elements are present, but they are blended in various proportions. In the negro race we believe the poetic and emotional qualities predominate, rather than the prosaic, mechanical, and merely intellectual powers. Great sensitiveness to beauty, sensibility to religious emotion, warm affections, undoubting faith, seem to us the finest characteristics of the race. They may be sensual, but rarely brutal. They are undoubtedly lazy, as all mankind are; but they are easily stimulated by motives; and their imaginative power gives them a wide range of desire, whose gratification will urge them to exertion. In their present stage of advancement, they will undoubtedly lie,—all people in a low order of development will do so: they will be very apt to steal.

In two points they have shown themselves superior to our expectations,—one is in neatness. Vile, ragged, and filthy as many of them are, coming into our lines utterly destitute and forlorn; it is yet the general testimony, that, considering the circumstances, they are a neat people; and that the efforts to teach them good habits of housekeeping are responded to more quickly than we had expected. They have also a power of meeting difficulties which indicates a keen and practical intelligence. An officer in the army, who opened a relief office in Nashville, said, "The poor whites come and want every thing: they have no plan, no definite object, but for us to feed them and provide for them; but every negro has a plan, which only needs some one thing to be done to set in working order. One wants a certain room in which to put her family, another a stand for a little business, another some needed tool; but all come with a clear, definite request." This perception of use, they have got out of their hard training of poverty and work. It is true their habits are still thriftless, their mode of labor slow and clumsy. The negro will work all day doing with his own hands what he might accomplish in two hours with some simple tool. He has had little motive, as yet, to learn better things; and the same thing
is true of an ignorant peasantry the world over. Even in Europe, one is constantly struck with the modes of labor which are still persisted in, in spite of all the modern improvements in machinery. It is only when the whole community are educated to think, that the brain saves the hands. Why should the negro care to save time, when it was only time saved for more work for his master? Let his leisure become precious to him for high and intellectual purposes, and then he will begin to study how to do up his work early in the morning, and spare golden hours for other purposes. We must expect extravagance and waste too from these newly emancipated people. Every man buys the bread and meat he must have; but we may judge fairly of the elevation of his character and purity of his tastes by what the surplus goes for. One must have sensual comfort,—the pleasures of the table, choice meats and wines; another must display fine furniture and gaudy dress; another must gratify a finer taste for literature or art; and still another knows no use for money, but to fulfil some noble charity, or benefit others. What wonder if the freedman first imitates the vices and follies of the master he has so long envied and submitted to!

Mounted on a prancing horse, the freedman fancies himself more of a man than trudging on foot. Tricked out in gay finery, with “hoop of monstrous size,” the poor negro girl thinks she has done something to abridge the distance between her and her mistress, in whose superiority these things seemed to bear so large a part.

But, with all these follies and vices, one thing is indisputable,—the thirst for knowledge on the part of the freedmen. The guard around the tree of knowledge has given them almost an exaggerated idea of its wonderful power; and the spelling-book and primer seem to them Aladdin’s lamp, which will command all the riches and glory of the world. But, while we rejoice in this enthusiasm, we must not expect that it will always be steady and persevering; that many will not give up, discouraged at the difficulties in their path, and sink back into contented indolence, unless roused by strong need, or stimulated by hope of reward.

They are, in some sense, children; children because they have been denied the grand, stern blessing of responsibility. “Responsibility,” says Wendell Phillips, “is the only educator.” No man will use any thing well until he has it to use. How soon does the frivolous girl become a thoughtful matron, when a precious life is given to her charge! How sharp and quick is the judgment, when the decision must be made by us alone! We demand political responsibility for the negro, not only because it is his right and our safety, but also because it is the great educational power for him. Nothing will fit him to wield the ballot, but the possession of it. Shall we learn to swim on our library tables?

We must then expect from the negro all the faults and all the virtues of human nature. He must work his way upward, by toil and suffering, like all the sons of Adam. It is the blessed privilege of those who have preceded him a few years to give him the helping hand, and put a few stumbling-blocks out of his way; but we would not, if we could, spare him the labor and the struggle out of which are to come the glory and strength of his manhood.

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TEACHERS’ LEVEE.

While a grateful nation is welcoming back its soldiers from their victorious battle-fields, it seemed fitting that we should make some thank-offering to our noble veterans returning from their honorable toil in the cause of the freedman. Accordingly the Executive Committee invited them to a Welcome Levee on Thursday afternoon, July 13. Owing to various delays, many of the teachers had not arrived in Boston, while others had already gone to their country homes to seek the much-needed rest and refreshment from native air. About a dozen—just returned from Washington, Charleston, Newbern, Richmond, and Norfolk—were present, with many others who had formerly worked at Readville, and at other places. Delegates from all the branch societies, and other friends, were invited to meet them. The absence of Miss Stevenson, the honored Secretary of the Teachers’ Committee, was generally regretted.

In the unavoidable absence of Governor Andrew, Mr. Edward Atkinson presided with perfect grace and skill, keeping the audience at once pleasantly entertained, and yet free from the restraints of a formal meeting.

The venerable apostle of Freedom, William Lloyd Garrison, was of course most earnestly called for. Amid his words of cheer and welcome, he did not lose the opportunity of enforcing the lesson, that the statutes against
color, which still disgrace many of the Northern States, are the greatest obstacle to the perfect restoration of the black man to his rights in the South.

Rev. Mr. Lowe made a statement of the work of the teachers in the past year, and the increased demand for their services the coming year. He urged upon the branch societies, and all others, to labor with renewed zeal to give the Teachers' Committee the means to send out the full number of laborers required for the noble task to be done.

Rev. Mr. Grimes, Mr. Waterston, and others, spoke words of loving welcome. Mr. Redpath made a very interesting statement of what had been done in Charleston. His description of the enclosing the ground where our soldiers were buried, and of the funeral service for Miss Gertrude Allen, when the little negro children followed, barefoot and weeping, to throw flowers into her grave, drew tears from many eyes. Mr. Lowe and Mr. Garrison hastened to bear glowing testimony as eyewitnesses of the work done by Mr. Redpath in South Carolina.

Colonel Crafts, of New Hampshire, made a few remarks on the part which the military had taken in the good work. Then the sweet, silvery tones of Mrs. Harper, speaking a word of gratitude out of the depths of her woman's heart for the work done for her people, fell like music upon the ears of her audience.

The production of a bedquilt made by the little children in a sewing-school at Washington induced Miss Harriet Carter to come forward, and say a few words of the work which she, with her able assistants, has been doing in Washington. The bedquilt was then put up for sale for the benefit of the sewing-school. Thirty dollars was bid on the spot; but the purchaser will yield to higher bid, and the quilt will remain at our office a short time for inspection and sale. After a little time spent in enjoying the ice-creams and social conversation, the party separated; all feeling that it had been good thus to come together; and all, we trust, with zeal quickened to do yet more for the cause than ever before.

We wish to return most hearty thanks to all who aided in getting up this delightful entertainment; to the gentlemen of the Commission who insisted on furnishing the refreshments at their own expense; to the Parker Fraternity, who generously loaned us their delightful apartments, and made every arrangement for our accommodation; to Mr. J. B. Smith, who superintended the arrangements, and loaned us his crockery and other needed articles free of expense; and to the friends who supplied us with the beautiful bouquets, which, after adorning the hall, were given to the teachers as fragrant mementos of an occasion, when the very angels of peace and good-will seemed to have rested on earth for a season.

THE FIRST BLACK SOLDIERS.

[We are authorized to print the following statement, in regard to the first colored troops in service. It was prepared at the request of a gentleman in New York, who at that time contemplated the publication of a historical work on the subject. Most of the facts contained are now put in print for the first time.]

Newport, R.I., Nov. 27, 1864.

Col. CHARLES W. DARLING, A.D.C.

Colonel,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your pamphlet and letter. You ask me to write a letter, relating to my experience with colored troops, to be used in a larger pamphlet now being prepared.

As you are perhaps aware, I am engaged in preparing for the "Atlantic Monthly" a series of reminiscences on this subject; and I should wish to refer your readers to those, rather than attempt to reproduce the same thing. As I suppose, however, that the object of your pamphlet is chiefly historical, the following facts may have an interest, as I believe they have not before been in print.

It is well known, that the first systematic attempt to organize colored troops during the present war was the so-called "Hunter Regiment."

The officer originally detailed to recruit troops for this purpose was Sergeant C. T. Trowbridge, of the New-York Volunteer Engineers (now major commanding my late regiment). His detail was dated May 7, 1862 (S. O. 84, Dept. South); and the "Hunter Regiment"—of which it is not now my purpose to give a narrative, and which was never actually mustered into the United-States service, and therefore never was paid a cent—remained in camp on Hilton-Head Island, until the beginning of August, 1862. It was then disbanded, with the exception of one company. This company, under command of Sergeant Trowbridge, acting as captain, but not then commissioned, was retained in service by Major-General Hunter, and sent by Brigadier-General Saxton (Aug. 6, 1862) to St. Simon's Island, on the coast of Georgia. On this island...
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(made famous by Mrs. Kemble's description), there were then five hundred colored people, and not a single white.

The black soldiers were sent down on the "Ben De Ford," Captain Hallett. On arriving, Captain Trowbridge was at once informed by Commodore Goldsborough, naval commander at that station, that there was a party of rebel guerillas on the island, and was asked whether he would trust his soldiers in pursuit of them. Trowbridge gladly assented; and the commodore added, "If you should capture them, it will be a great thing for you."

They accordingly went on shore, and found that the colored men of the island had already undertaken the enterprise. Twenty-five of them had armed themselves, under the command of a man whose name, by a remarkable coincidence, was John Brown. The second in command was Edward Gould, who was afterwards a corporal in Company E of my own regiment. The rebel party retreated before these men, and drew them into a swamp. There was but one path, and the negroes entered single file. The rebels lay behind a great log, and fired upon them. John Brown, the leader, fell dead within six feet of the log; several others were wounded, and the band of raw recruits retreated; as did also the rebels, in the opposite direction. This was the first armed encounter, so far as I know, between the rebels and their former slaves; and it is worth noticing, that the attempt was a spontaneous thing, and not accompanied by any white man. The men were not soldiers, nor in uniform, though some of them afterwards enlisted in Trowbridge's company.

The father of this John Brown was afterwards a soldier in my regiment; and, after his discharge for old age, was, for a time, my servant. "Uncle York," as we called him, was as good a specimen of a saint as I have ever met, and was quite the equal of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom." He was a fine looking old man, with dignified and courtly manners; and his gray head was a perfect benediction, as he sat with us on the platform at our Sunday meetings. He fully believes, to this day, that the "John Brown Song," which all the soldiers sing, relates to his son, and to him only.

Trowbridge, after landing on the island, hunted the rebels all day with his colored soldiers, and a posse of sailors. In one place, he found by a creek a canoe, with a tar-kettle, and a fire burning; and it was afterwards dis-covered that, at that very moment, the guerillas were hid in a dense palmetto thicket, near by, and so eluded them. The rebel leader was one Miles Hazard, who had a plantation on the island, and the party escaped at last through the aid of his old slave, Henry, who found them a boat. One of my sergeants, Clarence Kennon, was present when they reached the mainland (he not then having escaped from slavery); and he describes them as being tattered and dirty from head to foot, after their efforts to escape their pursuers.

When the troops under my command occupied Jacksonville, Fla., in March of the following year, we found at the railroad station, packed for departure, a box of papers, some of them valuable. Among them was a letter from this very Hazard to some friend, describing the perils of that adventure, and saying, "If you wish to know hell before your time, go to St. Simon's, and be hunted ten days by niggers."

I have heard Major Trowbridge say that not one of his men flinched; and they seemed to take delight in the pursuit, though the weather was very hot, and it was fearfully exhausting.

This was early in August; and the company remained two months at St. Simons, doing picket duty within hearing of the rebel drums, though not another scout ever ventured on the island, to their knowledge. Every Saturday, Trowbridge summoned the island people to drill with his soldiers; and they came in hordes, men, women, and children, in every imaginable garb, to the number of one hundred and fifty or two hundred.

His own men were poorly clothed, and hardly shod at all; and, as no new supply of uniform was provided, they grew more and more ragged. They got poor rations, and no pay; but they kept up their spirits. Every week or so some of them would go on scouting excursions to the mainland; one scout used to go regularly to his old mother's hut, and keep himself hid under her bed, while she collected for him all the latest news of rebel movements. This man never came back without bringing recruits with him.

At last the news came, that Major-General Mitchell had come to relieve General Hunter, and that Brigadier-General Saxton had gone North; and Trowbridge went to Hilton Head in some anxiety, to see if he and his men were utterly forgotten. He prepared a report, showing the services and claims of his men,
and took it with him. This was early in October, 1862. The first person he met was Brigadier-General Saxton, who informed him that he had authority to organize five thousand colored troops, and that he (Trowbridge) should be senior captain of the first regiment.

This was accordingly done; and Company A of the First Carolina could honestly claim to date its enlistment back to May, 1862, although they never got pay for this period of their service, and their date of muster is Nov. 15, 1862.

The above facts were written down from the narration of Major Trowbridge, who may justly claim to have been the first white officer to recruit and command colored troops in this war. I may add, that this very efficient officer is a citizen of Brooklyn, N.Y., and that he is in a fair way to receive the farther promotion which his important services demand.

My regiment was unquestionably the first mustered into the service of the United States; the first muster bearing date, Nov. 7, 1862. The second in order of muster was the "First Kansas Colored," dating, Jan. 13, 1863. The date of enlistment of the Kansas regiment goes back to Aug. 6, 1862; while the earliest technical date of enlistment of my regiment is Oct. 19, 1862, although, as was stated above, one company dates its organization back to May, 1862. My muster as colonel dates back to Nov. 10, 1862, several months earlier than any other of which I am aware, among colored regiments. Colonel Williams, of the "First Kansas Colored," was mustered as lieutenant-colonel on Jan. 13, 1863; as colonel, March 8, 1863. These dates I have (with the other facts relating to that regiment) from Captain R. J. Hinton, the first officer detailed to recruit it.

To sum up the above facts: my late regiment had unquestioned priority in muster, which is the usual criterion of military seniority. It had also the priority in the actual organization and term of service of one company. On the other hand, the Kansas regiment had the priority in average date of enlistment, according to the muster-rolls.

The first detachment of the Second South Carolina Volunteers (Colonel Montgomery) went into camp at Port-Royal Island, Feb. 23, 1863, numbering one hundred and twenty men. I do not know the date of his muster; but think it probable that it was dated back to that month or earlier.

Recruiting for the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts (colored) began on Feb. 9, 1863; and the first squad went into camp at Readville, Mass., on Feb. 21, 1863, numbering twenty-five men. Colonel Shaw's commission (and probably his muster) was dated April 17, 1863. (Report of Adjutant General of Massachusetts for 1863. pp. 896-9).

These were, so far as I know, the first four colored regiments.

I do not know that the facts which I have given are such as you desired; but they may have some historical value.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Thomas Wentworth Higginson,
Late Colonel First S.C.Y. (now 83d U.S.C.T.)

LETTER FROM J. A. SAXTON.

[We are permitted to print the following extracts from a valuable letter received from Mr. J. A. Saxton, father of General Saxton, recently returned from a visit to the Department of the South.]

Deerfield, Mass., June 19, 1865.

Prof. P. J. Child.

Dear Sir,—... The last year repeats the testimony of previous years concerning the capacities and possibilities of the negroes. What was hardly more than a doubting hope in the thought of a few visionaries is now experience and demonstration. It seems superfluous to multiply proofs of what ought, by this time, and with the witness of these practical years, to have been universally accepted without further question. Yet I add a few testimonies from superintendents and teachers, evidently given with care to avoid exaggeration.

Dr. Magill writes: "The aptitude and capacity evinced by these persons, both old and young, are, as a general thing, very decided. The conviction of the teachers at Savannah who have been conversant with Northern schools is, that, in these respects, they are, in regard to the rudiments, ... about equal to the whites that are usually found in our district schools."

Mr. Redpath says, "The uniform report from all the teachers is, that the children are rapidly improving. ... The department of the children has improved in so marked a degree, that even the enemies of a free school have been forced to recognize it."

Miss Towne refers to her tabular report of the studies pursued by the classes in the schools under her superintendence, for evidence of the capacity and progress of the
pupils. The tables fully justify the reference. Their moral improvement is not less satisfactory. The children are acquiring habits of neatness in dress, and personal cleanliness; and some of them are as nice and fastidious in these respects, "as any country children at the North." Lying and petty thieving, the vices, almost inevitable and venial, of the plantation, are now discomfited, "the general sentiment of the schools rigorously condemns both practices."

Mrs. Vaughan, a teacher on St. Helena, writes: "According to my experience, the progress made by the greater part of the pupils is positive: though not rapid nor remarkable, it is quite sufficient to keep up one's courage and hope in the work to be done." Stating the difficulty of fixing the attention of the pupils upon their studies, — a difficulty not unknown in Northern schools, — Mrs. V. adds, "The wonder is that they make so much progress as they do, with the little attention they give to their lessons, except during the time they are in school."

Of the other means by which the negroes are preparing themselves, or being prepared, for their new condition, and the new career opened to them, I will mention the debating societies of Charleston, Beaufort, and perhaps Savannah; the "Savannah Educational Association;" the Savings Bank in Beaufort, in which are deposits amounting to nearly $100,000, invested in United-States bonds; the Union League of Charleston, with a numerous membership; the Female Society in Charleston for providing clothing and comforts for the destitute, and another for furnishing the means for the burial of indigent dead. The freedmen of Charleston are making preparations for establishing a newspaper in joint stock proprietorship. Before I left the South, many thousand dollars of the stock had been taken by the blacks, and there was a fair prospect that the project would be successful. There are schools of instruction in letters, private and social morals, as well as in arms, their officers being their teachers in both. It may be only an imagination, but I have sometimes thought that the officers of black regiments, certainly those of the nobler strain, are more ready than military officers generally, — accustomed almost inevitably to regard the relation of officers and rank and file, as one of subjection and inferiority,—to recognize the substantial manhood beneath the servile trappings of the soldier.

The negroes are every day demonstrating practically, that they have all the capacities that make successful agriculturists, tradesmen, and men of business. There is a new school of philanthropists, who seem to think that the only word needed to be addressed to the freedmen is an exhortation to industry. That is the beginning, middle, and end of their speculations and discussions concerning him. The whites who can read, and the great mass who cannot, but have heard it read, must have been amused, or amazed, by the lecture of Provisional-Governor Holden—the representative of Southern whitehood — to the blacks, upon the vital importance of industry to their future condition. This, in the face of the fact, that contempt for productive labor was a part of the systematic education, and exemption from it the pride and boast of all his caste and color, from the feudal baron of the plantation to the meanest sandhiller. His homily was addressed to almost the only people in North Carolina who do not hate labor, even with the fresh memory of the measureless wrongs it has made them suffer; the only people who have ever worked, who know how to work, or who were willing to work. If he had addressed his exhortation to the men of his own class, or those others of the same color whom the existence of his class had cursed with a horror of labor, there would have been fitness in it, and grace,—a token of returning sanity, and a promise of State reconstruction on a basis of justice. As it was, it sounds like the voice of the old spirit of slavery announcing a new serfdom under the new formal conditions, scarcely milder or more tolerable than the old.

Such talk as Holden's is simply impertinent, and an implied falsehood; coming from a slaveholder and traitor, a rebel for the sake of slavery, it is an insult both to the negroes and the nation. Though not spoken in the Department concerning which you have specially
inquired, it illustrates the general temper and feeling of the old slaveholders in South Carolina. A recent interpretation of the real meaning of these homilies is furnished in the latter State. Brigadier-General Hatch, the military commander of the Northern District of the Department of the South, which includes Charleston, issued a proclamation, inviting the old planters to take the oath of allegiance, repossess their lands, and cultivate them by the labor of the freedmen. All who neglected to do so were held as enemies to the government. The first act of those who accepted this invitation was to prohibit the freedmen to go off of the plantations, or work for anybody but themselves, without their consent. All did not obey this plantation law; and cases, apparently well authenticated, and certainly credible, are reported, where the negroes have been shot down when found beyond the forbidden limits,—the dead-line of the plantation prison. I am not aware that any earnest measures have been taken by the military authorities to prevent or punish such outrages. I have already stated, that, from the many thousand whites in Charleston who have taken the oath of allegiance, hardly a single hand of help has been extended, or a solitary voice of encouragement raised to those who are laboring for the elevation of the freedmen, and to aid them in fitting themselves for their new responsibilities. There is no Union League of white natives in Charleston, nor, as I believe, in the Department. A public meeting was called by a committee of whites to take measures for the re-organization of the State. As the call did not purport to be exclusive, many blacks came to the hall. They were ejected by a petty subaltern officer, who disgraced himself and the army by his officious volunteering to do that dirty work of the negro-haters. An appeal was made to the post commander, who decided that blacks should not be excluded from the meeting. Those who had been expelled, returned; and, when they entered the hall, the greater part of the whites deserted it. What is not to be feared, if the President's policy should be accepted by Congress, and the entire power of State reconstruction be given into the hands of false loyalists? Few of the late rebels who have taken the oath of allegiance have given any evidence of sincere conversion, and penitence for their treason. Maryland Johnson has instructed them that such oaths are unconstitutional, and that there is no perjury in violating them. As far as may be judged from their utterances, they are as defiant as ever, and have submitted to the authority of the United States only for the sake of saving all that can be saved from the wreck of their former power, and with the hope of recovering it substantially in other forms, less palpably repugnant to justice, and the usages of civilized communities. They keep the old despite of labor; the old contempt of the negro, as a slave, intensified to hatred of him, as a freeman. They still wear the bold front of the years of their domination, and have not even the grace of hypocrisy to pretend to submit from conviction, or change of purpose or principle; but only from the power of an overmastering necessity. The terrible discipline of these four years has taught them nothing but to feel the power of the Union, and to hate it. Like the Bourbons, they have learned nothing, and forgotten nothing; and seem entirely unable to comprehend, or with the obstinacy of madness refuse to recognize, that their crime has placed them in entirely new relations to the Government and their late slaves, as public enemies, defeated traitors, and vanquished oppressors. Yet they claim the right to demand and prescribe terms of reconciliation, as those who have waged a patriotic and honorable, and not a patricidal and infamous war. Will our Government and people forget that past, and lose the supreme opportunity of justice and righteousness, which Providence has given us?

To return to the industrial topic. The freedmen need no exclusive exhortations to industry. Notwithstanding the teaching and example of their masters and their fellow-sufferers,—the poor whites,—fellow-sufferers in equal degree, though boasting of freedom, and despising them,—the freedmen have no idea that freedom consists in sitting idly with folded arms, and living by theft, or begging, or the virtual theft of the labor of others. Hitherto they have shown, in this respect, a truer practical conception of freedom, its duties and limitations, than their white contemners. Generally they do more and better work for wages, than the lash could ever whip out of them. In the management of their own lands or business, no people could be more industrious or shrewd. They are eager to adopt, as they have the means, new methods, and procure improved implements of cultivation. They are not over-anxious to work for the mean and fraudulent compensation offered by the returned planters, nor to be defrauded of, as they
have often been, a portion of their promised wages by the speculators, who went there expecting to find mines of wealth in their ignorance and simplicity. They are these last, chiefly, who are the loudest in repeating the old plantation dogma, that nothing but the whip can make the negro work. This people have been embarrassed by hindrances and obstructions, to which I shall briefly advert, at almost every step of their progress, put in their way by those who should have been, and in whom they expected to find, helpers,—for such to their hope was every white Yankee. They suffered much injustice, fraud, and contempt; and because they did not submit with patience of the plantation standard, the dumb submissiveness of slaves, there were enough to see in their passive resistance to wrong the invincible indolence assumed to be the characteristic of their race. It would seem to have been expected and required of these ignorant human outcasts, just emerging from the horrors of an oppression of generations, tending to crush out all distinctive human attributes, that they should exhibit the full-blown and matured virtues of free manhood. No subject race, whether subject by law, like the Southern slave, or by the operation of social and economic forces, as the laboring classes everywhere, could stand the tests by which, as it would seem, the freedmen have been too often judged. Their manhood is crippled and defrauded by a wrong in which we acquiesced for three generations, and were willing to acquiesce, perhaps, for other generations. They are what we have suffered them to be made; and, because we do not find them what it was impossible for them to be, will we abandon them as hopeless of improvement and elevation? Will we be content to give the name of freedom without giving them also the means of self-protection? In this day of retribution and atonement, shall their future be given into the hands of the old oppressors, that they may bind them with new chains, made more galling by the glimpses they have caught of freedom,—to the tender mercies of men embittered and transformed to enemies by the very means through which Providence has been bringing them out of bondage?

I have not gone much into detail, but will state what I believe to be nett result of the experience in the Department of the South,—that the negroes have demonstrated more than their availability as an agricultural peasantry. They have also so far proved, that they possess the capacity of forethought, voluntary industry, prudence, and ability to conduct processes and calculate results necessary for independent owners and cultivators; that those qualities may be safely assumed as elements in all discussions of the problem, What to do with the negro. These qualities will be safely and healthily developed by giving them scope and opportunity; by leaving the freedmen, as men of other races are left, to themselves, under the protection of equal laws, and with not one of the common excitements to industry and self-elevation denied or withheld from them.

I can only glance at some of the hindrances and influences adverse to the progress of the freedmen, at which I have hinted. They are,—the almost universal belief among white men, even the ostensible liberators, of the essential inferiority of the black race, and their incapacity of rising to the rank of recognized manhood; their consequent contempt for the negro, or indifference to his present and future condition; the general want of sympathy, and often undisguised hostility, of the military authorities; the many wrongs suffered from open violence, or fraud and swindling, committed by whites, soldiers and civilians; their unavoidable distrust of the intentions and good faith of the Government, produced eminently by the apparent breaches of promise in the matters of the lands, the military conscription, and the pay of the soldiers; the uncertain, ill-defined, and continually disputed powers of the officers appointed by the Government as its special representatives to the negroes, for their protection and improvement; the want of the cordial co-operation of the military authorities, so indispensable to the success of his operations; the conflicts of jurisdiction, and questions of authority, raised by some of the Department commanders.

A word as to the allotment of lands in the Department to the freedmen, under the order of General Sherman. Some difficulties, chiefly that of obtaining sufficient means of transportation, which were to be furnished by the Department commander, delayed the execution of the order. Yet it was begun, and prosecuted as rapidly as circumstances permitted. General Saxton estimated that there were about one hundred thousand persons to be provided for. On the 1st of June, about forty thousand had been colonized, and re-
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ceded: their allotments upon the islands of South Carolina and Georgia, and the coasts designated in the order...

Pardon me that I have burdened you with so many words. If they convey little information, they will, at least, indicate the pleasure with which General Saxton, and myself, in his behalf, have endeavored to supply it.

Yours respectfully and truly,

J. A. Saxton.

Boston, July 7, 1866.

Mr. Atkinson.

Dear Sir,—I am requested by the Teachers' Committee to address the Finance Committee on the subject of the very large increase of funds, which will be needed at the commencement of the Fall Term, that you may arrange your plans with full knowledge of the facts.

We propose, as heretofore, to confine our work to the Eastern States,—to Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, North, and South Carolina, and Georgia. The cessation of hostilities has thrown the whole field open to us. The political condition of all these States, even Maryland, renders time of the utmost importance. The establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau will enable us to work with greater method and efficiency than ever before. It is extremely desirable that we should take the lead, and have the greatest number of teachers. New York and Philadelphia have greater advantages in furnishing supplies than we have; but New England has always furnished the best teachers: and, if we value New-England ideas and New-England education, we must desire to spread them at the South. Our aim is, not alone to scatter broadcast the mere elements of knowledge, but, at least in the large cities, to keep up a high standard, so that the school-system shall worthily represent New England, and shall command such respect that no local government will be able to overthrow it.

We propose to follow the plan which Mr. Redpath has established in Charleston,—to educate Southern teachers. We shall send as many Northern teachers as are necessary for principals of schools, and to leave the whole mass of teachers; but shall use for assistants and subordinates Southern teachers, both colored and white, and thus educate them to carry on the work themselves.

We cannot overestimate the importance of the position of Maryland. Our friends of the Freedmen's Society there are working most nobly, but against great obstacles. We have promised them our help, in furnishing them with teachers. They pay the board, and we the salary. We hope you will enable us to carry out our pledge generously and faithfully.

We have the best school in Washington. It is expensive to maintain, but we think its importance requires that it should be kept up to the highest point of efficiency.

Miss Stevenson, who has just returned from Richmond, says Colonel Brown estimates that he wants at least a thousand teachers for Virginia. It seems a great many; but, if we could send tens of thousands to conquer, cannot we send one thousand to convert her? We do not, however, suppose him to wish this number of Northern teachers, but of all classes.

Captain James made a careful estimate of about a hundred and fifty Northern teachers for North Carolina. Mr. Redpath asks for a hundred for Charleston and neighboring towns. In Georgia we have, as yet, no Northern teachers; but are supporting native teachers, under the direction of Mr. Simms and Mr. Gannett. They will need some better educated teachers, however, to raise the schools to the right standard. We had nearly a hundred Northern teachers at work before the vacation; this number should be doubled or trebled in September and October.

General Howard has given orders to stop issuing rations to teachers, which will largely increase the expense of supporting them. We understand that the Executive Committee will do their utmost to obtain some equivalent assistance from Government. We hope they will, at least, assume the support of all superintendents of schools.

We never lose sight of the duty and policy of making the people support the schools themselves, as far as possible; but at present, if they take care of the schoolhouse and buy their books, it is full as much as we can expect.

At the lowest estimate, the expense of Northern teachers, with transportation and books, will average five hundred dollars per year. At this rate, two hundred will require an income of one hundred thousand dollars. We have no doubt that New-England wisdom and charity is good for a much larger amount; but it needs active measures to collect it.

We leave it in your hands to devise and
execute such measures. We will use our utmost efforts to distribute the means you place in our hands, where every dollar will bring a rich interest of well-being to the colored people, and safety to the nation.

Very respectfully, for the Committee on Teachers. 

EDNAR D. CHENEY.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

We regret that want of space prevents us from printing in full the Circulars of General Howard, issued from time to time from his Bureau. We give below, in the order of their date, such portions of those Circulars as relate to the general policy of the Bureau, and to the freedmen themselves, omitting only the business details that are of interest only to the officers to whom they are addressed. In this connected view, our readers will be gratified to see that the Bureau is thoroughly organized, and at work on a sound basis.

WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS, WASHINGTON, D.C., May 19, 1865.

CIRCULAR NO. 2.

By appointment of the President, I assume charge of the "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands."

I. Commissioners will be at once appointed for the different insurrectionary States. To them will be intrusted the supervision of abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen in their respective districts. All agents in the field, however appointed, are requested to report to them the condition of their work. Refugees and freedmen not already provided for will inform them of their wants. All applications for relief will be referred to them or their agents by post and district commanders.

II. But it is not the intention of Government that this Bureau shall supersede the various benevolent organizations in the work of administering relief. This must still be afforded by the benevolence of the people through their voluntary societies, no Governmental appropriations having been made for this purpose. The various Commissioners will look to the associations laboring in their respective districts to provide as hereto-fore for the wants of these destitute people. I invite, therefore, the continuance and co-operation of such societies. I trust they will still be generously supported by the people; and I request them to send me their names, lists of their principal officers, and a brief statement of their present work.

III. The demands for labor are sufficient to afford employment to nearly, if not quite, all the able-bodied refugees and freedmen. It will be the object of all Commissioners to introduce practicable systems of compensated labor; and in this end, they will endeavor to remove the prejudices of their late masters, unwilling to employ their former servants; to correct the false impressions sometimes entertained by the freedmen, that they can live without labor; and to overcome that false pride which renders some of the refugees more willing to be supported in idleness than to support themselves. While a generous provision should be made for the aged, infirm, and sick, the able-bodied should be encouraged, and, if necessary, compelled to labor for their own support.

IV. The educational and moral condition of these people will not be forgotten. The utmost facility will be afforded to benevolent and religious organizations and States authorities in the maintenance of good schools (for refugees and freedmen), until a system of free schools can be supported by the re-organized local governments. Meanwhile, whenever schools are broken up by any authorized agent of the Government, it is requested that the fact and attendant circumstances be reported to this Bureau.

Let me repeat, that in all this work it is not my purpose to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged in it, but to systematize and facilitate them.

O. O. HOWARD,
Major General, Commissioner Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

CIRCULAR NO. 3.

Whereas a large amount of land in the State of Virginia, and in other States that have been in insurrection, has been abandoned by disloyal owners, and is now being cultivated by freedmen; and whereas the owners of such lands are attempting to obtain possession of them, and thus deprive the freedmen of the fruits of their industry: It is ordered, that all abandoned lands in said States, now under cultivation by the freedmen, be retained in their possession until the crops now growing shall be secured for their benefit, unless full and just compensation be made for their labor and its products, and for expenditures.

The above order will not be so construed as to relieve disloyal persons from the consequences of their disloyalty; and the application for the restoration of their lands, by this class of persons, will in no case be entertained by any military authority.

O. O. HOWARD,
Major General, Commissioner Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands.

All military authorities will sustain the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, and aid him in the execution of the above order.

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.
The Freedmen's Record.

CIRCULAR NO. 5.

Rules and Regulations for Assistant Commissioners.

III. Assistant Commissioners, not already at their posts, will make all haste to establish their headquarters, acquaint themselves with their fields, and do all in their power to quicken and direct the industry of refugees and freedmen, that they and their communities may do all that can be done for the season, already so far advanced, to prevent starvation and suffering, and to make good order and prosperity. Their attention is invited to Circular No. 2, from this Bureau, indicative of the objects to be attained.

IV. Relief establishments will be discontinued as speedily as the cessation of hostilities and the return of industrial pursuits will permit. Great discrimination will be observed in administering relief, so as to include none that are not absolutely necessitous and destitute.

V. Every effort will be made to render the people self-supporting. Government supplies will only be temporarily issued to enable destitute persons speedily to support themselves; and exact accounts must be kept with each individual or community, and held as a lien upon their crops. This ration for the destitute will be that already provided in General Orders, No. 30, War Department, series 1864. The Commissioners are especially to remember that their duties are to enforce, with reference to these classes, the laws of the United States.

V. Loyal refugees, who have been driven from their homes, will, on their return, be protected from abuse, and the sanctities of their abode will be preserved, as far as possible. If destitute, they will be aided with transportation, and food where deemed expedient, while in transit, returning to their former homes.

VI. Simple good faith, for which we hope on all hands from those concerned in the passing away of slavery, will especially relieve the Assistant Commissioners in the discharge of their duties towards the freedmen, as well as promote the general welfare. The Assistant Commissioners will, everywhere, declare and protect their freedom, as set forth in the proclamations of the President and the laws of Congress.

VII. In all places where there is an interruption of civil law, or in which local courts, by reason of old codes, in violation of the freedom guaranteed by the proclamation of the President and the laws of Congress, disregard the negro's right to justice before the laws, in not allowing him to give testimony, the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen being committed to this Bureau, the Assistant Commissioners will adjudge, either themselves or through officers of their appointment, all difficulties arising between negroes themselves, or between negroes and whites or Indians, except those in military service, so far as recognizable by military authority, and not taken cognizance of by the other tribunals, civil or military, of the United States.

VIII. Negroes must be free to choose their own employers, and be paid for their labor. Agreements should be free, bona fide acts, approved by proper officers, and their inviolability enforced on both parties. The old system of overseers, tending to compulsory, unpaid labor, and acts of cruelty and oppression, is prohibited. The unity of families, and all the rights of the family relation, will be carefully guarded. In places where the local statutes make no provisions for the marriage of persons of color, the Assistant Commissioners are authorized to designate officers who shall keep a record of marriages which may be solemnized by any ordained minister of the gospel, who shall make a return of the same, with such items as may be required for registration at places designated by the Assistant Commissioner. Registrations already made by United-States officers will be carefully preserved.

IX. Assistant Commissioners will instruct their receiving and disbursing officers to make requisitions upon all officers, civil or military, in charge of funds, abandoned lands, &c., within their respective territories, to turn over the same in accordance with the orders of the President. They will direct their medical officers to ascertain the facts and necessities connected with the medical treatment and sanitary condition of refugees and freedmen. They will instruct their teachers to collect the facts in reference to the progress of the work of education, and aid it with as few changes as possible to the close of the present season. During the school vacations of the hot months, special attention will be given to the provision for the next year.

X. Assistant Commissioners will aid refugees and freedmen in securing titles to land according to law. This may be done for them as individuals, or by encouraging joint companies.

XI. This Bureau being in the War Department, all rules and regulations governing officers under accountability for property apply as set forth in the Revised Regulations of the Army. All other persons in the service of the Bureau are also subject to military jurisdiction.

XII. Assistant Commissioners will require regular and complete reports from their subordinates, and will themselves report quarterly, as directed by law, and correspond frequently with this Bureau, directing to the Commissioner in person.

O. O. Howard,
Major General, Commissioner Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, &c.

Approved June 2, 1865.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States.
CIRCULAR NO. 7.

Rations, fuel, transportation, and quarters have been heretofore furnished to teachers of refugees and freedmen, and to other persons voluntarily laboring for the benefit of such persons, by certain commanders of departments, posts, &c., while others have refused to furnish the same. Therefore, in order that there may be uniformity of action and a clear understanding in this matter, the following rules will be adopted, and will take effect and be in force on and after July 1, 1866; to wit,—

Rations will not be gratuitously issued to teachers of refugees or freedmen, or to other persons voluntarily laboring for the benefit of such persons; but such teachers as are authorized by the Assistant Commissioners of this Bureau, while actually on duty in their fields of labor, may purchase rations of the government under precisely the same rules which apply to such purchases when made by commissioned officers of the army.

Free transportation will be granted to such teachers on government transports and military railroads only.

Public buildings, or buildings that may have been seized from disloyal owners, not required for military purposes, may be used for occupation for schools, teachers, soldiers' wives, and refugees.

O. O. Howard,
Major General, Commissioner Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, &c.

Approved.

E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

CIRCULAR NO. 8.

Circular No. 8 describes the ration to be issued to refugees and freedmen, with rules for issuing the same, and making returns.

CIRCULAR NO. 9.

Whereas it is reported officially that a large number of destitute refugees, taking advantage of Circular No. 5, from this Bureau, have been transported South, against their interests, to places where it is extremely difficult to procure food, and, in most cases, impossible to do so, except when provided by military authorities, it is ordered, that hereafter no transportation be granted to refugees, except where humanity evidently demands it, and then only by the requisition of the Commissioner of this Bureau.

O. O. Howard,
Major General, Commissioner.

Circular No. 10 provides for Monthly Reports of Assistant Commissioners:

1st. As to Refugees and Freedmen, whether self-supporting or not, and Statistics of colonies, camps, depots, hospitals; 2d, Land Reports; 3d, School Reports; 4th, Rosters of all officers and civilians.

CIRCULAR NO. 11.

The Assistant Commissioner will be careful in the establishment of subdistricts to have the office of his agent at some point easy of access for the people of the sub-district. He will have at least one agent, either a citizen, military officer, or enlisted man, in each sub-district. This agent must be thoroughly instructed in his duty. He will be furnished with the proper blanks for contracts, and will institute methods adequate to meet the wants of his district, in accordance with the rules of the Bureau. No fixed rates of wages will be prescribed for a district; but, in order to regulate fair wages in given individual cases, the agent should have in mind minimum rates for his own guidance. By careful inquiry as to the hire of an able-bodied man when the pay waits to the master, he will have an approximate test of the value of labor. He must, of course, consider the entire change of circumstances, and be sure that the laborer has due protection against avarice and extortion. Wages had better be secured by a lien on the crops of land. Employers are desired to enter into written agreements with employees, setting forth stated wages, securing an interest in the crop of land, or both. All such agreements will be approved by the nearest agent, and a duplicate filed in his office.

In case there should be no agent within reach, the nearest postmaster will forward the duplicate of contracts direct to the Assistant Commissioner for the State.

Attention is specially called to Section Four of the law establishing the Bureau, with regard to setting apart land to every male citizen, whether refugee or freedman, &c.; and the same arrangement is recommended when it can be affected between private parties. Already many farmers have rented lands to freedmen and refugees. This course is a recognition of the general principle in the law. In order to enforce the fulfillment of contracts on both contracting parties, the Commissioner of the Bureau lays down a general rule; the Assistant Commissioner must use the privileges and authority he already has. Provisions of Military Commissions, Land Courts, where the freedmen and refugees have equal rights with the people, are open to his use. In the great majority of cases, his own arbitrament or that of his agents, or the settlement by refugees, will be sufficient. No Assistant Commissioner or Agent is authorized to tolerate compulsory unpaid labor, except for the legal punishment of crime. Suffering may result to some extent; but suffering is preferred to slavery, and is, to some degree, the necessary consequence of events. In all action the officer should never forget, that no substitute for slavery, like apprenticeship without proper consent, or peonage, as either holding
The blacks have much to fear, much to dis-

Severe and stringent laws for the colored people
are already advocated, to be passed at the next
legislature. In some counties they are still ret-
tained as slaves, and treated as formerly, even to
the whipping.

H. L.

"FARMER," EDISTO ISLAND, S.C., June 3.

My school I hold in the large parlor of the
house which we occupy. At present, I have
between sixty and seventy pupils; most of them
are young, the older ones being at present busy
in the fields. After the hoeing is over, I hope to
have a much larger number of adults. We feel
specially anxious that the young men should be
taught, as whether they are able to read and
write may decide their right to vote. Three
young men come to me after their work is done,
and I, sitting on the piazza, teach them their A
B C's, and 2 + 2 = 4.

The wonderful accounts of their eagerness to
learn have not been exaggerated, although I had
thought so before leaving home. The little ones
five or six years old are about as witchy and
heedless as such children in our schools at the
North, with all the variety of capacity; but those
twelve and thirteen, who never have been to
school, you cannot conceive of more earnest,
teetive pupils. There's Hector, that boy with
the red shirt, which speaks in glowing colors of
the generosity of some lady of the North; just see
him, he can't be more than eight, yet in his arms
he brings "his baby," by one hand he lends his
two-year old brother, and in the other, with
his arm around the wee thing, he holds a cup of
rice; carefully covered over it is a piece of old
cloth. One child he disposes of on the floor at
his feet with the rice, while the other he holds
most maternally. The novelty of things around
fixes their attention for a little while; but soon
this tires, and baby in arms shows vari-
ous signs of crying; when the boy-mother, in
a most peculiar manner, and with great tact,
swings it to and fro, at the same time crowding in
rice as if to force back the coming cry; and the
child, as if in compassion for his beseeching look,
again: now nothing quiets; the jolting, the swing-
ing, the trotting, the tossing, is all in vain; and
just a little longer, as he gathers them up, that I long to have him
remain: but he must go, or soon all six of the
babies would join in one grand chorus. These
last few days I have been trying a new method;
not of some of our Northern friends
s trio to the rescue; if the plan is laid before them?
They need it,—a schoolhouse they must have.
My school, at present, is in the dining-room of
an old hotel. This is large enough to accommoda-
to two hundred scholars, as we sent them,
crowded together on long seats, without any
benches. But we can rely upon this only so long
as the military hold it.

The blacks have much to fear, much to dis-
hearten them. They are punished severely for
slight offences,—offences of which no notice
has been taken when committed by a white
citizen. Many threats are given for the future.

EXTRACTS FROM TEACHERS' LETTERS.

RALPH: July 3, 1866.

The prospect is encouraging to those who are
most interested in the welfare of the blacks; for
they are so interested in the schools, and so
determined to obtain an education. They have
already begun to talk of building a schoolhouse
at Ralphs. They cannot do it, for they have not
the means. Will some of our Northern friends
race to the rescue; if the plan is laid before them?
They need it,—a schoolhouse they must have.

O. O. Howard,
Major General, Commissioner of Freedmen,
Refugees, and Abandoned Lands.

The Freedmen's Record.
should read just the same, and be relieved by another in half an hour. At first, I thought to object to these infant charges; but, finding that boy or this girl must remain at home but for bringing the baby, I consented. Many a thing which would excite laughter in a school at the North is thought nothing of by these children. Let a boy or girl come ever so naked, with pants or without; a girl dressed in a piece of carpeting; or another with all the variety arising from a red shirt, gay dress, or string of beads; let a dog come in, run round among them, composedly lie down and sleep; or a mother from the field open the door, shout out, "Frank, bring the child to me!" — all this excites no attention from them: it seems to them all as a matter of course.

Thus far, I find them most worthy of confidence: in no case have I had reason to doubt the word of one, neither has there been a case of dishonesty, neither have I heard an oath from one of the pupils. I do not say these things of this people as a class, but of those with whom I have come in contact. I came here with the impression that all my effects must be carefully kept under lock and key; but, when my trunks reached here, the locks were out of order, and refused duty; not a door in the house could be locked, or even latched; so that in this way we have often left things, and returning find all as we left, and as yet have not missed an article. In these respects I am happily disappointed in these people.

In the first little prayer-meeting we held after our coming, their prayers for us were very affecting,—thanking God for putting feelings in our hearts to come way over the sea to teach them and open their blind eyes; and praying that we may be kept in health and strength, and we may have the patience of Job with their foolishness. The remembrance of this prayer—that I might have patience—has often helped me bear and forbear with them, and often has suppressed an impatient thought or word. I wish I might give you some adequate idea of the love and reverence these people had for our beloved President Lincoln. To them he was more than a great chief, more than a great ruler, — he was their Liberator, their Father; he was peculiarly theirs. The national Fast, the first day of this month, was observed by these people. Their church was thronged, also the yard, steps, and the road for some distance. Their exercises did not vary much from their usual services. Mr. B, our efficient Superintendent of Schools, and Mr. A, Superintendent of the People, were the only white people who addressed them. We did not remain till the close of the service, as it seemed as if there would be no end; but we were told they ended with one of their grand shouts. The next day, while calling on some of my parishioners, and talking of the meeting, said I, "Why, auntie, did they have a shout as a Fast, when we were mourning for our dear President?" Throwing up both arms, and striking her hands above her head, she exclaimed, "We shout, thank de Lord, Massa Lincoln got safe home to glory!"

CHARLESTON, June 18, 1866.

I have had one hundred scholars, or more, that have attended school from four to twelve days, and all we know of them is, that, after getting a supply of clothing from the Freedmen's Society, they have gone with their parents to the islands. In the present disorganized condition of things, this is unavoidable; and the marvel is, that we have been able to secure so good a daily attendance. In all that goes to make up the essential elements in a school, — good order, and good conduct on the part of the pupils to their teacher, and to one another, — I can say with truth, that we can neither ask nor expect more. The colored child in his present condition is far easier to govern and control than the white. This is illustrated in the difference, in the same building, between the white and colored scholars. In the Morris Street and the St. Phillips schools, one cannot help noticing how much more ungovernable and rebellious are the white than the colored pupils. The reason is obvious: The poor slaves have been trained to the most abject submission. Every prayer that their ancestors have breathed through centuries, has been but one repetition of the principles inherent in slavery, it might have continued for ages with a people so emotional,pliant, and confiding as the colored race. I cannot close this without a brief tribute to our departed friend and sister, Miss Gertrude Allen. Ah, how much we miss her pleasant countenances and happy smiles! and it seems hard that one so gentle, so well qualified for her position as teacher, should so soon sleep the quiet sleep. Her funeral was attended by all the Northern teachers and army officers, among whom were Major-General Hatch, Colonel Willard and Hallowell, Major Pratt, Paying Marshal, and a large number of others. The services, by Rev. C. Stebbins, were touching and appropriate. The singing at the grave by the Grace-Church choir was beautiful; the hymn, "Sister, thou wast mild and lovely," was sung by all the Northern teachers and army officers.§

A writer ("Tweed") in the "Watchman and Reflector," shows that ten millions of dollars annually are needed to educate the freedmen of the South: thirty millions for three years — or the cost of ten days of war.
## LIST OF TEACHERS NOW IN SERVICE.

### SOUTH CAROLINA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Teacher</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Home</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. A. F. Pillsbury</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Ludlow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Alden</td>
<td>Beaufort</td>
<td>Boston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth H. Botume</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Northampton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth F. Breck</td>
<td>Beaufort</td>
<td>Boston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary G. Saxon</td>
<td>Hilton Head</td>
<td>Hopedale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarah P. Lijole</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Auburnd, N.Y.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jane Cooley</td>
<td>Hilton Head</td>
<td>New Haven, Ct.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harriet Tubman</td>
<td>Edisto Island</td>
<td>Milton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amanda S. Ruggles</td>
<td>St. Helena Island</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. E. H. Hawkes</td>
<td>Beaufort</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanny S. Langford</td>
<td>Beaufort</td>
<td>Boston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arthur T. Morris</td>
<td>Beaufort</td>
<td>Bradford, N.H.</td>
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<td>Louisa A. Morse</td>
<td>Hilton Head</td>
<td>Dover, N.H.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicholas Blaseden</td>
<td>Mitchellville</td>
<td>Concord</td>
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<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Dover, N.H.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harriet Buttrick</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>North Brookfield</td>
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<td>Lysanis Anders</td>
<td>Edisto Island</td>
<td>Fawkborro</td>
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<td>Elizabeth H. Gersland</td>
<td>Charleston</td>
<td>Harvard</td>
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<td>Mary C. Green</td>
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<td>Lucy M. Southworth</td>
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<td>West Newton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melisa Chamberlain</td>
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<td>Mary A. Fowler</td>
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<td>Salem</td>
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<td>Harrison T. Fletcher</td>
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<td>J. Sherman Littlefield</td>
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<td>Exeter, N.H.</td>
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<td>William B. Littlefield</td>
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<td>Luella J. Chase</td>
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<td>Sarah E. Lakeman</td>
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<td>Almira P. White</td>
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<td>Elrith B. Steinlou</td>
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<td>Albert Everett</td>
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<td>Sarah F. Price</td>
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<td>Otway C. Page</td>
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### NORTH CAROLINA.

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<th>Name of Teacher</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sarah M. Pearson</td>
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<td>George A. Warren</td>
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<td>Mary R. Kitchell</td>
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<td>Harrison Leland</td>
<td>Raleigh</td>
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### VIRGINIA.

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### FREE.

- West Newton
- Fall River
- Worcester
- Exeter, N.H.
- Nantucket
- Beverly
- Lynn
- Boston
- Salem
- Saugus
- Braintree
- Salem
- Saugus
- Braintree
- Boston
- Providence, R.I.
- Salem
- Portsmouth, N.H.
- Dover, N.H.
- Blackstone
- Concord
- Brooklyn, N.Y.
- Grafton
- Fall River
- Somersett
- Somerville

### Adopted by.

- Barnard F. A. S., Dorchester.
- Whitney Family.
- Northampton.
- Hopedale.
- The Little Society.
- Roxbury.
- Mayhew F. A. S., Boston.
- Indian-street Church F. A. S.
- Theodore-Parker F. A. S.
- Arlington-street Ch. F. A. S.
- Barnard F. A. S., Dorchester.
- Concord.
- John-Woolman F. A. S.
- Brattleboro', Vt.
- South Danvers.
- Lovejoy F. A. S.
- Dorchester and Milton L. Mills.
- Groton.
- Cambridge.
- Salem.
- Cambridgeport.
- Gloucester.
- New Bedford.
- Springfield.
- Montpelier.
- Lawrence.
- Leominster.
- Free.
The Freedmen's Record.

<table>
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<td>J. Stuart Banfield</td>
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<td>S. Virginia Lawton</td>
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<td>E. Macdon Lawton</td>
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<td>Frances W. Perkins</td>
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