The results of emancipation in the United States of America. By a committee of the American freedmen's union commission.

THE Results of Emancipation IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

By a Committee of the American Freedman's Union Commission.

AMERICAN FREEDMAN'S UNION COMMISSION, 30 Vesey Street, New York City.

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The Committees of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Spanish Abolitionist Society and the Comité Française d'Emancipation, have called an International Conference of the friends of the antislavery cause, to be held in Paris during the great Exhibition. The time of the meeting is fixed for the 26th and 27th of August. It is proposed that the Conference shall comprise representatives from Brazil, England and the English Colonies, France and the French Colonies, Holland and the Dutch Colonies, Hayti and St. Domingo, the African Republic of Liberia, Portugal, Spain and the Spanish Antilles, Venezuela and the United States. It is hoped that representatives will also be present from Peru and Mexico, and travellers and missionaries from Africa. A request has been made for reports upon three topics:—First, the Slave Trade; second, Slavery; third, the results of Emancipation. Under this last head, a special request has been made of the American friends of freedom, for the latest information relating to the treatment, condition and prospects of the freedmen in the United States.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, in response to this request, a committee of three was appointed to attend this Conference in person, consisting of Messrs. William Lloyd Garrison, William C. Bryant and C. G. Hammond. At the same time the following named gentlemen were appointed to prepare and present to the Conference a report on the history and results of emancipation.
Hon. S. P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States, President Am. Freedman's Union Commission.


J. Miller McKim, Esq., Cor. Sec. A. F. U. C.

Francis George Shaw, Esq., Chairman Ex. Com. A. F. U. C.

The annexed document has been prepared by Rev. Lyman Abbott, the Chairman of the Commitee, and is now submitted, with the approval of the Committee, in accordance with this request. It embraces—

I. A brief history of emancipation as a military and political movement.

II. A statement of the legal and social condition in which the negro was left by emancipation.

III. A description of the instrumentalities employed for the improvement of his condition;—voluntary and governmental.

IV. What has been done by these instrumentalities: 1, to provide for his physical wants, 2. to secure impartial justice, 3. to reorganize labor, 4. to provide education.

V. A brief summary of the results already attained.

No attempt has been made to describe in full the operations of special agencies, or to give detailed incidents or tabulated statistics. But the entire report has been prepared after a careful examination of the reports of the Bureau officers, and other official documents at Washington. In some instances, notes verifying and illustrating the statements made, are given in foot notes and in an appendix

OFFICE AM. FREEDMAN'S UNION COMMISSION, 30 Vesey street, New York City.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
Emancipation in the United States was a growth rather than an enactment. The first act of war gave new vigor to the already strong anti-slavery sentiment of the North. That sentiment had, at last, found an emphatic political utterance in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency upon the ground so often avowed in his speeches, and declared in the platform of his supporters, that slavery should not be extended, nor suffered to exist within the districts governed by the United States as Territories. Yet Slavery, as already legalized in many of the States of the Union, was thought to be beyond the jurisdiction of the general government; and Mr. Lincoln acted upon this view until he came to deal with the institution, under the extraordinary powers committed to him in time of war. Hence, in the beginning of the war, it was the avowed purpose, alike of the government and of the people, not to interfere with slavery. The constant charge of Southern newspapers, Southern politicians and their Northern sympathizers, that the war was an abolition war, met with constant and indignant denial. Loyal newspapers, orators and preachers, with few exceptions, while advocating stringent measures for putting down the rebellion, carefully disclaimed any intention of disturbing the “peculiar institution” of the South. The Secretary of State informed foreign governments, through our ministers abroad, that this was not our purpose. President Lincoln, in his earlier messages, substantially reiterated the statement. Leading generals, on entering Southern territory, issued proclamations to the same effect. One even promised to put down any slave insurrection “with an iron hand,” while others took vigorous measures to send back the fugitives who sought refuge within our lines.¹ Thus the weakness of the South became her strength. Her servile population, repulsed by Northern pro-slavery sentiment, remained at home engaged in agriculture, thus releasing her entire white population for active service in the field; while, on the other hand, the military resources of the North were necessarily diminished by the demands of labor.


Soon however, the double task of preserving slavery and putting down the rebellion was found too arduous Wherever our armies marched, there, in spite of all obstacles, flocked the slaves, seeking their freedom. The sympathies of the life-long anti-slavery men enlisted in the armies, prevented them from aiding in the return of the fugitives, while others, formerly pro-slavery, were fast converted by the war, and felt the same reluctance.

In the absence of any well-defined policy, the decision of the perplexing problem—what to do with the fugitive slaves—was left largely to the discretion of the department commanders. By some they were welcomed and employed as laborers in the construction of fortifications and otherwise; by some they were even armed and equipped, in spite of great opposition; while by others they were
refused all access to our lines, driven back to the masters from whom they had fled, and those rebel masters even permitted to search our camps for the purpose of finding and reclaiming their missing chattels.

In August, 1861, General Fremont issued the first proclamation of emancipation, freeing the slaves of rebels within the State of Missouri; but the violence of the antagonism excited thereby, soon occasioned its substantial revocation by the President. Nine months later, a similar proclamation, applicable to the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, was issued by General Hunter, and was likewise revoked by the Administration. Earlier than either of these, however, General Butler, taking advantage of the pretended right of property in the slave, had declared him to be “contraband of war,” and so gave him the title which clung to him until subsequent events changed it to that of “freedman”.¹

¹ Gen. Butler's course in refusing to surrender fugitives, and employing them in his camp, was officially approved by Government. See letter of Hon. Simon Cameron, Sec. of War, May 30th, 1861, in Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia for 1861, page 641.

Meanwhile, the tone of public sentiment was constantly rising. The same Congress which, in the beginning of the war, with hardly a dissenting voice, had passed a resolution declaring that the Government did not intend to interfere with slavery, by successive acts provided for the confiscation of all slaves actually employed in the rebel military service passed, on the recommendation of the President, a resolution offering pecuniary aid to any State which should undertake the gradual abolition of slavery within its borders; abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, appropriating a million of dollars as compensation to the slave-owners; prohibited slavery within the territories forever; forbade army officers to surrender persons claimed as fugitive slaves; provided for the reception into the service of the United States of free colored men, and of the slaves of rebel masters, declaring their mothers, wives and children to be free forever; and thus gradually prepared the way for universal emancipation.²


These successive steps were taken in compliance with the progressive demands of the people. Petitions from public meetings, from political caucuses, from ministers, churches and ecclesiastical assemblages, poured in upon the President; newspapers and pulpits proclaimed at first the necessity and then the duty of universal emancipation. The varying fortunes of the war proved the work of quelling the rebellion to be even more difficult than had been anticipated; and, at length,
in September, 1862, President Lincoln declared his purpose to proclaim the abolition of slavery throughout all the rebel states, after the lapse of a limited number of days, unless they should previously have laid down their arms and returned to their allegiance. This purpose he carried into effect; and, on the first day 8 of January, 1863,—thenceforth forever memorable in the annals of this country,—issued his proclamation freeing, except in specified localities, all slaves within the region still in rebellion against the United States.

The full operation of this act was, of course, limited to the nonexcepted territory actually occupied by our armies, and that immediately contiguous; but in effect it invited the slaves to seek freedom within our lines, and unquestionably disturbed and disorganized labor in the interior of the South. Still the bondage in which the mass of the negroes were held, was rendered perhaps even more intolerable because of the prospect of their future liberation.

Not until the final defeat of the rebel armies, in the Spring of 1865, did the proclamation of freedom become effective throughout the South; nor till six months later did the South formally accept the fact of emancipation, under the reconstruction measures of President Johnson, who demanded their assent to the abolition of slavery as a condition preliminary to readmission. Finally, on the 18th day of December, 1865, the Secretary of State announced the adoption, by two-thirds of the States, of that amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which forever prohibits the existence of slavery throughout the whole country.

But the abolition of slavery and the establishment of freedom are not one and the same thing. The emancipated negroes were not yet really freemen. Their chains had indeed been sundered by the sword, but the broken links still hung upon their limbs. They were no longer “chattels,” but their proper position in the body politic was not determined.¹

¹ As late as the Spring of 1867 a writ of Habeas Corpus was resorted to, to free a negro in Kentucky, from slavery.

The question “What shall be done with the negro?” agitated the whole country. Some were in favor of an immediate recognition of their equal civil and political rights, and of conceding to them at once all the prerogatives of citizenship. But only a few advocated a policy so radical, and, at that time, generally considered revolutionary, 9 while many, even of those who really wished well to the negro, doubted his capacity for citizenship, his willingness to labor for his own support, and the possibility of his forming, as a freeman, an integral part of the republic. The plans of the colonizationists were reproduced. Propositions were submitted to provide a home for the freedmen in Africa, in Mexico, in Central America, or in one of our own States—Texas or South Carolina, for instance—which should
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be set apart for their occupancy. Some, who held colonization to be impossible, proposed that they should be kept in a state of legal tutelage, or, more properly, serfdom. No policy commanded the general assent; and it seemed to those who lacked faith in popular government and in Divine Providence, as if the United States, having been compelled by the exigencies of war to emancipate the negro, would prove unequal to the situation, would fail to accept the only true solution of the problem, the absolute equality of all men before the law, and would leave the freedman in a position worse, if possible, than that from which they had taken him, subject to the tyranny of a dominant class, and without the protection which the selfish interest of his former master had afforded.

In republics, the laws are a fair indication of the prevailing public sentiment. Those enacted in the Southern States shortly after the war, afford an interesting indication of the spirit which prevailed there, and of the condition to which the freedmen would have been reduced if left to the sole control of their former masters.¹

¹ For these laws see letter of the Secretary of War to the Senate, January 3, 1867; 39th Congress, 2d Session, Ex, Doc. No. 6, and abstract of them in the American Freedman, July, 1866, p. 57.

The fact that the negro, as a slave, worked under compulsion, was generally held to indicate in him an unusual dislike to labor, and to prove the necessity of peculiar special legislation in order to prevent him from becoming a pauper, to be supported by the more industrious whites, or an outcast who would supply his wants only by depredation on the property of others. 2 10 Hence, various forms of class, and therefore inequitable, legislation; in some States palpably unjust and dictated by the hatred and irritation which had accompanied the war, and had not been diminished by defeat and compulsory emancipation; in others, framed perhaps, with a desire for justice, which was rendered futile however, by the fundamental error which underlies all such legislation.

The idea of admitting the freedmen to an equal participation in civil and political rights was not entertained in any part of the South. In most of the States they were not allowed to sit on juries or even to testify in any case in which white men were parties. They were forbidden to own or bear fire-arms, and thus were rendered defenceless against assault. Vagrant laws were passed, often relating only to the negro, or, where applicable in terms to both white and black, seldom or never enforced except against the latter. Under these laws, persons assumed to have no visible means of support,—which, in the case of a former slave, might be held to mean that he was not in the employ of any master,—could be arrested, fined, sold for a limited time to pay the fine,¹ hired out at the will of the court,² or put to work under overseers appointed by the authorities.³ Special acts were passed to provide for and regulate labor contracts, required to be made in writing.⁴ The hours of
labor were fixed, and the duties of master and servant defined in detail. A violation by the servant, such as an abandonment of the plantation before the expiration of his term of service, was made a misdemeanor, for which he was liable to be arrested and returned to his master like a fugitive slave; while, if the master violated the contract, the servant must seek his remedy through the slow process of a suit at law. In South Carolina the freedman was forbidden to exercise any trade or mechanical pursuit without a special license, for which he was required to pay an annual fee of from ten to one hundred dollars. Agricultural and domestic service only were free to him. The laws relating to apprenticeship, when in form applicable

1 In Mississippi.

2 In Virginia.

3 In Alabama.

4 See Appendix, A.

5 In Mississippi

11 to all classes, were in fact employed only to compel the labor of freed people. In some States any court—that is, any local Justice of the Peace—could bind out to a white person any negro under age, without his own consent or that of his parents. The freedmen were subjected to the punishments formerly inflicted upon slaves. Whipping especially, which in some States disfranchised the party subjected to it, and rendered him forever infamous before the law, was made the penalty for the most trifling misdemeanor. In short, it seemed as if no means were left untried to manifest the exasperation of the ex-slaveholders towards those whose nominal freedom they were compelled to acknowledge, and their determination to cause those freedmen to look back upon their former condition, as slaves, with regret.

1 . Maryland.

2 . As in Florida. whipping and the pillory; In Maryland freedmen were sold into slavery for a term of years, as a punishment for petty offences.

These legal disabilities were not the only obstacles placed in the path of the freed people. Their attempts at education provoked the most intense and bitter hostility, as evincing a desire to render themselves equal to the whites. Their churches and schoolhouses were in many places destroyed
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In parts of the country remote from observation, the violence and cruelty engendered by slavery found free scope for exercise upon the defenceless negro. In a single district, in a single month, forty-nine cases of violence, ranging from assault and battery to murder, in which whites were the aggressors and blacks the sufferers, were reported. Most of this violence was the act of the lower class of poor whites. In the disordered state of the country, consequent upon the war, there was no civil authority competent to preserve peace or to punish crime. But, in addition, underlying and pervading the whole legal and social situation, was the conviction of most of the Southern people, that slavery was right and a blessing; emancipation wrong and a curse. They had acquiesced in the latter, because they could not prevent it; but their convictions remained unchanged.

3 In Mobile, three colored churches were burned in six months.

4 See appendix B.

12 “Overpowered, but not subdued,” was a favorite expression of their orators and their press; and their entire legislative and social action was an unconscious attempt to apply to a state of freedom the political maxims and methods of slavery, which alone they comprehended.

These acts of violence and outrage culminated in the bloody riots of Memphis and New Orleans. Then the excitement thereby produced in the North, the indignation of the better classes in the South, and the natural reaction even among those most prejudiced against the colored people, worked together to provide the necessary remedy.

Such, in brief, and viewed in its Southern aspect alone, was the condition in which the abolition of slavery left the freedmen. It was virtually a state of serfdom, in which they were subjected to heavy legal and social disabilities; a state in which they were without civil or political rights, and with few, if any, friends in the South to advocate their elevation to the rank of citizenship, or their education into the fullness of manhood.

In this condition, however, they were not allowed to continue. From the beginning, as opportunity offered, means were employed to relieve their wants and improve their situation. As time wore on, and the public interest increased in the work, these means were enlarged in extent and increased in effectiveness. What they were, and what have been their results, it is our business here to indicate.

The means employed for the relief and improvement and complete enfranchisement of the freed people have been of a twofold character, voluntary and governmental. In a fuller survey of the history of emancipation, it might be proper to notice a third and more powerful influence than
either of these, that has been brought to bear upon this question,—the operation of natural
causes and of revolutions of political opinion; but in a report of this kind, it will be necessary to
speak only of the direct and specific instrumentalities which have been employed for the relief,
 improvement and permanent welfare of the freed people. As will have been noticed, we put the
voluntary instrumentalities 13 above the governmental. In a republic the people precede their
government. Throughout the war the people demanded more stringent and more energetic
measures than the administration were prepared to adopt. They called for emancipation before it
was proclaimed, for a Freedman's Bureau before it was organized, for a Civil Rights bill before it was
passed, and for impartial suffrage before it was finally, by act of Congress, secured. In the history
of emancipation the voluntary activities of a portion of the people in benevolent, philanthropic and
christian effort preceded, prepared for, and helped to produce that governmental action which has
largely contributed to the present condition and well-grounded hopes of the colored people.

Freedman's Aid Societies.

1

Fourth Annual Report of N. Y. Branch.

With the inception of the war, efforts were commenced looking to the relief and ultimately to the
education of the freed people. The first considerable public movement of this kind was made
in February, 1862. At that time the Proclamation of Emancipation had not been issued, those of
Generals Fremont and Hunter had been rescinded, and the policy of the nation in respect to slaves
had not been framed. General T. W. Sherman and Commodore Dupont, having captured the forts at
the entrance of Port Royal and taken possession of the Sea Islands, found themselves surrounded
by a crowd of ignorant, half-clad, half-famished negroes. Hon. S. P. Chase, then Secretary of the
Treasury, learning that there was a large amount of cotton upon the captured islands, selected an
officer of the Army as agent of the Treasury Department to proceed thither and collect it. The reports
which were received from this agent satisfied him that it was necessary, not merely to collect the
ungathered cotton, but to provide in some way for the welfare of the laborers and for 14 the culture
of the land. No provision had been made by Congress on this subject. He sent thither Mr. E. L. Pierce,
of Massachusetts to survey the field and report. His reports, an official order from General T. W.
Sherman and private and personal letters from Commodore Dupont, called the attention of the
North to the needs of the freed people. Public meetings were at once held in Boston, New York and
Philadelphia, and societies nearly simultaneously organized at those points, first for the relief and next for the education of these people, and the reorganization of their industry.

A similar society was organized at the Capital, under the immediate sanction and approval of the Government, which first took under its especial supervision the contrabands in the District of Columbia, but subsequently extended its operations to Fortress Monroe and the adjacent country.

A few months later, “The Contraband Relief Association” was organized in Cincinnati, subsequently reorganizing as the Western Freedman's Aid Commission. In the fall of 1863, “The Northwestern Freedman's Aid Commission” was established at Chicago, and still later were formed others at different points in the West.

At first, the objects to be accomplished and the methods to be employed, were but vaguely understood. Yet in the outset, along with that provision which simple humanity made for the physical wants of the houseless, the naked and the starving, Christian faith clearly perceived deeper needs. The first persons who were sent out, carried, with clothes and provisions, also the Primer and the Bible. The earliest plans of the New York society provided for a temporary regulation of labor. The first name of the New England Society—the Educational Commission—indicated its ulterior purposes. But the apparent beginning did not foretoken to the multitude the ultimate result. Laboring under difficulties, not easy to describe, and scarcely possible to exaggerate, in the utmost harmony of feeling, but without unity of organization, after six months of desultory

1. Appendix C.

15 and ill-regulated, but earnest and, on the whole, successful labor, the entire number of teachers and missionaries in the field, as reported to the Treasury Department, under whose supervision they then were, consisted of seventy men and sixteen women.

These figures do not, however, indicate the real results of that first six months work. They proved the capacity of the negro for free labor and for education, and are understood to have exerted a very considerable influence upon the mind of President Lincoln in inducing him to adopt, at a later period, the policy of universal emancipation.

From the first, a desire for unity of effort among the philanthropic and Christian friends of the freedmen was felt, and earnest efforts were made to secure it.

Early in the year 1862, at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, a meeting was held of representatives from New England, New York and Philadelphia, to form a union, but although cordially co-operating in their common work, they were not finally and organically united in one
society until March, 1865, when the American Freedmen's Aid Union was formed. In the fall of the same year the Western Associations joined the Union, constituting the American Freedman's Aid Commission. Later, its scope was enlarged, and its working-force increased by a junction with the American Union Commission, a society formed toward the close of the war, to aid in the establishment of free republican institutions in the South; and in May, 1866, at a Convention of all the different Freedmen's Aid Societies, the American Freedman's Union Commission with its present Constitution, was finally and completely organized; and its motto, "No distinction of race or color," was chosen as the distinguishing principle of the Society. This Commission now embraces nearly all the uneclesiastical agencies employed in the education of the colored people.

From the beginning of the war, however, the churches also engaged, in their denominational capacity and through 16 their missionary boards, in the work, not only of evangelization, but of education among the freed people. The Friends, the Old School Presbyterians, the United Presbyterians, the Methodists and the Congregationalists or Independents, have all had their special Freedmen's organizations, through whom they have not only sent missionaries to preach, but also teachers to educate. One of the tract societies has engaged largely in the work of colportage among the freedmen. The Bible Society has distributed over a million copies of the Scriptures in the South, chiefly among the freed people. In brief, nearly every philanthropic, Christian and religious organization has received a new impetus, and has given its energies new direction, because of the opening of the Southern field by the act of emancipation. Of the missionary agencies, the largest, as it was one of the first in the field, is the American Missionary Association, the chosen organ of the Congregationalists. Combining missionary, educational and physical relief work in one, its energies have largely contributed to the establishment of schools among the freed people, and the number of teachers and missionaries whom they employ is about the same as the number of teachers employed by the American Freedman's Union Commission. It is impossible to give in this report detailed and accurate statistics of the work accomplished by each separate agency. Instead of attempting this, we shall rather essay to describe its general aspects and results.

The whole work of education, as described hereafter, has been carried on through the instrumentality of these benevolent and religious organizations. The Government has aided in securing school-houses, has generally furnished transportation, and, during the war, rations to the teachers, and, in a few localities, by special military tax, has even provided their salaries. This, however, has been exceptional, and the work of local commanders, rather than of the Government.

Of the thirteen hundred teachers who have been sent to the South, nearly all have been sustained by voluntary 17 societies. The books have been furnished, the school apparatus has been provided, the ground has been surveyed, and the wants ascertained by them. In the various cities, towns and
villages of the North, local societies have been organized, chiefly among the ladies, who, by sewing societies, fairs, church contributions and other instrumentalities, obtain the money to carry on this work. As a general rule, it has cost from three to six hundred dollars to support a single teacher for a year. In many instances, the local society has assumed the support of a teacher, selected one known to them, and by that teacher's correspondence their interest has been stimulated and maintained. In some instances, the auxiliary society has undertaken to establish and carry on an entire school, and many of the Northern churches are represented in the South by one or more of their number, who have gone out, sustained, not only by their prayers, but by their pecuniary contributions.

The amount contributed from the beginning, from all sources, for the relief and education of the freedmen, it would be impossible accurately to estimate. An officer of the Bureau, to whom a request for an approximate estimate was referred, has set down the cost to the Government, for the freedmen and refugees, for the two years ending July 14, 1867, “as nearly as he could compute it from statistics found in the office,” at $5,278,363. From data afforded by annual reports, and other sources of information, the total amount in money and kind contributed through the various freedmen's, missionary and church associations, and by private benevolence, from the beginning of the movement, in February, 1862, up to July 1st, 1867, is set down in round figures at $5,500,000. Of this five million five hundred thousand dollars, fully one-fifth has come from abroad. England has contributed £80,000, and France, Germany, Switzerland and other countries have manifested in a substantial manner their sympathy in the work.

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Freedmen's Bureau.

The governmental care of the freedmen was at first assumed by the Treasury Department. It was subsequently transferred to the War Department, as more able, from its military power, to extend the necessary protection and aid. But at an early day, immediately in fact after emancipation, the friends of the freedman felt that there was need of a special governmental organization to protect the rights and provide for wants of the freed people, and an effort was made to obtain the passage of a bill establishing a Freedman's Bureau. Such, however, was, even then, the prejudice existing, that at first the bill failed, but having been broadened in its scope, so as to include poor white refugees, many of whom fled from Southern persecution because of their union sentiments, it finally passed the House of Representatives, and received the sanction of the Senate and the approval of the President. It is safe to say that the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, which followed long after the organization of the freedman's Associations, was largely due, indirectly, to their influence in
awakening a public interest on behalf of the freedman, and directly to their labors with the public authorities in Washington. By this bill, a “Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands” was created as a branch of the War Department, under the management and control of a Commissioner appointed by the President, aided by Assistant Commissioners, not exceeding ten, for the States declared to be in insurrection. This act passed in March, 1865, and in May following, Major General O. O. Howard, having received the appointment of Commissioner, assumed the duties of his office. By the terms of the act creating it, this Bureau was to exist only for one year after the expiration of the war. At a later period, and by special act, it was continued and its powers enlarged. It is still in active and most efficient operation, under the same Commissioner.

Before the organization of the Bureau the freedman's affairs had been entrusted to department commanders, 19 treasury agents and other governmental officers. No uniform system had characterized their methods. Large numbers, accumulated in camps and barracks, were living in enforced idleness at various points occupied by our troops, and much of the voluntary labor which had been expended to prevent suffering and to establish schools, had been misspent, through the absence of any general, efficient direction. General Howard issued his first order defining the general policy of the Bureau, on the 19th day of May, 1865, at once appointed his Assistant Commissioners, and entered upon the work assigned to him. In this work he was greatly embarrassed by the lack of any governmental appropriations for his Bureau, by the opposition in the South to any measures looking towards the elevation of the freed people, and by the very wide-spread distrust in the North of their capacity for improvement.

1. Appendix D

Through the instrumentality of the Bureau, in co-operation with the voluntary agencies already referred to, labor has been reorganized, justice has been secured, systems of education, temporary or permanent, partial or complete have been established, the transition period from slavery to liberty has been safely passed, and the freed people have emerged from their state of bondage into that of the liberty of American citizenship.

It remains for us briefly to describe the specific methods which have been employed in improving the condition of the freed people by these two agencies, and these we shall classify under four different heads, showing what has been done:

First, to provide for their temporal wants;

Second, to promote justice;
Third, to reorganize labor;

Fourth, to afford the freedmen adequate education.

Special Relief.

The suffering among the freed people in their transition period was intense. Many, doubtless, died from exposure and want. This and other causes have produced an undoubted decrease in the colored population of the South. Their old labor systems broken up, their old dependence upon their masters taken away, no system of free labor organized, the currency of that part of the country utterly destroyed, the fruits and grain of the country swept away by war, they themselves without tools, implements, seeds, or land, and without any experience in systematic or organized labor, their distress was yet further aggravated by the drouth, which followed after the war in many sections of the South. Herded together in camps and barracks and colonies, the able bodied men in many cases enlisted in the Union Army, or removed by their masters further South and unable to return and seek out their abandoned families even if inclined to do so, they were absolutely and necessarily dependent upon the public for the means of bare subsistence. Nor was there any sufficient provision for their wants. The Southern people had not the means adequately to provide for them, even if they had the inclination. Their, perhaps not unnatural sentiment as frequently avowed, was: that since the North had emancipated the negroes, the North might take care of them. As has already been said, Congress made no appropriation of funds for the Bureau. General Howard was dependent upon Quartermasters of the Army for supplies of clothing, food and fuel. A general order was issued allowing him such clothing and equipage as was unfit for use among the troops, and through the Commissary Department provision was made for affording rations temporarily in cases of immediate and pressing exigency. The distribution of these supplies, however, required great discretion. It was important not to pursue any course which


2. Could possibly encourage permanent idleness and consequent pauperism. This danger was seen by the Commissioner, and guarded against from the outset. In his first order he directed that relief establishments should be discontinued as speedily as the cessation of hostilities and the return to industrial pursuits would permit, and ordered the observance of great discrimination in the administration of relief, so as to include none not absolutely necessitous and destitute. “Every effort.” said he, “must be made to render the people self-supporting.” Rude barracks were erected
at different points for the temporary shelter of the freedmen; but as soon as possible the colonies thus formed were broken up and the people encouraged to make individual contracts for labor upon neighboring plantations. In connection with the colonies, farms were cultivated which aided to meet the expenses. Hospitals were established at various points for the sick, of whom there were great numbers. The separation of families by the war, and illegitimate births in consequence of slavery, left a great number of children practically in a state of orphanage. Orphan asylums were established under the supervision of the Burau for these, but were, in part, or in whole, sustained by the voluntary organizations of the North.¹ In most of the States no State provision existed for the care of colored people in the asylums, and in none of them was such provision adequate for the greatly increased necessities produced by the war. At the present writing, most of the freedmen's farms and colonies have been discontinued, and the issue of rations has been greatly reduced. Once or twice it was absolutely stopped; but in many localities it was found necessary to revive it to a limited extent.

¹ Appendix E.

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III.—Justice.

As we have already seen, no adequate provision existed at the time of the organization of the Bureau for the protection of the rights of the freed people. The laws were oppressive, and were unjustly executed. Even in those localities where the legislators and judges were inclined to administer fairly, prejudice prevailed in the juries to such a degree as to render the conviction of a white man for any injustice to a negro almost impossible, and the acquittal of a negro under any accusation from a white man scarcely less probable. One of the first acts of the Commissioner was to provide for the establishment of Bureau courts. These were military tribunals. They had to do with the settlement of all minor cases of difficulty between the planters and the colored people, and consisted usually of a single officer appointed by the Assistant Commissioner, who in some cases invited the co-operation of one or more citizens. They dealt alike with civil and criminal causes. No appeal lay from them except to the Executive, through the Assistant Commissioner and the Secretary of War. Wherever practical injustice was done to the freed people by the local tribunals these Bureau courts were maintained; but wherever the testimony of the negro was admitted in the civil courts, and justice, or even a fair approximation to justice, secured through their operation, the Bureau courts were discontinued, and the jurisdiction was transferred to the civil authorities. This
process has gone steadily on until now the military tribunals are continued only in a few localities; and generally in those by the desire of the inhabitants, both white and black.

The effect of these courts was not only to secure justice to the freed people, for the time being, but also to produce a permanent alteration in the administration of civil law. The Southern people, finding their inequitable systems overruled by the military tribunals, the admission of colored testimony secured by their instrumentality, the contracts which were made between masters and servants, rigorously and in the main justly enforced by them; and finding, on the other hand, recourse to the civil law denied them until they should consent to its administration upon principles of equity and impartial justice,—consented to follow those principles and methods which the Bureau courts had employed, and thus secured the restoration of their civil courts by consenting to administer justice in them. Two striking illustrations are afforded of this influence of the Bureau courts upon civil jurisdiction in the South. We have already referred to the singularly unjust legislation in South Carolina. The military commander of that State notified the Governor that he should not allow the law forbidding freedom of labor to the negro, to be put in operation; and the result was that, at the next session of the Legislature, the law was repealed. In Alabama, the Assistant Commissioner proposed to the Provisional Governor, to transfer jurisdiction to the local authorities, provided they would admit the testimony of colored people and deal with them fairly; this proposition was accepted by nearly all the courts in Alabama, colored testimony admitted, and such an approximation to justice secured as rendered safe the transfer of jurisdiction to them. Other States have followed, in this respect, the example set them by Alabama; and now, under the influence thus exerted through the Bureau, in nearly if not every Southern State all objection to the admission of colored testimony has been, wholly overcome, if not entirely removed.

III.—Labor.

Among the most important and most difficult problems in the reconstruction movement, was the reorganization of labor upon the principles of freedom;—important, since no measures of special relief could possibly provide for the laboring classes of the South, unless they themselves became productive;—difficult, since the principles of free labor were not accepted or even comprehended by the men who owned the lands and possessed the capital. As already stated, it was their fundamental assumption that the negro would not work except under compulsion. To provide this compulsion, they not only established apprentice and vagrant systems, as before described, but they meditated the establishment of a general apprentice system, binding out colored adults to masters not of their own choosing. By their influence upon the United States officers, they had, in some districts,
obtained military orders for the compulsory employment of the freedmen, fixing the terms of contract and the wages to be paid, and immediately upon the establishment of the Bureau, brought strong pressure to bear upon the Commissioner and his assistants to perpetuate this system of enforced contracts. In this attempt they failed. General Howard, by his first order, issued in May, 1865, directed that:—“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.”

To secure the re-organization of labor, the simplest regulations were issued, never prescribing wages, but allowing contracts to be made between the employer and employee, subject to such revision by Bureau officers as might be necessary to secure the ignorant against the frauds of the crafty. Public meetings of the freedmen were held 25 in different parts of the South, for the purpose of instructing them in respect to the principles of free labor—Gen. O. O. Howard himself, and afterwards his brother, General C. H. Howard, as well as other leading men, traveling through the South and addressing such gatherings. In most districts the demand for labor has been such as to secure fair wages. But where there was an accumulation of people resulting from the disturbances of war, and a consequent surplus of labor and diminution of wages, a system of transfer was introduced; homes were found for the unemployed; definite contracts entered into with employers prior to transportation; regular intelligence offices were opened for the mutual convenience of employer and employed; colored people were induced to establish such offices for themselves; and, above all, they were systematically encouraged to enter into contracts with the Southern planter, or to secure, where possible, land for individual cultivation, either by purchase or by settlement on the public lands, under the provisions of the Homestead Act.

The methods of labor thus organized were chiefly of three kinds:

I. In some instances freedmen were aided to secure land and work for themselves. In Mississippi, at Davis' Bend, they formed an organization of their own (without assistance or direction) and carried on, very successfully, a large plantation; and the same method was pursued, on a smaller scale, in many other localities.

II. Some of the planters divided their plantations into lots, assigning a lot to each freedman or family, and receiving from each one a share of the crops by way of rental. In such contracts, the planter generally furnished stock, food for the same, house or quarters, fuel, seed, one-half the bagging and rope, and advanced to the freedmen rations and clothing during the making of the crop, receiving his pay therefor after the crop was gathered. This system is growing in favor, and is very much preferred by the freed people.
III. The planter hired the laborers in the mass, and agreed to pay them either a certain rate of wages per week or, more generally, a certain share of the crop at the close of the season. In this case they work in gangs, under an overseer, somewhat as before the abolition of slavery. The freedmen are very averse to overseers, and the greatest injustice they suffer is under this system. In some cases the planters, establishing a store on their plantation—the only one accessible—have charged the workmen at such a rate as to keep them in debt and leave them without any profit at the end of the season. In others, they have driven laborers away at the close of the year, or on some pretext or other refused them the share which by agreement was their due.

The consequence has been an increasing hesitation on the part of the freedmen to enter into long contracts. Where, however, they have been assured of justice, or where the other system of contract has been pursued, they have evinced, not only a readiness, but an eagerness to engage in labor; and they have always been inclined to continue with their old masters, when they have been previously kindly treated by them. It has been customary in all cases for the parties to sign a written agreement, a copy of which is kept on file in the Bureau office; and where this is not done, and the contract is manifestly inequitable in its terms, the Bureau disregards it or sets it aside. The following is a copy of one of the forms employed in such cases. This, in its detail, is, however, different in different States; and in none of them is any particular form insisted upon, the parties being left to make any agreement satisfactory to themselves, provided no advantage is taken of the ignorance and poverty of the freedmen.

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Know all men by these presents, that A. B., of the — County, State of Georgia, is held and firmly bound to the United States of America by these presents in this contract. That he is to furnish the persons whose names are subjoined (freed laborers) quarters, fuel, healthy and substantial rations, and —

The said persons are to labor faithfully on his plantation six days during the week, in the manner customary on a plantation, said persons to forfeit in whole or in part, their wages or their interest in the crop, in case they violate this contract. All differences to be referred to an officer or agent of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands for adjustment.”


Employer.
“—

“—

“This contract is to commence with this date and close with the year. Given in duplicate at —, this — day of —, 186—.

“Witness: —.”

Contracts are not required to be, but generally are in writing. By special Bureau orders, in some districts, the wages of the laborers have been made a first lien on the crops.

The share of the crop given to the freedmen varies from one-sixth to one-half. Notwithstanding exceptions on both sides, it is the general testimony of the Bureau officers that on the one hand the freedmen work well when treated fairly and afforded an opportunity to enjoy the privileges which they most covet, the church and the school; though where these have been denied them, they have shown themselves discontented; and on the other no less general is the testimony that where the contracts are fair and anything like satisfactory, the employers have faithfully and honestly fulfilled their stipulations with those they employed. Both employer and employed are becoming accustomed to the conditions of free labor; and the former increasingly recognizes its superior advantages over the old slave system. 1. So in Texas.

IV.—Schools.

Prior to the abolition of slavery, there was no general public educational system, properly speaking, in the Southern states, except, perhaps, in North Carolina In some populous centres there were free schools; in some localities academies and colleges; but, for the most part, no adequate provision was made for the education even of the poorer whites. By special law colored children were forbidden access to such schools as were established, and it was a criminal offence to teach the slave to read. Emerging from their bondage, the negroes in the very beginning manifested the utmost eagerness for instruction, and their hunger was met by a corresponding readiness on the part of the people of the North to make provision for it. The earliest societies called into existence by the physical destitution of the freedmen, sent teachers and books, and gathered children and unemployed adults into schools. Thus, when General Howard assumed charge of the Bureau, he found many schools already in existence, in those localities which had been for some time within the lines of our armies. Those which had been established by benevolent associations of the North,
though without any systematic protection, nor always enjoying even the sympathy, much less the assistance, of military commanders, and without adequate buildings or school apparatus, were nevertheless carried on efficiently and successfully, and were rendering a valuable and important service. In some localities, as in parts of Louisiana under Major-Generals Banks and Butler, school systems had been established, the expenses of which were provided for by military taxation. In addition to these, the negroes had organized private schools in which persons of their own race acted as teachers, who were, however, in many cases little more than “blind leaders of the blind.” No co-operation or sympathy was extended to these educational efforts by the Southern people. On the contrary, they had to contend, at first, against their deep-seated prejudices, and bitter hostility. They were regarded as an unwarrantable encroachment upon their peculiar rights, and derided as an absurd attempt to elevate the negro. The school-houses were, in several instances burned, and school teachers mobbed and driven away, and, even until a very late period the teachers were unable to secure board in reputable white families, and were subjected to every kind of taunt and ridicule. “Nigger teacher” was one of the most opprobrious epithets that the Southern vocabulary furnished. Even in the North this prejudice existed among some of the avowed friends of the freed people, and it is a singular fact that one of the early Freedmen's Aid Societies was rent asunder by the unwillingness of a part of its members to co-operate in any movement looking toward the education of the negro, though they were willing to provide him with food and clothing, in order to prevent suffering and death.

1. See Teacher's correspondence in Am. Freedman, August, 1866.

Among the wants to which the attention of the Commissioner was first directed was this educational need of the colored people. To it he has given special attention, and under his direction and that of his efficient coadjutor, Rev. J. W Alvord, the Bureau Superintendent of Schools, a great educational revolution has been wrought. His first act was to place in each State a local Superintendent, whose duty it was to aid in organizing and harmonizing all the different agencies that were already at work, and to co-operate with them in the establishment of new schools. Next, Congressional appropriations were sought and obtained, for the rental, repair and construction of school-buildings, of which a large number, perhaps averaging fifty in each State, have thus been built, on land owned by the colored people themselves, or secured to them by individuals or the societies interested in their education. The transportation of teachers has been paid from their homes to their places of labor. Specific aid has been given to industrial schools, and a fund derived from property owned by the so-called Confederate States has been employed for school purposes generally. A uniform system of school reports has been provided, which all teachers are requested to transmit to the Bureau. A general system in respect to the use of text-books has been introduced.
and the multiplication of agencies in the same locality have been prevented, and the whole work of education in the South has been systematized and promoted.

The educational progress has been very rapid and very marked. The first schools were held in deserted churches, in abandoned hospitals, in private houses temporarily occupied by military authority, in old sheds, under the shadow of a tree, and even, in one case, in a dismantled bombproof. The books, in the beginning, were little better than the buildings, the schools depending largely upon voluntary contributions of old and sometimes obsolete school books from the North. In many of the larger places the Freedmen's schools are now regularly graded, beginning with the primary and ascending to the normal. The teachers are, many of them, among the best in the country, and some of the schools are not inferior to those of the Northern towns and cities. In the District of Columbia, the colored schools, fostered and sustained by the voluntary contributions of the friends of the freedmen, are equal to any in the land.

The effect of these schools upon the public sentiment of the South has been very marked. Many Southern church organizations have taken up the work of education, at least so far as to pass resolutions in favor of its prosecution. Probably only the lack of means prevents their vigorous participation. In several of the States, laws have been passed looking to the establishment of the free school system. In the District of Columbia, the school tax on the colored population is henceforth to be appropriated for their schools. The same is true in the States of Maryland and of Florida. In Tennessee, Missouri and Western Virginia, a free and impartial system of education has been provided for by law, but for want of necessary funds has not yet been put in efficient operation. In the Carolinas, leading men are working for the establishment of a similar system. In Georgia, the colored people have formed themselves into an educational association, with the purpose of establishing schools in every county in the State; in other regions of the South, individuals have contributed of their means for the maintenance of schools in special localities; while in the very States and towns where, a year ago, a “nigger school marm” was the object of undissembled contempt, applications are continually made for situations as teachers by Southern people desirous of engaging in this work. Wherever these schools have been longest established, there the prejudice between North and South is least virulent; and wherever they have not yet gone, there this sectional prejudice still continues with unabated vigor. The eagerness of the negroes to learn can scarcely be overstated. The school houses are crowded, and the people are clamorous for more.

These schools are of four kinds—the day school, for children; the night school, (often conducted by the same teachers,) for adults; the industrial school, where women and children are taught sewing and other household arts; and Sunday schools. The interest of the freedmen is indicated by the facts that the average attendance is fully equal to that of the whites in the Northern cities; that the
pupils beg that the work may not be intermitted for the necessary summer vacation; that, ordinarily, suspension from the privileges of the school is the severest punishment which the teacher needs to inflict; and that out of their poverty the colored people have made so large contributions for the purchase of land, the erection of buildings, and the support of teachers. More than half the schools in the South are sustained in part by the freedmen. Out of about 78,000 pupils fifteen thousand pay some tuition, amounting in all to $11,377.03 per month. The following consolidated school report, taken from the last semi-annual report of Rev. J. W. Alvord, Bureau Superintendent of Schools, shows the present number of pupils, with their attendance and their educational progress:

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"General Consolidated School Report, January 1, 1867, for the thirteen States and the District of Columbia.

Day schools 960
Night schools 247
1,207
Schools sustained by freedmen 333
Schools sustained in part by freedmen 290
Teachers transported by Bureau 118
School buildings owned by freedmen*

* This includes their own churches.

Number of schools graded, 366; number of grades, 1 to 4; classification, 1 to 14.

Number of day or night schools not reported, 175; whole number of pupils (estimated) in all such schools, 11,236; number of teachers, white, 120; colored, 91; total, 211.

Number of Sabbath schools not reported, 207; whole number of pupils (estimated) in all such schools, 18,201; number of teachers, white, 224; colored, 626; total, 850.
Industrial schools, 17; whole number of pupils in all, 1,279; kind of work done: sewing, knitting, straw-braiding, cutting, repairing and making garments.

Whole amount of tuition paid by freedmen during the month, $11,377 03.

Whole amount of expenses for the above schools, by the Bureau, for the month, $21,015 06.

Grand total of expenses per month for support of above schools, $40,271 75.

Whole number of high or normal schools, 11; number of pupils in all, 581.

It will be seen that the whole number officially reported above is 1,207 schools, 1,430 teachers, and 77,998 pupils, But if we add irregular schools “within the knowledge” of the superintendent, and industrial schools, the number will be 1,399 schools, 1,658 teachers, and 90,513 pupils. Sabbath schools, as reported, are largely increased, and might be added to the above, there being 782 schools, with 70,610 pupils. A very large number, especially adults, go to Sabbath schools, who do not attend any other schools.”— Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen, Jan. 1, 1867, by J. W. Alvord, Gen. Supt.

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School buildings furnished by Bureau 199

Teachers, white 972

colored 458

1,430

Pupils enrolled in day and night schools, male 37,640

female 40,358

77,998

Pupils enrolled last report 53, 092

Left school this month 4,645

New scholars this month 28,651
Average attendance 50,224
Pupils paying tuition 15,248
White pupils 470
Always present 29,742
Always punctual 25,584
Over sixteen years of age 10,266
In alphabet 10,126
Spell and read easy lessons 30,690
Advanced readers 19,256
Geography 12,970
Arithmetic 31,692
Higher branches 1,573
Writing 23,737
Needle-work 1,243
Free before the war 2,302
Sabbath schools 575
Pupils in Sabbath schools 52,409

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The greatest educational need of the South at the present time is normal schools for the education of colored teachers. The freedmen must be taught to educate themselves. Normal schools have already been established at the most populous centres, and arrangements are now in progress the result of which, it is hoped, will be the establishment of at least one such school in nearly every Southern State. There are many localities where a negro teacher can carry on a school successfully,
to which it is impracticable to send a white teacher from the North; many, where the prejudice against negro teaching would be less than against instruction offered by a Northern teacher.

General Results.

Such has been the work of the two agencies, whose direct action upon the freedman we undertook to delineate, aided by the third and more potent influence referred to, the co-operation of natural causes and of revolution in political sentiment.

What is to be the effect of emancipation upon the industry of the community at large, upon the amount of production, upon the intelligence and morals of the people, upon commerce, trade, manufactures, agriculture and population, can as yet be only a matter for conjecture; and yet such and so marked even in these respects have been the results already, that probably few, if any, of the intelligent portion of the Southern people would desire to see slavery re-established. Wherever the planter has honestly and intelligently accommodated himself to the system of free labor, freedom has reaped a larger harvest than ever was garnered by slavery.

But the effect upon the freed people is no longer a matter of question. They have refuted Slavery's accusation of idleness and incapacity. They have not only worked faithfully and well under white employers, but, when facilities have been accorded them, have proved themselves capable of independent and even self-organized labor. They are not generally extravagant or wasteful. Out of their meagre earnings they deposited in the Savings and Trust Company for Freedmen, in a little over a year after its organization, $616,802. In addition, a considerable number of them have purchased homesteads. They have manifested a wonderful appreciation of the political issues of the day, and a patience and faith no less wonderful in waiting for the consummation of their freedom; while the brightest feature of the present, and the most hopeful indication for the future, is the ambition and the capacity for improvement which they have demonstrated. The church and the school-house are alike crowded with an eager, expectant people, the rapidity of whose development under these fostering influences has amazed both foes and friends, and contributed more, perhaps, than any other cause to mitigate the prejudice which survived slavery, and make the work of enfranchisement complete.

S. P. Chase,

O. O. Howard,

Joseph P. Thompson,
Lyman Abbott,

J. Miller Mckim,

Francis George Shaw, Committee.

APPENDIX.

A.

The following extract, from the laws of Louisiana, illustrate the spirit of Southern legislation:

“Sec. 9. Be it further enacted, &c., That when in health, the laborer shall work ten hours during the day in summer, and nine hours during the day in winter, unless otherwise stipulated in the labor contract; he shall obey all proper orders of his employer, or his agent; take proper care of his work, mules, horses, oxen, stock, also all agricultural implements; and employers shall have the right to make a reasonable deduction from the laborer's ages for injuries done to animals or agricultural implements committed to his care, or for bad or negligent work. Bad work shall not be allowed. Failing to obey reasonable orders, neglect of duty and leaving home without permission, will be deemed disobedience; impudence, swearing, or indecent language to, or in the presence of, the employer, his family, or agent, or quarreling and fighting with one another, shall be deemed disobedience. For any disobedience, a fine of one dollar shall be imposed on and paid by the offender. For all lost time from work hours, unless in case of sickness, the laborer shall be fined twenty-five cents per hour. For all absence from home without leave, the laborer will be fined at the rate of two dollars per day. Laborers will not be required to labor on the Sabbath, except to take necessary care of stock and other property on the plantation, or to do necessary cooking or household duties, unless by special contract. For all thefts of the laborer from the employer of agricultural products, hogs, sheep, poultry, or any other property of the employer, or wilful destruction of property, or injury, the laborer shall pay the employer double the amount of the property stolen, destroyed or injured, one-half to be paid to the employer, and the other half to be placed in the general fund provided for in this section. No live stock shall be allowed to laborers without the permission of the employer. Laborers shall not receive visitors during work hours. All difficulties arising between the employer and laborers, under this section, shall be settled, and all fines imposed by the former; if not satisfactory to the laborer, an appeal may be had to the nearest justice of the peace and two freeholders, citizens, one of said citizens to be selected by the employer, and one by the laborer; and all fines imposed and collected under this section shall be deducted
The results of emancipation in the United States of America. By a committee of the American freedmen's union commission.

from wages due, and shall be placed in a common fund, to be divided among the other laborers employed on the plantation, at the time when their full wages fall due, except as provided for above.”

B.

Number of freedmen reported to have been murdered, or otherwise outraged, in the State of Louisiana, since the organization of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, &c., down to February 20, 1867:

Number of freedmen killed by whites 70

“‘‘ supposed to have been killed at riot, in addition to those previously reported 10

Number of freedmen murdered—no clue to perpetrator 6

Number of freedmen shot at, beaten, stabbed. &c. 210

Number of freedmen supposed to have been wounded at riot, in addition to those previously reported 20

Number of freedmen murdered by freedmen 2

Number of whites murdered by freedmen 1

List forwarded by the Assistant Commissioner, March 9, 1867.

“From South Carolina, reports from the interior of the State are replete with instances of violence and cruelty towards the freedmen—murders, whipping, tying up by the thumbs, defrauding of wages, overworking, combining for purposes of extortion, &c. From my own observation, I do not infer that such crimes and cruelties give a true picture of the state of society. Yet the criminal list is altogether too great to pass unnoticed.”—*Commissioner's Report, Dec., 1865, 39th Congress. Ex. Doc. No. 11, page 26.*

C.

At the first meeting of the National Freedman's Relief Association, now the New York Branch of the A. F. U. C., held 22d February, 1866, the following rules in regard to the treatment of the blacks were adopted.

1. They must be treated as freemen.

2. They must earn their livelihood like other freemen, and not be dependent on charity.

3. Their labors must be performed under well-organized superintendence.

4. They must receive compensation for their labors in the shape of daily wages, a sufficient percentage being reserved to defray the cost of superintendence.

5. As soon as their labor is organized, they must be required to earn their own support.

6. In the meantime, they will be aided with food, clothing, and shelter; but such supplies will be charged to them, as advances, to be repaid without interest.

7. They may erect tenements on the land, and occupy them free of charge; but when they occupy tenements erected or supplied by the Association, they shall pay rent.

8. Schools and churches shall be established among them, and the sick shall be cared for.

9. No idleness will be allowed, but all must work who can.

10. Each one will be encouraged to raise on his own ground such articles of food as his family may require, and be so taught gardening as to raise quantities for the army and navy, and other markets.

11. To guard against imposition on their ignorance and inexperience, no stores will be allowed among them except those licensed by the Association.

D.

The following is Gen. Howard's first order organizing the Bureau and defining the principles on which it would be conducted.

War Department, Bureau Of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands, Washington, May 30, 1865.
Rules and Regulations for Assistant Commissioners.

I. The headquarters of the Assistant Commissioners will, for the present, be established as follows, viz: For Virginia, at Richmond, Va.; for North Carolina, at Raleigh, N. C.; for South Carolina and Georgia, at Beaufort, S. C.; for Alabama, at Montgomery, Ala.; for Kentucky and Tennessee, at Nashville, Tenn.; for Missouri and Arkansas, at St. Louis, Mo.; for Mississippi, at Vicksburg, Miss.; for Louisiana, at New Orleans, La.; for Florida, at Jacksonville, Fla.

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 promote good order and prosperity. Their attention is invited to Circular No. 2, from this bureau, indicative of the objects to be attained.

III. 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.

IV. 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. The 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 calamities of their situation relieved as far as possible. If destitute, they will be aided with transportation, and food when deemed expedient, while in transitu, retumng 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 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 adjudicate, 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 the 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.

v

E.

Consolidated report of freedmen treated and died during the period commencing October 1, 1865, and ending August 31, 1866, together with number remaining at latter date.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>ADULT MALES</th>
<th>ADULT FEMALES</th>
<th>MALE CHILDREN</th>
<th>FEMALE CHILDREN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>TREATED</th>
<th>DIED</th>
<th>REMAINING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>7,476</td>
<td>8,982</td>
<td>3,281</td>
<td>3,310</td>
<td>23,049</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>172</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>8,008</td>
<td>9,151</td>
<td>3,912</td>
<td>4,036</td>
<td>25,907</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>3,698</td>
<td>5,237</td>
<td>3,530</td>
<td>15,767</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>15,210</td>
<td>18,660</td>
<td>8,039</td>
<td>8,443</td>
<td>48,575</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>4,311</td>
<td>5,237</td>
<td>9,523</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>2,549</td>
<td>2,595</td>
<td>1,128</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>3,489</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>7,493</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of hospitals existing within the period above stated, has been fifty-six; number now maintained is forty-six; present number of dispensaries and out-door stations, forty-seven.
The number of orphan asylums is five; those at Richmond, Virginia, and at Lauderdale, Mississippi, are attached to the permanent hospitals established at those points. No special reports are received from these various asylums but medicines and medical attendance have been furnished when required.

Table exhibiting the number of hospitals, &c., under the direction of the Bureau during the year ending Sept. 30, 1866.

DISTRICTS. Hospitals. Colonies, camps, dispensaries. Orphan asylums. Capacity, beds. Whole number in bureau from October 1, 1865, to September 30, 1866 Number at present, September 30, 1866. Occupied. Vacant. Number. Capacity, beds. Number known to exist. District of Columbia 3 3 260 140 1 1 Virginia 11 9 606 254 2 1 North Carolina 8 8 228 277 South Carolina 4 4 304 128 Georgia 7 7 520 Alabama 5 5 341 87 1 100 Florida 1 1 48 52 1 Texas 1 1 Louisiana 2 2 362 200 * 1 37 1 Mississippi 9 3 117 213 2 1 Missouri and Arkansas 3 3 109 96 Kentucky 1 1 80 1 Tennessee 1 1 Total 56 46 2,975 1,447 10 137 5

* Colony.

THE American freedman's Union Commission, Office, No. 30 Vesey Street, New-York.

“The object of this Commission is the relief, education and elevation of the Freedmen of the United States, and 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. No school or depot of supplies shall be maintained from the benefits of which any shall be excluded because of color.”— Art. II. Constitution.

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CHARLES G. HAMMOND, Chicago.
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GEORGE CABOT WARD, Treasurer.

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