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The red flag in John Bull's eyes

Frances Power Cobbe

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THE
RED FLAG
IN
JOHN BULL'S EYES.

BY
FRANCES POWER COBBE.

TRACT No. 1.



Handwritten initials, possibly 'C.P.C.' or similar.

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THE
RED FLAG

JOHN BULL'S EYES
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“There is yet a greater crime than slavery—for a crime it is of a deeper and more unpardonable dye—for a white man and a Christian to invite a negro to achieve his freedom by a carnival of crime. . . . I say it is the very highest iniquity in the chief of a Christian Government to excite the negro, *with the ferocity of the tiger*, to the perpetration of cruelties that cannot be numbered, and crimes which I dare not even name, with no possible termination to that desperate and deadly strife of races but in the extermination of the weaker and the vanquished.”—*Mr. Horsman's speech in the House of Commons in the debate on the seizure of the Alexandra.*

THE

RED FLAG IN JOHN BULL'S EYES.

It is not very easy to balance in equal scales the respective evils of Slavery on the one hand, and of War and Anarchy on the other. The chronic sufferings of the slave, and the permanent demoralization of the slaveholder, present pictures far less exciting to our imaginations than the acute agonies of a field of battle, or the furious crimes of a servile insurrection. When to these causes we add the readier sympathies which, alas! inevitably arise for the woes of men and women of our own race and social standing, over those of another colour and class, we shall doubtless obtain a clue to much of the misapplication of English feeling at this moment on the subject of America. Thus it has come to pass, that we are now sympathising with the slaveholders struggling against the righteous punishment of ruin which their long oppressions have provoked, rather than with the unoffending victims escaping at last from the ten-fold evils of a cruel servitude. Thus at this moment, in our land, lamentations over the horrors of "a fratricidal war" have utterly drowned the cry which once arose from the heart of England against the giant Wrong which that war must terminate.

Thus the threat of the possibility of a "renewal of St. Domingo massacres" is continually used by the advocates of the Southern cause, as if it were alone sufficient to condemn, beyond appeal, the policy of President Lincoln—nay, to place him altogether outside the pale of the sympathies of a Christian community.

It is our purpose in the present little paper, to consider solely this latter argument (if argument it can be called) against the North, and to inquire whether there really exist any plausible grounds whatever, for anticipating that the Emancipation Proclamation will lead to a "carnival of crime," or that the negro will display "the ferocity of a tiger" when delivered from the lash of his oppressors. If we should succeed in showing that such fears have not been justified by any single symptom during the convulsions of the last two years, and that the negroes, far from revealing the "ferocity of the tiger," are displaying the peculiarly Christian virtues of placability and patience, in a manner hardly to be paralleled in the annals of the Caucasian race—we may then perhaps be permitted to set aside for the future, as superfluous and impertinent, this oft-recurring argument, this *Red Flag*, which, as in a Spanish bull-fight, the *toreadors* and *picadors* of the Senate and the Press persist in brandishing in our eyes, to confuse our sight and exasperate our feelings.

By this practical test also we believe that we shall arrive at a conclusion very different from that in which these friends of the South would desire

to land us—the conclusion, namely, that the real danger to the white population lies in attempting to re-solder the fetters of the slaves, and *not* in completing the work of their liberation. Those very “St. Domingo massacres” which are perpetually held up before us as warnings *against* emancipation, are, in fact, the strongest arguments in favour of its speedy and final completion, inasmuch as they only took place, when, *after eight years of peaceful and industrious freedom enjoyed by the negroes*, Buonaparte sent an army to reduce them once more into slavery.* If the North should be finally driven back, and the South enabled, by European countenance and aid, to “found its commonwealth on the corner-stone of slavery,” *then*, indeed, may come the danger of similar scenes of reckless fury and despair. As yet, and in the event of the final triumph of the North, no such catastrophe need be dreaded. The transition

* In February, 1794, the French Conventional Assembly passed a decree abolishing slavery throughout the colonies of France. From that moment, the disturbances which had hitherto taken place in St. Domingo ceased. “After the public act of emancipation,” says Polverel, “the negroes remained quiet, and continued to work on all the plantations.” When Santhona, a former Governor, returned to the colony, in 1796, he was astonished at the state of prosperity in which he found it. As General La Croix wrote, in his “Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo (Paris, 1819),” “The colony succeeded as by enchantment.” But in 1802, in spite of the remonstrances of General Vincent, Buonaparte sent an army to St. Domingo to restore slavery, and then, and not till then, a scene of horrors followed, ending in the expulsion of the French, and the loss of all their property by the planters.

from slavery to freedom may yet be accomplished without the horrors of a slave insurrection, added to those of a sanguinary war. Free and honest industry may supersede throughout the Southern States the hopeless toil of the wretch under the lash, and, by the mercy of God, the whole moral pestilence of slavery may be cleared away for ever from the land without the intervention of such a hurricane of blood and ruin as the virulence of the evil had led us to anticipate.

The grounds of such hopes for the solution of the great problem of negro emancipation are briefly these :—

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of the United States marked the turn of the tide of Southern influence. Up to this period the slave interest had been paramount in the republic ; but the *vox populi*, which, assuredly, in this case at least, was also the *vox Dei*, then pronounced against the whole slave system the sentence, “Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.” The principle of non-extension, which the election of Lincoln proved to be paramount in the State, was understood by the slaveholders to involve the eventual starving out of their institution, which requires perpetual new fields for slave labour, and the secession of the Confederate States was the immediate result. Though the people of the North, indignant both at the rupture of their idolised union and the unconstitutional means by which it was accomplished, at once proclaimed war against the Confederates, they did not at first advance one step beyond the principle with which

they had started—the *non-extension* of slavery, even as they had voted, on the eve of the election of President Lincoln, an amendment of the Constitution whereby it was forbidden ever to abolish the servitude of negroes in the States of the republic.

But “the stars in their courses fought against” slavery. The force of circumstances soon brought forward *emancipation* as the principle which must supersede *non-extension* in the policy of the North. In the beginning of 1862, the President asked the Congress to vote the sums needful to indemnify the slaveholders in loyal States who might consent to emancipate their slaves; and the first step was accomplished when the 3,000 slaves then existing in the district of Columbia were enfranchised, at the cost of a million dollars, with 100,000 dollars further granted to aid them to emigrate at their choice. These 3,000 emancipated slaves showed the first example of the use they intended to make of their freedom by conducting themselves with perfect steadiness; agreeing to remain with their old masters for wages, and declining altogether the 100,000 dollars for emigration.

The next step of the Congress was to forbid slavery for ever in the vast districts of the West not yet formed into States, and denominated the “Territories of the Republic.” Only a few hundred slaves as yet existing in those districts were actually freed by this act, but the land thus redeemed from the approaching tide was of enormous importance. Before the war, the free

domain of America occupied about one-third of the republic ; at present, it occupies three-fourths of the whole area.

The conquest of New Orleans and Lower Louisiana was the next great event. The population of the conquered province amounted to about 300,000 persons, of whom 100,000 were slaves. The slaveowners were already in distress, notwithstanding their repudiation of their debts to the merchants of New York. Cotton and sugar were nearly unsaleable, and they were shut in by the enemy North and South. The strong arm by which alone the slaves could be kept in chains was paralysed, and the negroes escaped by thousands into the woods, quietly camping themselves and their families, and even planting Indian corn for their future use. The mere approach of the Federals had dissolved their fetters as by magic, and yet there was no attempt to retaliate on their ancient tyrants—no plantations were devastated, no houses sacked, no whites massacred, save one single overseer killed by a slave he had cruelly flogged. On other plantations, again, the negroes, instead of escaping to the woods, offered to work for their masters for wages ; the masters agreed to give them from five to twelve dollars a month, and the slaves were thereupon peacefully and thoroughly transformed into industrious labourers. Those who had cause of complaint against their employers, sued them in the courts of law. A poor woman, among others, reclaimed from her brutal master her children and his, whom he had destined for slavery. The slave markets re-

mained closed for months. In December, 1862, General Butler being superseded in the command by General Banks, the old slaveholders made violent efforts to recover their property; but in February, 1863, the matter was placed on a new basis: every negro was allowed to choose between the service of Government and labour on the plantations. If he chose the latter, wages were to be paid to him, and he was exempted from corporal punishment.

While these events were taking place in New Orleans, the whole question of abolition had assumed a new phase. On the 22nd September, 1862, President Lincoln published his famous decree, announcing that in all such States as should continue in rebellion on the 1st January, 1863, the slaves should be held emancipated. We are not concerned at present in criticising the conduct of the Federal Government, else might we point out how in this action, viewed in its purely political light, the President was but reclaiming lawful subjects of his States from rebels who had forfeited all such civil rights as might have been supposed to guarantee their security in such "property."* But our task is simply to

* Des Sécessionistes reprochent à M. Lincoln de ne pas avoir décrété l'abolition pure et simple de l'esclavage, aussi bien dans les états restés fidèles que dans les états insurgés. . . . Mais si le Président est autorisé en vertu de la guerre à prendre de violentes mesures de salut public dans les états rebelles, il doit avant toutes choses respecter la loi dans les états où la constitution est encore en honneur. D'ailleurs, M. Lincoln a toujours professé que l'émancipation graduelle des esclaves est préférable à un affranchissement

detail the actual results of the step—and of these the first were some additional cruelties on the part of the Confederates. The negro soldiers found in a railway train at Murfreesboro' were coolly shot without trial; and on the banks of the River Cumberland another band of slaves, captured in a Federal steamer, were flogged almost to death, and left bound to trees to die of hunger.

But other results were to follow of another kind. The negroes, of whom one regiment had already been formed at Port Royal in May, 1862, began to join more and more numerously the Federal standard, insomuch that in March, 1863, 6,000 had enlisted. These soldiers, who have to bear the brunt of war under double disadvantages (capture meaning for them inevitable death, and probably torture), have shown admirable courage and constancy. At the end of January, a corps of them ascended the St. Mary river, far above the point where the white Federal troops were stopped, defeated an equal body of Confederates, and marched back to Port Royal, bringing with them the chains and scourges of the planters as trophies, and a band of rescued negroes, who instantly joined their ranks. General Saxton and Colonel Higginson, who commanded these brave fellows, bore testimony to their entire devotion, saying that they should not have ventured with white troops to attempt such an exploit. In Louisiana, the three negro regiments conducted themselves with equal courage, defending the

immédiat, et c'est en désespoir de cause qu'il a proclamé l'abolition dans les états rebelles.—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 707.

railway of Opelousus, and engaging the enemy on the shores of the *bayous* of Lafourche and Têche.*

Events are passing so rapidly that it is impossible to judge the number of negroes who have, on the whole, profited as yet, by the events of the last two years; but two months ago 80,000 of them possessed their new certificates of emancipation, and to these must be added the 400,000 of Louisiana and the adjoining States, who no longer labour save for remunerative wages.†

We shall now examine the results of the inquiries instituted by various societies, and by private individuals, into the conduct of the negroes who have been thus emancipated.

The "Report of a Committee of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends upon the Condition and Wants of the Coloured Refugees," contains the following statements regarding those in the neighbourhood of Washington and Fort Monroe:

"The present shelter of the refugees in Washington is called Camp Barker. This place is the general receptacle of the sick of about 6,000 refugees in and around Washington. The

* General Niel Dow reports from New Orleans that he has a battalion of negroes in his division as artillerists who, in every respect, are equal to the whites. "Almost all were marked more or less, and some were covered with scars from head to foot. The escaped slaves from one plantation were all branded on the forehead in letters one and a half inches long, occupying the whole front with the initials of their master's name, 'W. M.' Some had iron collars riveted round their necks; some had shackles, and some had been handcuffed."

† *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1, 1863.

Government gives employment to all the able-bodied men at wages from 12 to 25 dollars a month, and all have rations. The sick in hospital were in a miserable condition. . . . In Alexandria, on the 12th October, 1862, there were 1,230 refugees quartered in twenty-five houses, one of which had been a slave-pen. All the able-bodied men and women not obliged to take care of the children are at work ; the men earn about twenty dollars a month. In the locality called Fishtown, the coloured people were in the worst condition. Upon the whole we regarded the condition of the refugees about Alexandria as very far from what it ought to be ; but they expressed, almost without exception, a preference for their present condition, with freedom, to a more favourable one in slavery.

“ At Fort Monroe and vicinity are 6,054 refugees, and considerable numbers more at Yorktown, Suffolk, and Portsmouth. The Government gives employment to all the able-bodied men. Our interview with General Dix was agreeable, and we have no doubt of his desire to make these people comfortable. Their general industry was acknowledged, and was borne out by the fact that about 25,000 dollars was still due to them. The men are said to work well. They are kept at work all day, and sometimes called on to work at night ; and we were informed that they were treated very roughly. We inquired of many refugees in Crany Island why they left their masters. Generally, the latter question seemed to excite surprise and incredulity, but the answer was nearly the same in all cases,—they came away

for their freedom. We called at Fort Norfolk, where were 632 persons. Altogether they presented a miserable appearance. They were quartered chiefly in a large warehouse, formerly used to store guano, and having no chimneys. They said in substance, 'We will endure this suffering in patience for the sake of the prospect of freedom. We pray the good Lord for all Union men constantly.' C. B. Wilder (a gentleman who, for eight or nine months, has laboured among these people) 'had no doubt that if they had a fair chance of work, and were paid their wages regularly, they would not only support themselves, but all the women and children.'"

Again ; the following facts and opinions have been elicited by questions addressed to seven officials who have charge of the negroes within the Federal lines in the South, by the Emancipation League :

"General Saxton estimates the number of contrabands in 'the Department of the South,' at about 18,000. In the State of South Carolina alone there are now within our lines not less than 12,000 contrabands. The number at Key West, Saint Augustine, Fernandina and other points in Florida is about 6,000, according to the best estimates we can now make. . . .

"In answer to your second question, I will say, that after having lived on the plantations for nearly eight months, with good opportunities for observing the conduct of the negroes as free labourers, it is my personal conviction that the negroes in this department, almost without excep-

tion, would readily become industrious and productive labourers under any liberal system which should offer a fair and reasonably certain compensation proportioned to the work actually done.

“I came to this department without any knowledge of the negro character, prepared to meet a race of savages not only thirsting for ‘the horrors of a servile insurrection,’ but quite ready to tear me limb from limb unless I could succeed in making myself agreeable to them. I have since found them, as a very general rule, gentle and ready to obey reasonable orders—almost too gentle in many cases to stand up for their own rights.”—E. W. HOOPER, Captain and Aid-de-Camp to Gen. Saxton.—Beaufort, Jan. 6, 1863.

“Never knew a people more docile and confiding, and easily managed and kept at work; having had no serious case needing punishment for months.”—C. B. WILDER, Fortress Monroe, Dec. 30, 1862.

“They are willing to work; more so than the working class of whites would be, with the same inducements for labour. I have never found them vindictive or revengeful.”—O. BROWN, Craig’s Island, Dec. 31, 1862.

“Their docility, subordination and kindred virtues are remarkable—without a parallel in the history of the race.

“They make no threats. They seem to wish well to their masters, but fear that it will not be well with them in the next world, however they fare here.”—SAMUEL SAWYER, Chaplain 47th Regiment, Helena, Arkansas, Jan. 2, 1863.

“The public service would, last summer, at Cairo, have been put to serious inconvenience if we could not have obtained the labour of the ‘contrabands.’ They were more obedient, did more work, were of temperate habits, and were less disposed to absent themselves than the white labourers.

“On the gun-boats and transports, contrabands were in demand, and I saw many who appeared to be highly valued by the officers of the boats. Their work was very severe, and such as they had been entirely unaccustomed to.

“They were not provided for as they ought to have been, particularly in the way of clothing. Notwithstanding all this, I never heard of one who voluntarily returned to slavery. Few complained of ill-treatment by their masters, or expressed feelings of revenge towards them. They appeared to regret leaving their relations and homes, and would have gladly returned if assured of freedom.”—GEORGE D. WISE, St. Louis, Dec. 27, 1862.

“They are the most docile, forbearing, affectionate, and subordinate to authority of all the races of men. Their attachments are very strong, and they are remarkably imitative and teachable.”—CHARLES FITCH, Chaplain 24th Ind. Vols.; J. G. FARMAN, Chaplain 3rd Mo. Vol. Ind., Helena, Jan. 1, 1863.

“They pray for the success of the Union army, and that their masters may lay down their arms; but there is no mention made of a spirit of revenge.”—D. B. NICHOLS, Superintendent of Contrabands, Washington, D. C., Dec. 16.

“They are naturally very docile and kind, and remarkably submissive to whatever they think to be reasonable and just.

“I never heard the negroes here express a desire to be revenged upon their masters. But they make no secret of their wish never to see their masters again.” — RICHARD SOUL, Jun., General Superintendent of 2nd Division, Pope’s Plantation, St. Helena’s Island, Jan. 12, 1863.

Again, the following statements were made by Mr. J. McIlwin, giving reminiscences of his visit to South Carolina, to the Port Royal Relief Committee :—

“The successful bombardment by our fleet, under Commodore Dupont, of the two rebel forts at Port Royal, put our forces in possession of all, or nearly all, that rich and fertile portion of the Palmetto State known as the Sea Islands. At the approach of our soldiers, the planters fled to the main, carrying with them all the property they could, including as many of their slaves, especially their house servants, as they could induce or compel to accompany them.

“They left behind them, however, nearly 10,000 of their plantation slaves, a large proportion of whom were aged, infirm, and children. They left, also, considerable stores of corn, and still more considerable quantities of cotton. Of the latter, most was ungathered and on the stalk. The negroes showed themselves so loyal and friendly, and, in all respects, so well disposed, that our Government concluded to employ them, at wages, in harvesting the cotton and baling it for market.

The wages that were promised, though moderate, were nominally—that is, in the intentions of the Government—all-sufficient; but when they were disbursed in store goods, at exorbitant rates, by selfish and sordid agents, they amounted to but a meagre pittance. Some of these cotton agents were honourable and upright men; others were base and unscrupulous. Nevertheless, the blacks worked industriously, and were content. As the result of their labour, upwards of 1,000,000 pounds of this valuable article was shipped to New York, there to be sold for the benefit of the national treasury. The result of my inquiries it is my business now to state.

“As to the experiment of working the negroes by wages, and cultivating the land by free-labour, I have to say that the enterprise has thus far, in all respects, been entirely successful. This is a fact beyond the reach of cavil, and will not be denied by any honest man having information sufficient to justify an opinion. It does not rest on the testimony of any one man, or set of men, but on figures—arithmetical figures and statistical tables—which have been submitted to the world, and which challenge scrutiny. I allude particularly to Mr. Peirce’s late report, which, it is to be presumed, most persons here have read.

“The success of the experiment is seen in the fact, that 14,000 acres of cotton, corn, and other provisions, are now in an advanced and satisfactory state of cultivation, needing little more than a few weeks of ordinary fair weather to ensure a liberal harvest.

“The success of this experiment is further seen in the contentment and happiness of the people. Wherever you go you meet cheerful and happy faces. Their words corroborate the language of their looks. ‘Oh yes, massa, dese is good times.’ ‘Nebber saw sich good times afore.’ ‘Too good to last, massa; too good to last.’ These are samples of the expressions we heard wherever we went. And yet these people have been, and are still, working for very scanty wages. Until this time their pay has been almost wholly in promises; but they are content. They have their freedom, they have their food and clothes, and, what they value more than anything else, they have kind and sympathising friends. There is but one alloy to their happiness, that is, their fear of ‘de se-sesh.’ They can’t divest themselves of a dread of their old masters’ return. But for this, these black people would be, what their former owners falsely declared them to be, ‘the happiest peasantry in the world.’

“The success of this enterprise is further proved by the industry, sobriety, and susceptibility to control of these people. Every day, of the week, except Sunday, they were to be seen busily engaged at work. Idlers and loafers there may have been, and doubtless were, but they never fell under my observation. Mr. Wickliffe said at the anti-emancipation meeting, lately held in New York, that at Port Royal, he had understood the negroes would not work, and that for every man was needed a special driver. If Mr. Wickliffe had said that black was white, or that two and two did

not make four, his assertion would not have been more directly contrary to the truth.

“The blacks are very tractable. A threat of the law operates like magic. A superintendent told me that a driver on one of his plantations was unruly. He reasoned with him, but the driver was obstinate. At last he said, ‘If you don’t go to work I will speak to the Provost Marshal and have you arrested.’ The effect was instant. The man was both overawed and flattered—flattered because he had now risen to the dignity of being subject to law. He was not to be handed to the overseer for a hundred lashes, but he was to be *arrested!* The law, potent with all ignorant people, is trebly powerful with these. They are especially tractable under the management of Northern people. There is a universal feeling of admiration for, and gratitude to, the Northerners.”

Other letters in American journals give the following accounts:—

The following are extracts from a letter published in the *Alton Telegraph*, and dated October 13, 1862. Speaking of the refugees whom he had lately seen at Lawrence (Kansas), the writer says:

“As I learned that all the children of this school had, within a few months, been rescued from slavery, I expected to see a motley, lawless group of little, ragged, dirty children, something like those gathered up at the Five Points, in New York. But not a bit of it! *Not a bit of it!* For cleanliness, neatness, order, general good behaviour, and apparent comfort, I have seldom seen a Sunday-school that excelled it. Many of the

little girls had neat straw bonnets, of the latest fashion, ornamented with a profusion of flowers and ribbons, and with such regard to colours, too, as might repulse every suspicion of disloyalty. 'Why,' said I to the superintendent, 'it must have cost the citizens a good deal of money to dress up all these children in this style.' 'Not a cent, not a cent, Sir !' said he. 'Every one of these is dressed at the expense of their parents, from the proceeds of their own earnings since they have been here.'

* * * * *

"Most of them (the negroes), in and about this town and vicinity, have emigrated from Missouri and Arkansas within a few months. Although they amount to many hundreds, not one, that I could learn of, has been a public expense. They readily get employment, and fair wages, which enables them at once to make themselves and families comfortable. A benevolent gentleman, on whom they are accustomed to call on their first entry into the place, usually tells them where they can get employment, and further, inquires into their circumstances ; and if he finds they need a shovel, an axe, or a pair of shoes, he gives them an order on a store for such articles, and states in the order, that if the bearer does not pay for them in a reasonable length of time, he will. This gentleman told me that he had recently called at the store, to learn the state of his account, and he found of five or six hundred dollars charged to him on these orders within a few months, *all but eight dollars had been paid by the contrabands themselves.*"

[*Correspondence of the "Evening Post."*]

"PORT ROYAL, *March 20, 1863.*

"There are at this time within our lines in South Carolina about 12,000 coloured people, as absolutely free men and women as the same population of whites in any military department where martial law is strictly enforced.

"I want to repeat that these people are absolutely and entirely free. There is no attempt made to control them, either by special laws, or by any coercion, other than that to which all men and women submit in a civilized state. If I should add that, nevertheless, they have murdered no white men, have injured no white women or children, that they have burned no houses, destroyed no property; that crimes against the person are almost unknown, crimes against property not more frequent than in any equal population of ignorant whites; that the only murder committed by a black man since the islands have been ours, was an act for the exact parallel of which a Congressman, now a general in the Union armies, was held justified by a jury, and by a large part of the public, especially in the slave States—if I should add all this, I am aware that my story would seem to many ignorant people absurd and impossible. But I should, nevertheless, have told the simple truth.

"The planters have always persuaded us that their four millions of slaves were a dangerous class; and the precautions they took, and their evident apprehensions in regard to this population, prove that they were in earnest. As slaves, then, they

were dangerous to the community—so every slaveholder told you ; as free men they have proved themselves peaceable, law-abiding, and useful. As slaves, special laws, cruel punishments, and disgraceful guards were required—in the opinion of the slaveholders — to keep them from murder and rapine ; but our experience in these Sea Islands shows that as freemen these same people are so harmless, so kind, so ready to submit to all laws and to all proper guidance, so averse from violence, that in all parts of the island ladies are stationed as teachers, and move about among them unguarded, unarmed, and unharmed.”

“ HILTON HEAD, *March 24, 1863.*

“ *To the Editor of the ‘ Boston Journal.’*

“ The steamer ‘ Boston ’ arrived this morning from Jacksonville, Florida. The First South Carolina had been reinforced. Several skirmishes had taken place. The naval officers who witnessed the deportment of the regiment give it high praise. When the citizens of the town found that a regiment of negroes had possession of the place, they were highly indignant. They denounced it as an outrage. They would not have cared if white troops had surprised them, but to wake up in the morning and find their old servants up in arms, with knapsack, cartridge-box, and musket, was galling to human nature. They were, without doubt, terribly frightened. They thought of St. Domingo ; they imagined blood, outrage, and death in most appalling shape. Perhaps remembrances of former days came back ; perhaps the

ghosts of the dead returned—they who had died at the whipping-tree, hung up by the thumbs, with backs gory, who had been hunted down by hounds in the swamp, torn in pieces by bull-dogs. No wonder there was consternation, wringing of hands, and hysterics among the women of Jacksonville, when they found themselves at the mercy of runaway armed slaves, with power to cut their throats, to commit all imaginable outrages on property and person.

“Mark how that power has been exercised! Notice the terrible vindictiveness of the runaway slaves! Not a hair of a woman’s head harmed. The deportment of the soldiers is as correct as that of the white regiments. There is no St. Domingo for this continent. Last Sunday I heard a negro pray in public. It was in a large church. There were colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, ladies refined, intelligent, from the North, civilians, and a great crowd of coloured people. Thanks were given for freedom, heartfelt and earnest. God’s best blessings were invoked upon President Lincoln for making the negroes free. Then came the following supplication:—‘I pray Thee, O Lord Jesus, that Thou wilt not forget my old master. I pray Thee, O Lord God, for Jesus’ sake, that Thou wilt bless him. O Lord, make him give his heart to Thee. Make him also throw down his gun, and come out for the Union! O Lord, make him see that he has done wrong.’

“I give it *verbatim*, but the pen cannot record the earnestness of the suppliant. Such is the revenge of the freedmen!”

Such are, in brief, the results of all inquiries into the conduct of the negroes who have been emancipated since the beginning of the war.

1. They have committed no crimes of violence of any kind.

2. They have laboured industriously, even under the discouragement of their wages remaining in arrears for months.

3. They have enlisted in the Federal army, acquiring discipline rapidly, and behaving with invariable courage, notwithstanding the additional dangers they encountered, beyond those of white soldiers, from the cruelty of the Confederates.

4. Finally, they have on every occasion, and in reply to every question asked them, repudiated all vindictive feelings towards their former masters ; nor has their conduct displayed the slightest trace of such a sentiment.

These are the people who, we are told, are endued with the "FEROCITY OF THE TIGER!" These are the people whom it is "a deeper and more unpardonable sin" for President Lincoln to have emancipated, than for their oppressors to have enslaved. These are the people whose "carnival of crime," we are told to anticipate, and (in the anticipation thereof) to transfer all our sympathies to the slaveowners, who, assuredly, by scourgings and burnings, "*the perpetration of cruelties that cannot be numbered, and crimes which we dare not name,*" have long ago displayed that same "*ferocity of the tiger*" attributed so recklessly to their negro victims !