The Charleston Advocate.

"As ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them."

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WISHING.

BY JOHN G. SAXE.

Of all the amusements of the mind,
From logic down to fishing,
There is not one that you can find
So very cheap as "wishing."
A very choice diversion, too,
If we but rightly use it,
And not, as we are apt to do,
Pervert it and abuse it.

I wish—a common wish indeed—
My purse was somewhat fatter,
That I might cheer the child of need,
And not my pride to flatter;
That I might make oppression reel,
As only gold can make it,
And break the tyrant's rod of steel,
As only gold can break it.

I wish that sympathy and love,
And every human passion
That has its origin above,
Would come and keep in fashion;
That scorn, and jealousy, and hate,
And every base emotion,
Were buried fifty fathoms deep
Beneath the waves of ocean.

I wish that friends were always true,
And motives always pure;
I wish the good were not so few,
I wish the bad were fewer;
I wish that persons ne'er forgot
To heed their pious teaching;
I wish that practicing was not
So different from preaching.

I wish that modest worth might be
Appraised with truth and candor;
I wish that innocence were free
From treachery and slander;
I wish that men their vows would mind;
That women ne'er were rovers;
I wish that wives were always kind,
And husbands always lovers.

I wish in fine, that joy and mirth,
And every good ideal,
May come erewhile throughout the earth
To be the glorious real;
Till God shall every creature bless
With His supremest blessing,
And hope be lost in happiness,
And wishing in possessing.

AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTH.

REPORT OF GENERAL O. O. HOWARD, OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

[WE take the following extract from an Address of General Howard, giving an account of his tour through the South, as reported by the Washington *Chronicle*:]

* * * * Many of the worst localities, like those of the Georgia riots, and those where Texans took by force accused criminals from United States troops, or captured and appropriated the contents of a commissary train, we did not visit. The wish has, during this journey, arisen in my heart, and I will give utterance to it: it is that many of our best public men of the loyal States would go through these Southern States and speak to the people, calmly and dispassionately, upon the issues of the day. If they could go in pairs, meet any and all classes of the Southern people in public meetings, and clearly and fully discuss questions which are to be settled in the pending crisis, I think many are the men who might be convinced of error, and be induced to cast their votes and their influence for liberty, for union, for peace. In many parts of the South, even where there are well-edited Republican papers, the newsboys do not have them or will not sell them. The other class of papers are almost universally read. In them, and in common conversation, our public men are constantly denounced; their private lives are assailed, till the mass of the people have come to believe that our purest and truest statesmen and our bravest and noblest patriots are impure, gambling, malicious demagogues. It is in almost every mouth, "all they want of the negro is just to lift themselves into power, and then they care not what becomes of him." "They are trying to degrade us beneath the negro from sheer malice." When we meet these people face to face, and give a reason for the faith that is in us, the battle is more than half won. Unscrupulous leaders and newspapers filled with false principles and false statements necessarily keep their constant followers in a thick cloud.

INCIDENTS OF THE JOURNEY.

On the steamer to Acquia Creek I was introduced to a man who had been upwards of thirty years in the South. He had been unhappily "disgraced" by a Northern birth, but had tried to make amends by a thorough devotion to the "divine institution" of slavery, and to ideas supporting it. Of course he now had no hope; "negroes," will not work," they never can learn, they go rapidly to barbarism, they are without virtue, they are dying rapidly, they will have to be removed from the country if left free, &c. Another friend we met was keenly, morbidly alive to a sense of honor; some man had made bitter accusations against him, and accused him in the papers, of having been untrue to the "lost cause." He had written a card of indignant denial, and was expecting a settlement according to the code, if his opponent had the courage to meet him. We tried to dissuade him from a duel.

At Richmond we visited the Tredegar Iron Works. Colonel A——, the superintendent in charge, extended to us every courtesy. Here we found a large gang of hands at work, including many colored men. I asked the superintendent if he gave any responsible positions to colored men. He said he did when they had the requisite skill. One colored man was introduced to me who had been there many years and who was skilled in every variety of work. He told me himself that he received first-class wages.

Here seemed to me to be a practical demonstration of the principle I have contended for, viz: that interest will go far in settling our disturbed society. A skillful mechanic cannot be set aside long and lost to the trades because God has made his skin black. He soon will command respect as well as the wages due to his skill and effective work. Prejudice must give way to practical needs in the calm sunlight of common sense. The tobacco factories exhibited only the industry of colored people, including the children.

We met on the streets of Richmond a true Union man, who is a type of a class, and who exhibits a phase of society there. He went to Richmond just after the war, with capital, entered into a comparatively lucrative business, had avoided all political excitements, simply casting his vote without comment. He said men met him pleasantly in business relations, but had ostracised him and his family completely in the social circle.

Not more than three persons had called at his private house in the three years. Yet he had a family of refinement and culture, a family whose society would be courted in any Northern community. This man brings to Richmond capital, family, intelligence; yet he is under the social ban—a "carpet-bagger."

Our journey was now down the James, a river rendered historic, not only by having freighted on its broad bosom the first load of African slaves ever brought to this country to become our curse, but also by the terrible expiation of her sin she has made and recorded along her banks during the late war. We may conceive that the shades of those slaves—a ghostly crew upon a ghostly vessel—may have looked on the carnage at Big Bethel, Yorktown, Williamsburgh, Malvern Hill, and on numerous other fields along this river and been fully satisfied.

SCHOOLS IN VIRGINIA.

There was a vacation in the schools in Virginia at this season, so that I had to depend for my information upon school superintendents, the few teachers that remained, visits to the school buildings, and conversations with those most deeply interested in the work of education. At Richmond I addressed the colored people in public assembly upon topics that I deemed best calculated to animate them in the work of education, and to encourage all the appliances of civilization. I dwelt more upon the necessity of separate homes, neat, comfortable, and pure, pleading that these homes of virtue are the basis of a pure church, a pure society, and a genuine civilization. At Norfolk, Virginia, I was taken in charge by an active and zealous colored man who seemed to be a leader. He conducted me to three meetings in three different churches the same night. I addressed the people briefly in the same style as at Richmond. Everywhere there was the most earnest attention. I noticed at all these assemblages that the people, men, women, and children, were comfortably clad, and their propriety of conduct would have pleased even the most fastidious of churchmen. The bureau office, the mayor's and county courts, presented views of the poorer classes of society; yet the destitution of Norfolk seemed by no means large.

THE DISMAL SWAMP.

The next day our journey was through the northern edge of the Dismal Swamp, and I was glad to be introduced to a gentleman who was able to give me some account of the parties of slaves that had formerly lived within its almost impenetrable and extensive wilds. It seems that the business of making shingles from logs that had been submerged beneath the marshy surface had enabled the fugitives to make terms with traders outside, and on account of this traffic they were protected by those interested, and lived for years without appearing beyond the borders of the forest. Negroes employed for the purpose passed backward and forward from the outside inhabitants to these singular settlements. Here the railroad runs through a rather poor country, yet I was glad to see that nearly every farmer had a fair crop of corn, and that there were many good cotton fields along this route.

THE NEGRO VOTE.

Staying over night at Weldon, North Carolina, I had a conversation with colored man, who said he feared the Democrats were deceiving the negroes into voting their ticket. I asked him how much wages he received. He told me twelve dollars. I asked him if he was able to save any of it and he said he saved one-half. I questioned him about the promises made the colored people. He said they were promised to be protected in all their rights, including the right to vote, if they would vote with the white people. He feared a large number of the more ignorant would be induced by these promises to vote away absolutely their right of voting without meaning it.

A COLORED SCHOOL.

Next morning I visited a little colored school kept by a colored man, who had educated himself while in slavery with the consent of his mistress; that is, he had learned the rudiments. His school was making progress; yet here, as in all other schools, the hill of knowledge seemed hard to climb. The teacher is an excellent man, who himself needs the training of one of our normal schools.

FREE LABOR.

I visited the farm of one of the largest planters—a man who is successful with free labor. The negroes appeared to like him and worked cheerfully. A cotton field of some forty acres, I was informed, was but a moiety of his tilled land, which is neatly cared for and as promising as such a field well could be. I conversed with this planter at great length, and was gratified to find that a Southern man, passed middle life, could so thoroughly adapt himself to the new order of things, and hold out to a poor people toiling on a sea of disabilities the beacon light of hope. He told me he desired to have a good school for the education of the children; but he preferred not sending them to the town on account of the influences of the grocery stores; literally, grog-shops. I trust he will be able to lease, as successfully, his immense estates and sell portions to industrious, frugal, and sensible colored men, as without this, working in gangs, without individuality, without the feeling of personal responsibility, leaning upon the arm of even this generous man, the progress of the colored people toward independence must be slow. It is gratifying to find here and there large-hearted, whole-souled men, who are able to make their laborers contented, and who will throw no stumbling-block in the way of their advancement. Yet I find in this crisis between slavery and freedom that there is need of positive practical help, of advice such as a father gives to his son when starting him in life. Interest and good nature will produce peace, doubtless, between capital and labor; but love goes farther. *Love* is the positive and powerful lever.

IMPROVED CONDITION OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Through North Carolina the crops of corn and cotton seemed unusually promising. The Sabbath was spent at Raleigh. School buildings have been erected by the bureau, in conjunction with benevolent associations, till there is ample room for all the children of the city. At the Episcopal church in the morning, at the combined Sunday-schools in the afternoon, under Baptist supervision, and at Mr. Brody's crowded Methodist church in the evening, the evidences of improvement were most marked. The cleanliness of the people, their cheerful deportment, their hearty religious demonstrations, entirely relieved from old extravagances, leave a strong impression on the mind of the stranger. He whispers to himself, "'The last shall be first.' Has not God a great purpose to accomplish through these humble instruments, which He is fashioning to His will?" The responses and the singing affected me deeply. I know that the Southern Christian who has been restrained by prejudice against freedom would soon have the veil removed from before his eyes if he could be induced to participate earnestly in the Sunday-school work. It is said to me constantly, "Nothing is done for white children." The Peabody fund is doing all it can, and the bureau assists as far as the law will allow; yet it is a sad truth that the education of any but the children of the wealthy has been and is still neglected. North Carolina is now the banner State in the work of educating colored children. Last year some twenty-three thousand of them were at school.

OPPOSITION TO EDUCATION.

At Charlotte, North Carolina, a young man of the South who believed that his standing was too high to be affected, at least by any lawful enterprise in which he might engage, undertook to establish a college for the colored people. To his astonishment he found that his friends abandoned him, and he has been subjected to untold suffering on account of the prominent position he has occupied in the work of education. It is no fancy picture. Your heart would bleed for him could you know how much he and his family have endured in the Master's service. Yet he feels sure that if his college is successful he will be able to conquer the opposition against him. Southern gentlemen everywhere insist that they are in favor of the education of all the children, white and colored; yet almost every Southern born man who has practically undertaken the work of teaching has thus far met with persecution, hatred, and all uncharitableness from neighbors and people who ought to have sustained and strengthened his hands and bade him God speed. Yet there are many of this stamp bold enough and true enough to undertake this duty and persevere; and when I survey the entire field I feel assured that the opposition is giving way. Several cities that at first could hardly endure colored schools have now assumed their charge.

THE NORTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE.

At Raleigh I spent a few hours in the Legislature. Here I saw for the first time white men and colored men sitting in deliberative bodies, speaking and voting upon the questions at issue. I have visited many Legislatures, but have been in none that seemed better able to conduct the work of law-making than this of North Carolina. In the Senate I heard two of the colored Senators speak. One was vehement in style and somewhat illiterate, yet there was a vigor of thought and a terseness of expression that gave evidence of a well-ordered intellect and considerable power. One of his expressions I remember; it was this: "I would rather die God's *free man* than any man's slave." The other speaker was very black, and I feared when he rose that he would break down in his speech, but he did not; he merely attempted to express himself in a conversational style, pleading his cause with great earnestness, and he was listened to by the entire Senate, and seemed to produce a decided impression. I thought if these were fair specimens of colored representatives in North Carolina, we need not fear but that they will defend the freedom which has been purchased for them in blood and treasure. Having weathered the storm, they will aid us now to keep the ship of State from the rocks and shoals that are constantly cropping out.

CHANGE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

In Columbia I found marked changes. General Scott, as you are probably aware, is Governor of South Carolina. The Legislature is a remarkable one. There were more colored men in it than in that of North Carolina. There seemed more excitability here, and more people hanging about the building occupied as a State house who were without employment. There was here a little, I thought, of the appearance of a rider not yet used to the saddle. Yet I perceived that these men were in earnest. They were educating themselves to legislation. Every pulse of the heart of the majority beats for the flag, for the Union. And who would substitute for such a Legislature even extraordinary ability and learning, coupled with disloyal sentiments and intense conviction of the righteousness of State supremacy?

EDUCATION AND SUFFRAGE.

A fine large school building, complete in all its parts, capable of accommodating from eight hundred to one thousand children, has been erected at Columbia. I visited it in vacation, and therefore could not speak of its scholars. A colored man guided us to the building. I asked him if he thought Wade Hampton's speech influenced the votes of many colored people when he stated that they must vote with him (Wade Hampton) or be discharged from their places of employment. He said no, for even his own servants had not voted with him, and he had not seen it to discharge them.

So much for a philosophy that is proving utterly impracticable.

At Charleston we visited the orphan asylum, the three large school buildings of the American Missionary Association, of the Freedmen's Union Commission, and of the Presbyterian Commission; also the Marine Hospital building, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Porter. In the latter only did we find scholars present. There was vacation in all the others.

There was one feature that I noticed in this school, and I think it is noticeable in a great many colored schools—I mean the variety of shades of color among the children, from the extreme black to the clearest Anglo-Saxon white; yet all are called colored children. Mr. Porter is a South Carolinian, was a Confederate chaplain, is an Episcopal minister, yet he has taken hold of this work of education with commendable zeal. He has suffered like the young man at Charlotte, but the prejudice against him is giving way. He has also a school for whites in a separate building. I encourage every effort made by Southern men in this direction, not that their work is any better or more to be praised than that of our Northern friends, but because I feel exceedingly anxious that these Southern men—at least those who profess to love our common Lord—shall step forward to work for education, for civilization, and for the practical Christianity that Providence has introduced and is introducing in his new epoch.

THE CROPS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

seem in good condition, but I am sorry to hear, since my return, that the worm has destroyed a large portion of the cotton crop on the Sea Islands. This worm often will demolish a fair and promising crop in three or four days time. Yet often the destruction is not so bad as it seems to the observer. The worm frequently eats the *green* leaves and *green* bolls near the top, while the abundance of cotton lower on the stalk escapes destruction. Fortunately, cereals have been planted this year in larger quantities than usual.

SOCIAL FEELING.

As to the social feeling in South Carolina, I will give a single instance, which I think is a key to the condition of society there. On the cars between Raleigh and Columbia, I met a gentleman who spoke of one of the Senators elect from South Carolina. He said that the Senator was no gentleman; that he had been one o'the harshest of slaveholders, whipping and abusing his negroes beyond measure; that he utterly detested a negro; that he had gone even so far as to spit tobacco juice into a negro's mouth who had claimed from his light complexion to be a white man, and that his associates were men of no reputation and low character. This candid representation of the man, who appeared from it to be such a poor apology for a Senator, made quite an impression upon me. I had been but a short time in the city of Columbia before this same Senator paid his respects to me and invited me to his house. In company with the Governor and the other Senator elect, I visited him. I found him a man diametrically the opposite of the representation made—a gentleman of modesty and good behavior. His father and father-in-law, present, were gentlemen of culture; his wife a lady accustomed to society, and his son a bright, active, intelligent boy. You seldom visit a better regulated household. He is ostracised, hooted at on the cars en route to Washington, followed and ridiculed by bad boys, and treated to all manner of insults such as Satan can put into the hearts of wicked men, simply because he accepted the position of Senator from the reconstructed Legislature of South Carolina. Such are my convictions. I found him violently abused next day by gentlemen on the cars; but it was always by those opposed and never by those friendly to the reconstruction acts.

POSITION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH.

I do not wish to fix any stigma upon Southern men. I would not cast slurring reflection upon any people. I cannot say we are altogether right in our systems; but my convictions with regard to the South are these: the masses of the white men are controlled by a public sentiment created by a few (it is the old oligarchy,) and I believe that these few are unscrupulous in the means they employ to maintain their ascendancy over others, while the masses of negroes have their own peculiar freemasonry—have a sentiment and public opinion quite in common, and peculiar. The Southern whites who lean to the colored men and are friendly to their interests are themselves terribly afraid of the sentiments of the other white men, and never give up entirely the struggle to render themselves respectable among them.

REMEDY FOR EXISTING EVILS.

Now, it seems to me that the permanent cure for this state of things is not altogether of a political nature. Our public men should endeavor to tear away the veil that separates between them and the deceived masses of the South. Means should also be taken to strengthen the hands of those who sympathize with the colored people already, and help them to become, socially, more independent. Practically, I believe these objects can be effected; first, by aiding and extending a high toned and fearless press in the Southern cities and villages; second, by establishing associations with means to develop the fertile, unoccupied lands in the Southern States, and by the introduction of enterprising emigrants with capital, if possible. Send to Florida, for example, emigrants, in groups of from ten to fifty, able to take care of themselves, thus giving them the opportunity for sufficient social intercourse to make life tolerable. It will not do to wait till matters are settled. Now, I believe, is the time to go.

There is one point which I have not time to elaborate, but which I deem very essential, and it is this—that those who believe in the Christian religion should take into their most serious consideration the religious condition of this entire country, and strive to promote reform with redoubled energy. This world is but a land of probation, and the future of our people depends upon the manner in which we improve the time allotted. I do believe that if our Christian Evangelists, without seeking to promote their special sect with undue zeal, would go from place to place and preach the truth in the name of the Master, showing that their hearts were full of love, they might bring about a change among the masses of men who are now shut out by prejudice from hearing the truth. The crowds of lecturers who go through our Northern country, from village to village, from city to city, discussing all questions and instructing the masses of the people, never pass through the Southern States. I know Southern leaders, in their real ability, in their thorough political knowledge, say that we constantly assume to be more educated than they, and express ourselves willing to instruct the Southern people. They say that we assume to have all the knowledge, all the refinement [illegible] found in the country, and then ostentatiously offer to impart it to them, who are already our superiors. To this let us reply "Come then, to us; let us hear your sentiments; let us discuss them everywhere openly, and you may be able to modify our sentiments, do away with our prejudice, and bring yourselves and ourselves into sufficient unity of thought and purpose to enable us to work together for the greatest good of the greatest number."

The time is at hand when we should cease calling hard names—when Christian men at least should join hand in hand and heart in heart to promote the cause of righteousness and truth, North and South, East and West, till this beautiful land of liberty, which has been called the asylum of the oppressed, shall bloom and flourish *with men* redeemed from ignorance, error, and sin—men of every name and of every nation.

THE PROTECTION OF THE COLORED MAN.

The New York *Times* very pertinently says:

"The proposed exclusion of the freedmen from the jury-box reveals more plainly than the expulsion of the colored members from the Legislature, the animus and aim of the Southern Democracy. Denial of eligibility to political station, in the circumstances of Georgia, is an outrage of which at its earliest convenience Congress must take cognizance; but its bearing upon the security and well-being of the colored people is trivial compared with the movement to deny them equal protection in the administration of the laws. Take from them the privilege of sharing with the whites the duties of jurors, and from that moment they will become helpless dependents upon the caprice of those who would fain reduce them to bondage. To say that they shall not be permitted to assist in adjudicating upon cases in which their own race may be most deeply interested, is to declare that they shall have no protection against violence and wrong. The black man is to be tried by whites for any offence with which he may be charged; but in determining the guilt or innocence of white men arraigned for the robbery and murder of blacks, they are to have no voice. If this purpose be fulfilled, as doubtless it will be, the atrocities which rebel whites are perpetrating upon freedmen and their families will go unpunished. And in this circumstance we have the best possible illustration of Democratic insincerity in regard to the colored people."

EXPENSIVE POLITICAL PARTY.

The Charleston *Courier* says the "Democratic party governed this country both long and successfully." If they did, they finally plunged it into war which resulted in the loss of a million of lives, and created a national debt of $2,000,000,000. They complain of taxation, and charge it upon Radical administration, when every dollar of it is chargeable upon the Democratic party. As well might the culprit upon the scaffold about to suffer the extreme penalty for murder, claim pardon upon the ground of previously performing a humane and Christian act, as for the Democracy to set up a claim for support now upon the ground of governing the country "long and successfully" in times past. There was a time when Democracy was not what it is at the present day. It has been degenerating, however, ever since 1830 and 1832, and whatever of success the nation has had under Democratic rule since that time, has been in spite of, and not in consequence of it.

The Democratic party involved the nation in a civil war. The Republican party restored it to peace. The only real question then involved in the issue in the approaching election is whether the peace shall continue, war be or again declared. The Democratic party plunged this nation into war to increase, extend, sustain and perpetuate slavery. The Republican party were, fortunately, for the first time in the history of the nation in possession of the Government at Washington, and they fought to maintain the supremacy and the perpetuity of that Government.

On the Democratic party rests the entire responsibility of the war and all its horror. They trampled upon the flag, the Constitution and the laws of the nation, which they now so much admire. They spurned the protection they now seek. They waged war with only one idea, and that was the total destruction of the Government of the United States. We should have [illegible] now, and the building up of a new Government, the chief corner stone of which should be slavery. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President of the Confederacy, declared it. The Confederacy was democracy unadulterated, pure.

Would not the colored men of South Carolina like to join the party? There is room if they desire to do so. Their orators are begging for you only for "this once;" they will never ask you again; they are not unlike the drowning Irishman, who called upon the Lord in prayer to save him, saying that "he never troubled" him before, and never would again if he would save him. Join them, the Democratic party, help them to elect Seymour and Blair, and they promise you never to ask your votes again. It will be your last vote. It is the only honest avowal they make. Take them at their word.