The Democratic Watchman.

"STATE RIGHTS AND [illegible]"

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THE "FREEDMEN'S BUREAU."

General Steedman's Report for the States of Virginia and North Carolina---Unbelts of Cruelties Practiced by the Freedmen's Bureau Officers---Northern Sympathy Aroused by the Wrongs they are Forced to Suffer---Reports of Outrages Sent to "The Watchman of Zion."---Officers and Agents of the Bureau as "Stockowners" and Cotton Producers.

General Steedman and Fullerton, the commissioners appointed by the President to investigate the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau in the Southern States, have presented this following report for the States of Virginia and North Carolina.—The people will bear in mind that this is the institution for which the Rump Congress lately appropriated twelve millions dollars of their money, and the same institution which the Rump Congress attempted to enlarge and make perpetual, at an annual expense to the tax-payers of at least seventy-five million dollars a year. Read, taxpayers, read the disgraceful record of Disunion, loyal league plundering:

WILMINGTON, N. C., May 8, 1866.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

We have the honor to report that in obedience to instructions of April 7 last, directing us to "inspect and report upon the Freedmen's Bureau in the military departments of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas," that we have performed that duty in the departments of Virginia and North Carolina, and submit the following report of our observations. We deem it proper to communicate the result of our inspection in these States before proceeding further in the performance of the duty assigned to us.

It has been our endeavor to ascertain, by a thorough and impartial investigation, the manner in which the Bureau has been administered and conducted in these departments, and to observe the effect produced by it upon the relations between the white and black races. In executing our investigations we have endeavored to arrive at the truth, and we feel that we have succeeded in doing so, by thoroughly examining and conversing with representatives of all classes of people, white and black, as well as officers on duty in the military service and in the Freedmen's Bureau in said States.—We have visited all the cities and towns of any importance, and the headquarters of each district of the Bureau in Virginia and North Carolina, and also have taken advantage of every opportunity to converse with and obtain the opinions, with reference to the Bureau of officers whom we have met on the streets, at the hotels, and while traveling on the cars.

VIRGINIA.

There are now under the control of the following numbers of officers and agents employed by the Bureau in the State of Virginia, viz: One lieutenant colonel, as assistant commissioner, with the rank, pay and emoluments of colonel of cavalry; one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, two majors, seventeen captains, six first lieutenants, eight second lieutenants, one chaplain, one medical director with the rank, pay and emoluments of major, and seventeen surgeons, with the rank, pay and emoluments of captain of cavalry; one hundred and thirty-three civilian employees, classified and paid as follows:

[illegible]

In those districts of Virginia where the [illegible] have been faithfully and impartially administered by men of good judgment and discretion, there has been no conflict between the agents of the Bureau and the citizens. In all such districts the civil officers of the State, and the people generally, are cordial in their support of the Bureau and its officers in the performance of their duties by the citizens. But in other districts where, through the folly or ignorance of agents, or from other causes, a very unsatisfactory condition of things exists. This originates in the arbitrary, unnecessary, and offensive interference of the agents of the Bureau with the relations between the freedmen and their former masters, thereby exciting the prejudices of the latter, and imposing expense and costs in suits before themselves on trivial matters that could readily be adjusted by the friendly advice of a reasonable man. The effect produced by the action of this class of agents is bitterness and antagonism between the whites and freedmen that can never be realized. Where there has been no such interference or bad advice given to the freedmen by the agents of the Bureau, there is a growing feeling of kindness between the races, and good order and harmony prevail.

SPECIMEN OF DECISION OF THE BUREAU.

As an evidence of the manner in which this arbitrary power is exercised, we would state that an agent of the Bureau, presiding in a freedmen's court in Accomac county, decided a question of title to land as follows: A colored man, who was freed twenty years ago by his master, and who was permitted through the kindness of this master to make his home on the plantation wherever he chose, set up a claim to ten acres thereof around a cabin in which he had lived for ten years. The agent decided that the colored man had acquired title to the ten acres by adverse possession, and forbade the owners of the plantation from bringing the question again before his court, or any other court, on pain of imprisonment.

A NEGRO DIVORCE CASE.

These agents exert the widest latitude in the exercise of their judicial functions, trying questions involving title to real estate, contracts, crimes and even actions affecting the marital relations. We witnessed the trial of a divorce case before the subagent at Charlottesville. The trial occupied about ten minutes, and resulted in a decree of divorce.

TRANSFERENCE OF THE POWERS TO THE MILITARY.

The Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau for Virginia having turned over to the civil courts all criminal cases in which freedmen are interested, and having made preparations also to turn over civil cases, leaving no other duty for the agents to perform except to supervise contracts or to care for the aged, infirm and helpless. We therefore respectfully recommend that the offices of the Bureau be dispensed with, and that their duties be performed by the officers commanding the troops in the department. Such a change would relieve the Government of a large, and, in our opinion, wholly unnecessary expense of supporting a superfluous number of officers and employees, while the duties can be as efficiently and satisfactorily performed in the manner in which we have suggested.—As long as the Government of the United States exercises any control whatever over the Southern State not exercised in the other States of the Union, so long the presence of military force will be indispensible. The presence of both the Bureau and military force is unnecessary. The officers commanding the troops can discharge the duties now performed by both; but the officers of the Bureau, without the presence of the troops, would be powerless to execute even their own orders.

PAST SERVICES OF THE BUREAU.

At the close of the war, in the chaotic condition in which society was left in the entire absence of all civil authority, the judicious and sensible officers of the Bureau, supported by the military, exercised a good influence, and did much to preserve order and assist in the organization of free labor. The restoration of civil law, and the recognition of the civil rights of the freedmen, as guaranteed by the changes made by the Legislature in the laws of Virginia, giving them the right to hold property, to sue and be sued, and to testify in the courts in all cases in which they may be interested, (a gratifying result of the growing feeling of kindness toward them on the part of the white race,) renders the freedmen, in our opinion, perfectly secure if left to the care of the law and the protection of the troops.

INFLUENCE ON THE FREEDMEN.

There appears to be a general unity of opinion as to whether the operations of the Bureau has been to promote harmony or ill-feeling among them. In our judgment the effect produced has depended wholly on the character of the officers. Prudent and judicious freedmen rarely call upon the Bureau for advice or assistance. It is the idle and worthless who look to it for support.—Many of these, however, we do not mean to include the intelligent and thrifty freedmen, who have appeared to us, as a class, to be quiet, peaceable and law-abiding people, and who are entitled to the confidence and respect of all good citizens.

[illegible]

	Men.	Women.	Child'n.	Total.
December	818	2,469	3,670	6,957
January	833	2,567	3,712	7,112
February	899	2,770	3,967	7,636
March	821	2,705	3,496	6,982

The same reason that exists for issuing rations to the freedmen of Virginia, and the necessity for the continuance of this relief, apply to freedmen of North Carolina.

FEELING TOWARDS THE BUREAU.

We found the feeling towards the Bureau much the same as that already stated as prevailing in Virginia, except that there appears to be a more universal desire in this department on the part of all classes to have it removed. This feeling is no doubt attributable to the misconduct of many of the officers of the Bureau, such as working plantations, running saw mills, manufacturing turpentine and tar, &c., operations which bring them, armed with authority of their official positions, into competition with the citizens who are employing freedmen.

CONDUCT OF THE AGENTS.

We have investigated some of the charges made against agents of the Bureau, and in pursuing our inquiries on this point commenced with the assistant commissioner of the State, Col. E. Whittlesey, to whom we addressed the interrogatory: "Do you know of any person in the military service now on duty with the Freedmen's Bureau in this department who is, or has has been since entering upon the duties of his office, engaged or interested, either directly or indirectly, in the cultivation of any lands within the department?" He answered "No." Subsequently he addressed us a note hereto appended, in which he stated that, in order to assist the planters in hiring freedmen and trying fairly the experiment of free labor, he and some officers of the Bureau had loaned money, and thus indirectly had an interest in cultivating farms. On receiving this note we addressed Colonel Whittlesey further interrogations, a copy of which is hereto annexed, to which he replied in a communication, also hereto appended, disclosing the fact that he is interested as an equal partner with the Rev. Horace James, of Massachusetts, formerly captain and acting quartermaster Freedmen's Bureau, and with Mr. Winthrop Tappan, of Maine, in the cultivation of a large farm in Pitt county, N. C. He also stated therein that Captain F. A. Seeley, superintendent of the Bureau for the Eastern District, N. C., is interested in the cultivation of a plantation in Wayne county, N. C., with a Mr. Potter, and that Captain Isaac Rosekrans, commissary subsistance, is interested with a Mr. Brooks in the cultivation of a plantation in Pitt county, North Carolina.

A GENERAL EXCEPTION.

From Raleigh we proceeded to Salisbury, where we found Major Clinton A. Cilley, superintendent of the Bureau, having charge of the Western District, embracing fifty-one counties of the State. This efficient and competent officer has administered the Bureau within his district with much ability and impartiality. We conferred with the leading white citizens, embracing both those who had formerly been rebels and those who had been Union, and also with a delegation of intelligent colored people representing the freedmen, all of whom agreed in the statement that the freedmen were at work, were perfectly satisfied, and that good feeling and harmony prevailed between the whites and blacks throughout the district. Major Cilley is not interested in the cultivation of any plantation, or in any other business directly connected with his official duties, and is one of the most efficient officers serving under him within his district. He is engaging in any enterprise which would enable them to appropriate to personal use the labor of freedmen, under their jurisdiction, to advance their private interests. We attribute much of the order and contentment of the freedmen in the Western District to Major Cilley's judicious and kindly

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BACK TO RALEIGH.

After completing our investigations of the operations of the Bureau in Major Cilley's district, we returned to Raleigh where we remained one day, for the purpose of further interview with Col. Whittlesey. But having absent, we were obliged to address him certain interrogatories in writing, to which he afterwards replied as before stated.

[illegible] AWAITING ASSISTANCE.

We left Raleigh on July [illegible], for Newbern, the headquarters of Capt. F. A. Seeley, superintendent of the Bureau of the Eastern District of North Carolina. We at once proceeded to investigate the affairs of the Bureau and the conduct of its agents in this district. Captain Seeley was interrogated as to whether he was interested in any manner, directly or indirectly, in the cultivation of lands, or in any other private business requiring the labor of freedmen. He answered that he was not, except indirectly in manufacturing lumber, having purchased or being about to purchase, with five of his clerks, a saw-mill, about forty miles down the river [illegible] Captain Seeley was interested in the cultivation of a plantation in Wayne county, with a Mr. Potter, a citizen, were called [illegible]

man's Bureau for the district, entered into a partnership with them, about December last, in a contract to cultivate the farm of Mr. Geo. Collier, a citizen of North Carolina, near Goldsborough. They commenced operations by planting seven hundred acres of cotton, and some corn, this work necessarily requiring the labor of a large number of freedmen. Dr. Rush stated that some two weeks since he had conditionally purchased the interest of Capt. Seeley in this plantation, but had not yet consummated the contract. Mr. Potter stated that about a fortnight ago Dr. Rush, he himself, and others had conditionally purchased a part of the interest of Captain Seeley, and that Captain Seeley still owned an interest in the plantation. Without being able to determine from the testimony how far Captain Seeley is interested in this plantation, it is perfectly evident that he participated in his answer to our interrogatory.

MISSING RATIONS.

In one of our interviews with the freedmen at Newbern some of them, who were employed in the Commissary Department of the Bureau, stated that rations in bulk had been frequently taken from the supply warehouse at unusual hours, before the doors were opened for the transaction of business, and hauled off in carts and wagons, and that on one occasion they had followed a cart containing four barrels of pork, to see if it went to the freedmen's ration house. They ascertained that it did not. We investigated this particular case. Captain Rosekrans stated that he knew nothing about it. His brother, a citizen, whom he has employed to act as commissary sergeant, stated that the four barrels of pork alluded to were ordered by himself to be taken from the store-house to the building from which rations are issued to the freedmen, but that the driver of the cart *had made a mistake and took the pork to the wrong place*, a provision store kept by Mr. P. Merwin, and that immediately on discovering the mistake he had it rectified and the pork returned to the store-house. Afterwards we called upon Mr. Merwin, who stated that at about the time Mr. Rosekrans said the pork had been sent by mistake to his store he *borrowed* four barrels of pork from Captain Rosekrans, which he had not yet returned. He also stated that Captain Rosekrans on that day, and after his examination before us, called at his store and requested him to return the four barrels of pork immediately. Mr. Merwin further stated that he had exchanged with Captain Rosekrans two barrels of brown sugar for two barrels of white sugar, and paid Captain Rosekrans *five cents* per pound for making the exchange.

THE CRUELTIES OF REV. MR. FITS.

Opposite Newbern, on the south bank of the Trent river, there is a settlement composed exclusively of freedmen, and containing a population of about four thousand, whose condition *is truly deplorable*. These unfortunate people came within our lines and were located there during the war. They are living in small huts, built by themselves of lumber manufactured by hand; these huts, generally containing but a single room, each of which is occupied, in most cases, by large families. The appearance of this settlement, recently scourged with the small-pox, is well calculated to excite the deepest sympathy for the helpless condition of its inhabitants. The description and *helpless among them are supported* by the Government of the United States, and the remainder procure an uncertain and scanty living from little jobs about Newbern—from fishing from small boats, huckstering, &c. The Rev. Mr. Fits, formerly an army chaplain, presides over this colony as assistant superintendent of the bureau for the Trent river settlement. This agent has exercised the most arbitrary and despotic power, *and practiced revolting and unheard-of cruelties on the helpless free men under his charge.* The outrageous conduct of this man was brought to our attention by a delegation of freedmen from the settlement, who called upon us and made statements in relation to his oppressions and outrages which we could scarcely credit. After hearing their statements we visited the settlement, convened the freedmen, investigating the charges against this man, and ascertaining that he had been guilty of even greater wrongs and oppressions than had been complained of. In addition to the testimony of the freedmen, we took the statements of four intelligent ladies from the North, who are teaching school in the settlement. Among the many acts of cruelty committed by Superintendent Fits, *we found that he had in two instances suspended freedmen with cords around their wrists, their feet not touching the floor, and kept them in this position, in one case four, in the other case six hours*; that he sentenced a freedman to an imprisonment of three months for a trivial offence, that of wrangling with his wife. He kept another man, who was arrested for debt, shut up in the black house—the prison—for months, while his wife and children, reduced to abject destitution, died with the small pox, and took him from the prison under guard and compelled him to carry his dead child in the cradle to the grave. On another occasion, when one of his guards reported to him that a colored woman had spoken disrespectfully of him, without even inquiring what the woman had said, he ordered her to be imprisoned until the next morning at nine o'clock, when she should be brought before him to answer for his indignity. He [illegible] for playing the *gospel in the Sabbath day*. He imposed a fine of sixty dollars upon an aged freedman for having sold another freedman that he was about to go, accused by Mr. Fits. This poor old man not having the money to pay the fine, was imprisoned until the next day, when his son paid the fine, with three dollars additional as jail fees.

[illegible] AND AN EXCUSE.

The [illegible] upon which the hut in this settlement [illegible] is owned by certain heirs in South Carolina, and leased by the Freedmen's Bureau in abundant property. A tax, which Superintendent Fits says was to the support of the Bureau, is imposed upon the owner of each hut for ground rent. If the occupants fail to pay this tax promptly, they are either turned out into the streets or imprisoned, and in some instances both have been done. In excuse of the Superintendent for the non-payment of the tax, [illegible] is taxed for the same purpose. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] five dollars on each horse and cart, &c. The failure to pay these taxes when due, [illegible] the property taxed to satisfy [illegible]. We were unable to ascertain what amount of money had been collected by Superintendent Fits, or what disposition had been made of it. The imperfect manner in which the books were kept would have rendered a lengthy and detailed examination necessary to arrive at even an approximate idea of the amount of money collected. In answer to the question as to what justification there was for the oppressive burdens he had imposed upon upon these people, Superintendent Fits replied that Captain Seely told him, "I must have a thousand dollars a month from that settlement." He also furnished us with a sworn statement, herewith forwarded, marked "E," in which he attempts to defend his conduct by stating that he acted in obedience to the orders of his superior officers in the Bureau.

CAPTAIN SEELY SCREENING HIS SUBORDINATES.

In an interview we had with Captain Seely, that officer evinced a desire to shield Superintendent Fits by stating that a great deal of what was said against him resulted from prejudice, notwithstanding he had the sworn testimony before him that the charges against Fits were true.

BUREAU OFFICERS SHOOTING DOWN A FREEDMAN.

While at Newbern investigating the conduct of the officers of the Bureau, and the reported oppressions of the freedmen by this *class of persons, our attention was called to* the alleged killing of a freedman by a white employee of Colonel Whittlesey, assistant commissioner of the Bureau for North Carolina, and the Rev. Horace James, formerly assistant quartermaster, on their plantation in Pitt county. Mr. James, while in the United States service, was superintendent of the Bureau for the district now under charge of Captain Seely, and is now an agent of the Bureau, without pay, for the county in which he is planting. The circumstances under which this freedman was *killed, as stated by Mr. James himself*, were as follows: The freedman was accused of stealing provisions from the store of Mr. James and Colonel Whittlesey, was arrested, tried, and convicted by Mr. James as agent of the Bureau, and was sentenced to dig ditches, on their plantation. While working out this sentence he ran away, and was pursued by James and his clerk, Boyden, who arrived at the bank of a river while the freedman was attempting to cross in a canoe. Boyden ordered him to return, telling him if he did not he would shoot, and *the freedman disregarding this order*, Boyden fired. Boyden states himself that he thinks he hit him; and as nothing has ever been heard of the freedman since, it is generally believed in the neighborhood that he was killed and fell from the canoe into the river. These facts were stated in a letter forwarded to Colonel Whittlesey, who returned it to Captain Seely with the following endorsement:

RALEIGH, March 28, 1866.

Respectfully returned, as the affair seems to have occured last night, and, as the body of the negro has not been discovered, it does not appear certain that the shot took effect. No further action in the case seems to be called for.—By order of COL. WHITTLESEY,
Assistant Commissioner.
BRECHER, Assist. Adj. Gen.

A number of the freedmen at Newbern expressed dissatisfaction at the manner in which this case has been passed over without investigation; but as the plantation is quite remote from any public line of communication, we were unable, owing to want of time to inquire into the matter.

AFFAIRS AT KINSTON.

On the 2nd instant we left Newbern for Goldsborough, and on the way stopped at Kinston long enough to learn that Captain Wheeler, agent for the Bureau at that point, is engaged in working a large plantation on his own account, and employs thereon quite a number of freedmen.

MORE FARMING.

At Goldsborough, the superintendent, G. O. Glavis, chaplain United States army, is cultivating one farm on Government account, and is interested in cultivating two farms on his own account. This officer stated in his examination before us that he was not interested in the cultivation of plantations, except indirectly in loaning money to a Mr. Brooks, a friend of his from the North, who was engaged in planting; but we ascertained from Mr. Carr and Mr. Lane, citizens of the vicinity of Goldsborough, that he is interested and joined with them in the cultivation of their plantations. He and his friend, Mr. Brooks, entered into a contract to furnish rations and pay for forty laborers, and to provide eight good mules. Mr. Lane offered to furnish the land, to superintend in person the cultivation thereof, the crops to be equally divided, one-half to Mr. Lane and the other half to Mr. Brooks and Glavis. Mr. Lane states that the enterprise failed after the freedmen had worked over two months; they then left, Brooks and Glavis having failed to pay them according to contract. The freedmen received for their labor a little clothing, such as coats, pants, shoes, &c., furnished by Captain Glavis, and but little or no money. A similar contract was made by Glavis and Brooks with Mr. Carr, who stated to us that *Captain Glavis by carrying the planting* a little of everything, but chiefly in cloth-ing."

SELLING FREEDMEN'S CLOTHES.

We ascertained by the testimony of Messrs. Barnham & Ballard, auctioneers at Goldsborough, that they had sold at auction, for Chaplain Glavis forty blankets marked "U. S.," and a quantity of clothing that had been sent to Goldsborough for the use of freedmen to the Boston Freedmen's Aid Society, also in the vicinity of Rochester, N. Y. We learned also that he had dispersed a [illegible] Capt. Glavis stated himself that he had received from [illegible] about two hundred and fifty dollars, ($200), though subsequently he asserted that the total cash receipts of his office from all sources, amounted to one hundred and twenty-six dollars and fifty cents ($126,50). He kept no books or even memoranda of moneys received or expended.

[illegible]

On the [illegible] the Rev. Mr. Fits, the [illegible] of the Bureau for the [illegible] ton, the [illegible] of the Bureau for the [illegible] Major [illegible] Superintendent [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[