

General Howard's Reply to General Fullerton and Steedman.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16, 1866.—The following is the reply of General O. O. Howard to General Fullerton and Steedman, who made a tour of the South recently, and reported against the continuance of the Freedmen's Bureau.

LETTERS REFERRED TO BY COMMISSIONER IN CONCLUDING PART OF REPORT OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU REPORTS, FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS, WASHINGTON, D. C., August 26, 1866.—Sir: The following statements are respectfully submitted for your consideration: The last report of General Steedman and Fullerton of an inspection of the bureau under my charge contains so many statements differing from those I have received from other inspecting officers and assistant commissioners, and furnishes deductions so widely varying from those I have formed and offered, that I deem it my duty to review the main points of this report; and more especially in this case, necessary for me that I have been assigned to do by yourself, and have instructed the bureau in accordance with your instructions, verbal and written, keeping constantly in view a thorough and general effect on the part of which my officers and myself have been bound.

The ostensible object of the inspection is to detect and correct abuses of authority and furnish yourself with information of the actual state of things. Had the inspectors made a thorough examination and report to yourself, as they were directed to do in accordance with their written instructions, so that I could have corrected the wrong-doings of individual agents, or modified my policy, as they indicated, I would not complain, but be grateful, if I would not encourage them as they have done. This method of inspection and report, in the one that has been resorted to, is a gross abuse of the service with which I have been connected.

The inspectors have pursued an extraordinary course, and understood they took as their guide several newspapers, which they gave to the press the substance of their reports, and sometimes the reports themselves before you had time to give them consideration. They have also endeavored to concentrate the attention of the public upon certain individual acts of officers and agents, or accusations against them, and have done so in a manner that has been prominently in view.

Some things they have held up as criminal which are not such in reality, and conclusions have been drawn from a mass of affairs now existing in many places, for which the bureau is not responsible; e. g., they charge to the account of the bureau the evils of the labor system in the States, while they attribute to the State governments and citizens, in great part, the good accomplished. Contrary to the impression received from reading the reports, in what I have to say I have no desire to screen any officer from just charges. In fact, were taken into consideration, no trial any officer against which there seemed to be any well-founded accusation. It is a fact well worth considering here, that thirteen assistant commissioners there has been but one who, in the assistant commissioner of North Carolina; and he, though held up to the country as a liar and a dishonest speculator, has been acquitted by the decision of a fair and honorable court, so far as the charges were concerned.

Again, in the departments of Virginia and North Carolina, of over two hundred agents accusations were brought against ten only seven officers and three civilians. The majority of them have been honorably acquitted of the charges preferred against them. The Rev. Mr. Fitz, of such terrible notoriety, who was having his case investigated at the arrival of the inspectors, has not a reverend, but a young man of eighteen years, a quartermaster's clerk during the war, and a personally guiltless of the cruelties imputed to him, and who, in fact, will soon be officially reported. I need not refer to him further.

I may say, however, that the charge against an officer in Georgia, who was held up as having no foundation in fact, but in another part of the same State an officer specially selected by the inspectors for his conduct in the consolidation of Georgia, commissioner and military officer, deeming it worth a trial, as his assistant provided the right kind of evidence to place in charge. The inspectors have endeavored to place this plan and given their testimony to the benefit derived from its operation.

The trial of officers in Georgia, and in order to reduce expenses, they recommend that all such agents be discharged in the following language:—"A great reduction in the number of agents is necessary, and reform which would render a large number of them unnecessary is now, would be effected by the discontinuance of all paid employees not in the interest of the Government." I assent to this principle, but as they have given unqualified praise to the administration of the bureau in Georgia, where the greatest number of citizens were employed. Could I obtain details from the army I should certainly do so, but the smallness of the military force in most of the States has rendered it impossible.

They next speak of Georgia saying, "that the amended laws of the State are fully as liberal as those of any Northern State, and to place the negro in all respects on a par of equality with the white man as to his civil rights," conveying the impression that the freedmen are thoroughly protected under the execution of these laws. General Tilson, who is highly commended by the inspectors, and is known to be a man of integrity and good judgment, in a late report to me says: "There are many instances where, through the prejudice of the people or the incompetency of the magistrates, the freedmen are denied the protection of the law, and where the interference of the bureau is absolutely essential to secure justice. When this influence has been wisely directed, and the authority of the bureau brought to bear firmly, but kindly, the happiest consequences have followed, not only protecting the freedmen in individual cases, people, so as to prevent the recurrence of acts of injustice and oppression. The continuance and agency of the bureau is still a necessity."

I have lately forbidden such investments within the limits of official jurisdiction, in order to avoid even the appearance of evil. General Wood, assistant commissioner of Mississippi, is commended for improving upon the administration of Colonel Samuel Thomas. The policy of the latter is declared not calculated to produce harmony between the races.

In this statement the inspectors have doubtless been misinformed; for I have testimony from General Wood, and from inspectors that the policy pursued by Colonel Thomas has not been changed. They next admit a state of affairs in Mississippi demands some other remedy than the removal of the military force—that peace and peaceable citizens are to be protected. The murder of a United States officer, and the firing upon others without cause are admitted, and there is evidently a reign of terror in portions of the State.

The agent at Columbus, Major Smith, cannot be defended for telling large stories to the inspectors. The case of Chapman Livermore is cited, but the fact that he was relieved and placed under arrest for his crimes as long ago as last February is credited to the administration of the assistant commissioner. The agents at Columbus, long ago discharged, are respected by the inspectors of robbing. If they had taken pains to send a single receipt from any man who had paid fees or fines, I could tell them at once whether these gentlemen were robbed or not.

The inspectors complain of expenses, and recommend reduction. They allege that the main part of the money has been expended for schools. Had they inquired of General Baird he would have told them that as the taxes were suspended by your order, the schools were closed, or continued as private enterprises, or by independent men under their contract stipulations. The admirable system of education in New Orleans was established by military commissioners long prior to the existence of the bureau. No facts have been presented to me to prove the statement that the money under Mr. Conway, the late assistant commissioner, was squandered, as charged. The corruption of a few officers, and the administration may possibly be true; but whether or not, it does not affect the present administration of the bureau in that State.

It is a little singular that the officers long ago relieved from duty should be chosen as the departments of the present management of the Freedmen's Bureau. The report with reference to Texas rather commends than censures the administration in that State. One officer, Captain Sloan, is condemned for perjury and for his conduct in office; subsequent examination of his case has furnished a more favorable report. The case will be taken up for investigation. Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee are not visited by the inspectors, and it is fair to suppose that the administration of the Freedmen's Bureau has been better there than in any other States, and that the reports of the inspectors are more reliable than elsewhere.

It should be noticed with regard to expenditures made for commissary, quartermaster and medical issues, the expenses of the Freedmen's Bureau have been defrayed from its organization up to July last, without an appropriation, and without incurring a debt. In the quartermaster and medical issues were being made by the army proper when I took charge of the bureau, and have been reduced as much as possible, consistent with the pressing necessities of the people, whites and blacks.

I now come to by far the most important part of what the inspectors have to say, the summing up of their conclusions after four months' inspection of the bureau, in which they assert that "there is an entire absence of the system of control and supervision which has been exercised by the officers and other reliable citizens." It should be noticed with regard to expenditures made for commissary, quartermaster and medical issues, the expenses of the Freedmen's Bureau have been defrayed from its organization up to July last, without an appropriation, and without incurring a debt. In the quartermaster and medical issues were being made by the army proper when I took charge of the bureau, and have been reduced as much as possible, consistent with the pressing necessities of the people, whites and blacks.

It will be seen, by referring to the regulations from this Bureau, Circular 5, series 55, that the military force in Georgia, in order to place the negro in all respects on a par of equality with the white man as to his civil rights," conveying the impression that the freedmen are thoroughly protected under the execution of these laws. General Tilson, who is highly commended by the inspectors, and is known to be a man of integrity and good judgment, in a late report to me says: "There are many instances where, through the prejudice of the people or the incompetency of the magistrates, the freedmen are denied the protection of the law, and where the interference of the bureau is absolutely essential to secure justice. When this influence has been wisely directed, and the authority of the bureau brought to bear firmly, but kindly, the happiest consequences have followed, not only protecting the freedmen in individual cases, people, so as to prevent the recurrence of acts of injustice and oppression. The continuance and agency of the bureau is still a necessity."

The case of misadministration of Captain Louis J. Lamborn is the only one mentioned among two hundred and seventy-three (273) agents. This will be thoroughly investigated by General Tilson, and he will be held responsible for the result. I may say here with reference to legal suits, that the policy pursued constantly binds whenever there is any interference with impartial exercise under just laws; in fact, it has been the practice in most bureau courts to use the laws which no discrimination exists on account of. No facts are found with Alabama, except that a few officers are reported as engaged in planting.

from the United States treasury bill after the late appropriation. In fact, funds had been drawn directly for the purpose of supporting the bureau organization till that appropriation was made by Congress. They say that it was impossible to obtain the accounts of bureau quartermasters, as they were compelled to take personal charge of the accounts of General Wood, of Mississippi, and found them all correct and complete. Of course his predecessor is entitled to his retained papers, and one complete set is in his hands. They can find out how much money was collected from every legitimate and proper source in Mississippi by calling on me and asking for such information.

They say this system of receiving and disbursing money is loose. The same blanks, quarters and regulations as used in former years, and which have been adopted by this bureau as far as possible, are as complete a check upon bureau officers in the discharge of their duties as is imposed upon officers in any other department who originate and disburse funds. The duties of General Wood, as assigned to him by the late assistant commissioner, and Lieutenant Foster who is said to be a defaulter. It cannot be possible that General Fullerton, who, as one of the bureau officers, assisted in the matter to which light, can fall to remember that the subject has been undergoing an investigation for the last six months. The whole matter originated before the late assistant commissioner, and has been brought to light in existence, and is not a new matter.

It is not justice to the officers of the bureau to charge them with crimes that were committed against the freedmen in time prior to their appointment. The suppression of the location of grave robbers, and the shift the responsibility upon those not guilty. The inspectors next admit the necessity of the bureau last year, and that it did much good for all classes. If this be true, it is bad logic to condemn the work of the bureau for mistakes and errors that were committed long before they were particularly for the year before its organization. Nearly every charge made against officers in this report, is for acts of last year, and most information officers have already been called to account by the bureau or the War Department.

I cannot agree with the inspectors altogether as to their view of the situation in the Southern States, and as to the protection afforded to the freedmen, when United States officers and freedmen are treated as enemies, and the latter mutilated, as is reported, by the inspectors themselves. They say the good feelings of the whites towards the blacks are owing to their interest in securing their labor, and to the insufficient security when treated as absolutely without other principle, e. g., the laws of the States, and the fact that slaveholders have developed a compulsory security of labor.

The inspectors declare that "the bureau has been an aggregate productive of more harm than good, and that it is not worth the expense of its maintenance." I deny the whole statement. It is not a matter of fact, but upon theories constantly put forth, and upon good order. A few bad agents have been sent, and have doubtless done much harm, yet the bureau agency has been mediatorial and pacific, and has saved the lives of many a man, and has prevented the commission of many a wicked deed, and has recently sprung up in the States, and has been recognized by the officers of the Government.

The inspectors charge the bureau with being responsible for the low wages paid to the freedmen, and that it is their duty to take up wages first. This bureau never regulated wages, but did urge all freedmen to take the highest wages they could get, in order to relieve the Government of their expense, and to demonstrate to the country that they were not to become a shuffling, dependent class. The bureau, and South, as well as the freedmen, were to be benefited, as an evident necessity demanded that the freedmen should go to work at the beginning of the year. My officers entered the field and secured the best wages they could get, and provided for themselves and their families, and they were not to be a burden upon the Government.

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those obligations "by the same force that compelled them to work for low wages." I will remember the current news of the day, and the reports of the months of last January and February, will remember that all the power that capital exercises was brought to bear upon the laborers of the South, to make them contract. I claim, and the facts will prove it, that the freedmen have successfully resisted the advances of the property-holders, and have defended the interests of the freedmen by the inertia of the peculiar system of the South, and have secured for them a permanent foothold under its necessary protection of equal laws properly executed.

From the course pursued by the inspectors, I suspect the object of the inspection, as they understood it, was to bring the Freedmen's Bureau into contempt before the country, and to prevent the necessary reforms to be made in its administration. On the contrary, I am prepared to prove to yourself, and to you, my committee, that I have fulfilled the trust you have committed to me with care, conscientiousness and faithfulness; I have obeyed your orders and instructions, making no other objections than those I have made myself, and the want of a War; that my system has been a thorough one, and as complete and uniform as was possible in an institution intended to be temporary, and representing the necessity. Could the Freedmen's Bureau now administered with your full and hearty sanction, and with the co-operation of the Government, it would fulfil the object of its creation in a short time, and be made, while it existed, to conduce to industry, and to represent the want of classes of the people. The object of the Government, it would fulfil the object of its creation in a short time, and be made, while it existed, to conduce to industry, and to represent the want of classes of the people.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, O. O. HOWARD, Major General, Commissioner, His Excellency, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States. WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF REPORTS, FREEDMEN AND ABANDONED LANDS, WASHINGTON, Dec. 16, 1866. I have received a copy of Governor Patton's report to the President dated September 13, 1866, soliciting a suspension of Circular No. 10, and a representation that the actual sufferers in Alabama, from the want of food, are from "seventy to eighty thousand, the larger portion of whom are widows and orphans, and representing that the number are absolutely dependent upon Government or charitable contributions for subsistence," and representing, further, a petition for the suspension of Circular No. 10, and a representation that the actual sufferers in Alabama, from the want of food, are from "seventy to eighty thousand, the larger portion of whom are widows and orphans, and representing that the number are absolutely dependent upon Government or charitable contributions for subsistence," and representing, further, a petition for the suspension of Circular No. 10, and a representation that the actual sufferers in Alabama, from the want of food, are from "seventy to eighty thousand, the 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