

# ADVICE TO FREEDMEN

## MR. WADDELL'S ADDRESS.

Recently a number of the colored people of Wilmington, addressed a note to A. M. Waddell, Esq. of that city, requesting him to address them upon the subject of their new relations. He complied with their request. Perhaps, in the absence of more interesting matter we could not do a better service to our readers, nor to the colored people, than to lay the address before them. We differ with Mr. W. on several points, but the address is so honest, so frank and at the same time so interesting and so suggestive, that we readily give it space. Hear him:

Mr. Waddell said:—  
I am here, my friends, at your request to speak freely with you, to make known to you exactly your situation as members of the community, and to give you my best advice in regard to your new duties and responsibilities. I have not come to flatter you nor to discourage you. I have accepted your invitation in that spirit which should influence every good citizen and true friend of your race when called upon to do you a service. It would have been very easy, and it might have been very polite in me to decline it; but, while seeking no public favors, I have never dodged any public responsibility, and, as I believe some good might be accomplished by accepting the invitation, I did not hesitate about it. I cannot feel otherwise than deeply gratified, too, at this evidence of your confidence in me, and I shall certainly always endeavor to justify it.

**THE NEGROES TRUE FRIENDS.**  
The worthy and well-disposed among you are entitled to the sympathy and encouragement of all good people. I believe that you will receive it; and here let me say at the outset, that it is unjust and a mistake to suppose that the white people among whom you were born and raised, with whom you played when you were children, and served as you grew up, have all at once turned to be your enemies, because those of you who were formerly slaves have suddenly been set free. Sudden reverses of fortune are apt to embitter and depress men it is true, and it requires more philosophy than most of us possess to submit uncomplainingly to loss of property; but the white people know that you are not responsible for their loss. On the contrary they know that you have simply accepted the freedom which has been given you. They do not hate you—they are not your enemies. Bad men have been among you and taught you otherwise, perhaps, but what do such teachers know about the matter? What are their motives? Is it because they love you so much, or because they hate some other persons so intensely? Will their teachings do any good? Is it calculated to make two persons live happily and harmoniously together, to be secretly telling one of them all the time that the other is his enemy and wishes to destroy him? Oh no, my friends, such teachers as these are laying a snare for you—unconsciously perhaps—but a snare nevertheless. They are your worst enemies because they advise you to a course which can result in nothing but injury to yourselves. As far as my observation extends, the white people, with rare exceptions, are disposed to help those of you who are industrious and well-disposed in every way possible.

Now let us look at the situation of affairs here in North Carolina and throughout the south. What is it?

### SLAVERY ABOLISHED.

The institution of slavery, which has existed among us for a much longer time than the constitution of the United States—which was established and encouraged in the south by old England and new England, contrary in some instances to the wishes of the southern people, and particularly contrary to the wishes of the people of North Carolina, before there was any such government as the United States, and afterwards was sustained by the United States government as a lawful institution—this institution I say, has been destroyed by the terrible civil war which has devastated this country for the past four years. It no longer exists. There are now no slaves in the United States. God has so ordered it, and to His will it is our duty at all times to say amen. The people of North Carolina, except a few obstinate and impracticable men who cannot and will not realize facts which they do not like, accept this fact of the destruction of slavery as settled and determined, practically, if not legally; and the people of North Carolina, in the convention which will soon be held, will vote almost if not quite unanimously in acknowledgment of this fact. Our people know that slavery was staked on the issue of the war, and having failed to sustain it with the sword they are perfectly well aware that it cannot be continued. Like sensible and honorable men, who have been fairly vanquished in a war of unequal magnitude, they acknowledge the fact and accept the consequences. They intend, too, to make the best of the matter, and thousands now think that their prospects are fairer than they ever were in the days of slavery.

### NEW DUTIES.

With this great change in your condition and relations towards the white race come new duties and responsibilities for both races. The old state of things have passed away, and we, all of us, white and black, must adapt ourselves to the new circumstances; but in order to do so we must understand the circumstances.

### PRESENT LEGAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO.

You have rights now which you did not have before, but the white people, as a class,

have not lost any of their rights, except the right to hold slaves. A very few of them are denied privileges which they once enjoyed, but that is a matter between them and the government, with which you have nothing whatever to do. I do not mean to be ignorant and misguided colored people, more particularly in the country, are under the impression that they are not only free, but that the property of their former owners will be taken away and given to them. Of course this is a cruel mistake, and most of you know better than to be misled by such an extravagant idea. The government has emancipated those of you who were slaves. It has freed you from bondage and made null and void the laws which were peculiarly applicable to your former condition. It protects you in your personal liberty. It gives you the right to acquire and hold property, and to have the benefit of your own labor. It educates you, and your children, to worship God in your own way and under ministers of your own choice, and to seek your own happiness, subject only to the laws of the country. But up to this time it has done nothing more, and the prevailing opinion seems to be that it can legally do nothing more. If North Carolina was fully restored to her position and all her rights as a State of the Union under the constitution, it is very certain that the government could not, contrary to the State laws, confer any other political rights upon individuals than such as I have enumerated. The constitution of the United States leaves such questions as who shall vote, or who shall sit on a jury, or be sworn in the civil courts of a State to the determination of the State respectively—each one for itself. The government cannot dictate to Massachusetts, or Ohio who shall vote there, or what the qualifications of a juror or a witness shall be. The citizens of each State have exclusive control of such matters, and therefore if North Carolina is recognized now as a State, having the same constitutional rights as any other State, the question whether you will be allowed to vote, sit on juries, &c., &c., is not for the government but for the citizens of North Carolina to determine. What the exact position of North Carolina towards the general government is, I confess my inability to inform you.

### THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

Being a new question in the politics of this country, it remains to be settled by the proper authorities. One thing is certain, viz: that you cannot vote now under the regulations established by the President for the reorganization of the State government. The people of North Carolina, in the convention which will soon assemble, may pass a law prohibiting any white man from voting unless he can read and write, or unless he owns a certain quantity of land or other property, or unless he has or does some other thing. Free colored men voted in North Carolina until the year 1862, then they were prohibited—and during all that time when they were allowed to vote, there were thousands of white men in the State who could not vote for a member of the State Senate. No white or colored could vote for Senator unless he owned fifty acres of land six months before the election. Some colored men owned that much land and voted, while thousands of white men did not own that much and could not vote. This law requiring a voter for Senator to own fifty acres was not altered until about eleven years ago. So you see if there is any hardship in being denied the right of suffrage, it is a hardship which white men have had to submit to as well as colored men. Colored men are not allowed to vote in some of those very northern States where their best friends are supposed to reside, and in every State where they do vote they are obliged either to be able to read and write, or own a certain amount of property, or both. It comes with very bad grace, therefore, from persons from those States to insist upon others doing for the colored man what they will not do for him themselves. The colored men at the north are comparatively very few in number too, and, as a class, have enjoyed better opportunities of education and improvement than most of you, and therefore are better qualified to vote understandingly, although their vote is a mere "drop in the bucket" after all.

### UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE A CURSE.

Many persons think that there should be a qualification of all voters—that is to say, no man should vote unless he was qualified by education, or an interest in the soil, or the like, to vote understandingly, and such is my opinion. The right to vote for one's rulers is a great privilege, enjoyed only by a free people, but it is a privilege which is greatly abused. I look upon universal, unrestricted free suffrage as a curse instead of a blessing, and I think experience has proved the correctness of my opinion.

### A QUALIFICATION DEMANDED.

I believe the true and just rule to be to adopt a standard of qualification for voters of some kind, either of intelligence or property, or both, and to allow every man who can attain that standard to vote, whether he be white, black, green, yellow, red or any other color, and to prohibit any from voting who cannot attain that standard. This is my honest and candid opinion, and I utter it without fear or the hope of reward; but as I came here to tell you "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," I must add that I do not believe that a majority of my fellow-citizens think and feel as I do on this subject, though I believe the time will come when my views will prevail in North Carolina. I believe that there are some colored men in this hall who could vote now with quite as intelligent a conception of what they were doing as many white men; but I believe also, that a large majority of the colored peo-

ple are not yet qualified to exercise this privilege. They have no acquaintance with politics—they cannot understand fully the position which their votes would help to decide, and consequently they would be worse than the ignorant and misguided colored people, more particularly in the country, are under the impression that they are not only free, but that the property of their former owners will be taken away and given to them. Of course this is a cruel mistake, and most of you know better than to be misled by such an extravagant idea. The government has emancipated those of you who were slaves. It has freed you from bondage and made null and void the laws which were peculiarly applicable to your former condition. It protects you in your personal liberty. It gives you the right to acquire and hold property, and to have the benefit of your own labor. It educates you, and your children, to worship God in your own way and under ministers of your own choice, and to seek your own happiness, subject only to the laws of the country. But up to this time it has done nothing more, and the prevailing opinion seems to be that it can legally do nothing more. If North Carolina was fully restored to her position and all her rights as a State of the Union under the constitution, it is very certain that the government could not, contrary to the State laws, confer any other political rights upon individuals than such as I have enumerated. The constitution of the United States leaves such questions as who shall vote, or who shall sit on a jury, or be sworn in the civil courts of a State to the determination of the State respectively—each one for itself. The government cannot dictate to Massachusetts, or Ohio who shall vote there, or what the qualifications of a juror or a witness shall be. The citizens of each State have exclusive control of such matters, and therefore if North Carolina is recognized now as a State, having the same constitutional rights as any other State, the question whether you will be allowed to vote, sit on juries, &c., &c., is not for the government but for the citizens of North Carolina to determine. What the exact position of North Carolina towards the general government is, I confess my inability to inform you.

### WHETHER THE RIGHT WILL BE GIVEN TO YOU OR NOT I CANNOT TELL.

I have freely expressed my willingness to see those of you who can reach the common standard which I think should be exacted for all citizens, but I have also stated that I am in advance of the public opinion in North Carolina.

### NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

One thing, however, I think all ought to agree to, and that is, that if you cannot vote you ought not to be taxed, and this act of justice will, at least, I believe be performed towards you, especially as your property should be as well represented in Congress as ever has been there. Each State is entitled to two representatives in Congress, for every twenty thousand inhabitants, and under the old system there being no slaves and all being free, all will be counted making the number of this greater, and thus giving North Carolina more than two members of Congress. To free you from taxes in case you are not allowed to vote will be little enough to compensate for this advantage to us.

### THE WHITES WILL GOVERN.

But I wish you to be free of all things which are not yours, and that while you would doubtless rejoice at a law allowing you to vote, you are bound to obey the law if it should be otherwise. Recollect that a large majority of the people of North Carolina are whites, and that therefore, whether you vote or not, they will always control the State; they will control it by a majority if you do vote. The majority must govern, the United States government asserted and maintained that doctrine in the war which has just closed. It will continue to assert and maintain that doctrine, and you cannot resist it without visiting destruction upon yourselves. Let the present condition of the southern States be a warning to all who would undertake to defy the authority and power of the United States over all its territory. It is now one of the most powerful governments on earth. It has given you all the freedom you enjoy, and it could be very unwise to incur its displeasure and bring down its wrath upon your heads.

### LET US DROP THE MATTER OF SUFFRAGE.

Now let us drop the matter of suffrage, and turn to something which is more closely affecting you, and it concerns the means of obtaining your daily bread, and touches your every day life. You have heretofore constituted principally the laboring population of the south.

### WHITE LABOR.

You will, hereafter, necessarily be laborers, but you will not be the only laborers. The institution of slavery was at that kept foreign immigration from our shores. The tide of foreigners set to the north and west where they could buy good lands very cheap, live in a free state, and give their children the best advantages of education. A very large proportion of these are the most industrious and thrifty people in the world. They have no stumps in their fields, no unimproved, dilapidated buildings, nor broken-down fences on their lands. Their farms are like garden-patches, and under the influence of their intelligent industry, the wilderness blossoms as the rose. They improve and enrich any country they may inhabit. Now, since the abolition of slavery has removed the only obstacle in the way, these thrifty, intelligent people are coming out to the south. The climate, the soil and the certainty of prosperity invite them to our land. The tide will soon turn in this direction, and when they come with their intelligence, stout hearts and sturdy arms to settle among us, you will have to bestir yourselves, or be left far behind in the race. Lazy, thriftless, people, white or black, will inevitably be elbowed out of the way to make room for the industrious, the active and the enterprising.

The land will be a bee hive, and the drones will perish. There is every inducement for you to become enlightened, upright and industrious members of the community. Every consideration of self-interest impels you to it.

### THE MARRIAGE RELATION, SOCIAL HABITS, ETC.

With your new rights you have responsibilities which were not imposed upon you before. The marriage relation, which in the days of slavery had no legal force, is now equally as binding upon you as upon the whites. The law will compel you to observe the duties incident to this relation, and for any violation of them you will be punished as white people are punished. The loose ideas which have prevailed among you on this subject must cease. You will have to support and take care of your families. You cannot abandon them at your pleasure. The aged and infirm who were formerly a charge upon their owners, now fall to your care. You will have to support them. You had no inducements when you were slaves to be economical and saving, and consequently you were careless about money, and contracted habits of

extravagance. These habits will have to be abandoned now, and more particularly because your wages cannot reasonably be expected to be very high. The white people of the south are greatly reduced in circumstances. The war which affected your freedom has destroyed the wealth of the country. The capital invested in slaves alone amounted to about two thousand five hundred millions of dollars. This, for one item, is gone. They have lost as much more in various ways. Your freedom was obtained at a tremendous sacrifice of blood and treasure, and this poverty of the country in which you necessarily share is a part of the price you had to pay for it.

### EDUCATION.

You ought to establish schools for the education of your children, and lay up money for a rainy day. You ought to devote all the energies of your nature to the task of elevating your race. You ought to do all you can to show to the world that you deserve and can maintain the freedom and the privileges which have been bestowed upon you. In these efforts every good man will bid you God speed, and before them every prejudice of those who look upon you with distrust will melt away. But let me tell you that in order to succeed in these efforts you will have to prove yourselves an exception to every instance of emancipation which has ever happened in the history of your race.

### EMANICIPATION.

The faith of many people in the idea of emancipation has been greatly shaken by the experience of other countries. In some of the West Indies, through the extraordinary exertions of some humane and philanthropic men, the colored people who were emancipated about seventy-five years ago, after a long night of degeneracy and degradation are beginning to advance in the career of civilization; but in St. Domingo and Jamaica, they have relapsed into a state of barbarism, and, in an instance related to me a few weeks ago, by an eye witness, as having occurred about the first of the present year, twenty or more of the inhabitants were condemned to death for eating human flesh. The great advantage which your race enjoys here is contact and daily association with the white race. Their influence upon you, as far as civilization is concerned, must be beneficial, and therefore you ought to cultivate the friendship and good will of the white people, and not to array yourselves in feeling against them. By doing the latter you have everything to lose and nothing to gain. The power which is placed in the hands of the majority of the people will not be used for your benefit, if you undertake to ignore and disregard that majority. Do not strike too high. Ambition, within decent limits is very commendable, but it is wise to remember that "by sin sat fell the angels." If you make a mistake in this direction it may set you back instead of helping you forward.

### AS FAR AS HUMAN AGENCY IS CONCERNED.

IN THE MANAGEMENT OF HUMAN AFFAIRS, intelligence and wealth are the controlling influences. They are bound to govern. In our country wealth is the result of intelligence and industry, and it is shorn of none of its power here. You are, as I said just now, the laboring population of the country. Intelligence and industry may and doubtless will transform some of you into the class of capitalists—but these are the only means by which you can reach that end. Here then lies the path on which you should travel. Seek knowledge—be industrious—work. Lead quiet and orderly lives, and obey the laws, and you will prosper. Disregard these injunctions, and fifty years from to-day your race in these States will be nearly extinct.

### THE INTERESTS OF THE WHITES IDENTIFIED WITH THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE BLACKS.

These are some of your duties and responsibilities in the new situation in which you are placed. The white people have their duties and responsibilities also, and I hope and believe they will endeavor to perform them. We—the two races—occupy the same land; we are dwelling together, under one government. It seems to be the will of Providence that for some time, at least, if not for all time, the two civilizations should exist side by side though in some respects they will always be separate and distinct. We cannot desire to see you degenerate into a condition of degradation, idleness and vice. Constituting so large a portion of the community, the interests of all would be affected by such a condition of things. The teachings of our religion, and of humanity, as well as our hopes of prosperity forbid it. It is our duty and it is our interest to aid you in the elevation and improvement of your race and this aid, if you prove yourselves worthy of it, you will receive. You cannot expect everything to be accomplished for you in a day. The improvement of your condition must be the work of time. Your simple freedom is the result of many years' agitation of the slavery question, winding up with four long years of terrible, bloody war. If you are only true to yourselves now and in the future, you have everything to hope from the generosity and justice of white people. I wish to impress upon you the fact that they are disposed to be friendly towards those of you who show the right spirit, and only towards those. And I wish to impress this upon you for your own sakes particularly, and not for theirs; for I am well satisfied that the question of the two races living harmoniously and prosperously together, rests entirely with you for determination. I must sincerely believe that some, a good many, of the truest and best friends, the most disinterested friends you have in this world, are to be found right here amongst former slave-holders. Many of the most intelligent among you know this very well, and acknowledge it, and set upon it. Continue to believe it and act upon it and you will not be betray-

ed. Justice requires me to say that I think you have received your freedom, generally speaking, with a spirit worthy of praise.

### TRUE FREEDOM.

Some colored people have a very imperfect and incorrect idea of the freedom which has been given to them, it is true, but this was to be expected and was not unusual. They ought, however, to be put right in the matter, and it is the duty of the influential—the leaders—among you to see to this thing. You ought to make them understand that freedom does not mean the right to do as they please without regard to other people; that it does not give them the right to injure, to insult, annoy other people, white or black, or lounge about in idleness—this is the freedom of savages. The education among you will have most influence in shaping the destiny of your race, and therefore the responsibilities of your station are very great. I hope you appreciate them and will act accordingly. I have only one or two other topics upon which to advise you and then my task will be finished. It is not in the interest of the colored people to crowd into the cities and towns in too great numbers. What they all as a class want now is good, steady employment, at fair wages, on the farms, turpentine lands, timber swamps, mines, railroads, navigable streams, &c., &c. of their country. Their first duty to themselves and their families is to provide the means of subsistence for the present, and, if possible, to secure situations which will enable them to "by a side something for a rainy day." They ought to make it a chief object to save enough to be a little land as soon as possible, and when bought, to settle on it immediately and cultivate it diligently. Only a few of you are what are called skilled laborers, and these few will find the competition with skilled white labor greater than they ever experienced before. A new era has dawned for you to be sure, but a new era has also dawned for the country. This good old State of North Carolina, God bless her, is wide awake now; if she never was before, and her future is as bright as that of any State in the Union! She has resources of which the world is profoundly ignorant, and which when developed will make her the richest State in the South. She is about starting on a career of prosperity heretofore unknown—a prosperity which will shed its blessings upon all her children of whatever color or race who seek to benefit thereby. I would encourage you, my friends, to entitle yourselves to a participation in this prosperity. I would urge you as a friend who desires you to enjoy all the happiness, and good fortune which you can justly lay claim to, seek employment, to labor diligently or improve your condition and elevate your race, to abide faithfully by the laws, to educate your children and to live in such a way as to command the respect and sympathy of your fellow men. You must not judge the future by the present. Everything is in an unsettled condition now. Military authority necessarily prevails until the civil authority can be fully established; society is demoralized, and evils are common. But this will not last long. The machinery of civil government will soon be put in motion. Elections will be held, the courts will be open for the punishment of crime, and the dispensation of justice, and law and order will once again be fully restored to this recently afflicted land. God speed the day, and may He who rules the destinies of us all send us permanent peace and happiness and prosperity.

Headqrs Department of N. Carolina, ASHT OF THE ORDN, RALEIGH, N. C., July 16, 1863.

### GENERAL ORDER, No. 88.

SUFFICIENT time has long elapsed for all those formerly exempted from military duty, to receive all badges, military buttons, breeches, caps, or other articles designating rank, as required by good taste and proper respect for the Government of their country. It is directed that they now remove them. All persons found with such articles on, five days after the publication of this order at any post, will have the same taken off them by the Provost Marshal (unless satisfactory evidence is furnished by the wearer of their ignorance of this order), and will be detained in arrest for violation of the same. Commanders of Districts will absolute this order at once after receiving it, and cause particular information to be given to all persons known to wear such insignia.

By command of Brevet Maj. Gen. ROBERT CLINTON A. CILLEY, Maj. A. A. A. A. A. General.

Headquarters Post of Raleigh, July 20, 1863.

### GENERAL ORDER, No. 22.

MERCHANTS, Enticers and others are hereby strictly prohibited from selling any Spirituous Liquors to any person whether officer, soldier or civilian. All persons having any such liquors in their possession will immediately close their Bar Rooms. Those who now have intoxicating liquors in their possession will immediately report the fact to the Provost Marshal, who will enter on his books their names and places of abode.

By order of Lt. Col. I. M. McDonald, Comdr. Post. JOHN R. AVENY, Capt. 31 N. Y. 4 Post Adj.

Headquarters Post of Raleigh, N. C., July 12, 1863.

### GENERAL ORDER, No. 19.

NUMEROUS complaints having been made about the reckless manner in which horses are driven through this city, thereby endangering the lives of pedestrians, it is hereby ordered that any soldier or officer found riding faster than a trotter, shall be immediately arrested and punished. By order of Lieut. Col. J. M. McDONALD, 47th N. Y. Vols. Commanding Post. Geo. E. AVERT, Capt. 34 Inf. N. Y. V., Post Adj. as 7-11