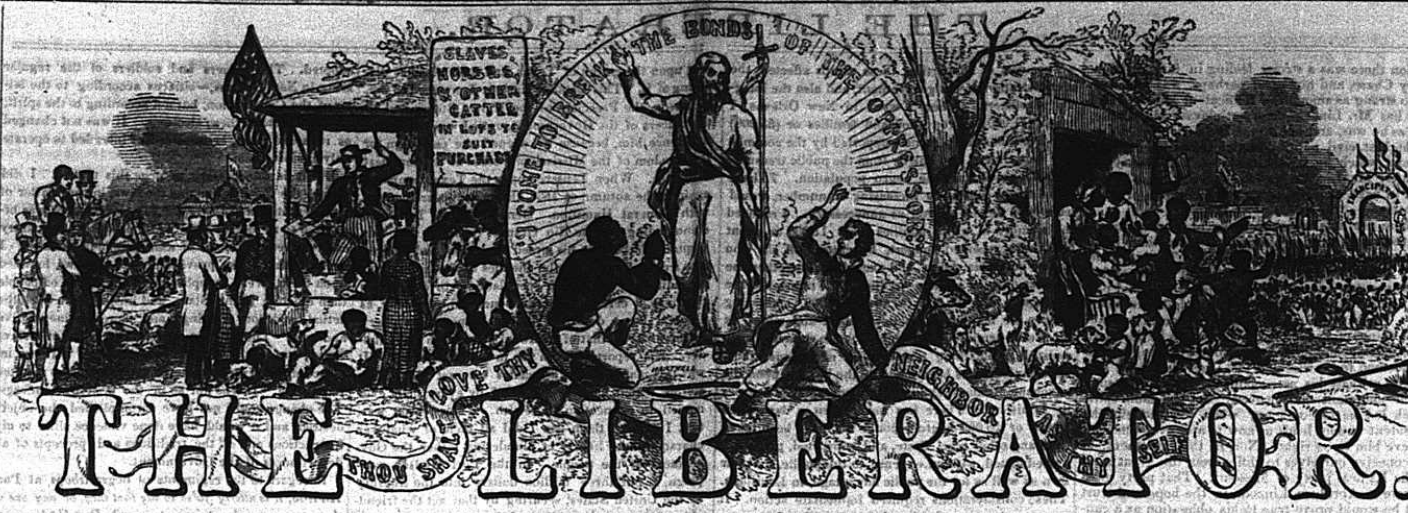


EVERY FRIDAY MORNING. WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM NO. 9. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

TERMS—Three dollars and fifty cents in advance. Four copies will be sent to any address for twenty dollars, if payment is made in advance.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." "They thine down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE BEST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the COMMISSIONER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES."

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 8. BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1865. WHOLE NO. 1777.

Selections.

MINUTES

Of an interview between the colored ministers and church officers at Savannah with the Secretary of War and Major-General Sherman. HEADQUARTERS OF MAJ.-GEN. SHERMAN, IN THE CITY OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA. Thursday Evening, Jan. 12, 1865—8 o'clock, P. M.

if they would lay down their arms and submit to the laws of the United States before the 1st of January, 1863, all should be well, but if they did not, then all the slaves in the rebel States should be free, henceforth and forever; that is what I understood. Second. State what you understand by slavery, and the freedom that was to be given by the President's Proclamation.

do they regard his sentiments and actions as friendly to their rights and interests, or otherwise. Answer. We looked upon General Sherman, prior to his arrival, as a man, in the providence of God, specially set apart to accomplish this work, and we unanimously felt inexpressible gratitude to him, looking upon him as a man that should be honored for the faithful performance of his duty.

slaveholders, no other work could be so humiliating; and, therefore, He made the slaveholders perform it. The passing of the Reconstruction Bill now before Congress will justify the continued fear that this nation is lost; for it will show, not only that she is wicked enough to give up her friends and saviors to destruction, but that she is infatuated enough to court her own destruction.

These men, as they were to effect disunion; and abolition was only a secondary and insignificant matter. "These men," says the Times, "labored exactly for the same end for which John C. Calhoun labored—the dissolution of the Union between the non-slaveholding and the slaveholding States. Their moral purpose differed from his, but their political purpose was exactly the same.

It was a memorable hour. Let the distant reader just imagine that vast platform crowded with men of all creeds, parties and complexions; let him think of Mr. Quincy, Dr. Kirk, Mr. Manning of the Old South, Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Gen. Butler, sitting together as brothers of one heart and soul, children of one mother, the country of their common love, bound together by their devotion to one great aim, the cause of humanity and universal freedom.



their wealth; prairie forest diversified everywhere by streams affording unequalled water-power; one of the largest rivers of the world flowing through her centre; and another, washing the whole length of her border.

In contemplating our natural resources, gratitude for their bestowment and pride in their possession struggle for the ascendancy. And we are more grateful and prouder still, in reflecting upon the heroic resolution with which our noble State has shaken off a thraldom fatal to prosperity and at war with justice—has buried the dead past, and advanced the standard of freedom as the emblem of her future faith.

Hereforth Missouri shall be an asylum for all nationalities and races; the repository of wealth, and a theatre for the development of the labor and enterprise of the hand and spirit of industry; and the home of free thought, free speech, and a free press, where the prejudices of caste and class have no lodgment, and the interchanges of the products of the North and the South, the East and the West, through the rivers of our great basin, and the system of railways centering in her metropolis. She shall be a highway for the commerce of the two oceans, borne by the inland transit lines that carry the freights between Europe and Asia.

Let it be announced that, in the new era which has come, ours is to be the first of States, with the largest freedom and the widest charities. Let ours be a State where, with the administration of inflexible justice, the abandonment of mere partyisms, and the domination of industrial politics, all the advancements of statute law progress towards combining labor and capital, rather than placing them in the cruel antagonisms of the past; where the light of hope is shut out by the fundamental law from no human being, of whatever race, creed or color, but where a free people—heedless of the stroke of inevitable destiny on the horologe of time in the great crisis of changeous progress—guards the right of permitting the position and privileges of every man to be such as his virtues, talents, education, patriotism, enterprise, industry, courage or achievements may confer upon him.

The victorious armies of the Republic are with deadly thrusts piercing the enemy on every side. The giant rebellion, bleeding at every pore, begins to reel and faint. Our Sherman, with his veteran Braves, stands on the weary beach, gazes back at the last mortal wound inflicted, and awaits only to see if another is necessary. The legions of Grant, Butler, Sheridan, Thomas and Canby are rubbing on to complete the work; the coming spring-time will bring the final blow, and amid the battle-cry of freedom, the death of rebellion will be consummated, and blessed peace once more breathe its benisons over the land.

Correspondence of the Boston Traveller.

EMANCIPATION OLEBRATION IN NEW ORLEANS.

NEW ORLEANS, JAN 27. Last Tuesday (the 24th) was a memorable day in New Orleans in the emancipation acts of Maryland and Missouri. Gov. Hahn proclaimed a general holiday throughout the State, and the city officers co-operated with him in the effort to give every opportunity to the freedmen to celebrate the occasion. A large gathering, composed mostly of freedmen, assembled in the forenoon in Lafayette Square, and there listened to the eloquent and stirring remarks of Mr. Conway, the superintendent of free labor in the Department of the Gulf.

It was indeed a most soul-inspiring day for every lover of human rights. In the very heart of the Crescent City, in the public square that for so many years has been the breathing-place of oppression in its most hideous form, under the shadow of the church where Dr. Palmer has taught that God created black men slaves and unequal, in the sight of former slave-marts and auction-blocks, were collected five thousand ransomed souls, making the air resound with cheers and hurrahs, their joy for their own deliverance and for that of their brethren thousands of miles away.

It is not now necessary to inquire what malign influence operated upon the mind of the President to keep him so long in opposition to the Radicals of Missouri. The fact that such opposition existed, and yielded its fruits in the unhappy administration policy in this State, furnishes only the stronger reasons why justice should now be done. Mr. Lincoln, in view of his latter dealings with them, will remember, soon after the Baltimore Convention, which was an overwhelmingly radical body, had given Mr. Lincoln his nomination with unexampled unanimity and enthusiasm, that we were met with the reproach that the President, in view of his conservative record, could not be trusted on the platform of that Convention. We were told that to support him, even on that basis, was voluntary stultification, leading only to humiliation and disappointment in the end.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

We did trust him, and the nation trusted him. The man had become radicalized, and because it was radical, Abraham Lincoln was re-elected President of the United States. The entire conservatism of the country rallied about his opponent, General George B. McClellan, and went down with him. It had been true, therefore, that Mr. Lincoln was false-hearted towards the Radicals of the country, the great mass of his supporters placed themselves in a position to be bitterly deceived. But what has been the result? Has Mr. Lincoln proved unfaithful to the conditions of the Baltimore platform, and which he took as pledges upon himself, when he accepted the nomination? We certainly have heard no such charges, although months have elapsed since the election, even from those who most strenuously accused us of short-sightedness in confiding in him in the first place. So far as Mr. Lincoln's policy, from the day the Baltimore Convention adjourned, can be taken as proof of his real views and purposes, no one can conclude that aught but the most perfect sincerity has ruled in all his acts. In the Baltimore Convention the conservatism of the Blair was condemned, and Mr. Lincoln removed Montgomery Blair from his cabinet. In the Baltimore Convention, the Radicals of Missouri, having secured recognition and endorsement, charged a large share of their grievances, and without doubt correctly, to the influence of Edward Bates, and Mr. Lincoln accordingly soon disposed of Mr. Bates. In the Baltimore Con-

vention there was a strong feeling in favor of Secretary Chase, and nowhere, perhaps, was that feeling so strong as among the Radicals of Missouri, and what has Mr. Lincoln done but elevate Mr. Chase, rival as he was, and not altogether a friendly one, to the highest civil position in the Government, save the one which he held himself? This was done, too, after Mr. Lincoln was re-elected, and no longer stood in need of votes, either from Radicals or Conservatives.

These are acts which deserve to be recognized, because they are significant of more than mere political sagacity and management. They demonstrate a sincerity and realness of purpose that goes deeper than either official or personal policy. They indicate a man of truthfulness and courage. We have, in our profession of journalism, said harsh things of President Lincoln, when he deviated, in his official conduct, from the course of things which we deemed to be wise and just; nor should we hesitate to criticise his acts again; should they be such as our judgment disapproved; but the same spirit which led us to condemn, when we thought the President wrong, leads us now to approve, when we believe him to be right. Nor, in this judgment, do we conceive ourselves to differ from the great mass of the Radicals party of Missouri. That party gave its vote to Abraham Lincoln, in the hope and trust that he would prove true to his obligation as a candidate, and, thus far, it has not regretted the step.

The Liberator. No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1865.

I REPEAT THE DECLARATION MADE A YEAR AGO, THAT WHILE I REMAIN IN MY POSITION, I SHALL NOT ATTEMPT TO WITHHOLD MY SERVICES FROM ANY PERSON WHO IS FREE BY THE TERMS OF THAT PROCLAMATION, OR BY ANY OF THE ACTS OF CONGRESS. IF THE PEOPLE SHOULD, BY WHATEVER MEANS, MAKE IT AN EXECUTIVE DUTY TO RENUNCIATE SUCH PERSONS, ANOTHER, AND NOT I, MUST BE THE INSTRUMENT TO PERFORM IT. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

THE FREEDMEN OF LOUISIANA.

LETTER FROM MAJOR GENERAL BANKS.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.) 30th January, 1865. MY DEAR SIR—It gives me great pleasure to reply to the questions contained in your letter. I should be glad to present to you some suggestions upon the general condition of affairs, but will seek another opportunity. In Louisiana there seemed, at the opening of 1863, to be good reasons for taking action upon the subject of Industry, which did not apply to any part of the country which I have seen. The President's Proclamation of Emancipation excepted that portion of the State occupied by its operation; consequently, the negro population, so far as the law was concerned, were in an unchanged condition. Their owners sought to enforce their rights under the law, and according to the terms of the Proclamation. The negroes, on the other hand, claimed their liberty, and proposed to celebrate their emancipation on the 1st January, 1863. To prevent a disturbance between these parties, both of which had apparent right,—one in theory, and the other in fact,—under the President's Proclamation, which seemed to recognize their rights, and was doubtless intended to do so, and the other from the actual condition of things, which made it impossible for any master to enforce his rights, whatever they were, to any slave.

I am, of course, aware that can be said of an act of this character, but do not now enter into that discussion. I told him that, without deciding upon the ultimate rights of former slave owners, I could not allow them to attempt to enforce their claims, nor could I do it for them; but that I intended that the public peace should be preserved; and while no one could be allowed to interfere with the negroes, they, in turn, would not be allowed to interfere with others to excite apprehension, or disturb the peace. With this conclusion, the admiral was satisfied, and said he should leave sooner than he had intended, and should inform his people that they had no cause for alarm. So much for the status of the negro in Louisiana.

Now for his condition. Under the state of things I have described, there was an end to regular employment. The negroes, who had no permanent homes, flocked to the military garrisons or posts for support. The reasons why they should not be allowed to remain there, I will briefly present to you. They relate, let to their condition; 2d to their influence upon the public health—upon the army—upon the public service. Their condition was that of abject misery. I have myself seen at Baton Rouge, in one of these negro quarters, or contraband camps, as they were called, one hundred and fifty men, women and children—in every possible condition of misery—crying, eating, drinking, sleeping, sickening and dying in one room, with a fire built in its centre on the floor, without chimney, where all phases of this sad history occurred. The same scene was witnessed at every military post—in some places better, in others worse than I describe. There was but one result for the negroes—that was death.

Its influence upon the army was that of certain demoralization. Every camp was filled with negro women, and intercourse between the sexes was the certain precursor of disease and death. The public health has been a matter of paramount importance in Louisiana. In other States, it is a question affecting individuals merely; here it is a question of government. If Northern people could not reside in the South, the government must fall into the hands of the negroes. If, on the contrary, New Orleans and the prominent towns could be made as healthy as the towns of New York or Illinois, all questions connected with the future government were at once solved. It was for this reason that such care was given to this subject. No point was neglected, possibly affecting the public health. The streets were cleansed; the dwellings of the poor improved; the burial of the dead regulated; and the canals constructed for drainage, &c. deepened. It was impossible to overlook the sources of contagion, corruption and disease in all classes, that were seen in the contraband quarters—as they were called.

The cost of supporting these camps affected the administration of the government, and also the integrity of officers. When I went to New Orleans, I found (11,000) eleven thousand families or (54,000) fifty-four thousand persons supported by the commissary department, and chiefly from the public treasury. This did not include the negro population. To have added them, constantly increasing in number, would have been unwise as well as unnecessary. I reduced the number of white families from 11,000 to about 6,000 who received support, by cutting off all who had no equitable claims, and excluding altogether the families of rebel soldiers—reducing the number in the aggregate from 56,000 to about 30,000, embracing mainly the families of soldiers, black and white, in the Union armies. The negroes not in the army were assisted in obtaining employment of various kinds. No complaint has been made of the burden upon the government caused by supporting unemployed negroes in Louisiana. There has never been a day when 20,000 or 30,000 negroes could not have been taken from any other rebel State, and supported, protected, and educated, without expense to the public, for their own as well as for the public advantage, in Louisiana. These considerations required immediate action. If any remedy was to be found, it was wanted at once. The character of the local industry is such that, unless labor is commenced early in the spring, it is valueless. Action, therefore, must be prompt.

I published an order, two years ago this day, the 30th January, 1863, providing a system of labor, both compensatory and compulsory. No person whatever was consulted upon the subject previous to the issue of the order. It was published on a day when I generally do something if I can. In arranging the conditions of labor, the negroes were consulted by men of their own color, and their suggestions implicitly followed. Their stipulations were simple and very wise. There was never a code better adapted to the condition of a race than their suggestions to the elevation of their people. The planters or employers met in Convention, not to consider but to decide whether or not to accept it. Their action had nothing to do with perfecting or devising the system. It was intended that the soil must be cultivated; and if the owners did not, other persons would cultivate it. The public necessity required this. They accepted the proposition, as men sign a Round Robin—to avoid the responsibility of being the first to disregard the reservation made in their favor by the Proclamation of Emancipation; and to surrender the right of property in their negroes, by paying them wages, and consenting that they should labor where they should choose to do so. This, stated in a few words, is exactly what the high contracting parties had to do with this matter. The action of one side was public, the other private; and as it always happens, that which was concealed from the public eye was in the nature of a stipulation, with power on the part of the negro to assent or dissent, and that which occurred in the presence of the people was limited to a forced consent, without actual control or responsibility. The conditions of employment were substantially—

- 1. Recognition of their liberty.
- 2. The uniting of families.
- 3. The choice of employers.
- 4. Compensation for labor.
- 5. Exemption from all corporal punishment.
- 6. Education of children.
- 7. Limitation of hours of labor.
- 8. Protection in their rights by the Government.
- 9. The right to cultivate land on their own account.
- 10. Enrolment in the militia.

I have suggested a general reason for immediate action upon this subject at the commencement of the year, when general work begins. The necessity for a general rule will be seen in the following facts:—The unity of the family is the essential requisite in any system for the elevation of the negro race; and it was the condition most desired by the negroes themselves. The families, of course, embraced young and old, able-bodied and infirm persons. Employers would not engage those who were unable to labor, nor undertake their support without labor. The same is to be said of their education, medical and general care, the unity of families, and the support of their members. There were no means of providing for these things completely, except by giving them employment upon the basis of family and home. The Government, even, could not do otherwise. It could support them, and it might partially educate them; but it could not provide homes, nor make any arrangement of that nature. Whether it can be done by any general system of employment will be tested only by experiment.

The choice of employers is or was absolutely free. It was reported to me that the negroes, in making arrangements for their labor, debated the question of the treatment they received formerly, in the presence of each other, and of the officers of their government. There may have been abuses in this, but not more than grow out of the employment of labor in any of the States; and no class of laborers have had anywhere a more immediate appeal from wrongs suffered, or found more immediate redress. I was employed about twenty of the most intelligent and best educated free colored men to visit their people on the plantations. They were authorized to go anywhere, and to talk with any body, and to carry arms. The abuses they reported were immediately corrected by orders issued from my Headquarters. Subsequently, I employed Rev. Mr. Hepworth, chaplain of one of the Boston regiments, and Rev. Mr. E. M. Wheelock, commissioning them as Lieutenants in the Corps d'Afrique, that they might have official authority to visit and investigate the condition and treatment of the negroes. Their reports were full, and their recommendations immediately put in execution. Mr. Hepworth is in Boston, and Mr. Wheelock in New Orleans. I have written both gentlemen to communicate with you upon the subject, without suggesting that you desired information. I should be glad if you made personal inquiry of Mr. Hepworth, who has had every opportunity for correct information. Beside these gentlemen, other agents were constantly in service for the same purpose, both by my own direction and that of Brigadier General James Bowen, of New York city, who officiated as Provost Marshal General, and manifested a most active interest in all that pertained to the welfare of the negro.

The officers and soldiers of the regular army in New Orleans, citizens according to the letter of the Constitution, but not according to the spirit, did not vote in these elections. It was not changed as regarded them, because it was intended to operate only against them. But it is unnecessary to urge this matter. I did change the Constitution and the laws, in the matter of representation and slavery. The government was organized so as to give a few white people in the country control over multitudes of white people in the city. I decided that these provisions, and all laws founded upon them, were inapplicable to any class of people then existing in the State, and inconsistent with the actual condition of things, and therefore inoperative and void. The change made a free State of a slave State; but it was strictly in accordance with my instructions, and an opposite course would have resulted in nothing. It was not so in the matter of suffrage. The change could not have accomplished the object desired, and it would have done violence alike to my instructions and all the traditions and precepts of all departments of the Government.

In regard to the regiments of negro troops at Port Hudson, it is utterly false to say that, or any one of them, were refused permission to inscribe *Port Hudson upon the regimental banners*. On the contrary, I wrote to the President myself, that we could never have accomplished the conquest of Port Hudson but for the assistance of the negro regiments; and it was my letter that he published the declaration, in his controversy upon this subject, that "at least one of the Major Generals commanding the armies had stated that the co-operation of the negro soldiers was essential to the victories won that summer." It is without foundation, justification, or substantial or colorable pretext to say that I refused or declined this permission, or that I assented in any form whatever to such refusal. Enclosed you will find a letter from Colonel H. B. Irwin, my Assistant Adjutant General, and I have also written to General Stone for a statement of the facts in regard to the list of regiments engaged in the campaign of Port Hudson. These officers made up the lists, receiving from me only the general instructions to embrace in the order all the regiments engaged in the siege. I did not know until recently that any had been omitted.

Every negro has a right to be heard in all the courts of Louisiana. The military court never refused their requests to listen to their appeals; the United States district or circuit is of the same character as to their rights. One or two of the State Courts, last summer, by judges appointed by authority of General Butler, undertook to assert the validity of old State laws as to negroes, and they were summarily removed by Governor Hahn. They are all now of the same liberal character. There is no laboring population on the globe more secure in the right to be heard, or more certain of protection by the courts, than the negro of Louisiana. Any case which presents a color of difference from this statement is a made-up case.

Of course, I speak of things as they were when I left the Department. For these and all other privileges they enjoy, they are indebted to me. Their history before I went to New Orleans must at some time be known. The negroes are perfectly free to make contracts, and they exercise that power—the exception is in regard to wages on plantations. There the rate is fixed within limits by the government, because it is necessary that all should be employed; that all should be supported; and that all should be protected, and prepared for a higher condition—that of cultivating land for themselves. In all matters other than this one, they act entirely for themselves. They cultivate land for themselves, and sell their products to whomsoever they please.

All the plantations are cultivated under the general regulations. They therefore include all employed in the cultivation of land, but not those engaged in other pursuits. It is not probable that it will be necessary to continue the regulations long. It was required chiefly in commencing work. When the habits of labor are established, and the negroes know enough not to be cheated out of their wages, it can be discontinued without trouble. I cannot say that it is necessary to renew them another year. I am not aware that any regulation prohibits them visiting New Orleans at the end of the year. If such exist, they are not mine, and there is no necessity for them. The only restriction put upon their movements was in the order of January 19th, 1864, which was embodied in the General Order, No. 23, which prohibited them passing from plantation to plantation without the approval of the Provost Marshal. This order was issued at the request of the medical director of the Department, and was necessary to prevent general contagion from small-pox—very destructive to the negroes always, and then especially so. Negro soldiers were subject to the same rules as white soldiers in this respect. Orders have been given to the Quartermaster to bring them over the roads free of expense. I think this was done at the celebration of June 11th, 1864.

Adopted. The officers and soldiers of the regular army in New Orleans, citizens according to the letter of the Constitution, but not according to the spirit, did not vote in these elections. It was not changed as regarded them, because it was intended to operate only against them. But it is unnecessary to urge this matter. I did change the Constitution and the laws, in the matter of representation and slavery. The government was organized so as to give a few white people in the country control over multitudes of white people in the city. I decided that these provisions, and all laws founded upon them, were inapplicable to any class of people then existing in the State, and inconsistent with the actual condition of things, and therefore inoperative and void. The change made a free State of a slave State; but it was strictly in accordance with my instructions, and an opposite course would have resulted in nothing. It was not so in the matter of suffrage. The change could not have accomplished the object desired, and it would have done violence alike to my instructions and all the traditions and precepts of all departments of the Government.

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The reason given originally for the cultivation of land by the negro for himself was, that he might soon be able to rent land for himself, "giving so much produce for so much land." This is expressed in the order or purchase of land. To do this, he must be able to try his hand at the staple products of his country, cotton, sugar and rice, in some instances to the value of \$300, besides their wages and subsistence. Some in this way they emerge from their present condition. They want first Savings Banks, and then they become owners and independent cultivators of land. This is distasteful to a speculator. So, under the new Treasury regulations, (7.7. 44,) the land allotted to the laborer is not, as under my orders, to each individual, but "to each family"—and not for raising the probable staples, but only "for garden purposes." This is distasteful to the laborer. If the laborers are not subject by these regulations, they labor "without pay" elsewhere.

Having gone over this subject fully in the last two years, I probably understand it more readily than any other person. You will see its bearing in all respects when I say, that the person representing the matter is a lessee of plantations, an officer of the Treasury, and an authorized correspondent of the New York Tribune, accredited to me by letter of Mr. Gay—upon which I gave him the privileges of the Department, restricting his right to trade. The Treasury fixes the pay of first class men at \$25 per month. There are no first class men. They are in the army, with few exceptions. The wages paid, therefore, will be \$20 to \$10 per month, out of which the negroes feed and clothe themselves by an enforced purchase of their employer, at "the cost of articles on the plantation." I need not say, that at such prices their pay will not sustain them. The negroes will be discontented and idle. This is small business for the Government of the United States; but it will not last long.

There is no doubt that some Provost Marshals have been corrupt and cruel. The advantage with them is, that they can be assigned, in case of complaint, to other duty, without delay or inquiry. When one you are saddled with a corrupt or cruel agent or officer, he cannot be removed. The military rank, in this respect, is far preferable. The Provost Marshals take the place, too, under my orders, of Sheriff appointed from slaveholders, by Gov. Shepley, under Gen. Butler, of atrocious character. One, at least, was charged with having originally branded his slaves on the forehead with his own initials. We have had no such men in the army. Mr. Hepworth will tell you of the character of some of the Massachusetts men, while serving in this capacity. These personal allusions illustrate the difference in plan and results, and are not to be considered personal charges. They are matters for which I care nothing. This is written in haste, without revision, but you are at liberty to use it as you think proper. Very respectfully, Your obedient servant, N. P. BANKS, M. G. V. Hon. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston, Mass.

NEW ORLEANS, JAN 27, 1865. DEAR GENERAL,—In answer to your note, received late last night, requesting me to inform you "if there is any authority for the statement, said to have been made by Mr. Wendell Phillips, that the negro regiments at Port Hudson had been refused permission to place that name upon their standards," I beg leave to say that so far as my knowledge extends, this statement has no authority in the facts. While I am Adjutant General of the Department of the Gulf, so far as my refusal was ever given through me; nor, so far as I remember, did the colored regiments ever apply through me, for such permission. In this connection, I cannot help suggesting my impression, that "Port Hudson" is inscribed upon the colors of the troops of the Corps d'Afrique engaged in the assaults on that post. I am not sure, but I think so, and that the orders were given by the Corps Commander. Very respectfully, General, Your most obedient servant, RICHARD B. IRWIN, Major General N. P. BANKS, Astor House.

OFFICE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S. December 20th, 1864. Major General N. P. Banks: DEAR SIR,—I hasten to reply to your note of yesterday. In the Senate, (in committee of the whole,) May 27th, 1864, the joint resolution to amend the charter of the city of Washington being under consideration, Mr. Sumner moved to amend by adding, "provided that there shall be no exclusion of any person on account of color." Mr. Harlan moved to amend said amendment by adding, "who have borne arms in the military service of the United States, and have been honorably discharged therefrom." On the question of agreeing to the latter, yes 25, nays 12. (Senate Journal, p. 481.) May 28th,—Mr. Sumner's amendment as amended agreed to without a division. Mr. Sumner proposed a further amendment, giving right of suffrage not only to persons, without distinction of color, who paid tax, or having taxable estate, and who can read and write with facility; which was disagreed to—yeas 27.

The amendment of Mr. Sumner, as amended, in motion of Mr. Harlan, having been reported to the Senate, was disagreed to—yeas 18, nays 20. Upon the bill to provide a temporary government for Montana, a conference report was submitted in the House of Representatives, whereby the House voted from its disagreement to the Senate's amendment, giving the right of suffrage to negroes. On the question of agreeing to said report, there were—yeas 48, nays 65. (House Journal, April 15, p. 627.) I don't discover that any similar amendment was proposed to the Reconstruction Bill. I am, very respectfully, yours, JNO. M. B. BARCLAY. GEN. BANKS AND THE FREEDMEN. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., Boston: I have seen so many inaccurate statements of the condition of the freedmen of the Department of the Gulf, alike prejudicial to truth and to the welfare of the blacks, that I respectfully ask leave to correct the impression they may have made—at least, so far as your own mind may have been affected by them. And I deem this the more important, because I have been addressing one whose devotion to the interests of the colored race cannot be questioned; for it has been tried by years of obloquy and persecution. So it happens that, while I am in no respect responsible, either by my council or action, for the plans of the General Banks, I am cognizant of the condition of the blacks at the time he assumed command in Louisiana, and the difficulties against which he had to contend, and the fiscal practical workings of his orders. I must state these in general terms, because I have not access to the papers and orders necessary to a detailed narrative. When General Banks assumed command of the Department of the Gulf, the depots at New Orleans, Carrollton, Donaldsonville and Baton Rouge were crowded with negroes, of both sexes and of all ages, subsisted at the expense of the United States. They were herded together in confined quarters, without regard to sex or age, and but little attention given to them beyond providing for their daily subsistence, they were dying in large numbers. In the early part of February, 1863, or within a few days after his arrival, General Banks, formed a new plan of prices for agricultural labor; low, it is true, com-







