

CHAPTER XV.

BUTLER'S ADMINISTRATION AT NEW ORLEANS.

The Condition of New Orleans.—Character of its Population.—Butler at the St. Charles.—Interview with the Mayor.—Quelling the Mob.—Butler's Proclamation.—Soule's Remonstrance.—Butler and the City Authorities.—Occupation of Baton Rouge.—Providing Food.—Charles Heideck.—Feeding the Poor.—The City Authorities reproved.—The Women Order.—The General and the Mayor.—Deposition of the Municipal Government.—Regulating the Currency.—The Banks and their Issues.—Property sequestered by the Confederacy.—Cleaning the Streets.—The Quarantine.—Pardon of the Monroe Guard.—Execution of Mumford.—Execution of Plunderers.—Punishment of Outrages.—Mrs. Phillips.—The Oath of Allegiance or Neutrality required.—Protest of Consuls.—Modified Oath.—Butler and the Clergy.—Dr. Leacock.—Disarming the Population.—Consular Protest.—The Confiscation Act.—The Negro Question.—Colored Regiments.—Military Operations.—The Pass System.—Occupation of the Lafourche District.—Sequestration of Property.—Growth of Union Sentiment.—Butler's Plans.—Charges against him.—His Recall.—Butler and the Consuls.—His Farewell Address.

IN assuming the military government of New Orleans, General Butler undertook a difficult and delicate task. It will be the object of this chapter to show how he performed it. The people were heterogeneous. At the outbreak of the rebellion the resident population was 168,000; 155,000 were free and 13,000 slaves. Of the free population, 10,000 were colored; of the whites, 80,000 were born in the United States, 65,000 in foreign countries. Ireland sent 24,000, Germany 20,000, France 11,000, England 3000. Almost half of the free white population were born abroad; more than half out of the state. Of those of foreign birth, few became citizens by naturalization, as is shown by the small vote cast. In the presidential election of 1860 less than 11,000 votes were given; of these, Bell received one half, the remainder being almost equally divided between Douglass and Breckinridge; not a single vote was given to Lincoln. No city in the Union has so few citizens in proportion to its white population. The alien element was strong beyond its ratio of number. Two thirds of the business men were of foreign birth. They had come to New Orleans to make money. For the country which protected them they cared nothing. All that they cared for was the profits which they could gain by trading; so that these were safe, they cared not for king or emperor, for Union or Confederacy. Of citizens by birth, the majority belonged to the Creole race; that is, as the word is used in Louisiana, people born in the state, but of French or Spanish blood. They are fond of money, and yet not specially active in the pursuit of gain. In ordinary cases, they kept rather aloof from politics, preferring luxury to excitement. Under the impulse of passion or revenge they were ready for any desperate deed. Two or three assassinations, as many fights and "encounters" in street or bar-room, and as many more formal duels, were the average from day to day. Besides the resident population, there was a floating mass of renegades and desperadoes from all quarters of the globe, fiery Frenchmen, revengeful Spaniards, sneaking Cubans, and, worse than either, the refuse of all the gamblers, swindlers, and ruffians swarming down the Mississippi from every part of the Union. A desperado for whom Vicksburg or Natchez-under-the-Hill had become too hot, but who had no taste for roughing it in Texas, looked to New Orleans as a temporary refuge. This floating population, shifting from day to day, of which the census could take no account, numbered from 5000 to 10,000.

New Orleans was a purely commercial city. It owed its being to the fact that it stood on the first tolerably firm patch of land above the mouths of the Mississippi. The resident population were at first loth to imperil their interests by rushing into secession; but the controlling mass of aliens, who could lose nothing, and might hope to gain much by the overthrow of the Union, soon seduced or forced the indolent impetuous Creoles to their views. Secession became the fashion. No young man who cared to have a place in society dared to do other than volunteer for the Confederate army. The population of New Orleans was depleted by 30,000 of the flower of its youth. They were in every army of the Confederacy.

When New Orleans found itself powerless before the fleet of Farragut, its population numbered about 140,000. It was made up of the poor who could not leave, of the scoundrels who would not leave, and of people who cared not whether they staid or left, so that they could have either security or profit, going or staying. The scoundrels of the city, known by the Hindoo name of "Thugs," were those who thronged the streets, and with whom the Union commander had first to do.

The city of New Orleans had been built upon commerce. Most of its industrious population lived by trade. When the blockade from above and the blockade from below cut off all but the venturous trade of blockade-running, great distress ensued. The demand for labor was almost extinct. There was barely thirty days' provisions in the city. The ordinary sources of supply were cut off. No more flour came from Mobile, no more cattle from Texas, no more marketing from up the Mississippi and the fertile Red River country. The rich could hardly obtain food, for the markets were empty and provision-stores mostly closed. Prices rose enormously; a barrel of flour cost sixty dollars. Fifty thousand people were in danger of immediate starvation. The hot season was also at hand, and the appearance of yellow fever might reasonably be anticipated. Its last appearance as an epidemic was in 1853, when, out of the 30,000 unacclimated population, 29,020 were attacked and 8101 died in three months, 5269 dying in the single month of August.¹ There was every thing in the sanitary condition of the city to render its appearance as an epidemic probable, and in that case the utter annihilation of the unacclimated Northern army was almost inevitable. "You'll never see home again!" "Yellow Jack will have you before long!" yelled the mob, as the advance of Butler's force marched into the city.

¹ See Alexander Walker, editor of New Orleans Delta, in Harper's Magazine for November, 1853; and J. Snowdon Pigott, M.D., *ibid.*, June, 1857.

The whole actual force of the army now under the command of Butler was about 14,000 men. Ship Island, Forts Jackson and St. Philip, Baton Rouge, and many posts on the lagoons, must be occupied and garrisoned. To hold New Orleans, with its hostile population of more than 100,000, he had at the outset barely 7000 men. Should the yellow fever appear, he would in a month have not one. The enemy had a considerable force in the neighborhood, which might at any moment attempt to dislodge him. Farragut's fleet, indeed, commanded the city, but it could act only by destroying it. If the Confederates chose to make a Moscow of New Orleans, the army of occupation might be annihilated. Butler was not merely to hold the city, but to govern it. He could not deal with it as Davoust dealt with Hamburg, or as the British dealt with Delhi. It was to be treated as if it were in fact as well as in theory a city of the United States, with no severity or rigor which was not absolutely necessary to maintain the authority of the Union.¹

Butler decided to make the St. Charles Hotel his temporary head-quarters. It was closed; but an entrance was effected, and a son of one of the proprietors discovered. He could not give up the hotel to General Butler; should he do so, he would be shot before he could reach the next corner; waiters, cooks, and porters would not serve, cook, or carry for him; besides, there were no provisions in the market. These difficulties were quietly set aside. Butler would take the hotel; the general and his attendants could, if need were, wait upon and cook for themselves; for food, they had become accustomed to army rations, and could live very well upon them. His head-quarters established, Butler sent to the mayor, informing him that he would be happy to meet him and the Common Council at two o'clock. The mayor, emboldened by the moderation displayed by Farragut, replied impudently that his place of business was in the City Hall, where he could be seen during office hours. He was courteously informed that such a reply would not be likely to satisfy the commanding general. Monroe finally concluded to accept the invitation to the St. Charles. At the appointed hour he made his appearance, accompanied by several friends, among whom, as counsel and mouthpiece, was Pierre Soulé, a shrewd lawyer, fluent speaker, and unscrupulous politician, of French birth, and a great favorite among the Creoles. Nine years before he had been appointed by Pierce, the most unprincipled, and, after Buchanan, the feeblest of our presidents, minister to Spain. He was a member of the noted Ostend Conference.

A cannon had been placed at each corner of the hotel, around which was drawn up a regiment, commanded by General Williams. The open space around was filled by a dense mob, who gathered courage from the quiet demeanor of the troops, and filled the air with hootings and execrations. Williams sent an aid to inform Butler that he feared he could not control the mob. "Then let him open upon them with artillery," replied Butler. "Don't do that!" shouted the mayor. "The mob must be controlled," replied Butler; "we can't have a disturbance in the streets." "Shall I go out and speak to the people?" asked Monroe. "As you please," answered Butler; "but order must be preserved in the public streets." The speeches of the mayor and his friends quieted the mob for a time; but their rage broke out anew at the sight of a half company of soldiers escorting the loyal Judge Summers, once Recorder of New Orleans, to a place of safety in the Custom-house. The orders given to Lieutenant Kinsman, who commanded the squad of fifty men, were brief and emphatic: "If any one molests or threatens you, arrest him. If a rescue is attempted, fire." The squad, drawn up in two lines, with a space between in which were the lieutenant and the judge, worked its way through the surging mob. Those nearest the soldiers kept quiet; those behind them, sheltered by the quiet ones, yelled and hooted. Half the way from the St. Charles to the Custom-house was accomplished without a collision. Then one of the noisiest of the crowd happened to be within reach. "Halt!" ordered the lieutenant; "bring out that man." In an instant he was dragged between the lines, still screaming and shouting. "Stop your noise," was the sharp order. "I won't," was the reply. "Sergeant, lower your bayonet. If another sound comes from that man's mouth, run him through." The man was as mute as a corpse. Once more on the way a similar scene was performed, with the same result. Their work accomplished, the squad marched back through a crowd as silent as a funeral. Nobody had been hurt; but the mob of New Orleans was cowed by the mere display of the force of the law embodied in one lieutenant and fifty men.

The afternoon had worn away, and the conference between the general and the mayor was adjourned, to be resumed in the evening. Butler opened it by reading his proclamation, printed copies of which were given to the other side. The printing of this proclamation had cost a little trouble. The printer, who was desired to print it, could not think of doing so, nor should it be done in his office with his consent. In two hours a file of soldiers were drawn up before the building. Half a dozen of them entered the office, laid down their muskets, and stepped quietly to the cases. The quick click of type was heard. In two hours more the proclamation was in type, proofs read, corrected, revised, and copies enough for present use worked off. Its purport was that the city of New Orleans was occupied by the forces of the United States, who had come to restore order under the laws and the Constitution. For the present—for the third time in its history—the city would be governed by martial law. No ensigns or flags except those of the United States and of foreign consulates could appear. All citizens who should renew their oath of allegiance to the United States would be fully protected. All who maintained their allegiance to the Confederate states would be considered rebels and enemies. Those who had been in the serv-

¹ Parton's "General Butler in New Orleans" furnishes full details of the administration of Butler in New Orleans.

ice of the Confederate States, who should give up their arms and return to peaceful avocations, would not be unnecessarily molested. Foreigners not naturalized would still enjoy the protection of the laws of the United States. The killing of any soldier would be considered as assassination; the owner of any house in which such act should be committed would be held responsible, and the house would be liable to be destroyed by military authority. All disorders, disturbances of the peace, and crimes of an aggravated character interfering with the forces or laws of the United States, would be tried and punished by a military court; other misdemeanors would be subject to the municipal authorities, if they desired to act; civil cases would be tried by the ordinary tribunals. The circulation of Confederate bonds and scrip was prohibited; but, as Confederate current notes were the only money in the hands of the poorer classes, they might circulate, if any one would take them. If a soldier of the United States should commit any outrage upon person or property, he would be promptly punished, and full redress be made. Martial law would be enforced, mildly if possible, rigorously if necessary, so long as the authorities of the United States deemed proper. In brief, Butler wished to govern only the military forces, and sustain the government of the United States against its enemies, leaving the authorities of the city in full exercise of their ordinary municipal and civil functions.

Soulé, still spokesman for the mayor, objected to the proclamation. It would give great offense, and the people would never submit to it. They were not conquered, and could not be expected to behave as a conquered people. The presence of the troops would irritate a high-spirited and sensitive people. The troops could have no peace while they remained. "Withdraw them," he said, "and leave the city government to manage its own affairs. If they remain, there will certainly be trouble." Butler flamed up at this. "I did not expect," he said, "to hear a threat from Mr. Soulé on this occasion. New Orleans is a conquered city. If not, why are we here? Have you welcomed us? Are we here by your consent? Would you not expel us if you could? New Orleans has been conquered by the forces of the United States, and by the laws of nations lies subject to the will of the conquerors. I have proposed to leave to the municipal government the free exercise of all its powers, and I am answered by a threat."

Soulé disclaimed any intention of threatening the troops, but had merely stated what he thought would be the consequence of their remaining. Butler replied that he would gladly take every one of his soldiers from the city, as soon as it could be shown that the city government had rendered it possible for him to ride alone, without insult or danger, from one end of the city to another. But the events of the afternoon had proved that the city authorities were unable to control the mob. Lovell himself had been forced to proclaim martial law to protect peaceable citizens against the rowdies. "I know," he concluded, "more about your city than you think. I know that this hour there is an organization established for the purpose of assassinating my men by detail. But I warn you that, if a shot is fired from any house, that house will never again cover a mortal's head; and if I can discover the perpetrator of the deed, the place that now knows him shall know him no more forever. I have the power to suppress this unruly element in your midst, and I mean so to use it that, in a very short period, I shall be able to ride through the entire city free from insult and danger, or else this metropolis of the South shall be a desert from the plains of Chalmette to the outskirts of Carrollton."¹

The discussion was continued, but Butler was immovable. The mayor declared that the functions of the city government should be at once suspended, and the general could act his pleasure. This was objected to by others, and it was finally agreed that the City Council should deliberate upon the matter, and announce their decision the next day. They decided that the city government should continue to exercise its usual functions, but requested that the troops should be withdrawn from the vicinity of the Court-house, so that there might be no appearance that the authorities were acting under military compulsion. The request was more than complied with. The camps within the city were one by one broken up. Some of the troops established a permanent camp at Carrollton, on the outskirts; others were posted across the river at Algiers; others garrisoned the abandoned forts on the lagoons. A full brigade was sent to occupy Baton Rouge, of which possession had been taken by Commander Palmer, of the Iroquois, belonging to Farragut's fleet.² When all these dispositions had been made there remained in New Orleans itself only 250 men, who were posted in the Custom-house, and served merely as a provost guard. Butler had resolved to try a conciliatory policy, confining himself solely to his strictly military functions, leaving the internal government of the city to the municipal authorities, aided, if necessary, by the European brigade, who had been requested to continue their organization. How ill this mild policy succeeded will soon appear; but under it the city for a few days enjoyed a tranquillity to which it had long been a stranger.

¹ Parton's "Butler in New Orleans," p. 296.

² The proceedings at Baton Rouge were, on a small scale, similar to those at New Orleans. The body of the fleet had passed up the river without stopping. On the 8th of May the Iroquois anchored off the town, and the commander sent a note to the mayor demanding that the town should be surrendered; the flag of the United States be hoisted on the Arsenal; the property of the Confederate states to remain intact, and be delivered over when demanded; the rights and property of citizens to be respected. The mayor and selectmen replied that the city of Baton Rouge would not be surrendered voluntarily to any power on earth; but it was without military force, and had no means of defense. Its occupation would be without the consent and against the wish of the peaceable inhabitants. The city had no control over the Arsenal, except for the purpose of preserving the buildings since its evacuation, and it could not be expected to surrender it, or exercise any act which would be offensive to the sensibilities of the people, by hoisting the flag of the United States. Palmer did not wait to bandy messages, but sent a few men ashore, took possession of the Arsenal and barracks, and hoisted the Union flag without opposition. He then sent a note to the mayor telling him what he had done, and warning him that, although he had left no force on shore to protect it, the flag must not be molested; adding, significantly, "The rash act of some individual may cause your city to pay a bitter penalty."

This quiet interval gave Butler an opportunity to provide against the famine and pestilence with which New Orleans was threatened. The question of food was the most pressing. There was at Mobile a quantity of flour purchased by the city for the subsistence of its citizens; a safe-conduct was to be given to steam-boats to come and return, conveying this flour. The Opelousas Railroad was authorized and required to run trains to bring provisions into the city. At the junction of the Mississippi and Red Rivers were large quantities of cattle, flour, and other provisions purchased for the subsistence of the city; a safe-conduct was granted to two steamers each day to bring these to New Orleans. The city authorities were to appoint an agent to superintend these transportations, the faith of the city being pledged that no aid or intelligence should be conveyed to the Confederates.¹ The orders which gave these privileges were drawn up on the suggestion of the city authorities. The faith of the city, solemnly pledged, was throughout deliberately and persistently abused. Under cover of it provisions were sent to Lovell's troops, and most important information was regularly furnished to the Confederate authorities. A small but scandalous case was that of Charles Heidseck. He was a Frenchman, a member of the firm whose Champagne bottles are known all over the world. He had come to America to look after the business of his house, and had for some time been a resident of Mobile. When the order appeared authorizing boats to convey flour from Mobile to New Orleans, he went on board as bar-tender. In this capacity he made several trips, conveying letters and information. He was finally detected, arrested, and sent to Fort Jackson. "I arrested him as a spy," wrote Butler; "I confined him as a spy; I should have tried him as a spy; and would have hanged him, upon conviction, as a spy, if I had not been interfered with by the government at Washington." After some months of confinement the Champagne dealer was released, and suffered to return unhung to France.

Food began to come in from all these sources. Butler contributed a thousand dollars to feed the poor. Much beef and sugar intended for the rebels in the field had been captured. A thousand barrels of this were distributed without charge. Supplies came from New York exceeding the wants of the army. The commissary was authorized to sell the surplus to families at cheap rates: flour, seven and a half cents a pound; salt meats, ten; "city bank-notes, gold, silver, or United States treasury notes to be taken in payment." All this brought down the market price of provisions. Flour fell in a few days from sixty to twenty-four dollars. Those who had or could get money other than Confederate paper need not starve. But more than a third of the population had no money or means of earning it. To find work for these, and the means of paying the laborers, came up in a short time.

The city was reeking with the filth accumulated for weeks, forming a train for the yellow fever whenever a chance spark from the tropics should be at hand to fire it. The authorities had undertaken to clean the streets. They neglected to do so. Butler, on the 9th of May, sharply reminded them of their neglect. "You have assumed this work," he said, "and it must be performed. The present suspension of labor furnishes ample supplies of hungry men who can be profitably employed to this end. Three days since I called the attention of the mayor to this subject, and nothing has been done." The mayor averred that he had set 300 men at work upon the streets; but not a man of them could be discovered. Butler put forth a general order inveighing sharply against the conduct of the city authorities, and of the wealthy leaders of the rebellion, who had gotten up the war, and were endeavoring to prosecute it, without regard to the starving poor. "They have betrayed their country; they have been false to every trust; they can not protect those whom they have ruined, but have left them to the mercies of a chronic mob; they will not feed those whom they are starving. The United States have sent forces here to fight and subdue rebellious armies in array against their authority. We find substantially only fugitive masses, runaway property-burners, a whisky-drinking mob, and starving citizens with their wives and children. It is our duty to call back the first, punish the second, root out the third, feed and protect the last."

The male mob of New Orleans had been cowed by the mere fear of artillery and bayonets; but there was a female mob, composed mainly of the wives and daughters of the upper classes, who could not thus be reached. Protected by the immunities of their sex, they embraced every opportunity of insulting the Union troops. They flaunted secession colors upon their dresses, they sung secession songs, and thrummed secession tunes upon their pianos. If a body of soldiers passed the balconies where they were standing, they would turn their backs contemptuously. If they met a Union officer on the pave, they would sweep aside their dresses as if to avoid defilement, and turn into the middle of the street with insulting words and gestures. If a Union officer entered a street car or a church pew, these women would leave in a body. These annoyances, petty in themselves, grew to be unendurable. The climax was reached when a woman deliberately spat in the faces of two officers who were quietly walking in the street. Butler resolved to put a stop to these insults, and to do it not by the exercise of military power, but simply by carrying into effect an old and well-known municipal law of the city. By this a prostitute plying her vocation in the street was liable to be arrested, confined over night in the calaboose, brought in the morning before a magistrate, and fined five dollars. What constituted plying this vocation in public? Simply that a woman openly and obtrusively endeavored to attract the attention of strange men. For this purpose opprobrious epithets and insulting gestures are used as often as smiles and blandishments. Thereupon, on the 15th of May, was issued the famous General Order No. 28. The result in New Orleans itself was precisely what

¹ General Orders, May 4, 1862.

was intended. Women who had grossly insulted soldiers and officers, knowing that their sex shielded them from personal resentment, and who would have courted military arrest and formal trial as a kind of martyrdom, shrank back from the prospect of the calaboose and the police court. Not a single arrest was made under the order. There was no occasion for one. The threat of the calaboose and the police court did for the women what the mere threat of cannon-shot and bayonet-thrust had done for the men.¹

In New Orleans the import of the order was thoroughly understood. Beyond the city, where the municipal law upon which it was based was unknown, it was misunderstood and misrepresented. It was interpreted to give up the women of New Orleans to violence and outrage. Rewards were offered at the South for the assassination of Butler. In the British Parliament, Lord Palmerston denounced it as "infamous." Punch, the representative of British sentiment, compared Butler with Nena Sahib. The Secretary of State admitted to the English chargé that he "regretted that, in the haste of composition, a phraseology which could be mistaken or perverted had been used." This admission was correct in substance. Ten words explaining that each offending female was, "in strict accordance with the municipal law of New Orleans," to be regarded "as a woman of the town plying her avocation," would have obviated all chance of misconstruction or misrepresentation.

This order was the occasion, not the cause, of the deposition of the municipal government. Two weeks' trial had demonstrated that the government of New Orleans could not be administered conjointly by two authorities so utterly hostile in aim as the Union general and the Confederate mayor and council. The city authorities not only neglected to perform the duties which they had undertaken, but they undertook to perform offensive acts beyond their sphere. A French armed vessel, supposed to be the precursor of a large fleet, was in the river. The Common Council offered the hospitalities of the port to this fleet, the offer being couched in terms offensive to the Union. Butler rebuked them sharply. Your action, he said, is an insult both to the United States and to France. The tender of hospitalities by a government to which only police duties and sanitary regulations are intrusted, is simply an invitation to the calaboose and the hospital. The United States authorities are the only ones here capable of dealing with foreign nations. "The action of the city council in this behalf must be revised." This was on the day when Order No. 28 was published. When that order appeared, the mayor sent to Butler a letter written by his clerk, and signed by himself, protesting against the order. He could not suffer it to be promulgated without protest. Union officers and soldiers were by it allowed to place what construction they pleased upon the conduct of the women of New Orleans. He would not be responsible for the peace of the city while this order, which had "aroused the passions of the people, and must exasperate them to a degree beyond control," and was "a reproach to the civilization, not to say the Christianity of the age," was in force. Butler at once issued an order suspending the mayor, and ordering his committal to Fort Jackson. Before the order was executed, an interview was granted. Butler said the letter was insulting. The mayor protested that he had not meant to insult the general; he only wished to vindicate the virtuous ladies of New Orleans. The general expounded the order, showing that it could refer only to those whose conduct evinced that they were not virtuous. The mayor averred that he was perfectly satisfied, and asked to withdraw his offensive letter. Butler wrote an indorsement, which Monroe signed, and was relieved from arrest.² In a few hours the mayor sent a note asking to withdraw his withdrawal. This was on Saturday. The mayor reiterated his request on Sunday, but was told that this was not a business day; on Monday his affair would receive attention. He came on Monday, accompanied by a half score of friends and advisers. Butler, meanwhile, had received information which determined him to make short work. Each of the mayor's friends was asked whether he sanctioned the offensive letter. The mayor and three others who avowedly sanctioned it were sent to Fort Jackson; the others were discharged. Pierre Soulé, the mouthpiece of secession in the city, was also arrested, and sent to Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor. In a few weeks, however, he was released at the request of Butler, upon his parole not to return to New Orleans, nor to commit or advise any act hostile to the United States.

The city government was suppressed, and the work of governing New Orleans was intrusted to General Shepley. On the 20th of May he issued a notice saying that, "in the absence of the late mayor," he should "for the present, and until such time as the citizens of New Orleans shall elect a loyal citizen of the United States as mayor of the city, discharge the functions which have hitherto appertained to that office." Ample protection was assured to all peaceable citizens; any outrage committed by or upon soldiers would be punished; all city ordinances not inconsistent with the laws of the United States or with the general orders of the commanding general would be continued in force; all legal contracts made by or with the city authorities would be held inviolate. Captain Jonas H. French was appointed provost marshal, with the general functions of chief of police, and Major Joseph M. Bell provost judge, to try all charges of violation of municipal or national laws.

Four things claimed the immediate attention of the new government: to

¹ "GENERAL ORDER No. 28.—As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subjected to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter, when any female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation."

² The indorsement was in these words: "General Butler,—This communication having been sent under a mistake of fact, and being improper in language, I desire to apologize for the same, and to withdraw it."



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supply food for the population; to furnish labor, so that the poor could procure food; to provide a safe currency; and to guard against the yellow fever.

Provisions soon began to appear in sufficient quantities to preclude the absolute necessity of famine. Dealers were at first disposed to close their stores, and it was necessary, for a few days, to order them to be kept open under penalty of a fine. The only currency in actual circulation consisted of "shinplasters," car and omnibus tickets, and Confederate notes, the latter depreciated seventy per cent. in value. The banks had sent off their specie, but it was supposed that it could be recovered, and in that case they would be perfectly solvent. The banks were anxious to regain their funds. They asked Butler to give protection to the specie, if it could be recovered and brought back, promising to hold it in good faith to protect their bill-holders and depositors. Butler agreed to this, with the proviso that banks as well as individuals should restore all the property belonging to the United States which had come into their hands. "I have come," he said, "to retake, repossess, and occupy all and singular the property of the United States, of whatever name and nature. Farther than that I shall not go, save upon the most urgent military necessity, under which right every citizen holds all his possessions. Therefore, as safe-conducts may be needed for agents of banks to go and return with the property, these will be granted for a limited but reasonable period of time." No safe-conducts were required for this purpose. Memminger, the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, wrote that "the coin of the banks of New Orleans was seized by the government to prevent its falling into the hands of the public enemy. It has been deposited in a place of security under the charge of the government; and it is not intended to interfere with the rights of property in the banks farther than to insure its safe custody. They may proceed to conduct their business in the Confederate States upon this deposit just as though it were in their own vaults."³

To produce any thing like a redeemable currency the Confederate notes must be driven out. These had been allowed to circulate provisionally. A general order was issued⁴ directing that neither the city nor any bank should exchange its obligations for Confederate notes, nor put out any obligation payable in such notes; and that after the expiration of ten days⁴ all circulation of and trade in such notes should cease; that all sales thereafter made in consideration of such notes should be void, and any property thus sold would be confiscated, a quarter of the proceeds to go to the informer. Banks and bankers at once issued notices requiring all persons having deposits with them of Confederate notes to withdraw them at once, those not withdrawn "to be at the risk of the owners;" that is, the banks, who had grown rich upon the traffic in these bills, now that they were worthless wished to throw the whole loss on the community. They had received them as money when they were supposed to be valuable, and wished to pay them out when they were mere waste paper. Butler promptly interposed. He ordered that no incorporated bank or private banker should pay out any thing but specie, United States treasury notes, or the current bills of city banks.⁵

¹ May 14.

² July 6.

³ May 16.

⁴ That is, on the 27th of May.

⁵ GENERAL ORDER No. 30, May 19, 1862.—The following are abbreviated extracts from this order: The banks suspended specie payments, and then introduced Confederate notes as currency, buying them at a discount, receiving them on deposit, paying them out, and collecting notes and



REPAIRING THE LEVEE AT NEW ORLEANS.

The Bank of Louisiana alone protested against this order, and endeavored to avoid compliance; but Butler had might as well as right on his side. He was inflexible, and the bank, "having no alternative but compliance," yielded with the best grace in its power. Confederate notes and shinplasters disappeared, and were replaced by the currency of the United States, and by small notes issued by the city government.

Soon after¹ an order appeared with which the banks had to do. Any person who had in his possession or under his control any property belonging to the "so-called Confederate States," was required, under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of property, to give information concerning it. This order signified, among other things, that money deposited in any bank to the credit of the Confederacy had become the property of the Union, and must be surrendered. The Citizens' Bank reported that the Treasurer of the Confederate States had upon its books a credit of \$219,000. It proposed to pay over this sum in Confederate notes. Moreover, there were on deposit in the bank to the credit of various Confederate receivers \$215,000; this, the bank thought, was to be considered a special deposit, which should be paid in the same currency in which it was received. Butler would not accede to this view of the case, and ordered that the latter sum should be paid at once in gold, silver, or United States currency. For various reasons, he would refer the former sum to the government for adjudication; but the bank must, in the mean time, hold the notes as a special deposit, and also keep a like amount of bullion to await the decision.² Nearly a quarter of a

million of dollars was thus recovered from the banks, and paid over to the treasury of the United States. "This," said Butler, "will make a fund upon which those whose property has been confiscated may have claim."

Soon¹ came another order which concerned individuals as well as corporations. It ordered that all sums due to any citizen of the United States which had been in any way sequestered by the ordinances of the Confederate States,² or by those of Louisiana, were to be paid over to the lawful owners. Not a few debts due to American citizens were thus recovered. Among those affected by this order was John G. Cocks, a judge at New Orleans. In 1860 he had bought a score and a half of slaves from Major Anderson, for which he had given his notes. A month after the fall of Fort Sumter, Cocks put forth in a New Orleans paper an insulting letter, addressed to "Major Robert Anderson, late of Fort Sumter," in which he said that these notes would never be paid. Butler took possession of the large estates of Cocks, who had fled from New Orleans, holding them as security for the liquidation of Anderson's claim.

¹ General Order No. 40; June 6.

² Extracts from Butler's Reply to the Bank, Jan. 13, 1862.—"The report finds that there is to the credit of the Confederate States \$219,000 94. This is, of course, due in present from the bank. The bank claims that it holds an equal amount of Confederate treasury notes, and desires to set off these notes against the amount so due. This can not be permitted. Confederate treasury notes are not due till six months after the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States. When that time comes it will be in season to set off such claims. The United States being entitled to the credits due the Confederate States in the bank, that amount must be paid in money or valuable property. I can not recognize the Confederate notes as either money or property. The bank having done so by receiving them, issuing their banking upon them, loaning upon them, thus giving them credit to the injury of the United States, is estopped to deny their value. But there are other considerations which may apply to this item: only the notes of the Confederate States were deposited by the treasurer in the bank, and by the order of the ruling authority then here the bank was obliged to receive them. In equity and good conscience the Confederate States could call for nothing more than they had compelled the bank to take. The United States succeed to the rights of the Confederate States, and should only take that which the Confederate States ought to take. But the United States, not taking or

recognizing Confederate notes, can only leave them with the bank, to be held by it hereafter in special deposit as so much worthless paper."

How far these considerations applied to the case of the sums deposited by the Confederate treasurer was left to the decision of the government; but the bank was required to give security for payment in case the decision should be against it. But the decision of Butler in case of the deposits made by Confederate receivers was clear and definite. He said:

"The several deposits of the officers of the supposed Confederate States were received in the usual course of business; were doubtless, some of them, perhaps largely, received in Confederate notes, but, for the reason above stated, can only be paid to the United States in its own constitutional currency. These are, in no sense of language, 'special deposits.' They were held in general account, went into the funds of the bank, were paid out in the discounts of the bank, and, if called upon to-day for the identical notes put into the bank, which is the only idea of a special deposit, the bank would be utterly unable to produce them. As well might my private banker, with whom I have deposited my neighbor's check or draft as money, which has been received as money, and paid out as money, months afterward, when my neighbor has become bankrupt, buy up other of his checks and drafts at a discount, and pay them to me, upon the ground that I had made a 'special deposit.'"

In a few weeks provisions had poured into New Orleans in sufficient quantities to obviate a famine; but the laboring classes were without means to purchase, and the filthy condition of the streets invited pestilence. The poor must be fed, and the streets must be cleaned. It appeared to Butler that these two objects might be combined. He accordingly proposed³ to the military commandant and city council that the city should employ 2000 men, to each of whom should be paid fifty cents a day by the city, the United States also issuing to each laborer a full soldier's ration, worth quite as much, and sufficient for the subsistence of a man and a woman. This suggestion was accepted; the force was placed under the charge of Colonel T. B. Thorpe, a native of New York, who had for many years resided in Louisiana. The work thus undertaken was well done. The accumulated filth of months was purged away, and the city placed in a better sanitary condition than it had known for years. Moreover, the changes of the river constantly create new lands within the city limits. This new land, known as

¹ July 9.

² For which, see *ante*, p. 212.

³ June 4.

batture or "shoal," is at first a mere mud-bank, and requires to be protected from the water before it is available as property. By well-directed labor, batture worth a million of dollars was in a few months added to the city property.

The cleansing of the streets and canals was not alone an adequate safeguard against the yellow fever. Butler had adopted the theory that this pestilence is indigenous in no region where there is frost every winter. Wherever there is great summer heat acting upon decaying vegetable and animal matter, the fever may spread. This forms the train ready for explosion, but it must be fired from abroad. New Orleans furnishes every condition for the spread of the disease when once introduced.¹ To prevent the introduction of this spark, a vigorous and judicious quarantine was established. The duration of this was in each case left to the discretion of the health-officer. His instructions were to detain a vessel as long as he thought necessary to protect the city, whether the time were one day or a hundred. A vessel loaded with hides and wool, its hold reeking with dead and putrid matter, was not placed on an equality with a steamer carrying only passengers and merchandise not likely to absorb and generate contagion. The rule was simply that any vessel should be kept in quarantine just so long as the health-officer deemed necessary to secure the city from infection. For a few days there was an alarm. One man, who had come on a steamer which had touched at Nassau, was seized by the disease. The house was cleared of all persons except an acclimated attendant, and the whole block guarded by sentinels. The man died; every article in his room was burned or buried; his attendant was quarantined; the whole quarter of the city was cleaned and fumigated. This was the sole case of yellow fever in New Orleans during the summer of 1862.

Food sufficient to obviate the absolute peril of famine had been brought to New Orleans. Labor sufficient to feed 4000 persons was furnished; but there were ten times as many whose ordinary means of livelihood had been cut off. These must be cared for; and in a few weeks there were 35,000 persons, nearly a quarter of the population, fed from the public funds. Butler considered that this great burden ought to be made to fall, as far as possible, upon those who had been most active in bringing starvation upon the poor and helpless. A loan of a million and a quarter of dollars had been made by various corporations and individuals, and placed in the hands of a "Committee of Public Safety" for the defense of New Orleans. The subscriptions were in sums varying from a few thousand to more than two hundred thousand dollars. The subscribers to this loan showed that they had means to pay largely for the support of their starving neighbors. Butler² ordered a sum equal to one quarter of their subscriptions to be paid by each of these persons. This produced more than \$300,000. Moreover, about a hundred cotton-brokers, the leading commercial men in New Orleans, had published a circular urging planters not to bring their produce to the city. Butler, by the same order, assessed a fine of from \$100 to \$500 upon each of these. Under this order nearly \$350,000 was received, which was set apart as "a fund for the purpose of providing employment and food for the deserving poor." From this fund a thousand men were to be paid to work on the streets and canals. Each was to receive a dollar and a half a day, the wages which had been paid for labor on the fortifications; the rations heretofore issued by the United States to these laborers being discontinued. This fund was exhausted early in December, and one of the last acts of Butler³ was to impose another assessment of a like amount upon the same parties.

Meanwhile William B. Mumford, the man who had hauled down the flag from the Mint, had remained in New Orleans. He appeared in public, boasting of his deed, and defying the authorities to molest him. He was apprehended, brought before a military commission, tried, and condemned to death. While this was going on, it was discovered that a number of men had organized themselves into a military company, under the name of the "Monroe Guard," with the purpose of breaking through the lines and joining the Confederate army. Among these were six soldiers who had been paroled at Fort Jackson. These were arrested and condemned to death, under the recognized laws of war. Strenuous efforts were made to procure their pardon. In these many of the Union men of the city joined. It was represented that they were ignorant men, who were totally unaware of the nature of their act. One of them, when brought before the commission, declared that he did not know any thing about paroling. "Paroling," he said, simply, "is for officers and gentlemen; we are not gentlemen." Butler yielded to the urgent petitions for mercy. To one of these he replied: "You, who have exerted your talents to save the lives of Union men in their hour of peril, ought to have a determining weight when your opinions have been deliberately formed. You ask for the lives of these men. You shall have them. You say that the clemency of the government is best for the cause we all have at heart. Be it so. You are likely to be better informed upon this than I am. But if this example of mercy is lost upon those in the same situation, swift justice can overtake others in like manner offending." The men were reprieved and sent to Ship Island. But the reprieve of these six rendered it impossible to spare Mumford. To pardon him would be judged by the mob as a confession of weakness. Butler firmly resisted all entreaties. One venerable man, one of the noblest in

the city, begged for mercy. "Give me this man's life," he prayed; "it is but a scratch of your pen." "True," replied Butler; "but a scratch of my pen could burn New Orleans. I could do the one act as soon as the other. I think one would be as wrong as the other." Mumford was hung on the 7th of July: a tall, black-bearded man, aged forty-two, rather prepossessing in appearance, a gambler by profession. He met his fate with composure. He said that the act for which he was condemned was committed under excitement, and he did not think that he was suffering justly. The Confederates endeavored to elevate Mumford to the rank of a martyr. His execution formed a leading part of the charge in virtue of which Jefferson Davis⁴ declared Butler to be an outlaw, who was to be hung at once in case he was captured. The execution was justified by every law of war, and demanded by the exigencies of the times. It effectually subdued the mob, which otherwise would need to have been quelled by cannon and the bayonet.

No other military execution took place at New Orleans, except those of a gang of scoundrels who committed robbery and theft under the pretense of being Union officers. Early in June there were complaints that men wearing the Federal uniform, claiming authority to search for concealed arms, had repeatedly entered houses, and had gone off carrying with them valuable property. A flagrant case of this kind occurred on the 11th. The next day one of the perpetrators was detected. He betrayed his accomplices, two of whom were arrested on the 12th, and three more on the 13th. All were tried, convicted, and ordered to be executed on the 16th. They were William M. Clary, George William Crage, late officers on board Union vessels; Frank Newton, a private in a Connecticut regiment; and Stanislaus Roy and Theodore Leib, residents of New Orleans. Leib was a mere boy, and his punishment was commuted, as was that of the informer. The others were promptly hung just five days after the commission of their crime.

At the close of June reports reached New Orleans of disasters to the Federal armies in Virginia. These came by telegraph over Southern lines, and were greatly exaggerated. The spirits of the Confederate sympathizers rose. Fidel Keller, a bookseller, procured a skeleton from a medical student, and exposed it in his window, labeled "Chickahominy," intending that the bones should be taken by the populace to be those of a Union soldier slain before Richmond. John W. Andrews displayed in club-rooms and other public places a cross, which he declared to have been made from the bones of a Union soldier. These offenders were sent for two years to Ship Island. Lieutenant De Kay, a gallant young officer, had been fatally wounded by guerrillas while descending the Mississippi. After a month, he died on the 27th of June. His funeral took place the next day at an Episcopal church, where Leacock, the rector, an Englishman by birth, had promised to perform the rites of the Church. He failed to be present; but the sacred edifice was filled by a gang made up of the scum of the rabble, whose conduct was scandalous beyond description, and the solemn rites were hastily hurried over. The funeral procession was mocked and insulted as it passed along the streets. The most prominent among the insulters was a woman named Phillips, the wife of Philip Phillips, a native of Charleston, educated in Vermont and Connecticut, subsequently a member of the South Carolina Nullification Convention of 1832. He emigrated to Alabama, whence he was sent to Congress in 1853. At the close of his term he declined a re-election, and took up his residence in Washington. His wife was one of the leaders of fashion in the national capital during the administration of Buchanan. She was one of a clique of traitresses who, from their supposed influence in political matters, were popularly known as the "boudoir cabinet." She was exiled from the Union, and went to New Orleans, where she made herself notorious as an advocate of the Confederates. Her conduct at the funeral of De Kay exhausted the measure of Butler's forbearance. He ordered that she should be sent to Ship Island.⁵ She was in a few weeks released and sent to Mobile.

The population of New Orleans, native and foreign, might be fairly divided into two main classes—Union men and rebels. Six weeks after the occupation of the city, Butler concluded that it was necessary, as a public exigency, "to distinguish between those who were well disposed to the government of the United States and those who still held allegiance to the Confederate States." He therefore directed⁶ that every person claiming to exercise any official function, military or civil, should take the oath "to bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and to support the Constitution thereof." Every official act performed by persons failing to take this oath within five days was to be null and void. All persons also, who had been citizens of the United States, who desired any right, favor, or privilege beyond mere protection from personal violence, must take the oath before their request could even be heard. Every person born in the United States, and every person of foreign birth who had resided therein for five years, and who had not claimed and received protection from the consul of his own government, was declared to be a citizen within the meaning of this order. Every alien was required to take an oath that "So long as my government remains at peace with the United States, I will do no act, or consent that any be done, or conceal any that has been or is about to be

¹ Proclamation of Dec. 23, 1862; see *ante*, p. 219.

² "Mrs. Phillips, wife of Philip Phillips, having been once imprisoned for her traitorous proceedings and acts in Washington, and been released by the clemency of the government, and having been found training her children to spit upon officers of the United States at New Orleans, for which act of one of those children both her husband and herself apologized, and were again forgiven, is now found on the balcony of her house during the passage of the funeral procession of Lieutenant De Kay, laughing and mocking at his remains; and upon being inquired of by the commanding general if this fact were so, contemptuously replies, 'I was in good spirits that day.' It is therefore ordered that she be not regarded and treated as a common woman of whom no officer or soldier is bound to take notice, but as an uncommon, bad, and dangerous woman, stirring up strife and inciting to riot, and that therefore she be confined at Ship Island," etc.—*Butler's Order*, June 30, 1862.

³ General Order No. 41, June 10,

⁴ "Lying upon a low alluvial plain, below the level of the Mississippi River at high water, it is surrounded by extensive undrained swamps, and has itself been reclaimed from a marsh. Its rich alluvial soil contains great quantities of vegetable mould, and is so damp that water can be obtained any where at the depth of a few feet. There are a number of cemeteries within the city limits which greatly taint the air. The drainage is imperfect, and the scavenger duty very badly performed. The open lots are also sources of disease, being the receptacle of the offal of the surrounding houses."—Dr. PIGOTT, in *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1857.

⁵ General Order No. 55, August 4.

⁶ December 9.



FEEDING THE POOR AT NEW ORLEANS.

done, that shall aid or comfort any of the enemies or opposers of the United States." There were also in the city many thousands who had served in the Confederate army. To them the option was given either to take the oath, or to surrender themselves as prisoners of war, to be paroled until regularly exchanged, or to be put in confinement, as they might choose. The members of the Common Council, who had up to this time acted as the legislative power in the city, refused to take the oath, and their functions were suspended "until such time as there shall be a sufficient number of the citizens of New Orleans loyal to their country and their Constitution to entitle them to resume the right of self-government."¹ Nearly a half of the score of foreign consuls at New Orleans united in a protest against the oath required by this order. Their protest was sharply worded. Its substance was, that some persons of foreign birth, in order to receive protection, were required not merely to swear allegiance to the United States, but also not to "conceal" any acts done against the government. Butler rejoined with greater sharpness. If a foreigner wished to enjoy the privileges accorded to American citizens, let him take the oath of allegiance. If he did not choose to do this, but wished to remain a neutral, let him take the oath to do nothing to aid the enemies of the United States. If he wished to do neither, but was content to remain with mere protection from personal violence, let him "be quiet, and keep away from his consul." If he did not like any of these conditions, let him take himself away—the sooner the better for all parties. This reply concluded with an admonition that the foreign consuls, as a body, should present no more argumentative protests against his orders. This was no part of their duties or their rights. If any one of them had any suggestion to offer, he could easily learn the proper mode. Butler could not, however, refrain from one bit of grim humor. The French legion had been required to take an oath to "defend the Constitution of the State and the Confederate States," without any protest from the French consul. Butler modified the oath required of foreigners so as to correspond with this, merely inserting the words "Constitution of the United States" instead of "Constitution of the State and of the Confederate States;" the oath, for the benefit of foreigners, being given in French as well as English.²

The consuls had no farther protest to offer upon this topic. But some months after it was reopened by the Reverend Dr. Leacock, the clergyman who had promised and then neglected to perform the funeral rites of De Kay. Some 12,000 persons had taken the citizens' oath, 2500 the foreign neutrals' oath, and more than 5000 Confederate officers and soldiers had given the required parole. Leacock was moved "to speak affectionately and candidly" to the Union general. He had been "eating up God's people as it were bread," by inducing them to take oaths which they never intended to fulfill. The general was urged to "pause and consider his course," to take "a very different course from that which he was pursuing." The doctor had "great sympathy for the general," and prayed that "God would give him grace to see his error, and sustain him in the discharge of his arduous and manifold duties." Before the act of secession was performed Leacock had published a sermon, the concluding paragraph of which strongly urged secession. This was printed, and 30,000 copies had been sold. The doctor now said that this paragraph, printed from his own manuscript, was not actually delivered. In fact, he was, and always had been, a friend of the Union, in proof of which he adduced a paragraph of a sermon preached some weeks after the former one, in which the destruction of the Union was earnestly deprecated. If this sermon was actually delivered at the time stated, it was a strange sequel to the one already published.

A question had meanwhile come up which must be decided. The rubric of the Episcopal Church prescribed that prayers should be offered for the "President of the United States and all others in authority." For this had been substituted, by direction of the bishop, Major General Polk, a prayer for the President of the Confederate States. After the occupation of New Orleans by the Union forces this could not clearly be done. When that part of the service was reached, the priest was wont to invite the congregation to spend a few moments in silent prayer. This at length came to be so notorious as to demand attention. Butler invited the prominent Episcopal clergymen to a conference. The question was whether they should offer the prescribed prayer for the President of the United States. Leacock endeavored to make a side issue. "Your insisting upon the oath of allegiance is causing half of my flock to perjure themselves." "If that is the result of your preaching," rejoined Butler, "the sooner you leave the pulpit the better." "Are you going to shut up the churches?" "I am more likely to shut up the ministers." The result was that Butler gave them the choice either to read the prayer for the President, omit the silent act of devotion, or leave New Orleans as prisoners of state. Leacock, and Goodrich and Fulton, much better men, refused to comply, and were sent North. Their churches were, however, kept open, service being performed by army chaplains, as laid down in the rubric.

As a rule, every "gentleman" of New Orleans wore a pistol or a knife as

certainly as he did a hat or a coat. For a time Butler refrained from interfering with this local practice. But when Breckinridge, on the 5th of August, made his determined but unsuccessful attack upon Baton Rouge, among the Confederate killed and wounded were found citizens wearing their usual arms, who only the day before had mingled with the Union officers, but who, on the approach of the Confederates, had hurried out to join them. Butler, on the representation of Weitzel, then resolved to disarm the population of New Orleans, and ordered that every private weapon, from a rifle to a dirk, should be given up, unless it were held by a written permit. The French consul remonstrated against the execution of this order, so far as it applied to French subjects. There were signs, he said, that the servile population meant to break the bonds which bound them to their masters, and they were only "partially kept in subjection by the conviction that their masters were armed, although their weapons were only such as could be used in self-defense." Butler replied by showing that the professed neutrality of many Frenchmen was not to be trusted. Few of them had taken the oath not to act against the United States. Bonnegras, the French consul at Baton Rouge, had been allowed to retain his arms, but his son was captured fighting against the Union. He could not see how arms which would serve for personal defense could not be used for offensive warfare. The fear that the blacks would wish to break the bonds which bound them to their masters was quite natural, since they, being an imitative race, would be quite likely to follow the example set them of rebellion against constituted authorities; "but surely the representative of the emperor, who did not tolerate slavery in France, could not desire that his countrymen should be armed for the purpose of preventing the negroes from breaking their bonds." But the United States could and would give better protection against outrage, whether from white men or negroes, than could be furnished by any improvised citizens' organization. Whenever the inhabitants of New Orleans should by a united act show their loyalty or neutrality, he would be glad of their aid to keep the peace, and would even restore the city to them. But, until that was done, he should require the arms of all the inhabitants, white and black, to be under his control.¹ This order was followed by another offering specific rewards for the discovery of hidden weapons. Concealment being an overt act of rebellion, any slave giving information of such hiding by his master was to be emancipated. Moreover, any offense which might be lawfully resisted by arms, whether committed by whites or blacks, would be capitally punished. Men known to be in favor of the Union were allowed to retain their arms by special permission. Some secessionists doubtless kept their weapons; but for the practical purpose of aiding in the recapture of New Orleans, they were disarmed.

The Confiscation Act² divided the rebels into two classes. The property of the first class, consisting mainly of high civil and military officials, was to be confiscated at once; that of the second class, comprising the great mass of the people, was liable to confiscation in case they did not return to their allegiance within sixty days after the issue of a proclamation to that effect. This proclamation was put forth on the 25th of July. One provision of this act made void all transfers of property made by rebels after the close of the sixty days of grace, which expired on the 23d of September. Disloyal citizens began to make nominal sales of their property to foreigners for the most paltry consideration. Before the passage of the Confiscation Act Butler had assumed the responsibility of sequestering the property of Twiggs and Slidell, taking the house of the former for his own headquarters. Twiggs, displaced from his command at New Orleans, had fled on the approach of the Union fleet, leaving behind him letters which showed that he had sought the command in Texas in order to betray his trust. He died, unregretted by friend or foe, soon after the capture of the city.

Ten days before the expiration of the time of grace every neutral foreigner was ordered to register himself, as it "might soon become necessary to distinguish the disloyal from the loyal citizens and honest neutral foreigners residing in the department." The day after the close of the period of grace, an order appeared pronouncing void every sale or contract, except for actual necessities of life, made by any citizen who had not returned to allegiance to the Union, and ordering every one who had not renewed his allegiance to report himself, with a description of all his property, actual or contingent, to the nearest provost marshal, whereupon he would receive a certificate showing him to be a registered enemy of the United States. Every householder was ordered, under severe penalties, to furnish a list of all the denizens of his house, giving their names, age, sex, and occupation. These lists furnished a complete record of the *status* of every resident of New Orleans. It was added that every person who should within a week renew his allegiance to the United States, and remain truly loyal, would be recommended to the President for pardon for all previous offenses.³

The great slave question never came fairly before Butler for adjudication. His official instructions were silent on this point. His private verbal instructions were to the effect that the government had not been able to decide upon a comprehensive policy. The President, wisely resolved to take no step that must afterward be retraced, directed him, in his straightforward, homely phrase, to "run the machine as he found it;" in other words, to raise no issues, and to meet those which presented themselves in such a way as to avoid censure from radicals or conservatives. Hence Butler gave little encouragement for slaves to leave their masters. But flagrant abuses were redressed; the jails were no longer permitted to be used as whipping-places for slaves; and, more than all, blacks were made equal with whites in the eye of the law. The decision which established this point was rendered almost casually by Major Bell, the provost judge. A negro was called to the

¹ Order, June 27.

² Extract from General Order No. 42, July 9.—"The commanding general has received information that certain of the foreign residents have scruples about taking the oath prescribed in General Order No. 41. Anxious to relieve the consciences of all who may honestly entertain doubts upon this matter, he hereby revises the order so as to permit any foreign subject, at his election, to take and subscribe the following oath, instead of the oath as set forth. He is sure that no foreign subject can object to this oath, as it is in the very words of the oath taken by every officer of the European brigade, prescribed more than a year ago, and claimed as an act of the strictest neutrality by the foreign officers taking it, and for more than a year passed by all the foreign consuls without protest:

"I do solemnly swear that I will, to the best of my ability, support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States [the Constitution of the State and of the Confederate States]. So help me God."

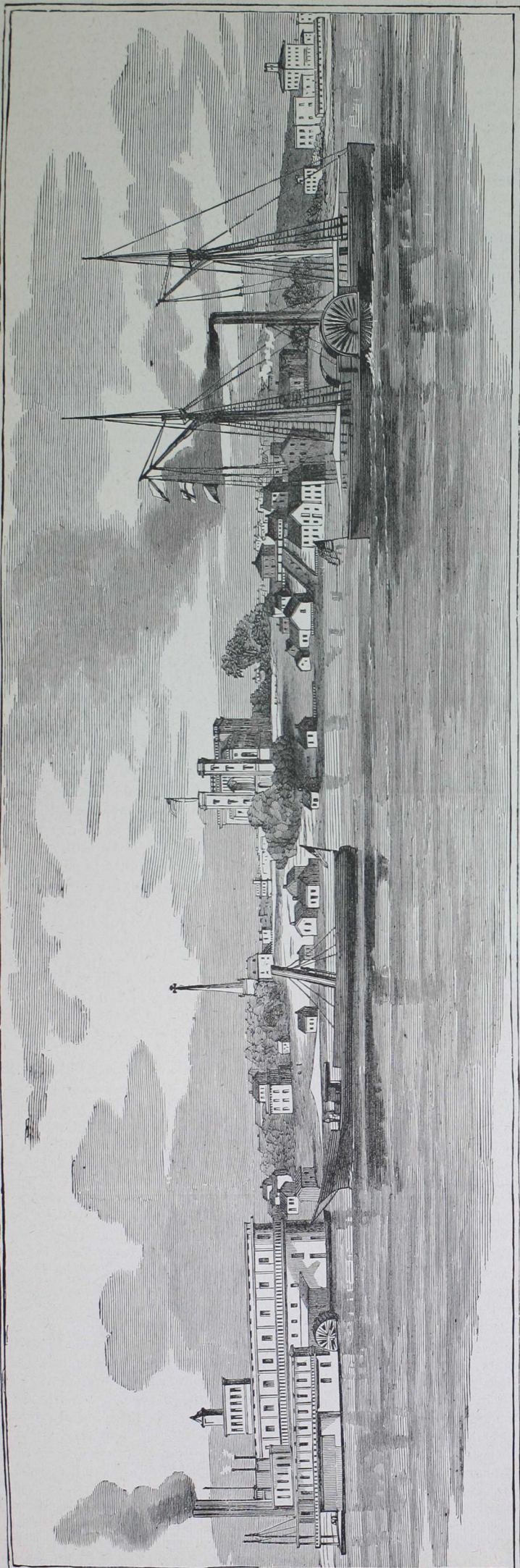
[TRANSLATION.]

"Je jure solennement, autant qu'il sera en moi, de soutenir, de maintenir, et de défendre la Constitution des États Unis [de l'État et celle des États Confédérés]. Que Dieu me soit en aide."

¹ Butler to Count Mejan, August 14.

² General Order No. 76, September 24.

³ See *ante*, p. 198, 206.



BATON ROUGE, THE CAPITAL OF LOUISIANA.

white man." "Has Louisiana gone out of the Union?" asked Bell. "Yes," responded the lawyer. "Then," rejoined Bell, "she took her laws with her; let the man be sworn."

The formation of regiments of free colored men had, however, an important though indirect bearing upon the question of slavery. The general government, sadly bestead in Virginia, could send no re-enforcements to Louisiana. Butler, who must have men, called upon the free persons of color to volunteer. The call was met; in a few weeks there were three colored regiments of infantry and two batteries of artillery ready for service. He was recalled before these troops had opportunity of showing their worth. His successor had occasion to prove it at Port Hudson. The conduct of these regiments demonstrated, what many, both North and South, had doubted, that the colored race are capable of becoming soldiers, and, consequently, of becoming freemen. How this fact came to be recognized on both sides, and how it influenced the policy of both parties in the war, must be narrated hereafter.

The capture of New Orleans had weakened the Confederacy, but had not given to the Union the additional strength which had been anticipated. It had not opened the Mississippi, whose navigation was interrupted by the fortifications at Vicksburg, impregnable against a naval attack. The attempts made by the fleet to reduce these works, and the failure of the plan devised by Butler to avoid them by changing the course of the river, so as to convert Vicksburg into an inland town, will be narrated hereafter. Toward the close of his administration he had the mortification of seeing the batteries at Port Hudson springing up almost under his eye. A re-enforcement of five thousand men and two monitors would have enabled him in October to have taken this place. But these could not be furnished to him. The disasters in Virginia, and the march of the enemy into Maryland, compelled the Federal government to concentrate all its strength for the defense of the heart of the nation.

Butler could undertake no important military operations, for, besides the occupation of Baton Rouge, he had a force barely sufficient to hold New Orleans and its approaches. It would have been cruel for him to have taken possession of any points which he could not permanently hold. The moment his troops abandoned any place, every person even suspected of Union feeling would have been exposed to the vengeance of the returning enemy. Moreover, under the strict orders of the Confederate authorities, all cotton and sugar would have been destroyed in advance of his march in any direction, entailing ruin upon innocent holders. Butler's wish was to have sent to him, or to be allowed to raise upon the spot, an army sufficient to hold every important point, with a supporting force that could not be overcome, the region being made to pay the expense. He believed that a few months under that régime would reduce the hostile population to subjection, and would convince Union men that they were not, by the withdrawal of the troops, to be given up to rapine and murder.

The pass-office at head-quarters presented the most striking illustrations of Butler's rigorous rule. Within the Union lines there were food, medicine, and clothing; beyond them were destitution and desolation. There were residents of New Orleans whose families were enduring the extremity of suffering; there were continuous applications for permission to convey food and medicine to them. These were at first freely granted; but it soon appeared that these permissions were systematically abused. Under cover of them supplies and munitions were conveyed to the hostile camps. A trunk of clothes would be found to have a false bottom concealing military supplies; thousands of percussion caps would be hidden in a barrel of flour; the persons of women were stuffed out with contraband articles. The restrictions upon the granting of passes were made more and more stringent, until at last they were almost invariably refused.

The most notable operation of Butler beyond New Orleans was the occupation of the Lafourche District, a fertile and wealthy region lying west of the Mississippi. This was accomplished by Weitzel late in October. A series of swift marches, one spirited action,¹ and some minor conflicts, accomplished the occupation of this district in four days. An immense amount of property liable to confiscation was found. The holders of it were glad to sell this at any price. Some of the officers of the invading force began to purchase sugar upon speculation. Butler, knowing that this practice would demoralize his army, put a stop to it by a sweeping general order. Believing, he said, that the district was largely occupied by persons disloyal to the United States, whose property was liable to confiscation, and that sales were made of it to the prejudice of the rights of the government, it was directed that all the property in the district should be sequestered, and all sales thereof be held invalid; that the movable property be brought to New Orleans, and sold at public auction, the proceeds to be held subject to the rightful claims of loyal citizens and neutral foreigners. A commission was appointed to take charge of this property, with authority to employ the negroes of any plantation in working the same; any person who had not been actually in arms against the United States since the occupation of New Orleans might, upon returning to his allegiance, work his own plantation, and retain possession of his property except such as was necessary for the military service of the United States. The commissioners were also empowered to decide upon all questions of loyalty and neutrality, and to report to the commanding general such persons as they should judge proper to be recommended to the President for amnesty, pardon, and the return of their property, "to the end that all persons that are loyal may

¹ This action, fought at Labadieville October 27, is described at length by Captain J. W. De Forest as, "of all the combats which I have seen, the most scientific, orderly, comprehensive, and artistically satisfactory. Similar results would have followed the same tactics if a hundred thousand men had been opposed to each other instead of less than six thousand."—*Vide Harper's Magazine*, September, 1864.

witness-stand to testify against a white man. The defendant's counsel objected that, "by the laws of Louisiana, a negro can not testify against a

suffer as little injury as possible, and that all persons who have been heretofore disloyal may have an opportunity now to prove their loyalty and return to their allegiance, and save their property from confiscation, if such shall be the determination of the government of the United States."¹ Major Bell, the provost judge, was president of this commission, but the chief labor devolved upon Colonel Kinsman. For six weeks he was employed in applying the provisions of the Confiscation Act to the District of Lafourche, setting the negroes at work upon abandoned plantations, and restoring to loyal men their estates which had been temporarily sequestered. The confiscated property was sold at auction to the highest bidder, and the proceeds paid over to the general treasury. No portion of Butler's administration, with the exception of the woman order, has been so sharply criticised as this. But if the claim be granted that secession is rebellion, and that those who had taken up arms against the government were rebels, this measure is fully justified by every provision of public law and policy.

Meanwhile a strong Union sentiment had been gradually growing up in New Orleans. This was shared only in a slight degree by the upper classes on the one hand, or by the lower classes on the other. But it was predominant among the middle classes. Large and enthusiastic Union meetings were convened, and an election was held on the 3d of October, by order of General Shepley, to choose two delegates to the Federal Congress. The canvass was eager, and no citizen who had taken the oath of allegiance was excluded from voting; 7500 votes were cast, of which nearly 5000 were given for Michael Hahn and Benjamin F. Flanders, both uncompromising Union men. The validity of this election was not, however, recognized, and the members-elect were not allowed their seats.

As winter approached, Butler urged the government to furnish him with a force sufficient to enable him to extend his operations, and especially to reduce the works at Port Hudson. Early in December Senator Wilson called upon the Secretary of War to urge the importance of the request. Mr. Stanton approved of Butler's vigor and ability, and promised to do what he could to aid him. Yet at this moment, not only was the recall of Butler determined upon, but his successor had been appointed more than three weeks before. On the 9th of November, the very day upon which Butler issued his Lafourche order, General Banks was assigned to the command of the "Department of the Gulf, including the State of Texas."

The reasons for the recall of Butler have never been made public.² There were, indeed, insinuations that he had prostituted his official position to serve his own private interests. Some color was supposed to be given to these charges from the fact that his brother, Andrew J. Butler, entered into large and profitable business transactions in New Orleans. When the port was opened in June, no man, with means and capacity, could fail to make money. Turpentine could be bought for \$3 in New Orleans, and would sell for \$38 in New York; flour was \$24 in New Orleans, in New York \$6; sugar was three cents in New Orleans, in New York more than twice as much. Andrew Butler, with large means and credit, entered into business, and, until prices at the two places were equalized, his profits were large. Later came large auction sales of confiscated property. Butler bought much of this; but there is not the slightest proof that he received any undue favor. He purchased in open market, and if he secured a larger share than most of his competitors, it was because he was able and willing to pay more than they. Even if it is true, as has been alleged, that the general advanced his own private funds to his brother, and shared the profits, this of itself forms no ground of accusation. It was for the interest of the government and the country that the trade of New Orleans should be revived. If the general could by his own means advance this object, he was so far a public benefactor. One transaction, indeed, had a suspicious look upon its face. A quantity of cotton had been seized; Butler sent this to his own agent, with directions to sell it. Government seized the cotton. Upon investigation, it appeared that the laborers upon Ship Island were without pay. Butler borrowed \$4000 upon his own draft, paid the laborers with the proceeds, sent the cotton to his agent to be sold, the draft to be paid, and the balance held to his order, so that, when the account was stated, he might settle with the government. Government, having seized the cotton, suffered the draft to be protested, much to Butler's disadvantage; but when the affair was explained the money was refunded.

This, and one other transaction of a much larger amount, are averred³ to have been the only operations of a mercantile nature in which Butler was engaged while in command of the Department of the Gulf. There was at the levee a large number of transports which, by the terms of their charters, were to be sent home in ballast. No ballast was to be had nearer than the sand of Ship Island, thirty hours' steam from the city. The steamer Mississippi, hired at \$1500 a day, required 250 tons of ballast; to take this at Ship Island, and afterward discharge it, would require at least fourteen days, at a cost to the government of \$21,000. There was on the levee sugar enough to ballast the whole fleet; sufficient to ballast the Mississippi could be taken on board and discharged in four days, at a cost of \$6000, thus saving \$15,000. Butler proposed to allow merchants to ship sugar at a moderate freight, say \$5 a hogshead, amounting, in the case of the Mississippi, to \$2000 more—\$17,000 in all. The difficulty was to find money to buy sugar at the mo-

¹ General Order, November 9.

² He was received with great cordiality by the President and cabinet. He inquired the reason of his recall. The President referred him to the Secretary of War, who had recommended the measure. Mr. Stanton said that the reason was one which did not imply, on the part of the government, any want of confidence in his honor as a man or in his ability as a commander. "You have told me," answered Butler, "what I was not recalled for. I now ask you to tell me what I was recalled for." "You and I," replied the secretary, laughing, "are both lawyers, and it is of no use for you to file a bill of discovery upon me, for I sha'n't tell you."—PARTON'S *Butler in New Orleans*, p. 613.

³ By Mr. Parton, who claims to have fully investigated the subject, with full access to every document bearing upon it.—*Vide Butler in New Orleans*, p. 407-413.

ment. Government had then no money at New Orleans; the general had none; but by pledging \$150,000, his whole private fortune, he borrowed \$100,000. This he placed in the hands of his brother, who with it bought and shipped sugar, receiving a commission on his shipments. Government took the sugar thus shipped, merely repaying the advance. Other merchants were also allowed to ship sugar upon payment of a moderate freight to the government. The transports went home ballasted with sugar instead of sand. How much was saved in all by this arrangement has not been stated. The saving to government on the Mississippi alone was \$17,000. Some of the owners of the transports, who had contracted that their vessels should be sent back in ballast, conceived that they had a right to the payment of freight, now that the ballast was in the form of sugar instead of sand. Their unreasonable claim was not allowed; and whoever was dissatisfied, the Secretary of the Treasury was not.

The true reason for the recall of Butler is probably to be found in the determination of the government to avoid all difficulties with foreign nations, and more especially with France. For many reasons, the administration of Butler had become odious abroad. This was owing, in a great measure, to the relations in which he became involved with the foreign consuls. The active population of New Orleans being largely composed of foreigners, gave the consuls great influence. With, perhaps, a single exception, they were in favor of secession, and believed in the ultimate triumph of the Confederacy. Reichard, the Prussian consul, joined the Confederate army, raised a battalion, rose to the rank of brigadier general, and was now in Virginia, leaving as acting consul his partner, Kruttschmidt, who had married a sister of his co-religionist Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of War. Mejan, the French consul, took such an open part against the Federal authority that the emperor was finally obliged to recall him. Others were more or less involved on the same side. For a while it seemed to be their main business to protest against Butler's acts. Half of them protested against the oath of neutrality required from foreigners. The British consul protested against an order directing the members of the British Guard to leave the city because they had sent their arms and uniforms to Beauregard's camp. The French consul protested against the order for disarming the population, and against that for imprisoning Heideck, of Champagne and bar-tending notoriety, and against several other orders. The Spanish consul remonstrated against the quarantine regulations; and so on. Once the whole consular body, with the exception of the Mexican consul, joined in a formal protest. The occasion was this:

The Citizens' Bank, whose capital consisted mainly of bonds held by European owners, the interest upon which was payable semi-annually at Amsterdam, was in February alarmed at the probability of an attack upon New Orleans from above, and resolved to deposit \$800,000 in silver with the agent of the bondholders, to meet the interest which would become due in the course of the year. The agent of the bondholders, apprehensive that in case the city was abandoned by the Confederate troops it would be plundered by the rabble, placed this money in charge of Mr. Conturié, the Dutch consul. Butler, thinking that this transaction was a fraudulent one, designed merely to get the specie under the control of the Confederate government, demanded that it should be given up to him until the matter could be investigated. Conturié refused. Butler had the key of the vault in which it was deposited taken by force from the consul, who was kept under formal arrest for a few hours. The consuls remonstrated, to Butler, to the Federal authorities, and to their own governments, against this violation of the person of a foreign representative. The Secretary of State, in reply to a communication from the Dutch minister at Washington, apologizing for the restraint put upon the consul at New Orleans, proposed to appoint a commissioner to investigate the matter; meanwhile government should hold the silver, to deliver it up to the claimants if it should prove to belong to them. The bank, just before the passage of the forts, moreover bought something more than \$700,000 of foreign exchange, paying for it specie, which was deposited with the French consul, the bills not to be accepted until the coin had been shipped. Butler, believing this transaction to be a fraudulent pretense to get the coin out of the bank, requested Mejan to retain it under his charge.

Several other transactions, involving the same principles, occurred, the principal of which was the seizure of 3200 hogsheads of sugar which had been bought by Covas, a Greek, reputed to be the agent of an association of merchants in London and Havana. He had sold specie for Confederate notes, with which he had bought the sugar. Butler ordered the sugar to be retained until the transaction could be investigated. The English, French, and Greek consuls protested against this.

The Federal government appointed Reverdy Johnson, an eminent lawyer of Baltimore, as a commissioner to investigate these transactions. He reached New Orleans early in June, and, after spending six weeks in investigation, decided against Butler in every important case. The seizures, he said, "were evidently made under a misapprehension, to be referred to the patriotic zeal which governs him, to the circumstances encircling his command at the time so well calculated to awaken suspicion, and to an earnest desire to punish, to the extent of his supposed power, all who had contributed, or were contributing, to the aid of a rebellion the most unjustifiable and wicked that insane or bad men were ever engaged in."

Butler was deeply chagrined at this decision. He wrote to the Secretary of State that another such commissioner as Mr. Johnson sent to New Orleans would render the city untenable; that the result of his mission had caused it to be understood that the general was not supported by his gov-

ernment; that he was to be relieved, his acts overhauled; that a rebel might do any thing he pleased in the city, as the worst that could happen would be a few days' imprisonment until a new commander should arrive. If this state of things was to continue, he would prefer that the government should get some one else to govern New Orleans. This suggestion was acted upon. But three days' after his successor was appointed, and a month before the official notice was received, Butler had the pleasure of forwarding a report which showed so clearly the misdeeds of Mejan, the French consul, that he was recalled. Sanford, the American minister at Brussels, wrote home in September that the Confederate agents in Europe were seriously embarrassed by the non-arrival of a large quantity of coin which they expected from New Orleans, but that "assurances were now given that the money was in the hands of the French consul, and would be shortly received." The purveyors of cloth were specially mentioned as unable to get their pay from the Confederate agents. This letter was sent to Butler, with directions to investigate the matter. He had many reasons for doing this work thoroughly. It was discovered that a firm doing business in New Orleans, under the name of Ed. Gautherin and Co., with a branch house at Havre, had a year before contracted to furnish the Confederate government with a large quantity of cloths for uniforms. These were the unpaid cloths referred to by Sanford. Early in April these cloths reached Havana, whence they were shipped to Matamoras, in Mexico, were smuggled into Texas, and delivered to the Confederate agent. At this time, just before the Federal fleets passed the forts, De Bow, the Confederate produce-loan agent, borrowed of the People's Bank in New Orleans \$400,000 in specie, without interest, upon a pledge of cotton. This specie, intended to pay for these cloths, was deposited for security with the French consul. It was far into June before the goods were delivered, and until this was done payment was not to be made. Mejan, in the mean while, had promised not to deliver up any specie held by him in trust without the consent of Butler. Reverdy Johnson's report induced the government to direct that Mejan should be released from this engagement. He delivered the specie to Gautherin, who got it conveyed to Havana on board a Spanish man-of-war. In consequence, a second installment of goods, which was not to be delivered until the first was paid for, was forwarded to the Confederate authorities. Mejan, indeed, averred that he knew nothing of Gautherin except that there was a French house of that name in New Orleans, and that there was no money in his hands to carry out their contract with the Confederates. But incontestable documents demonstrated his complicity. His wife had accepted a present "to close the affair well;" his clerk received a percentage for keeping the money in the consulate; besides which, there was good reason to believe that out of a sum of \$19,000 charged to "expenses," the French consul received a fifth. "Count Mejan," wrote Butler in conclusion, "has connived at the delivery of clothing for the Confederate army since the occupation of New Orleans by the Federal forces; he has taken away nearly half a million of specie to aid the Confederates. His flag has been made to cover all manner of illegal and hostile transactions, and the booty arising therefrom. I am glad that my action here has been vindicated to the world, and that the government of the United States will be able to demand of the French government a recall of its hostile agent."

This vindication came too late. Before it was written the successor of Butler had been appointed; before it reached Washington that successor was on his way to New Orleans. Banks, bringing considerable re-enforcements, arrived at New Orleans on Sunday, the 14th of December, and proceeded to the residence of Butler. On Tuesday the two generals met at head-quarters, and Butler formally surrendered the command of the Department.

He took leave of his comrades in a touching general order addressed to

"the Soldiers of the Army of the Gulf:" "I greet you, my brave comrades," he said, "and say farewell! You have deserved well of your country. Without a murmur, you sustained an encampment on a sand-bar so desolate that banishment to it, with every care and comfort possible, has been the most dreaded punishment inflicted upon your bitterest and most insulting enemies. You had so little transportation that but a handful could advance to compel submission by the Queen City of the rebellion, whilst others waded breast-deep in the marshes which surround St. Philip, and forced the surrender of a fort deemed impregnable to land attack by the most skillful engineers of your country and her enemy. At your occupation, order, law, quiet, and peace sprang to this city, filled with the bravoes of all nations, where for a score of years, during the profoundest peace, human life was scarcely safe at noonday. By your discipline you illustrated the best traits of the American soldier, and enchained the admiration of those that came to scoff. You have fed the starving poor, the wives and children of your enemies, so converting them into friends, that they have sent their representatives to your Congress by a vote greater than your entire numbers, from districts where you were tauntingly told that there was 'no one to raise your flag.' By your philanthropy you have won the confidence of the 'oppressed race' and the slave. Hailing you as deliverers, they are ready to aid you as willing servants, faithful laborers, or, using the tactics taught them by your enemies, to fight with you in the field. You have met double numbers of the enemy and defeated them in the open field. But I need not farther enlarge upon the topic. You were sent here to do that. I commend you to your commander. You are worthy of his love. Farewell, my comrades! Again farewell!" To the citizens of New Orleans he issued a farewell address, in which he declared the policy upon which he had acted, set forth and vindicated the measures he had employed, and urged upon the people to take the only measures compatible with duty or interest.² This done, he took leave of New Orleans, where he had for seven months exercised an authority as absolute as was ever committed to a single man.



VIEW IN THE FRENCH QUARTER OF NEW ORLEANS.

"I found you trembling at the terrors of servile insurrection. All danger of this I have prevented by so treating the slave that he had no cause to rebel. I found the dungeon, the chain, and the lash your only means of enforcing obedience to your servants. I leave them peaceful, laborious, controlled by the laws of kindness and justice.

"I have demonstrated that the pestilence can be kept from your borders. I have added a million of dollars to your wealth in the form of new land from the batture of the Mississippi. I have cleansed and improved your streets, canals, and public squares, and opened new avenues to unoccupied land. I have given you freedom of elections greater than you have ever enjoyed before. I have caused justice to be administered so impartially that your own advocates have unanimously complimented the judges of my appointment.

"You have seen, therefore, the benefit of the laws and justice of the government against which you have rebelled. Why, then, will you not all return to your allegiance to that government—not with lip service, but with the heart?

"There is but one thing that at this hour stands between you and the government—and that is slavery. The institution, cursed of God, which has taken its last refuge here, in His providence will be rooted out as the tares from the wheat, although the wheat be torn up with it.

"I came among you, by teachings, by habit of mind, by political position, by social affinity, inclined to sustain your domestic laws, if by possibility they might be with safety to the Union. Months of experience and of observation have forced the conviction that the existence of slavery is incompatible with the safety either of yourselves or of the Union. As the system has gradually grown to its present huge dimensions, it were best if it could be gradually removed; but it is better, far better, that it should be taken out at once, than that it should vitiate the social, political, and family relations of your country. I am speaking with no philanthropic views as regards the slave, but simply of the effect of slavery on the master. See for yourselves. Look around you, and say whether this saddening, deadening influence has not all but destroyed the very framework of your society. I am speaking the farewell words of one who has shown his devotion to his country at the peril of his life and fortune, who in these words can have neither hope nor interest save the good of those whom he addresses.

"Come, then, to the unconditional support of the government. Take into your own hands your own institutions; remodel them according to the laws of nations and of God, and thus attain that great prosperity assured to you by geographical position, only a portion of which was heretofore yours."

¹ November 13.

² The following are extracts from Butler's Farewell Address to the citizens of New Orleans:

"Commanding the Army of the Gulf, I found you captured, but not surrendered; conquered, but not orderly; relieved from the pressure of an army, but incapable of taking care of yourselves. I restored order, punished crime, opened commerce, brought provisions to your starving people, reformed your currency, and gave you quiet protection, such as you had not enjoyed for many years. Whoever has quietly remained about his business, affording neither aid nor comfort to the enemies of the United States, has never been interfered with by the soldiers of the United States.

"Some of your women flouted at the presence of those who came to protect them. By a simple order, I called upon every soldier of this army to treat the women of New Orleans as gentlemen should deal with the sex, with such effect that I now call upon the just-minded ladies of New Orleans to say whether they have ever enjoyed so complete protection and calm quiet for themselves and their families as since the advent of the United States troops.

"I hold that rebellion is treason, and that rebellion persisted in is death, and any punishment short of that due a traitor gives so much clear gain to him from the clemency of the government. Upon this thesis have I administered the authority of the United States. I might have reigned you with the amenities of British civilization, and yet been within the supposed rules of civilized warfare. Your property could have been turned over to indiscriminate 'loot,' like the palace of the Emperor of China; works of art, which adorned your buildings, might have been sent away, like the paintings of the Vatican; your sons might have been blown from the mouths of cannon, like the Sepoys at Delhi; and yet all this would have been within the rules of civilized warfare as practiced by the most polished and the most hypocritical nations of Europe. But I have not so conducted. On the contrary, the worst punishment inflicted, except for criminal acts punishable by every law, has been banishment, with labor, to a barren island, where I encamped my own soldiers before marching here.

"I have levied upon the wealthy rebels, and paid out nearly half a million of dollars to feed 40,000 of the starving poor of all nations assembled here, made so by this war. I saw that this rebellion was a war of the aristocrats against the middling men—of the rich against the poor; a war of the landowner against the laborer; that it was a struggle for the retention of power in the hands of the few against the many; and I found no conclusion to it save in the subjugation of the few and the disenfranchisement of the many. I therefore felt no hesitation in taking the substance of the wealthy, who had caused the war, to feed the innocent poor, who suffered by the war.