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.—Sealed Requisitions.—Butler's Declaration of Independence.—Raid on the Mississippi—Henriod.—Feeding the Poor.—The City Authorities reproved.—The Women Order.—The General and his Headquarters.—Military Regulations.—Regglements for Banks and their Issues.—Property sequestered by the Confederacy.—Closing the Streets.—The Quarantine.—Pardon of the Monroe Guard.—Execution of Mumford.—Execution of Lebrun.—The Reconstruction of the National Guard.—Notorily required.—Protest of Councils.—Modified Oath.—Butler and the Clergy.—Dr. Leacock.—Doctrines.—Butler on the Religion of the Regulators.—Military Operations.—The Pass System.—Occupation of the Lafourche District.—Sequestration of Growth.—Union of Gentlemen.—Butler's Plan.—Charges against him.—His Bail.—Butler and the Clergy.—His Forbearance Address.

I

N assuming the military government of New Orleans, General Butler un- dertook a difficult 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 185,000; 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, 40,000 were European immigrants, and 20,000 were Irish. Butler issued a proclamation declaring that all persons of African blood were to be treated as free persons. Germany, 20,000; France, 11,000, England 3000. Almost half the free white population were abroad; more than half out of the state. Of those foreign birth, few became citizens by naturalization, as is shown by the small vote cast. In the presidential election of 1850 less than 11,000 votes were given; of these, Bell received one half, the remainder being almost equally divided between Douglas 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 numbers. Twenty-five thousand people living in the city were from 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 who had been in New Orleans, 7000 came from Ireland, 24,000, Germany 20,000, France 11,000, England 3000. 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 "duels" in street or bar-room, and as many more formal duels, were the av- enture of the troops, and filled the air with hootings and derision. Whatever excitement. Under the impulse of passion or revenge they were ready for any desperate deed. Two or three assassinations, as many fights and "duels" in street or bar-room, and as many more formal duels, were the av- enture of the troops, and filled the air with hootings and derision. Whatever excitement. Under the impulse of passion or revenge they were ready for any desperate deed. Two or three assassinations, as many fights and "duels" in street or bar-room, and as many more formal duels, were the av- enchad. They were in every army of the Confederacy.

When New Orleans found itself powerless before the fleet of Farragut, its population numbered about 14,000. It was made up of the poor who could not leave, of the scoundrels who would not leave, and of those who cared not whether they stayed 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 could not do to act.

The city of New Orleans had been built upon commerce. Most of its in- dustrious population lived by trade. When the blockade from above and the blockade from below cut off all but the venturous trade of blockade-run- ning, great distress ensued. The demand for labor was almost extinct. The old craft, the city butter dealt provisionelling, was killed. The price of sugar and flour of all sorts 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 valley. The rich could hardly obtain food, for the markets were empty, and the roads were shut up. Only by closely packing their barrels of flour cost sixty dollars. Fifty thousand people were in danger of im- mediate starvation. The hot season was also at hand, and the appearance of yellow fever might reasonably be anticipated. Its last appearance as an epidemic had been in 1857, and 29,020 were attacked and 8101 died in three months, 6290 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 results could be disastrous. Southern army was almost inev- ible. *You'll never see home again!* "Yellow Jack will have you be- fore long!* yelled the mob, as the advance of Butler's force marched into the city.

The whole actual force of the army now under the command of Butler was less than 11,000 men. Ships of Jack and Squadron 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, and might establish a foothold, and then. England, in person Confered its fleet, indeed, commanded the city, but it could act only by de- stroying it. If the Confederates chose to make a Moscow of New Orleans, the army of occupation might be annihilated. Butler was not merely to defend New Orleans, but to subdue the city and make it impossible for the Confederates to make it out as they did 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 se- vency or vigor which was not absolutely necessary to maintain the author- ity of the Union.

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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 officers 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; words of carriage was obtained to a place of safety in the country, and from there he was able to reach the city. 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 in front of the hotel was protected. All who maintained their allegiance to the Confederate states would be considered rebels and enemies. Those who had been in the serv- 1 Parten's "General Butler in New Orleans" furnishes full details of the administration of B...
Butler's Administration at New Orleans

The city 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, and the murderer 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 by military tribunals. In the city, motions 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 country, it was held that they might be used for the necessities of the people. 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. The Confederate Government established a permanent camp at Carrollton, on the outskirts; others were established across the river at Algiers; others garrisoned the abandoned forts on the Lousiana. A brigade was sent to Tangipahoa, where possession had been taken by Commander Palmer, of the Iroquois, belonging to Farragut's fleet. When all these dispositions had been made there was great dissatisfaction in New Orleans, among many 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 interfered with the government at Washington," said a guard-officer, "and have 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.

The city was reeking with the filth accumulated for weeks, forming a train of disease and death. New Orleans is a conquered city. If not, why are we here? The city 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 country, it was held that they might be used for the necessities of the people. 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. The Confederate Government established a permanent camp at Carrollton, on the outskirts; others were established across the river at Algiers; others garrisoned the abandoned forts on the Louisiana. A brigade was sent to Tangipahoa, where possession had been taken by Commander Palmer, of the Iroquois, belonging to Farragut's fleet. When all these dispositions had been made there was great dissatisfaction in New Orleans, among many 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 interfered with the government at Washington," said a guard-officer, "and have 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.

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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 criminal trial as a kind of martyrdom, shrieked 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.

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 for 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 Nana Sahib. The Secretary of State admitted to the English charge that he "regretted that, in the heat 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 playing her avocation," would have obviated all chance of misconception 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 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 hospitality 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 hospitality by a government to which only police duties and sanitary regulations are assigned, 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 reversed." This was on the day when Order No. 28 was published. When that order appeared, Butler sent a letter written by Butler, and 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 which had been assumed by the General Council of the United States; he must exasperate them to a degree beyond control, and was "a reproach to the cause, of the deposition of the women of New Orleans. He would not be responsible for the passion of the people, and stores, and it was necessary, therefore, as safe-conducts may be needed for agents of banks and corporations, to require the permission of the United States authorities 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.

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 keep open under penalty of a fine. The only currency in actual circulation consisted of "shimplasters," 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. Further than that I shall not go, save upon the 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. "M自然而然, the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, wrote that the call of the banks of New Orleans was made by the government to prevent its falling into the hands of the public enemy. It has 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."

To produce anything like a redeemable currency the Confederate notes must be driven out. These had been allowed to circulate provisionally. A general order was issued 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 days all circulation of and trade in such notes should cease. 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 with drawn 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 any thing but specie, United States treasury notes, or the current bills of city banks."

1 "General Order No. 28. As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subjected to repeated insults from the inhabitants of New Orleans, they have cause to complain of the non-innocence 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 "as a woman of the town playing her avocation," would have obviated all chance of misconception or misrepresentation.

2 "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 and bankers at once issued notices requiring all persons having deposits payable in such notes; and that after the expiration of ten days all circulation of and trade in such notes should cease. 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 any thing but specie, United States treasury notes, or the current bills of city banks."

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4 "The city government was suppressed, and the work of governing New Orleans was intrusted to General Shelby. On the 29th of May he was ordered to leave the city, and the authority of the new government was not recognized. The mayor and others were discharged. Pierre Soule, 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 promise not to return to New Orleans, nor to commit or advise any act against the United States."

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The Bank of Louisiana alone protested against this order, and endeavored to avoid compliance; but Butler had 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 after 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 "Major Robert Anderson, late of Fort Sumter," in which he said that these two objects might be combined. He accordingly


3. Excerpt from Butler's Early in the East, Jan. 13, 1862. — "The report finds that there is no credit of the Confederate States to $219,090. 94. This is, of course, due to the fact that the Confederate States have had a large amount of Confederate treasury notes, and their value is uncertain." Butler then made a decision to have these notes placed under the charge of the military commandant and city council that the city should employ 2000 of its soldiers as a daily labor force.

4. "The several deposits of the officers of the so-called Confederate States were in the usual course of business; but there was no indication whatever of their desire to avoid the order." Butler's decision 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 removed, 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

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butter or "shovel," 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, butter worth a million dollars was in a few months added to the city product.

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 to marl, where the act of decay, by the action of 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. A vessel loaded with hides and wool, by the act of decay, animal 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 there was the least chance of a case of fever appearing among its passengers. 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 cleared and fumigated. This was the sole case of yellow fever in New Orleans during the summer of 1857.

Food sufficient to obviate the absolute peril of famine had been brought to 35,000 persons, employed in the stores and canals, and the doors were open to any destitute to procure their pardon. In these many of the Union men of the city joined, under the leadership of Mr. Clary, a lawyer, 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 then decreed that this great burden ought to be made to fall, as far as possible, upon the resources of the people themselves. For the benefit of 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 subscribers to this fund were given a bond, a Union inscription from a given number of bonds, and the interest and proceeds from every hundred thousand dollars. The subscribers to this loan showed that they had means to pay largely for the support of their starving neighbors. Butler ordered a sum equal to one quarter of their subscriptions to be paid by each subscriber, in bonds, worth $100,000 each. A company of farmers and plantation men, about a hundred cotton-planters, the leading commercial men in New Orleans, had published a circular urging planters not to bring their produce to town, paying but a dollar and a half ton, educated in Vermont and Connecticut, subsequently a member of the "Monroe Guard," with the purpose of breaking through the lines and entering the sacred edifice was filled by a gang made up of the scum of the rabble, wounded by guerrillas while descending the Mississippi. After a month, the body was permitted to escape. Butler declared that the bones of a Union soldier. These offenders were sent for to New York City, and other public places across, which he declared to have been made from the Mint, had remained in New Orleans. He appeared in public, "boudoir cabinet." She was exiled from the Union, and went to New Orleans, New York City, and other public places. 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 the 14th. They were William M. Clary, George William Crago, into custody 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 sentenced to be hanged instantly. On the 15th, Butler ordered the death sentence to be executed.

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 spirit of the Confederate sympathizers had risen. Field Keller, a bookseller, procured a skeleton from a medical student, sketched, colored, and having a likeness of the skeleton, published it. It was represented that they were ignorant men, who were totally unaware that Butler had declared to be outlaw was sentenced to be hanged. The order was carried out, and the scaffold was raised.

The introduction of this spark, a vigorous and judicious quarantine was established for the spread of the disease when once introduced, but it was abandoned as too severe. The police should be augmented to protect the city, whether it was a woman named Phillips, the wife of a United States officer, was collected against the rest of the city. 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 directed that every person claiming to be better informed upon this than I am. But if this example of mercy consul of his own government, was declared to be a citizen within the mean-
done, that shall aid or comfort any of the enemies or opposers of the United States.\(^1\) 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 regular terms of parole were given in conference, after which the property of 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 to act as a representative body, or to elect such as may be appointed by the Governor to resume the rights of self-governament." 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 no foreigner could be expected to take such an oath, without being 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 American citizens, he must take the oath. It was not meant to act as a test of his loyalty, but only to enable him to act out his "duty as a citizen of the most paltry consideration. Before the passage of the Confiscation Act of which strongly urged secession. This was printed, and 30,000 copies act made void all transfers of property made by rebels after the close of charge of his arduous and manifold duties." Before the act of secession allegiance within sixty days after the issue of a proclamation to that

The Confiscation Act divided the rebels into two classes. The property of the first class, consisting mainly of high civil and military officials, was to be "sufficiently valued" and tutored by the President of the United States. 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 person was to be deprived of his freedom until the United States. Butler modified the oath required of foreigners

\(^1\) Order, June 27.

Leacock endeavored to make a side issue. "Your insisting upon the oath certificate showing him to be a registered enemy of the United States. Ev-
October, 1862.]

BUTLER’S ADMINISTRATION AT NEW ORLEANS. 273

witness to testify against a 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, e
ded in Virginia, could send no re-enforcement 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, as so 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, counselled 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 regime would reduce the hostile population to submission, 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 despair. There were residents of New Orleans whose families were enduring the extremity of suffering; there were continuous applications for permission to convey supplies and medicines 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 permission certificates would be hidden in a box or trunk of clothes; 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 impossibly 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 disposed 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 ascertained, 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 desertion 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 Lafourche 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 had been opposed to each other instead of ten thousand.”—Vide Harper’s Mag- nes, September, 1864.
suffer as little injury as possible, and that all persons who have been hereto- 
disloyal may have an opportunity now to prove their loyalty and re- 
turn to their allegiance, and save their property from confiscation, if such 
shall be the determination of the government of the United States. Major 
Bell, the provost judge of the Confederate States, referred the case to the 
Col. with the advice of the President. For six weeks he was employed in 
applying the provisions of the Confiscation Act to the District of Louisiana, 
setting the negroes at work upon abandoned plantations, and returning to 
loyal men their estates which had been occupied by the enemy. The ag- 
tery 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 
money. Turpentine could be bought for $3 in New Orleans, and would sell 
oranges from above, and resolved to deposit $800,000 in silver with the 
that the Gulf, including the State of Texas. The reasons for the recall of Butler have never been made public. 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 by the fact that his brothers in New York had been engaged in 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 $17,000 in all. The difficulty was to find money to buy sugar at the mo- 
ous of his co-religionist Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of War. 
from the government, any want of confidence in his honor as a man or in his ability as a commander. "Yo, 
reduce the works at Port Hudson. Early in December Senator Wilson 
called upon the Secretary of War to urge the importance of the respect, 
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 
the levee a large number of transports which, by the terms of their charters, 
by his own means advance this object, he was so far a public 
letters were not allowed their seats. of his co-religionist Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of War. 
and the members-elect were not allowed their seats. 
was referred to the Secretary of State that another such commissioner as Mr. Johnson sent to New 
would render the city untenable; that the result of his mission had 
say $15 a hogshead, amounting to this, the sugar was three cents in New Orleans, in New York more than twice as 
the claims to have fully investigated the 
the levee a large number of transports which, by the terms of their charters, 
who had married a sister consul. Butler, thinking that this transaction was a fraudulent one, design- 
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 
more or less involved on the same side. For a while it seemed 
asserted against an order directing the members of the British Guard to leave the city 
that they had sent their arms and uniforms to Beauregard's camp. The French consul 
against the quarantine regulations; and so on. Once the whole con- 
lar body, with the exception of the Mexican consul, joined in a formal pro- 
test. The occasion was this. It is a fact that his brothers' Bank in New York 
the interests which were involved with the French, and more especially with France. For many reasons, the administration of 
"General Order, November 9." By 
Mr. Reickhard, the Prussian consul, joined the Confederate army, raised a 
back, conceived that they had a right to the 
fluence in the Senate. The relations in which he became involved with the foreign consuls. The 
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General Order, November 9.
Butler's Administration at New Orleans

December, 1862.

The soldiers of the Army of the Gulf,
"I greet you, my brave comrades,
Without a murmur, you sustained an encampment on a sand-bar so decisive
that banishment to it, with every care and comfort possible, has been
the most dreadful punishment inflicted upon your bitterest and most insulting
enemies. You had so little transportation that 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 sur-
render of a fort deemed impregnable to land attack by the most skilful en-
gineers of your country and her enemies. At your occupation, order, law,
quiet, and peace sprung to this city, filled with the hearts of all nations,
where for a score of years, during the profoundest peace known the world over,
was scarcely safe at noonday. By your discipline you illustrated the best traits
of the American soldier, and evidenced the adoration of those that came
to see 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
further 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 com-
rades! Again farewell!" To the citizens of New Orleans he issued a fare-
well 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. This done,
he took leave of New Orleans, where he had for seven months exer-
cised an authority as absolute as was ever committed to a single man.

1 November 19.
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 yet relieved; relieved from the pressure of an army, but incapable of taking care of yourselves.
- I have not deserted you, I have opened commerce, I have employed the resources of the country, I
have purchased your currency, and gave you quiet protection, such as you had not enjoyed for many
years. Wherever there has quietly returned about your business, offering 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 flaunted at the presence of those who could protect them. I held a single
- order, I called upon every soldier of this army to treat the women of New Orleans as gentle-
ly as he would his own sister. I went to each town and ordered up the justified ladies of New
Orleans to say whether they have ever enjoyed so complete protection and calm for them-
selves and their families as since the advent of the United States Army.
- I hold that rebellion is treason, and that rebellion persisted in sheep, and any punishment
should be proportioned to the crime. I directed the sheriff to pay from the称之为 the elements of the
people. Upon this thesis I have administered the authority of the United States. I might have urged
pronto the amenities of British civilization, and yet been within the bounds of civilized warfare.
- I have never surrendered the amenities of British civilization, and yet been within the bounds of civilized warfare.
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