NEW ORLEANS
DURING THE 
CIVIL WAR

Teacher’s guide: grade levels 7–12
Number of class periods: 7–11
New Orleans During the Civil War

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Common Core Standards

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.1**: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.2**: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.3**: Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.4**: Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social studies.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.6**: Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.8**: Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author’s claims.

**CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.9-10.1**: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on...topics, texts, and issues, building on others’ ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

Louisiana Social Studies Grade-Level Expectations

7.4.2: Analyze important turning points and major developments during the Civil War.

8.2.5: Analyze causes and effects of major events and evaluate their impact on the growth and development of Louisiana.

8.2.6: Identify and describe economic, social, and political characteristics of Louisiana during the antebellum/plantation economy, the Civil War, and the Reconstruction eras.

8.8.1: Describe ways in which citizens can organize, monitor, or influence government and politics at the local, state, and national levels.
# NEW ORLEANS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

**A lesson plan by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History**

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## INTRODUCTION

**Historical Background**

**Instructional Note**

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## LESSON ONE: THE SECESSION DEBATE

**Introduction**

**Procedures**

### Documents

1. “Thanksgiving Sermon” by Reverend Benjamin M. Palmer
2. “Secession vs. Co-operation” Article from the *New Orleans Daily Crescent*
3. “On the Right of Secession” Senate Speech by Senator Judah P. Benjamin
4. Louisiana’s Ordinance of Secession
5. Address to the Texas Secession Convention Given by Commissioner George Williamson of Louisiana
6. “A Protest Against the Ordinance of Secession” by James G. Taliaferro
7. Pro-Union Letter by General John E. Wool
8. Speech in the House of Representatives on the Secession of Louisiana by Representative John Edward Bouligny

### Worksheets

- Document Analysis Worksheet
- Document Synthesis Worksheet
- Exit Card Worksheet
# Table of Contents

## Lesson Two: The Bombardment and Capture of New Orleans

- Introduction ......................................................... 27
- Procedures ............................................................ 28

### Documents

- 9: The Impact of Secession and the Prospect of Capture: Excerpts from *A History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862* by James Parton ................................................................. 29
- 10: Correspondence from Union Flag Officer David G. Farragut to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles .......... 32
- 11: New Orleanians' Reactions to the Union Invasion and Occupation: Excerpt from Parton .................................. 35
- 12: Correspondence between Union Flag Officer David G. Farragut and New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe and City Council ........................................................................................................ 36

### Worksheets

- Document Analysis Worksheets for Documents 9–12 ............................................................................................ 39
- Exit Card Worksheet .................................................................................................................................................. 43

## Lesson Three: The Occupation and Military Governance of New Orleans

- Introduction ............................................................. 44
- Procedures ............................................................... 46

### Documents

- 13: “Proclamation” Issued by Major General Benjamin Butler, May 1, 1862 .......................................................... 47
- 14: Challenges Governing New Orleans: Excerpts from *A History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862* by James Parton .................................................. 50
- 15: “General Orders” of Major General Benjamin Butler .......................................................................................... 56
- 16: Three Illustrations of Benjamin Butler During the Military Occupation of New Orleans ........................................... 62

### Worksheets

- Document Analysis Worksheets for Documents 13–15 ......................................................................................... 65
- Image Analysis Worksheet ........................................................................................................................................... 69
- Exit Card Worksheet .................................................................................................................................................. 72
# Table of Contents

## Lesson Four: The Occupation’s Specific Impact on African Americans

Introduction.............................................................................................................................................74

Procedures.............................................................................................................................................74

Documents

17: Benjamin Butler Takes Action: Excerpts from A History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 by James Parton .......................................................................................75

18: Letter from Benjamin Butler to President Abraham Lincoln: Excerpts from Parton .............................................................................................................................................79

Worksheets

Document Analysis Worksheet for Documents 17–19.............................................................................81

Exit Card Worksheet ................................................................................................................................84

## Lesson Five: Life in New Orleans During the Union Occupation

Procedures.............................................................................................................................................85

Documents

20: Images of New Orleans During Union Occupation.............................................................................86

21: The Daily Delta’s Account of the Occupation.....................................................................................90

Worksheets

Image Analysis Worksheet for Document 20 ............................................................................................93

Document Analysis Worksheet for Document 21 .....................................................................................94

Exit Card Worksheet ................................................................................................................................95

## Unit Summary (optional)

Procedures.............................................................................................................................................97

Document

22: Assessment of the Union Occupation of New Orleans: Excerpts from A History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 by James Parton .................................................................98
**Historical Background**

During the Civil War (1861–1865), New Orleans was the sixth most populous city in the United States and the largest in the Confederacy. By controlling access to and from the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico, it served as the economic linchpin of many Southern and national markets. Agricultural and industrial products of the North and West and cotton and farm staples of the South passed through New Orleans for exportation, and the city also housed many banks and produced clothing, munitions, and ships.

Louisiana seceded from the United States on January 26, 1861, and ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States of America on March 21, 1861, immediately making New Orleans a prime target for Union forces. The United States devised a naval strategy to seize the Mississippi River in order to divide the Confederacy into two regions and restrict Confederate shipping routes, thereby suffocating the Southern economy. Union military forces succeeded in capturing New Orleans in 1862. This led to the evacuation of thousands of Confederate soldiers from the city and the emancipation of tens of thousands of African American slaves, significantly affecting the socioeconomic dynamics of the city and setting the stage for tense relations between Union forces and local residents.

**Unit Overview**

Over the course of five lessons, students will learn about the experiences of Union and Confederate supporters in New Orleans amid the movement for secession and the occupation of the city. Students will analyze a variety of primary sources—including excerpts from speeches, sermons, military orders, letters, memoranda, newspaper articles, proclamations, and other firsthand accounts—to draw conclusions and develop viewpoints for discussion with the class.

**Essential Questions**

**Lesson One:** What were the arguments for and against Louisiana’s secession from the Union?

**Lesson Two:** How did the invasion and capture of New Orleans affect the city and its people?

**Lesson Three:** To what extent should Major General Benjamin Butler be commended, or criticized, for the Union occupation and governance of New Orleans?

**Lesson Four:** How did the occupation of New Orleans specifically affect African Americans?

**Lesson Five:** How was the social well-being of the residents of New Orleans challenged or protected during the Union occupation of 1862–1865?

**Unit Summary:** How well did the residents of New Orleans respond to the challenges of the Civil War?

**Instructional Note**

Teachers should use their discretion in selecting and/or editing the materials to suit their classroom’s time constraints and students’ comprehension levels. The total instructional periods for this unit may therefore vary:

**Lesson One:** Two class periods for analysis of Louisiana’s secession debate.

**Lesson Two:** One to two class periods for analysis of the Union occupation of New Orleans.

**Lesson Three:** One to two class periods for analysis of Benjamin Butler’s military governance.

**Lesson Four:** One to two class periods for analysis of the occupation’s specific impact on African Americans.

**Lesson Five:** One to two class periods for analysis of the social well-being of residents during the occupation.

**Unit Summary:** Optional homework or in-class activity.
Lesson One

The Secession Debate

An ordinance to dissolve the union between the state of Louisiana and other states with her, under the compact entitled: The Constitution of the United States of America; [1861]; broadside by Pessou and Simon; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 86-2251-RL

Introduction

The election of Republican antislavery candidate Abraham Lincoln as president in 1860 heightened the impetus for secession among slaveholding states. Secessionists argued that the property and governing rights of the Southern states were being threatened by abolitionists in the North and wanted to curtail the federal government’s legislative power to outlaw the expansion of slavery into the western territories.

South Carolina seceded first in December 1860, followed by Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama. After weeks of public debate, Louisiana joined them on January 26, 1861. Delegates to a state secession convention in Baton Rouge voted to secede from the Union by a count of 113 to 17. Louisiana then sent “commissioners” to other slaveholding states such as Texas and Virginia to build allegiance to the Confederacy. After adjournment, the secession convention moved from Baton Rouge to New Orleans and approved resolutions to seize control of the United States Mint, order the state militia to occupy Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip, and send six delegates to a convention in Montgomery, Alabama, to form the Confederate States of America. Louisiana ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States of America on March 21, 1861, and war broke out a few weeks later.
Objective

Students will analyze primary source documents in order to understand the arguments for and against secession for Louisiana, and present summaries of the arguments to the class.

Essential Question

What were the arguments for and against Louisiana’s secession from the Union?

Materials

PRO-SECESSION DOCUMENTS

Document 1: “Thanksgiving Sermon” by Reverend Benjamin M. Palmer

Document 2: “Secession vs. Cooperation” Article from the New Orleans Daily Crescent

Document 3: “On the Right of Secession” Senate Speech by Senator Judah P. Benjamin

Document 4: Louisiana’s Ordinance of Secession

Document 5: Address to the Texas Secession Convention Given by Commissioner George Williamson of Louisiana

PRO-UNION DOCUMENTS

Document 6: “A Protest Against the Ordinance of Secession” by James G. Taliaferro

Document 7: Pro-Union Letter by General John E. Wool

Document 8: Speech in the House of Representatives on the Secession of Louisiana by Representative John Edward Bouligny

Document Analysis Worksheet

Document Synthesis Worksheet

Exit Card Worksheet
Procedures (Day One)

Have the students work in small groups of no more than three or four members.

1. Distribute copies of the reading selections and eight Document Analysis Worksheets per student (one for each document).

2. Share read Document 1 (Reverend Benjamin Palmer’s “Thanksgiving Sermon”), modeling prosody, inflection, and punctuation. Ask the students to join in with the reading after a few sentences, and continue reading. Students should underline key terms and phrases as they read.

3. Using Document 1 as an example, demonstrate how the Document Analysis Worksheets should be completed.

4. Students should now work together in their small groups to read and discuss Documents 2 to 8, and complete a Document Analysis Worksheet for each one.

5. Students should share their responses within their groups.

Procedures (Day Two)

Have the students return to their small groups from Day One.

1. Distribute a Document Synthesis Worksheet to each student.

2. Students should now work together in their small groups to summarize the arguments made for and against secession from the Day One reading selections by filling out the first part of the Document Synthesis Worksheet, listing five arguments made by each side. Within their small groups, students may complete the worksheet together or divide the responsibilities of summarizing the “pro-secession” and “pro-Union” arguments evenly before coming back together as a group and combining their summaries. Students should integrate quotes from the historical documents to support the authenticity of the arguments they’ve described.

3. Within their small groups, students should discuss the arguments made in the pro-secession and pro-Union documents and then work together to come up with three questions they would pose to each side of the debate, writing them down on the Document Synthesis Worksheet.

4. The teacher should now moderate a class discussion by calling on the groups, one at a time, to pose one of their questions to the class at large, alternating questions regarding the pro-secession documents and questions regarding the pro-Union documents. Students from the other groups can volunteer to answer any question, or the teacher can call on other groups to respond. In responding to questions posed by other groups, students should support their answers with quotes from the historical documents.

5. Refer students back to the lesson’s Essential Question, then distribute Exit Cards for the students to fill out. If time permits, students can share their responses with the class.
Excerpts from Reverend Benjamin M. Palmer’s “Thanksgiving Sermon” at the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans on November 29, 1860

New Orleans: True Witness and Sentinel, 1860; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 69-9-L

Reverend Palmer (1818–1902) was pastor at this church for forty-six years and very influential in the city. Palmer Park and Palmer Avenue in New Orleans are named in his honor. This sermon, delivered a few weeks after the presidential election of Abraham Lincoln and a few weeks before the secession of South Carolina, was published in many newspapers and periodicals through the South. In it, Reverend Palmer justified and advocated for the perpetuation of slavery and endorsed Southern secession from the Union.

We are in the most fearful and perilous crisis which has occurred in our history as a nation. The cords which . . . have bound together this growing Republic, are now strained to their utmost tension. . . . Sectional divisions, the jealousy of rival interests, the lust of political power, . . . a reckless radicalism, which seeks for the subversion of all that is ancient and stable, and a furious fanaticism . . . all these combine to create a portentous crisis, the like of which we have never known before, and which puts to a crucifying test the virtue, the patriotism, and the piety of the country. . . .

. . . I have never intermeddled with political questions. . . . I have never obtruded, either publicly or privately, my opinions upon any of you. . . . I have preferred to move among you as a preacher of righteousness belonging to a kingdom not of this world. . . .
... [However,] at a juncture so solemn as the present, ... it is not lawful to be still. Whoever may have influence to shape public opinion, at such a time must lend it, or prove faithless to a trust as solemn as any to be accounted for at the bar of God. ... 

In determining our duty in this emergency, it is necessary that we should first ascertain the nature of the trust providentially committed to us. A nation often has a character as well-defined and intense as that of the individual.

... If, then, the South is such a people, what, at this juncture, is their providential trust? I answer, that it is to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing. ... Without, therefore, determining the question of duty for future generations, I simply say, that for us, as now situated, the duty is plain of conserving and transmitting the system of slavery, with the freest scope for its natural development and extension. Let us, my brethren, look our duty in the face. With this institution assigned to our keeping, what reply shall we make to those who say that its days are numbered? My own conviction is, that we should at once lift ourselves, intelligently, to the highest moral ground, and proclaim to all the world that we hold this trust from God, and in its occupancy we are prepared to stand or fall as God may appoint. ... 

The argument which enforces the solemnity of this providential trust is simple and condensed. It is bound upon us, then, by the principle of self-preservation, that “first law” which is continually asserting its supremacy over all others. Need I pause to show how this system of servitude underlies and supports our material interests? That our wealth consists in our lands, and in the serfs who till them? That from the nature of our products they can only be cultivated by labor which must be controlled in order to be certain? That any other than a tropical race must faint and wither beneath a tropical sun? Need I pause to show how this system is interwoven with our entire social fabric? That these slaves form parts of our households, even as our children; and that, too, through a relationship recognized and sanctioned in the scriptures of God even as the other? Must I pause to show how it has fashioned our modes of life, and determined all our habits of thought and feeling, and moulded the very type of our civilization? ... 

This duty is bound upon us again as the constituted guardians of the slaves themselves. ... In our mutual relations we survive or perish together. The worst foes of the black race are those who have intermeddled on their behalf. We know better than others that every attribute of their character fits them for dependence and servitude. By nature, the most affectionate and loyal of all races beneath the sun, they are also the most helpless; and no calamity can befal them greater than the loss of that protection they enjoy under this patriarchal system. ... Their residence here, in the presence of the vigorous Saxon race, would be but the signal for their rapid extermination before they had time to waste away through listlessness, filth and vice. Freedom would be their doom; and equally from both they call upon us, their providential guardians, to be protected. ... 

It is a duty which we owe, further, to the civilized world. It is a remarkable fact, that during these thirty years of unceasing warfare against slavery ... [the] world has grown more and more dependent upon it for sustenance and wealth. ... Strike now a blow at this system of labor, and the world itself totters at the stroke. ... 

Last of all, in this great struggle, we defend the cause of God and religion. The Abolition spirit is undeniably atheistic. ... Among a people so generally religious as the American, a disguise must be worn; but it is the same old threadbare disguise of the advocacy of human rights. ... The decree has gone forth which strikes at God by striking at all subordination and law. ... 

... This spirit of atheism ... has selected us for its victims, and slavery for its issue. ... To the South the highest position is assigned, of defending, before all nations, the cause of all religion and of all truth. ...
This argument . . . touches the four cardinal points of duty to ourselves, to our slaves, to the world, and to almighty God. It establishes the nature and solemnity of our present trust to preserve and transmit our existing system of domestic servitude, with the right, unchanged by man, to go and root itself wherever Providence and nature may carry it. . . .

What say you to this, to whom this great providential trust of conserving slavery is assigned? . . . This is the historic moment when the fate of this institution hangs suspended in the balance. Decide either way, it is the moment of our destiny. . . .

. . . As [slavery’s] constituted guardian, [we] can demand nothing less than that it should be left open to expansion, subject to no limitations, save those imposed by God and nature. I fear the antagonism is too great. . . .

. . . Thus, if we cannot save the Union, we may save the inestimable blessings it enshrines; if we cannot preserve the vase, we will preserve the precious liquor it contains.
Excerpts from “Secession vs. Co-operation; —or— What the People of New Orleans Are Called Upon to Do, and in What Way They Can Best Do It.” by “A Citizen” from the New Orleans Daily Crescent

January 3, 1861; newspaper on microfilm; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 79-4-L.1

CO-OPERATION IN ITS RESULTS AS COMPARED WITH SEPARATE STATE ACTION.

CO-OPERATION, . . . as it is urged upon you by our opponents, means submission to the government of Abraham Lincoln, with or without guarantees . . . and leaves the South prostrate and defenseless at the feet of her enemies! Men of Louisiana . . . are you prepared for this, and is it this that you desire?

SEPARATE SECESSION, on the other hand, puts the State in armed resistance, and leaves . . . her fate in her own hands. She may enter into what combinations her safety may require. She may aid in re-establishing a Federal Union, in which the rights of the North and the South shall have equal and adequate protection; or, failing in this, she may consolidate a Southern Union, upon the sure foundation of equal rights, interests, dangers, and necessities. It is by secession alone we can be placed in close affinity with all of our sisters of the Gulf and Southern Atlantic seaboard, who have given guarantees stronger than any that could be received from the North, that they will be out of the Union long in advance of our action, and ready to receive us in the Government that shall have been established. South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, are knit by God and their own hearts indissolubly together. . . .

PRACTICAL OPERATION AND SECESSION.

1. Secession does not disturb the existing government and laws of the State, but leaves them as they are. This you perceive in the course of South Carolina, which vacates no offices, . . . repeals no local laws, interferes with no rights of citizenship. . . .

2. Secession preserves the relation of slavery, which, under an Abolition government, must shortly go down, and with it those immense resources which have enabled us to clothe the world and reach in commerce to the standard of a first-class power, and without which we should very soon sink into the feeblest insignificance. . . .

3. Secession, if it lead to a Southern Confederation, looks in the end to a league, between the Northern and Southern Governments, offensive and defensive, in maintaining a continental and republican policy, against the monarchies of the Old World, if that be necessary to protect the interests of liberty at large.
4. *Secession*, in the results which it will accomplish, will cause our city to advance rapidly in the path of commercial greatness; and we secure this by consolidating the slave power from which nine-tenths of our wealth is derived. If a Southern Confederacy result, New Orleans must become its great emporium and mart, exporting its vast productions and importing—which she does not do at all now—the foreign commodities for which they are exchanged. The manufactories . . . will have their agencies and marts in our midst. Our population will augment rapidly; employments will multiply with ample remuneration, and real estate attain a value it has never reached before. *Prosperity will prevail in all the channels and avenues of business when over $200,000,000, . . . now expended annually by the South in the Northern States, will be of necessity expended in our own cities and towns.*

5. *Secession* is the measure alone adapted to our exigencies; it is one of safety and peace, because it brings us closer to the hearts of those who are identical in interest with us and wield a power amply sufficient . . . to obtain our rights hereafter in the Union should it be reconstructed, or maintain a proud nationality separate and independent.

THE SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

The candidates who are presented to you by the Southern Rights Association . . . signed a document which contains the following provisions . . . :

“The objects of this Association shall be to encourage Southern independence of interest and feeling, and to promote concert of action amongst the Southern States; and should any State or States, in the exercise of their sovereign rights, withdraw from the Union, and the Federal Government attempt coercion, to extend to such State or States our cordial sympathy; to use all honorable means to bring about, under the sanction of a State Convention, the withdrawal of the State of Louisiana from the present Union, and the assertion of her independence and sovereignty; and, finally, to promote in every way the establishment of a confederated government. . . ."
Excerpts from Speech “On the Right of Secession” Delivered in the US Senate by Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, Given on December 31, 1860

The Historic New Orleans Collection, 76-1215-RL

Senator Benjamin (1811–1884) served in the US Senate from 1853 until his resignation on February 4, 1861, when he joined the Confederate States of America, first as attorney general, and later as secretary of war and secretary of state, until the Confederacy’s demise in April 1865.

We are brought at last . . . to meet promptly an issue produced by an irresistible course of events whose inevitable results some of us, at least, have foreseen for years. Nor . . . have we failed in our duty of warning the Republicans that they were fast driving us to a point where the very instincts of self-preservation would impose upon us the necessity of separation. . . .

. . . The feelings and sentiments expressed since the commencement of this session . . . almost force the belief that a civil war is their desire; and that the day is full near when American citizens are to meet each other in hostile array; and when the hands of brothers will be reddened with the blood of brothers.

. . . The State of South Carolina . . . has dissolved the union which connects her with the other States of the confederacy, and declared herself independent. We, the representatives of those remaining States, stand here to-day, bound either to recognize that independence, or to overthrow it; either to permit her peaceful secession from the confederacy, or to put her down by force of arms. That is the issue. That is the sole issue. . . .
. . . Our determination does not involve the State of South Carolina alone. Next week, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, will have declared themselves independent; the week after, Georgia; and a little later, Louisiana; soon, very soon, to be followed by Texas and Arkansas. . . .

From the time that this people declared its independence of Great Britain, the right of the people to self-government . . . has been a cardinal principle of American liberty. . . . And in that right, to use the language of the Declaration itself, is included the right whenever a form of government becomes destructive of their interests or their safety, “to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.” . . .

You, Senators of the Republican party, assert, and your people whom you represent assert, that under a just and fair interpretation of the Federal Constitution, it is right that you deny that our slaves, which . . . involve a value of more than four thousand million dollars, are property at all, or entitled to protection in Territories owned by the common Government.

You assume . . . that it is right to encourage . . . the robbery of this property, and to legislate so as to render its recovery as difficult and dangerous as possible; that it is right . . . to prevent our mere transit across a sister State, to embark with our property on a lawful voyage, without being openly despoiled of it.

You . . . hold us up . . . as thieves, robbers, murderers, villains, and criminals . . . because we continue to own property which we owned at the time we all signed the compact. . . .

. . . Under no circumstances can we consent to live together under that interpretation, and say: “we will go from you; let us go in peace;” . . .

Now, Senators, this picture is not placed before you with any idea that it will . . . change your views, or alter your conduct. All hope of that is gone. . . . The day for the adjustment has passed. . . . You are too late. . . .

. . . We desire, we beseech you, let this parting be in peace. I conjure you to indulge in no vain delusion that duty or conscience, interest or honor, imposes upon you the necessity of invading our States or shedding the blood of our people. You have no possible justification for it. . . . If you are resolved to pervert the Government framed by the fathers for the protection of our rights into an instrument for subjugating and enslaving us, then, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the universe for the rectitude of our intentions, we must meet the issue that you force upon us as best becomes freemen defending all that is dear to man.

What may be the fate of this horrible contest, no man can tell, . . . but this much I will say: the fortunes of war may be adverse to our arms; you may carry desolation into our peaceful land, and with torch and fire you may set our cities in flames; . . . you may, under the protection of your advancing armies, give shelter to the furious fanatics who desire . . . to add all the horrors of a servile insurrection to the calamities of civil war; you may do all this . . . but you never can subjugate us; you never can convert the free sons of the soil into vassals, paying tribute to your power; and you never, never can degrade them to the level of an inferior and servile race. Never! Never!
Louisiana’s Ordinance of Secession

Broadside by Pessou and Simon; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 86-2251-RL

On January 26, 1861, delegates who had been elected to Louisiana’s secession convention at Baton Rouge approved an ordinance to secede from the Union and dissolve the constitutional compact between the State of Louisiana and the United States of America by a vote of 113 to 17. This Ordinance of Secession does not include an elaborative statement on the causes and reasons for secession. Instead, Louisiana sent “commissioners” to several “sister slaveholding states,” such as Texas and Virginia, to strengthen the secession movement and build allegiance to the Confederacy, and subsequently sent six delegates to a convention in Montgomery, Alabama, to form the Confederate States of America. Louisiana ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States of America on March 21, 1861.
An Ordinance
To dissolve the Union between the State of Louisiana and other States united with her, under the compact entitled:

“The Constitution of the United States of America”

We, the people of the State of Louisiana, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, That the ordinance passed by us in Convention on the 22nd day of November, in the year Eighteen hundred & Eleven, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America, and the amendments of the said Constitution, were adopted; and all laws and ordinances by which the State of Louisiana became a member of the Federal Union be and the same are hereby repealed and abrogated; and that the union now subsisting between Louisiana and other States under the name of “The United States of America” is hereby dissolved.

We do further declare and ordain, That the State of Louisiana hereby resumes all rights & powers heretofore delegated to the Government of the United States of America; That her citizens are absolved from all allegiance to said Government; and that she is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which appertain to a free and independent State.

We do further declare and ordain, That all rights acquired and vested under the Constitution of the United States, or any act of Congress, or treaty, or under any law of this State, and not incompatible with this Ordinance, shall remain in force, and have the same effect as if this Ordinance had not been passed.

Adopted in Convention at Baton Rouge the 26th of January 1861.
Excerpts from an Address to the Texas Secession Convention Given by Commissioner George Williamson of Louisiana on February 11, 1861

from *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas*, 1861; *Edited from the Original in the Department of State by Ernest William Winkler, State Librarian* (pages 120–123); Austin, Texas: Austin Printing Company, 1912

Although Louisiana and Texas had already seceded from the Union at the time of Williamson’s address, the objectives of his speech were to emphasize the primary importance of slavery to the economic prosperity and political unity of the South as well as loyalty to the Confederacy for its survival against the “hostile treachery of abolitionism.”

Louisiana invites you to a candid consideration of her acts in resuming the powers delegated to the government of the late United States, and in providing for the formation of a confederacy of “The States which have seceded and may secede.” . . . The character and pursuits of her people, her immense agricultural wealth, her large banking capital, her possession of the great commercial metropolis of the South, . . . present facts sufficient . . . [to show] she did not take these grave steps for light and transient causes. She was impelled to this action to preserve her honor, her safety, her property and the free institutions so sacred to her people. She believed the federal agent had betrayed her trust, had become the facile instrument of a hostile people, and was usurping despotic powers. . . .

The people of Louisiana were unwilling to endanger their liberties and property by submission to the despotism of a single tyrant. . . . Insulted by the denial of her constitutional equality by the non-slave-holding States, outraged by their contemptuous rejection of proffered compromises, and convinced that she was illustrating the capacity of her people for self-government by withdrawing from a union that had failed, without fault of hers, to accomplish its purposes, she declared herself a free and independent State. . . . History affords no example of a people who changed their government for more just or substantial reasons. Louisiana looks to the formation of a Southern confederacy to preserve the blessings of African slavery, and of the free institutions of the founders of the Federal Union, bequeathed to their posterity. As her neighbor and sister State, she desires the hearty co-operation of Texas in the formation of a Southern Confederacy. . . . Both States have large areas of fertile, uncultivated lands, peculiarly adapted to slave labor; and they are both so deeply interested in African slavery that it may be said to be absolutely necessary to their existence, and is the keystone to the arch of their prosperity. Each of the States has an extended Gulf coast, and must look with equal solicitude to its protection now. . . .

The people of Louisiana would consider it a most fatal blow to African slavery, if Texas either did not secede or having seceded should not join her destinies to theirs in a Southern Confederacy. If she remains in the union the abolitionists would continue their work of incendiaryism and murder. . . . The people of the slaveholding States are bound together by the same necessity and determination to preserve African slavery. The isolation of any one of them from the others would make her the theatre for abolition emissaries from the North and from Europe. Her existence would be one of constant peril to herself and of imminent danger to other neighboring slave-holding communities. . . . [Louisiana’s] interests are identical to Texas and the seceding States. . . . Taking [the constitution of the late United States] as the basis of our new government we hope to form a slave-holding confederacy that will secure to us and our remotest posterity the great blessings its authors designed in the Federal Union. With the social balance wheel of slavery to regulate its machinery, we may fondly indulge the hope that our Southern government will be perpetual.
“A Protest Against the Ordinance of Secession” Presented by James G. Taliaferro, Delegate to the Louisiana Secession Convention from the Parish of Catahoula, on January 26, 1861

The Historic New Orleans Collection, 86-2301-RL

Taliaferro, an ardent Unionist, requested that his protest resolution against the Ordinance of Secession be entered into the journal of the proceedings of the Louisiana secession convention. He feared that secession would presage “anarchy and war” as well as ruinous destruction of property and prosperity in Louisiana. His protest was dismissed and repudiated overwhelmingly by the vast majority of delegates and was refused inclusion in the official journal.

THE delegate from the parish of Catahoula opposes unqualifiedly the separate secession of Louisiana from the federal Union, and asks leave to place upon the records of the convention his reasons for that opposition. They are as follow:

I oppose the act of secession because, in my deliberate judgment, the wrongs alleged as the cause of the movement might be redressed under the constitution by an energetic execution of the laws of the United States, and that, standing upon the guarantees of the constitution, in the Union, southern rights might be triumphantly maintained under the protection and safeguards which the constitution affords.

Because, in secession I see no remedy for the actual and present evils complained of, and because the prospective evils depicted so gloomily may never come; and if they should, the inalienable right to resist tyranny and oppression might then be exercised as well and as successfully as now.

Because I see no certainty that the seceding states will ever be confederated again; none that the border states will secede at all; and if they should, I see no reliable ground for believing that they would incorporate themselves with the gulf or cotton states in a new government. I see no surety either that Texas would unite with them.

Because the gulf or cotton states alone, were they to unite in a separate confederacy, would be without the elements of power, indispensable in the formation of a government to take a respectable rank among the nations of the earth.

Because I believe that peaceful secession is a right unknown to the constitution of the United States; that it is a most dangerous and mischievous principle in the structure of any government, and when carried into the formation of the contemplated confederacy of the gulf states, will render it powerless for good, and complete its incapacity to afford to the people permanent security for their lives, liberties and property.

Because it is my solemn and deliberate conviction that the distraction of the southern states by separate secession will defeat the purpose it is intended to accomplish, and that its certain results will be to impair instead of strengthen the security of southern institutions.

Because the proper status of Louisiana is with the border states, with which nature has connected her by the majestic river which flows through her limits; and because an alliance in a weak government with the gulf states east of her, is unnatural and antagonistic to her obvious interests and destiny.
Because by separate secession the state relinquishes all its rights within the government; it surrenders its equal rights to the common territories, to the vast public domain of the United States and the public property of every kind belonging to the nation. And for this reason I oppose secession as being emphatically submission.

Because, secession may bring anarchy and war, as it will assuredly bring ruinous exactions upon property in the form of direct taxation, a withering blight upon the prosperity of the state, and a fatal prostration of all its great interests.

Because, the act of dissolving the ties which connect Louisiana with the federal Union is a revolutionary act that this convention is, of itself, without legitimate power to perform. Convened without authority of the people of the state, and refusing to submit its action to them for their sanction in the grave and vital act of changing their government, this convention violates the great fundamental principle of American government, that the will of the people is supreme.

James G. Taliaferro,
Delegate from the Parish of Catahoula
Excerpts from Pro-Union Letter by General John E. Wool from the New Orleans Daily Crescent

Published January 8, 1861; newspaper on microfilm; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 79-4-L.1

My Dear Sir—South Carolina, after 27 years . . . of constant and increasing efforts by her leaders to induce her to secede, has declared herself out of the Union, . . . without the slightest wrong or injustice done her people on the part of the Government of the United States. . . . [However,] she is not out of the Union, nor beyond the pale of the United States. Before she can get out of their jurisdiction or control, a reconstruction of the Constitution must be had or civil war ensue. In the latter case it would require no prophet to foretell the result. . . .

. . . 200,000 men would be in readiness to take vengeance on all who would betray the Union into the hands of its enemies. . . .

I am not, however, pleading for the free States, for they are not in danger, but for the Union and the preservation of the cotton States. Those who sow the wind must expect to reap the whirlwind. . . . We live in an age of progress, and . . . all christendom is making rapid strides in the march of civilization and freedom. . . . “Where liberty dwells there is my country,” was the declaration of the illustrious [Benjamin] Franklin. This principle is too strongly implanted in the heart and mind of every man in the free States, to be surrendered . . . in order to extend the area of slavery.

With all Christianized Europe and nearly all the civilized world opposed to slavery, are the Southern States prepared to set aside the barriers which shield their institutions under the United States Government? Would the separation of the South from the North give greater security to slavery than it has now under the Constitution of the Union? What security would they have for the return of runaway slaves? I apprehend none, whilst the number of runaways would be greatly augmented, and the difficulties of which slaveholders complain would be increased to tenfold. However much individuals might condemn slavery, the free States are prepared to sustain and defend it as guaranteed by the Constitution.

In conclusion, I would avoid the bloody and desolating example of the Mexican States. I am now, and forever, in favor of the Union, its preservation, and the rigid maintenance of the rights and interests of the States, individually as well as collectively.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN E. WOOL.
Speech in the House of Representatives on the Secession of Louisiana Delivered by Representative John Edward Bouligny on February 5, 1861

from Speeches of Mr. Bouligny of La. & Mr. Sickles of N.Y. delivered in the House of Representatives, Feb. 5, 1861: Secession of Louisiana; 1861; Birney Anti-Slavery Collection, The Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries

Representative Bouligny was born in New Orleans and served the First Congressional District of Louisiana from 1859 to 1861 as a member of the anti-immigrant American Party. He retained his seat in the House of Representatives after Louisiana seceded from the Union on January 26, 1861. During the Civil War, he decided to reside in the North in Washington, DC.

I take this occasion to express my regret that I am not able to agree with the honorable Senators from my State. In the outset, permit me to say, that until a few moments ago I had not received official information of the passage of the ordinance of secession by the convention of my State. Nor have I received from the Legislature of my State, now in session, any information of the passage by that body of a resolution instructing her Senators, or requesting her Representatives, to withdraw from Congress. Although I respect that body, I shall not obey its request. I was not elected by that body, and I have nothing to do with it, or it with me.

Mr. Speaker, there is another reason which compels me to differ with the Senators and Representatives of my State. I am the only member of Congress from Louisiana who was elected as an American Union man. To those principles I shall stand forever. [Great applause in the galleries.]

Again: when I came here, I took the oath to sustain the Constitution of the United States. What does that mean? Does not the Constitution of the United States mean the Union of the United States? I so understand it; and to that oath I shall adhere firmly to the end. Whenever I am instructed by my immediate constituents, and am requested by them to withdraw from Congress, I shall comply with those instructions as soon as they are received. Then, and not until then, I shall resign; and after resigning my position here, I shall yet be a Union man, and stand under the flag of the country which gave me birth. [Great applause in the galleries and on the floor.]
The Secession Debate

Choose three important phrases and/or sentences from this document regarding the issue of secession and answer the following questions.

Phrase No. 1
____________________________________________________________________________________
Why is this phrase or sentence important and powerful?
____________________________________________________________________________________
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Phrase No. 2
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Why is this phrase or sentence important and powerful?
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Phrase No. 3
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Why is this phrase or sentence important and powerful?
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Critical Thinking Questions

1. Briefly summarize the position of the author/speaker on the issue of secession.
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2. Why does this author/speaker support or oppose secession?
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The Secession Debate

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<th>List three questions you would ask the people advocating secession.</th>
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What were the arguments for and against Louisiana’s secession from the Union?

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Lesson Two

The Bombardment and Capture of New Orleans

*Farragut’s fleet passing the forts below New Orleans;* between 1863 and 1867; oil on canvas by Mauritz Frederik De Haas; *The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1974.80*

**Objective**

Students will analyze the text of primary sources that describe the capture and occupation of New Orleans, and determine the impact of the occupation on the city’s residents. Students will develop positions on this issue and defend their viewpoints to their classmates in a knowledgeable, persuasive manner.

**Introduction**

The bombardment and capture of New Orleans, as well as the naval blockade of the major Confederate commercial ports along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, were integral components of Union General Winfred Scott’s “Anaconda Plan” to suffocate the Southern economy by seizing control of the Mississippi River and splitting the Confederacy into two isolated regions. New Orleans was the “citadel of commerce,” protected by a chain of fortresses near the mouth of the Mississippi, including Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip. The city was a center of international trade for the agricultural and commercial goods—particularly cotton—that were produced in the Mississippi River valley and exported to Europe.

On April 24, 1862, Union Flag Officer David Farragut commenced a fierce naval bombardment of Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip. After conquering these forts, which left the city of New Orleans largely defenseless, Farragut proceeded north to advance on the city. When news of Farragut’s impending arrival in New Orleans reached Louisiana Governor Thomas Overton Moore, he ordered “all planters to burn every bale of cotton in the state, which the ruthless [Union] invaders could reach.” Fires destroyed food, merchandise, and ships that could have been used in the war effort by the Union army. Amid the billowing waves of smoke, businesses closed their doors, and supplies of provisions dissipated quickly from the markets.
With the prospect of defeat approaching rapidly, General Mansfield Lovell, the Confederate commander in New Orleans, decided to evacuate more than 3,000 troops without a confrontation with the Union military forces. Lovell transferred the city’s legal authority to Mayor John T. Monroe, a secessionist and Confederate supporter, to negotiate the terms of surrender to the Union forces. Many pro-Confederate white New Orleanians felt defenseless, fearful, and angry as the victorious Union forces entered the city. Conversely, many enslaved and free African American residents reacted to the arrival of Union military forces and the occupation of New Orleans with displays of glee and welcome.

**Essential Question**

How did the invasion and capture of New Orleans affect the city and its people?

**Materials**

- **Document 9**: The Impact of Secession and the Prospect of Capture: Excerpts from *A History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862* by James Parton

  **Sidebar**: Excerpt of Letter from Navy Lieutenant David Porter to General Montgomery Meigs

- **Document 10**: Correspondence from Union Flag Officer David G. Farragut to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles

- **Document 11**: New Orleanians’ Reactions to the Union Invasion and Occupation: Excerpt from Parton

- **Document 12**: Correspondence between Union Flag Officer David G. Farragut and New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe and City Council

**Document Analysis Worksheets** for Documents 9–12

**Exit Card Worksheet**

**Procedures**

To aid class discussion during the lesson, use a computer projector to display the illustrations that accompany Documents 9 and 10. Divide the class into small groups of approximately four students.


2. Students will now work collaboratively in their small groups to read and assess Documents 9–12 and complete the Document Analysis Worksheet for each document.

3. Next, groups will share their responses with the class, which will serve as a springboard for class discussion led by the teacher.

4. In closing, direct students to read the Essential Question and complete the Exit Card, supporting their viewpoints with textual evidence. If time permits, the teacher can call on several students to share their Exit Card responses with the class.
The Impact of Secession and the Prospect of Capture

Excerpts from pages 64–67 of *General Butler in New Orleans; Being a History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (People’s Edition)*; by James Parton; New York: Mason Brothers, 1864; Library of Congress

Every man in the world either is a secessionist, or could become one, who holds slaves, or who could hold slaves with an easy conscience, or who can contemplate the fact with indifference that slaves are held. . . .

So the “moral epidemic” spread in New Orleans, and it became nearly unanimous for secession. If the majority for secession was small in the city, it sufficed to make secession master. Union men were banished by law; Union sentiments suppressed by violence. . . . The fact remains, that neither man nor woman could utter a syllable for the Union in New Orleans in the hearing of the public, and live. . . .

The double blockade—blockade above and blockade below [the Mississippi River]—struck death to the commerce of New Orleans, a city created and sustained by commerce alone. . . . The crescent bend of the river upon which the city stands, a waving line seven miles in extent, used to display the commercial activity of the place to striking advantage. Cotton ships, eight or ten deep; a forest of masts, denser than any but a tropical forest; steamboats in bewildering numbers, miles of them, puffing and hissing, arriving, departing, and threatening to depart, with great clangor of bells and scream of whistles; cotton-bales piled high along the levee, as far as the eye could reach; acres and acres covered with hogsheads of sugar; endless flotillas of flat-boats, market-boats, and timber rafts; gangs of negroes at work upon every part of the levee, with loud chorus and outcry; and a constant crowd of clerks, merchants, sailors, and bandanna-crowned negro women selling coffee, cakes, and fruit. It was a spectacle without parallel on the globe, because the whole scene of the city’s industry was presented in one view.

What a change was wrought by the mere announcement of the [Union] blockade! The cotton ships disappeared; the steamboats were laid away in convenient bayous, or departed up the river to return no more. The cotton mountains vanished; the sugar acres were cleared. The cheerful song of the negroes was seldom heard, and the grass grew on the vacant levee. The commerce of the city was dead; and the forces hitherto expended in peaceful and victorious industry, were wholly given up to waging war upon the power which had called that industry into being, defended it against the invader, protected and nourished it for sixty years, guiltless of wrong. . . .

We return to the morning of April 24th [1862], on which the Union fleet ran past the forts [Jackson and St. Philip]. . . .

At half-past nine in the morning, . . . the bell of one of the churches, which had been designated as the alarm bell, struck the concerted signal of alarm—twelve strokes four times repeated. . . . There was a wild rush to the newspaper bulletin-boards.

“IT IS REPORTED THAT TWO OF THE ENEMY’S GUN-BOATS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN PASSING THE FORTS.”

This was all that came over the wires before Captain Farragut cut them; but it was enough to give New Orleans a dismal premonition of the coming catastrophe. The troops flew to their respective rendezvous. The city was filled with rumors. The whole population was in the streets all day. . . .
. . . At half-past two, [Confederate] General Lovell arrived, bringing news that the Union fleet had passed the forts, destroyed the Confederate gun-boats, and was approaching the city. Then the panic set in. Stores were hastily closed, and many were abandoned without closing. People left their houses, forgetting to shut the front-door, and ran about the streets without apparent object. There was a fearful beating of drums. . . .
David Dixon Porter (1813–1891), in the hand of a clerk, to Montgomery C. Meigs (1816–1892); May 14, 1862; manuscript letter; Montgomery C. Meigs Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

An excerpt from a letter Porter, a Navy lieutenant, wrote to Union Quartermaster General Meigs asserting that the city of New Orleans was the key to the Mississippi River and the survival of the Confederacy.

This place is the great Hydra of Rebellion, you know I always told you that to Conquer New Orleans and get possession of the Mississippi was to conquer Jeff Davis, and so you see it will be if we have at the head of affairs a man of firmness and ability—They know Butlers Caliber at home better than I do, still he dont strike me as the man for the position, neither does Phelps, both are too erratic for these times, for Gods sake dont let us fail for want of a good military head.

Panorama of the Seat of War; 1861; lithograph by John Bachmann; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1956.50
Excerpts of Correspondence from Union Flag Officer David G. Farragut to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles Concerning the Bombardment, Surrender, and Occupation of New Orleans

From pages 12–17 of Reports of the Naval Engagements on the Mississippi River; by Gustavus Vasa Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; Washington, DC: 1862; The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

“Attack on Forts Jackson and St. Philip . . . At Anchor off New Orleans, April 25, 1862”

Sir: I have the honor to inform the department that on the 24th . . . at about half past 3 a.m., I attacked Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson with my little fleet. . . . Such a fire, I imagine, the world has rarely seen, but . . . we got past the forts with a loss of only twenty-four killed and eighty-six wounded. . . . I took (and burnt) eleven steam gunboats and two hundred troops or upwards. I then pushed up for the city of New Orleans, leaving two gunboats to aid General [Benjamin] Butler in landing at the quarantine, and sent him a communication . . . , requesting him to come up at once. I came up to within six or seven miles of the city, when two forts opened on us, but we silenced them in fifteen or twenty minutes. . . . I have not yet heard of the killed and wounded. We only lost one man and none wounded. . . . We drove them from their guns and passed up to the city in fine style. . . .

But I must say I never witnessed such vandalism in my life as the destruction of property; all the shipping, steamboats, &c., were set on fire and consumed. . . . Captain Bailey has been sent to demand the surrender of the city [New Orleans] to me in the name of the United States. . . .

In conclusion, I hope I have done all I proposed to do, which was, to take the city of New Orleans; and I will now, in conjunction with the army, General Butler, reduce the forts, and take care of the outlet from the west. . . .

The conduct of the officers and men has been such as to command my highest admiration. . . .

“Announcement of the Capture of Forts Jackson and St. Philip and Surrender of New Orleans . . . April 29, 1862”

Sir: I am happy to announce to you that our flag waves over both Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and at New Orleans over the custom-house. I am taking every means to secure the occupation by General Butler of all the forts along the coast. Berwick’s bay and Fort Pike have been abandoned; in fact, there is a general stampede, and I shall endeavor to follow it up.

I am bringing up the troops as fast as possible. We have destroyed all the forts above the city, four in number, which are understood to be all the impediments between this and Memphis.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant. . . .
“Flag-Officer Farragut’s Detailed Report of the Battles of the Mississippi . . . May 6, 1862”

Sir: I have the honor herewith to forward my report, in detail, of the battle of New Orleans. . . .

The enemy commenced sending down fire-rafts and lighting their fires on the shore opposite the chain [which crossed the river]. . . . We then advanced in two columns. . . . We soon passed [broke] the barrier chains, the right column taking Fort St. Philip, and the left Fort Jackson. The fire became general, the smoke dense, and we had nothing to aim at but the flash of their guns; it was very difficult to distinguish friends from foes. . . . Our battery was never silent, but poured in its missiles of death into Fort St. Philip. . . . It was silenced. . . . By this time the enemy’s gunboats, some thirteen in number, besides two iron-clad rams, the Manassas and Louisiana, had become more visible. We took them in hand, and, in the course of a short time, destroyed eleven of them. . . . Victory was ours. . . .

I paroled both [Confederate] officers and men, and took away all their arms, munitions of war, and public property, and ordered them to remain where they were. . . .

We then proceeded up to New Orleans. . . . The destruction of property was awful. . . . The forts were silenced, and those who could run were running in every direction. We now passed up to the city and anchored immediately in front of it, and I sent Captain Bailey on shore to demand the surrender of it from the authorities, to which the mayor replied that the city was under martial law, and that he had no authority. [Confederate] General Lovell, who was present, stated that he should deliver up nothing, but in order to free the city from embarrassment, he would restore the city authorities and retire with his troops, which he did.
The levee of New Orleans was one scene of desolation. Ships, steamers, cotton, coal, &c., were all in one common blaze, and our ingenuity was much taxed to avoid the floating conflagration. . . .

I sent on shore and hoisted the American flag on the custom-house, and hauled down the Louisiana State flag from the city hall, as the mayor had avowed that there was no man in New Orleans who dared to haul it down; and my own convictions are that if such an individual could have been found he would have been assassinated.

. . . I have endeavored to give you an account of my attack upon New Orleans from our first movement to the surrender of the city to General Butler, whose troops are now in full occupation. . . .

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant.
New Orleanians’ Reactions to the Union Invasion and Occupation

Excerpts from pages 68–69 of General Butler in New Orleans; Being a History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (People’s Edition); by James Parton; New York: Mason Brothers, 1864; Library of Congress

[On April 24] the famous burning of cotton and ships began. Fifteen thousand bales of cotton on the levee; twelve or fifteen cotton ships in the river; fifteen or twenty river steamboats; an unfinished ram of great magnitude; the dry-docks; vast heaps of coal; vaster stores of steamboat wood . . . whatever was supposed to be of use to Yankees; all was set on fire, and the heavens were black with smoke. . . . And, as if this were not enough, the valiant governor of Louisiana [Thomas Overton Moore] fled away up the river in the swiftest steamboat he could find, spreading alarm as he went, and issuing proclamations, calling on the planters to burn every bale of cotton in the state, which the ruthless invaders could reach. . . .

Except that a white flag or rag was hung from many of the houses, and, in some instances, a torn and faded American flag, a relic of better times, there was little to remind the [Union] voyagers that they were in an enemy’s country. Here and there a white man was seen waving a Union flag; and occasionally a gesture of defiance or contempt was discerned. The negroes who were working in the fields in great numbers—gangs of fifty, a hundred, two hundred—these alone gave an unmistakable welcome to the [Union] newcomers. They would come running down to the levee in crowds, hoe in hand, and toss their battered old hats into the air, and shout, sing and caper. . . . On a plantation near by thirty plows were going, and two hundred negroes came to the shore in the highest glee, to greet the ships. “Hurrah for Abraham,” cried one. . . .

[The Union fleet came] round the bend at noon, into full view of the vast sweep of the Crescent City. What a scene! Fires along the shore farther than the eye could reach; the river full of burning vessels; the levee lined with madmen, whose yells and defiant gestures showed plainly enough what kind of welcome awaited the [Union] newcomers. A faint cheer for the Union, it is said, rose from one part of the levee, answered by a volley of pistol-shots from the by-standers. . . . The banks, the stores, all places of business were closed in the city. . . .

We all remember the greeting bestowed upon this officer [Union Captain Bailey]. It was by no means that which a conquered city usually confers upon the conqueror. Deafening cheers for “Jeff. Davis and the South;” thundering groans for “Lincoln and his fleet”. . . . Captain Bailey and Lieutenant Perkins, however, stepped on shore, and announced their desire to see the mayor of the city. A few respectable persons in the crowd had the courage to offer to conduct them to the City Hall, under whose escort the officers started on their perilous journey, followed and surrounded by a yelling, infuriated multitude. . . . “No violence,” says a Delta reporter, “was offered to the officers, though certain persons who were suspected of favoring their flag and cause were set upon with great fury, and roughly handled. On arriving at the City Hall, it required the intervention of several citizens to prevent violence being offered to the rash ambassadors of an execrated dynasty and government.”
Excerpts of Correspondence between Union Flag Officer David G. Farragut and Pro-Confederate New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe and City Council, Concerning the Confederate Surrender and Union Occupation of New Orleans

From pages 18–25 of Reports of the Naval Engagements on the Mississippi River; by Gustavus Vasa Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; Washington, DC: 1862; The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

Letter from Flag Officer David Farragut to New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe, April 26, 1862

... I came here to reduce New Orleans to obedience to the laws of, and to vindicate the offended majesty of the government of, the United States. The rights of persons and property shall be secure. I therefore demand of you, as its representative, the unqualified surrender of the city, and that the emblem of sovereignty of the United States be hoisted over the city hall, mint, and custom-house by meridian this day, and that all flags and other emblems of sovereignty other than those of the United States shall be removed from all the public buildings by that hour. I particularly request that you shall exercise your authority to quell disturbances, restore order, and call upon all the good people of New Orleans to return at once to their vocations; and I particularly demand that no person shall be molested in person or property for professing sentiments of loyalty to their [United States] government. I shall speedily and severely punish any person or persons who shall commit such outrages as were witnessed yesterday, armed men firing upon helpless women and children for giving expression to their pleasure at witnessing the old [American] flag.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant...
Letter from New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe to Union Flag Officer David Farragut, April 26, 1862

... Out of regard for the lives of the women and children who still crowd this great metropolis, [Confederate General Lovell] has evacuated it with his troops, and restored back to me the administration of its government and the custody of its honor. ... The city is without means of defence, and utterly destitute of the force and material that might enable it to resist the overpowering armament displayed in sight of it.

I am no military man, and possess no authority beyond that of executing the municipal laws of the city of New Orleans. It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to lead an army to the field ... and I know still less how to surrender an undefended place, held as this is at the mercy of your gunners and mouths of your mortars. ... The city is yours by the power of brutal force, and not by any choice or consent of its inhabitants. It is for you to determine what shall be the fate that awaits her.

As to the hoisting of any flag than the flag of our own adoption and allegiance, let me say to you, sir, that the man lives not in our midst whose hand and heart would not be palsied at the mere thought of such an act, nor could I find in my entire constituency so wretched and desperate a renegade as would dare to profane with his hand the sacred emblem of our aspirations. ...

... You will have a gallant people to administer during your occupation of the city. ... Pray, sir, do not allow them to be insulted by the interference of such as have rendered themselves odious and contemptible by the dastardly desertion of the mighty struggle in which we are engaged, nor of such as might remind them too painfully that they are the conquered and you the conquerors. Peace and order may be preserved without a resort to measures which could not fail to wound their susceptibilities and fire up their passions. ...

... You may trust their honor, though you might not count on their submission to unmerited wrong.

In conclusion, I beg you to understand that the people of New Orleans, while unable at this moment to prevent you from occupying this city, do not transfer their allegiance from the government of their choice to one which they have deliberately repudiated, and that they yield simply that obedience which the conqueror is enabled to extort from the conquered. ...

Respectfully,

John T. Monroe, Mayor.

Letter from Flag Officer David Farragut to New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe and the City Council, April 28, 1862

I deeply regret to see, both by their contents and the continued display of the flag of Louisiana on the court-house, a determination on the part of the city authorities not to haul it down. Moreover, when my officers and men were sent on shore to communicate with the authorities and to hoist the United States flag on the custom-house, with the strictest orders not to use their arms unless assailed, they were insulted in the grossest manner, and the flag which had been hoisted on my orders on the mint was pulled and dragged through the streets. All of which go to show that the fire of this fleet may be drawn upon the city at any moment, and in such an event the levee would, in all probability, be cut by the shells, and an amount of distress ensue to the innocent population which I have heretofore endeavored to assure you that I desired by all means to avoid. The election is therefore with you; but it becomes my duty to notify you to remove the women and children from the city within forty-eight hours, if I have rightly understood your determination.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. G. Farragut
Letter from New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe to Flag Officer David Farragut, April 28, 1862

. . . You now renew the demands made in your former communication, and you insist on their being complied with, unconditionally, under a threat of bombardment within forty-eight hours; and you notify me remove the women and children from the city, that they may be protected from your shells.

Sir, you cannot but know that there is no possible exit from this city for a population which still exceeds in number 140,000, and you must therefore be aware of the utter inanity of such a notification. Our women and children cannot escape from your shells, if it be your pleasure to murder them on a question of mere etiquette. But if they could, there are but few among them who would consent to desert their families and their homes, and the graves of their relatives, in so awful a moment. They would bravely stand the sight of your shells. . . .

You are not satisfied with the peaceable possession of an undefended city, opposing no resistance to your guns, because of its bearing its doom with something of manliness and dignity, and you wish to humble and disgrace us by the performance of an act against which our nature rebels. This satisfaction you cannot expect to obtain at our hands.

We will stand your bombardment, unarmed and undefended as we are. The civilized world will consign to indelible infamy the heart that will conceive the deed and the hand that will dare to consummate it.

Respectfully,

John T. Monroe, Mayor.

Letter from Flag Officer David Farragut to New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe, April 29, 1862

Sir: The forts St. Philip and Jackson having surrendered, and all the military defences of the city being captured or abandoned, you are required, as the sole representative of any supposed authority in the city, to haul down and suppress every ensign and symbol of government, whether State or Confederate, except that of the United States. I am now about to raise the flag of the United States upon the custom-house, and you will see that it is respected with all the civil power of the city.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. G. Farragut

Letter from Flag Officer David Farragut to New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe and the City Council, April 30, 1862

Gentlemen: I informed you . . . that your determination, as I understood it, was not to haul down the flag of Louisiana on the city hall, and that my officers and men were treated with insult and rudeness when they landed, even with a flag of truce, to communicate with the authorities, . . . and, if such was to be the determined course of the people, the fire of the [Union] vessels might at any moment be drawn upon the city. This you have thought proper to construe into a determination on my part to murder your women and children, and made your letter so offensive that it will terminate our intercourse; and so soon as General Butler arrives with his forces I shall turn over the charge of the city to him and assume my naval duties.

Very respectfully, &c.,

D. G. Farragut
Document 9:
The Impact of Secession and the Prospect of Capture

Use evidence from the text of Document 9 to respond to the following:

1. Briefly describe the extensive business and economic activity that existed in New Orleans prior to secession.

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2. How did the establishment of a Union naval blockade affect the business and economic activity of New Orleans?

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3. How did the people of New Orleans react to the Union bombardment of the city?

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Document 10:
Correspondence from Union Flag Officer David G. Farragut to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles

Use evidence from the text of Document 10 to respond to the following:

1. Describe how the Union navy, led by Flag Officer David Farragut, bombarded and captured Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip.

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2. Although the Union navy captured Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip quickly with little loss of life, the military bombardment and the battle were fierce and destructive. Cite three examples of evidence from this document which demonstrates the validity of this statement.

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3. How did Confederate General Mansfield Lovell and the mayor of New Orleans (John T. Monroe) react to the invasion of New Orleans by the Union navy?

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Document 11:
New Orleanians’ Reactions to the Union Invasion and Occupation

Use evidence from the text of Document 11 to respond to the following:

1. How did the residents of New Orleans react to the invasion and occupation of their city?

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2. Compare the reactions of the black and white residents of New Orleans to the city's invasion and occupation by the Union military forces.

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3. How did the Union's invasion and capture of New Orleans affect the business and economic activities of the city?

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4. Explain the following statement: “The greeting bestowed . . . was by no means that which a conquered city usually confers upon the conqueror. Deafening cheers for ‘Jeff Davis and the South’; thundering groans for ‘Lincoln and his fleet.’”

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Document 12:
Correspondence between Union Flag Officer David Farragut and
New Orleans Mayor John T. Monroe and the City Council

Use evidence from the text of Document 12 to respond to the following:

1. Explain Union Flag Officer Farragut’s demands and terms of surrender to Mayor John T. Monroe for New Orleans.

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2. In your opinion, were Union Flag Officer Farragut’s demands and terms of surrender fair and reasonable? Briefly explain your viewpoint.

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3. Explain and evaluate the following statement of Mayor John T. Monroe to Union Flag Officer Farragut: “At the mercy of your gunners and mouths of your mortars. . . . The city is yours by the power of brutal force, and not by any choice or consent of its inhabitants. . . . Do not transfer their allegiance from the government of their choice to one which they have deliberately repudiated, and that they yield simply that obedience which the conqueror is enabled to extort from the conquered.”

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How did the invasion and capture of New Orleans affect the city and its people?

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Lesson Three

The Occupation and Military Governance of New Orleans

Objective

Students will analyze primary sources about the Union occupation of New Orleans during the Civil War and determine whether Major General Benjamin Butler should be commended or criticized for his leadership. The students will develop positions on this issue and defend them to their classmates in a knowledgeable, persuasive, and proficient manner.

Introduction

At the dawn of the Civil War, New Orleans was the South’s largest city and a major producer of industrial goods for the Confederacy; these assets, combined with the city’s critical positioning at the mouth of the Mississippi River, made it a valuable target for the Union. US Navy Flag Officer David Farragut’s flotilla battled past the Confederate-occupied forts Jackson and St. Philip in April 1862, leading Confederate General Mansfield Lovell to evacuate more than 3,000 soldiers from New Orleans. Though Lovell refused to formally surrender, the evacuation allowed Union forces to invade and capture the city. Shortly thereafter, Major General Benjamin Butler was appointed military governor and commander of the Department of the Gulf in New Orleans.
Butler served as military governor of New Orleans for nine months. He established martial law in the city with his “Proclamation” on May 1, 1862, but he also sought to work with the pro-Confederate mayor and city council, as well as residents, to tackle challenging economic, humanitarian, political, and social problems. To address these matters, he issued a series of military “General Orders.” These ran the gamut. He censored the city’s press, which was unsympathetic to the Union. He jailed people suspected of sedition. He proclaimed that New Orleans women who insulted Union soldiers would be treated like “women of the town plying their avocation,” or prostitutes. He closed churches and organizations that advocated secession and rebellion. Rumors circulated about his connection to schemes involving bribery, corruption, and theft; he received the nickname “Spoons” for allegedly stealing silverware from abandoned properties. He did, however, tax the wealthy and distribute essential provisions to assist the poor; quarantine ships to fight a yellow-fever epidemic; initiate job-creating public works projects; and investigate foreign diplomats in New Orleans who were hoarding specie (coin money) acquired from Confederate purchases of war goods.

The effectiveness and fairness of Butler’s military governance has been heavily debated, and is the focus of this lesson.

**Essential Question**

To what extent should Major General Benjamin Butler be commended, or criticized, for the Union occupation of New Orleans?

**Materials**

- **Document 13**: “Proclamation” Issued by Major General Benjamin Butler, May 1, 1862
- **Document 14**: Challenges Governing New Orleans: Excerpts from *A History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862* by James Parton
- **Document 15**: “General Orders” of Major General Benjamin Butler
- **Documents 16 (A), (B), and (C)**: Three Illustrations of Benjamin Butler During the Military Occupation of New Orleans
- **Document Analysis Worksheets** for Documents 13–15
- **Image Analysis Worksheet** for Documents 16 (A), (B), and (C)
- **Exit Card Worksheet**
Procedures

Have the students work in small groups of no more than three or four members.

1. Distribute copies of Documents 13, 14, and 15 and the corresponding Document Analysis Worksheets.

2. Students should read the text of Document 13 within their small groups, switching readers after each paragraph, and individually complete the critical thinking questions on the Document Analysis Worksheet.

3. Students should then read through Document 14 within their groups, alternating readers for each excerpted chapter, then work together to fill out the boxes on the corresponding worksheet. They should do the same with Document 15, alternating readers for each General Order and then working together to fill out the boxes on the corresponding worksheet.

4. Students will share and compare their responses within their small groups. This should serve as a springboard for class discussion.

5. Distribute Documents 16 (A), (B), and (C) and the Image Analysis Worksheet. The students should analyze the illustrations, complete the worksheet individually, and then share their responses within their small groups.

6. Refer students back to the lesson’s Essential Question, then distribute Exit Cards for the students to fill out. If time permits, students can share their responses with the class.
“Proclamation” Issued by Major General Benjamin Butler
from the Headquarters of the Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, May 1, 1862

The Historic New Orleans Collection, 86-2222-RL

The city of New Orleans and its environs . . . , having been surrendered to the combined naval and land forces of the United States, and having been evacuated by the rebel forces in whose possession they lately were, and being now in occupation of the forces of the United States, who have come to restore order, maintain public tranquility, enforce peace and quiet under the laws and Constitution of the United States, the Major-General commanding the forces of the United States in the Department of the Gulf, hereby makes known and proclaims the object and purposes of the Government of the United States in thus taking possession of the city of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana, and the rules and regulations by which the laws of the United States will be for the present and during a state of war enforced and maintained, for the plain guidance of all good citizens of the United States, as well as others who may heretofore have been in rebellion against their authority.

. . . [New Orleans] has of late been under the military control of the rebel forces, claiming to be the peculiar friends of its citizens, and . . . in the judgment of the commander of the military forces holding it, it has been found necessary to preserve order and maintain quiet by the administration of Law Martial. . . . The Commanding General, therefore, will cause the city to be governed until the restoration of Municipal Authority, and his further orders, by the Law Martial. . . .

All Persons in arms against the United States are required to surrender themselves, with their arms, equipments [sic] and munitions of war. The body known as the “European legion” [a citizens’ police group in New Orleans], not being understood to be in arms against the United States, but organized to protect the lives and property of the citizens, are invited still to co-operate with the forces of the United States to that end, and, so acting, will not be included in the terms of this order. . . .

All flags, ensigns and devices, tending to uphold any authority whatever, save the flag of the United States and the flags of foreign Consulates, must not be exhibited, but suppressed. The American Ensign, the emblem of the United States, must be treated with the utmost deference and respect by all persons under pain of severe punishment.

All persons well disposed towards the Government of the United States, who shall renew their oath of allegiance, will receive the safeguard and protection, in their persons and property, of the armies of the United States, the violation of which . . . is punishable with death.

All persons still holding allegiance to the Confederate States will be deemed rebels against the authorities of the United States, and regarded and treated as enemies thereof.

All foreigners not naturalized and claiming allegiance to their respective governments, and not having made [an] oath of allegiance to the supposed Government of the Confederate States, will be protected in their persons and property as heretofore under the laws of the United States.
All persons who may heretofore have given their adherence to the supposed Government of the Confederate States, or have been in their service, who shall lay down and deliver up their arms and return to peaceful occupations and preserve quiet and order, holding no further correspondence nor giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States, will not be disturbed either in person or property, except so far, under the orders of the Commanding General, as the exigencies of the public service may render necessary.

The keepers of all public property whether State, National or Confederate, such as collections of art, libraries, museums, as well as all public buildings, all munitions of war, and armed vessels, will at once make full return thereof to these Headquarters.

All rights of property of whatever kind, will be held inviolate, subject only to the laws of the United States.

All inhabitants are enjoined to pursue their usual avocations; all shops and places of business and amusement, are to be kept open in the accustomed manner, and services to be had in the churches and religious houses as in times of profound peace.

Keepers of all public houses, coffee houses and drinking saloons, are to report their names and numbers to the office of the Provost Marshal, will there receive license, and be held responsible for all disorders and disturbance of the peace arising in their respective places.

A sufficient force will be kept in the city to preserve order and maintain the laws.

The killing of an American soldier by any disorderly person or mob, is simply assassination and murder, and not war, and will be so regarded and punished.

The owner of any house or building in or from which such murder shall be committed, will be held responsible therefor, and the house will be liable to be destroyed by the military authority.

All disorders and disturbances of the peace . . . and crimes of an aggravated nature . . . will be referred to a military court for trial and punishment. . . . Civil causes between party and party will be referred to the ordinary tribunals.

The levy and collection of all taxes, save those imposed by the laws of the United States are suppressed, except those for keeping in repair and lighting the streets, and for sanitary purposes. Those are to be collected in the usual manner.

The circulation of Confederate bonds, evidences of debt . . . or scrip . . . is strictly forbidden.

No publications, either by newspaper, pamphlet or handbill, giving accounts of the movements of soldiers of the United States within this Department, reflecting in any way upon the United States or its officers, or tending, in any way, to influence the public mind against the Government of the United States, will be permitted; and all articles of war news, or editorial comments, or correspondence, making comments about the movements of the armies of the United States, or the rebels, must be submitted to the examination of an officer who will be detailed for that purpose from these Headquarters.

The transmission of all communications by telegraph will be under the charge of an officer from these Headquarters.

The armies of the United States came here not to destroy but to make good, to restore order out of chaos, and the government of laws in place of the passions of men, to this end, therefore, the efforts of all well disposed persons are invited to have every species of disorder quelled, and if any soldier of the United States should so far forget his duty or his flag as to commit any outrage upon any person or property, the Commanding General requests that his named be instantly reported to the Provost Guard, so that he may be punished and his wrongful act redressed.
The municipal authority, so far as the police of the city and crimes are concerned to the extent before indicated, is hereby suspended.

All assemblages of persons in the streets, either by day or by night, tend to disorder, and are forbidden.

The various companies composing the Fire Department in New Orleans will be permitted to retain their organizations, and are to report to the office of the Provost Marshal.

. . . All the requirements of Martial law will be imposed so long as in the judgment of the United States authorities, it may be necessary. And while it is the desire of these authorities to exercise this government mildly . . . it must not be supposed that it will not be vigorously and firmly administered as occasion calls.
The Union Arrival

A stranger would have supposed, from the quiet demeanor of the [Union] troops, and the arrogant air of the people, that the soldiers were prisoners in an enemy’s town, not conquerors in a captured one. . . .

General Butler, commanding the department of the Gulf, had established his headquarters at the St. Charles hotel, where he would be happy to confer with the mayor and council of New Orleans . . . . as to the future government of the city. . . . The mayor, upon reflection, concluded to wait upon the general. At two o’clock . . . he sat face to face with General Butler in the ladies’ parlor of the St. Charles.

The interview was destined to be interrupted and abortive. The seizure of the St. Charles hotel appeared to have rekindled the passions of the populace, who surrounded the building in a dense mass . . . . [and] grew fiercer, louder and bolder as the day wore on. . . .

General Butler opened the conversation by saying that the object for which he had requested the attendance of the mayor and council, was to explain to them the principles upon which he intended to govern . . . and to learn from them how far they were disposed to co-operate with him. . . . He then read the proclamation [Document 13].

“The sum and substance of the whole,” added General Butler, “is this: I wish to leave the municipal authority in the full exercise of its accustomed functions. I do not desire to interfere with the collection of taxes, the government of the police, the lighting and cleaning of the streets, the sanitary laws, or the administration of justice. I desire only to govern the military forces of the department, and to take cognizance only of offenses committed by or against them. Representing here the United States, it is my wish to confine myself solely to the business of sustaining the government of the United States against its enemies.”

“. . . Your [the mayor and city council’s] inability to govern the insulting, irreligious, unwashed mob in your midst, has been clearly proved by the insults of your rowdies toward my officers and men this very afternoon. . . . I do not proclaim martial law against the respectable citizens of this place, but against . . . this unruly element in your midst. . . .”
Feeding and Employing the Poor

New Orleans was in danger of starving. It contained a population, perhaps, one hundred and fifty thousand, for whom there was in the city about thirty days' supply of provisions, held at prices beyond the means of all but the rich. A barrel of flour could not be bought for sixty dollars; the markets were empty, the provision stores closed.

... A large proportion of the men of New Orleans were away with the Confederate armies, at Shiloh, in Virginia, and elsewhere, having left wives and children, mistresses and their offspring, to the public charge. The city taxes were a million dollars in arrears. ... Fifty thousand human beings in New Orleans saw before them a prospect, not of want, not of a long struggle with adversity, but of starvation; and that immediate, to-morrow or the next day; and General Butler, wielding the power and resources of the United States, alone could save them.

... The business of the city was dead; he strove to revive it. ... The yellow fever season was at hand; he was resolved to ward it off. The city government was obstructive and hostile; it was his business to frustrate their endeavors. The negro problem loomed up, vast and portentous; he had to act upon it without delay. The banks were in disorder; their affairs demanded his attention. ...

Nor did the city government stir in the business of providing for the poor; not a dollar was voted, not a relieving act was passed. The city was reeking, too, with the accumulated filth of many weeks, the removal of which would have afforded employment to many hungry men; but it was suffered to remain, inviting the yellow fever.

The city government still neglecting the streets, General Butler conceived the idea of combining the relief of the poor with the purification of the city. ... He understood the yellow fever, knew the secret of its visitations, felt himself equal to a successful contest with it.
Women’s Loyalties

The women of New Orleans by no means confined themselves to the display of minute rebel flags on their persons. They were insolently and vulgarly demonstrative. They would leave the sidewalk, on the approach of Union officers, and walk around them into the middle of the street, with up-turned noses and insulting words. . . . Secession colors were conspicuously worn upon the bonnets. If a Union officer entered a street car, all the ladies in it would frequently leave the vehicle, with every expression of disgust; even in church the same spirit was exhibited—ladies leaving the pews entered by a Union officer. The female teachers of the public schools kept their pupils singing rebel songs, and advised the girls to make manifest their contempt for the soldiers of the Union. Parties of ladies upon the balconies of houses, would turn their backs when the soldiers were passing by. . . . The climax of these absurdities was reached when a beast of a woman spat in the faces of two officers, who were walking peacefully along the street.

Churches and the Confederacy

“Hereafter in the churches in the city of New Orleans, prayers will not be offered up for the destruction of the Union or constitution of the United States, for the success of rebel armies, for the Confederate States, so called, or any officers of the same, civil or military, in their official capacity.

While protection will be afforded to all churches, religious houses, and establishments, and religious ‘services are to be held as in times of profound peace,’ this protection will not be allowed to be perverted to the upholding of treason or advocacy of it in any form. . . .

---G. F. Shepley, Military Commandant" [May 28, 1862]

This order was complied with only in the letter. Thenceforward, on reaching that part of the service where prayers were accustomed to be offered for [Confederate President] Jefferson Davis, the minister would say: “Let us now spend a few moments in silent prayer.”
Banking and Confederate Currency Problems

The currency of New Orleans was in a condition deplorably chaotic. . . . Confederate notes, . . . depreciated seventy per cent by the fall of the city, were the chief medium of exchange. The coin had been removed from the vaults of the banks to a place within the Confederate lines. . . . With the obvious necessities of the situation, General Butler had permitted the temporary circulation of Confederate notes; but as this concession was known to be but temporary, it did not materially enhance the value of that spurious currency. The banks had been growing rich upon the traffic in Confederate paper, bought at a discount, paid out at par. When most other investments were unproductive, bank shares had yielded large dividends. . . . The consequences of the sudden depreciation of those [Confederate] notes may be readily imagined. As the offer of the city to redeem the [Confederate] notes was not fulfilled, they remained almost the sole medium of exchange in the hands of the people. . . .

The banks, therefore, were resolved to throw the entire mass of the Confederate currency upon the impoverished people. They had introduced that currency, grown rich upon it, received it at par; and now, when it was nearly worthless, they designed to escape the entire loss of the depreciation. . . . The people knew not what to do. If they withdrew their deposits [from the banks], they would receive sundry pieces of valueless printed paper. If they did not, the deposits were “at their own risk.” . . .

Freedom of Assembly; Oaths of Allegiance and Loyalty

. . . The ironhanded measures of the commanding general [Butler] . . . were designed to isolate the secessionists and render them innoxious [harmless].

Crowds were forbidden to assemble, and public meetings, unless expressly authorized. The police were ordered to disperse all street-gatherings of a greater number of persons than three.

In the sixth week of the occupation of the city, General Butler began the long series of measures . . . by which the attitude of every inhabitant of New Orleans toward the government of the United States was ascertained and recorded. The people might be politically divided thus: Union men; rebels; foreigners friendly to the United States; foreigners sympathizing with the Confederates. . . .

His next step was to decree, that no authority of any kind should be exercised in New Orleans by traitors, and that no favors should be granted to traitors by the United States, except the mere protection from personal violence secured by the police. . . .

“. . . All persons who have ever been, or who have ever claimed to be, citizens of the United States . . . must take and subscribe the following oath: ‘I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and will support the constitution thereof . . . .’

It having become necessary, in the judgment of the commanding general [Butler], as a ‘public exigency,’ to distinguish those who are well-disposed toward the government of the United States, from those who still hold
allegiance to the Confederate States. . . . Be it further ordered, That all persons ever heretofore citizens of the United States . . . must take and subscribe the oath above specified, before their request can be heard, or any act done in their favor . . . .”


General orders issued at New Orleans usually produced considerable stir among the parties interested; but none of them caused so much excitement and such universal alarm as this. If the citizens were astounded, the foreigners were puzzled. . . . No one was OBLIGED to take the oath, but what would happen to those who did not take it? . . .

Gen. Shepley immediately issued the following order:

“So much of the executive power of the city as has heretofore been vested in the mayor, will, for the present, be exercised by the military commandant of New Orleans.”


The oath-taking, meanwhile, went vigorously on. On the 7th of August [1862], . . . the oath prescribed to citizens had been taken by 11,723 persons; the foreign neutrals’ oath, by 2,499 persons; and . . . 4,933 privates and 211 officers of the Confederate army had given the required parole. . . .

. . . The social influence of the city was all employed against the taking of the oath. Ladies refused to receive gentlemen who were known to have taken it. Gentlemen were notified to leave their boarding-houses who had thus avowed their attachment to the Union. Books were kept, by noted secessionists, in which the names of such were recorded for future vengeance.


Another of the general’s precautionary measures, was the disarming of New Orleans. . . . At first, the general had no intention of depriving private persons of their arms, since he had assured the public, in his proclamation, that private property should be respected. Under the general order, commanding the disclosure and surrender of Confederate property, a considerable quantity of arms and munitions of war were seized. . . .

Confiscation and Transfer of Property

The act of Congress confiscating the property of rebellious citizens was approved July 17th [1862].

Before the passage of the act, General Butler had taken the liberty to “sequester” the estates of those two notorious traitors, [Confederate] General [David] Twiggs and John Slidell [Confederate diplomat to France], both of whom possessed large property in New Orleans. These estates he held for the adjudication of the government and, in the meantime, selected the spacious mansion of General Twiggs for his own residence and that of a portion of his staff.
Many men of wealth [of New Orleans were] . . . “making over” valuable estates to others, for considerations that were ridiculously small. General Butler seized and “sequestered” some property thus transferred, holding it for the government to decide upon the legality of such proceedings . . .

“All the property of New Orleans is changing hands into those of foreigners and women, to avoid the consequences of the confiscation act.” [Correspondence from Butler to Secretary of State William H. Seward, September 19, 1862]

Cartoon portraying Butler with the body of a “Massachusetts” hyena in a cemetery; on the tombstones are the names Col. Charles D. Dreux and Gen. A. S. Johnson. The cartoon was published in response to the accusations that Butler had their graves violated looking for jewelry.
Excerpts from Major General Benjamin Butler’s “General Orders”

from General Orders from Headquarters Department of the Gulf, Issued by Major-General B.F. Butler, From May 1st, 1862 to [November 9, 1862]; New Orleans: E. R. Wagener, 1862; Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

Newspaper Censorship

General Order No. 17: May 2, 1862

The proprietors of the New Orleans True Delta having refused to print the Proclamation of the Major-General commanding this Department, the publication of that paper is suspended until further orders.

Assistance for the Poor and Suffering

General Order No. 19: May 3, 1862

The Commanding General of this Department has been informed that there is now at Mobile [Alabama] a stock of flour purchased by the city of New Orleans for the subsistence of its citizens. The suffering condition of the poor of this city, for the want of this flour, appeals to the humanity of . . . either side.

For the purpose of the safe transmission of this flour to this city, the Commanding General orders and directs that a safe conduct be afforded to a steamboat, to be laden with the same, to this place.

General Order No. 21: May 4, 1862

The Commanding General of the Department of the Gulf has been informed that live stock, flour and provisions, purchased for subsistence of the inhabitants of the city of New Orleans, are now at the junction of the Red and Mississippi Rivers. . . . For the purpose . . . of the safe transmission of these supplies to the city, the Commanding General orders and directs that a safe conduct be afforded for two steamers, to be laden with provisions, cattle and supplies of food . . . each day.

Poverty, Wealth, and Taxation

General Order No. 25: May 9, 1862

The deplorable state of destitution and hunger of the mechanics and working classes of this city has been brought to the knowledge of the Commanding General.

He has . . . ordered every method of furnishing food to the people of New Orleans. . . . This hunger does not pinch the wealthy and influential, the leaders of the rebellion, who have gotten up this war, and are now, endeavoring to prosecute it, without regard to the starving poor—the working man, his wife and child. Unmindful of their suffering fellow citizens at home, they have caused or suffered provisions to be carried out of the city for Confederate service since the occupation by the United States forces.

Lafayette Square, their home of affluence, was made the depot of stores and munitions of war for the rebel armies, and not of provisions for their poor neighbors. . . . They have destroyed the Sugar and Cotton which might have
been exchanged for food for the industrious and good, and . . . discredit[ed] the very currency they had furnished, while they eloped with the specie [gold and silver]; as well as that stolen from the United States, as the Banks, the property of the good people of New Orleans, thus leaving them to ruin and starvation. . . .

They have betrayed their country.
They have been false to every trust. . . .

. . . They have forced every poor man’s child into their service as soldiers . . . , while they made their sons and nephews officers. . . .

Men of Louisiana, Workingmen, Property-holders, Merchants and Citizens of the United States . . . , how long will you uphold these flagrant wrongs, and by inaction suffer yourselves to be made the serfs of these leaders?

**General Order No. 55: August 4, 1862**

It appears that the need of relief to the destitute poor of the city requires more extended measures and greater outlay than have yet been made.

It becomes a question in justice upon whom should this burden fall.

Clearly upon those who have brought this great calamity upon their fellow-citizens.

It should not be borne by taxation of the whole municipality, because the middling and working men have never been heard at the ballot-box. . . .

Those who have brought upon the city this stagnation of business, this desolation of the hearth-stone, this starvation of the poor and helpless, should . . . relieve these distresses.

There are two classes whom it would seem peculiarly fit should at first contribute to this end. First, those individuals and corporations who have aided the rebellion with their means: and second, those who have endeavored to destroy the commercial prosperity of the city, upon which the welfare of its inhabitants depends.

**********

In taxing both these classes to relieve the suffering poor of New-Orleans, . . . even though the needy be the starving wives and children of those in arms . . . against the United States, it will be impossible to make a mistake save in having the assessment too easy and the burden too light. . . .

The money raised by this assessment to be a fund for the purpose of providing employment and food for the deserving poor of New Orleans.

**Churches and the Confederacy**

**General Order No. 27: May 13, 1862**

It having come to the knowledge of the Commanding General that Friday next is proposed to be observed as a day of Fasting and Prayer, in obedience to some supposed Proclamation of one [Confederate President] Jefferson Davis, in the several churches of this city, it is ordered that no such observance be had.

“Churches and Religious Houses are to be kept open as in time of profound peace,” but no religious exercises are to be had upon the supposed authority above mentioned.
Women’s Loyalties

*General Order No. 28: May 15, 1862*

As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject 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.

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**Response of Confederate General G. T. Beauregard to General Butler's General Order No. 28**

*The Gilder Lehrman Collection, GLC00666*

Men of the South! Shall our mothers, our wives, our daughters and our sisters, be thus outraged by the ruffianly soldiers of the North, to whom is given the right to treat, at their pleasure, the ladies of the South as common harlots?

Arouse friends, and drive back from our soil, those infamous invaders of our homes and disturbers of our family ties.

—G. T. Beauregard.

General Commanding. [Army of the Confederacy]
Banking and Currency Problems

*General Order No. 30: May 19, 1862*

The General sees with regret that the banks and bankers causelessly suspended specie payments in September last, in contravention of the laws of the State and of the United States. Having done so, they introduced Confederate Notes as currency, which they bought at a discount, . . . receiving them on deposit, paying them out for their discounts, . . . thus giving these notes credit and a wide general circulation, so that they were substituted . . . as currency, in place of that provided by the constitution and laws of the country. . . .

The banks and bankers now endeavor to take advantage of the reestablishment of the authority of the United States here, to throw the depreciation and loss from this worthless stuff of their own creation and fostering upon their own creditors, depositors, and bill-holders. . . .

To equalize . . . this general loss; to have it fall, at least in part, where it ought to lie; to enable the people of this city . . . to have a currency which shall at least be a semblance to that which the wisdom of the Constitution provides for all citizens of the United States, it is therefore ordered:

I. That the several incorporated banks pay out no more Confederate Notes to their depositors or creditors, but that all deposits be paid in the bills of the bank, United States Treasury Notes, gold or silver.

II. That all private bankers, receiving deposits, pay out to their depositors only the current bills of city banks, or United States Treasury Notes, gold or silver.

Oaths of Allegiance

*General Order No. 41: June 10, 1862*

The Constitution and laws of the United States require that all military, civil, judicial, executive and legislative officers of the United States, and of the several States, shall take an oath to support the Constitution and laws. . . . This oath will not be, as it has never been, forced upon any. It is too sacred an obligation . . . and brings with it too many benefits and privileges, to be profaned by unwilling lip service. It enables its recipient to say, “I am an American citizen.” . . .

Judges, justices, sheriffs, attorneys, notaries, and all officers of the law whatever, and all persons . . . who therefore exercise any office, hold any place of trust or calling whatever which calls for the doing of any legal act whatever, . . . must take and subscribe the following oath: “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and will support the constitution thereof.” . . .

Be it further ordered, That all persons ever heretofore citizens of the United States, asking or receiving any favor, protection, privilege, passport, . . . property, or other valuable thing whatever delivered to them, or any benefit of the power of the United States extended to them, . . . must take and subscribe the oath . . . before their request can be heard, or any act done in their favor by any officer of the United States within this department. . . .

*General Order No. 76: September 24, 1862*

All persons, male or female, within this Department, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, who have ever been citizens of the United States, and have not renewed their allegiance . . . to the United States, or who now hold or pretend any allegiance or sympathy with the so-called Confederate States, are ordered to report
themselves, on or before the 1st day of October next, to the nearest Provost Marshal, with a descriptive list of all their property and rights of property, both real, personal and mixed, . . . with the same particularity as for taxation. They shall also report their place of residence . . . and their occupation, . . . and each shall receive a certificate from the Marshal of Registration as claiming to be an enemy of the United States.

Any person, of those described in this order, neglecting so to register themselves, shall be subject to fine, or imprisonment at hard labor, or both, and all his or her property confiscated by order as punishment for such neglect. . . .

Confiscation and Transfer of Property

General Order No. 46: June 26, 1862

All the property in New-Orleans belonging to [Confederate] Gen. [David] E. Twiggs . . . consisting of real estate, bonds, notes of hand, Treasury notes of the United States, slaves, household furniture, etc., is hereby sequestered, to be held to await the action of the United States Government.
**General Order No. 60: August 16, 1862**

Ordered, That . . . there be paid for information leading to the discovery of weapons not held under a written permit from the United States authorities, but retained and concealed by the keepers thereof . . . .

Said arms to be confiscated, and the keeper so concealing them to be punished by imprisonment.

This crime being an overt act of rebellion against the authority of the United States, whether by a citizen or an alien, works a forfeiture of the property of the offender, and, therefore, every slave giving information that shall discover the concealed arms of his or her master, shall be held to be emancipated.

. . . As the United States authorities have disarmed the inhabitants of the Parish of New Orleans, and as some fearful citizens seem to think it necessary that they should have arms to protect themselves from violence, it is ordered, That, hereafter, the offenses of robbery by violence or aggravated assault, that ought to be repelled by the use of deadly weapons, burglaries, rapes, and murders, whether committed by blacks or whites, will be, on conviction, punished by death.

**General Order No. 73: September 18, 1862**

All transfers of property or rights of property, real, mixed, personal or incorporeal, except necessary food, medicine and clothing, either by way of sale, gift, pledge, payment, lease or loan, by an inhabitant of this Department, who has not returned to his or her allegiance to the United States, (having once been a citizen thereof), are forbidden and void, and the person transferring and the person receiving shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both.

**General Order No. 91: November 9, 1862**

The Commanding General being informed, and believing, that the District west of the Mississippi River, lately taken possession of by the United States troops, is most largely occupied by persons disloyal to the United States, and whose property has become liable to confiscation under the Acts of Congress and the Proclamation of the President, and that sales and transfers of said property are being made for the purpose of depriving the Government of the same, has determined, in order to secure the rights of all persons as well as those of the Government, and for the purpose of enabling the crops now growing to be taken care of and secured, and the unemployed laborers to be set at work and provision made for payment of their labor—

To order, as follows:

. . . That all the property within the district . . . hereby [is] sequestered, and all sales or transfers thereof are forbidden and will be held invalid . . . .

. . . a Commission [is ordered] to take possession of the property in said District, to make an accurate inventory of the same, and to gather up and collect all such personal property and turn [it] over to the proper officers . . . for the use of United States Army; to collect together all the other personal property, and bring the same to New Orleans, and cause it to be sold at public auction to the highest bidders . . . to hold the proceeds thereof subject to the just claims of loyal citizens.

**Enslaved People**

**General Order No. 88: November 1, 1862**

I. No person will be arrested as a slave, by any policeman or other person, and put in confinement, for safe keeping, unless the person [arresting] knows that such person is owned by a loyal citizen of the United States.

II. The Inspector and Superintendent of Prisons is authorized to discharge from confinement all slaves not known to be slaves of loyal owners.
Images of Benjamin Butler During the Military Occupation of New Orleans

Document 16 (A)

Bluebeard of New Orleans; between 1864 and 1872; photoprint of an illustration; S.T. Blessing; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1993.76.115
Do You See Me? General Butler Defying the Rebels at New Orleans from Harper's Weekly; September 6, 1873; illustration by C.S. Reinhart; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1974.25.9.233
Uncle Abe . . . Butler from Harper's Weekly (detail); January 17, 1863; print [reproduction];
The Historic New Orleans Collection, gift of Clay Watson, 1979.108
Document 13:  
“Proclamation” Issued by Major General Benjamin Butler

Name: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________

Critical Thinking Questions

Use evidence from the text to answer the following:

1. Why has martial law been established in New Orleans under the military forces of the United States?
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________

2. How can the residents of New Orleans who supported the Confederacy have their personal and property rights restored?
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________

3. How have the residents' rights to freedom of the press and expression been restricted under martial law?
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________

4. Explain the presence and purpose of the United States Army in New Orleans.
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________
For each of the “Challenges,” identify key terms and phrases from the text and write them in the “Evidence” box. Explain this information in your own words in the “Summary” box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th>Summary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feeding and Employing the Poor</td>
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<td>Women’s Loyalties</td>
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<td>Churches and the Confederacy</td>
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<td>Banking and Confederate Currency Problems</td>
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<tr>
<td>Freedom of Assembly; Oaths of Allegiance and Loyalty</td>
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<tr>
<td>Confiscation and Transfer of Property</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Document 15: General Orders of Major General Benjamin Butler

Name: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________

For each of the General Orders, identify key terms and phrases from the text and write them into the “Evidence” box. Explain this information in your own words in the “Summary” box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Order(s)</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th>Summary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17: Newspaper Censorship</td>
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<td>19 and 21: Assistance for the Poor and Suffering</td>
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<td>25 and 55: Poverty, Wealth, and Taxation</td>
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<td>27: Churches and the Confederacy</td>
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### New Orleans During the Civil War

**General Order(s)** | **Evidence** | **Summary**
--- | --- | ---
28: Women’s Loyalties |  |  
30: Banking and Currency Problems |  |  
41 and 76: Oaths of Allegiance |  |  
46, 60, 73, and 91: Confiscation and Transfer of Property |  |  
88: Enslaved People |  |  

Name: ___________________________  Date: ___________________________
Name: ____________________________ Date: ____________________________

1. Explain the significance of the central figure(s) or object(s) in this illustration.

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2. Describe the action that is occurring in this illustration.

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3. Describe the mood or tone of this image and explain how the illustration creates this effect.

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4. Explain the message that the artist is presenting to the viewer.

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Document 16 (B)

Name: ______________________________________________________  Date: ______________________________

1. Explain the significance of the central figure(s) or object(s) in this illustration.

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2. Describe the action that is occurring in this illustration.

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3. Describe the mood or tone of this image and explain how the illustration creates this effect.

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4. Explain the message that the artist is presenting to the viewer.

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1. Explain the significance of the central figure(s) or object(s) in this illustration.

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4. Explain the message that the artist is presenting to the viewer.

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To what extent should Major General Benjamin Butler be commended, or criticized, for the Union occupation of New Orleans?

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The Occupation’s Specific Impact on African Americans

Our Colored troops at work - the first Louisiana native guards disembarking at Fort Macombe, Louisiana; February 28, 1863; illustration by Harper's Weekly, publisher; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1974.25.9.6

Objective

Students will analyze primary sources concerning the impact of the Union occupation of New Orleans on the lives of African Americans. The students will develop positions on this issue and defend them to their classmates in a knowledgeable, persuasive manner.
Introduction

The first and second Confiscation Acts, passed by Congress on August 6, 1861, and July 17, 1862, authorized Union military forces to confiscate Confederate property—including, most notably, enslaved people, effectively liberating tens of thousands of African Americans. As the military commander and governor of New Orleans, Major General Benjamin Butler issued General Orders that recruited free African Americans to become Union soldiers and join the local police force to protect residents from possible Confederate attacks. Butler also provided wage-labor employment opportunities for newly emancipated African Americans. These events dramatically altered the dynamics of governance, race relations, and economic opportunities in New Orleans.

Essential Question

How did the Union occupation of New Orleans specifically impact the lives of African Americans?

Materials

**Document 17:** Benjamin Butler Takes Action: Excerpts from *A History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862* by James Parton

**Document 18:** Letter from Benjamin Butler to President Abraham Lincoln: Excerpts from Parton

**Document 19:** The Introduction of African American Wage Labor: Excerpts from Parton

**Document Analysis Worksheets** for Documents 17–19

**Exit Card Worksheet**

Procedures

Have the students work in small groups of no more than three or four members.

1. Distribute copies of the reading selections and the Document Analysis Worksheets.

2. Students should read Documents 17, 18, and 19, and individually complete the critical thinking questions on each Document Analysis Worksheet.

3. Students will share and compare their responses within small groups.

4. Refer students back to the lesson’s Essential Question, then distribute Exit Cards for the students to fill out. If time permits, students can share their responses with the class.
Benjamin Butler Takes Action

Excerpts from pages 130–136 from General Butler in New Orleans; Being a History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (People’s Edition); by James Parton; New York: Mason Brothers, 1864; Library of Congress

Louisiana has a population of about six hundred thousand. Before the war, there was a slight excess of whites over slaves, but when the Union troops landed at New Orleans, there was one slave in the state to every white person. . . .

The population of New Orleans was about one hundred and fifty thousand, of whom eighteen thousand were slaves and ten thousand free colored. . . .

. . . At the South, the prejudice is so complete that the people are not aware of its existence; they fondle and pet their favorite slaves, and let their children play with black children as with dogs and cats. The slightest taint of black blood in the superbest man, in the loveliest woman, . . . suffices to damn them to an eternal exclusion from the companionship of the people with whom they would naturally associate. . . .

In Louisiana, any considerable disturbance of the relations of labor to capital would have been a revolution. . . . Suppose, for example, that all slaves coming into a Union camp had been received and maintained . . . General Butler would have had upon his hands, in a month, in addition to the thirty thousand destitute whites, not less than fifty thousand blacks, for whom he would have had to provide food, shelter, clothing and employment. . . .

. . . On leaving Washington, [General Butler] was verbally informed by the president, that the government was not yet prepared to announce a negro policy. . . . He must “get along” with the negro question the best way he could; endeavor to avoid raising insoluble problems and sharply defined issues; and try to manage so that neither abolitionists nor “conservatives” would find in his acts occasion for clamor. . . .

The difficulty began on the day after the landing, and became every day more formidable. Some negroes came into the St. Charles hotel, penetrated to the quarters of staff-officers, and gave information which proved to be valuable. Great numbers soon flocked into the Custom-House, pervading the numberless apartments and passages of that extensive edifice, all testifying the most fervent good-will toward the Union troops, all asking to be allowed to serve them. . . .

A new article of war forbade the return of these [slave] fugitives to their masters. What was to be done with them? . . .
. . . General Butler himself could wait no longer for the tardy action of the [federal] government. . . . He had determined to “call on Africa” to assist him in defending New Orleans from threatened attack. . . . All the summer General Butler had been asking for re-enforcements, pointing to . . . the menacing [Confederate] camps near New Orleans, [and] the virulence of the secessionists in the city. The uniform answer from the war department was: We cannot spare you one man; we will send you men when we have them to send. You must hold New Orleans by all means and at all hazards.

So the General called on Africa. Not upon the slaves, but upon the free colored men of the city. . . .

The free colored men of New Orleans flew to arms. . . . In a very few weeks, General Butler had his three regiments of infantry and two batteries of artillery enrolled, equipped, officered, drilled, and ready for service. Better soldiers never shouldered arms. They were zealous, attentive, obedient, and intelligent. . . . [They] demonstrated to the whole army that witnessed their exploits . . . their right to rank with the soldiers of the Union as brothers in arms.

This bold measure of General Butler . . . was not achieved without opposition. Public opinion, in New Orleans, was thus divided in regard to arming free colored men: nearly every Union man in the city favored it; every secessionist opposed it. . . .

. . . The colored regiments were employed in the field . . . . Their conduct, on all occasions, was most exemplary and soldier-like. . . .

As the season advanced, the negro question did not diminish in difficulty. The number of fugitives constantly increased, until, in the city alone, there were ten thousand, many of whom were women and children, and all of whom were dependent upon the government for support. There were great numbers at Fort Jackson, Fort St. Philip and Camp Parapet. Many plantations had been abandoned by their owners, and the negroes remained in their huts idle and destitute. The [Union] conquests . . . added to the number of abandoned and confiscated plantations, and set free thousands of slaves. . . . General Butler saw before him a prospect of having a countless host of white and black looking for him for their daily bread.

He determined, in October [1862], to take the responsibility of working the abandoned plantations on behalf of the United States, . . . and of employing upon them his fugitive and emancipated slaves at fair wages. . . .
New Orleans, La., October 18, 1862.

Memorandum of an agreement, entered into between the planters . . . in the parishes of “St. Bernard” and “Plaquemines,” in the state of Louisiana, and the civil and military authorities of the United States in said state.

Whereas, many of the persons held to service and labor have left their masters and claimants, and have come to the city of New Orleans, and to the camps of the army of the gulf, and are claiming to be emancipated and free;

And whereas, these men and women are in a destitute condition;

And whereas, it is clearly the duty, by law, as well as in humanity, of the United States to provide them with food and clothing, and to employ them in some useful occupation;
And whereas, it is necessary that the crop of sugar cane and cereals now growing and approaching maturity in said parishes shall be preserved, and the levees repaired and strengthened against floods; . . .

In order, therefore, to preserve the rights of all parties, . . . those of the planters as of the persons claimed as held to service and labor, and claiming their freedom, . . . and to preserve the crops and property of loyal citizens of the United States. . . .

It is agreed and determined, that the United States will employ all the persons heretofore held to labor on the several plantations. . . .

The planters shall pay for the services of each able-bodied male person ten (10) dollars per month, three (3) of which may be expended for necessary clothing. . . .

Planters shall furnish suitable and proper food for each of these laborers, and take care of them, and furnish proper medicines in case of sickness.

The planters shall also suitably provide for all the persons incapacitated by sickness or age from labor, bearing the relation of parent, child or wife, of the laborer so laboring for him.

Ten hours a day shall be a day’s labor. . . . Twenty-six days, of ten hours each, shall make a month’s labor. . . .

No cruel or corporal punishment shall be inflicted by any one upon the person so laboring, or upon his or her relatives; but any insubordination or refusal to perform suitable labor, or other crime or offense, shall be reported at once to the provost-marshal for the district. . . .

If any planter of the parishes of St. Bernard or Plaquemines refuses to enter into this agreement or remains a disloyal citizen, the persons claimed to be held to service by him may hire themselves to any loyal planter, or the United States may elect to carry on his plantation by their own agents.
Letter from Benjamin Butler to President Abraham Lincoln, November 28, 1862

Excerpts from pages 137–138 from General Butler in New Orleans; Being a History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (People’s Edition); by James Parton; New York: Mason Brothers, 1864; Library of Congress

Our experiment . . . in attempting the cultivation of sugar by free [non-enslaved] labor, I am happy to report, is succeeding admirably. . . . Upon one of the plantations, where sugar is being made by the negroes who had escaped therefrom into our lines, and have been sent back under wages, that with the same negroes and the same machinery, by free labor, a hogshead and a half more of sugar has been made in a day than was ever before made in the same time on the plantation under slave labor. . . .

. . . The planters seem to have been struck with a sort of judicial blindness, and some of them so deluded have abandoned their crops rather than work them with free labor. I offered them . . . a contract. . . . It was rejected by many of them, because they would not relinquish the right to use the whip. . . . I did not feel that I had a right, by the military power of the United States, to send back to be scourged, at the will of their former and, in some cases, infuriated masters, those black men who had fled to me for protection; while I had no doubt of my right to employ them . . . to work for the benefit of themselves and the government. I have, therefore, caused the negroes to be informed that they should have the same rights as to freedom . . . on the plantation as if they were in [the Union army] camp; and they have, in a great majority of instances, gone willingly to work, and work with a will. They were, at first, a little averse to going back, . . . but, upon our assurances, [they] are quite content.

I think this scheme can be carried out without loss to the government, and I hope with profit enough to enable us to support, for six months longer, the starving whites and blacks here,—a somewhat herculean task.

We are feeding now daily, in the city of New Orleans, more than thirty-two thousand whites . . . .

Besides these, we have some ten thousand negroes to feed, besides those at work on the plantations, principally women and children. All this has, thus far, been done without any draft upon the treasury, although how much longer we can go on, is a problem of which I am now anxiously seeking the solution. . . .

It can not be supposed that this great change in a social and political system can be made without a shock. . . . Certain it is, and I speak the almost universal sentiment and opinion of my officers, that slavery is doomed! I have no doubt of it. . . . By my experience here, I am now convinced: . . .

. . . That black labor can be as well governed, used, and made as profitable in a state of freedom as in slavery.
The Introduction of African American Wage Labor

Excerpts from pages 138 and 145 from *General Butler in New Orleans; Being a History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (People’s Edition)*; by James Parton; New York: Mason Brothers, 1864; Library of Congress

[General Butler] not only foresaw, but exulted in the downfall of the institution [of slavery].

The *perfect* behavior of the black men in their new character of free laborers has been often remarked. . . . We can point to the testimony of men now in Louisiana, who have observed the working of the free-labor system for more than a year. One highly intelligent gentleman has recently written from New Orleans:

“. . . Whenever our forces have afforded them [African Americans] an opportunity to break their bonds, they have done it promptly and efficiently; but they have, with rare prudence, not involved themselves in difficulties which would be fruitless of substantial good to their interests. This conduct on their part . . . exhibits a large amount of intellectual ability; for they have had the intelligence, while thoroughly understanding the nature of the revolution going on around them, of heartily sympathizing with the enemy; yet they have been secretive enough to keep their real opinions in their own hearts until the proper time came to give them utterance. I know of no people who, under the circumstances, could have acted better or wiser.”

The president’s proclamation of freedom, which took effect January 1st, 1863, . . . exempted from emancipation certain parishes of Louisiana, which were already in the possession of the United States. . . .

. . . The confiscation act [of July 17, 1862] emancipated the slaves of rebels. So that, while the proclamation of January 1st appeared to retain in servitude eighty-seven thousand slaves in Louisiana, General Butler deemed it feasible . . . by the complete execution of the confiscation act, to give freedom to nearly the whole number of these eighty-seven thousand slaves. Probably not more than seven thousand of the eighty-seven thousand were the property of loyal citizens.

[General Butler] saw that every month of its [the war’s] continuance made the doom of slavery more certain and more speedy. He was now perfectly aware that the United States could never . . . become “a respectable nation,” much less a great and glorious one, nor even a nation homogenous enough to be truly powerful, until slavery had ceased to exist in every part of it.

Those who lived on intimate relations with the general, remarked his growing abhorrence of slavery. . . . He had learned that the negroes of the South were among the heaven-destined means of restoring the integrity, the power, and the splendor of his country.
Use evidence from the text to respond to the following:

1. Why did Butler “call on Africa’ to assist him in defending New Orleans from threatened attack”? Explain the meaning of the phrase “call on Africa.”

2. How did free African Americans respond to the opportunity to become soldiers and fight for the Union, and how well did they perform in these assignments?

3. How did Butler solve the problem of food shortages and abandoned plantations in New Orleans?

4. Explain the responsibilities of the plantation owners and terms of employment for the emancipated slaves who agreed to wage-labor agreements during the occupation.
Document 18:
Letter from Benjamin Butler to President Abraham Lincoln

Use evidence from the text to respond to the following:

1. According to Butler, why did some plantation owners abandon their crops rather than work them with the wage labor of emancipated African Americans?

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2. How did General Benjamin Butler plan to use profits from the sugar plantations?

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3. How did wage-labor opportunities for emancipated African Americans affect the social and political system of New Orleans and Louisiana?

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4. Explain the following statement by Butler: “Slavery is doomed! . . . Black labor can be as well governed . . . and made as profitable in a state of freedom as in slavery.”

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Use evidence from the text to respond to the following:

1. How does Butler describe the character and conduct of African Americans who have been given the opportunity to work in a free-labor system?

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2. Why did President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation not apply to New Orleans and certain parishes of Louisiana?

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3. Explain how the second Confiscation Act emancipated thousands slaves in New Orleans and Louisiana.

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4. Explain the following statement: “Every month of its [the war’s] continuance made the doom of slavery more certain and more speedy.” Why did Butler believe this was true?

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How did the Union occupation of New Orleans specifically impact the lives of African Americans?

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Lesson Five

Life in New Orleans During the Union Occupation

Objective

Students will analyze text and images depicting life in New Orleans during the Union occupation of the city during the Civil War.

Essential Question

How was the social well-being of the residents of New Orleans challenged or protected during the Union occupation of 1862–1865?

Materials

Documents 20 (A), (B), (C), and (D): Images of New Orleans During Union Occupation
Document 21: The Daily Delta’s Account of the Occupation
Image Analysis Worksheet for Document 20
Document Analysis Worksheet for Document 21
Exit Card Worksheet (Optional)

Procedures

1. Distribute Documents 20 (A), (B), (C), and (D) and the Image Analysis Worksheet.

2. Students should analyze the images and complete the worksheet as partners or in small groups. Students should work collaboratively and engage in small-group discussion of their analysis of the images.

3. Lead a discussion in which the small groups share their interpretations with the class and provide evidence to support their analyses. Students should demonstrate a deep understanding of the impact of the Union occupation on lives in New Orleans during the Civil War.


5. As a class, read the handout together. Have students respond to the questions individually or in small groups. Make sure that students cite specific evidence from their text to support their responses. As a class, review students’ answers to the questions.

6. Optional activity: On the Exit Card Worksheet, students may address the Essential Question by writing a short essay response to one of the prompts.
Images of New Orleans During Union Occupation

Document 20 (A)

The Starving People of New Orleans Fed by the United States Military Authorities; June 14, 1862; engraving; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1974.25.9.325
Document 20 (C)

*The Interior of a Sanitary Steamer*, June 7, 1862; illustration by Harper's Weekly, publisher; *The Historic New Orleans Collection*, 1974.25.9.70
Document 20 (D)

A Disloyal Demonstration, New Orleans Feb. 20th. 1863; March 21, 1863; illustration by Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, publisher; The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1974.25.9.330
The Daily Delta's Account of the Occupation

Note: The following passages are selected excerpts from a newspaper article published in the New Orleans Daily Delta on January 1, 1863. The article offered a day-by-day account of the events of the occupation from April to December 1862.

Army of Occupation

We give below a condensed history of the leading events, from the taking of the forts, April 24, to the present time.

APRIL 25

Flag officer Farragut arrived opposite the city about 12 o'clock with his fleet . . . and sent Capt. Bailey ashore to demand the surrender of the city. Confusion and riot reigned supreme in the streets, and there was great danger of personal violence being offered to the gallant Capt. Bailey and his companion. . . . Several acts of violence were committed upon the persons of those suspected of entertaining friendly feelings for the United States Government. None of these cases, however, were noticed by the city press.

MAY 5

The tone of the city press [is] extremely refractory and insulting. Their rule seems to be to go as far as possible without infringing on General Orders. A few stores begin to be opened, but they have little or nothing to sell.

MAY 6

Fabulous victories reported of Beauregard and others over the Union forces. Bets freely offered with no takers that the Federals would be forced to evacuate within fifteen days. . . . The city papers trying to get up a yellow fever panic.

MAY 12

In pursuance of instructions from the Commanding General, Capt. John Clark, then Chief Commissary of Subsistence, began to give out supplies of provisions to the starving poor of New Orleans. The scene presented beggars [of] all description. It was found impossible to supply half of those who presented themselves for aid. Many of the applicants were women whose husbands were in the rebel armies.
MAY 16

The Bee, having published an article on cotton burning, which General Butler considered an infringement of the provisions of his proclamation, was suspended; and the Delta was suppressed for copying the said article, and its publication was ordered to be conducted by officers of the army.

MAY 29

Praying for the Confederacy prohibited in the Churches.

JULY 3

Health of the city good. Food very scarce and dear. The Commissary unable to relieve all who are in need. Business dull. The city orderly. People looking hopefully and anxiously for supplies from the North.

JULY 4

The day was ushered in by the firing of salutes at sunrise. Gen. Butler reviewed a brigade of troops on the Levee, after which some ladies presented the 13th Connecticut Regiment with a beautiful flag...The day was generally celebrated by all classes of the population.

JULY 7

Agencies for the distribution of food to the poor [are] established by Col. Turner, in the several Municipal Districts.

AUGUST 16

Gen. Butler orders that a reward be paid for the apprehension and conviction of any one concealing arms. Slaves giving such information as shall lead to the conviction of their masters are to be emancipated. In consideration of the defenseless state of the public, after being disarmed, he orders that the punishment for burglary, highway robbery, rape, and crimes of a similar nature, usually repelled with arms, shall be punishable by death.
SEPTEMBER 24

General Order No. 76 issued, requiring all persons, male or female, over the age of eighteen, who had not taken the oath of allegiance, to report themselves, with a list of their property, to the Provost Marshal, and register themselves as enemies of the United States.

NOVEMBER 14

Gen. Butler suspends the publication of the Advocate for the utterance of disloyal sentiments.

DECEMBER 8

The Provost Marshal issues an order requiring every one coming to this city to take the oath of allegiance.

The year closes with beautiful weather. The city is remarkably healthy, thanks to the prudent foresight of the military officers...The reader who has followed us through this long record of events must be forced to acknowledge the many great and salutary changes which have been produced since the occupation of this city by the Government forces...we need not overhaul the family record to set back the year of our birth to a date sufficiently remote to clear us from the Conscription Act of the bogus Confederacy. We need not fear that some rival in business will denounce us as Abolitionists, and secure our expatriation. . . . In a word, if we are but just, we need fear nothing. This feeling of universal security is our kind old Uncle Sam’s NEW YEAR’S GIFT.
Documents 20 (A), (B), (C), and (D):
Images of New Orleans During Union Occupation

Name: __________________________ Date: __________________

1. Each image exemplifies a challenge that people in New Orleans faced during the occupation. Identify these challenges.

   Document 20 (A): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (B): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (C): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (D): ____________________________________________________________

2. How are the residents of New Orleans portrayed in each image? How are Union soldiers portrayed in each image?

   Document 20 (A): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (B): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (C): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (D): ____________________________________________________________

3. How does each image depict the mood of the city during the period of occupation?

   Document 20 (A): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (B): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (C): ____________________________________________________________

   Document 20 (D): ____________________________________________________________
Document 21:
The Daily Delta’s Account of the Occupation

Name: __________________________________________ Date: __________________________

1. Do you think the editors of this newspaper are sympathetic to the Confederacy or the Union government?
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2. Does the tone of the entry on the Fourth of July seem different than on other days? Why do you think this is the case?
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3. How does the author of this article feel about other newspapers in the city?
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4. What is the tone of the closing paragraph? Why do you think the author chose to end the article in this way?
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5. In your opinion, why did the newspaper choose to print this article on January 1?
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Students may address the Essential Question by writing a short essay response to one of the following prompts:

a) How was the social well-being of the residents of New Orleans challenged or protected during the Union occupation of 1862–1865?
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b) Create a fictional account of what you might see as you walked down the street in New Orleans during the occupation.
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C) How did the residents of New Orleans respond to the occupation? Give examples of the range of responses.
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Objective

Students will reflect on the previous lessons in this unit, analyze one final document, and produce a persuasive essay.

Materials

Document 22: Assessment of the Union Occupation of New Orleans: Excerpts from A History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 by James Parton
Procedures

1. Distribute copies of the reading selection.
2. Students will read the excerpts on their own, underlining key terms and phrases as they go.
3. Direct the students to write a persuasive essay, using evidence from the text to address the following prompt:

   How well did the residents of New Orleans respond to the challenges of the Civil War?

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Assessment of the Union Occupation of New Orleans

Excerpts from pages 157–163 from General Butler in New Orleans; Being a History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862 (People’s Edition); by James Parton; New York: Mason Brothers, 1864; Library of Congress

New Orleans elected two members of congress in December [1862], . . . both unconditional Union men. . . . No restriction was placed upon the voting, except to exclude all who had not taken the oath of allegiance. At this election, the number of Union votes exceeded, by one thousand, the whole number of votes cast in the city for secession.

It could be truly said in December, that there was in New Orleans, after seven months of General Butler’s government, a numerous party for the Union, probably a majority of the whole number of voters. The men of wealth were secessionists, almost to a man. . . . The lowest class of whites exhibited the same impious antipathy to the negroes . . . that we observe in the corresponding class in two or three northern cities. But, among the respectable mechanics and smaller traders, there was a great host who were . . . committed to the side of the
Union. . . . The Union meetings were attended by enthusiastic crowds. . . . When General Butler appeared in public he was greeted with cheers not less hearty nor less unanimous than he has since been accustomed to receive nearer home. . . .

. . . In New Orleans the government and the multitude were forming daily a closer union; and the wealthy faction, who had ruined the state, were becoming daily more isolated and more powerless.

December 15, 1862.

General Order No. 106.

“Soldiers of the Army of the Gulf:

“Relieved from farther duties in this Department by direction of the president, under date of November 9, 1862, I take leave of you by this final order. . . .

“I greet you, my brave comrades, and say farewell! . . .

“You have fed the starving poor, the wives and children of your enemies, so converting enemies into friends, that they have sent their representatives to your congress, . . . from districts in which, when you entered, you were tauntingly told that there was ‘no one to raise your [Union] flag.’

“By your practical 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.

“By steady attention to the laws of health, you have stayed the pestilence, and . . . you have preserved your ranks fuller than those of any other battalions. . . .

“You have met double numbers of the enemy, and defeated him in the open field. . . .

“I commend you to your commander. You are worthy of his love.

“Farewell, my comrades! . . .

“Benj. F. Butler,

Major-General Commanding.”
Farewell Address


“I shall speak in no bitterness, because I am not conscious of a single personal animosity. Commanding the Army of the Gulf, I found you captured, but not surrendered; conquered, but not orderly; relieved from the presence of an [Confederate] 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.

“While doing this, my soldiers were subjected to obloquy, reproach, and insult.

“. . . I here declare that 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. . . .

“The enemies of my country, unrepentant and implacable, I have treated with merited severity. I hold that rebellion is treason, and that treason persisted in is death. . . . Upon this thesis have I administered the authority of the United States. . . . I do not feel that I have erred in too much harshness, for that harshness has ever been exhibited to disloyal enemies to my country, and not to loyal friends. . . .

“It is true, 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 land-owner against the laborer; that it was a struggle for the retention of power in the hands of the few against 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 had suffered by the war. And I shall now leave you with the proud consciousness that I carry with me the blessings of the humble and loyal, under the roof of the cottage and in the cabin of the slave, and so am quite content to incur the sneers of the salon, or the curses of the rich. . . .

“I found the dungeon, the chain, and the lash your only means of enforcing obedience in 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 cleansed and improved your streets, canals, and public squares, and opened new avenues to unoccupied land. . . .

“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?

“. . . If you hope to see your city become again the mart of the western world, fed by its rivers for more than three thousand miles, draining the commerce of a country greater than the mind of man hath ever conceived—return to your allegiance. . . .

“There is but one thing that at this hour stands between you and the government—and that is slavery. . . .

“. . . The existence of slavery is incompatible with the safety either of yourselves or of the Union. . . .

“Benjamin F. Butler.

New Orleans, Dec. 24th, 1862.”
A Proclamation

By the President of the Confederate States.

[December 23, 1862]

“. . . I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, and in their name, do pronounce and declare the said Benjamin F. Butler to be a felon, deserving of capital punishment. I do order that he . . . [be treated] as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind, and that, in the event of his capture, the officer in command of the capturing force do cause him to be immediately executed by hanging. . . .

“. . . The hostilities waged against this Confederacy by the forces of the United States, under the command of said Benjamin F. Butler, . . . have been characterized by repeated atrocities and outrages, among the large number of which the following may be cited as examples: . . .

“The soldiers of the United States have been invited and encouraged in general orders to insult and outrage the wives, the mothers, and the sisters of our citizens.

“Helpless women have been torn from their homes, and subjected to solitary confinement, some in fortresses and prisons, . . . have been fed with loathsome rations that have been condemned as unfit for soldiers, . . . and have been exposed to the vilest insults. . . .

“. . . The entire population of New Orleans have been forced to elect between starvation by the confiscation of all their property and taking an oath against conscience to bear allegiance to the invader of their country.

“. . . After being ejected from their homes and robbed of their property, they have been left to starve in the streets or subsist on charity. . . .

“By a recent General Order No. 91, the entire property in that part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi river has been sequestrated for confiscation, and officers have been assigned to duty, with orders to gather up and collect the personal property, and turn over to the proper officers, upon their receipts, such of said property as may be required for the use of the United States army; to collect together all the other personal property and bring the same to New Orleans, and cause it to be sold at public auction to the highest bidders. . . .

“And, finally, the African slaves have not only been incited to insurrection by every license and encouragement, but numbers of them have actually been armed for a servile war—a war in its nature far exceeding the horrors and most merciless atrocities of savages. . . .

“Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederate States of America, . . . do order—

“. . . That all commissioned officers in the command of said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honorable warfare, but as robbers and criminals, deserving death; and . . . whenever captured, reserved for execution.

“. . . That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective states to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the law of said states.”