

Notes and Documents

A GLIMPSE AT OCCUPIED NEW ORLEANS:
THE DIARY OF THOMAS H. DUVAL OF TEXAS,
1863-1865

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Almost as soon as New Orleans fell to Union forces in April 1862, the city became a haven for hundreds—if not thousands—of Unionist refugees from Texas.¹ One of them, Thomas H. DuVal (1813-1880), recorded his experiences as a refugee and his impressions of life in occupied New Orleans in a small, leather-bound pocket diary.² DuVal first arrived in the Crescent City on Christmas Eve, 1863, after a grueling two-and-a-half month odyssey from his home in Austin, Texas, to Washington, D. C., and then to New Orleans. As an ardent anti-secessionist, DuVal had refused to resign his post as judge for the United States District Court for Western Texas; he undertook the trip to Washington, in part, in order to collect over two years of back pay.

Two days after his initial arrival, DuVal left New Orleans for Brownsville, Texas, headquarters for the Union expedition that occupied the Lower Rio Grande Valley from November 1863 to July 1864.³ His Brownsville diary stops on March 5, 1864. Sometime after that date he returned to New Orleans, where his wife Laura and three of his children—three-year-old Johnny, thirteen-year-old Mary (called Molly), and fifteen-

¹See James Marten, "A Wearying Existence: Texas Refugees in New Orleans, 1862-1865," *Louisiana History*, XXVIII (1987), 343-356. For a useful look at New Orleans during this period, see Gerald M. Capers, *Occupied City: New Orleans Under the Federals, 1862-1865* (Lexington, 1965).

²The diary, along with seven others kept by DuVal, is in the possession of the Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas at Austin, whose kind permission to prepare the diary for publication the editor acknowledges.

³Robert L. Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865* (New York, 1972), pp. 191-195, 365-371.

year-old Nannie—joined him late in 1864.⁴ The DuVals lived in New Orleans until early July 1865; they landed at Galveston on Independence Day and continued home to Austin.

The New Orleans portion of DuVal's diary, which begins again on February 3, 1865, offers useful information on a number of topics. It is a veritable who's who of Texas Unionists, as most of the prominent Lone Star refugees appear in the diary at one time or another, revealing the disappointments and attitudes of men forced to flee their homes because of their political beliefs. It also presents one man's perceptions of the climactic events of the Civil War, from the Confederate evacuation of Richmond to the tragic assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Through it all, DuVal provides snapshots of life in wartime New Orleans, including the booming economy (in which he and other refugees quickly involved themselves), the exotic French Quarter, and the ways in which the city's residents responded to the end of the war.⁵

Diary Entries

December 25, 1863. The last night was a weary one to me—I coughed until nearly mid night, and the little sleep I had afterwards was broken and disturbed by dreams—I thought I had got back home, and West⁶ came out with Florence to see me, meeting me very coldly—said that I had left for Fla. and turned up at Boston &c. I remarked I had been a good ways up in that direction &c., and finally we had some pretty sharp passages—Then I thought the secesh were trying to arrest me &c. A thousand unpleasant things were flitting through my brains till day light came.

⁴A married daughter, Florence, stayed in Austin, while a son, Burr, remained behind in the Confederate army.

⁵The following selections from DuVal's diary appear with their original punctuation, spelling, and grammar; nothing has been altered unless clarity demanded it.

⁶Charles S. West (1829-1885) was married to DuVal's daughter Florence. He was an ardent secessionist, Confederate officer, and judge advocate general for the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department. Walter P. Webb, ed., *The Handbook of Texas*, 3 vols. (Austin, 1952-1976), II, 880.

After breakfast, I went to St. Charles and found Maj. DeNormandie⁷ and from there to Judge Fisks⁸ office. He and the Judge then went round to see Genl. Banks⁹ at his house. After awhile they came back, saying that they had then met the Genl. on the Street, had vouched for me &c. All to no purpose. He said I ought to have seen Dennison¹⁰ &c. I felt acutely this treatment. The idea that I should go to hunt up a stranger to endorse my character for loyalty was something hard to brook. However I got Fisk & DeNormandie to go with me, and we rode twice in the cars to Dennison's boarding house . . . but could not find him either time. I concluded then to call at the Custom House at 9 O'clk tomorrow where he is employed. Went back to my room and spent the evening and night most unhappily. Lieut. Rice¹¹ went to the theatre and I was all alone, sad & gloomy.

December 26, 1863. At 9 O'clk when friends Fisk & De Normandie and I went to the Custom house. Waited there about 2 hours before Dennison came. I explained to him the whole matter, and asked if he could say anything as to my political status since this revolution. He said that he had never seen me before, but had

⁷W. P. De Normandie, a thirty-eight-year-old, Pennsylvania-born lawyer and Unionist from Travis County; Schedule One, Manuscript Census for Travis County, Microfilm Copy, Texas State Archives, Unionist Petition, January 1861, Frank Brown, "Annals of Travis County and of the City of Austin (From the Earliest Times to the Close of 1875)," Ch. 21, pp. 8-14, Austin-Travis County Collection, Austin Public Library.

⁸Josiah Fisk, 48, a New York-born farmer, jurist, and Unionist. *Ibid.*

⁹Nathaniel P. Banks (1816-1894) was a Republican governor of Massachusetts and a major general of volunteers in the Union army. He was civil commander of the Federal Department of the Gulf from December 1862 to September 1864, and again in the spring of 1865. Patricia L. Faust, ed., *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (New York, 1986), pp. 366-367.

¹⁰George Stanton Denison (1833-1866), a New Englander who had taught school in Texas for several years before the war, became a special agent for the Treasury Department and acting collector of customs at New Orleans in the spring of 1862. As a high-ranking Federal official and personal spy for his kinsman, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, Denison wielded much power in occupied New Orleans. James A. Padgett, ed., "Some Letters of George Stanton Denison, 1854-1866: Observations of a Yankee on Conditions in Louisiana and Texas," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (1940), 1132-1133.

¹¹A young officer in the 26th Indiana, XIII Corps, who DuVal befriended on the steambot that brought the Texan to New Orleans. They shared a room at Silas Oviatt's boarding house on Dauphine Street. December 21 and 24, 1863, DuVal Diary.

known me by my reputation—He had resided in San Antonio, and had always heard me represented as a Union man—Fisk then showed him a statement which he had himself drawn up and signed, vouching for my loyalty &c. Dennison states in writing that while I was a stranger to him personally, my reputation was that of a Union Man, and that he had no hesitation in endorsing . . . any statement made by Judge Fisk. Taking this document I went to Banks headquarters to give it to him. He was not there I then returned to Fisk's office. DeNormandie said he thought Col. Stone¹² (Banks's Chief Staff Officer) would take the papers and get them sent to Washington. So we went together to Banks Headquarters, [but he was] not there, we then went into the opposite room where Col. Stone & others did business. I told Col. Stone what Banks required—Stated I had called twice to give him the papers & could not see him—that the steamer was going in an hour or two &c. Showed him also the paper I had brought from Washington. He said it was all satisfactory, and at once gave me the order for transportation. He had all the manners, appearance and intelligence of a gentleman a thing I can't say for his illustrious Chief.

De Normandie & I then went to the transportation office, where I got the necessary paper, and I hired a carriage drove round to Oviatts, got my baggage, and went back to St. Charles where took on board, De N. and his baggage. Then bidding farewell to Fisk (who had been very kind to me) we drove to steamship St. Mary. We found Genl. Herron¹³ & staff on board & two companies of artillery, with their horses &c—About 1 o'clk P.M. we got off and went down to S. W. Pass, where we laid by all night, it being dark and foggy. . . .

¹²Brigadier General C. P. Stone (1824-1887), a West Pointer, was blamed for the Union debacle at Ball's Bluff on October 21, 1861, and jailed without charge for more than six months. Upon his release, he served under General Banks in Mississippi and Louisiana, before resigning from the army in September 1864. *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, p. 720.

¹³Francis Jay Herron (1837-1902), a Pennsylvania-born Iowa militia captain, won the Medal of Honor at the Battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas in 1862. He later became a major general and commanded a corps at Brownsville. After participating in Louisiana politics after the war, he died a pauper in New York City. *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, p. 358.

February 3, 1865. Went with Genl. & Mrs. Hamilton,¹⁴ Laura & Molly to Varieties. Saw Mrs. Gladstane,¹⁵ as Miriam in Leah the forsaken.¹⁶ I was disappointed in her. She mouthed, routed, frothed, foamed, choked, hissed, howled, hooted and perhaps pouted.

February 6, 1865. Have been here over 2 weeks and not two days of clear weather. Raining and cold all day—bought two umbrellas for \$2.50 apiece—gave one to Genl. Hamilton. Turner¹⁷ got here today and came to see us to night. Hamilton & I went to see Genl. Herron today. . . .

February 12, 1865. This morning at sunrise, Gen. H. & Mrs. H., Laura, Nannie, the little mellow¹⁸ & myself went to French market. Got cup of coffee and spent an hour or more there. Geo. Gray¹⁹ was with us. It was a curious & interesting sight. I bought a

¹⁴Andrew Jackson Hamilton (1815-1875) was an Austin Lawyer and Unionist congressman. After his flight from Texas in 1862, President Lincoln appointed him a brigadier general and military governor of Texas. He spent much of the war in New Orleans. His wife's name was Mary. *Handbook of Texas*, I, 759-760.

¹⁵Mrs. Mary Gladstane, an English-born actress, was very popular on New Orleans stages from the 1850s through the 1870s. With her "natural and impulsive" style, she was most successful at emotional, wrought-up roles. John S. Kendall, *The Golden Age of the New Orleans Theater* (New York, 1968), pp. 303, 496.

¹⁶*Leah, the Forsaken*, a five-act drama by Augustin Daly, was based on a seventeenth-century German story of love between a Christian man and a Jewish woman, and the disruption it causes in a farm village. Leah dies of a broken heart. Gerald Bordman, ed., *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre* (New York, 1984), p. 420.

¹⁷Ezekiel B. Turner (1825-1888) was a Travis County lawyer. After the Civil War, he served as Texas's attorney general, as a state district judge, and as United States Judge for the Western District of Texas. *Handbook of Texas*, II, 809.

¹⁸DuVal's toddler son Johnny.

¹⁹George Gray (1828-1891), a Virginia-born lawyer and Union petitioner, was A. J. Hamilton's brother-in-law and the chief justice of Travis County in 1860. *Handbook of Texas*, I, 723.

basket for \$1, a red fish for \$2, a bottle of horse radish, a pitcher &c. Spent \$5 in all—Then went to Swensons²⁰ room from who borrowed \$2, and went to St. Louis restaurant, where got coffee & fried oysters for 50¢—Stribling²¹ & Swenson came to dinner at Hamiltons—also Dr. Peebles,²² Majr. De Normandie & Geo. Gray, paid cash yesterday on bills at Hebert & Benedict.

February 18, 1865. This morning at 8 A. M. sharp Swenson sailed for N. York on "Fung Shuey". He expects to buy goods and be back in a month. Gave him an order on Riggs & Co. for all the bonds of mine in their hands, except \$500, to be retained subject to my order. Gave my note for \$ for \$230, which he will retain out of proceeds of bonds—Gave him also order on Trombridge Dwight & Co. for the bond of \$100 in their hands.

Swenson will invest my money in goods, and either sell them for me, or if I prefer can take them at cost and send to Plaquemine, & S. will pay me back the money.²³

Today rented a piano for \$6 per mo. I paid the first mo. in advance—Rented it from Gaudin, Royal St. Paid \$3 for its drayage. Gaudin is to pay for transportation when it is returned, and keep it in tune.

²⁰Sven Magnus Swenson (1816-1896) was a Swedish-born merchant and DuVal's best friend in Austin. He was also a Unionist and had left Austin for Mexico at about the same time DuVal fled east. *Handbook of Texas*, II, 697-698; "Biographical Sketch," S. M. Swenson Papers, Barker Texas History Center.

²¹Thomas H. Stribling, a San Antonio judge, Unionist and post-war Republican. Paul C. Casdorph, *A History of the Republican Party in Texas, 1865-1965* (Austin, 1965), pp. 22, 249.

²²Dr. Richard Rogers Peebles (1810-1893), a Texas Revolutionary in the 1830s, ran afoul of Confederate authorities when he helped write an anti-Confederate tract called "Common Sense." He was arrested in October 1863, held in various jails until August 1864, and then exiled to Mexico. After a short stay in his native Ohio, he lived in New Orleans until the end of the war. Robert P. Felgar, "Texas in the War for Southern Independence, 1861-1865" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1935), pp. 299-323.

²³DuVal, Swenson, and a few other Texans apparently opened or invested in a dry goods store in Plaquemine, a small Mississippi River town just south of Baton Rouge. The year-long post-occupation depression and Federal penalties against secessionist businessmen left lucrative openings for entrepreneurial Unionist refugees like these men. Capers, *Occupied City*, pp. 145-149, 154-159.

February 20, 1865. This evening went to Genl. Canby's²⁴ on his invitation with Genl. Hamilton, George Hancock²⁵ & Mr. Worthington. We then had a talk with Genl. Lew Wallace,²⁶ who is on his way to Matamoros to enquire into the condition of officers there and report. Gave him all the information we could about persons & things. Worthington consents to go with Genl. W.

March 4, 1865. Inauguration of Gov. Wells,²⁷ and grand firemen's procession today—The latter was well worth seeing. I was told that 4000 firemen was in it.²⁸

²⁴Edward R. S. Canby (1817-1873), a West Pointer, repulsed the Confederate invasion of New Mexico early in the war and, as military commander of the Federal Trans-Mississippi Department, accepted his Confederate counterpart's surrender in May 1865. *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, p. 111.

²⁵DuVal is apparently referring to John Hancock (1824-1893), George's younger brother. Both men were Unionists, but only John became a refugee. He was a district judge, state legislator, and Unionist who had defended conscription resisters before leaving Austin in the spring of 1864. *Handbook of Texas*, I, 763-764.

²⁶Lewis Wallace (1827-1905) was a Mexican War veteran who raised an Indiana regiment early in the war and was a major general by March 1862. After a decidedly unsuccessful combat career, he served as governor of New Mexico Territory and minister to Turkey. He was, of course, best known for his novel *Ben Hur* (1880). *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, p. 799.

²⁷James Madison Wells (1808-1899), a Louisiana planter and Unionist, became lieutenant governor of occupied Louisiana in 1864 and served as governor from 1865-1867. Robert Sobel and John Raimo, eds., *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789-1978*, 2 vols. (Westport, Ct., 1978), II, 569.

²⁸DuVal is talking about two events that were apparently unrelated. Wells was inaugurated at Liberty Hall, while the city's firemen celebrated their 28th anniversary with a grand procession. It began at 10:30 on Canal Street, and a local newspaper reported "We do not remember having seen before so a splendid [sic] display. The streets, the balconies of almost every house, were thronged with people and particularly by ladies—at least 76,000. Brass bands played "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle," and the parade included four steam fire engines decorated with flowers. *New Orleans Tribune*, March 6, 1865.

March 11, 1865. . . . Laura and I went down into the City—walked into French part below Jackson Square. At night Genl. Hamilton, Mrs. H., Laura, Molly, Lilly, Brackenridge²⁹ & myself went to the Varieties—Saw the drama of "Rosedale"³⁰—Lawrence Barrett,³¹ as "Elliot Grey" & Miss Henrietta Irving³² as "Lady Florence May". Lawrence Barrett is a good actor, and his brother Joseph,³³ who performed the part of "Matthew Leigh" is the next best. Don't think any of the ladies in this play, are any great pumpkins.

I could see that the play was a *heavy drag* on Brack—It was so to me. My taste in this line are [*sic*] low. I just home for the Canterbury. I think a tragedy well performed has more interest than any thing else on the stage, but unless this is done it is a weary drag indeed. As a general rule I prefer going when there is loud farce, singing, dancing &c. Then I am sure to see something to laugh at.

March 18 or 19, 1865. Since my last entry, have paid my note to Wallace & Co. for \$237.14, endorsed by Brack[enridge]. Thursdays

²⁹George W. Brackenridge (1832-1920) was born in Indiana, but settled with his family in Jackson County, Texas, in the 1850s. After a lucrative two years in the Rio Grande cotton trade, the Unionist merchant left Texas. He soon found employment with the United States Treasury Department in New Orleans. After the war, the now-wealthy Brackenridge became a prominent San Antonio businessman and philanthropist. For an excellent biography of Brackenridge, see Marilyn M. Shibley, *George W. Brackenridge: Maverick Philanthropist* (Austin, 1973).

³⁰*Rosedale; or, The Rifle Ball*, by Lester Wallace, opened in New York City in 1863. It was a "complicated, often preposterous and action-filled melodrama," with a kidnapping, long-separated brothers, a stray gypsy, and intrigues over an inheritance. Bordman, *Oxford Companion to American Theatre*, p. 589.

³¹Lawrence Barrett (1838-1891) was raised in Detroit and was acting in New York by 1856. In 1863 he was serving as a captain in the Union Army; he later earned fame as a tragedian and producer. He appeared in a number of plays at the Varieties in March 1865. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56; Kendall, *Golden Age of the New Orleans Theatre*, p. 402.

³²Henrietta Irving was a New York actress who made her first appearance in New Orleans late in 1864. In 1861, she had stabbed John Wilkes Booth in the face—and herself, although not seriously—after Booth had, according to Irving, "tampered with her affections." She returned to New York with her husband after the 1865-1866 season. *Ibid.*, pp. 402, 504, 514.

³³Joseph Barrett, a minor New Orleans actor, was unrelated to Lawrence Barrett. *Ibid.*, pp. 398-402.

alc bought goods from Swenson, amtg. to \$14 hundred dollars. Could not get custom house permit to ship them. . . .

Through kindness of Brack, yesterday got note from him to Prov. Marshal asst. . . and had my papers approved. Today wrote to Stribling asking him to come down. Banks will soon be here. He is most unfriendly to Texans—They have been the cause of "all his woe", and those of them can expect [nothing] from him but neglect and cont. ? ³⁴

Today is fine weather making about five weeks of such. Wrote today to Stribling, telling him to come down.

April 8, 1865. Did not send my letter to Stribling until today, by the steamer Star. Added a P. S. telling him of the evacuation of Richmond & Petersburg, which news we got this morning. This renders it certain that the great "Southern Confederacy", which was to have been the mistress of the world, through the aid of slavery and King Cotton, is no more. Its final doom will soon be sealed.

It is now in *articulo mortis*.³⁵
April 10, 1865. Today has been the day of days. Have heard of the positive evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg, which fact was reported day before yesterday—Now we have an account of the fighting before the evacuation—the Capture of 20,000 prisoners &c. Also accounts of further fighting, with large Union successes, and finally the reported of capture of Lee's army.³⁶ This latter I

³⁴One of the Texans toward whom Banks was unfriendly was A. J. Hamilton. "General Hamilton is not a bad man," Banks wrote to Washington, "but he does not manifest great force of character." He was "surrounded by men who came here . . . for base, speculative purposes." The Texan "explains their presence by saying that in the North he became indebted to them for pecuniary assistance." Banks later tried to get Hamilton's brigadier's commission revoked. Banks to Maj. Gen. Henry Halleck, January 7, 1863, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Ser. 1, V, 15, 200-201. Millions of dollars were made in the legal and illegal cotton trade through New Orleans after the city's occupation by Union troops. Much of the trade was carried on by and between Confederate and Federal agents (the latter licensed by the United States government). Capers, *Occupied City*, pp. 161-171.

³⁵DuVal's slightly fractured Latin for *articulo mortis*, meaning "point of death." The editor thanks Tim William Machan of Marquette University's English Department for this translation.

³⁶In operations between March 31 and April 3, 1865, Union forces ended a ten-month-old stalemate, forcing General Robert E. Lee and the remnants of the Army of Northern Virginia to evacuate their defenses at Petersburg. Jefferson Davis and other members of the Confederate government left Richmond on April 2, and the Confederate capital fell to Federal troops the next day. John S. Bowman, ed., *The Civil War Almanac* (New York, 1983), pp. 258-262.

can't believe, owing to the way in which it comes, ie—through Philada. Through Mobile papers it is said we have news of defeat of Johnston by Sherman, with loss of 10,000 prisoners. Then we have official fall of Spanish Ft. and Fort Blakely, before Mobile, the latter containing 5000 men, all captured.³⁷ Dined on this news, aided by crabs, bf. steak, green peas, potatoes, sheephead, wine &c. &c. at Victors Restaurant, Tonitise St., in company with Mr. Flanders,³⁸ Brackenridge, Swenson, Hamilton, Styles,³⁹ McConezal & Collins.⁴⁰ The latter gave the treat. We were very merry and patriotic. I have no doubt the great Confed. has *gone at the show*. We know enough not to swear this is so. I have some hope that we may be able to get back to our Texas homes this summer. Hurrah for the triumph of democracy over aristocracy of freedom over slavery—of the people over the copperheads & secessionists. My faith in the people[,] always strong, but nearly lost at one period by this contest, is now firmer than ever. The American people will more than ever be one people, one Nation, and we shall see such, work out a great destiny—This war has only interrupted it temporarily.

April 15, 1865. 200 guns fired on Lafayette Square today in honor of the glorious events for the Union. We also, hear that Johnsons army has surrendered to Sherman—But this is not official. It soon will, of it has not yet.⁴¹ Lee and his army was the key stone in the

³⁷ Although Mobile Bay had been controlled by the United States Navy since the fall of 1864, the city of Mobile, Alabama, was not captured until April 12, 1865, after a seventeen-day siege. Spanish Fort, the principal Confederate fortification, fell on April 8. *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, pp. 503-504.

³⁸ Benjamin Flanders was a native New Yorker and U. S. Treasury agent in New Orleans, who in 1864 had unsuccessfully run as the Radical Republican candidate for governor of Louisiana. Joe Gray Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1974), pp. 27-30.

³⁹ H. Stiles was a director of the Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans. *New Orleans Tribune*, April 26, 1865.

⁴⁰ Probably B. Collins, a state legislator in the reconstructed government of Louisiana. *Ibid.* September 8, 1864.

⁴¹ Confederate Gen. Joseph E. Johnston did not actually surrender to Union Gen. William T. Sherman until April 18. *The Civil War Almanac*, p. 264.

arch of rebellion. That has been knocked out, and the whole will fall like a house of cards. Now I don't believe there will be any more fighting of consequence. I have strong hopes we shall get back to Texas soon, and that no blood will be shed there. . . .

Took Betty and Nannie after supper & went to LaFayette Square, where expected speeches, music, and a grand glorification generally. Saw and heard nothing worth mentioning. There seemed to be no arrangements made for anything of the sort.

Went to Vincent's on Canal St. and ate an ice cream—Came home at 10:30 P.M. and went to bed. For the first time since her attack of measles, Molly went in the City to Canal St. with her mother. I hope she, is "out of the woods".

April 21, 1865. The last few days have been the most eventful in the history of our country. The surrender of Genl. Lee and his army of Northern Va. and assassination of the President, Mr. Seward &c.⁴² There is a storm of excitement. Mr. Swenson left yesterday evening at 5 Oclk on the Olive Branch for Shreveport with consent of Kirby Smith⁴³ & Genl. Canby—his business, is cotton—perhaps incidentally some good in other respects, may come of it.

Judge Hancock & myself wrote a joint letter to C. S. West. I told him plainly that they ought to give up. Not in these words, but that was the same and substance to it. . . .

April 22, 1865. Nearly all the houses in the City draped in mourning secesh more showy in this regard than Union. They have been much alarmed lest the soldiers, especially negroes, should wreak vengeance on them for death of Presdt. Lincoln.⁴⁴ Mr. Seward is reported to be better, and it is supposed he will survive. God grant that he may.

⁴² On April 14, John Wilkes Booth mortally wounded President Abraham Lincoln, who died early the next day. An accomplice severely wounded Secretary of State William H. Seward. *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, p. 440.

⁴³ Lt. Gen. E. Kirby-Smith (1824-1893) was the commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department from 1862-1865. *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, p. 695.

⁴⁴ A mob killed four men in New Orleans on April 19, apparently for expressing "feelings of satisfaction" at the death of President Lincoln. *New Orleans Tribune*, April 20, 1865.

An immense throng of people gathered in Lafayette Square today. It was packed as full as it could be, as were all the streets leading by it. Business in the City was entirely suspended. All stores and drinking saloons shut up.⁴⁵ Went down to see the proceedings. Could not hear any of the speeches, except a few words of Genl. Hurlburt⁴⁶—He seemed greatly excited and spoke apparently with much feeling.⁴⁷ Hancock and I made our way out of the Square after standing out there for two hours. Got chilled—It is remarkable cold today—almost enough for frost.

April 23, 1865. It seems that I can't get over the shock caused by the tragedy in Washington—assassination of rulers in other countries has usually had some excuse. Here there is none. Secession, or its fruits, has caused the death of the only man who had the wish and the power to protect and deal kindly & forgivingly with those who warred against their country.

April 24, 1865. This forenoon about 10 or 11 A. M. Confd. ran Webb, passed down the river having U. S. flag half mast as if mourning for the Presd. She was under full press of steam. Some shots were fired at her, but she rapidly passed on. The wires are said to be out between here and Ft. Jackson, and it is more than probable she will get safely to sea. Stribling thinks of going up tomorrow evening, and perhaps a few days to Illinois. Judge Hancock and I called at Genl. Canby's Hd. Qr. this morning. From what he told me, I think a movement will be made upon Texas in a few weeks.

⁴⁵The *New Orleans Tribune* reported on April 20, 1865, that courts and schools had closed, bells tolled for half an hour on April 19, no ships left port, and no financial or commercial business had been completed. The "national calamity . . . has completely paralyzed [sic] all business."

⁴⁶Maj. Gen. Stephen A. Hurlburt of Illinois, who substituted for Banks as commander of New Orleans between September 1864 and the spring of 1865. Capers, *Occupied City*, pp. 117-118.

⁴⁷Fifteen thousand people attended the mass meeting on Lafayette Square on April 22. Prayers were prayed, speeches delivered, and resolutions passed. Gen. Hurlburt announced that the assassination of Lincoln was "the greatest calamity which ever befell progress, since the world began." General Banks assured the crowd that Lincoln's goals would be met. Among the resolutions passed was one committing New Orleans residents to wearing badges of mourning for thirty days. Another meeting was held at Congo Square for the city's blacks. *New Orleans Tribune*, April 23, 1865.

April 25, 1865. . . . This morning have news of the destruction of the rebel ram Webb, which passed the City yesterday, from Shreveport, in the most audacious & defiant way. 14 men taken.

From all that I know of Presid. Johnson's⁴⁸ feelings, he will not show the same mercy and kindness to the rebs that Mr. Lincoln would. Still, I hope he will be as magnanimous and charitable as the head of a great Nation should be. The . . . men who inaugurated this hellish rebellion, and who deluded or coerced into it the great mass of the Southern people, ought not to be forgiven. They should be punished. A very correct list of them could be made in every Southern State, and they ought to be excluded, by name from all amnesty.

May 29, 1865. . . . Tonight Swenson came up alarmed for the safety of our friends in Texas, having received a letter from Tom McKinney,⁴⁹ brought by Ballinger.⁵⁰ He and Ashbel Smith⁵¹ are here under flag of truce from Galveston. When they left they did not know of Kirby Smith's surrender.⁵² Judging from McKinney's letter dated Onion creek, 20th May, they then had great fears that there would be desperate times—Killing and murdering &c in Texas—Yet nothing was initiated to prevent this state of things.

⁴⁸Andrew Johnson (1808-1875), president of the United States from 1865-1869. Although originally a fierce foe of Southern aristocracy, Johnson actually continued his predecessor's mild Southern policy. He quickly accepted the seceded states back into the Union and refused to punish Confederate leaders; his actions earned him the hatred of the Radical Republicans, who in 1867 wrested control of Reconstruction policy out of the president's hands. *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, pp. 395-396.

⁴⁹Thomas F. McKinney (1810-1873) was one of Stephen F. Austin's "old three hundred," settling in Brazos County in 1824. He was a trader, a merchant, and a financier of the Texas Revolution. A Unionist, he nevertheless served the Confederacy in minor posts and lost his fortune during the war. *Handbook of Texas*, II, 112.

⁵⁰W. P. Ballinger (1825-1888) was a Galveston attorney and anti-secessionist who nevertheless served as a minor Confederate official. He helped arrange the surrender of the last Confederate troops in Texas. *Handbook of Texas*, I, 104.

⁵¹Ashbel Smith (1805-1886) was born in Connecticut and served as an official and legislator in the Republic and state of Texas, respectively. He commanded Galveston during the Civil War. *Handbook of Texas*, II, 620-621.

⁵²Lt. Gen. Simon Buckner, acting in the name of Kirby-Smith, finally surrendered the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department on May 26, 1865, at New Orleans. *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, p. 736.

Tonight Ballinger & Smith, with Judge Hancock, go to call on Genl. Canby—I don't know what they will recommend, but I shall see Genl. C. in the morning (together with Judge Stribling) and shall urge him to send some troops at once to Texas, and occupy Galveston, Austin & San Antonio. This is the only way to avert the dangers I apprehend.

May 30, 1865. Stribling and I called on Genl. Canby today. Got no information from him, except that Texas refugees could not go back home till the U. S. troops had been sent to Texas.

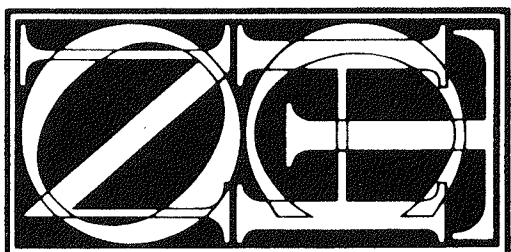
May 31, 1865. Getting off from this place on account of yellow fever—There ain't any yet, but it may come any day. Where to go to is the difficulty. . . . I hope yellow jack, if he comes will find me here alone. My concern [is] that it should be so.⁵³

During Reconstruction, New Orleans continued to experience the turbulence that characterized the city's Civil War years. Most of the Texans went home, however. The DuVals successfully endured their Louisiana exile and returned to Austin. Thomas became a moderate Republican, resumed his career as a federal judge, and played a fairly minor role in Reconstruction politics. After surviving an impeachment attempt in 1874, he continued as judge until his death in 1880.⁵⁴ Although most other refugees straggled back to Texas during the summer and fall of 1865, DuVal's friend S. M. Swenson did not. Swenson remained in New Orleans after DuVal's departure, and later moved to New York City, where he lived for the rest of his life. When he and DuVal parted, after an eventful two years of refugee life, Swenson wrote his wife that "after he was gone I had a spell of Serious reflections, natural to the occasion of separating from a friend who has struck closer than a Brother."⁵⁵ Few Texans spent much time reflecting on their years in occupied New Orleans; if they did, similar melancholy thoughts may have led them to consider their time there as an exotic, if unhappy and sometimes uncomfortable interlude.

⁵³Although 1865 was not a particularly bad year for yellow fever in New Orleans—compared to the 1867 epidemic or the 1878 epidemic that killed 4,000 people—a severe smallpox outbreak struck in that year followed by a cholera epidemic in 1866. Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed*, pp. 431-434. The DuVals found refuge from the low country at Bay St. Louis, where they stayed during the month before their departure for home on July 2. June 9, 1865, DuVal Diary.

⁵⁴James D. Lynch, *The Bench and Bar of Texas* (St. Louis, 1885), pp. 160-163; *The Charges Against the Federal Court at Austin* (Austin, 1872).

⁵⁵Swenson to Cora Mae Swenson, July 2, 1865, Swenson Papers.



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