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*General Benjamin Butler & the  
threat of sexual violence during  
the American Civil War*

Scarlett's breath came back to her as suddenly and painfully as after a blow in the stomach. A Yankee, a Yankee with a long pistol on his hip! And she was alone in the house with three sick girls and the babies! As he lounged up the walk, hand on holster, beady little eyes glancing to right and left, a kaleidoscope of jumbled pictures spun in her mind, stories Aunt Pittypat had whispered of attacks on unprotected women, throat cuttings, houses burned over the heads of dying women, children bayoneted because they cried, all of the unspeakable horrors that lay bound up in the name of "Yankee."

– Margaret Mitchell, *Gone With the Wind*<sup>1</sup>

As a young girl growing up in the South, I was forced to watch *Gone With the Wind* throughout my primary and secondary education. As May dwindled into June, teachers grew weary of lecturing on multiplication tables or constitutional history and resorted to "historical films" to pass the time, with *Gone With the Wind* at the top of the list. I hated the movie at every age – and not because I wanted to crawl under my desk and die of humiliation every time a black person came on screen. Rather, the film's vio-

lent content, specifically its sexual undertones, gave me nightmares. In one instance, Scarlett, confronted by a Yankee soldier, shoves a pistol in his face and pulls the trigger. The viewer understands Scarlett's motivation: that implicit in the "unspeakable horrors that lay bound up in the name of 'Yankee'" is the threat of rape.

Few scholars have addressed the sexual threat captured in this confrontation between Scarlett and the Union soldier. In fact, historians have accepted without question the idea that Union soldiers rarely raped southern women, black or white, and have argued that sexual violence was rare during the Civil War. Yet Mitchell's fictional account of one woman's wartime experience makes clear that a perceived threat of rape during the Civil War was all too real for southern women.

Wartime rape is an issue both ancient and contemporary, evident more recently in reports of mass rapes in the Yugoslavian wars of secession and the genocidal massacres in Rwanda, but equally present in accounts from the Torah, the Bible, Homer, Anglo-Saxon chronicles, and in mythological events like the rape of the Sabine women. Indeed, much historical evidence seems to suggest that whenever and wherever men go to war,

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rape and the threat of sexual violence against women are inevitable, even strategic components of warfare.

During the Civil War many southern women feared sexual assault, and hundreds, perhaps thousands of women suffered rape. Even though the federal military defined rape as a crime punishable by court-martial, even execution, some Union soldiers were not deterred: at least 250 were court-martialed for the crime of rape.<sup>2</sup> In North Carolina during spring 1865, Private James Preble “attempted to rape” two white women, Mrs. Rebecca Drake and Miss Louise Bedard, and “did by physical force and violence commit rape upon the person of one Miss Letitia Craft.”<sup>3</sup> When Perry Holland of the 1st Missouri Infantry confessed to the rape of Miss Julia Anderson, a white woman in Tennessee, he was sentenced to be shot, but his sentence was later commuted.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Catherine Farmer, also of Tennessee, testified that Lieutenant Harvey John of the 49th Ohio Infantry dragged her into the bushes and told her he would kill her if she did not “give it to him.” He tore her dress, broke her hoops, and “put his private parts into her,” for which he got ten years in prison.<sup>5</sup> In Georgia, Albert Lane, part of Company B, in the 100th Regiment of Ohio Volunteers, was also sentenced to ten years because he “did on or about the 11th day of July, 1864 . . . upon one Miss Louisa Dickerson . . . then and there forcibly and against her will, feloniously did ravish and carnally know her.”<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, the majority of the 250 court-martialed cases involved either black women raped by white men or white women raped by black men, suggesting that race played a key role not only in the cases the Union army sought to pursue, but also in who was willing to report rape.

Most rapes, however, likely went unreported because many women, especially women of the planter elite, considered sexual assault a fate worse than death. Because a white woman’s virtue represented her most valuable commodity, much was at stake in making public a crime understood to tarnish that virtue. Women did, however, write about reported sexual assaults and the fear of rape in their diaries and letters. Mary Chesnut, a plantation mistress in South Carolina, complained in her wartime diary:

I think these times make all women feel their humiliation in the affairs of the world. With men it is on the field – glory, honour, praise & power. Women can only stay at home – & every paper reminds us that women are to be violated – ravished & all manner of humiliation. How are the daughters of Eve punished?<sup>7</sup>

Her words capture the vulnerability and fear that southern white women experienced during the Civil War, but also reveal her frustration and anger over Confederate soldiers’ failure to protect southern women during the war. With so many men taking part in the war effort, southern white women found themselves without male protection, forcing them for the first time to demand protection and participate in their own defense. Their acts of public protest and violent self-defense served not only as a political challenge to Union occupation, but also as a challenge to southern gender roles.<sup>8</sup> At the same time that southern women defied the image of the dependent and fragile southern belle, they also raised questions about southern white men’s ability to provide proper protection.

As federal troops began to occupy southern territory, rumors that Yankees

planned to rape their way through the South spread. Refugees and local newspapers reported “outrages against women” and other atrocities allegedly committed by Union soldiers.<sup>9</sup> The Confederate Congress whipped up the rumors and intensified women’s fears when it declared:

The conduct of the enemy has been destitute of that forbearance and magnanimity which civilization and Christianity have introduced . . . clothing of women and infants is stripped from their persons . . . helpless women have been exposed to the most cruel outrages and to that dishonor which is infinitely worse than death.<sup>10</sup>

When Confederate propaganda did not succeed in keeping women in a state of constant fear, the mere presence of Union soldiers did.

In spring 1862, when General Benjamin Butler arrived in New Orleans with Union troops, he was greeted by a mob of men and women dismayed by defeat and outraged by the prospect of Union occupation. New Orleanians challenged and resisted the authority of Butler and his 2,500 soldiers at every turn: shopkeepers refused to do business with “Yankees,” ministers refused to say prayers for President Lincoln, and citizens destroyed Union flags. To maintain order, Butler declared martial law and set out to establish proper respect for his troops and the Union cause. Butler had William B. Mumford, a professional gambler who had torn the U.S. flag from the U.S. Mint in New Orleans, arrested and sentenced to hang.<sup>11</sup> When a New Orleans bookseller placed a skeleton labeled “Chickahominy” in the window of his store, a place where numerous Union soldiers had been slain, Butler sentenced him to two years’ confinement at Ship Island, a federal prison during the war, off the coast of Mississippi.

A merchant who refused to sell shoes to a federal soldier had all of his stock sold at auction. Shopkeepers who closed their stores in protest were fined \$100. A contractor who refused to do work for the army was imprisoned on bread and water until he agreed to perform the job.<sup>12</sup>

Storekeepers and businessmen, out of financial necessity, had little choice but to yield to Butler’s orders; their wives and daughters were under no such compulsion. In fact, southern white women remained openly resistant to Union occupation, seeking not only to provoke Union troops, but also to compel Confederate men to action. If a New Orleans belle met a Union officer or soldier on the sidewalk, she contemptuously gathered up her skirts and walked to the other side of the street. When federal soldiers boarded streetcars or entered churches, southern women got up and left with a great to-do. They wore Confederate flags in their hats and dresses and hummed southern patriotic songs within earshot of northern troops. One woman, draped in a Confederate flag, walked up to a soldier standing guard, stared at him, and spat in the gutter before walking away in disgust; others spat directly in the faces of federal soldiers.<sup>13</sup> In fact, some went so far as to dump their chamber pots onto passing Union soldiers. Of displays like these, one general noted, “Such venom one must see to believe. Such unsexing was hardly ever before in any cause or country so marked and so universal. I look at them and think of fallen angels.”<sup>14</sup>

If some southern women hoped that their actions would force Union officers to retaliate, they got their wish on May 15, 1862, when General Butler issued his infamous “General Orders, No. 28”:

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.<sup>15</sup>

Butler's Order licensed his troops not only to refuse protection, but to offer insult and to treat as prostitutes the women who offended federal troops and resisted occupation.

Butler insisted that Order 28 was not a call to rape, but he clearly believed that threatening sexual violence was a justifiable means of subduing southern women. When one of Butler's officers expressed concern that "troops may misunderstand the order," Butler defended:

Let us, then have *one* case of aggression on our side. I shall know how to deal with that case, so that it will never be repeated. So far, all the aggression has been against us. Here we are, conquerors in a conquered city; we have respected every right . . . and yet we cannot walk the streets without being outraged and spit upon by green girls. I do not fear the troops; but if aggression must be, let it not be all against *us*.<sup>16</sup>

Butler at once acknowledged his soldiers' remarkable restraint and conceded southern women's success in agitating his troops. The Order was an "absolute necessity from the outrageous conduct of the Secession women here, who took every means of insulting my soldiers and inflaming the mob," he explained to his superiors.<sup>17</sup> The women

of New Orleans, he argued, had left him no choice but to pass "an order characterizing [their] acts" as unwomanly and undeserving of protection.

Exploiting ideas about gender and class, Butler expected the threat of sexual violence to shame and force southern women into policing their own behavior. When asked why he had not just arrested the women, Butler explained the "Guard House" was no place for "lovely ladies" and insisted, "These insults come from the balconies of houses whence Juliet made love, and my men must have broken open private dwellings and chased the fair, feeble, fretful, and ferocious rebels to their bedrooms to have seized them." Using language of sexual seduction, Butler reasoned that if his soldiers had been reduced to "dragging screeching women through the streets to the Guard House," southern women would have succeeded. No southern man, he argued, would have stood by as Union soldiers carried "Mrs. Judge This and Mrs. Col. That and the honorable Miss so and so" kicking and screaming to jail.<sup>18</sup>

Those closest to Butler agreed the Order was necessary and the insult to southern womanhood justified. "Never has anything been more deserved," explained Butler's wife Sarah:

Their insolence is beyond endurance, and must be checked. Such forbearance was never shown to a conquered town as our people have shown them. . . . To show their appreciation of such forbearance, they step out of their parlor on the piazzas and grossly insult our officers as they pass along the street.<sup>19</sup>

Like her husband, Sarah Butler believed that the women of New Orleans forfeited their right to protection by refusing to behave as proper ladies. More impor-

tantly, Secretary of State William Seward openly supported the Order, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus Fox applauded Butler's actions, and President Lincoln, who received both domestic and international pressure to repudiate the Order, never did so.<sup>20</sup>

Confederates were outraged. The mayor of New Orleans, John T. Monroe, was the first to condemn the Order, accusing Butler of giving "license to the officers and soldiers . . . to commit outrages . . . upon defenseless women" and threatening to step down as mayor if Butler did not revoke the Order.<sup>21</sup> Butler, unswayed by intimidation, informed the mayor that "the language of the letter would not be tolerated, and if he believed that he could no longer control the 'aroused' passions of the people, he would be relieved of his responsibility" and sent directly to Fort Jackson, the Union prison. When the mayor protested that his only desire was to "vindicate the honor of the virtuous women of the City," Butler reassured him that the Order did not "contemplate any virtuous women," explaining that virtuous women would not insult "by word, gesture, or movement" federal troops and thus had nothing to fear.<sup>22</sup> Monroe accepted Butler's reasoning, rescinded his letter, and signed an official letter of apology. The next day, however, he withdrew his apology on the grounds that he had "misunderstood" Butler's explanation and called on the general to make a public announcement declaring that Order 28 did not apply to decent ladies, to which an impatient Butler insisted:

There can be, there has been, no room for misunderstanding of General Order No. 28. . . . I shall not, as I have not abated, a single word of that order; it was well considered. If obeyed, it will protect the true and modest woman from all possi-

ble insult: the others will take care of themselves.<sup>23</sup>

Butler was adamant: southern ladies who resisted federal occupation by insulting and assaulting federal troops behaved like prostitutes, unworthy of protection.

News of Butler's Order circulated widely in the Confederacy, where it was understood as a direct attack on southern womanhood. The Jackson *Mississippian* offered \$10 thousand for Butler's head, and Confederate generals read the edict to their troops to spur them to battle. From Corinth, Mississippi, General Beauregard declared:

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.<sup>24</sup>

Governor Moore of Louisiana proclaimed that the "annals of warfare between civilized nations afford no similar instance of infamy" and encouraged New Orleanians to rise up against Butler's occupation. Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, described Butler as possessing "instincts so brutal as to invite the violence of his soldiery against the women of a captured city"<sup>25</sup>; he, too, called for Butler's head. Southern women had succeeded in provoking southern men to their defense – at least rhetorically – because, as New Orleanian Clara Solomon wrote in her diary, "the insult offered to us is also to them."<sup>26</sup>

Butler's Order 28 entangled the threat of rape with more generalized anxieties about the limits of southern manhood

and the hollowness of antebellum gender and class politics. Across the South, women worried whether or not their husbands and sons, fathers and brothers would defend them from the horrors of invasion. Confederate newspapers published a plea from “THE DAUGHTERS OF NEW ORLEANS”:

AN APPEAL TO EVERY SOUTHERN SOLDIER. – We turn to you in mute agony! Behold our wrongs! Fathers! Husbands! Brothers! Sons! We know these bitter, burning wrongs will be fully avenged – *never* did southern women appeal in vain for protection from insult! But, for the sake of your sisters throughout the south, with tears we implore you not to surrender your cities, “in consideration of the defenseless women and children!” Do not leave your women to the mercy of this merciless foe! Would it not have been better for New Orleans to have been laid in ruins, and we buried up beneath the mass, than that we should be subjected to these untold sufferings? Is life so precious a boon that, for the preservation of it, *no* sacrifice is to great? Ah, no! ah, no! Rather let us die with you, oh, our fathers! Rather, like Virginius, plunge your own swords into our breast, saying, “This is all we can give our daughters.”<sup>27</sup>

Limited in their power to resist occupation, the women of New Orleans called on Confederate men to fight on their behalf and clung to traditional notions of manhood. But the women’s appeal also reveals uncertainty about these notions – and a recognition that proper manhood, as they understood it, was failing them.

Confederate officers and soldiers were notorious for abandoning cities and towns as federal troops advanced. In May 1863, Mary Ann Loughborough, who had followed her husband’s regiment from Jackson to Vicksburg, record-

ed how the women of the city greeted Confederate soldiers who confessed they were running from federal troops: “Why don’t you stand your ground?” “Shame on you all!” and “We are disappointed in you! Who shall we look to now for protection?”<sup>28</sup> In a letter to her husband, Julia Davidson complained, “The men of Atlanta have brought an everlasting stain on their name. Instead of remaining to defend their homes, they have run off and left Atlanta to be defended by an army of women and children.” She concluded, “God help us for there is no help in man.”<sup>29</sup> In Virginia, a group of women declared the Confederate army incompetent and suggested the formation of a ladies regiment in the Army of Shenandoah.<sup>30</sup> In Jasper County, Mississippi, a group of “Ladies” petitioned the Confederate secretary of war for male protection; but they also requested weapons of their own to defend themselves from “the demonic invasion.”<sup>31</sup>

Southern women’s outrage at Butler’s threat and their appeals for protection revealed that they were neither completely defenseless, nor content to be thought of as so. Before federal troops ever arrived in Louisiana, Sarah Morgan of Baton Rouge confided in her journal that she had a “pistol and carving knife ready.” After learning of Butler’s Order No. 28, she wrote, “Come to my bosom, O my discarded carving-knife, laid aside under the impression that these men were gentlemen.”<sup>32</sup> Julia LeGrand of New Orleans recorded in her diary, “Mrs. Norton has a hatchet, a tomahawk, and a vial of some kind of spirits with which she intends to blind all invaders.”<sup>33</sup> In August 1862, Miss Emma Holmes, of Charleston, South Carolina, wrote, “Mrs. Henry M. Hyams of New Orleans, the wife of the Lieut.

Governor of the State has rendered her name historic among Southern women, who have nobly avenged the insults of 'Butler, the Beast.'" Holmes explained in detail how a "Yankee officer" stopped Hyams and demanded that she bow in accordance with Butler's Order. When she refused, "the vile wretch threw his arms around her and kissed her," and upon his release Hyams "drew a pistol and shot him dead in all the flush of his insolence."<sup>34</sup> Mrs. Hyams, the story went, was spirited away by a sympathetic Union officer who helped her reach southern lines.<sup>35</sup>

Women all over the South armed themselves. From her family plantation, Oakland, eight miles north of Holly Springs, Mississippi, nineteen-year-old Cordelia Lewis Scales wrote to a dear friend:

I wish you could see me now with my hair parted on the side with my black velvet zouave on & pistol by my side & riding my fine colt, Beula. I know you would take me for a Guerilla. I never ride now or walk without my pistol. Quite warlike, you see.<sup>36</sup>

In Macon, Georgia, a man explained that his mother and sister, who lived in the country, felt "quite secure" with the pistol and long knife that he had given them. To her husband, Julia Pope Stanley of Georgia wrote, "Oh that I had more faith. But when I hear of how our women are insulted by the Yankees, my heart almost faints within me"; however, she concluded, "Every woman ought to be armed with a dagger to defend herself."<sup>37</sup> Even Jefferson Davis made sure his wife, Varina, had a pistol for her protection. He made a point to show her how to use it herself, but in the end suggested, "You can at least, if reduced to the last extremity, force your assailants to kill you."<sup>38</sup> A woman's taking up

arms, it turns out, did not have to involve her direct use of the weapon: appealing to a perpetrator to turn that very weapon on her, she also acted in self-defense, in an effort to avoid that fate worse than death.

Butler's Order licensed Union officers and troops in their treatment of women well beyond New Orleans. Union Major Thomas J. Jordan told women in Sparta, Tennessee, that if they refused to cook for his troops he would be forced to "turn his men loose upon them and he would not be responsible for anything they might do"; in Selina he advised, "They had better sew up the bottoms of their petticoats" if they were unwilling to serve his troops. After stripping and spanking a group of young women who had emptied their chamber pots on passing soldiers, Union troops in Rome, Georgia, who were aware of Butler's declaration in New Orleans justified their actions accordingly: "No one but an abandoned woman would do a thing like that. Abandoned women had no rights that anyone was bound to respect."<sup>39</sup>

The geographical reach of Butler's Order ensured that the threat of sexual violence and the fear of rape were common to southern women and central to how they experienced the Civil War. In the face of fear, and eager to uphold pre-existing gender and class norms, southern women had little room to maneuver under Order 28 without being regarded as a "woman of the town." Yet southern women's ideas about men – and themselves – began to crack as they saw the many ways men were unable or unwilling to protect them during the war. Southern women challenged notions of their defenselessness and came to realize, as Butler predicted, that they had to "take care of themselves."

ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Margaret Mitchell, *Gone With the Wind* (1936; repr., New York: Scribner, 2007), 417.
- <sup>2</sup> Thomas P. Lowry, *Sexual Misbehavior in the Civil War: A Compendium* (Xlibris, 2006).
- <sup>3</sup> Robert I. Alotta, *Civil War Justice: Union Army Executions Under Lincoln* (Shippensburg, Penn.: White Mane Publishing Company, 1989), 165.
- <sup>4</sup> Lowry, *Sexual Misbehavior in the Civil War*, 154.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.
- <sup>7</sup> Mary Chesnut, *The Private Mary Chesnut: The Unpublished Civil War Diaries*, ed. C. Vann Woodward and Elisabeth Muhlenfeld (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 145.
- <sup>8</sup> The gender and racial hierarchy of the plantation South sanctioned male dominance and discouraged female autonomy. Because southern white women were legally subordinated to and economically dependent upon their fathers and husbands, they had little choice but to accept paternalistic domination in exchange for male protection and a measure of discrete power within the household. For further discussion of nineteenth-century ideas about southern womanhood and manhood, see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon, 1984); Ann Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830 – 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small World: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Low Country* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Laura F. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).
- <sup>9</sup> Lee Kennett, *Marching Through Georgia: The Story of Soldiers and Civilians During Sherman's Campaign* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 84.
- <sup>10</sup> Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War & the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995).
- <sup>11</sup> Robert S. Holzman, *Stormy Ben Butler* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1954), 69 – 70.
- <sup>12</sup> For discussion of how citizens of New Orleans responded to Butler's occupation, see Christopher G. Pena, *General Butler: Beast or Patriot – New Orleans Occupation May – December 1862* (1st Books Library, 2003), and Chester G. Hearn, *When the Devil Came Down to Dixie: Ben Butler in New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997).
- <sup>13</sup> On Butler and the women of New Orleans, see Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825 – 1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 130 – 171; George C. Rable, "'Missing in Action': Women of the Confederacy," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, ed. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 134 – 146; Hans L. Trefousse, *Ben Butler: The South Called Him Beast!* (New York: Twayne, 1957), 107 – 121; and Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 207 – 214.
- <sup>14</sup> Thomas Williams, "Letters of General Thomas Williams, 1862," *American Historical Review* 14 (22) (1909): 307 – 338.
- <sup>15</sup> "General Orders No. 28," in *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War*, vol. 1 (Norwood, Mass.: The Plimpton Press, 1917), 490.
- <sup>16</sup> Quoted in James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans: History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the Year 1862* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1864), 327 – 328.



- 17 Major General Benjamin Butler, "Letter to Hon. E. M. Staton, Secretary of War (May 16, 1862)," in *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War*, vol. 1, 493.
- 18 Major General Benjamin Butler, "Letter to O. C. Gardner (June 10, 1862)," in *ibid.*, 581–583.
- 19 Sarah Butler, "Letter to Harriet Heard (May 15, 1862)," in *ibid.*, 486–489.
- 20 Hearn, *When the Devil Came Down to Dixie*, 109.
- 21 John T. Monroe, "Letter to Major General Benjamin F. Butler (May 16, 1862)," in *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War*, vol. 1, 497–498.
- 22 Major General Benjamin F. Butler, "Memorandum," in *ibid.*, 498.
- 23 Major General Benjamin F. Butler, "Letter to John T. Monroe (May 16, 1862)," in Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 333.
- 24 Quoted in Hearn, *When the Devil Came Down to Dixie*, 104.
- 25 Jefferson Davis, "A Proclamation," in *The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 2, vol. 5, ed. BVT. Lieut. Col. Robert N. Scott (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), 795–797.
- 26 Elliott Ashkenazi, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Clara Solomon: Growing up in New Orleans, 1861–1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 367–370.
- 27 Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 339.
- 28 Mary Ann Loughborough, "In the Cave at Vicksburg," in *Heroines of Dixie: Confederate Women Tell Their Story of the War*, ed. Katharine Jones (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1955), 225–226.
- 29 "Julia Davidson to John M. Davidson (July 19, 21, 26, 1864)," quoted in George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 171.
- 30 Jean V. Berlin, "Did Confederate Women Lose the War?: Deprivation, Destruction, and Despair on the Home Front," in *The Collapse of the Confederacy*, ed. Mark Grimsley and Brooks D. Simpson (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 179.
- 31 Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 59.
- 32 Sarah Morgan, "The Enemy Comes to Baton Rouge (May 17, 1862)," in *Heroines of Dixie*, ed. Jones, 132–133.
- 33 Julia LeGrand, "New Orleans is Full of Rumors (December 20, 1862)," in *ibid.*, 193–195.
- 34 John F. Marszalek, ed., *The Diary of Miss Emma Holmes, 1861–1866* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 191.
- 35 Robert Rosen, *The Jewish Confederates* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000).
- 36 Cordelia Lewis, "I Never Walk or Ride Without My Pistol (October 29, 1862)," in *Heroines of Dixie*, ed. Jones, 179–182.
- 37 Quoted in Kennett, *Marching Through Georgia*, 146.
- 38 Varina Howell Davis, *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir by His Wife*, vol. 2 (New York: Belford, Co., 1890), 577.
- 39 Reid Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 102–103.