



Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, May 23, 1863.

Long, Hot Summer of '63

Rebecca Lyons

Our sovereign lord the King chargeth and commandeth all persons, being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful businesses, upon the pains contained in the Act made in the first year of King George, for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies. God save the King.¹

So read the Riot Act of 1715. Max Heirich made it quite clear in his impressive work, The Spiral of Conflict, that whenever people interact, there is always the possibility of rising tension. And it has been so in American history. David Grimsted, in America Mobbing, 1826-1861, stated that “social violence ...is always [a] human and understandable response to social inequity or restraint... “ In fact, he goes on to state that “riots were neither rare nor commonplace in antebellum society but a piece of the on going process of democratic accommodation, compromise and unquestionable tension between groups with different interests.” Richard Maxwell Brown believed that “violence represents the attempt of established Americans to preserve their favored position in the social, economic, and political order.” And, he continues, “This seems to be the true significance of much of the urban rioting of the nineteenth century.” George Rude, in his book, The Crowd in History 1730- 1848, wrote that “The crowd may riot because it is hungry or fears to be so, because it has some deep social grievance, because it seeks an immediate reform . . . or because it wants to destroy an enemy or acclaim a ‘hero’; but it is seldom for any single one of these reasons alone.” Paul Gilje wrote that “riots might still occasionally be tolerated as long as they were not too violent and were on behalf of the whole community...” Riots attract criminals and petty thieves, murderers, arsonists and looters as well as those with claims and complaints. There are two different types of riots, pre-industrial and industrial and both will move in different directions.²

The pre-industrial riot is usually a food riot and is generally a stimulus for a much greater problem, often set against the background of shortages. The industrial riot is labor related and concerns far reaching issues such as race and ethnicity, together with social injustice. Both of these conflicts strengthen group awareness. With awareness comes the defense of shared values and the protection from outside influence. When traditional methods of defense and protection fail, force is needed.

Barrington Moore, Jr., believed that the “Civil War is commonly taken to mark a violent dividing point between the agrarian and industrial epochs in American history.”³ Moore was correct in his interpretation of the time, but we need to carry his analogy further by stating that the last of the agrarian riots, together with the first of the industrial riots, would appear during the Civil War. Eighteen sixty-three was the turning point. There were two riots that year that bear examination for both represent the shift in social issues and as a result in social expression. One was short, lasting only two hours while one, lasted four days. Troops were called in to squash both revolts but only one crowd was fired upon. One riot had only three casualties and little property destroyed, while one cost over one hundred lives, countless injuries and extensive property damage.⁴ One was organized, after a fashion, while one had no organization. One had possibly 2,000 participants while one swelled to well over 20,000. One was led by women with the encouragement of men, one was led by men with the encouragement of women. One was a pre-industrial riot, the other, industrial. One was the Richmond Bread Riot in April, the other was the New York City Draft Riot of July, both in 1863. Both of these riots had the potential to disrupt the war effort. And it is the individual governmental response to these separate crises that will define the outcome of the war.

“Historians in after years will write of the Dark Ages,’ remarked James Evans, “when Abraham the 1st reigned at the North and Jeff Davis at the South, and murder and theft was the order of the day - - It may truly be called **THE REIGN OF TERROR.**”⁵ Inflation began to take hold both north and south in 1863. The value of one dollar in gold compared to United States currency had reached \$1.45 in the north and \$5.50 in the South for the same period. In Richmond the cost of feeding a family of four had risen from \$6.65 a month in 1860, to \$68.00 in early 1863. Prices were inflating at a rate of 10% a month. Consumer goods became luxuries. Coffee became an extravagance at \$30.00 a pound, and flour, at \$75.00 a barrel.⁶ The *Southern Illustrated News*, in 1863, wrote of a

yard-stick gentleman in Richmond . . . who [had] arrived at a destitution of manners Should a lady perchance desire a skein of silk, she . . . [crept] meekly into a store, and . . . dared not express her surprise at being requested to pay something in the neighborhood of \$100 for it. The chivalrous ‘exempts’ . . . [stood] behind the counter in whatever attitude they may . . . [have fancied] and . . . [smiled] with languid derision upon those presumptuous customers who . . . [dared] aspire to the purchasing of their stock.⁷

John Longstreet wrote to his wife, in exasperation that “the price of looking at foods in Richmond is five dollars.” Speculation took fierce hold of the southern economy. People began to hoard their goods and hope for better prices. By November of 1862 the Confederate Commissary General Colonel Lucius Northrop reported that the Virginia wheat crop was less than expected. “Most of that of middle Tennessee was lost to the enemy,” he reported, “while the crop in Georgia, Alabama, and other states of the Lower South was either badly damaged by rust or ruined by drought.” Food was scarce. The poor everywhere were facing starvation. What food was available was going to the Confederate army and being paid for at set government prices, usually less than half as much as that of the private sector. Governor John Letcher of Virginia wrote to the Secretary of War appealing to the bureaucrats to stop impressing cattle on the way to market. He then pleaded with the Virginia assembly to curb inflation. Both cries for help went unheeded.⁸

To add insult to the already injured, the City of Richmond became a home away from home to all of those forced from their homes by war. It also faced an influx of government bureaucrats and hangers-on. The delightful Southern city of forty thousand nestled along the cliffs of the James River was now a sprawling, wide-open city of two hundred thousand, with prostitution and gambling and crime. Housing was scarce and rents inflated. F. N. Boney, in his book, John Letcher of Virginia, wrote that

Richmond was now the wartime capital of the Confederacy, jammed with strangers and ever fearful of Yankee assault. A new class of government bureaucrats sprang up to rub shoulders with gamblers, criminals, and swarms of spirited soldiers, some only hours away from mutilation or death. A restless Negro population lurked in the background, . . . Prostitutes were everywhere, and a host of greedy war profiteers swaggered through the streets, arrogant in their new riches. Everywhere masses of poor people many of them new comers, drifted aimlessly and restlessly. Richmond was a powder keg awaiting only a spark to explode.⁹

Sparks began to appear first in one location then in another. Snow was the beginning of the problem. Richmond, never a convenient city in bad weather today, was faced with a twelve-inch snowfall in the middle of March, 1863. Falling snow made travel difficult and melting snow made the roads impassable. John Jones recorded in his diary that The snow had laid an embargo on the usual slight supplies brought to market, and all who had made no provision for such a contingency are subsisting on very short commons.... There are some pale faces seen in the streets from deficiency of food; but no beggars, no complaints. We are all in rags, especially our underclothes. This for liberty!¹⁰

The next spark was Jefferson Davis’s declaration of a day of fasting and prayer scheduled for March 27th. Jones wrote in his diary again: “This is the day appointed by the President for fasting and prayer. Fasting in the midst of famine! May God save this people!”¹¹ Then there

was an article in the *Memphis Appeal* reporting that the Secretary of War had called for the seizure of every barrel of flour in Richmond. Then another article in the Richmond papers described a “Female Riot” in Salisbury, North Carolina. It seems that between 40 and 50 soldiers’ wives followed by a numerous train of curious female observers, made an attack on several of our businessmen . . . whom they regarded as speculators in the necessities of life. ‘These women demand[ed] an abatement in prices’ or threatened to ‘forcibly tak[e] possession of the goods they required.’¹²

The women collected flour, molasses, salt and \$20. They accused the storeowner of “having run up flour from \$40 to \$50.” The rioters then sat down and divided the “spoils” equally among themselves. Throughout the war raids of a similar kind had taken place all over the south. In January, 1863, citizens raided for salt in Marshall, North Carolina.¹³ In Greensborough, a group of women attacked a store in Johnston County that they believed speculated in staple goods. In Mobile, Alabama the cry became “Bread or Blood.” That spring, there were riots in Atlanta, Macon, Columbus and Augusta.

Then, at the end of March, the Richmond City waterworks were flooded out from the melting snow. The women of Richmond had had enough.¹⁴



Governor John Letcher
National Archives

On the day of the municipal elections, April 1, 1863, a meeting was called at the Methodist Church on the southwestern side of town near Tredegar Iron Works but the sexton of the church refused the use of the building. It was then decided to meet at the Belvidere Hill Baptist Church.¹⁵ Some three hundred women attended. The group decided that it would go in a body and demand staples at government prices and if refused, it would take what it wanted, and it would do so in a quiet dignified manner. The group decided to meet the next day. News of the impending protest reached the police and also Richmond’s Mayor Joseph Mayo who threatened to break up the rally. *The Richmond Dispatch* later reported that “many in the city had heard rumors of some kind of demonstration.”¹⁶ On April 2, the women met again at the old market near Sixth Street and Marshall and decided to approach Governor John Letcher and

ask for his assistance.¹⁷ Just after 8:00 a.m. the women were on their way to the State Capitol Square. They caught the Governor at breakfast. He sent his aide, Colonel French, to meet with the delegation. French told the women that they were not “proceeding in the right way.” He did, however, pass their comments on to the governor who met with the women on the steps of the Capitol. Letcher promised to help if they would but come to his office later that day.¹⁸ That was not what the women wanted to hear. They wanted relief. They turned from the Capitol Steps and started down Ninth Street and then east on Main. Letcher realized he had a problem on his hands and he immediately called out the Public Guard.¹⁹ The women moved silently gathering supporters along the way and the curious along the way. John Jones recorded in his diary that “...

they were going to find something to eat. I could not, for the life of me refrain from expressing the hope that they might be successful, and I remarked they were going in the right direction to find plenty in the hands of the extortioners.”²⁰The police could do nothing to stop the mob. There were only eleven officers on day shift and seventy-two on the night shift.²¹

The first person to try to stop the riot was John B. Baldwin, a member of the Confederate Congress. Then it was Mayor Mayo’s turn. Joseph Mayo had been mayor of Richmond since 1853. He was sixty-eight years old. He stood up on a make shift platform and read the riot act. He had little effect.²² No one listened. No one cared. Order gave way to “noisy and turbulent manner” as the group got near the grocery firm of Pollard and Walker.²³ Then the mob split into smaller groups heading out into the city. Tyler and Son, a commission house containing government supplies was next and then the hat and shoe store of John Hicks²⁴. Jones wrote that [Major] General [Arnold] Elzey and [Brigadier] General [John] Winder waited upon the Secretary of War in the morning asking permission to call the troops from the camps near the city, to suppress the women and children by summary process. But Mr. Seddon hesitated, and then declined authorizing any such absurdity. He said it was a municipal or state duty, and therefore he would not take the responsibility of interfering in the matter.²⁵



Richmond Mayor Joseph C. Mayo.
Valentine Museum

Catholic Bishop John McGill tried to reason with the mob but to no avail.²⁶

In one of the few eyewitness accounts of the riot, H. A. Tutwiler wrote to his cousin on April 3rd while it was still fresh in his memory.

Thursday morning I went to the office as usual. A few minutes after I got in I heard a most tremendous cheering and went to the window to see what was going on, but could not tell what it was about So we all went down into the street. When we arrived at the scene we found that a large number of woman [sic-women] had broken into two or three large grocery establishments, & were helping themselves to hams... butter and in fact every thing eatable they could find. Almost every one of them were armed. Some had a belt on with a pistol stuck in each side, others had a large nife [sic-knife] while some were only armed with a hatchet, axe or hammer.... The men instead of trying to put a stop to this shameful proceeding cheered them on & assisted them all in their power. When they found that no one was going to stop them they went back & begun to carry off every thing they could lay their hands on, tubs, buckets, brooms, which are selling here for six dollars a piece, hats, shoes, boots, candles, & various other

articles too numerous to mention.... I think there were fully 5000 persons on Cary St, if not more, besides that many more on Main & Broad.²⁷

By this time the mob was swarming in a ten-block radius around the east of the Capital. While waiting for the Public Guard to assemble, Governor Letcher proposed that several of the city fire engines hose down the women but it only enraged the mob.²⁸ The Public Guard came “at the double quick” down Main to Seventeenth Street then up one block to Franklin. The Public Guard dated back to Governor James Monroe and was formed to guard the Capitol Square buildings, the armory and the penitentiary in the western part of the city.²⁹ It was made up of men from the Tredegar Iron Works, Captain Edward S. Gay, commanding. Gay recognized many of the women in the mob. He pleaded with them to desist. He was so upset that he ordered his men to load “two balls and a buckshot.”³⁰ He didn’t want to fire into his own people. Governor Letcher caught up with the Guard and told the group that

Anyone of you suffering for want of bread or anything else has my sympathy and should be given relief as far as practicable. However, I have no sympathy with mobs, and as long as I am Governor of Virginia, mobs will not be allowed, and I will use all my power to suppress them.³¹

Letcher then pulled out his watch and told the mob that it had five minutes to disperse or the Guard would open fire. Judith McGuire recorded in her diary that “the bayonets of the soldiers produced the most decided effect.” The rioters began to disperse.³² Meanwhile, on the corner of 13th and Franklin, Confederate President Jefferson Davis dealt with the mob in a purely paternalistic manner. Standing on a small wagon, he first chastised the crowd for stealing, then he said: “You say you are hungry and have no money. Here is all I have; it is not much but take it.” With that he tossed his loose change into the mob.³³

The riot literally burned itself out. Faced with the muskets of the Public Guard, the President of the Confederacy, and the Governor of Virginia, the women simply walked away. The whole affair lasted just two hours. The next day many women gathered at street corners demanding food but the Public Guard chased them away. Judith McGuire recorded that “The mob of women came out yesterday, but in smaller numbers, and was easily put down by military authority. To-day a repetition was expected, and the cannon was in place to rake the streets, but they thought discretion the better part of valor, and staid at home.”³⁴

Josiah Gorgas recorded that

Yesterday a crowd of women assembled on the public square and marching thence down Main [Street] sacked several shoe, grocery and other stores. Their pretence was bread; but their motive really was license. Few of them have really felt want.... It was a real women’s riot, but as yet there is really little cause for one - - there is scarcity, but little want.³⁵

Unfortunately Gorgas didn't understand the depth of suffering. The only purpose to the riot was to be able to purchase food at reasonable prices. They had no desire for government handouts or to rely on charity and they refused to beg. It is interesting to note that of the rioting in the ten-block area most took only food. The stores that were destroyed were those belonging to extortionists and speculators. The crowd attacked fewer than twenty establishments. Though there had been destruction, broken doors and shattered windows, there were only three reported incidents of injury.³⁶ Approximately forty-four women and twenty-nine men were arrested. Sallie Putnam recorded that "the rioters were represented in a heterogeneous crowd of Dutch, Irish, and free negroes - - of men, women, and children - - armed with pistols, knives, hammers, hatchets, axes, and every other weapon which could be made useful in their defense".³⁷ Citizens tried to assign the blame for Richmond's misfortune to outside sources. Judith McGuire was convinced that the riot was "set on foot by Union influences." Sallie Putnam felt that the riot was instigated by "our enemies abroad, for the misrepresentation and exaggeration of our real condition." John Jones felt that the riot was "a premeditated affair stimulated from the North, and executed through the instrumentality of emissaries." *The Daily Richmond Examiner* referred to the rioters as "a handful of prostitutes, professional thieves, Irish and Yankee hags, gallow birds from all lands but our own, congregated in Richmond."³⁸ In reality these rioters were from the lower middle-class suburb of Oregon Hill, and the neighborhood around the penitentiary and Tredegar Iron Works. These were women Victoria Bynum described as "mothers, wives or widows of men serving or killed in the war, and most had children to clothe and feed."³⁹

Jefferson Davis, quick to see the problem this two-hour disturbance might cause, directed the press to refrain from writing of the episode. If word of the riot got out the home front might explode in rioting and that would be disastrous especially with the spring campaigning about to begin. The Richmond press was requested "to avoid all reference directly or indirectly to the affair. The reasons for this are so obvious that it is unnecessary to state them." Davis also requested that the information not be sent out of the city over the telegraph. It was one thing to for small riots to take place in far away places, but for a near revolt in the Confederate capital inexcusable.⁴⁰ But by April 8th the news reached New York City. *The New York Times* ran a story "Bread Riot in Richmond Three Thousand Hungry Women Raging in the Streets."⁴¹

Richmond City government immediately went to work to resolve the crisis. They called the affair "a disgrace to the City and the community." Then went on to pass an ordinance "For the Relief of Poor Persons Not in the Poor House," setting "aside twenty- thousand- dollars for free-food depots in the city."⁴²

This riot was led by the disenfranchised and was a demonstration of civilian strength. The fact that the riot occurred one day after elections, may indicate to some degree the notion that the only way to make ideas plain was to demonstrate.⁴³ The war had changed for the civilians. It was becoming something they had not counted on. Shortages affected the lives of everyone and the Richmond Bread Riot was the most obvious sign that social stability was deteriorating. The Confederate government refused to acknowledge the problem, leaving the problem for the states

to solve while the Jefferson Davis Government dealt with the war.⁴⁴ And the longer the government ignored the problem, the more desperate the people became. Drew Gilpin Faust wrote that “without the logistical and ideological support of the home front, the southern military effort was doomed to fail.”⁴⁵

As Richmond quieted, tensions rose in the north, first with the defeat of the Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville, and then with the northern invasion by Robert E. Lee’s great Army of Northern Virginia. The north was ill prepared for the spring and summer of 1863. Her entire force of combat ready troops numbered just over five hundred thousand officers and men.⁴⁶ Washington needed more troops. The question remained, where would they come from? There had never been a national draft. The country hadn’t needed one.⁴⁷ Volunteerism had worked for the first year of the conflict but the luster of shiny buttons and brass bands died away during the Peninsular Campaign in the summer of 1862.⁴⁸ Congress did try to confront the problem by



THE NAUGHTY BOY GOTHAM, WHO WOULD NOT TAKE THE DRAFT.
MAGNET LINCOLN—"There now, you had best, sitting that up, when your little sister Ferns dies here like a body."

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,
August 29, 1863

passing a Militia Act in July, 1862. This act compelled the states to upgrade their militias, and allowed the Secretary of War to draft militias for nine months should the need arise. It did nothing. Lincoln called for three hundred thousand troops in July and again in August of that year. Quotas of men were set for each state. States imposed their own drafts. The state of Wisconsin answered the call both times, however some of her citizens were not happy with the quotas. On November 10, 1862, during a local draft, a mob of two hundred angry farmers stormed the festivities carrying banners reading “NO DRAFT!” They moved onto the stage, beat the commissioner, burned the enrollment records, and tore down the American flag. The rioters resented the war, the Lincoln administration, the abolitionists, and the Republicans, and not necessarily in that order.

They had come from Luxembourg and Germany and had seen mercenary drafts in Europe. They wanted none of that in America.⁴⁹

With the demand for troops urgent, Massachusetts Senator Henry Wilson rose on the floor of the Senate and spoke out for the Lincoln administration: “If volunteers will not respond to the call of the country, then we must resort to the involuntary system.”⁵⁰ So, with the beginning of the spring and summer campaigns at hand, the Thirty-seventh Congress passed the Enrollment Act on March 1, 1863.⁵¹ This act came in two parts. First, Enrollment officers would travel through the states taking down the names of those eligible for draft. Then, if the need arose the draft would take place. It was firmly hoped that the delay between enrollment and draft would encourage men to volunteer. The enrollment officers were looking first for unmarried men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, then married men between the ages of eighteen and

thirty, then married men between thirty and forty-five.⁵² Exemptions were given for those where were the only sons of aged parents, the fathers of motherless children under the age of twelve, who had two other members of the same family already serving; or, if called, could purchase a substitute for three hundred dollars. These last exemptions were known as the three-hundred-dollar men.⁵³ There were just over three million men in the country between the age of twenty and forty-five. If a name was called the draftee was then sent to a doctor for a physical examination. One examiner explained the process:

As a rule the drafted man may be assumed to be able-bodied until proven otherwise. The volunteer recruit, on the other hand, may be presumed to labor under a concealed disqualification, which it is the surgeon's business to search for, and, if possible detect; to do which will require the exercise of all the skill and acumen he may possess.⁵⁴

Around three hundred men per thousand examined were dropped for physical reasons.⁵⁵

It was worth a man's life to become an enrollment officer. In Indiana, one of the enrollment officers was murdered.⁵⁶ The police force was called out in Milwaukee to protect another officer.⁵⁷ In Columbus, Ohio, the enrollment officers were "met with armed resistance; [and] that four of the principal insurgents have been arrested."⁵⁸ The enrollment issue caused an uproar in Dunkard Township, Greene County, Pennsylvania.

The hotbed of copperheadism. Mr. Alexander, the enrolling officer of that township (who, by the way, is a very good man, shrewd, calm, and resolute, and a businessman withal), has been forced to abandon the township. I could not get a man in the township to undertake the enrolling. Mr. Alexander had taken it under the first arrangement and got through one township without any difficulty. But yesterday he was in Dunkard and they raised a company and defied him and made him leave; just blocked him up so that he could not do anything and there is trouble brewing in other townships.⁵⁹

No enrolling officer could be obtained in the township and a citizen of another had to be appointed. When he went into the township he spent a whole day without obtaining a name and toward evening he entered a store in Davistown where there [were] a number of men, increased soon after his entrance, who gave him three minutes to leave the township or they would hang him, getting a rope for the purpose. He accordingly left.⁶⁰

In Schuylkill and Lebanon counties, miners organized to resist the draft. They conducted daily drills under the tutelage of discharged veterans. They had at least two artillery pieces and were determined to destroy Republican homes and mining equipment. These miners were actually arming themselves to avoid arming themselves. New York City's enrollment lists were complete by June 29th. And although the enrollment officers of New York City were in danger, none were injured.⁶¹

The enrollment officers' duty took them through the five boroughs of New York City, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island, and Manhattan, and it is Manhattan that deserves our

attention. By all accounts the largest borough, there were 814,000 people living on the long finger in New York Harbor. Thirty-seven thousand people per square mile. Two hundred ninety thousand people in the Fourth Ward alone. ⁶² The level of human condition was appalling. New York City had the highest death rate of any city in the civilized world, one in every thirty-five people as compared to London's one in every forty-five, or Liverpool's one in every forty-four. ⁶³

New York was an immigrant town. At one point eight million aliens found their way to New York and of those, eight hundred thousand were Irish. They came to avoid the great hunger of the potato famine. They came to escape the absentee landlords and their odious rents. New York became an Irish town, housing 12% of America's Irish population. And by 1860, two hundred thousand were Irish born. They took the lowest paying and least skilled jobs New York had to offer. Longshoremen. Porters. Coachmen. Carters. Hod-carriers. They were day laborers, peddlers, butchers, milkmen and shoemakers. They moved into tenements in the south and eastside. They haunted the theaters of the Lower East Side, the brothels of Five Points, and the breweries along the Bowery and Mulberry Street. They joined gangs like the Roach Guards, the Bowery Boys and the Dead Rabbits for society and the Democratic Party for protection. The poor paid more per square foot for lodging, than the millionaires did on Fifth Avenue. Many immigrants found it difficult to find lodging and were literally packed into these slums that rivaled London's East End. By 1860, fifty-eight percent of the population was forced into fifteen downtown wards or about nine percent of Manhattan Island. During a tour of Manhattan, Charles Dickens saw families "where dogs would howl to lie . . . ruined houses open to the street . . . hideous tenements which take their names from robbery and murder... all that is loathsome, drooping and decayed is here."⁶⁴ But that was where the factories were, that was where the jobs were. ⁶⁵

America was not an easy transition. The Irish were attacked for their poverty, for their devotion to Ireland, for their politics, and for their religion. And when the Know-Nothing Party and its old guard attitude of "nativistic puritanism" was replaced by the Republican Party, the Irish looked to the Democrats for comfort. ⁶⁶ With the coming of the American Civil War, the Irish voiced concern over Lincoln and his policies, the Republican Party, and the abolitionists. When the war broke out in 1861, many New York Irish gladly joined not only to preserve the Union but to train themselves for the liberation of Ireland from British rule, ⁶⁷ and also to prove that they, too, were Americans. The Union army also provided livelihood in hard economic times. Before the end of the year, more than two thousand men had organized themselves into three regiments that would make up the nucleus of The Irish Brigade: the 63rd, the 69th, and the 88th New York. ⁶⁸ Father William Corby wrote of them "marching - - most of them - - to death, but also to the glory of their Church and country."⁶⁹ They were later joined by the 28th Massachusetts and the 116th Pennsylvania and affiliation with the 69th Pennsylvania. The Irish Brigade fought through 1862 and into the spring of 1863, through the valiant charge at Fredericksburg and through Chancellorsville where the brigade was reduced to the size of a regiment, then on to Gettysburg where it fought as a battalion. The ranks were thinned and no one wanted to fill the void. Resentment toward the Lincoln administration reached acute levels with the signing of the

Emancipation Proclamation. It now seemed that these sons of Eire were fighting to free the Blacks who would in turn intensify the competition for jobs, and diminish the sacrifices already made for acceptance as citizens.⁷⁰ Then in March, the Enrollment Act forced the Irish to participate in a struggle that they could not control and did not like. It represented the hated Republicans at their worst. To the Irish it was truly becoming a “Rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight.”

The draft began in Rhode Island and Massachusetts and slowly worked its way down the seacoast states.⁷¹ Objections were made. Ex-President Franklin Pierce and friend of Jefferson Davis, hurled contempt at the Lincoln Administration at a Democratic speech on the 4th of July. Here in these free States it is made criminal for that noble martyr of free speech, Mr. Vallandigham, to discuss public affairs in Ohio - - ay, even here, in time of war the mere arbitrary will of the President takes the place of the Constitution and the President himself announces to us that it is treasonable to speak or to write otherwise than as he may prescribe; nay that it is treasonable even to be silent, though we may be struck dumb by the shock of the calamities with which evil counsels, incompetency and corruption, have overwhelmed our country.⁷²



New York Governor Horatio Seymour.
New York Historical Society

Then it was Governor Horatio Seymour’s turn. At a meeting at the New York Academy of Music, Seymour announced that the country was on “the very verge of destruction.” The government was “seizing our persons, infringing upon our rights, insulting our homes, depriving us of those cherished principles for which our fathers fought.” He went on to tell the crowd that “if you would save your country, begin right; begin at the hearthstones; begin in your family circle; declare that your privileges shall be held sacred; and, having once proclaimed our own rights, take care that you do not invade those of your neighbor.”⁷³ Seymour opposed the draft.⁷⁴ That was all the Irish needed to hear.

New York City on the eve of the Draft Riots was a city without troops. Most of her militia forces, twenty thousand in all, had been rushed south to Pennsylvania to defend the state from Lee’s July invasion. The city couldn’t even muster a riot squad.⁷⁵ City leadership was very sketchy. The mayor was elected for a one-year term.⁷⁶ He had no control over the city’s finances, taxation, the police, education or health. He had just enough power to sharpen his pencils. The only visible troops were the invalid corps, and small forces in the island forts in the harbor.⁷⁷ Together with the police force the total city protection numbered close to three thousand.

The intention of the enrollment and the draft was to call troops only when needed but the loss of life during battle at Gettysburg was frightful. The Union army had forfeited almost a quarter of its men. Instead of waiting for the enrollment issue to die down, the administration called for a draft to begin as soon as the enrollment was completed.⁷⁸ Colonel Robert Nugent, Provost Marshall of New York City and late commander of the 69th New York Infantry, set his date for the draft to begin Saturday, July 11.⁷⁹ The New York Times wrote an article that same day in support of the Draft.

The volunteer system long since exhausted the spontaneously patriotic and warlike spirit of the community. When volunteering for the love of the cause come to an end, the bounty system was brought into regulation. And money considerations induced tens of thousands to enlist who otherwise would not have do so. But this charge on national and municipal credit of keeping up a vast army by bounties was too great to be long borne. The government has at last resorted to the means that all great military nations employ to raise and maintain armies, and settled on. The plan is that of general, impartial Conscription.”⁸⁰

Nugent decided to begin in the area north of Fortieth Street. He would then move into the Eighteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first Wards on Monday, July 13. He wanted to avoid the overcrowded Fourth and Sixth Wards until necessary.⁸¹ The drawing began at the Ninth District headquarters at 677 Third Avenue and Forty-sixth Street. Police were on hand to assist. For the most part the draft went on uninterrupted; it “fell as the snowflake”⁸² and by 4:00 p.m. 1,236 names were drawn.⁸³ It was poor timing on Nugent’s part for it gave the south end of Manhattan time to talk.

Sunday, July 12th was peaceful on the streets but in the taverns, grumbling was the order of the day. Patrons began to argue over slavery and the administration, they quoted Seymour declaring the draft unconstitutional, the three-hundred-dollar exemption clause and most of all they mourned the loss of their unskilled jobs to a black labor force.⁸⁴ Strong, commented that the “Irish and other day-laborers had felt keenly the competition of Negro freedmen now flocking up from the South, and many of them were filled with hatred of blacks.”⁸⁵ He referred to them as “pure Celtic - - hod-carrier or loafer.” Strong, showing no love of the Irish continued with his comments. “The fury of the low Irish women in that region was noteworthy. Stalwart young vixens and withered old hags were swarming everywhere, all cursing the ‘bloody draft’ and egging on their men to mischief.”⁸⁶ They saw the \$300 exemption provision as evidence that the draft was a “game of hated England [all] over again - - oppression of Irishmen.”⁸⁷

Monday morning the draft was scheduled to continue at 10:30 a.m. but the workers of the Lower East Side would have none of it. At 6:00 a.m. the city slowly began to shut down as workers failed to report for their jobs.⁸⁸ Starting down in the Sixth Ward, workers began moving up Eighth and Ninth avenues closing shops and factories and encouraging others to follow along. They were headed toward a vacant lot just to the east of Central Park where the crowd met briefly then headed down Third Avenue to number 677. No one did much until Fire Engine Company Number 33 arrived. They set the Provost Marshall’s Office on fire in protest. Firemen were considered exempt from the militia and they thought, by extension, they were exempt from the

draft, but nearly all of the names of Number 33, "The Black Joke Company," were listed among those drawn.⁸⁹ The riot was underway. As word of the revolt spread, more disgruntled joined. Up came fresh hordes faster and more furious; bareheaded men, with red, swollen faces, brandishing sticks and clubs, or carrying heavy poles and beams; and boys, women and children hurrying on and joining with them in this mad chase up the avenue like a company of raging fiends.⁹⁰

Telegraph lines were cut and the poles torn down. At police headquarters, Superintendent John A. Kennedy called in his reserve force then started off in a buggy to see what was going on. He made the mistake of getting out of his buggy and walking up Lexington Avenue. Even though he was in civilian dress, he was recognized and the crowd turned on him. Kennedy was knocked to the ground while those protecting him were beaten senseless. He managed to make it into a nearby vacant lot but the crowd again caught up with him and battered him. His guards managed to move Kennedy onto a cart and get him to police headquarters. He was beaten so badly that he was unrecognizable to members of the Board of Commissioners. Mayor George Opdyke ordered the police out in small groups but these men in uniform angered the mob.⁹¹ Colonel Nugent next called out the Invalid Corps. Putting them on the horse-cars and moving them up town the troops were jeered. And the further north they went the angrier the crowd became. They got to Forty-second Street, fired into the crowd and were forced to retire. The crowd was just too large. American flags were torn down. Signs appeared reading "No Draft," and cheers for Jeff Davis rang through the streets. Buildings were set afire and when the fire department responded, it was stopped by the mob. The chief engineer of the Fire Department, John Decker pleaded with the mob to allow his men to fight the blaze. "You probably feel that you are right in what you have done," he shouted,

You came here to do a certain thing. You have done it. Now you ought to be satisfied. All the United States property is destroyed, and I now appeal to your commonsense to let us, as firemen, go to work and save the property of innocent men. The men whose houses are now burning are innocent. They have nothing to do with the Draft. They know nothing of it. They are hardworking men like yourselves. Now I ask you, will you let us go to work and put out this fire?⁹²

One of the buildings fired was the Armory on Twenty-first Street and Second Avenue. Hoping to find weapons there the mob moved on. The Armory was in reality a weapons factory and drill hall. By 4:15 p.m. the mob burst in and took close to five hundred carbines then proceeded to fire the building trapping many of their supporters on the upper floors. The mob started toward Republican Mayor Opdyke's home, only to be stopped by Democratic Judge George G. Barnard, who shouted to the mob that the draft was an "unconstitutional and despotic act," that the courts should decide its legality and not destroy the home of a legally elected official and "sully the reputation of our city for its obedience to the law."⁹³ By now banks, groceries and most all businesses were closed together with the transportation system. It never worked well under

normal circumstances but now it was completely down making it almost impossible to move police or the military around the city.⁹⁴

The next target for the mob became the Colored Orphan Asylum at Fifth Avenue and Forty-third Street. There were 237 children under twelve years of age living there. When the mob approached yelling “Burn the niggers’ nest,” and “Down with the niggers,” the children were quickly ushered out the back of the building. The building was looted, sacked and burned. One child, Jane Barry was crushed with flying furniture. Then the mob turned on the Blacks. A riot that had begun as an ethnic protest against administration policies was rapidly turning the corner. Peter Welsh wrote to his wife that “The feeling against nigars is intensely strong in this army as is plainly to be seen wherever and whenever they meet them. They are looked upon as the principal cause of this war and this feeling is especially strong in the Irish regiments.”⁹⁵ If the feeling was strong in the army it was equally so among the civilian Irish population. Arthur Fremantle,



The mob lynches a black man on Clarkson Street.
New York Historical Society

stopping in New York City on his way home to England, recorded in his diary that he found all the shopkeepers beginning to close their stores, and I perceived by degrees that there was great alarm about the resistance to the draft, which was going on this morning. On reaching the hotel I perceived a whole block of buildings on fire close by: engines were present but were not allowed to play by the crowd. ... I walked about in the neighborhood, and saw a company of soldiers on the march, who were being jeered at and hooted by small boys, and I saw a negro pursued by the crowd take refuge with the military; he was followed by loud cries of ‘Down with the b—y nigger! Kill all niggers!’ Never having been in New York before, and being totally ignorant of the state of feeling with regard to negroes, I inquired of a bystander what the negroes

had done that they should want to kill them? He replied civilly enough - - ‘Oh sir, they hate them here; they are the innocent cause of all these troubles.’⁹⁶

Blacks were beaten, hanged from lampposts and set on fire. Their homes were ransacked and set ablaze. William P. Powell of the American Anti-Slavery Society had his business stoned.⁹⁷ The next morning Fremantle recorded that “All shops were shut: all carriages and omnibuses had ceased running. No colored man or woman was visible or safe in the streets, or even in his own dwelling.”⁹⁸ Martha Perry wrote that she hurried

to the kitchen [and] I found our colored servants ghastly with terror, and cautioned them to keep closely within doors. One of them told me that she had ventured out early that morning to clean the front door and that the passing Irish, both men and women, had sworn at her so violently, saying that she and her like had caused all the trouble, that she finally rushed into the house for shelter.⁹⁹

The mobs even attacked brothels throughout Manhattan that catered to blacks or supplied black prostitutes.¹⁰⁰ The blacks fled Manhattan for the woods along the Harlem River and for Long Island and Hoboken.¹⁰¹

At this point in the riot, Robert Nugent received a telegram from the Provost-Marshal-General James B. Frey: “Sir: Suspend the draft in New York City and Brooklyn.”¹⁰² Nugent, in turn, wrote back to Frey asking permission to publish the telegram. He then went on to write of the situation:

Though it is a well-known fact that the hostility of the mob has been directed against me personally, and against this office, though threats of the most diabolical kind have been made against my life, I am unable at this moment to procure a guard for the protection of this office against even ordinary danger. It is a very delicate matter to complain of officers intrusted by the authorities with high responsibility, but I cannot help saying that the confusion, vacillation, and conflict of orders which exist among the general officers of the regular, volunteer, and militia force at present in this city, have the effect of encouraging the rioters and lessening the confidence of the public in the Administration.¹⁰³

Just what was being done, Washington wanted to know. Who was in charge in New York City? The police were outnumbered and its superintendent brutally beaten. The Invalid Corps was just too small. The harbor forts held troops but not enough, all tolled about one thousand men. Three men were in military command of the city. Major General John E. Wool, head of the Department of the East, Brevet Brigadier General Harvey Brown, commander of the regulars in the city, and Major General Charles Sanford, head of the militia. No one wanted to take command or to give up command. They wrangled over responsibility all the time the rioters grew in number. There were no laws to handle such a large emergency. To quote Adrian Cook, “New

York City's authorities had neither the will nor the ability to control this pervasive violence." ¹⁰⁴ George Templeton Strong went to the mayor and begged that martial law might be declared. [Mayor George] Opdyke said that was Wool's business, and Wool said it was Opdyke's, and neither would act. 'Then, Mr. Mayor, issue a proclamation calling on all loyal and law-abiding citizens to enroll themselves as a volunteer force for defense of life and property.' 'Why,' quoth Opdyke, 'that is CIVIL WAR at once.'" Strong continued: "Neither Opdyke nor General Wool is nearly equal to this crisis. Came off disgusted." ¹⁰⁵

John Ellis Wool was seventy-nine years old, the oldest officer to exercise active command during the war. Welles remembered that "General Wool, unfitted by age for such duties, though patriotic and well-disposed, has been continued in command there at a time when a younger and more vigorous mind was required." Welles wanted Wool replaced. ¹⁰⁶

The idea of calling for volunteers took root. Colonel Cleveland Winslow, late of the Fifth New York Zouaves was at home in the city. He, too, went to the authorities:

I called at once on the Governor & Gen. Wool. They had no plan & as everyone was giving advice & no one acting, I took the responsibility of calling through the paper for my old men & for citizen volunteers, this was answered the next day and by 10 o'clock a.m. I had enrolled & sworn 982 volunteers. ¹⁰⁷

He found weapons, including a battery of 12- pound howitzers. The evening of the second night of rioting Winslow confronted the mob at the corner of Seventh Avenue and 37th Street. He allowed the mob to within seventy-five yards and then open fire with double canister. He reported that "65 killed & 90 or 100 wounded. We took some 20 prisoners." Winslow and his troop continued to patrol the city "cutting negroes from lamp posts & being fired at from the house tops, at one place I was so angry that I let them have a 12 lb. shot in a second story window." ¹⁰⁸

Where was Governor Seymour? When the riot broke out, he was on vacation in Long Branch, New Jersey. Welles recorded in his diary that

the papers are filled with accounts of mobs, riots, burnings, and murders in New York. There have been outbreaks to resist the draft in several other places. This is anarchy - - the fruit of the seed sown by the Seymours and others. In New York, Gov. Horatio Seymour is striving - - probably earnestly now - - to extinguish the flames he has contributed to kindle. Unless speedy and decisive measures are taken, the government and country will be imperiled. ¹⁰⁹

Templeton Strong noted that

Never knew exasperation so intense, unqualified, and general as that which prevails against these rioters and the politic knaves who are supposed to have set them going, Governor Seymour not excepted. Men who voted for him mention

the fact with contrition and self-abasement, and the Democratic Party is at a discount with all the people I meet. ¹¹⁰

This state of affairs was Seymour's creation and now he had to deal with it. John Hay, Lincoln's secretary, called Seymour a weak timid vacillating man, afraid to do either right or wrong. If he were under good influences, he would do yeoman's service for his country. Now, he is wearing himself into lunacy by trying to serve the plans of his owners and his own good impulses at once. ¹¹¹

Seymour appeared at City Hall on the second day flanked by Tammany Hall leadership, and spoke to the mobs. He asked them to listen to him as a friend as

I am your friend, and the friend of your families. I implore you to take care that no man's property or person is injured; for you owe it to yourselves and to the government under which you live to assist with your strong arms in preserving peace and order.

He went on to tell them that

I will see to it that all your rights shall be protected. I will say a word about the draft. On Saturday last I sent the Adjutant General of the State to Washington, urging its postponement. The question of the legality of the Conscription Act will go to the courts, and the decision of those courts, whatever it may be, must be obeyed by rulers and people alike. ¹¹²

He promised to do all within his power to make sure that the rich and poor were treated alike. He had continued with his anti-draft theme calling it unconstitutional and "administered by a bunch of bureaucratic bunglers." ¹¹³ Meanwhile, Opkyde had decided that a "serious riot" existed and asked for help from the governors of New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island as well as the Military Academy at West Point ¹¹⁴ He telegraphed Stanton asking for assistance stating that the "military force at command is altogether inadequate." ¹¹⁵

The third day of the riot, Wednesday, July 16th, the draft was forgotten in deference to "looting and lynching." ¹¹⁶ One of the people almost lynched was Neil Stanton, son of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. He was seized as he walked along the street. "Here's one of those \$300 fellows!" someone cried. Instead, Stanton led the crowd into a saloon, bought them all a round of drinks and joined in with three cheers for Jefferson Davis. The crowd let him go. ¹¹⁷ Barricades went up in the streets, particularly along Twenty-ninth Street. The mob took down telegraph poles, moved in broken wagons and carts, pulled up paving stones and split fences to block the streets. Along Ninth Avenue, Captain John D. Wilkins of the Third Infantry reported that:

In front of me on Ninth Avenue, I observed what appeared to be a formidable barricade, guarded by a strong force of rioters. After waiting a short time, endeavoring to procure a field-piece, I concluded to storm the barricade with the small force I had, and wheeled into the avenue, advancing rapidly to the first barricade, which I found composed of empty wagons, carts, telegraph poles and wires. The rioters retreated, and under the protection of the company, the police removed the obstructions; no small task, as they had to roll the wagons away, untwist the wires, lift the poles; which of course occupied time, and exposed them to the missiles of the mob. On removing the barricade, I encountered a second, and thus for four the same process was gone through. During this time, neither the mob nor my men were idle, but were constantly exchanging civilities in the shape of stones and shot. After removing the barricades, and getting a clear street, I proceeded still farther up, when I was suddenly assailed with a terrific shower of brickbats, thrown by unseen hands from the houses under which we were passing. After engaging this latter party, I concluded to take post at the station house, as it was almost too dark to operate with any success. ¹¹⁸



Rioters and militia exchange fire on First Avenue.
New York Historical Society

This was more than a volunteer citizen army and a thousand military could handle. The militia units sent to Gettysburg to stop Lee's invasion were called home, together with units from the Army of the Potomac but by Wednesday, July 15th, the rioters were exhausted. ¹¹⁹ In his enthusiasm to be rid of the riots, Mayor Opdyke announced that "I am happy to announce to you that the riot, which for two days has disgraced our city, has been in good measure subjected to the control of public authorities."¹²⁰ His comments were a little premature. The last major fighting

of the riot took place near Gramercy Park on the evening of Thursday, July 16th, when United States troops fired on a body of rioters looting homes. Templeton Strong recorded that:

The Army of Gramercy Park has advanced its headquarters to Third Avenue, leaving only a picket guard in sight. Rain will keep the rabble quiet tonight. We are said to have fifteen thousand men under arms, and I incline to hope that this movement in aid of the rebellion is played out.¹²¹

For all practical purposes, the rebellion had played out but not before Brooke's Brothers on Catherine Street was looted, the Daily Tribune office was set on fire, Mayor Opdyke's home was stoned¹²² and homes of prominent Republicans were ransacked and destroyed, and the Republican bastion of the conservative upper class, the Union League Club was threatened. Estimates place the damage at between \$1.5 and \$2 million. At least 119 deaths were listed with possibly more not. In the list of deaths, fifty-two of the eighty-two rioters were Irish. In addition, "178 soldiers and police and 128 civilians were wounded." There were also at least three thousand homeless blacks.¹²³

The riots rankled the army. Lyons Wakeman wrote home to her father from camp with the 153rd New York, "I suppose you know all about that full in [New] York City about that draft. I hope that the Governor of [New] York State will put it down and the draft will go on. I would like to see some of them Copperheads come down here and get killed. It would do me good to see it done."¹²⁴ Peter Welsh of the 28th Massachusetts wrote to his wife from Maryland on July 17th,

I am sorry to hear that there is such disgraceful riots in New York. I hope it will not get near to you nor annoy you. I read a full account of it in yesterday's paper. The report was up to twelve o'clock Wednesday night. I see they tried the virtue of grape and canister on them and it had a very good effect. The organizers of these riots should be hung like dogs. They are agents of Jeff Davis and had their plans laid [to] start those riots simultaneously with Lee's raid into Pennsylvania. I hope the authorities will use canister freely. It will bring the bloody cutthroats to their senses.¹²⁵

A week later he wrote to his wife, again, hoping that

those drafted men may never have to fight a battle. The successful carrying out of this draft will do more to end the war than the winning of a great victory. It will show the south that we have the determination and the power to prosecute the war and they have no possible means of raising and adequate force to oppose the army we can raise by this conscription. Thus they must soon see the hopelessness of their cause. And they are not fools nor madmen enough to continue the prosecution of a war that is wasting their resources destroying their homes, property, and people without a reasonable prospect of success.¹²⁶

There was panic throughout the north following the New York Riots. Letters were coming into the Provost Marshal General's office from all over the country. "This feeling has become intensified to an alarming degree by the successful violence in the city of New York, compelling the draft to be deferred." Wrote John Newberry from Detroit, in July;

A spark here would explode the whole and bring it into the most violent action. We have had a negro riot here within the last few months that controlled the city fully, burning some thirty homes and finally was quelled by the arrival of the Twenty-seventh Michigan Infantry. That mob violence is here now, but intensified a thousand fold.¹²⁷

While Governor Samuel Kirkwood of Iowa wrote Washington to encourage the draft, "If it can be successfully resisted there, it cannot be enforced elsewhere. For God's sake let there be no compromising or half-way measures."¹²⁸ Governor Seymour continued to harass Lincoln over the draft and the high quota claimed for New York City. Lincoln was firm. "I can not consent to suspend the draft in New-York, as you request." Lincoln did reduce the number of draftees for the city and agreed to a commission to study the draft. He was even willing to have the United States Supreme Court rule on the constitutionality of the law, but until that time, the draft would continue on August 19, 1863.¹²⁹ That summer, there were 95,000 names drawn for the draft. Of those, 15,000 did not report, 54,000 were exempted, 15,000 were commuted, and 13,000 furnished substitutes. Only 2,000 actually made it into the army. The remaining three drafts in New York brought a total of 3,200 men into the army while the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania furnished 8,600 draftees.¹³⁰

The riots in New York, like those in Richmond, grew out of a working class discontent. The New York Riots were overshadowed by race and politics. Both mobs were testing their governments and both governments took action. But was it the right action for the war effort? For the South the answer was no. By turning the civilian protest over to the state and municipal authorities, Richmond maintained no control over the home front. The Commonwealth's policy of salutary neglect was misplaced and arrogant. The Confederate Government offered little consolation to a war weary home front. It might be argued that Richmond had enough to deal with militarily and that the war, after all, claimed states rights as one of its objectives. Still, the Confederate government continued to interfere with the states when the need arose. Washington, on the other hand, enforced its rules on the home front keeping the country together, albeit at a price, while allowing the military to continue the war. In a way, the South waged war but refused to wage peace, while the North made peace but had great difficulty making war. Eighteen sixty-three became the turning point. It pointed out the deficiencies in both governments and allowed them time to make changes. One government was able to adjust, the other was not.

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- ² Max Heirich, *The Spiral of Conflict* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1971), p.16. David Grimsted, *America Mobbing, 1826-1861* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1988), p. viii;. Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1975), p. 5.; George Rude, *The Crowd in History* (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1964), pp.5, 199, 217, 241, 255. Also see: Lewis Coser, *The Function of Social Conflict* (The Free Press, New York, 1956) and Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1987).
- ³ Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1966), p. 112..
- ⁴ Ernest A. McKay, *The Civil War and New York City* (Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 1990), p. 209; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, Vol. III, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1971), p 125.
- ⁵ Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy* (University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1993), p. 165.
- ⁶ See: Virginia Meseher, *Price Comparisons, Price Increases, and Salaries of Jobs In the South During the Civil War* (Nature's Finest, Burke, Virginia, 1994), pp. 5, 6, 7; William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis The Man and His Hour* (Harper Perennial, New York, 1992), p. 496; Richard Cecil Todd, *Confederate Finance* (The University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1954), p.198; Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, p. 163.
- ⁷ Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, p.167.
- ⁸ Paul W. Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1965), pp. 40, 41; Charles W. Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy* (Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1997), pp. 43-44, 44; F. N. Boney, *John Letcher of Virginia* (University of Alabama Press, University of Alabama, 1966), p. 189; Thomas Robson Hay, "Lucius B. Northrop: Commissary General of the Confederacy," *Civil War History*, 9 No. 1, (March, 1963), p.13; Christopher Graham, "Women's Revolt in Rowan County," *Columbiad*, 3 No. 1, p. 135; William Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 1998), p. 73.
- ⁹ Boney, *John Letcher of Virginia*, p. 189; Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy*, p. 23; Michael B. Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 92, (1984), pp. 135, 137; Douglas O. Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, XII, No. 10, (February, 1974), p. 14. Also see: Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women*, (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1992), p. 126.
- ¹⁰ John B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1993), pp. 177-180; Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate State of Richmond*, (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1998), p. 119; Judith W. McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee During the War By a Lady of Virginia* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1995), p. 201; Edward Younger, editor, *Inside the Confederate Government The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1993), pp. 45-46.
- ¹¹ Davis, *Jefferson Davis The Man and His Hour*, pp.496-497; Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, p. 180.
- ¹² Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1985), p. 65.
- ¹³ Bynum, *Unruly Women*, p. 135; Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy*, p. 19.
- ¹⁴ Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p. 144; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, pp. 125, 129, 135; Escott, *Many Excellent People*, p. 66; Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation: 1861-1865* (Harper Torch Books, New York, 1979), p. 204.
- ¹⁵ Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 14.
- ¹⁶ Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 15; Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p. 143.
- ¹⁷ Thomas, *The Confederate State of Richmond*, p. 119; Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p.15.
- ¹⁸ Ernest B. Furgurson, *Ashes of Glory*, (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1996), p. 193; Boney, *John Letcher of Virginia*, pp. 189-190; Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," pp. 15-16.
- ¹⁹ Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p. 146.
- ²⁰ Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, p. 183.
- ²¹ Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," pp. 135, 151.
- ²² Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 17; Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p. 145, 149.
- ²³ Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 16.
- ²⁴ Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," pp. 16, 17; Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p.138.
- ²⁵ Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, p. 184.

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- ²⁶ Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 17; Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p. 149.
- ²⁷ Letter, Hall Tutwiler to cousin, Netta Tutwiler, April 3rd, 1863, Richmond. Southern Historical Collection, #452-Z, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- ²⁸ Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 17; Boney, *John Letcher of Virginia*, p. 190; Furgurson, *Ashes of Glory*, p. 194.
- ²⁹ Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p. 146; Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 18; Boney, *John Letcher of Virginia*, p. 190; Furgurson, *Ashes of Glory*, p. 193.
- ³⁰ Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 18; Furgurson, *Ashes to Glory*, p. 194; Ernest Taylor Walthall, *Hidden Things Brought to Life*, (Richmond, 1933), p. 24.
- ³¹ Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 17.
- ³² Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," pp. 17-18; McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee*, p. 203.
- ³³ William J. Kimball, "The Bread Riot in Richmond, 1863," *Civil War History* VII (No. II, June, 1961), p. 151; George C. Rable, *Civil Wars Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism*, (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1991), p. 109.
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- ³⁶ Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," pp. 152, 170; Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, p. 203; Rable, *Civil Wars*, p. 109.
- ³⁷ Sally Brock Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1996), p. 208; Rable, *Civil Wars*, p. 110.; Tice, "The Richmond Bread Riot," p. 19; Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p. 155.
- ³⁸ McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee*, p. 204; Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, p. 209; Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, p. 185; Kimball, "The Bread Riot in Richmond," p. 152.
- ³⁹ Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," pp. 139-143; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, p. 146.
- ⁴⁰ Davis, *Jefferson Davis The Man and His Hour*, p. 497; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1888), Series I, Vol. XVIII, p. 958. Hereafter cited as O.R.
- ⁴¹ *The New York Times*, April 8, 1863, p. 1.
- ⁴² Thomas, *The Confederate State of Richmond*, pp. 121, 122; Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, p. 75; Louis H. Manarin, editor, *Richmond at War The Minutes of the City Council 1861-1865*, (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1966, pp. 320-322.
- ⁴³ Graham, "Women's Revolt in Rowan County," p. 132
- ⁴⁴ Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War*, p. 39; Bynum, *Unruly Women*, pp. 134-135; Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines*, p. 40; Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines," p. 173.
- ⁴⁵ Drew Gilpin Faust, *Southern Stories*, (University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1992), p. 140.
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- ⁷² Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln The War Years, Vol. II, (Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1939), p. 362.
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- ⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 67; Nevins, The Diary of George Templeton Strong, p.335.
- ⁷⁸ Murdock, “Horatio Seymour and the 1863 Draft,” p. 127.
- ⁷⁹ Headley, The Great Riots, pp. 148-149.
- ⁸⁰ New York Times, July 11, 1863, p. 4.
- ⁸¹ Cook, The Armies in the Streets, p. 54.
- ⁸² New York Times, July 11, 1863, p. 4.
- ⁸³ Cook, The Armies of the Streets, p. 55.
- ⁸⁴ Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln The War Years, Vol. II, p. 364.
- ⁸⁵ In a letter to his wife in February, 1863, Peter Welsh wrote: “The feeling against niggers is intensely strong in this army as in plainly to be seen wherever and whenever they meet them. They are looked upon as the principal cause of this war and this feeling is especially strong in the Irish regiments.” Kohl, Irish Green, p. 62.
- ⁸⁶ Nevins, The Diary of George Templeton Strong, pp. 334, 335, 336.
- ⁸⁷ Headley, The Great Riots, p. 149; Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln The War Years, Vol. II, p. 364; Nevins, The War for the Union, Vol. III, p. 124.
- ⁸⁸ Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln The War Years, Vol. II, p. 361. Sandburg refers to everything closing down except the “5,000 saloons, grogshops, beer tunnels, weinstubes, and sample rooms.”
- ⁸⁹ McKay, The Civil War and New York City, p. 199.
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- ⁹¹ Iver Bernstein, The New York City Draft Riots, (Oxford University Press, New York, 1990), p. 46.
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- ⁹³ Ibid., p. 47.

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- ⁹⁴ Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln The War Years*, Vol. II, p.361.
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- ⁹⁶ Lt. Col. Arthur J. L. Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States*, (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1991), pp. 299-300.
- ⁹⁷ Cook, *The Armies in the Streets*, p. 80.
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- ⁹⁹ J.D. Haines, "Eyewitness to War," *America's Civil War*, (May, 2000), p. 72.
- ¹⁰⁰ Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots*, p. 281.
- ¹⁰¹ McKay, *The Civil War and New York City*, p. 209.
- ¹⁰² O.R., Series I, Vol. XXVII, part 2, pp. 895, 901-902, 903.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 902.
- ¹⁰⁴ Cook, *The Armies in the Streets*, p. 31.
- ¹⁰⁵ Nevins, *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, p. 337.
- ¹⁰⁶ Wool was the oldest active officer on either side during the American Civil War. See: Ezra Warner, *Generals in Blue*, (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1964), p. 573; Gideon Welles, *The Diary of Gideon Welles*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1911), p. 373; Nevins, *The War for the Union*, Vol. II, p. 122.
- ¹⁰⁷ Brian Pohanka, "A Zouave Sharpshooter," *Military Images*, XIII, No. 1, (July-August, 1991), p. 18.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
- ¹⁰⁹ Welles, *The Diary of Gideon Welles*, p.369, 372.
- ¹¹⁰ Nevins, *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, p. 340.
- ¹¹¹ Michael Burlingame, John R. Ettinger, editors, *Inside Lincoln's White House: The Complete Civil War Diary of John Hay*, (Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, 1999), p. 78.
- ¹¹² Cook, *The Armies in the Streets*, p. 104.
- ¹¹³ Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots*, pp. 50-51.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- ¹¹⁵ *OR* 27, pt. 2, p. 916.
- ¹¹⁶ Murdock, "Horatio Seymour and the 1863 Draft," p. 130.
- ¹¹⁷ Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln The War Years*, Vol. II, p. 364. "On July 14 the second of three day riots and mob control of New York City, a telegram dated at the War Department, Washington, and signed 'A. Lincoln' went addressed to Robert T. Lincoln, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, with the query, 'Why do I hear no more of you?'" *Ibid.*, p. 364.
- ¹¹⁸ Headley, *The Great Riots*, pp. 318-319.
- ¹¹⁹ McCague, *The Second Rebellion*, pp. 130, 145; O.R. Series I, Vol. XXVII, part 2, p.916.
- ¹²⁰ McCague, *The Second Rebellion*, p. 151.
- ¹²¹ Nevins, *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, p. 341.
- ¹²² McCague, *The Second Rebellion*, p. 92.
- ¹²³ McKay, *The Civil War and New York City*, p. 209; Nevins, *The War for the Union*, Vol. III, p. 125; Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots*, p. 267.
- ¹²⁴ Lauren Cook Burgess, editor, *An Uncommon Soldier The Civil War Letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, Alias Private Lyons Wakeman 153rd Regiment, New York State Volunteers*, (The Minerva Center, Pasadena, 1994), pp. 36-37.
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- ¹²⁷ *OR* 3, Series III, p. 488.
- ¹²⁸ Murdock, "Horatio Seymour and the 1863 Draft," p. 131; Nevins, *The War for the Union*, Vol. II, pp. 122-123.
- ¹²⁹ For an excellent discussion of the conflict between Lincoln and Seymour, see Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln The War Years*, Vol. II, pp.396-376.
- ¹³⁰ Murdock, *One Million Men*, p. 354.