Source (book, author, page # and person being quoted if not the author)	Identify the group being discussed (women, workers, slaves, soldiers etc.); BE SPECIFIC!	Quote(s) from the source that you feel are most important	Your interpretation/explanation of the quote's relevance/importance.

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 Harriet Sigerman, No Small Courage

At a Union hospital in Nashville, Tennessee, a nurse feeds a wounded soldier. Nurses were required to be thirty years old and "very plain-looking women. Their dresses must be brown or black, with no bows, no curls, no jewelry and no hoop skirts."

Women found a special kind of power—an inner power of pride and accomplishment—through serving as military nurses. Shortly after the war began, Union military officials established the Department of Female Nurses. Dorothea Dix, who had earlier dedicated herself to improving conditions in the nation's insane asylums, became superintendent of this new department. She took on the formidable task of recruiting and training nurses for the Union army. Dix, who was gravely solemn in appearance and manner, recruited only women who were at least thirty and "plain in appearance," rejecting applicants who were too fashionably dressed or adorned in jewelry. Dix wanted to make sure that her nurses were above reproach in appearance and manner, and that they dedicated themselves to their work. Under Dix's supervision, more than three thousand female nurses joined the Union effort. They earned a monthly salary of twelve dollars.

But one of the most distinguished Union nurses during the war was not affiliated with Dix's Department of Female Nurses. Instead, Clara Barton sallied forth on her own, working in Union battlefield hospitals and sometimes on the battlefield itself. Barton was a slender, petite woman with a round, open face and a gentle, caring countenance. But this mild exterior concealed an iron will and an abundance of energy. When the war broke out, she collected supplies from soldiers' relief organizations throughout New England and distributed them herself to Union army camps.

Soon she was nursing wounded and dying men as they were brought in from the battlefield. On her own, she learned how to dress wounds, tie a tourniquet around bloodied limbs to stem the bleeding, and cut a bullet out of human flesh when no doctor was available. Barton called the soldiers "my boys" and ministered to them with a mother's love. She bathed their perspiring faces with wet rags, stroked their hair and read to them, and gave them small dosages of whiskey to ease the pain. Barton herself was never far from the dangers of battle. One day, as she held a wounded soldier in her arms, a bullet whizzed through the sleeve of her dress and killed him.

Sometimes it took all the inner strength that women could muster to perform their nursing tasks. They coped with the tormented screams of men enduring an amputation without the benefit of anesthesia, the ravings of other soldiers delirious from fever and infection, the quiet stoicism of those soldiers who knew they were dying, and the grim reality of death and disease. But nurses and doctors also became accustomed to such overwhelming suffering. Kate Cumming, a Confederate nurse at the Battle of Shiloh in Tennessee, reported in her diary, "The foul air from this mass of human beings at first made me giddy and sick, but I soon got over it. We have to walk, and when we give the men anything kneel, in blood and water; but we think nothing of it at all." After the ferocious battle of Gettysburg, in which 51,000 Union and Confederate soldiers were killed or wounded over three days of fierce fighting, Cornelia Hancock, a volunteer nurse from New Jersey, wrote to her sister, "I feel assured I shall never feel horrified at anything that may happen to me hereafter. . . . I could stand by and see a man's head taken off I believe—you get so used to it here."

Nurses in the Civil War seldom questioned whether they had stepped beyond women's sphere in performing such "indelicate" work. Whether they hailed from the Union or the Confederacy, their patriotic commitment and also their hearts told them they were in the right place during the war.

If some women found their calling as nurses, other women discovered adventure and fulfillment teaching the former slaves. As the Union armies advanced deeper into the South, capturing Confederate territory and liberating slaves in the process, hundreds of black and white women, mostly in their twenties, followed closely behind to teach the former slaves, many of whom were illiterate. Women risked danger and hardship—and sometimes their families' disapproval—to venture South. They went under the auspices of the American Missionary Society, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, and other agencies that recruited teachers and paid their monthly wages of ten to twelve dollars.

Teachers admired their students' eagerness to learn. "It is a great happiness to teach them," wrote Charlotte Forten to a friend in November 1862. Forten, an African-American woman, taught in the Sea Islands off of South Carolina. "I

they would not go to the war; they had nothing to fight for and they would not go."[7]

Whether they had anything to fight for was beside the point as far as the government was concerned. Willing or not, the army had to have more men. In April 1862 the Confederate Congress passed its first Conscription Act, giving the president authority to force young men into the military with or without their consent. Under the terms of this act, commonly known as the draft, white males between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five became subject to involuntary military service. As an inducement to enlist before the draft went into effect, the government offered a cash bonus to those who volunteered and allowed them to serve with units of their choice. Fearing they would be drafted in any case, thousands of reluctant men volunteered in March and early April. The Confederate War Department estimated that three-fourths of those who volunteered did so to avoid being drafted.[8]

One late-coming volunteer was John Joseph Kirkland, the author's great-great-grandfather. A slaveless yeoman farmer in Early County, Georgia, Kirkland had a wife and five children with another on the way when he enlisted as first corporal with the Early Volunteers in March 1862. He was thirty-three, only two years short of exemption. His younger brother Jacob joined the Early Volunteers too. A few weeks later Jacob died in Virginia. John Joseph had the heartbreaking duty of escorting the body home to their mother. A year after that, having fought through the Peninsula Campaign, Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, and Fredericksburg, he was nearly killed himself when his right leg was shattered at the Battle of Chancellorsville. The leg was amputated just below the knee.[9]

To plain folk, the most offensive provisions of conscription were those allowing the wealthy to avoid service. Under the act, monied men could simply pay an expensive commutation fee to the government in lieu of service. Or they could hire a substitute, which was also very expensive. Five hundred dollars was the going rate soon after the draft began. By late 1863 it ranged into the thousands—as high as $10,000 in some parts of the South. An advertisement for a substitute in one newspaper offered to pay "in cash, land, or negro property." Another offered a 230-acre farm. At least fifty thousand southern gentlemen politely sidestepped military service by hiring substitutes. So few men of means served that soldiers in Richmond jokingly said it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter Camp Lee.[10]

Wealthy and well-connected men could avoid service in any number of ways, legal or otherwise. Some found bribing the local conscript officer to be cheaper than hiring a substitute. Colonel Carey Styles of southeastern Georgia sold exemptions for a thousand dollars to anyone who could afford to pay. Army surgeons got in on the action as well by selling medical exemptions. Other officers offered fraudulent substitute papers for sale. The Bureau of Conscription's superintendent cited abundant evidence of actions "grossly criminal and mischievous, in the conduct of the officers of the army respecting substitutes."[11]

Elites could also use their influence with local judges like Richard Henry Clark of southwest Georgia, who granted exemptions to well-connected men on a regular basis. Such exemptions did not always come cheap. In Crawfordville, Georgia, several men paid one court official a $1,500 bribe in exchange for exemptions. Those with influence in government could also have themselves appointed to exempted positions. Sometimes it took more than influence. Appointments to such positions as postmaster, clerk, bailiff, or coroner could cost $500 or more. In North Carolina alone, Governor Zebulon Vance declared nearly fifteen thousand state employees, most with "above average connections," exempt from the draft. In Georgia, Governor Joe Brown did the same, extending protection to state militia officers as well. Those posts, noted one state paper, were "sought and obtained by young gentlemen." General Howell Cobb wrote to Brown complaining of able-bodied young men holding state militia commissions "to the exclusion of old men competent to fill the places. . . . This class I fear is large." "It is a notorious fact," wrote an anonymous southerner to the War Department, "if a man has influential friends—or a little money to spare he will never be enrolled."[12]

Then there was the infamous twenty-slave law, which virtually excused planters outright from the draft. Though few in high office seemed to realize it at the time, this single law defined the entire nature of the war for southerners outside the planter class. "It gave us the blues," wrote Tennessee private Sam Watkins. "We wanted twenty negroes. Negro property suddenly became very valuable, and there was raised the howl of 'rich man's war, poor man's fight.'" Watkins later recalled that "from this time on till the end of the war, a soldier was simply a machine. We cursed the war . . . we cursed the Southern Confederacy. All our pride and valor was gone." A soldier from North

 Harriet Sigerman, No Small Courage

motherly concern for the soldiers' welfare, but discipline and efficiency, cooperation and coordination, became the watchwords on their lips.

Free African-American women of the North also did relief work, primarily for former slaves who had escaped North or who were liberated by Union troops as they advanced into Confederate states. In Lawrence, Kansas, for example, the Ladies' Refugee Aid Society helped former slaves find housing in Kansas. Elsewhere, free black women raised money to assist ex-slaves.

Harriet Jacobs, a former slave herself, assisted freedpeople who were flocking to Washington, D.C., in search of shelter and employment. At Freedmen's Village, a temporary community where more than one thousand former slaves were raising food for the Union army, she distributed clothing to the needy, nursed sick refugees, helped other refugees find work, and organized sewing circles and schools. Jacobs derived great satisfaction from her work. "The good God has spared me for this work," she wrote a correspondent. "The last six months have been the happiest of all my life."

Sojourner Truth, the former slave who mesmerized audiences with her eloquence, also worked as a counselor at Freedmen's Village. There, she instructed former slaves "in the habits of industry and economy," as she wrote a friend. "Many of them are entirely ignorant of housekeeping [but] they all want to learn the way we live in the North," she explained. Truth also taught home economics and personal hygiene to freedwomen. Like Jacobs, she felt truly fulfilled by this work. "I think I am doing good," she wrote. "I am needed here."

In the South, white Confederate women were immersed in soldiers' relief efforts as well. Indeed, in Charleston, South Carolina, women had started rolling bandages in January 1861, three months before the war had even begun. Shortly after the war started, women throughout the Confederacy organized hundreds of local soldiers' relief societies. In South Carolina alone, more than 150 such societies sprang up in the first two months of war. Women in Petersburg, Virginia, met every day, including Sundays, to sew uniforms and knit socks and blankets for Confederate soldiers. Many of these soldiers' relief groups had once been benevolent reform and missionary societies. Now they turned from raising money for their churches or charitable activities to outfitting their soldiers. Knitting needles flew like whirligigs and sewing machines whirred nonstop as women dashed off one uniform after another.

But Southern women did more than knit socks—they also filled cartridges and made sandbags for fortification. Because the South had fewer factories than the North for making weapons and other war supplies, those back home—mostly women—were pressed into volunteer service to make vital war materiel. Some women were paid for their efforts, especially when they worked in the few factories that did exist, but most women volunteered their services.

Through their soldiers' relief work, both northern and southern women, African-American as well as white, developed valuable administrative skills. They learned how to coordinate the flow of money and supplies from their groups to other agencies or to the soldiers themselves. They also learned how to keep records, act as leaders of their own groups, and make important decisions regarding the way they used their time, energies, and money. Like their sisters in the women's rights movement and in earlier volunteer groups, they were learning how to be leaders and policymakers.

During the war, women's rights activists continued to draft petitions and collect signatures—but on behalf of African-American slaves instead of for themselves. In 1863 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony organized the Women's Loyal National League to work for the abolition of slavery in all states, including slaveholding states that supported the Union. Both abolitionists and women's rights activists joined the league, and its membership quickly rose to four thousand. In less than a year, the league collected almost 400,000 signatures on petitions urging Congress to pass a 13th constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. Like soldiers' relief societies, the league drew on the efforts of thousands of women in towns and villages throughout the North.

Women also took over the work of men who had gone off to fight. Across the North and South, women took charge of family farms and plantations as their men battled in Antietam or Chancellorsville or Gettysburg—or lay languishing in makeshift army hospitals or military prisons. Some women despaired at the enormous responsibilities of planting, plowing, and running a farm, but other women met the challenge head on—and discovered new strengths and abilities in the process. Sarah Morgan of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, marveled at how much she accomplished in one day—"empty a dirty hearth, dust, move heavy weights, make myself generally useful and dirty, and all this thanks to the Yankees."

Throughout the North, scores of women worked in government offices for the first time to replace male clerks who had enlisted in the Union army. They worked as clerks and copyists, copying speeches and documents for government records. They also became postal employees and worked in the Treasury Department cutting apart long sheets of paper money and counting currency. Salaries ranged from five hundred to nine hundred dollars a year by 1865. Although this was more than what most other female employees made at the time, women still earned half of what men had earned for the same work.

Northern women also worked in factories sewing uniforms. Despite the increased demand for their talents, there were always more seamstresses plying their trade than there was work available for them. Soldiers' wives and widows all sought paid work, and sewing was often the only skill they had. Even when they did work, seamstresses seldom made enough to support themselves. The amount of work available to sewing women—and the wages they were paid—actually declined during the war. Working fourteen to sixteen hours, many seamstresses earned only seventeen to twenty-four cents a day. From that, they had to pay for the thread they used and any damaged goods.

But the Confederacy refused to interfere with industrial operations on workers' behalf. Within a year of the war's outbreak, southern manufacturers were cranking out arms and supporting material at an astonishing rate. The Ordnance Bureau under Josiah Gorgas was especially efficient in producing and funneling military accouterments to the field. So much was manufactured and transported that no Confederate army ever lost a major battle for lack of munitions. The Confederate government was prepared to pay well for their delivery, and was not particular about where the money went.[60]

"God Help the Poor Day-Laborers"

Despite enormous profits flowing into the pockets of southern industrialists, wages were generally low from the war's outset. In October 1861, a "poor mechanic" in Georgia wrote the *Athens Southern Watchman* complaining that he could not find work that paid nearly what he got before the war. With prices on the rise, he wondered how he was going to support his family. He was not alone. The paper's editor knew that many local workers faced similar hardships. The only thing he could add to the man's "words of truth and soberness" was "God help the poor day-laborers."[61]

Working conditions were just as appalling as wages. In some cases, they were deadly. Few industrialists saw much point in spending money on worker safety. The result was that throughout the war, the South's urban newspapers were filled with reports of fatal industrial accidents. One of the worst occurred at Augusta's Confederate States Laboratory where gunpowder was made. In August 1864, eighteen thousand pounds of powder exploded at the granulating mill, killing nine employees. The concussion stripped leaves from neighborhood trees and broke window panes in all the surrounding buildings. According to one report, the victims were "blown to atoms. Hardly a vestige of them remaining. Portions of the bodies were found hanging on the trees—a most shocking spectacle."[62]

Children in the labor force were even more imperiled. Because they were usually unskilled and economically less valuable, they often performed the most hazardous jobs. One factory in Augusta, Georgia, had a special storeroom filled with caskets for its workers, most of them small. Young Martin Reilly, who worked at a Savannah foundry

to support his widowed mother, was blinded in one eye when molten lead splattered his face. A falling timber killed John Henry, a boy of fifteen, at Oglesby's Mill near Augusta. His father had died earlier working at the same mill. Jack McElrath and John Madden, aged twelve and fifteen respectively, were horribly mangled when an artillery shell they were working on exploded at the Naval Iron Works in Columbus, Georgia. Both suffered through more than an hour of agony before they mercifully died.[63]

Facing dangerous conditions and low wages from the war's early days, workers often went on strike. In the fall of 1861, employees at Richmond's Tredegar Iron Works struck for more equitable pay, setting off a series of industrial strikes across the South. Influential manufacturers pressed the government for help. Such pressure, along with a lack of volunteers for the army, contributed to passage of the Conscription Act in early 1862. Under the legislation, certain categories of workers were declared exempt from the draft as long as they were employed. If they went on strike and lost their jobs, they could be hauled off to combat. Factory owners found in the act an effective tool to keep workers in line and wages low. In one of the measure's first tests, Lynchburg machinists went on strike for a living wage. They were fired, then drafted. Telegraph operators in Augusta struck as well, with the same result.

Still, consumer prices outstripped wages so far and fast that workers frequently had to take action. In 1863, postal clerks in Richmond struck for a wage increase. The next year, gravediggers at the city's Shockoe Cemetery did the same. With the draft act in force, they risked more than just a loss of their jobs. When lithographers in Richmond went on strike, they were locked up in a military prison and threatened with conscription unless they returned to work. Managers at the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad used the same tactic when their workers went on strike. They contacted the local enrolling officer and had the strikers sent to the guardhouse. There was little legal recourse for the detainees. With the writ of habeas corpus suspended, government officials could imprison almost anyone without warrant, charge, or trial.[64]

Such obvious extortion of labor, coercing men to live poor or risk death in battle, infuriated plain folk. As some had feared even before the war, white slavery had arrived in force and was backed by the Confederate government. Still, workers continued to resist. In early 1864,

volunteered." In February 1863 a private of the 66th Indiana wrote from Mississippi that his comrades "will not fite to free the niger . . . there is a Regment her that say they will never fite untill the proclamation is with drawn there is four of the Capt[ains] in our Regt sent in there Resignations and one of the Liutenants there was nine in Comp. G tride to desert."[94]

Most white soldiers came to abolitionism grudgingly. Some refused to call themselves abolitionists at all. "I am no abolitionist," insisted a 55th Ohio enlistee, "in fact despise the word." But he came to feel that "as long as slavery exists . . . there will be no permanent peace for America. . . . Hence I am in favor of killing slavery." An Indiana sergeant wrote to his wife that although he could not care less for blacks, he would support the Emancipation Proclamation "if it will only bring the war to an end any sooner . . . anything to beat the South."[95]

Jacob Allen, a young abolitionist in the Union army, knew how his comrades felt about blacks and worried that their new antislavery feelings might not last. "Though these men wish to abolish slavery," he wrote to noted abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, "it is not from any motive outside of their own selfishness, and is there not a possibility that at some not very distant day, these old rank prejudices, that are now lulled to sleep by selfish motives, may again possess these men and work evil?"[96] Frederick Douglass was worried too. What the government could do, it could undo. Might emancipation be in danger if the political winds turned against it? Barely a month after the Proclamation took effect, Douglass voiced his concern before an assembly in New York.

> Much as I value the present apparent hostility to Slavery at the North, I plainly see that it is less the outgrowth of high and intelligent moral conviction against Slavery, as such, than because of the trouble its friends have brought upon the country. I would have Slavery hated for that and more. A man that hates Slavery for what it does to the white man, stands ready to embrace it the moment its injuries are confined to the black man, and he ceases to feel those injuries in his own person.[97]

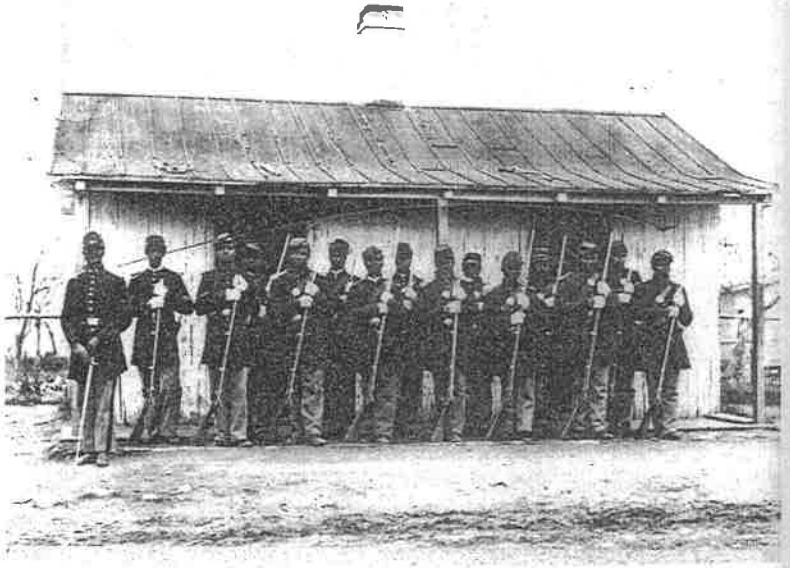
For the moment, though, the greater threat was the Confederate government. On January 5, 1863, four days after Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, Jefferson Davis issued an enslavement proclamation under the heading "An Address to the People of the

Free States." White northerners, he charged, had "degraded" themselves by allying with blacks. His government, on the other hand, would maintain white dignity by robbing all blacks of their freedom. As of February 22, 1863, Davis declared, "all free Negroes in the Southern Confederacy shall be placed on the slave status, and deemed to be chattels, they and their issue forever." Any black Union soldiers captured in combat would be subject to enslavement and their white officers subject to execution as leaders of servile insurrection.[98]

That was, of course, assuming that black regiments would ever see combat. So strong was prejudice against their abilities among most Union generals that it seemed as if black soldiers might never be used for any but menial tasks. "I won't trust niggers to fight," insisted General William T. Sherman. "Can they improvise bridges, sorties, flank movements, etc., like the white man?" he asked. "I say no." Blacks should, he said, "be used for some side purposes and not be brigaded with our white men." Many other officers felt the same way. They used black soldiers as a labor force for building fortifications, hauling carts, or digging latrines—anything that might rob them of an opportunity to earn the respect that came with service in combat. In some regiments, the colonel was "Ole Massa." Squads were work "gangs" and their officers "nigger drivers." The soldiers may as well have been slaves.[99]

"Heroic Descendants of Africa"

Still, some commanders of black regiments were committed to earning respect for their men and pushed hard for combat assignments. They made the most of their opportunities when they came. On May 27, 1863, the Louisiana Native Guard, composed for the most part of recently freed blacks, participated in an assault against Confederate fortifications on the Mississippi River at Port Hudson, twenty-five miles north of Baton Rouge. In an after-action report, one of the guard's white lieutenants admitted that he had entertained some fears as to his men's "pluck." "But I have now none," he added. "Valiantly did the heroic descendants of Africa move forward cool as if Marshaled for dress parade, under a most murderous fire from the enemies guns . . . these men did not swerve, or show cowardice. I have been in several engagements, and I never before beheld such coolness



The 107th U.S. Colored Troops at Fort Corcoran in Arlington, Virginia. Though at first opposed to enlisting blacks, Lincoln finally came to realize that he could not do without them. With white enlistments insufficient to win the war, Lincoln had to support emancipation and call on blacks to help achieve it. "Any different policy in regard to the colored man," Lincoln wrote, "deprives us of his help. . . . Keep it and you can save the Union. Throw it away, and the Union goes with it." (Library of Congress)

and daring. Their gallantry entitles them to a special praise. And I already observe, the sneers of others are being tempered into eulogy."[100]

A few days later on June 7, two regiments of newly freed blacks fended off attacking Rebels at Milliken's Bend, a Federal stronghold on the Mississippi River just north of Vicksburg. "I never more wish to hear the expression, 'the niggers won't fight,' " wrote Union captain M. M. Miller after the battle. One official reported to the War Department that "the sentiment in regard to the employment of negro troops has been revolutionized by the bravery of the blacks in the recent Battle of Milliken's Bend. Prominent officers, who used in private sneer at the idea, are now heartily in favor of it."[101]

The notion that blacks lacked the discipline for soldiering was dealt a further blow on July 16 when the 54th Massachusetts fought off a Rebel charge on James Island just south of Charleston, South Carolina. The regiment suffered nine killed, thirteen wounded, and seventeen

missing in action—but it held fast. "It is not for us to blow our own horn," Corporal James Henry Gooding wrote back home to Boston, "but when a regiment of white men gave us three cheers as we were passing them, it shows that we did our duty as men should." An even tougher test came two days later when the 54th spearheaded an assault on Fort Wagner, which guarded the southern approach to Charleston harbor. Gooding later recalled that when the charge sounded,

> we went at it, over the ditch and onto the parapet through a deadly fire; but we could not get into the fort. We met the foe on the parapet of Wagner with the bayonet—we were exposed to a murderous fire from the batteries of the fort, from our Monitors and our land batteries, as they did not cease firing soon enough. . . . The color bearer of the State colors was killed on the parapet. Col. [Robert Gould] Shaw seized the staff when the standard bearer fell, and in less than a minute after, the Colonel fell himself. When the men saw their gallant leader fall, they made a desperate effort to get him out, but they were either shot down, or reeled in the ditch below.

Though the effort to take Wagner failed, it was not from a lack of trying. Six hundred men of the 54th went in on the assault. Forty percent of them were captured, killed, or wounded. One of the most severely injured was Sergeant William Carney, who had retrieved a U.S. flag and carried it back with him despite wounds to his head, chest, right leg, and arm. He became the first of twenty-three black soldiers awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor during the war.[102]

Blacks sometimes received grudging admiration even from Confederates. After the engagement at Milliken's Bend, one Rebel soldier wrote that his black foes fought "with considerable obstinacy, while the white or true Yankee portion ran like whipped curs." Such observations provide evidence that the respect soldiers often displayed across the lines could be displayed toward black soldiers as well. One Yankee wrote of his surprise when Confederates agreed to a picket-line truce with black soldiers facing them. "The rebels and our colored soldiers now converse together on apparently very friendly terms, and exchange such luxuries as apples, tobacco, and hard tack, by throwing them to each other. It was hardly deemed possible that the enemy could be induced to refrain from firing on black troops wherever they could be seen."[103]

Charles Wilder intercepted them with two companies of infantry and a battalion of mounted dragoons. Wilder warned the crowd to disperse but was ignored. Boston's Mayor Frederick Walker Lincoln tried to read the riot act, but was shouted down. Wilder then ordered his men to attack. Backed up by infantry, the dragoons with sabers drawn rode into the crowd and sent it flying in all directions. Though sporadic incidents continued, the troops were back in control by midnight. They continued to patrol the volatile North End for several days.[44]

"Furious as Demons"

By far the most deadly riot of the Civil War, or in all of U.S. history, broke out in New York City on Monday, July 13, 1863, and lasted for nearly a week. The city had long been a center of both antidraft and antiwar sentiment. Just over a month before the draft riot broke out, Peace Democrats held a "Great Peace Convention" in New York City. Appealing to a receptive hometown crowd was featured speaker and former city mayor Fernando Wood, now serving in the U.S. House of Representatives. Since his election to Congress, Wood had consistently advocated peace. At one point he asked Lincoln to send a peace commission to Richmond with Wood at its head. In his speech at the Peace Convention, Wood called both "war and hate the children of Satan" and chastised ministers of the gospel who preached that there was any good in it. He denounced the war and urged people of good will everywhere, North and South, to "raise the Banner of Peace." For many of Wood's listeners, if they could not have peace, they were determined at least not to have a draft.[45]

Draft lottery drawings began on Saturday, July 11, in the city's Ninth District, populated mainly by poor Irish immigrants whose shouts of "a rich man's war" grew more threatening with each name called. Draft protesters distributed "Song of the Conscripts," a parody of the patriotic recruiting song by New Yorker James Sloan Gibbon, "We Are Coming Father Abraham." One verse went:

> We're coming Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more,
> We leave our homes and firesides with bleeding hearts and sore,
> Since poverty has been our crime, we bow to thy decree,
> We are the poor who have no wealth to purchase liberty.[46]

One name drawn belonged to a member of the Black Joke Fire Company Number Thirty-three, whose men had assumed they were exempt from any federal draft just as they had been from previous state drafts. When the lottery started up again on that Monday, the firemen decided to shut it down. Urged on by angry onlookers, they stormed the draft office, destroyed the lottery wheel, and set fire to the building. Word of the incident spread quickly through uptown wards, sending the whole region into an uproar. According to one report, by noon crowds on the Upper East Side had grown to a "concourse of over twelve thousand." Some turned out just to see the excitement. Others joined the rioters who roamed the streets in a violent frenzy. One man wrote: "Taking the 4th Av. I found the streets full of people, and when I reached the terminus (now 34th St.) I found the whole road way and sidewalks filled with rough fellows (and some equally rough women) who were tearing up rails, cutting down telegraph poles, and setting fire to buildings."

Women were among the riot's leading participants, especially in the factory districts where their families labored at menial jobs for dismal pay. That the government now tried to take their husbands, sons, and fathers away from what little employment they had and leave the women to fend for themselves was unthinkable. That the owners in whose shops they labored could buy out of the draft was maddening. One observer in the industrial Eleventh Ward wrote that local women "vow vengeance on all enrolling officers and provost marshals."[47]

Over the next several days, crowds of enraged working-class whites, immigrant and native-born alike, torched the draft headquarters and razed pro-Lincoln newspaper offices, including Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. In some cases, employees turned on employers, burning their shops and factories. Worker rage against the rich did not stop there. They looted and destroyed homes of prominent businessmen, Republicans, and abolitionists, including that of James Sloan Gibbon. And they went after well-dressed gentlemen on the streets, calling them "three-hundred-dollar men."

Mobs hit the posh mansions of Lexington Avenue with particular ferocity, stealing or smashing "pictures with gilt frames, elegant pier glasses, sofas, chairs, clocks, furniture of every kind, wearing apparel, bed clothes." Some of the more well-to-do were able to save their homes by convincing the angry crowds that they were not Republicans. On Monday evening just before dark, one city resident "took a

Armed draft resisters fight off militiamen on First Avenue during the New York draft riot, the largest riot in U.S. history. Raising a cry of "rich man's war," rioters torched the draft office, razed pro-Lincoln newspaper offices, and burned the homes of prominent war supporters. Similar riots broke out in Boston, Hartford, Jersey City, Newark, Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, St. Paul, Green Bay, and Chicago. (*Illustrated London News*)

walk down 5th Avenue, and seeing a group of rowdies in the grounds of Dr. Ward's large and superb mansion, I found they had gone there with the intention of setting fire to the building, which is filled with costly art! The family were all out, entreating the scamps to desist, as 'they were all Breckenridge democrats and opposed to the *draft*.'" The family's denunciation of Lincoln appeased the crowd, which soon drifted away.[48]

It proved tougher for local authorities to control the crowds. Their forces were simply too few and the riots too widespread. Even to try was a dangerous risk. A mob caught John A. Kennedy, the police superintendent, and beat him so badly that he was lucky to survive. Colonel Henry O'Brien of the 11th New York was not so fortunate. Early in the week, O'Brien led his men against rioters marching up Second Avenue. He ordered his men to fire over their heads to frighten them off, but the gunfire hit two children watching the scene from nearby windows. One, a two-year-old girl named Ellen Kirk, was killed. The

mob retreated, but then attacked O'Brien's nearby home and burned it to the ground. The next day when O'Brien brought a wagon to collect what was left, neighbors enraged over the little girl's killing fell on O'Brien and beat him to death.[49]

Blacks were special targets of the rioters. A reporter from the Eleventh Ward wrote that "the laboring classes there appear to be of the opinion that the negroes are the sole cause of all their trouble, and many even say that were it not for the negroes there would be no war and no necessity for a draft." Some hoped to drive blacks entirely out of the city. All across town, blacks were beaten, lynched, and burned out of their homes. Some were forced to jump from upper floors of tenement buildings to escape approaching flames or pursuing rioters. The mob even burned a charity home for black orphans. A resident of the Nineteenth Ward wrote a short time after witnessing the attack that "towards evening the mob, furious as demons, went yelling over to the Colored-Orphan Asylum in 5th Avenue a little below where we live—and rolling a barrel of kerosine in it, the whole structure was soon in a blaze, and is now a smoking ruin. What has become of the 300 poor innocent orphans I could not learn. They must have had some warning of what the rioters intended; and I trust the children were removed in time to escape a cruel death." The children did barely make it out, rushing through the back door as rioters screaming "burn the niggers" broke down the front door.[50]

Rioting continued through Friday, July 17, when Federal troops straight from the Battle of Gettysburg rushed in to reestablish order. By that time, at least a hundred people had lost their lives and hundreds more had been injured. Some estimates of the casualty count ranged to more than a thousand. Whatever the figure, in the eyes of white lower-class New Yorkers, the effort had not been in vain. So frightened was the city government of another such riot that it passed an ordinance laying out city funds to pay the commutation fee for every drafted resident. Other towns in New York, such as Brooklyn, Yonkers, Albany, Buffalo, Utica, Syracuse, Troy, and Tarrytown, did the same.

All across the North, local governments increased the enlistment bounties in an effort to meet their enrollment quotas and avoid the draft requirement. At the federal level, draft protesters eventually claimed at least a minor victory as well. So stinging was the charge of "rich man's war" and so worried were Republicans about its impact on