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Philadelphia During the Civil War, 1861–1865

THE weather for the greater part of the week had been unpleasant. Storms lashing the coast had forced the majority of sailing vessels to remain in port, and the citizens of Philadelphia had had to walk about the wet, dirty streets amid a welter of jostling umbrellas and splashing horses hooves. The barrenness of the winter which had just passed was still evident, for the grass in the city parks was only just beginning to show some signs of vitality. Added to this dreary aspect of nature was the disquieting news which for some time had been arriving continuously from Washington and the South concerning Major Anderson's precarious situation at Fort Sumter.[1] The majority of Philadelphians upheld the Major's removal from Fort Moultrie to Sumter and eagerly scanned the newspapers and bulletin boards for the latest dispatches. Daily the city was growing more and more tense with each new development—this, combined with the weather, had made the past few days very unpleasant; the climax, however, came on the last day of the week, Saturday, April 13, 1861. It was then that Philadelphia learned that South Carolina had fired upon Fort Sumter; the conflict between brothers which for so long had been

[1] *North American and United States Gazette*, April 12–15, 1861.

smoldering had at last broken out in the smoke and flames at Charleston harbor—the Civil War had commenced.

As soon as the first announcement was made in the city, many people swarmed to the various newspaper offices located in the center of town. So large were the crowds gathered around the bulletin boards that those nearest them read aloud the announcements which were then passed from lip to lip to those on the periphery. The excitement continued during the afternoon and indignation increased with the arrival of each new dispatch. Many men denounced the officers of the United States ships for permitting Sumter to be reduced. Soon after the first tidings of war, members and volunteers wishing to enlist for the defence of the Union rushed to meetings held throughout the city by various military groups and organizations such as the First and Second Regiments of the Washington Brigade.[2]

Excitement aroused in the city by the announcement of war rose to such a pitch that almost everything else was forgotten. Little or nothing was done at the Stock Board. The news from the South brought the market almost to a standstill, and prices had a general downward tendency. Likewise, in the outdoor commercial markets the war dispatches, combined with the unfavorable weather, limited operations and here, too, sales remained quiet.[3]

The weather, however, proved to be no deterrent to the mobs who crowded around the newspaper offices far into the night. During Sunday the crowds remained undiminished, and many assembling about ten o'clock in the morning learned that the momentous events of the previous day had been confirmed, that now Sumter had been taken and that Major Anderson and his command were in the hands of General Beauregard. Sunday newspapers were devoured by many Philadelphians who never before had read them. Everywhere people uttered expressions of indignation and hatred as the realization of what had happened became ever clearer. Woe to him who dared evince any sympathy toward the secessionists. One Southern sympathizer was chased from Third and Chestnut Streets to Doctor Jayne's drugstore from which sanctuary he was eventually rescued by the police.[4] Another man standing within a crowd ventured to

[2] *North American*, April 15, 1861.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] J. Thomas Scharf & Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Phila., 1884), I, 753.

justify the Charlestonians and for his rashness had his hat smashed down over his eyes while a dozen or so boots left their imprints upon his body as he was hurried out of the group.[5] In the evening, one intoxicated individual, whose overindulgence had dangerously distorted his sense of humor, announced himself as being in favor of the South. Immediately bystanders made a rush for the supposed secessionist who quickly apologized and declared that he really was a Philadelphian and a Union man. Before he was released, however, the prankster was forced to take off his hat and give three cheers for the thirty-four United States, which he did much to the amusement of the onlookers.[6] By such means as these some of the people gave vent to the emotions which enveloped the entire city.

By Monday, the demand for national flags was unprecedented. From private houses, business offices, hotels, factories, and government buildings the national colors waved; indeed, not to have them invited a possible attack from the crowds who still roamed the streets now in search of premises which lacked a patriotic display. A group gathered at 337 Chestnut Street outside the office of the *Palmetto Flag*, a newspaper known to have Southern sympathies, and only the appearance of Mayor Henry waving a small flag from one of the upper windows in the building prevented the place from being stormed and the editors from being attacked. Having been assuaged by the Mayor, the mob then went to the office of the *Daily Argus*, a Copperhead paper, and the only news office in the vicinity which failed to display a flag. The editors here were given an ultimatum—show us a flag in fifteen minutes. Although this order was somewhat disconcerting to the occupants of the building, within the stated time a flag was hastily hung out, and the crowd, again appeased, moved on.[7] The next day the *Argus* attempted to justify its failure to display a flag by claiming that the proprietors of the *North American Gazette* refused permission to have one suspended from their building. To this accusation the *North American* angrily retorted that in the election held the previous October, the *Argus* had obtained a large flag to which was attached a piece of bunting bearing the inscription "Breckinridge and Lane." No mark identified

[5] *North American*, April 15, 1861.
[6] *Public Ledger*, April 15, 1861.
[7] *North American*, April 16, 1861.

the flag as belonging to the *Argus* and as it was suspended from the chimney of the *North American* office it appeared to belong to that gazette; because of this and of the possibility of the destruction of the chimney the *Argus* had been requested to remove the flag.[8]

The crowds that Monday, however, had no time for excuses. They next visited the offices of a Sunday newspaper which was forced to show the national colors, and then moved on to the post office on Dock Street. Here the mob remained standing in front of the building hooting and shouting until a flag was finally produced. No violence was done anywhere by the patriotic-minded; the crowds cheered the flags and then moved on until finally satisfied with the display throughout the city. The school children quickly followed the example set by the adults, for the next day the Northwest Grammar School raised a large United States flag in the presence of a number of citizens of the Tenth Ward,[9] and, later, the pupils of Central High School presented a flag to the school during an impressive assembly program which was attended by a number of visitors.[10] While some citizens marched through the streets demanding to see their country's emblem, others signed a circular addressed to President Lincoln, pledging him their faith and continued support. Lists were placed at various newspaper offices, hotels, and reading rooms throughout Philadelphia, and as soon as one was filled it was sent to Washington; many thousands signed the circular. The Board of Trade quickly published resolutions declaring the support of its members, and the community as well, for the Union, the Constitution, and the flag of the United States.[11]

The next day, Tuesday, April 16, in view of the crowds that had marched through the city on Monday and to prevent any serious public outbreak, Mayor Henry issued a proclamation stating that treasonable activity, or violence to persons or to property of the inhabitants of Philadelphia would not be tolerated. He requested all good citizens to report the names of persons giving aid to the enemy by enlisting, or by procuring enlistments for the South, or by furnishing the enemy with arms, ammunition, provisions or other

8 *North American*, April 17, 1861.
9 *North American*, April 17, 1861.
10 *North American*, April 26, 1861.
11 *North American*, April 16, 1861.

assistance. He commanded all persons to refrain from assembling unlawfully, riotously, or tumultously, on the highways of the city, that the peace and credit of Philadelphia might be preserved.[12]

Meeting on Friday, the Select and Common Councils of the city quickly passed various resolutions and ordinances relating to the state of war in the country and military preparations in Philadelphia. The following is a summary of the Councils' actions: The first was a request made to citizens to form companies composed of a hundred men each for home service. The Committee on Finance was then asked to report on an ordinance for a loan of one million dollars to meet the many demands arising from the present unsettled conditions, one of which was to provide a fund for the relief of families of volunteers who had enlisted in the defence of their country. Following this the Commissioner of City Property was asked to place any unoccupied halls at the disposal of drilling parties. The Councils also applauded the action of Baltimore and of Governor Hicks in opposing the secessionist movement. An appropriation of fifty thousand dollars was granted for the purchase of arms for the Home Guard, and for other defence purposes, and a committee of five was appointed to help the mayor carry out this ordinance. Resolutions were approved which expressed the satisfaction of the Councils at the measures taken by the national government in putting down the rebellion, and on the conduct of Major Anderson. Finally an ordinance was passed appropriating five thousand dollars to be used by the mayor in such ways as he thought necessary for the preservation of the peace of the city, for the detection of all persons engaged in treasonable designs, and for the apprehension of persons molesting the property of citizens of Philadelphia.[13]

In keeping with the times, the *North American* published a Collect for times of war and called attention to the appropriateness of the passage of scripture, namely Joel 3:9,[14] which formed the regular lesson of the morning in the Episcopal churches, the first Sunday after the commencement of the war. On the same Sunday, in one of

12 *North American*, April 17, 1861.

13 *North American*, April 20, 1861.

14 Joel 3:9–10. Proclaim ye this among the Gentiles: prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near, let them come up.

Beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears, let the weak say, I am strong.

the large churches in Germantown, at the request of the wardens and with the permission of the rector, the organist played as a voluntary the *Star Spangled Banner* and *Hail Columbia*. The effect was described as "electric."[15] During the entire four years of the war the Philadelphia clergymen supported the Union and the war efforts of both the local and national governments, being one of the most effective groups in the city to do so. Not only the ministers but the church bodies, as well, responded to the national emergency. In May, 1861, the General Assembly of the Old School Presbytery met in Philadelphia and after much debate reported that it was the obligation of the General Assembly to uphold the federal government in the exercise of all its powers under the Constitution. The debate was occasioned by the conservative nature of the Old School Presbyterians. In 1837, the Presbyterians had split over doctrine with the result that the Old or Conservative School drew most of its members from the slave states and the states adjacent, while the New or Liberal School found the majority of its members in the North. The Episcopalians from Pennsylvania also held a convention in Philadelphia in 1861 in which the local ministers took a decided stand for the Union. During the same year in Philadelphia in their respective meetings, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and the Methodist Episcopal Conference likewise expressed their determination to stand by the Union and to aid the national government in its various war measures.[16]

Perhaps the most important occurrences and certainly the most striking and exciting were the military preparations hastily commenced in Philadelphia after the first announcement of the beginning of hostilities was received. The President immediately called for seventy-five thousand men to serve for three months, and men from Philadelphia and the vicinity responded enthusiastically. The streets were filled with marching men and the squares and armory buildings resounded to the tramp of determined recruits learning to drill. Groups from the north and east were transshipped in the city on their way to Washington. Philadelphia assumed the appearance of an armed camp, a look it was to retain for four long and bitter

15 *North American*, April 22, 1861.

16 George D. Harmon, "The Pennsylvania Clergy in the Civil War," *Pennsylvania History*, VI (April, 1939), 88–94.

years, although few people realized that in April, 1861. The first recruits thought the war would soon be over and left for the South as though they were going to attend a picnic.

On Friday, April 19, very early in the morning, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment and several companies of volunteers from Philadelphia, the latter under the command of General William F. Small, left the city from the Broad and Prime Streets Station for Washington via Baltimore. The Massachusetts regiment was uniformed and well-equipped; it reached Baltimore first and while marching from one depot to another was obstructed by an angry mob of secessionists. In the fight that ensued four soldiers were killed and thirty or forty were wounded; a number of civilians were likewise left dead. The troops, however, managed to reach their train and passed on southward. When the Philadelphia companies arrived, poorly equipped and some lacking any sort of uniform, they were stoned in the railroad cars in which they sat. Lack of proper weapons made effectual retaliation futile, and one George Leisenring, a German volunteer, was so severely stabbed that he died a few days later in the Pennsylvania Hospital, the first Philadelphia casualty of the war.[17] In order to avoid further bloodshed, Marshall Kane, chief of police at Baltimore, urged the troops to return to Philadelphia, which they did, arriving late the same day. Needless to say, Philadelphians upon learning of this outrage were incensed. Several days later, the Buena Vista Guards, one of the city companies which had been attacked, presented to Councils a "rebel" flag which they had captured in the Baltimore riot.[18] After this experience Northern soldiers were sent around Baltimore, the route being Havre de Grace to Annapolis to Washington.

Soon after the vanquished Philadelphia troops returned home, Fort Delaware, on an island in Delaware Bay, was garrisoned with men from the city. This fort, the chief defence for the port of Philadelphia, was commenced in 1850; it and historic Fort Mifflin, down the Bay seven miles from the center of the city, were all that stood between the city and rebel raiders from the sea, and many citizens

[17] Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 760.

[18] Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia: A History of the City and its People* (Phila., n.d.), II, 362.

feared that little effort would be required to reduce either fort.[19] At Fort Mifflin were stored large supplies of ammunition, and here, too, bounty jumpers were executed. Fort Delaware was used as a military prison camp, and the prisoners were usually conveyed to it through Philadelphia where they were given hearty meals before being sent to the fort. Philadelphia prided itself on the kindness with which it treated prisoners of war, although some citizens protested that the rebels should receive the same treatment as the Northern prisoners were accorded in the South.[20] At times there were approximately twelve thousand Confederates confined in Fort Delaware, but no matter how large or how small the number of men they were always considered a potential menace. The three states within striking distance of the Fort constantly feared that the captives might break free and joining with Copperheads seize possession of the river and adjacent cities. The notorious *Palmetto Flag* published hints of such a movement and had the captives been strong and sturdy there might have been some justification in that fear, but the marshy island was jammed with sick and ineffectual men.[21]

Philadelphia troops, for the most part, were equipped with supplies from the two United States arsenals in the city, the Frankford Arsenal, depot of military materials at Bridesburg, and the Schuylkill Arsenal at Gray's Ferry Road, the name of which was changed in 1873 to the Philadelphia Depot of the Quartermaster's Department, United States Army. During the Civil War this arsenal manufactured uniforms, blankets, and sundry equipment for the Union armies. In May, 1861, when an effort was made to equip several three-months regiments from stores obtained from the Frankford Arsenal, the officers protested at the antiquated, imperfect muskets offered to their men.[22] However, in spite of this and other drawbacks, during the early months of the war many Philadelphians were eager to enlist. In the Fourth Ward of the city, where a Captain William McMullen was organizing a group of one hundred picked men, a young merchant, wealthy and well-educated, came to him and

19 These forts were reinforced at an estimated cost of $2,102.12. *Report of Brig. Gen. A. J. Pleasonton Commanding the Home Guard of the City of Philadelphia to the Honorable Alexander Henry, Mayor, for the Year 1861* (Phila., 1862).

20 Frank H. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War* (Phila., 1913), 196–198.

21 Harry Emerson Wildes, *The Delaware* (New York, 1940), 306.

22 Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 26–27.

begged to be permitted to join the group even as a private. Because the ranks were already filled, the captain agreed to accept him if at the next drill some recruit would resign. Accordingly the following day the young man presented himself at the drilling grounds and offered first twenty-five then fifty then one hundred dollars to anyone who would resign, thus permitting him to march with Captain McMullen. Not a man stepped forward to accept the proposal, and the disappointed patriot finally was informed by a sergeant in the group that even one thousand dollars would be insufficient to purchase the place of the poorest in the company—so enthusiastic were they all to take part in the conflict.[23]

As a consequence of the decimation of the Fire Department by the enlistment of its members, early in the second week of the war, the chief engineer suspended the rule restricting fire companies to certain boundaries, for some companies had hardly enough men left to take the apparatus to the fires. Almost every active member of the Hope Hose Company had left and the Independence Hose Company found itself in the same predicament. As for the Tivoli and Warren Hose companies, all their members had enlisted in the Union forces and had gone off to war blithely placing their equipment in the hands of the citizens living in the neighborhood. At this time it was reported that nearly half the ranks of the volunteer forces in Philadelphia had been recruited from the Fire Department.[24]

Because so many of the volunteers enlisted without making adequate provision for their families while they themselves were absent fighting, a book was submitted to the residents of the city in which everyone was invited to record subscriptions for the relief or employment of volunteers' families. Not only was aid given to recruits from the city itself but it was also tendered to volunteers who entered from other parts of the state. Soon after President Lincoln called for recruits, the Young Men's Christian Association offered their mammoth tent, which they used for the purpose of holding public worship and which was conveniently situated on Broad Street near the Academy of Music, as a reception center and temporary accommodation for troops in transit through the city.[25] To help volunteers who

[23] *North American*, April 29, 1861.
[24] *North American*, April 22, 1861.
[25] *North American*, April 25, 1861.

arrived in Philadelphia, and who had not immediately been mustered into service, John B. Budd, 1317 Spruce Street, offered to furnish daily at noon a dinner to ten or twelve men who otherwise would have had difficulty in obtaining food. To prevent imposition, this worthy gentleman required a written order from the captain or commander of the respective regiments or companies of which his hungry guests would soon become members.[26]

From the amount of pay received monthly by the majority of volunteers, and later by drafted men, it is little wonder that many left behind them families who were dependent upon public or private relief. The monthly pay for the volunteer force announced in 1861 was as follows: Colonel—$218, Lieutenant Colonel—$194, Major—$175, Captain—$118.50, First Lieutenant—$108.50, Second Lieutenant—$103.50, Brevet Second Lieutenant—$103.50, First or Orderly Sergeant—$29, other Sergeants—$27, Corporals—$22, Privates—$20, Musicians-$21.[27] The officers were required to provide their own uniforms and equipment, but the men were armed and clothed by the government. So that every soldier might enjoy clean attire, the *North American* suggested that each company going into service should take along its washerwomen, if the men wanted clean clothes. According to paragraph 124 of the general regulations, each company was entitled to four washerwomen who were allowed one ration a day, and in addition to this munificent recompense the women, for the washing they did, were entitled to pay from the officers and men.[28]

Not to be outdone in patriotic activities by their husbands and brothers, many Philadelphia women volunteered to sew for the national government. At the Girard House Hotel, which Governor Curtin chose for a military depot as it was then standing vacant due to the competition of the more popular Continental Hotel across the street, a notice was posted stating that women were needed to sew uniforms for the Pennsylvania troops. In the Girard House the government established a military clothing department under the supervision of Robert L. Martin assisted by Captain George Gibson, Jr. It was expected that a thousand garments a day could be pro-

26 *North American*, April 22, 1861.
27 *North American*, April 22, 1861.
28 *North American*, April 22, 1861.

duced, including such articles as underwear, sack coats, greatcoats, and trousers.[29] Here as well as at the Schuylkill Arsenal sewing women were employed, but many fashionable ladies also proffered their services, especially in those early days when uniforms were desperately needed.

After the first Philadelphia troops left for Washington on that fateful Friday morning, April 19, a number of businessmen met in the Board of Trade rooms that very evening to discuss the organization of a company for the military defence of the city. At that particular time it was thought that many of those who enrolled would eventually go into active service wherever they were needed even though the terms of enrollment related only to service in the city. Of the approximately fifty men who joined at this first meeting, the majority were merchants and professional men within the legal draft limit, or under forty-five years of age, men who felt unable to leave the city immediately for distant service.[30] In a few days this organization, known as the Home Guards,[31] was enlarged to include every adult male not needed elsewhere and not physically disqualified. Immediately agitation commenced in every ward of the city to organize a Home Guard unit within each one's respective limits. According to the authority conferred on him by Councils, April 20, 1861, Mayor Henry appointed Colonel Augustus J. Pleasonton to be commander of the Home Guards with the rank of Brigadier General of Volunteers. General Pleasonton was authorized, under the direction of the mayor to organize his force into various groups of cavalry, artillery, infantry, and light infantry.[32] The Medical Department was placed under the supervision of Dr. John Neill, and Moyamensing Hall was equipped to serve as a hospital not only for sick and wounded members of the Home Guard but for all such men in the United States' service.[33] Various groups joined the Guards in a body, among them the Maenerchor Vocal Society of Philadelphia. This group, under the command of Captain John A. Koltes, veteran of the Mexican War, organized as a rifle company and prepared for active service as a

29 *North American*, April 26, 1861.

30 *North American*, April 20, 1861.

31 Approved by an ordinance of City Councils, May 23, 1861, under an act of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, May 16, 1861. See *Report of General Pleasonton to Mayor Henry* (1861).

32 *Ibid.*

33 *North American*, April 26, 1861.

part of the Home Guard.[34] The uniform for the Guards consisted of a single-breasted light, or cadet, grey frock coat with a standing collar, and buttons of the particular branch of service to which the regiment belonged; the pantaloons were made of the same material as the coat. The cap, cut on the army pattern, was of drab color, trimmed with a rosette of red, white, and blue. Regiments of "young Guards" were allowed to substitute a grey cadet cap for the army hat. These uniforms, many of which were provided by the members themselves, cost anywhere from six dollars and fifty cents to twenty dollars, depending upon the financial status and personal taste of the individual. The uniforms were to be worn habitually so that in case of alarm the officers and men could dash at once to their armories without stopping to change their clothes.[35] In order to enable the Home Guard to become more proficient in military duties, a number of Philadelphia merchants agreed to close their businesses at four o'clock in the afternoon each business day of the week with the exception of Saturday when they would close at three o'clock for the period between April 15 and July 15, 1861. This was done that their employees might have an opportunity to obtain military training.[36] Although the Home Guard was maintained during the entire four years of the war, its activity depended upon the threat of danger from rebel invasion of the city. This occurred several times, and at the battle of Gettysburg a number of companies of Home Guards fought to defend their state from Confederate troops.

During the four long years of war, the Philadelphia railroads played a conspicuous part, constantly transporting a steady stream of men and supplies to the South and returning with wounded Union soldiers and Confederate prisoners. As soon as hostilities commenced the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad stationed men to guard their bridges and to act as a military corps. To allay suspicion the men were set to work whitewashing bridges, of which some received six or seven coats, but it was reported that this precaution prevented rust from forming. In April, 1861, the line was taken in charge by the federal government through an agent in

[34] *North American*, April 22, 1861.
[35] *North American*, April 22, 1861.
[36] *North American*, April 25, 1861.

Philadelphia and all equipment under government control as well as troop trains were sent out as quickly as possible, an uninterrupted route to Washington being nearly completed by April 25, 1861.[37] It was on this same railroad that a portable tank was used. Built by Baldwin's, the tank consisted of a railroad car made of boiler iron; in the interior of the car cannon were set on a pivot which enabled them to be fired through portholes. For the protection of the train, this mounted battery was propelled in front of the locomotive.[38] The North Central Railroad, which was soon controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad, sent patrols along the southern border of the state as a safeguard against rebel raids. The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, occupied in carrying coal from upstate Pennsylvania down to the tidewater terminals for the Navy, was taken over by the government in the summer of 1864 to assure continuous transportation of the necessary coal, during the strike of the miners. All the railroads in and around Philadelphia were generous in their contributions toward the relief of soldiers' families, military hospitals, orphans' homes, and in their purchases of government bonds.

Soon after the war commenced, the United States Navy Yard at Philadelphia and other shipyards in the vicinity such as Simpson & Neill, Hillman & Streaker, Lynn, Birely, Cramp, and Merrick & Sons began building sloops-of-war, steamers, gunboats, and ironclad frigates. In addition to this work, which continued throughout the four years of hostilities, many of the government vessels also were repaired and refitted in these same yards.[39]

The first Confederate gun fired on Fort Sumter did more toward uniting Philadelphia's citizens firmly behind the actions and policies of the national government, and toward harmonizing public sentiment in the city than had any other effort directed to those ends. Previously, opinion in Philadelphia had been divided; some people

[37] *North American*, April 25, 1861.

[38] Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, II, 363. Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 44–47. Then railroad depots in Philadelphia were as follows: New York lines depots, Kensington, Walnut Street Wharf; Baltimore and Washington lines depot, Broad and Prime Streets; Pennsylvania Central depot, Thirtieth and Market Streets; Philadelphia and Reading depot, Broad and Callowhill Streets; West Chester and Media depot, Thirty-first and Market Streets; Philadelphia, Germantown, and Norristown depot, Ninth and Greene Streets; North Pennsylvania depot, Third and Thompson Streets. See the *Soldiers Guide in Philadelphia*, 1865.

[39] Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 201–204.

sympathized with the South, others upheld the North, and still a third group vainly endeavored to effect some sort of conciliation between the two opposing sections of the country. Some New Englanders regarded Philadelphia as a Southern community, and, indeed, the city had much in common with its neighbors to the south; this was particularly evident in trade and commerce. Philadelphia consumed or utilized Southern products such as lumber, turpentine, and cotton, and the South in turn was considered one of the city's best customers. Manufactured goods were shipped down the coast or sent via Wilmington and Baltimore in an endless procession of freight cars. Included among the variety of products for which the South depended on the city were wagons, carriages, Baldwin locomotives, printers' type, Bibles, school books, and shoes. Tonnage rates to Southern ports were lower than those to New York and Boston. In addition to trade, Southern blood had become infused in the veins of the wealthier families living in the city, and young Southern gentlemen were sent to the colleges and universities in and around Philadelphia. Many Southern students attended the city medical colleges. At the outbreak of the Civil War, three hundred medical students marched from Jefferson Medical College to Musical Fund Hall, thundered the rebel yell, and, then, under the command of Hunter Maguire, marched from the hostile city.[40] Other Southern sympathizers soon followed them. Although one of the first anti-slavery societies in the United States had been organized by the Quakers in Philadelphia before the Revolution, anti-slavery agitation was regarded by most Philadelphians somewhat passively; by some it was rejected. When John Brown's body was taken through the city December 4, 1859, the reaction against his various undertakings resulted in a pro-slavery demonstration at the Broad and Prime Streets railroad station.[41] This attitude changed, however, after the war actually commenced. Philadelphia hastily organized its troops and sent them away with a band and a blessing to fight recent friends and associates; its returned heroes, living and dead, it welcomed home in an equally fitting manner.

On May 10, 1861, Major Anderson arrived in Philadelphia while accompanying Mrs. Lincoln to Boston. His reception in the city was

[40] George Morgan, *The City of Firsts* (Phila., 1926), 163.
[41] Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 10.

magnificent. From the railroad station he was escorted in a barouch surrounded by a military guard and drawn by prancing white horses through streets crowded with cheering throngs to Independence Hall, where Mayor Henry and Councils held a reception for him. Councils previously had voted to present the Major with a sword in recognition of his defence of Fort Sumter. This sword was given to him in Washington in October and proved to be a handsome, if not useful weapon. Of the Damascus pattern, the blade was engraved with an eagle and the phrase "E Pluribus Unum," the handle was set with four amethysts surmounted with diamonds. The scabbard, solid silver plated with gold, bore the inscription "The City of Philadelphia to Robert Anderson, U.S.A., May 22, 1861. A loyal city to a loyal soldier, the hero of Fort Sumter."[42]

On June 11, 1861, Lieutenant Slemmer, who had held Fort Pickens until it was reinforced, received friends and felicitations in Independence Hall and, in the same manner as Major Anderson, was escorted through the streets and addressed by the Mayor. However, all the heroes who came to Philadelphia were not received so joyfully as these two men were. One of the first casualties of the city was Colonel Ellsworth, commander of Ellsworth's Zouaves. Their leader had been shot while attempting to remove from the Marshall House Tavern in Alexandria a Southern flag which President Lincoln could see from the White House windows. Colonel Ellsworth's body was returned to the city on May 25. Included in the guard of honor was a Zouave, Francis E. Brownell, who had shot Ellsworth's murderer and who brought along the secession flag which the colonel had cut down.[43] On June 12, the body of Lieutenant Greble, killed in action at Big Bethel, arrived in the city and was escorted by a number of militia companies to Independence Hall where a funeral service was conducted.[44] The first few victims of the conflict were mourned publicly and were buried with impressive ceremonies; in a short time thousands of their comrades fell and lay where they had fallen, mourned only by their families.

While their men were away fighting, all those who remained at home soon were made conscious, by the persistent and effectual

42 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 779.
43 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 767.
44 Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, II, 363.

efforts of Jay Cooke, of the enormous amounts of money required to support the Union armies in the field and the federal and local governments at home. In January of 1861, the Philadelphia financier with his brother-in-law, William G. Moorhead, organized the firm of Jay Cooke and Company. This company, Henry D. Cooke, brother of Jay Cooke and friend of Salmon P. Chase, brought to the attention of that new Secretary of the Treasury. After successfully selling some of Chase's earliest loans, Jay Cooke was offered the position of assistant treasurer of the United States in Philadelphia in the latter part of April, soon after the war broke out. Cooke refused this offer, professing that his main object was only the selling of government notes and bonds. Pennsylvania's first financial measures constituted an effort to float a loan of three million dollars. About the middle of May, 1861, the state legislature sitting in an extra session had passed an act which called for the organization of a group of men to be designated as Reserves. In order to equip and maintain this body, the legislature had also authorized a three million dollar loan at six per cent interest. As the state credit was low, due to previous and somewhat reckless expenditures for internal improvements, it was thought that the loan could not be sold at par, a condition included in the act. The majority of bankers thought that it would probably bring seventy-five or eighty cents on the dollar and a motion was made to amend the law by striking out the condition. However, Mr. Cooke intervened and volunteered to sell the loan at par, which he thought was possible. Accordingly on May 28, 1861, Governor Curtin commissioned the firms of Jay Cooke and Company and Drexel and Company to organize the work, and in a little over two weeks the entire loan was sold, much to the surprise and gratification of the governor.[45]

After the defeat of the Union army at Bull Run in June, Jay Cooke again visited the Philadelphia bankers in an effort to secure additional money for the government, this to be advanced for a period of sixty days. The lenders were asked to take their payment not in specie but in seven-thirty government notes. These were treasury notes which ran for three years with an interest rate of seven and three-tenths per cent per annum, or seven dollars and thirty cents

[45] Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke—Financier of the Civil War* (Phila., 1907), I, 103–111.

a year on each one hundred dollars. The earliest seven-thirty issue Cooke made famous by continuous and extensive advertising. During this period, Secretary of the Treasury Chase and the Philadelphia banker held various conferences in Washington, Philadelphia, and New York, which resulted in the formation of the Associated Banks, a group of banks in those three cities which agreed to advance fifty million dollars to Chase immediately, and to follow this loan with additional ones in October and December, if the rebellion still continued. In all they promised to loan the government one hundred and fifty million dollars, an amazing sum for the times.[46] One of the most popular agencies for the subscription of seven-thirties in Philadelphia was Mr. Cooke's which he opened in his firm's office at 114 South Third Street, near the Girard Bank. Many persons came to this particular agency which remained open till nine o'clock Monday evenings for the convenience of workingmen; and the names of subscribers and the sums of money received were published in the newspapers. As the continuance of the war constantly demanded additional money, the banks found it difficult to keep their agreement to pay fifty million more dollars, when the December payment came due, with the result that the entire money system collapsed, and Secretary Chase found it necessary to issue greenbacks.

While Philadelphia citizens were patriotically purchasing seven-thirty bonds, the newspapers warned their readers to guard against what was termed a "new method of swindling." Certain guilty parties obtained a number of bonds of the seven-thirty loans and after cutting off the coupons endeavored to sell the bonds at par or, with a slight reduction, to unsuspecting purchasers, who discovered sorrowfully that bonds minus coupons paid no interest to the holder.[47]

Early in 1862, while the country remained on a paper-money basis, and inflation was rampant, Secretary Chase unsuccessfully strove to sell another issue of bonds called five-twenties. These bonds, bearing interest in gold, were so designated because they might be redeemed in five years and must be redeemed in twenty years. Offered at par in greenbacks, which only paid forty to ninety cents in gold, the bonds proved to be unpopular until in October, 1862,

[46] Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke*, I, 151.
[47] Philadelphia *Inquirer*, January 10, 1865.

Jay Cooke was made the sole national agent. By the end of the following March the daily subscription rate was estimated to be one million dollars. It had been planned to close the loan when the sum of five hundred million dollars was procured, and the date set for the end of the sales period was January 21, 1864. However, before the machinery which Mr. Cooke had created could be stopped, an additional eleven million dollars' worth of bonds was sold, making the total amount for the loan five hundred and eleven million dollars.[48] From then on, Mr. Cooke's financial efforts continued to remain on a national rather than a local scale.

A perhaps more obvious and direct war project of interest to many Philadelphia citizens, one that actually dealt with the soldiers themselves, both Union and Confederate, was the work undertaken by the Cooper Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon. The Cooper Refreshment Saloon soon became known throughout the East, wherever soldiers wrote home describing the work it was doing and the help and comfort it had given them. This institution developed from a committee formed by a few women, who in the latter part of April, 1861, seeing a group of hungry troops waiting at the railroad station for transportation set about to provide the men with food and coffee, thus originating the idea of service upon which the refreshment saloon was based.[49] Unable to accomplish all the work themselves, the women enlisted the help of their husbands and friends who wholeheartedly co-operated with them.[50] These ambitious and thoughtful men and women very soon realized that it would be necessary to find some building in which to entertain the hungry soldiers, and Mr. William M. Cooper and his partner in business, Mr. Pearce, kindly proferred the use of their shop to the group. The Cooper Shop, situated in old Southwark, was a two-story brick building on Otsego Street about fifty yards south of Washington

48 Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke*, I, 292.

49 Among the women who first undertook the task of feeding troops were Mrs. William Cooper, Mrs. Grace Nickels, Mrs. Sarah Ewing, Mrs. Elizabeth Vansdale, Miss Catherine Vansdale, Mrs. Jane Coward, Mrs. Susan Turner, Mrs. Sarah Mellen, Miss Catherine Alexander, Miss Mary Plant, and Mrs. Capt. Watson. See James Moore, *History of the Cooper Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon* (Phila., 1866), 15.

50 Some of the men who collected materials and various provisions were Messrs. William M. Cooper, H. W. Pearce, Adam Simpson, W. R. S. Cooper, Jacob Plant, Samuel W. Nickels, Walker R. Mellen, Isaac Plant, Arthur S. Simpson, and William Morrison. See *Ibid.*, 15.

Avenue. It was thus conveniently near the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad's Baltimore Depot at Broad Street and Washington Avenue, through which Union troops were transported to Southern battlefields; troops returning from the South also marched through this part of Philadelphia. Before the war the two men had been engaged in manufacturing shooks for the sugar planters of the West Indies, but hostilities interrupted their business, and the partners turned their attention to the new enterprise occupying their establishment which soon demanded most of their time and efforts. It was Mr. Cooper and Mr. Pearce, aided by their friend Mr. Simpson who started collecting provisions for the Refreshment Saloon, bringing them first from their own homes, later from the homes of their neighbors. Before long the storekeepers in the vicinity, butchers and grocers, were supplying the Refreshment Saloon with food, and women from the *Neck*—then the garden spot of Philadelphia—drove in with wagons loaded with milk. When Mr. Cooper perceived that the women needed some facility whereby they conveniently could brew coffee within the shop itself, he suggested that the large fireplace in the building be placed at their disposal. Accordingly, a range of pressed brick and iron was built in the old fireplace on which could be made a hundred gallons of coffee per hour.

The first recorded instance of troops being fed in a body was on the bright morning of May 27, when the Cooper Shop fed Colonel Blenker's entire regiment.[51] After breakfast all the soldiers drew up in line and cheered both the Philadelphia ladies and the Refreshment Saloon. From time to time various souvenirs and curiosities sent by grateful soldiers found their way to the Shop from the South and other places. Among such mementos was a rough board boat in which two contraband Negroes had been picked up in Chesapeake Bay; a piece of the woodwork of the city ice boat which had been bored by a rifled cannon ball proved a less bulky souvenir; also included were a percussion musket taken at Fort Beauregard and a cutlass snatched from a Confederate officer. One soldier, wounded in the head by a rebel, had shot his assailant dead and seizing the sword which inflicted the cut had sent it back to be exhibited at the Refreshment Saloon.[52]

[51] James Moore, *Cooper Shop*, 18.
[52] *Ibid.*, 20.

As the work of the institution progressed, various improvements were suggested and carried out, the number of persons on the committee in charge of the shop was increased, and the accommodations extended until it was possible to feed a thousand men in an hour.

Established at approximately the same time, in the same part of the city, and carrying on the same work as the Cooper Shop, was their rival in goodwill, the Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon, located on Swanson Street below Washington Avenue. The need was great for both of the saloons, however, and the members of each cooperated in supplying the troops with food and with whatever additional articles the men might need. In order to avoid delay when large numbers of volunteers were to be fed, each organization had appointed several men to a committee for the reception of soldiers. This committee saw that an equal number of the troops were sent to the respective saloons. An arrangement was made with the railroad company transporting the troops whereby the company would forward to the committee notice several hours in advance of the coming of the volunteers; and whenever a group arrived by ferry from Camden, the roar of a small cannon would warn the committee of approaching guests. When the volunteers arrived in squads or battalions of less than two hundred, one saloon working a full twenty-four hours would entertain all the arrivals. The next day the other saloon would take over in turn. When this schedule was in effect the circle commenced at six o'clock in the evening. When a squad or battalion of more than two hundred appeared, the group of men would be divided and an equal number directed to each saloon. The staff was sent alternately to the Union then to the Cooper Shop. No matter at what hour volunteers arrived they would always find the committee in attendance.

In addition to supplying food for the troops both organizations established their own hospitals. Doctor Andrew Nebinger, who for three years gave his services freely although he had a large private practice, was the surgeon in charge of the hospital founded by the Cooper Shop. From time to time he was assisted by his brother, Doctor George Nebinger. Miss Anna M. Ross was the principal of the hospital, supervising the women of the neighborhood as they waited upon sick and wounded soldiers. The second story of the Refreshment Saloon was given over to the hospital, and donations

to carry on the work were procured by Mrs. Hatch, Mrs. Probaski, and Mrs. Neill. So successful were these women in soliciting funds that the new organization soon came to be recognized as a model hospital. Miss Dorothea Dix commended it highly and contributed a number of books to it.[53] By March 1, 1862, the hospital was extended to accommodate twenty-seven patients and a small apothecary shop was attached to it. The rooms were clean, well-lighted, and well-ventilated and, as the women in charge strove to achieve as homelike an atmosphere as possible, no military discipline was maintained in this establishment. When a patient, completely recovered, left the hospital, not only was he supplied with a testament and other religious books, but his clothes were refurbished from a supply of underclothing, hosiery, mittens, handkerchiefs, towels, and blankets kept for this purpose.

On May 17, 1863, Robert P. King, President of the Mount Moriah Cemetery, donated to the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon a large burial lot in which the committee could bury any who might die while in the hospital. The lot was located in the center of a new piece of ground and was surrounded by the improved lots of the Methodist Conference, the United Presbyterians, and the First Baptist Church. The Cooper Shop Soldiers' Home was also permitted to use this lot when an inmate died. However, of all the soldiers admitted to the hospital comparatively few died, as can be ascertained from the records, although these are incomplete. In 1862, the first year in which the establishment was open, 159 patients were treated, the following year 305 were helped; in 1865, 85 were admitted, 79 discharged, and 2 died; during the fourth year 12 patients died and 291 were discharged. The hospital closed in the autumn of 1865.[54]

The Cooper Shop Soldiers' Home was chartered by the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Philadelphia on February 15, 1862.[55] The purpose of this home was to aid or house discharged veterans from the army and the navy, and to take care of those who were disabled, sick, or otherwise in need of assistance. The managers found a suitable building, one that previously had been used as a hospital, on the northwest corner of Race and Crown Streets. The

[53] James Moore, *Cooper Shop*, 40.
[54] James Moore, *Cooper Shop*, 54–55.
[55] *Ibid.*, 95.

committee in charge purchased adjacent buildings from the government, and City Councils generously permitted the use of another structure which belonged to the city. The first money, $2,400, for the establishment of such a home was raised by means of a fair conducted by the women workers of the Cooper Shop under the direction of Miss Anna M. Ross.[56] After it was open any soldier passing through Philadelphia could obtain meals and lodgings there. Three years later, by an act of legislature, the Cooper Shop Soldiers' Home was permitted to merge with another, similar institution, the Soldiers' Home of Philadelphia, and the two became one organization in the spring of 1865.[57] In April of the following year the home moved into a three-story brick building at Sixteenth and Filbert Streets. This building, formerly a state arsenal, had been used as a hospital during the Rebellion; and the state allowed the institution the use of it without charge. The first floor contained the office, a laundry, library, matron's room, dining hall, kitchen, bakery, and storerooms; on the second floor were dormitories, an infirmary, and an apothecary's shop. The home maintained a school for soldiers which in addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic gave its pupils some vocational training, and when a veteran was discharged he received a certificate stating that he was competent to earn his own living. Daily Bible classes were also conducted in the spacious chapel provided for that purpose, and in the evenings musical entertainments were provided for the men. Although the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon closed August 28, 1865, the home continued to operate until 1872.

Another school for returned veterans similar to that set up in the Cooper Shop Soldiers' Home was established by the Reverend John Long at the Christian Street Hospital, of which he was chaplain, in January, 1865. Here the soldiers were taught the mysteries of telegraph operating and similar manual occupations.[58]

A charitable organization providing, not for the veterans them-

[56] Miss Ross died December 23, 1863, on the day the home was dedicated.

[57] The Board of Managers was: President, E. Wallace, M.D.; Vice-president, William M. Cooper; Treasurer, William Struthers; Recording Secretary, Edward S. Hall, Corresponding Secretary, George R. Birch; Andrew Nebinger, M.D., Thomas H. Rice, B. Frank Palmer, H. R. Warriner, Robert P. King, H. W. Pearce, Evan Randolph, and L. B. M. Dolby. See James Moore, *Cooper Shop*, 102.

[58] *Inquirer*, January 24, 1865.

selves, but for the children of those men who failed to return home from the war, was the Philadelphia home for destitute war orphans built and furnished in the spring of 1865. This new building at Twenty-third and Brown Streets was connected with the already established Home for Friendless Children.[59]

Included among the numerous military hospitals in and around Philadelphia were the McClellan, Summit House, Hestonville, Haddington, Cuyler Smallpox General, Turners Lane, Officers', Episcopal, Broad Street, St. Joseph's, Master Street, George Street, Fifth Street, Race Street, Twelfth Street, Filbert Street, South Street, Christian Street, Catharine Street, Wood Street, Citizens' Volunteer, Satterlee, and Chestnut Hill.[60] This list varied from time to time, especially after the Satterlee and Chestnut Hill Hospitals were completed. Many patients were then removed to these newer buildings from some of the smaller, temporary hospitals, which were then closed. Of all the hospitals in Philadelphia, until the completion of the one at Chestnut Hill, the Satterlee United States General Hospital, first known as the West Philadelphia General Hospital, was the largest. Situated at Baltimore Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, the building, with a capacity of 2,860 beds, was opened June 9, 1863, and closed August 3, 1865. Although rigid military discipline was enforced here, everything possible was done to make the patients comfortable; forty-two Sisters of Charity, women from the Ladies' Aid Society, Penn Relief Association, and the Ladies' Association for Soldiers' Relief were in constant attendance in the wards. A library, reading and writing room contained newspapers from various parts of the country, and a billiard room and entertainment hall were also provided. A military band supplied music for daily concerts as well as for dress parades, and dirges for the dead.[61] The Chestnut Hill, or Mower United States General Hospital, lying between Abington and Springfield Avenues, and the Chestnut Hill track of the Reading Railroad and County Line Road, was erected by the same contractor who built the Satterlee Hospital. Like it, Mower was of wood, rough cast upon the outside. With a capacity

[59] *Inquirer*, March 16, 1865.
[60] F. H. Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 226.
[61] *Ibid.*, 230–234.

at first of 2,820 beds, later of 4,000 beds, the hospital opened January 17, 1863.[62]

Due to its geographical position Philadelphia received patients both by ship and by rail, consequently the hospitals nearly always were full. The greatest tax on their facilities, however, came after the battle at Gettysburg, when the city was so crowded with suffering men that the hospitals were unable to care for them all, and many were lodged in fire houses and churches. The Methodist Church at Broad and Christian Streets, the Presbyterian Church at Broad and Fitzwater Streets, and Saint Theresa's at Broad and Catherine Streets were the most important of these. Although Philadelphia hospitals received a greater proportion of badly wounded soldiers than the service hospitals elsewhere, the percentage of deaths in this city was the lowest.[63]

During the year 1862, while the Union forces were experiencing depressing setbacks in their campaigns, Copperhead sentiment was heard in Philadelphia in an ever-increasing volume welcoming the news of Northern reversals and lauding the South. To combat these treacherous sympathies and to forward the Union cause, a group of men met in November, 1862, and formed what was first named the Union Club, soon changed to the Union League, whose purpose was, in Boker's phrase, ". . . to take treason by the throat." The men first met at the home of Benjamin Gerhard, 222 South Fourth Street, on November 15, 1862. A week later they reconvened at the home of George Boker, 1720 Walnut Street. At this meeting the Union Club was organized with a membership limited to fifty men.[64] On December 27, 1862, the club met at Doctor Meigs' home at 1208 Walnut Street, where the members voted to enlarge their organization and to call it the Union League of Philadelphia. For the clubhouse, the Kuhn Mansion at 1118 Chestnut Street was obtained. William M. Meredith was elected president, George H. Boker, secretary, and James L. Claghorn, treasurer. There were supposedly no partisan politics involved in the organization; all that was required of the members was their loyalty to the United States government and the support of its measures to defeat the Confederacy. It

62 F. H. Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 234–235.
63 F. H. Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 226.
64 Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, II, 372.

is alleged that within the League's first clubhouse, scores of hickory handles stood ready for immediate use should the rebels invade Philadelphia. However, while awaiting actual assault upon the Union League, its members were busy financing the war, maintaining an organized spy system in the South, and carrying on effective propaganda against the Copperheads, in addition to raising and equipping nine regiments and helping returned veterans to find employment.[65]

Two other organizations to which patriotic Philadelphians belonged were the Christian Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission. Both originated in New York and both had flourishing organizations in Philadelphia. The Christian Commission was founded in New York by a group of men belonging to the Young Men's Christian Association, and George H. Stuart of Philadelphia was elected permanent chairman of the Commission at large, as well as chairman of the executive committee.[66] The Philadelphia office was located at 1011 Chestnut Street, and here came soldiers and sailors seeking help, as well as strangers looking for relatives in the numerous military hospitals throughout the city. In addition to supplying needy volunteers with clothing, food, hospital stores, hymnals, testaments, prayer books, newspapers, and magazines, the delegates worked on the battlefields aiding the wounded, attending the dying, and burying the dead. During the four years of the war, this organization handled receipts in money and in goods amounting to $6,291,107, Philadelphia being one of the largest contributors.[67]

The work of the United States Sanitary Commission was in many respects similar to that carried on by the Christian Commission.

65 Wildes, *The Delaware*, 307.

66 Lemuel Moss, *Annals of the United States Christian Commission* (Phila., 1868), 110. Other Philadelphia citizens who served in the central office were Joseph Patterson, Rev. W. E. Boardman, John P. Crozer, and Jay Cooke. See *U. S. Christian Commission for the Army and Navy for the Year 1863* (Phila., 1864).

67 The Christian Commission was one of the first groups to institute some means by which wounded or dead Union soldiers could be identified upon the battlefield, and much to the gratification of soldiers' kin distributed to the troops a small card containing an eyelet through which a string was passed for suspension around the neck. On one side of this *Identifier*, as it was called, was printed "I am ———, Company ———, Regiment ———, Brigade ———, Corps ———. God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that who so ever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life." The reverse side bore the inscription "United States Christian Commission. Address My ———. Suspend from the neck by a cord, and wear over the shirt. In battle, under." *Inquirer*, March 1, 1865.

The Sanitary Commission developed in New York as a result of the efforts of a group of women under the leadership of the Reverend Henry W. Bellows. It was officially recognized by the Secretary of War in June, 1861, and soon branches were formed in all the large cities throughout the North.[68] Like the Christian Commission, but on an even larger scale, the Sanitary Commission endeavored to help soldiers on the front lines before and after battle. Hospital inspectors visited the army, and hospital trains and ships returned the wounded to the North. The commission published a general hospital directory for relatives of soldiers, maintained a claim agency and a pension agency, and established forty soldiers' homes. As these activities all required vast sums of money, various large fairs to raise funds were held in New York City, Brooklyn, Chicago, Boston, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia.

The Great Central Fair for the United States Sanitary Commission held at Philadelphia in June, 1864, was one of the outstanding war projects undertaken in the city. Early in that year the Executive Committee of the Women's Pennsylvania Branch of the Commission met and adopted a resolution authorizing the Executive Committee of Philadelphia to proceed with the organization of a fair.[69] Among the various committees was one whose duty was to obtain from those people who had not contributed in any other way, a day's income derived from their labor or revenue. This committee visited, among other places, Allentown, Altoona, Bethlehem, Catasauqua, Chester, Duncannon, Easton, Frankford, Harrisburg, Johnstown, Manayunk, Mauch Chunk, Pottsville, and Reading, in addition to Camden, Princeton, and Trenton in New Jersey, and collected in all over two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.[70] Logan Square was agreed upon

[68] Among the members of the executive committee of the local organization in Philadelphia in 1864 were Horace Binney, Jr., chairman, Matthew W. Baldwin, the Rev. Dr. H. A. Boardman, John C. Cresson, J. I. Clark Hare, John F. Meigs, M.D., Samuel Powell, Thomas T. Tasker, Edward Hartshorne, Caleb Cope, and R. M. Lewis. See *Officers and Associates of the U. S. Sanitary Commission in Philadelphia, 1864.*

[69] The officers of the executive committee for the Fair were John Welsh, chairman; Caleb Cope, treasurer; Charles J. Stillé, corresponding secretary; Horace Howard Furness, recording secretary; George W. Hunter and William B. Drayton, assistant secretaries. Charles J. Stillé, *Memorial of the Great Central Fair for the U. S. Sanitary Commission, held at Philadelphia, June, 1864* (Phila., 1864), 18.

[70] Stillé, *Central Fair*, 44, 20.

as the most suitable place for the Fair buildings. It was thought that the level ground and arching trees of the Square would lend themselves pleasantly to the final effect. Accordingly, during the spring, there were erected, within forty working days, large structures of tent cloth and wood, covering a superficial area of more than two hundred thousand square feet. Union Avenue, the main architectural feature, was a great Gothic arch 540 feet long and 64 feet wide. Branches of the trees were permitted to enter the roof of the building, and these, as they hung above the banners and trophies on the walls, produced an unusual effect. Tables or counters were built along the sides and down the center of the hall for the display of innumerable objects. There were exhibitions of everything conceivable, books and stationery, all types of clothing, hardware, photographs, machinery, and perfume, equipment for houses and farms, as well as exhibits from military hospitals, government departments, and displays from foreign countries. There was also a Hall of Arms and Trophies containing relics and curiosities; and a horticultural department, a restaurant, school department, and art gallery.

The buildings were open to receive goods on June 1 and opened to visitors June 8, 1864, at ten o'clock in the morning. At the inaugural ceremonies on that day, when distinguished guests had taken their places upon the stage, and just as Mayor Henry was preparing to speak, the temporary platform on which the choir was sitting collapsed, tumbling the singers and musicians to the ground. Several people were seriously injured, but after a brief discussion, the committee in charge decided to continue with the planned program. The Honorable Alexander Henry, the first to speak, was followed by John C. Cresson, chairman of the committee of arrangements, and by Theodore Cuyler, on behalf of the executive committee. Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been delegated by President Lincoln to receive the gift of the Fair, dedicated to the use of the sick and wounded in the army and navy. Governor Cannon of Delaware, and Governor Parker of New Jersey made speeches and the ceremony was closed by Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania. As a result of the collapse of the singers' platform, the hymn which Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote for the occasion had to be omitted.[71] The Fair lasted for three weeks, during which rain was reported only

[71] Stillé, *Central Fair*, 26–31.

once, and listed a total of 442,658 admissions, the daily average being approximately 29,510 persons.[72]

One of the popular sights was the horticultural department, where in a rotunda, ninety-seven feet in diameter, rare plants and flowers were arranged in concentric circles. The center was a lake into which fountains played; these were illuminated at night with thousands of gas burners, while orchestral music added to the fairy-tale atmosphere. Ducks swam about in the water; statues and the inevitable iron deer punctuated the display. Another department that was always crowded was the restaurant. Here nine thousand persons daily nibbled at or gorged themselves on the tempting delicacies offered. To provide for the diners, thirty cooks were continuously occupied, and the receipts amounted to $72,000.

The children of Philadelphia worked as hard as the adults to assure the success of the Fair. The school department, in which both private and public schools were represented, contributed $45,589. To raise this amount the children gave concerts, readings, tea parties, festivals, exhibitions, and made needlework and other fancy goods. Indeed, so industriously did they work that one of the city newspapers reported the courses of study in the grammar schools to have been so upset that the Board of Control had resolved to dispense with the semi-annual examination, and to divide the admissions to the high schools among the grammar schools according to the averages of the last six years.[73]

On June 16 President Lincoln, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, visited the Fair. The President was escorted by a special committee which had been sent to Washington to invite him to attend. The Fair was finally closed on Tuesday evening, June 28, 1864. All the remaining articles were sold at auction. At midnight on July 6, by report, the auctioneer sold the last article, an oil painting of the Great Central Fair. All in all the undertaking had proved very successful, although it had required an enormous amount of effort, and the executive committee were able to report a total net proceed of $1,010,976.68.[74]

[72] *Ibid.*, 134.
[73] *Inquirer*, July 11, 1864.
[74] Stillé, *Central Fair*, 150.

Throughout the entire four years of the war, Philadelphia was constantly aware of the threat of rebel invasions, but apprehension rose to great height on three occasions, namely in September and October of 1862, in June and July of 1863, and in July of 1864. In the autumn of 1862 after the Union troops had been defeated at Manassas, it was learned that General Lee had planned an invasion of Maryland, which might extend into Pennsylvania and ultimately reach Philadelphia. The inhabitants of the city held mass meetings early in September to determine what might be done to defend their homes in case the Southern army should appear, and the Home Guard renewed their activities. On September 11 Governor Curtin sent to Mayor Henry an urgent request for troops to defend the state capital, saying that the Confederate army was on its way to Harrisburg. City Councils immediately called an extra session; workingmen in groups offered their services to the city; and four days later, on September 15, Philadelphia sent two batteries, the city artillery, and the First Regiment of the Reserve Brigade to Harrisburg. The following day, the Committee on the Defence of the City appropriated $50,000 to provide protection against the expected rebels, and a company called the Independent City Guards was organized and equipped with Springfield rifles.[75] After the battle of Antietam, Lee retreated to Virginia, and after a four days' sojourn at Harrisburg, the Philadelphia troops returned home.

The next general alarm that sounded in the city heralded a far more serious threat of invasion. During the summer of 1863, General Lee, finding another opportunity to invade the North, crossed the Potomac River and marched into southern Pennsylvania with the Army of the Potomac hot in pursuit. On Tuesday, June 16, 1863, Governor Curtin issued a request for volunteers from Philadelphia, stating that for almost a week it had been known that the rebels were about to enter Pennsylvania in force, that the President had issued a proclamation calling out the militia, but that Philadelphia had not responded.[76] The city's apparent indifference resulted from various causes—the Confederate army was not yet in Pennsylvania, the preceding year troops had been sent on a somewhat fruitless trip to Harrisburg, and there was also some difficulty about the term of

[75] *Public Ledger*, September 15 and 16, 1862.
[76] *Public Ledger*, June 17, 1863.

service for volunteers. Through misrepresentation and mistakes at Harrisburg many men who had gone to the capital returned home without enlisting for the emergency. In the previous year many of the men had been armed without being sworn into either the federal or the state forces. Great disorder and confusion, hindrance to discipline, and difficulty in adjusting service pay—for many imposters later appeared claiming service—resulted from this omission. To remedy the confusion General Couch and Governor Curtin agreed in 1863 that volunteers should be mustered into the army, since the United States had established military depots while the state had none. The term of service was to be for no longer than six months, and as soon as the Governor announced the end of the emergency the volunteers were to be released.[77] Many men, however, continued to object and raised the question as to just how long the Governor would wait before he declared the emergency over. Others objected to serving in the United States Army. As emergency volunteers were needed, some satisfactory agreement was required, and accordingly on Saturday, June 27, Governor Curtin issued another proclamation calling for sixty thousand men to serve for three months. Whoever volunteered was to be mustered into the service of the state, not that of the federal government, for a period of ninety days, and to serve only as much of that period as was deemed necessary for the safety of the state.[78]

As the Confederate forces entered Pennsylvania and continued to advance toward the capital, Philadelphia commenced to realize the possibility of portending disaster. In a special meeting City Councils voted $500,000 for the enlistment, equipment, and pay of volunteers who would enlist in the city for three months' service. The Blue and Gray Reserves were called into action, a company of a hundred was formed from the police force, and the Home Guards were reorganized. Recruiting was carried on in Independence Square. As Philadelphians perceived the inevitability of a clash between Northern and Southern troops within the state, excitement rose to a new pitch. On Monday, June 29, crowds gathered in Chestnut Street to discuss the situation and to learn the latest developments; little accurate information was obtainable, but rumors were abundant. In the morning Mayor

[77] *Public Ledger*, June 22, 1863.
[78] *Public Ledger*, June 27, 1863.

Henry issued a proclamation calling all able-bodied men to meet at designated places in the different wards to organize and equip themselves for the defence of the city. He also urged the businessmen to close their establishments at three o'clock in the afternoon so that their employees might organize militia companies and receive military instruction. The same day, a group of men were sent to the northern and western parts of the city to reconnoitre and report on the most favorable places for erecting barriers and fortifications. Doctor A. L. Kennedy, President of the Polytechnic College, offered his own and the services of his students to assist in digging trenches.[79] Earthworks were built up on the south side of Chestnut Street, east of its junction with Darby Road; on the east side of the Schuylkill River near the United States Arsenal; on the west side of the Schuylkill below Gray's Ferry Bridge; at the east end of Girard Avenue Bridge; at Hestonville, near Lancaster Avenue; and on School House Lane near Ridge Road. So far as it can be ascertained no guns were mounted. The total cost for these defences was $51,537.37.[80] As the danger increased, families were sent farther north, specie, plate, and other treasures were buried. The Pennsylvania Railroad brought its rolling stock into Philadelphia, Emergency Men were formed into regiments, and troops were sent from the city to Harrisburg day and night. On July 15 news came of the defeat of the Confederates at Gettysburg; the danger once more had been averted, but victory was modified by the large number of casualties which soon arrived in Philadelphia.

The Confederate cavalry raid on Pennsylvania in July, 1864, which resulted in the burning of Chambersburg by the rebels, raised little excitement in Philadelphia. Volunteers responded to the President's demand for men to serve for one hundred days, but the intense sense of danger felt in the city the previous year before the battle at Gettysburg was lacking. However, citizens did answer a call to aid the destitute inhabitants of Chambersburg. On Wednesday, August 4, 1864, a meeting was held in the Board of Trade rooms to determine what could be done on behalf of the people of the ruined town. A witness of the destruction gave his account of the fire, and a committee was organized to make collections for a Chambersburg

79 *Public Ledger*, June 30, 1863.
80 F. H. Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 245.

fund.[81] The next Saturday a group of Philadelphia women also met at the Board of Trade rooms and determined to open a general depot to receive clothes, materials, bedding, and other articles needed by Chambersburg. The women also requested the various pastors to announce the work from the pulpits, appealed for aid to the city merchants, and asked the newspaper editors to relate in their papers the efforts being made to help the town.[82]

In spite of the threat of rebel invasions, by no means all Philadelphians were Unionists. Many Democrats and Copperheads lived in the city, due to its proximity to the South. As the war progressed many people growing alarmed at the slaughter and expense it entailed desired arbitration and peace no matter what the price. With such encouragement the Copperheads became quite outspoken and several lively political campaigns ensued in the city. On June 22, 1861, the People's Party, in a convention held to select a nominee for the Second Congressional District, adopted resolutions denouncing the Rebellion, and pledging their support of the members of the federal government. Two days later, the Democrats meeting in a convention adopted similar resolutions. During the same day the Constitutional Union convention likewise convened and adopted resolutions appointing a committee of citizens to act irrespective of party in nominating a candidate to represent the Second Congressional District.[83] In the autumn of 1862, the National Union party, without making any reference to the Republicans, nominated a full party ticket headed by Alexander Henry for mayor.[84] The election on October 14 was carried out in an orderly manner, and the victory went to the National Unionists. Mayor Henry received a majority of 5,088, but the rest of the city ticket only won a majority of about three thousand.[85] In the state, however, the Democrats were successful in electing their candidates by a majority of approximately five thousand. In celebration of this victory as well as of ones in Ohio and Indiana, the Democrats held a jubilee in Independence Square the evening of October 30.[86]

81 *Public Ledger*, August 4, 1864.
82 *Public Ledger*, August 8, 1864.
83 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 770.
84 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 801.
85 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 803.
86 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 804.

The following March, 1863, Congressman Vallandigham arrived from Ohio and was serenaded by enthusiastic followers at the Girard House, where he was staying while in Philadelphia. However, when he attempted to express his ideas concerning arbitration and peace at a mass meeting, he was frequently interrupted by unsympathetic hecklers in the crowd. On June 1, the Democrats held another large meeting to protest the arrest and court martialing of Vallandigham on a charge of implied treason, which they declared violated the Constitution. Bitter speeches asserted that the correct and legal remedy was an appeal to the ballot box and not to the use of force which would cause more harm than good.

Pennsylvania had been a Democratic state, and the result of the elections in the fall of 1864 was uncertain, for Governor Curtin's majority had not been large, only fifteen thousand in a total vote of more than a half million.[87] After Lincoln was renominated by the Republican Convention held in Baltimore during June, 1864, and his opponent George B. McClellan was nominated in Chicago in August, active campaigning in Philadelphia began in earnest. The Republicans held a mass meeting in Independence Square to ratify the nomination of Lincoln, and the Democrats held a similar meeting at the same place a week later to ratify McClellan's nomination. These two gatherings set the precedent for various political meetings held throughout the city. Marching clubs were organized. These held torchlight processions in Philadelphia, and proceeded to stone each other whenever two or more different groups chanced to meet in the rowdy sections of town. And on October 29, the Democrats held a procession reputed to have been six or seven miles in length. The Republicans were worried over the final outcome of the election, and they had cause to fear, as their party seemed to be losing ground. However, the campaigns of the war helped them. On September 5, 1864, Sherman reached Atlanta, by November Grant's campaign in Virginia seemed less hopeless, and Philadelphia returned a majority for Lincoln of 11,762 votes. The state majority was somewhat smaller in proportion.[88]

In the midst of political and military conflict, Philadelphia took the time to become concerned with so mundane a matter as a rise

[87] Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, II, 379.
[88] Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 818.

in the fares charged by the various street railway companies. The original price of a trip had been five cents but, due to the increased cost of materials as the result of the war, the companies felt it necessary to the raise the fare to six cents.[89] While this naturally dissatisfied most of the passengers their protest then was a minor matter when compared to that which followed a second rise in the price of carfares early in 1865. At this time the price was advanced to seven cents, a rate deemed by most people to be an "unjustifiable extortion."[90]

The street railways were also the targets for the agitation carried on by the Philadelphia Negroes for the right to ride in the cars. They claimed that of all the Northern cities, only Philadelphia refused to let them ride in the street cars, and since Negroes paid the same taxes as other city dwellers, they thought they should be allowed to use the public transportation facilities.[91] As a result of this agitation, early in January, 1865, the Ridge Avenue Passenger Railway Company commenced running a special car for Negroes. It left the depot twelve times daily and made the same number of trips from Second and Arch Streets. A sign on both sides of the car read "Colored Persons Allowed to Ride on this Car."[92] The arrangement, however, soon proved unsatisfactory, for both Negroes and whites felt that the former were too much discriminated against. An announcement signed by numerous prominent Philadelphia citizens soon appeared in the city newspapers:

> The undersigned invite the citizens of Philadelphia, who are opposed to the exclusion of respectable persons from the Passenger Railroad Cars, on the ground of complexion, to unite with them in a Public Meeting, to be held at Concert Hall, on Friday evening, the 13th instant, to consider the subject, and to take such action as may be deemed advisable.[93]

The meeting was held accordingly and those present passed resolutions requesting the directors of the various companies to withdraw the seclusion rule, asking them to abolish special cars, which were as unjust as seclusion, and appointing a committee of men to present

89 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 805.

90 *Inquirer*, February 2, 1865.

91 William Still, *A Brief Narrative of the Struggle for the rights of the Colored People of Philadelphia in the City Railway Cars* (Phila., 1867), 44.

92 *Inquirer*, January 2, 1865.

93 *Inquirer*, January 11, 1865.

in person a copy of the resolutions to each president of a railway company, to request his reply, and to make the results known to the public on or before January 25.[94] The result of this and other meetings was that the railway companies decided to settle the entire matter by a vote taken among the passengers. To this end slips of paper on which was printed a request to sign either for or against colored persons riding on all the railways were distributed on all the cars. Although no signature was required, space was provided for noting the residence of the voter, which may have been done in an attempt to prevent duplication. During the first day on which voting took place, the prevailing opinion seemed to have been to allow Negroes to ride in separate cars, as one wag indicated equipped with "colored drivers, colored conductors, and colored horses." One ticket which favored the plan for Negroes and white persons riding together was inscribed "equal rights the world over"; on another was written "one man is as good as another," but a fourth protested "never! never! never!"[95] The whole question raised considerable interest in various parts of the city and among different peoples. Two students, Arthur H. Davis and a Cuban named Domingo Garcia, who were boarding in a house on Spruce Street became involved in such a heated argument over the question, that the women in the house grew alarmed, and the two left. Later when they met again both demanded apologies and nothing short of a duel would satisfy Garcia. He insisted that Davis meet him according to the code of honor, but the American was ready to settle the matter at once with a fist fight. He supposedly struck Garcia, who immediately drew a revolver and fired it at Davis, but fortunately the latter was not hit. Both boys were arrested and had difficulty in obtaining bail.[96] Fortunately most arguments concerning the problem did not lead to such consequences as this. Although considerable effort was made to settle the problem, little was really accomplished. Many riders refused to vote, and as the proceedings were not acceptable to the agitators, the question remained unresolved until the spring of 1867 when a bill passed the Pennsylvania legislature permitting colored persons to ride on all Philadelphia railway cars.

[94] *Inquirer*, January 14, 1865.
[95] *Inquirer*, January 31, 1865.
[96] *Inquirer*, January 31, 1865.

At the same time that the Negroes were attempting to improve their position, Philadelphia sewing women were agitating to obtain an increase in the wages paid them by contractors. As the work at the government arsenals was gradually decreasing, more and more of the women were forced to work for private contractors who paid what was termed starvation wages. A comparison of the contractors' prices with those paid by the arsenals shows the noticeable difference between the two:

article	contractor	arsenal
shirts	7 cents	18 cents
drawers	7 "	13 "
trousers	17 @ 20 "	40 "
blouses	13 @ 16 "	42 "
cavalry jackets	40 @ 50 "	120 "
infantry coats	50 @ 75 "	125 "
greatcoats	40 "	90 " [97]

In order to secure a remedy for this discrepancy, the women held a meeting Thursday evening, January 19, 1865, at Jefferson Hall, Sixth and Christian Streets. Here it was learned that one woman who had a family of four children entirely dependent upon her, and one daughter who assisted her in the sewing earned but $4.88 per week. Another woman received $1.00 for sixteen military caps when the pay originally was $1.25 per dozen caps. At this meeting a committee was appointed to visit President Lincoln in Washington to solicit his aid. The following Thursday morning the women saw the President, together with Simon Cameron, Charles O'Neil, John W. Forney, and other men. President Lincoln summoned General Thomas who was instructed to see that justice was done to the women. The latter returned home stating that the interview had been very successful.

The drafts in Philadelphia caused relatively little disturbance, perhaps because a great number of men volunteered. Moreover, the police were always ready to intervene at any indication of trouble. President Lincoln on August 4, 1862, issued his proclamation for the first draft, and four days later issued another proclamation forbidding any United States citizen liable for military service to leave the

[97] *Inquirer*, January 20, 1865.

country before the draft was made. To make certain that this order would be obeyed, the provost marshal and his guard, assisted by a squad of policemen, took possession of a dock from which the sailing vessel *Zerah* was scheduled to leave Philadelphia for Londonderry, Ireland, on August 12. No one was allowed to sail who could not display a passport. In this way a number of those attempting to escape the draft were apprehended. On August 24, deputy marshals going through the city making an enrollment of men liable to the draft were attacked by a crowd of both men and women on Milton Street above Eleventh. In the resulting struggle, one man, Patrick Blue, was arrested, and a file of soldiers was detailed to guard the street, disperse the mob, and prevent any recurring outbreaks.[98] The first Pennsylvania draft was made during the autumn months of 1862, but no draft was taken in Philadelphia because the raising of a bounty fund had secured sufficient volunteers to fill the city quota.

The President issued another proclamation on July 9, 1863, for a second draft, calling for three hundred thousand men to serve for three years. Accordingly on the fifteenth of the month the draft commenced in the Fourteenth Ward of the city. The citizens evinced much interest in the proceedings, but no trouble occurred. The drawing was made out-of-doors at Broad and Spring Garden Streets, and the only interruptions were the ejaculations of some surprised individuals when they heard their names read out.[99] The draft continued daily in the other wards until August 5, but there was never any disturbance. On the first of February following, President Lincoln issued another proclamation increasing the draft demanded in July to five hundred thousand men. This made Philadelphia's quota over thirteen thousand. Immediately the citizens in the various wards undertook with much success to raise this number by volunteers. On December 20, 1864, the President issued the last call, for three hundred thousand men to be met by a draft February 15, 1865, if a sufficient number of men had not hitherto volunteered.[100]

98 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 800–801.

99 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 809.

100 To many men it was obvious that the method of raising troops during the Civil War by resorting to an inadequate and inequitable method of drafting was unsatisfactory, as may be perceived from the following: "In conclusion the Commission feel it their duty to express their opinion of the inadequacy of the present system of raising troops, the results of which

Although Philadelphia's quota at this time was 11,486 men, the city was credited with about two thousand men including the overplus on the last draft and new enlistments, which reduced the number of men to approximately nine thousand. The draft commenced in the city in the First and Second Wards on February 23 and continued daily until the Eleventh Ward was finished on February 28. At this time it was stopped at the request of prominent citizens to allow the other wards to fill their quotas by enlistments. On March 22, 1865, just before the fall of Richmond, the last draft held in Philadelphia was made in the Twenty-fifth Ward.[101]

As soon as the President's proclamation had been made in December, 1864, preparations were begun in the city to avoid the necessity of holding a draft. As many men were already serving in the army and navy, a greater effort than ever before was needed to raise volunteers and substitutes. Various companies advertised in the newspapers: "Principals furnished with substitutes at the shortest notice and at low prices," or ". . . giving the very highest price for substitutes and volunteers. No humbug." During the early part of January, 1865, $475 were paid to one-year volunteers, and two or three year substitutes received $1,400. A bounty of $400 was offered to men who had served two years continuously in the army or marine corps and who having been honorably discharged were willing to re-enlist in a regiment of the Veteran Reserve Corps. Discharged veterans were also invited to enlist in companies serving in the city and so receive a bounty of $340. Prices varied from time to time. Later in January substitutes offered $700, one-year volunteers $350, and invalids (limited service) $375. Some substitutes themselves advertised their services; one such, describing himself as "a gentleman of foreign birth and military training," was willing to serve in place of anyone with enough influence to obtain for him a commission in some regiment, preferably cavalry, which was

are seen in the quickly recurring calls for enormous numbers of men. The corrupting influence of large bounties is widely spread, and appears to be daily extending. It encourages and facilitates the prevalent vice of desertion, and the only regret which the Commission feel in looking back over many months of toil, is that the money intended to cheer the hearth of the absent patriot has in too many cases, gone into the hands of the professional bounty-jumper, whose name, indeed, has remained credited to the City, but whose place in the ranks remains to be filled." *Report of the City Bounty Fund Commission* (Phila., 1864).

101 Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, I, 820–821.

already in the field.[102] Meetings were held in the various wards to determine what action to take regarding the present draft. As each group attempted to reduce the quota of men it was required to furnish, efforts were made to correct the enrollment lists, and all citizens who were exempt from military service due to age, infirmity, or occupation, were requested to remove their names from the lists. The Twentieth Ward assessed each possible draftee $25.00 in an effort to raise a sufficient bounty fund. Other wards likewise assessed their members, threatening them with the possibility of an army term if any reneged, and many individuals contributed sizable sums of money. The treasurer of the Twelfth Ward bounty fund on January 12, 1865, reported that since August 9, 1864, $8,293.50 in cash had been collected. Out of this $7,865 had been paid to ninety recruits. The expense of printing and advertising had been $227.25, which to date left a balance of $201.25 in the fund.[103]

Government bounty in 1865 paid $100 to one-year volunteers, $200 to two-year volunteers, and $300 to one serving for three years. The amounts were paid in installments, a one-year volunteer when mustered in received $33.33, a two-year volunteer $66.66, and a three-year volunteer $100. The two other installments were paid to the men during their service. The monthly pay of a private, volunteer, substitute, or draftee was $16 a month. Citizens were warned that drafted men received no bounty, neither did their substitutes, nor did men liable to the draft who were furnished in advance. Substitutes for persons not liable to the draft were considered volunteers and could collect federal and municipal bounties as well as whatever sum their principal had agreed to pay them. Substitutes for those not liable to the draft could be persons who were so liable. An enrolled man who furnished an alien as a substitute was exempt for the time of the service of the substitute, unless the alien became a naturalized citizen or declared his intention to do so. Should this occur, both the substitute and his principal were liable to the draft. Men could enlist as a substitute in either the army or the navy, but the navy set a minimum age limit of twenty-three years.[104]

As time elapsed City Councils increased the bounty paid by

102 *Inquirer*, January 18, 1865.
103 *Inquirer*, January 12, 1865.
104 *Inquirer*, January 2, 1865.

Philadelphia to $400 for one-year volunteers, $450 for two-year volunteers, and $500 for three-year volunteers. Notices meant to encourage volunteering were published, showing that with the addition of a government bounty, twelve months' pay, plus a ward bounty, each volunteer would receive the munificent sum of $700 within the year. Philadelphia would pay a volunteer $400, the government $100, and a ward would probably supply $25. In addition to this, his family would receive perhaps $150 a year from a relief fund, all of which with $192 pay for the year totaled $867. This amounted to approximately $16 per week, a sum which compared favorably with the prevailing weekly wage of from $12 to $15 on which many men supported their families and themselves.[105] Of course the volunteer always ran the risk of being shot, but if he remained at home his city might be invaded. The final report of the City Bounty Fund Commission indicated that the total recruitment from Philadelphia amounted to 93,323 soldiers and sailors, of this number bounties were paid to 25,300. The exact number of men who enlisted in Philadelphia can not be ascertained definitely, however, for many soldiers served two or three separate enlistments.[106]

During the early months of 1865 it was evident that the tide of battle had turned in favor of the North. To observe the capture of Charleston, South Carolina, and of Fort Sumter, on Wednesday, February 22, Philadelphia held the first of several celebrations honoring military triumphs. On this first occasion, banks and public offices were closed, buildings were decorated, salutes were fired, and parades organized,[107] but the display was overshadowed by the subsequent celebration following the fall of Petersburg and Richmond in April. A dispatch reached the city at eleven o'clock Monday morning, April 3, stating, "Richmond is Ours." An hour later Secretary of War Stanton sent to Mayor Henry a confirmation of this brief but stirring communication and the news was announced by the ringing of the State House bell. The excitement in the city grew to an uproar as other bells were rung, whistles blown, and people marched through the main streets in impromptu parades.

105 *Inquirer*, January 21, 1865.
106 F. H. Taylor, *Philadelphia*, 267.
107 *Inquirer*, February 23, 1865.

On Tuesday, the excitement still continued but the celebration while just as enthusiastic was more organized. The sunrise was greeted by three national salutes fired under the direction of Major John A. Wimer, commander of the city arsenal, and by a salute of thirty-six guns fired by the University Light Artillery, Captain William W. Montgomery commanding. Later in the morning the members of the Union League met in front of their clubhouse and marched to Independence Square where a large meeting was held. All the Philadelphians who could crowd in front of the State House heard Charles Gibbons open the meeting, and an address by the Reverend Doctor Brainerd, and a prayer by the Reverend Philips Brooks. At the conclusion the Reverend Doctor Nevin announced the Doxology, but the band stationed in the State House steeple mistook his signal and commenced playing the Star Spangled Banner. Immediately following the national anthem, however, the players rectified their error. The recent victories had so stirred the creative spirit of the Reverend Doctor Stockton, pastor of the Independent Church, Eleventh and Wood Streets, that he had penned a number of verses and set them to the tune of Old Hundred. These, too, were sung at the meeting.[108] At noon the Keystone Battery fired a salute of one hundred guns for the Union League. At the same time the Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon Committee left the Washington Street wharf for a trip along the city's water front on the steam tug *Mayor Brewerton*. The boat was gaily decorated with flags and carried provisions for the well-being of the company as well as a supply of ammunition for the one hundred gun salute to be fired on leaving and on returning. In the afternoon parades were

[108] *Inquirer*, April 5, 1865. Tune—*Old Hundred*

Now let all hearts and voices raise
From earth to heaven Jehovah's praise;
Adore His goodness in the past,
And trust Him long as time shall last!
For lo! He rose upon His throne,
He spoke the word, our foes have gone.
O'er Petersburg, from Richmond's brow,
The Stars and Stripes are floating now!
All hail, the Triumph of the Brave!
All hail, the Freedom of the Slave!
Weep for the Dead! the Wounded love!
And still praise Him who reigns above.

staged. One such was organized by a group of about four hundred men, employees of the arsenal at Grey's Ferry Road. Carrying a large American flag and led by a band, the men marched through some of the principal streets of the city, while crowds lining the sidewalks cheered them as they passed. As the happy day ended, a salute of one hundred guns was fired at sunset by the Union Artillery for the city.[109]

Later in the week City Councils announced the following resolutions:

Whereas, It has pleased Almighty God, after four years of war to give the people of the United States a signal victory over those in rebellion against the national authority, *and whereas*, it is becoming a Christian people to make public acknowledgment to Him who has made and preserved them a nation; therefore,

Resolved, by the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia, that the citizens of Philadelphia, be and they are hereby reminded that in the earnest afforded to them by the successes of the Federal arms, that the days of peace are not far distant, they should acknowledge that "this is the finger of God." While they manifest the joy that animates their souls they should not forget the expression of obligations to the Giver of every good thing, who has thus reassured the people of the continuance of the nation.

Resolved, That the citizens of Philadelphia are urged to give attention to the proclamation of the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, inviting them to assemble in their several places of worship on the next Sabbath, to return thanks as therein recommended.[110]

Accordingly, on the next Sunday, services were conducted throughout the city. In the morning at their usual service most churches observed the governor's suggestion for a day of thanksgiving, but some churches held special meetings later. A large crowd assembled in the afternoon at the American Mechanics Building, Fourth and George Streets below Girard Avenue, where a meeting was conducted by members of the Christian Commission. In the evening a Grand Union Thanksgiving meeting was held in the Church of the Epiphany, Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets, at which the rector, the Reverend Doctor Newton presided. While those assembled were listening to the addresses of several field agents of the Christian Commission, Doctor Newton received word that General Lee had surrendered. For a time he was perplexed as to what procedure to follow; to announce the news would be to break up the meeting, but

109 *Inquirer*, April 5, 1865.
110 *Inquirer*, April 7, 1865.

to withhold it was equally impossible, for obvious excitement was arising outside the church. Consequently, Doctor Newton, omitting all details, quietly announced the good news. The audience had difficulty in refraining from cheering, and after singing several appropriate hymns the people were dismissed.[111]

The news of Lee's surrender reached Philadelphia about nine-thirty Sunday evening and was first announced from the office of the *Inquirer* to a number of people gathered there to read the latest dispatches. The shouting quickly attracted other people to the scene and soon a large crowd was assembled about the building, now illuminated from top to bottom. The news was telegraphed throughout the city, and before long various fire companies turned out with their apparatus to add the noise of their bells and whistles to the growing din. Some people, awakened by the roar of cannon and rattle of musketry, feared that a dreadful calamity had occurred in the lower part of the city, but on being informed of the rightful cause of the racket, joined those already in the streets and marched about shouting and cheering "Old Abe" and Ulysses S. Grant in particular, and the Union Army in general. As soon as the managers of the Chestnut Street Theatre learned the news, they illuminated their building and displayed a canvas on which was printed "God has Grant-ed us Victory!" across the front of the theatre. Other buildings, public and private, were soon illuminated and the celebration continued throughout the night; the groups marching through the streets kept everyone awake with the noise of their fiddles, drums, and horns, and although it rained on Monday the celebrations continued on that day as well until late in the evening.[112]

The following Thursday, April 13, 1865, a bill was introduced into Councils designating the next Monday, April 17, as the day, weather permitting, for a great celebration in honor of the national victories. Plans were made for a parade of servicemen, firemen, and representatives of the various trades. At night a large outdoor meeting was to be held in Penn Square. Business was to be suspended everywhere, in the Navy Yard, the arsenals, public offices, and private enterprises, to permit all the employees to partake in the demonstrations. The public schools were to be illuminated in the evening, and Councils

111 *Inquirer*, April 10, 1865.
112 *Inquirer*, April 10, 1865.

voted $1,000 to light other public buildings. Preparations to illuminate the State House were begun and workingmen were busy laying pipes from the main on Chestnut Street to provide the necessary gas for the lights. Each window of the Hall and its wings, sixty-four in all, was to contain a star and the name of a prominent Union General, all formed of gas jets.[113]

However, in the midst of the preparations for the coming gala day, calamitous news descended from Washington to suspend all thoughts of any victorious celebration—President Lincoln had been assassinated. Although the intelligence was telegraphed to Philadelphia about eleven o'clock in the evening, it was not generally known till Saturday morning, then the information quickly spread throughout the awakening city. Again thousands of people gathered around the newspaper offices hoping to hear some contradictory message, but their hope was in vain, for additional news soon arrived confirming the attack on Lincoln in Ford's Theatre, and his consequent death. Men and women alike turned from the bulletin boards with tears in their eyes and sorrowfully made their ways home. In honor of the deceased president, the fronts of the houses were soon draped in suitable mourning, befitting symbol of the grief that enveloped the city. Party distinction was forgotten in the sadness which was apparent everywhere. Although large throngs gathered in the streets, unusual quiet and order prevailed. Commerce ceased, stores and workshops, the courts, the Navy Yard, mercantile houses, brokers and other associations, all closed their places of business, lowered their flags to half-mast, and commenced decorating their establishments with black crepe, while the bells of Philadelphia added their slow mournful tolling to the dismal atmosphere. Led by the bell in the State House steeple, church bells, and engine bells tolled during the greater part of the day: no one could escape their sound. When the Independence Steam Fire Engine Company, on George Street below Second, learned the news, the men commenced ringing the large bell which hung in the cupola of their house; and fastened to the front of the black-draped building was a placard stating "We mourn! Our Chief has fallen!" On the Delaware, the steamboats which plied to and from Camden flew crepe-hung flags, while many smaller craft exhibited so profuse an amount of sable that even the

[113] *Inquirer*, April 15, 1865.

river assumed an appearance of mourning. The Union League closed early in the day; its windows were also draped. The managers of the several theatres in the city met and agreed not to open their houses Saturday evening.

On Saturday afternoon, numerous places of worship were opened to the public. An interdenominational service was conducted at the Church of the Epiphany, and a similar service at which the congregation was reported as displaying "great feeling" was held at St. John's Methodist Episcopal Church on Third Street below George.

City Councils called a special meeting at four o'clock Saturday afternoon to take action relative to the death of the late president, and at this time several resolutions were passed, the preamble of which follows:

> . . . Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, has been assassinated, and the death of so good a man, so pure a patriot, and so efficient a Chief Magistrate, at this juncture of our national troubles, has smothered the sounds of [joy] that but yesterday were heard in all the loyal states of the Union . . .

Accordingly Councils resolved that Independence Hall and the Council chambers should be draped in black for six months and that the mayor issue a proclamation requesting that all business cease on the day of the funeral; that the national emblem and all public buildings be similarly draped and that the State House bell be tolled on the day of the funeral; that resolutions be drawn up expressing the Council's respect for the late president; that the public illumination for Monday evening be postponed; and in conclusion that the Councils would give to Andrew Johnson their earnest, undivided, and patriotic support. Resolutions similar to these, regretting the loss of President Lincoln, extending sympathy to his family, and invoking the blessing of God on the nation were published by various organizations and associations throughout the city.

The next day was Easter Sunday but the rejoicing and general happiness that usually mark the day were absent from most hearts, the black draperies of mourning were not conducive to any marked display of Easter finery. The religious services in the majority of churches in the morning and during the rest of the day were adapted to the occasion. Union meetings were held in several of the churches where members of the different denominations gathered in vast

numbers, and at the Reverend Mr. Evan's church on Girard Avenue near Marlborough, one of the largest in the city, so great a congregation assembled that many people were turned away because of lack of room to accommodate them.

In the morning, employees of the Post Office department convened at the central office to plan some course of action in reference to the recent calamity. After the meeting was organized, resolutions were adopted appointing a committee of three persons from the central office and from each of the suboffices to decorate the respective buildings, and a committee of five men was chosen to draft a series of resolutions expressing the sentiments of all those present.[114]

While mourning for the late president continued, it was not universal throughout the city. Those persons who provided the exceptions, however, found that their dissent brought to them their own peculiar grief. One, Andrew Colwell, was arrested and brought before an alderman on the charge of inciting to riot. The prisoner was alleged to have stated it was a good thing President Lincoln had been killed. Hearing this remark those near him had immediately seized, and probably would have beaten him, if Colwell had not been arrested and thus rescued by a police officer. After the hearing, the prisoner was awarded an even greater protection in the form of a prison sentence. Another individual who, it was said, had torn a Lincoln button from the lapel of another man was also arrested and committed to jail upon his inability to pay the $1,000 bail.[115]

On Wednesday, the day set for Lincoln's funeral in Washington, Philadelphia, as well as all the other cities in the Union, observed the occasion with solemn tribute to the departed president. In accordance with a proclamation of Acting Secretary of State Hunter, most of the churches in the city held services at twelve o'clock noon, the hour fixed for the funeral. By order of the War Department, all labor was suspended at the various military posts and on all public works under the supervision of that department. Flags on all military stations were flown at half-mast during the day, and a gun was fired at each post every half hour from sunrise to sunset, as well as a twenty-one gun salute at noontime. All officers wore the usual badge of mourning, a black-crepe band around the left arm above the elbow,

114 *Inquirer*, April 15, 1865.
115 *Inquirer*, April 19, 1865.

and crepe on the sword hilt. In addition to the salutes fired at the various military posts, guns were also fired on Broad Street south of Market throughout the day by order of the city. On the whole, however, the city remained very quiet; all business ceased and even the street cars stopped running during the hour of services.[116]

Not to be outdone by the large number of men who wore crepe upon their left sleeves out of respect for Lincoln, the women of Philadelphia held a large meeting at Concert Hall to choose a suitable badge of mourning for themselves to wear as a tribute of respect. The emblem finally selected was a bow of black crepe or ribbon crossed with the national colors, supposed to be worn on the left shoulder for ninety days.[117]

On Saturday, April 22, 1865, the body of Abraham Lincoln, on its journey back to Illinois, was scheduled to stop at Philadelphia, remain in the city over Sunday, and continue homeward early Monday. Philadelphia accordingly made elaborate arrangements to receive the late president and to provide for the group of people who accompanied the body. The funeral train was expected to arrive from Harrisburg at the Broad and Prime Streets station at about four-thirty Saturday afternoon. From thence Lincoln's body would be carried to Independence Hall. Several hours before the expected arrival of the funeral party, Philadelphians commenced to gather around the station and to line the streets through which the procession would pass. All along the way the buildings were hung with black draperies, and the flags flapped at half-mast. Various civic associations led by bands could be seen marching to their assigned places prior to the beginning of the parade. Between three and four o'clock the military escort, composed of three infantry regiments, two batteries of artillery, and the City Troop of Cavalry and under the command of Brigadier General O. S. Ferry, arrived at the depot and formed a line along Broad Street. The civic organizations were also drawn up in line on either side of the street. Policemen were stationed at the entrances to the depot to prevent those people who had no pass from entering. The ones fortunate enough to possess the necessary slip were permitted to assemble on the roof of the station. The roof of the Citizens' Volunteer Hospital opposite the station was crowded likewise, as were several other roofs in the vicinity.

116 *Inquirer*, April 19, 1865.
117 *Inquirer*, April 22, 1865.

The train drew into the station at four-fifty o'clock, its arrival announced by the roar of cannon, and the coffin was immediately conveyed from the special railroad car to the hearse. The latter was an elaborate affair, sixteen feet high to the top of the canopy, fifteen feet long, and eight feet wide; the coffin rested six feet above the ground so that all might see it. The entire car was covered with fine black cloth. Seven tall black plumes, the middle one tipped with white, waved from the top, and everywhere hung silver fringe and tassels. Eight black horses with silver-mounted harness drew the vehicle through the streets. Approximately thirty carriages were required to carry the rest of the funeral party from the depot, and it was almost six o'clock when the procession at last commenced to move through the city. The twenty-five thousand marching men passed along a route crowded by people, whose numbers were estimated at one-half million.[118] But for all the crowds, the atmosphere was hushed as the bystanders listened to the steady tread of marching feet, the mournful dirges of the bands, the tolling of bells, and the boom of minute guns. Uncovered heads were bowed as the coffin passed, and faces reflected mingled emotions of grief and a desire for revenge of the treacherous deed. It was almost eight o'clock in the evening when the procession reached Independence Square where members of the Union League were waiting to receive the body and carry it into the State House. The coffin was placed on an oblong platform in the center of the hall, with the old bell standing on its pedestal at the head of the late president. Magnificent wreaths and flowers decorated the black-draped hall; eighteen candelabra and 108 wax tapers illuminated the room, and nearly sixty red, white, and blue calcium lights "gave a peculiar and striking effect to the melancholy spectacle, producing a singular glare on everything around."

From ten o'clock until midnight the face of Lincoln was permitted to be seen by those of the public to whom a limited number of tickets had been issued. While these men and women filed past the bier a band in the tower above played funeral dirges. At six o'clock the next morning the hall was opened to the general public. By three o'clock many persons, to assure themselves of an early entrance into the State House, had assembled outside, and at six o'clock a

[118] The population of Philadelphia in 1861 was estimated to be 600,000. See *Report of General Pleasonton to Mayor Henry*, 1861.

double line of people extended as far west as Eighth Street and as far east as Third Street; by eleven o'clock, the lines reached the Schuylkill River to the west and the Delaware River to the east. After a person entered a line, four or five hours must elapse before he could enter the building. Not only Philadelphians but those from the surrounding counties flocked to the city. The Camden ferry boats brought over crowds of people, described as half the population of New Jersey. The mobs were directed by the police and a military guard, and such was the pushing and squeezing that women fainted and children became separated from their parents.[119] The State House remained open till two o'clock Monday morning and the number of people who filed past the president's coffin during the twenty hours it remained on view was estimated to be between 124,000 and 144,000.[120]

The funeral party left the Continental Hotel as the State House doors were closed. Arriving at Independence Hall, the party waited until the coffin had again been lifted to the hearse. Then all departed, escorted by the City Troop and by various organizations carrying torches, and by a band playing dirges. The procession finally reached the Kensington depot at four o'clock in the morning. Although the hour was yet early, crowds remained in the streets and half-dressed residents of the vicinity rushed from their houses to join those people already gathered at the station. Shortly after four o'clock, the funeral train pulled out of Philadelphia en route to Trenton, New Jersey.[121]

With the departure of the body of Lincoln, the war, with all its trials, its sorrows and sadness, its triumph, was almost over. The matters of greatest importance now became the search for the assassins of Lincoln, their apprehension, and trial. On May 9, President Johnson published his peace proclamation which was announced in Philadelphia the following day. After four long bitter years the war had ended. All that remained was the hatred, the devastation, the heroes soon forgotten, and the vacant places that could never be filled in so many family groups.

Philadelphia WINNIFRED K. MACKAY

119 *Inquirer*, April 24, 1865.
120 *Inquirer*, April 25, 1865.
121 *Inquirer*, April 25, 1865.