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**Peasants into patriots: The New York Irish Brigade recruits and
their families in the Civil War era, 1850–1890**

Truslow, Marion Archer, Ph.D.

New York University, 1994

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**Peasants Into Patriots: The New York Irish Brigade Recruits and
Their Families in the Civil War Era, 1850-1890**

by

Marion A. Truslow

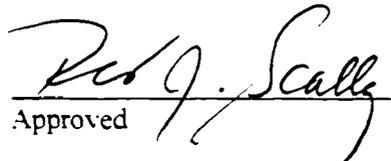
A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

New York University

May 1994


Approved

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**Peasants Into Patriots: The New York Irish Brigade Recruits and
Their Families in the Civil War Era, 1850-1890**

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ABSTRACT

The Civil War and things associated with it made the New York Irish Brigade recruits and their families (who received the Civil War Pension) Americans. In a slow process between 1850 and 1890, various institutions helped to bond immigrant Irish Catholic peasants to New York, then to the United States.

The workplace was the first institution connecting these Irish to the city, state, and nation. Builders of the New York State and eastern seaboard transportation network, the Irish transformed the infrastructure and were, in turn, transformed by it. They had a niche in their adopted homeland--however onerous and oppressive the work was at the bottom of the social scale. Tammany Hall and the Democratic Party connected them to local and national political institutions. This second place of refuge provided needed social services, political education, and the vote. The Roman Catholic Church then coddled the Irish by its parish church organization in New York City, its establishment of parochial schools, and its founding of social service agencies for the needy. When war came, Irish and American flags flew from every New York City Catholic Church. Irish Brigade recruiting officers schooled

prospective recruits in covenanted patriotism: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were the covenant; responsibility to defend them in a war for the Union, the arc of the covenant. High Irish Brigade casualties sustained by these brave warriors created a sense of entitlement to be Americans, regardless of what nativists said. Receipt of the Civil War pension ended the long assimilation process as the Pension Bureau's red tape glued the soldiers and their families to the social structure. The Irish had become Americans.

INTRODUCTION

What made the New York Irish Brigade recruits and their families Americans? Arriving in alien urban New York at mid-nineteenth century, these Irish collided with the new metropolis' modernizing infrastructure. City railways, street cars, and ferry boats moved the newly arrived peasants amidst tenements, slums, and stores. The urban workplace, the Catholic Church and its ancillary charitable and educational facilities, and Tammany Hall (Chapter I), all coddled the immigrant Irish, providing desperately needed social services. The Union Army continued the process of assimilation by recruiting ethnic regiments, intermingling those regiments into larger corps and division levels (Chapter II). Recruiters schooled Irishmen in democratic principles for the solidarity of the Union. The effectiveness of the Irish Brigade as a fighting force in the Army of the Potomac endeared the Irish soldiers to its Anglo-American leaders (including McClellan and Hancock) and to the citizens of the Union (Chapter III). At this point, parallels between studies by three major scholars and this dissertation need amplification.

Eugen Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Palo Alto, 1976), Theda Skocpol's *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), and John Schaar's *Legitimacy in the Modern State* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1981), provide useful insights into a method, a source, and terminology clarification for this dissertation's major theme, the impact of the U.S. Civil War on the

assimilation process of New York Irish Brigade recruits into American society.

Weber's study provided the overall approach and some of the categories; Skocpol's suggested the larger social policy context of the American Federal Government enacting Civil War pension legislation; Schaar's defined patriotism.

Weber's book examines the various forces of modernization in France from 1870-1914 which transformed backward and illiterate poor French peasants from rural isolation into the central stream of French life. While administrative unity had been achieved in the early nineteenth century, moral, mental, and cultural unity occurred in the early twentieth century. The acculturation process in rural France which transformed peasants into patriots dealt first with the various manifestations of misery and poverty in the material life of French peasants; and secondly, with how these (poor diet, poor transportation, ignorance, squalid living conditions) fell, one by one, in the face of urban forces. Roads and railways changed material life. Schools and the Army fostered urban values, such as patriotism, to the peasants. The transportation revolution, education, and universal military conscription, then, made peasants Frenchmen. What, though, is the influence of Skocpol's study?

First, her study validates this one. A well-respected Harvard sociologist whose book stirred much controversy and debate at the 1992 American Historical Association meeting in Washington, DC, Skocpol located the origin of the welfare state idea in this country in the era of the Civil War rather than in the progressive era or the New Deal. Most veterans aged 65 or over were pensioners in 1910; as were

18% of all U.S. residents aged 65 and over. Twenty-eight and one-half percent of all elderly men, and 8 percent of all women 65 and over were included on the survivors' pension roll (a roll that also included orphans and other dependents, as well as younger widows). The Civil War pension covered one-fifth of all elderly U.S. residents. Still, these rates fall well short of British old-age pensions, but (particularly the figures for the U.S. North) are in the same range as old-age programs in Germany and Denmark. ¹

Raising this pension money had not been difficult. ² After the Civil War the federal treasury held a surplus due to high protective tariffs which the Republican Party used to consolidate their electoral base by expanding Union Army pension benefits throughout the nineteenth century. The pension program died with the Civil War generation because turn of the century reformers associated the veterans' benefits with the fiscal excesses of patronage politics; that reaction helped to delay other forms of government welfare. ³

Skocpol concluded that long-time residence in the northern parts of the United States was the most obvious correlate of inclusion in the Civil War pension system. In 1910, "approximately 35 percent of northern men aged 65 and over were on the pension rolls, whereas less than 10 percent of men residing in the South were federal pensioners." Therefore, "obviously, native-born American men from the North, along with those who had arrived in the North as immigrants before the Civil War, were the most likely to have served in the Union armies." ⁴ Next, Skocpol summarized the

findings of a study by Heywood Sanders regarding the aggregate characteristics of pensioners in Ohio in 1890. "He concludes that they were disproportionately native-born, living in Republican-oriented areas of relative population stability, non-Catholic, and residents of farms rather than big cities. Pensioners also tended to live in counties with relatively less personal wealth per capita." ⁵ Skocpol's narrative does point out that immigrants and Catholics were among subsequent pensioners, although there "was a lesser concentration of pensioners in major urban-industrial centers like New York, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago" because such areas were "important destinations of post-war waves of south-central European, immigration, and thus many of their industrial workers were not eligible for Civil War pension." Moreover, "individual gumption, social connections, and a good deal of outreach by party politicians shaped the specific destinations, timing, and generosity of Civil War pensions." ⁶ Lastly, Skocpol's connection of the Civil War pensioner with the morally worthy is important for this dissertation. Skocpol states:

The European social programs were culturally and politically understood--by authorities and recipients alike--in categorical economic terms ... U.S. Civil War pensions ... were not conceptualized in socioeconomic terms at all. Instead they were understood in political and moral terms. Legitimate Civil War pensions were idealized as that which was justly due to the righteous core of a generation of men (and survivors of dead men)--a group that ought to be generously and constantly repaid by the nation for their sacrifices. Politicians constantly spoke of a 'contract' between the national government and the Union's defenders in the Civil War, arguing that in return for their valiant service the former soldiers and those tied to them deserved all the public provision necessary to live honorable and decent lives free from want. . . .

In short, honorable and generous public provision for Civil War veterans was openly defined in opposition to demeaning provision for paupers. The point was to keep these deserving men and those connected to them from the degrading fates of private charity or the public poorhouse.⁷

Two terms used in this dissertation, patriotism and "the Irish," need clarifying. For the latter, I mean Roman Catholic peasants (technically urban unskilled laborers once in New York--though I often will refer to them in the text as peasants) unless otherwise stated; for the former, I have relied on John Schaar's *Legitimacy in the Modern State* which includes an important chapter first published in the *American Review* in May, 1973 as "The Case for Patriotism." The exact reprinting of it in 1981 restates a definition of patriotism and offers a typology of it as well.

Schaar's definition is that "patriotism means love of one's homeplace, and of the familiar things and scenes associated with the homeplace ... one of the basic human sentiments. The theme of homecoming is the central motif of patriotic discourse." So what it means to be a patriot "is to have a patrimony" and "the patriot is one who is grateful for a legacy and recognizes that the legacy makes him a debtor." Americans lack this first type of patriotism (natural or instinctive patriotism) because "we do not and cannot love this land the way the Greeks and the Navaho loved theirs." Along with patriotism of the land another natural or instinctive patriotism classification is the city patriotism of Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Fustel de Coulanges, also alien to the American experience.^{7A}

A second type of patriotism, though, is peculiarly American, and is labeled "covenanted patriotism" by Schaar. Started in America by the Puritans, covenanted patriotism means that "individuals became members of the community only upon the acceptance of certain articles of religious faith and morals. That acceptance had to be proved in practice, and to the satisfaction of the guardians of the covenant. Social institutions were designed to encourage performance of the covenant." Thus membership in the community had to be earned and was not a right of birth; it was the reward of choice and effort. "Institutions were designed to encourage the choice and supervise the effort." While we required no religious, cultural, or linguistic tests for membership (with obvious notable exceptions), a profession of republican faith was necessary. Schaar thinks that Lincoln was the most articulate spokesman of covenanted patriotism. For Lincoln, "the principles of the covenant set the standard by which the nation must judge itself; the nation is righteous and to be honored only insofar as it honors the covenant" and the covenant was the *Declaration of Independence*, the *Constitution*, and the Union. Lincoln saw the Declaration as giving liberty and hope to the world, forever; all should have an equal chance. The connection between the keystones of U.S. history he expressed by a metaphor. "The principle announced in the Declaration he called 'an apple of God' while 'the Union and the constitution are the pictures of silver, subsequently framed around it. The picture was made not to conceal, or destroy the apple; but to adorn and preserve it. The picture was made for the apple--not the apple for the picture.'" ^{7B}

The Irish Brigade recruits and their families earned their citizenship in the Civil War. The guardians of the covenant (the federal government), gave their stamp of approval by awarding the Civil War pension. The recruits had been conditioned, coddled, schooled, and trained earlier in social institutions such as the workplace, the Roman Catholic church and its ancillary social welfare agencies, and the Union Army. The Civil War pensions did succeed in that they bridged class and race divisions and defined recipients broadly--to include "Union army veterans" as opposed to Negroes (African-Americans), German-Americans, or Irish-Americans, the subject of this dissertation.

While Irishmen fought for both sides in the American Civil War, they fought in far greater numbers for the Union and in virtually all-Irish Regiments mostly mustered in at New York and formed into a single fighting force, the Irish Brigade.⁸ During and after the war, eligible soldiers, widows, surviving minor children, and soldiers' parents frequently made application for the Pension.⁹ Consequently, the bureaucratic red tape required of applicants by the Bureau of Pensions generated many documents rich in social history and in anecdotal material. What these documents tell us about the New York City population born in Ireland is the final subject of this dissertation (Chapter IV). By examining the material life of the Irish families who applied for the Pension, one can access the standard of living of this group during and after the Civil War. Therefore, the impact of the Civil War on the Irish of the Brigade and their families is the major theme of Chapter IV.

No studies exist on this theme, so this dissertation meets an obvious need. There are, however, several studies of nineteenth-century Irish people who resided in New York City. The most useful and impressive work is a doctoral dissertation from the University of Rochester by Carol Groneman entitled, *The "Bloody Ould Sixth": A Social Analysis of a New York City Working-Class Community in the Mid-19th Century*. A brilliant work, her dissertation focused on the 1850's and specifically on the Irish of the infamous sixth ward. It is a quantitative social history study of living conditions as depicted in the manuscript schedules of the New York State Census. Her thesis is that "despite the physical deprivation which immigrants suffered, their life-style was not the stereotypical one of moral depravity and social disintegration." Indeed, "the 'uprooting' of the immigrant and the 'alienating' influences" of New York City" did not cause major disintegration of Irish family relationships. On the contrary, these very factors may have created a greater dependence on the family than has been realized." ¹⁰ My study may be able to determine whether the hardships resulting from Civil War service sustained this dependence.

Another work which treats the New York City Irish is an unpublished Master's thesis by Marion R. Casey, *The Irish Middle Class in New York City, 1850-1870*, which is soon to be a dissertation at New York University. Casey's study, like Groneman's, reacts against the down-and-out-poor-peasant-lost in the big city view and instead argues from the New York *Times* obituaries and other primary sources that "there is enough evidence to document a middle class among Irish natives who

emigrated and established themselves in New York City in the nineteenth century." ¹¹

Both Groneman's and Casey's works provide useful benchmarks for measuring the standard of living for the Irish recruits and their families, as well as methodological aids for data management and calculation.

Aside from these unpublished theses, there is only one useful work dealing with the Irish in nineteenth-century New York. Robert Ernst's *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863*, first published in 1949 and reprinted in 1979, gives information on all groups of new Americans from Europe who settled in Manhattan. Compared to native Americans and to other immigrant groups, the social and economic conditions of the Irish were deplorable. Ernst's statistics provide yet another measuring stick for my population.

In 1852 more than half the needy in all the Atlantic seaboard cities were Irish and German immigrants, mostly day laborers; half of the persons relieved by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor were Irish. Among the immigrants, the Irish were the chief victims of disease, and Irish-born patients of city institutions were nearly always in the majority. Natives of Ireland comprised 53.9 per cent of New York City's foreign-born inhabitants in 1855, but at Bellevue Hospital, 85 per cent of all the foreign born admitted from 1849 to 1859 were born in Ireland. Over three-fourths of the admissions to the city lunatic asylum on Blackwell's Island from 1849-1859 were of alien birth; two-thirds of these were natives of Ireland. ¹²

In addition to these specialized studies mentioned thus far, one finds important words on the general topic of the Irish in America including Kerby Miller's *Emigrants and Exiles* (Oxford, 1985); Dennis Clark's masterful books on *The Irish in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1973), and *The Irish Relations* (London, 1982); Andrew

Greeley's *That Most Distressful Nation* (Chicago, 1972). For the most part, Greeley and Clark argue that the Irish succeeded in America in mid-nineteenth century and after; Miller disagrees. He argues that tradition failed the Irish in America and consequently, hard times resulted. The Irish were culturally and geographically aliens. The cultural exile began in Ireland under English oppression and was accelerated during the Great Hunger. Emigration became a social and economic safety valve after the famine to curb population growth and to preserve subsistence size family farms. Catholics and Nationalists covered up reality in the exile theme and blamed the British as the sole cause of the diaspora. Once in America, Miller's Irish find assimilation and respectability difficult. The Irish could not cope with American competitive individualism; life for many was failure reflected by alcoholism, crime, and neuroses. Irish Americans did not attain economic and social mobility or political power until the late nineteenth century. The books by Greeley and Clark are at odds with Miller's conclusions.

Both Greeley and Clark see the American Irish as being successful in economic terms. On both sides of the Atlantic, Irish shared a loyalty to the Catholic Church, strong sibling bonds, sociability, and a predilection for politics coupled with an informal, indirect, pragmatic political style rooted in the customary law and extended family structure of Celtic Ireland. Both authors see more upward social and occupational mobility than does Miller (or Oscar Handlin's older studies). Indeed, Greeley said: "The legitimization of ethnicity came too late for the American Irish.

They are the only European immigrant group to have over-aculturated. They stopped being Irish the day before it became all right to be Irish." ¹³ My dissertation will show that for New York City the truth lies somewhere between the Clark/Greeley and Miller interpretations. How I will be able to arrive at these modified findings is the result of a different method and of a new source, the Civil War Pension.

Soldiers could file for a pension if wounded in the war or if proof could be obtained that the illness during or after the war was the direct result of military service. Widows, minor children, and occasionally parents were also eligible for benefits with a scale of payments growing more generous as the nineteenth century progressed. The actual Pension File is usually thick with the various forms and documents required by the government. Each of the approximately three hundred pension files that I photocopied on 8-1/2" x 14" paper averages about twenty pages in length.

Unlike the Muster Rolls at the National Archives, the Pension Files have been well preserved and are generally legible. Many files contained the certificates of death for the family members, and, from that, one can learn the cause or causes of death, the place of death, number of years in the city, country of birth, and parents' place of birth and the place of burial. Usually, one also finds the occupation of the deceased. Marriage certificates, birth certificates, baptismal certificates, the military service records including a medical examination of the soldier are the types of documents found in the ideal, or complete file. If awarded a pension, usually the yearly amount

as well as the number of years of the award could be computed. Perhaps the most unusual and valuable discovery was that of anecdotal material found in many of the files. Just as Vietnam War veterans had to fight for their government benefits, so too did the Civil War veterans. Thus, all of the correspondence in the files gives a historical record to a group of mostly illiterate immigrants who signed with an "X" and who yet speak to us today through the pens of pension lawyers, notary publics, and government officials. I selected soldiers, however, who were born in Ireland, privates at the start of the war, and (except for four soldiers) married. Had I selected enlisted men with rank, and officers, there would no doubt have been a more literate and prosperous group.

To evaluate the degree of prosperity of this sample, material life is analyzed within the context of the family, so Groneman's method is instructive. She examined the occupations of men and women, the effect of age and length of residence on occupational opportunities. Women worked because they had to, not for extra money, or pin money, as it was called. Groneman shows the strength of kinship ties by "the composition of Irish households created or reestablished in the New World ... the endurance of family bonds over time, the percentage of aged living with relatives, and the percentage of sons and daughters over fifteen years of age remaining in their parents' households." ¹⁴ This dissertation will be using the same categories of analysis as Groneman's and parenthetically be testing her thesis about Irish family resilience

for the 1861-1891 period. The financial picture of my sample will be seen also in relation to Casey's middle class for the 1850-1870 era.

The components of material life in this dissertation include occupation, financial data (income calculated on the basis of annual salary, pension award per year, savings and property); family size; age of all at death; health, including the cause or causes of death. There are, then, many questions for which the data may provide answers. First, what were the occupations and financial status of the husbands and wives? What were the differences in mortality between men and women? Do the women outlive the men who survived the war? What was the average family size? What was the average age of marriage for husband and wife? What does the financial data of each file tell us about the social class status of these New York Irish? And, what does the anecdotal non-quantifiable information tell us about the culture? My contention is that to a large extent the material life of the family often depended on the pension award amount as well as the wage earned. Receipt of the pension often meant the difference between making ends meet or not. The American Civil War was, for the recruits and families of the Irish Brigade contingent, both the cauldron and the catalyst for their acculturation into American life; receipt of it marked their transformation from peasants/urban laborers into patriots and into the ranks of the New York City population; rejection led to an uncertain place in the social structure.

Two hundred eighty Pension files had data extracted from them in as many categories as was appropriate for answering the above questions. Numbers 1-262

were privates. Numbers 500-522 were sergeants--a control group (not actually used in the dissertation). Two hundred and eighty recruits out of 7,000 total Irish Brigade soldiers represent approximately 4% of those in the Irish Brigade. I was interested in the impact of the Civil War on the military equivalent to the civilian lower classes, privates and their families. While the statistical justification for this sample's completeness may be problematic, time constraints regarding the researchers' reality at the National Archives makes this figure practical. Fifteen files per day could be pulled. Since married privates were the search objective, it frequently took three days worth of pension files (45 files) to find ten married privates with a complete pension file. Lastly, one must make two observations regarding the military history of the Brigade relating to battles fought in, and desertion rate.¹⁵

The Brigade participated in about thirty battles including: the Siege of Yorktown (April to May, 1862); Fair Oaks (May 31, June 1, 1862); Gaines' Mill (June 27, 1862); Savage Station (June 29, 1862); Peach Orchard (June 29, 1862); White Oak Swamp (June 30, 1862); Glendale (June 30, 1862); Malvern Hill (July 1, 1862); Antietam (September 17, 1862); Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862); Chancellorsville (May 2-4, 1863); Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863); Bristoe Station (October 14, 1863); Mine Run (November 27-December 1, 1863); Wilderness (May 5-7, 1864); Po River (May 10, 1864); Spotsylvania (May 8-19, 1864); North Anna (May 23, 1864); Topopotomy (May 30, 1864); Cold Harbor (June 1-12, 1864); Petersburg (June 15-18, 1864); Reams Station (August 25, 1864); Siege of Petersburg

(January-March, 1865); Hatcher's Run (February 5-7, 1865); White Oak Road (March 31, 1865); Boydton Road (March 31, 1865); Sutherland's Station (April 2, 1865); Saylor's Creek (April 6, 1865); High Bridge (April 7, 1865). That the Brigade sustained heavy casualties because of so many engagements involving frontal assaults against fortified positions was a challenge to recruiters. From "first to last it [the Irish Brigade] enlisted not less than 7,000 men." ¹⁶ Less than one thousand returned to New York at the end of the war, and about three hundred have their military records preserved in this dissertation.

Regarding desertion, Lincoln once compared the task of filling up the army to undertaking to shovel fleas. The leading scholar of desertion found that high rates did exist in the Union Army. Ella Lonn concluded that the total number of desertions (not deducting for repetitions) was about 200,000. In the regular army, the ratio of desertions to enlistments stood high: about 243 per thousand of enlistments in the regular army. In the volunteer army, it rose to only 63 per thousand. Out of about 280 Irish Brigade pension files surveyed for the 63rd, 69th, and 88th Regiments of New York Infantry, the number that actually deserted was four. Even without the figures for the 28th Massachusetts and the 116th Pennsylvania Regiments of the Irish Brigade, it is clear that this desertion figure is well below the 63 per thousand amount for the volunteer army.

ENDNOTES - INTRODUCTION

¹ See Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers (Cambridge, MA, 1993), p. 134. The coverage was generous as seen from the following table in which Skocpol computed these results:

Average Pensions in U.S. Dollars and as a Proportion of
Average Annual Earnings in the United States (1910),
Germany (1912), and Great Britain (1910)

Country and Year	Amount of Average Pension	Average Pension as % of Average Annual Earnings
United States, 1910, all pensioners;	\$172	30%
widows--1908 law	\$144	25%
Germany, 1910 old-age pension, invalidity pension	\$39 \$42	17% 18%
Germany, 1912 widows' pension	\$18	7%
Britain, 1910, overall	\$65	22%

² See Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers (Cambridge, MA, 1993), p. 132.

³ See Karen J. Winkler's "Alternative View of U.S. Welfare Policies Stirs Intense Interest and Controversy." In The Chronicle of Higher Education, February 24, 1993, p. A8, in which Skocpol is quoted. I have summarized some of Winkler's comments about Skocpol's book. Moreover, Skocpol's post-Civil War era (early twentieth century focus) is outside the scope of this dissertation, but does underscore the long range significance of the Civil War pension. Additionally, her attention to the reform groups of women signals a shift in her method from what she calls "state centered" to "polity centered" history. The difference lies not in abandoning a focus on institutions, but in seeing how they interacted with individuals and social groups. "The point is to look at the interaction of state and society, as it evolved in specific historical settings." Skocpol's sound scholarship devotes only 10% of her book to the Civil War pension, including comparing the U.S. pension of the Civil War to European counterparts; summarizing the history of Civil War pension legislation; pointing out who benefited in terms of geographical breakdown of high pension density, ethnicity, and religion.

⁴ Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers, pp. 135-136.

⁵ Ibid., p. 136.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 136-148.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 148-150.

^{7A} John Schaar, Legitimacy in the Modern State (New Brunswick, N.J., 1981), pp. 287-288.

^{7B} Ibid., pp. 288-294.

⁸ At least 150,000 Irishmen comprised the ranks of the North while an indeterminate number fought for the South. But it is known that in 1860, 85,000 Irishmen lived in the South and contributed more soldiers to the Confederacy than did any other non-American group. See Bill Wiley's "Introduction" to Irving A. Buck's and Pat Cleburn's Cleburne and His Command, edited by T. H. Hay (Jackson, Tenn., 1959), p. 7; Ella Lonn's Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (Baton Rouge, La., 1951), and her Foreigners in the Confederacy (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1940).

The North's Irishmen fought under General Thomas F. Meagher in the Irish Brigade which consisted of the 69th Regiment of New York Infantry, the 88th Regiment of New York Infantry, the 28th Massachusetts, the 116th Pennsylvania Cameron Dragoons, and the 63rd Regiment of New York Infantry.

⁹ For the Pension legislation, see The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America from December 5, 1859 to March 3, 1863, Vol. XII, Washington, 1863, pp. 566-569; The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from October 1877 to March 1879, Vol. XX, Washington, 1879, pp. 469-470; The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from April 1917 to March 1919, Vol. XL, pt. I, Washington, 1919. The three major pension acts were made law on July 14, 1862; March 3, 1879; and June 10, 1918. See John William Oliver, History of the Civil War Military Pension, 1861-1885 (Madison, WI, 1917); William H. Glasson, Federal Military Pensions in the United States (London, 1918).

¹⁰ See Carol Groneman, The "Bloody Ould Sixth": A Social Analysis of a New York City Working-Class Community in the Mid-19th Century (Rochester, N.Y., 1973), pp. iv-vii of the "Introduction."

¹¹ See Marion R. Casey, The Irish Middle Class in New York City, 1850-1870 (New York, 1986), p. 1.

¹² See Robert Ernst's Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863 (New York, 1979), pp. 53-62; 106; 136-137; 151-153; 158-160; 165-166. See L. J. McCaffrey's Review of Miller's Exiles, *American Historical Review* 91 (Dec. 1986), 1207-1208, which my thoughts below are based on, next paragraph.

¹³ See Oscar Handlin's Boston's Immigrants (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), and The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People (New York, 1951). See Greeley, p. 263.

¹⁴ See Groneman's "Introduction," p. xx.

¹⁵ For the military history of the Irish Brigade we await Dr. Larry Kohl's study of the Irish Brigade at the University of Alabama; see James McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom (New York, 1986) for the best synthesis of the war in all of its aspects, to date: see Thomas L. Livermore's Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America (Bloomington, 1957), pp. 68-129. See Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy, p. 121. On desertion, see Ella Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (New York) 1966; Peter Levine, "Draft Evasion in the North During the Civil War, 1863-1865," Journal of American History, 67 (1981), 816-34.

¹⁶ See Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy, p. 121. See also "New York at Gettysburg" in Monuments Commission for the Battlefields of Gettysburg, Chattanooga and Antietam, II (New York, 1900), 475-516. And according to this source, p. 490, "'the hardest fighting and greatest loss of life occurred in the First Division of the Second Corps, Hancock's old division, in which more men were killed and wounded than in any other division in the Union Army, East or West.' It was in this division the Irish Brigade served from its organization in 1861, until April, 1865."

CHAPTER I

Work, Religion, and Pre-Civil War Politics: The New York Irish

Irish political radical émigré Thomas D'Arcy McGee¹ observed that at mid-19th century, the poorest of the Irish in New York constituted a "perverted peasantry."² From rural Ireland to urbanizing New York came some of the soon to be recruits of the Irish Brigade and their families who found themselves in a radically different environment. Out of a total population of 813,662 citizens of New York in 1860, 203,740 were Irish; most lived in tenements.³

The notion of "urban peasants," then, suggests several questions (some of which have been answered in existing secondary sources--but not in relation to the thesis of this dissertation). First, what role did work play as an agent of assimilation? Secondly, did the Roman Catholic Church have a part in sustaining the Irish before the start of the war and receipt of the Civil War pension? Thirdly, what political history outlines and movements impact the Irish prior to the Sumter firing? The evidence suggests that while indeed the Irish population in New York City from which recruits would be drawn was poor, and the city harsh, dangerous, and alien to them, institutions such as the Roman Catholic Church, were in place which would keep the Famine Irish together long enough for recruiting officers to enlist them in another institution, the Union Army, and into a war which eventually (if it led to receipt of the Civil War pension) bonded the Irish to American society by turning peasants into patriots.

The work world and Irish identity were connected. ⁴ The "Naavies" dug America's canals and built her railroads. While the Irish transformed transportation in America, they in turn were changed by it and attached to the state. The Irish wanted a "slot" in American society, and they got one in which difficult work was the norm. ⁵ Land clearing for canal building and all of the ancillary features (aqueducts, dams, reservoirs) required back-breaking work with wheel barrow, shovel, pick and axe. Chronic labor shortages in the early 19th century led to the recruiting of Irish laborers directly from Ireland. Why they kept being sought after was in part because they did good work, cheaply. "Three Irishmen finished three rods of the Erie Canal four feet deep in five and a half days in December weather in 1817 for \$1.80 a day." ⁶ Slaves in Georgia could not excavate the Brunswick Canal so Irishmen were recruited in the northeast and brought south. "A writer in the South noted that 'the Niggers are worth too much; if the Paddies are knocked overboard or get their backs broke, nobody loses anything.'" ⁷ For all of the problems associated with this type of manual labor (disease, layoffs, low wages of \$136 per year in 1831), at least opportunity existed in America whereas none did in Ireland.

Like the canals, the railroads were central and even indispensable for the Irish in their adjustments to America. A large economic enterprise of the U.S. in the 19th century, the railroads distributed the Irish in America at mid-century when the groups' immigration numbers were the highest. Irish people took pride in building America's transportation systems, yet could not escape the negative side of the railway

experience--a hardening of the Paddy stereotype as a digger and a brawler.⁸ "It was work, while in Ireland ... 'starvation was the chief occupation.'" ⁹ Indeed, the long hardships with railway labor and its auxiliary trades rooted the Irish in the work culture of the country ... and gave them identification with the working class and the common people of the democracy. Finally, the railway experience helped the Irish to survive as a subculture and gave them assurance of their utility.¹⁰ After starting out as common laborers in New York and Philadelphia, the Irish survived in the workplace, and some even thrived as contractor bosses. All that was needed was a shovel, a wheel barrow, strength, aggressiveness, and access to labor pools of their countrymen.¹¹ What, though, was the story of the New York City workplace for Irish men?

Out of the pool of unskilled New York City laborers totaling 23,300 workers, 21,800 were either porters or laborers; the majority of laborers were Irish--87% of all foreign-born Manhattan laborers in 1855 were Irish, and one-fifth of the employed Irish who lived on Manhattan were laborers. Aside from heavy laborer jobs, transportation work as teamsters and carters included in 1855 out of about 3,000 foreign workers, 80% Irish born. The 1855 New York State census also shows that Irish-born Manhattan dwelling workers included (out of the immigrant hostlers) 84%; and, 71% of New York harbor's boatmen. Of the skilled worker force, in the building trades half were born outside the U.S., and over half of these were Irish born. Out of foreign-born workers, Irish by percentage of occupations broke down as follows:

75% masons, plasterers, brick layers; 50% of the carpenters, 33% of the painters and glazers; 33% of the shoemakers. What of their standard of living?

The *Times*, as reported in 1853, estimated that working men in New York City spent \$600 a year; \$550 went to food, clothing, rent, and household expenses; \$15 was for other essential items. In the Depression of the mid-1850's, wages did not keep up with expenses. The threat of war in 1860 stimulated shoemaking, tailoring, and metals; workers' income was sustained by means of military pay such as bounties. Indeed, even after the war started and for the first two years of it, all of the wages witnessed an average increase of about 25% or less than half the increase of prices.¹² However difficult it was to survive in New York at mid-century, opportunities did exist here where there were few if any in Ireland.

Out of the almost 300 soldiers surveyed in the National Archives, pre-war occupations shown in the pension files ^{12A} include mostly unskilled workers such as 80 laborers, 8 painters, 7 porters, 6 watchmen, 5 plasterers, 4 stone cutters, 3 farmers, 2 teamsters, 2 oystermen, 2 drivers, 2 coachmen; and, a host of menial jobs including cab driver, carman; cement maker, coal digger, fruit vendor, grave digger, hackman, longshoreman, marble polisher, marble worker, messenger, salt miner, stonehand, stone rubber, street cleaning department, truck driver, waggoner, waiter, hawker, and 2 marble cutters.

For all of the wonderful variety of names of occupations, most appear to be physically very demanding. One hundred and forty-three out of 262 were unskilled.

Of the remaining 119 skilled workers, the building trades accounted for the most occupations with a total of 24 including ship joiner, roofer, moulder, glazier, engineer, civil engineer, Chandler, carpet weaver, 5 carpenters, 4 tinsmiths, 4 plumbers, 3 masons. The remaining skilled workers defy a more refined categorization and include only moderately physically demanding work: 2 hackers, 2 printers, 2 tailors, 3 blacksmiths, 3 butchers, 3 millers, 4 bakers, 6 shoemakers, 8 clerks, an assistant inspector, a barber, a boat crimper, confectioner, cook, glass fitter, gunsmith, harbor master, insurance agent, liquor dealer, metal dealer, musician, and a plow maker. Of the very few known occupations of their wives, most were domestics and listed occupations in pension files as housekeeper, washer and ironer, laundress and washer woman, servant, cleaning woman, house worker; a few actually labeled themselves as domestic. Out of 262 wives, then, we know that 38 of them had identified themselves in pension files; only a few of these appeared to be skilled including 1 overall maker, 1 seamstress, 1 milliner. That the occupations of the remaining 224 are unknown is perplexing.^{12B}

Along with the benefits of being employed in urbanizing New York, the Roman Catholic Church there added continuity, school, and cultural cohesion sustaining these urban peasants in the acculturation process. According to Archbishop Hughes, it was religion that cemented the immigrant Irish to hostile New York City. Remarkd Hughes: "If ... he can be present at the holy sacrifice of Mass, (and) see the minister of his religion at the altar and hear the word of God and the language to which his ear

was accustomed from childhood, he forgets he is among strangers in a strange country." ¹³

Named archbishop there in 1850, Archbishop Hughes was a supporter of emigrant associations, parochial schools, expansion of Roman Catholic parish churches which doubled under his administration, and of putting each parish on a sound financial footing. He was regarded as the spokesman for the Irish Catholics in New York. He defended the church against nativist attacks. To insure that his countrymen were properly cared for, he recruited nuns and priests from Europe while seeking and receiving material from missionary societies there. The Vatican viewed him as a recognized authority on U. S. affairs. He founded Fordham University, St. John's University, and Manhattan College. He brought the Christian Brothers, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity to New York in the decades before the Civil War, and laid the cornerstone for St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1858.

Hughes's counterpart in Ireland, Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh in 1850, also took political stances, and was not just "ultramontane" in his priorities. "The broader picture shows his constant efforts to sustain Irish Roman Catholicism as a national church while tirelessly monitoring 'nationalism' for signs of secular impropriety" yet he was "anti-English" and "anti-Protestant." ¹⁴ His political campaigns like those of Hughes were "religious in the sense that they revolved around denominational education ... He was preoccupied with the dangers of revolutionary anarchism and nihilism ... the passionate commitment of Catholic Ireland to the papal

cause in 1859-60, when an Irish Brigade of St. Patrick traveled out to the papal states to fight for the Pope, was a further indication." ¹⁵

An Irishman himself, Hughes too strengthened Catholicism in America. It would be through church attendance of his fellow countrymen that Hughes would try to domesticate the Irish. The number of Roman Catholic parish churches in New York City (Ireland had no parish churches) doubled from the 15 there in 1845 to over 30 in 1860. A "devotional revolution" turned the moribund Catholic Church of pre-Famine Ireland around into a church with a new vitality manifesting itself in "new buildings, increased devotions, and more responsible pastors."¹⁶ And the parish was the center of Catholic Church life in New York City. The Irish of the 6th ward flocked to Transfiguration Church.

A wide range of occupations was represented. Where according to a 1845 random sample of heads of families listed in baptismal records, 18% were unskilled laborers; 25% did non-manual work, but the large bulk fell in the middle categories of skilled and semi-skilled occupations. ¹⁷ The same pattern of class diversity can be found in a similar sample of 1850 with the unskilled laborer representing 21% of the group and the non-manual occupations, 19%. ¹⁸ Just as in the 1845 sample, though, most men occupied the middle group of skilled and semi-skilled trades. There were no professional men listed in either sample within the non-manual class, most were engaged in small neighborhood trades, such as groceries, liquor, and oysters. ¹⁹

Any differences of social class resulting from occupations, however, was obliterated with the practice of the same seven sacraments that they had known on the other side. Catholicism and nationalism were linked even more for post-Famine immigrants. Forging this bond had been what Emmet Larkin called the devotional revolution, so that "Irish and Catholic had become almost interchangeable terms in Ireland."²⁰ And the Irish consider religion "as the most important of all topics"²¹ whether they practiced it or not. As Oscar Handlin correctly observed: "Beliefs maintained at great personal sacrifice were not lightly held, and among those Irish who came to America the church gained particular prestige, for it was one of the few familiar institutions that followed them across the Atlantic." Just as the devotional revolution in Ireland attempted to Victorianize the Irish there, so too did it domesticate them here. And then as now, Catholicism meant (since the Council of Trent) the practice of the seven sacraments. Religious ritual in parish churches, therefore, bonded the Irish to the neighborhood and served as an agent of assimilation.²²

Attending the parish church was important since church law made it a mortal sin not to attend Sunday mass regularly and on special feast days. Still, in New York in the 1860's probably about half of the eligible Irish Catholics attended services Sundays, and many Catholics "simply had no clear explicit knowledge of Catholic doctrines."²³ So it became the job of the New York Catholic Church to change nominal Catholics into practicing believers. And for that purpose, there were frequent

masses on Sundays. Transfiguration Church, home of many Irish brigade families, had a 30 minute service at 7:00, another at 8:00, a grand solemn mass at 10:30 which had a choir and organist, and vespers in the evening. Such pageantry must have been so welcomed that the squalor of daily living environments for many Irish had to be forgotten for a time.

In addition to the pageantry and the mass, the Irish immigrant heard the sermon. Apparently then as now good preachers were rare. The literature on the subject notes, however, that Archbishop John Hughes was a wonderful homilist. On the eve of the war, he gave the graduation address to the University of North Carolina which the local press received well. "He discoursed on love to God and love to man, and is not often heard in a college chapel. The densely packed audience listened with scarcely a stir for an hour and three-quarters."²⁴ Hughes proved to be the exception rather than the rule. Nevertheless, at mid-century the bishops had "legislated that the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, confession, and death must take place in the church"²⁵ but the Irish never abandoned their custom of the wake which was held in the deceased's home with the priest usually in attendance. Marriage, though, was an event for the church.

Of the 262 marriages of our (pension file) soldiers to their wives, 51 were married in Ireland; 109 were married in various Catholic Churches in New York City and environs. One hundred and two were married in churches whose geographic location was uncertain, or was definitely outside the area of New York City. Some of

the more popular churches for recruits to marry in were St. Stephens Church (10), Church of the Nativity (8), Old and New St. Patrick's (5), St. Joseph's (9), St. Francis Xavier (9), Church of the Transfiguration (6). The locations of the churches correspond closely with the Irish wards of New York City. Out of the total sample there were about four Protestants, an insignificant figure considering the total of 262 families.

Virtually every soldier's pension file had both a marriage certificate and a baptismal certificate. A sample of the thousands of pieces of documentation submitted to pension authorities by Irish recruits is found in the pension file of Michael Sands (soldier #109). Married in County Down, Ireland, two years before they immigrated to the U.S. in 1847, Mary Harper Sands and Michael Sands had five children together, and resided at 500 Second Avenue, New York. Michael was killed at the Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. In a sworn deposition of January 8, 1864, the Catholic priest of St. Stephens Church in New York City, J. W. Cummings, stated

That as such Pastor he has charge of the baptismal records of such church that by such records it appears that on the 13th day of June 1852 Matthew Sands the son of Mary and Michael Sands was baptized according to the rites and forms of the Catholic church, and that the sponsors of said child were Sarah and Michael Sands.

And their marriage was documented too:

To all whome [sic] it may concern.

I hereby certify that Michael Sands was lawfully married to Mary Harper in the presence of John Byrne and Catherine O'Hare as appears from the marriage registry of the Roman Catholic Parish Church of Donaghmore, Ireland, on the day of May 1845.

That the church kept both marriage and baptismal certificates underscores its important role as record keeper; the church was a partner with the state, and as such was attaching the Irish to the state. The success of the Catholic Church institution for bonding the Irish immigrants together in their new urban environment was not as obvious at first in non-parochial schools.

The *Freeman's Journal* of July 11, 1840, reported that New York afforded little proper education for the Irish children as it queried: "How can we think of sending our children to those schools of which every artifice is resorted to in order to reduce them from their religion?" In trying to meet the demand for a separate parochial school system, Catholics opened their schools in the early 19th century. But the parochial schools, overcrowded from waves of new Irish and German immigrants, accommodated less than half the Catholic youth of the city.²⁶ And with Bishop Hughes as leader of Irish immigrants, the city became the center of the parish school movement.²⁷ The estimated 5,000 children who attended parochial schools in the 1840's represented about 20% of the total school population. By 1852 there were 10,000 parochial school students, and 16,000 by the end of the Civil War, and that was "only 16% of the school population in New York, a decrease of 4% after 25 years of expansion."²⁸ But the decade prior to the war, 11 new schools had expanded the

system to include 12,000 students on the eve of the war. During the war expansion slowed, and with Hughes's death in 1864, seemed stymied. Catholic education could not keep up with the population increase after the war despite decades of vigorous campaigning.²⁹ Still, the churches located in the traditional Irish parts of the city tried to respond.

Transfiguration Church built a school house in 1856 which was run by the Sisters of Charity while the next year the Christian Brothers took charge of the boys with an initial involvement of 500 boys and with some tuition charge, to a free school in 1862 with an enrollment of 1,200. In these schools the children were taught Catholicism from various catechisms, most notably that of Bishop James Butler, of Cashel, Ireland, first written in 1775.³⁰ Following a question and answer format, it was more appropriate for young children than most popular catechisms in the antebellum period--the *Catholic Christian* instructed (1837) by Bishop Richard Challoner of London; by 1865, it was in its 12th edition. For 30 minutes each day the church dogmas were drilled into the children's heads. The catechisms were a strong link with the old country. Parents had used Butler's catechism in Ireland, and their American-born children learned the faith from the same book.³¹ In the *Freeman's Journal* of March 12, 1870, a letter to the editor underscored this idea:

Can we attribute to children in America those sentiments with which we want to be filled in good old Catholic Ireland? I say we can. They have the same faith that their fathers bled and died for in days of yore. We have changed the clime, but not the faith, and as long as our children are well instructed in their religion, we can attribute to them the same sentiments in America.

What the catechism stressed was serving man now in order to be in heaven on day. Religious truths were taught to save one's soul--the highest moral order. "Look up to heaven! if you are firm and true; in serving God its joys are all for you." ³² When children were told this, it was clear that there was one true church, Roman Catholic--the same in Ireland as in America. The Protestant church was "not the true church of Christ."³³

Reinforcing the institutional solidarity of Catholicism in the immigrant church of New York was the School Reader--first published in the U.S. in 1837 with the purpose of presenting "the facts of religion as the best reputation of its adversaries"³⁴ rather than attacking other religions. Designed to instill a sense of pride in children the series adopted by New York's Catholic schools was the one edited by the Christian Brothers of Ireland. Praising Irish culture, it painted a portrait of the Irish peasant which included the adjectives "shrewd," "hospitable," "heroic," "just," and "cheerful."

The *School Reader* for Catholic children also instilled pride in America thus fostering a sense of patriotism. Speeches by Patrick Henry, Daniel Webster, and George Washington were included in the Christian Brothers' *Reader*. The glory of the American Revolution, as well as selections narrating the early history of American Catholicism were prevalent. Daniel Webster outlined the duties of the American

citizen. History texts also reinforced this sense of national pride, and Catholic songbooks did not fail to include patriotic hymns in their repertoire.³⁶

At Transfiguration Parish where many Irish recruits had married their wives and baptized their children, parents were allowed to see their children perform in annual exhibitions in which Irish poetry was recited and "Yankee Doodle" sung. This type of Catholicism meant being Irish and was the comfortable conduit to a post-Famine generation of Irish children whose parents were subjected to nativist and Protestant discrimination here. And as the *Freeman's Journal* of September 23, 1854, noted in an obituary for an Irish mother, Mrs. Manahan, who "had raised 10 children and it was obviously to her credit that not one to this day has ever died, or now lives out of the belief and practice of their mother and grandmother's faith."

Another additional way in which Catholicism cemented immigrant Irish to New York was in a traditional and conservative social reform idea; generosity and hospitality, not the social change idea of Protestants, was the focus. Man could not and should not alter the static social system of the stratified society.

The church teaches us to rely on moral power, the grace of God, and individual conscience. She demands the intervention of government only in the material order, for the maintenance or vindication of justice; what lies entirely in the moral or spiritual order, she regards as no proper object of governmental suppression. So of great moral and philanthropic objects. She does not call upon the government to enact them, and make it a legal offense to neglect them. Hence, she leaves the care of the poor, a provision for orphans, emancipation of slaves and similar good works, to the charity of the faithful, without calling upon the government to exact them as a matter of justice.³⁷

The hardships of daily life for the peasant in famine Ireland have been well documented³⁸ and focused on the hunger, unemployment and poverty of a subjugated and colonized people who were told by their priests "have confidence in God" that "when one has had as little happiness as you have had in this world, and when one has known how to profit by its miseries, one has nothing to fear in the next."³⁹ In a speech to an audience in Boston, Archbishop Hughes reminded those present that the church assigned "its own peculiar range" of Christian obligations to every class and condition: "To the sovereigns and legislators, those of justice and mercy in the enactment and execution of laws. To the rich, moderation in enjoyment and liberality toward the poor. To the poor, patience under the trials and affection toward their wealthier brethren. Toward all, the common obligation of loving one another, not in word, but in deed."⁴⁰ Scripture had said that the poor would always be with us and for the Irish immigrant peasant to be protected by the Catholic Church meant that Catholics should "extend a generous and charitable hand to a fellow creature in distress ..."⁴¹ The highest law was the salvation of one's soul and "as for the rest, though you should be reduced to the lowest condition; though you should be stripped of all your worldly possessions, all this is nothing if you arrive at length at the happy term of salvation."⁴²

If the official position of the church was against any form of government intervention to help the Irish immigrant in need, what did the church offer in addition to salvation and to schooling? Charitable parish organizations such as the Society of

St. Vincent de Paul sought to help the poor in many ways--such as spearheading temperance movements; establishing Catholic health facilities; helping at-risk groups such as young poor women and orphans.⁴³ That the church could not stem the hard drinking of the New York Irish is obvious from an examination of a list of convictions for drunkenness and disorderly conduct in New York City (by nativity in the Court of Special Session, 1859); the Irish were at the top of the list.⁴⁴

Hard drinking occurred for a variety of reasons--outside the scope of this dissertation. For my thesis, Brian Harrison's study in *Victorian Cities* (1973) of pubs in Victorian England in relation to hard drinking is important. He found that as a social lubricant ale was invaluable. All classes and nationalities mixed in the pub and often workers were paid in ale. Irish hard drinking probably made socializing with other Irishmen and with Americans easier. Who cared for the Irish who got injured or became ill?

Before mid-century, the ill Irish immigrant had to be cared for in Protestant hospitals in New York. So the waves of immigrants from Famine Ireland created a demand for a Catholic hospital; the Sisters of Charity met that need by starting St. Vincent's Hospital in New York's Greenwich Village in 1849. Opened in the year of major cholera epidemic, the Sisters of Charity were praised by all. "Admiration of the Sisters were general and unqualified; their benevolence was of a practical sort, their lives not idled away in the convent's living tomb."⁴⁵ St. Vincent's opened in the nick of time, because Protestants cared little for Irish Catholics. As one New York

Protestant minister put it: "Catholics to the backbone: An Irishman as part of his religion must not eat meat on Fridays; he must run loose all of the Sabbath, and also every evening of the week, and he must be allowed to deceive and lie, even when truth would answer his purpose better."⁴⁶ It's a good thing that St. Vincent's expanded its beds in the decade after opening from room for 30 patients to room for 150.

Aside from the ill Irish, the Catholic Church reached its institutional arms out to young immigrant Irish girls who, according to Archbishop Hughes, were especially in need of protection by a special home where "the virtue and innocence of destitute females of good character might be shielded from the snares and dangers to which their destitution exposes them in a wealthy and corrupt metropolis like New York."⁴⁷ Consequently, special homes for job training were opened in 1847 by the Sisters of Mercy and in 1857 by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. Much earlier, in 1817, the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum had opened, caring for 28 children under the auspices of the Sisters of Charity. Twelve years later, a second orphanage opened which, by 1859, cared for 850 children.⁴⁸

Another benevolent institution, the Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Children in the City of New York, did not get started until two years into the war. The major objectives of the Catholic protectorate were to keep Catholic children from becoming Protestant, to aid children in need, and to encourage young people to move out of the City of New York and into the country which was idealized and romanticized by many, including Archbishop Hughes. Before an audience in

Cork, Ireland, he remarked that many of Ireland's poor had relocated to "the west of the United States" and owned as much as 300 acres of land.⁴⁹ Despite Hughes's idealization of the rural life, he was enough of a realist to be a New York City booster, and to have helped to start caring Catholic institutions for the advancement of Irish immigrants in New York City. Still, at least two of those agencies--the Catholic Protectory and the Orphan Asylum--were ambivalent about New York and tried to place children in rural areas outside of Manhattan.

To sum up the influence of Catholicism on transforming peasants into patriots, several aspects of church life fall into place. Each of these contributed to the process by which Irish immigrants would be acculturated into American society. First, the church replicated the religious patterns of Ireland thus giving a sense of familiarity that the new arrivals were comforted by. Therefore, giving this sense of security individually also helped to reinforce the collective security of the group. Secondly, group consciousness was also strengthened by the *Handbook of Tridentine Catholicism*, the catechism and also used by Hughes to domesticate the Irish; the mission experience would also reinforce this in religious revival. Thirdly, benevolent associations helped Catholic men and women, girls and boys. Health care, employment, schooling, and housing were just a few of the areas in which the Catholic Church brought social programs to relieve immigrant Irish suffering. Fourth, patriotism and parish life were synonymous. When war came, the American flag flew from Catholic Churches in New York, and Archbishop Hughes said: "Be

patriotic, do for the country what the country needs, and the blessing of God will recompense those who discharge their duty."⁵⁰

Alexis de Tocqueville⁵¹ said that it was easy to distinguish between American patriotism and European patriotism. The latter understood love of country as "instinctive," a birthright refined as "a taste for ancient customs and a reverence for traditions of the past." For the former, it was the product of personal experience, calculated self-interest, of participation in shared political life. Tocqueville's distinction here (like Schaar's mentioned in the "Introduction") is important for understanding the Irish, politics and patriotism. Nation is on the one hand a people or descent group; and on the other hand, a political unit, a state. Europe's nation idea was historical and Americans were made a nation by means of republican polity, laws, shared rights and benefits citizens derived from it. No real nation existed before the state. "National identity was not a natural fact but an ideological structure," as one put it.⁵² Citizenship was the basis for inclusion in the nation. Loyalty to nation meant loyalty to the *Constitution*. This conception of nationality made citizenship "contractual, volitional, and legal rather than natural and immutable."⁵³ Against this backdrop of citizenship one can view the political attitudes of the New York Irish prior to the Civil War.

The Irish contributions to American life were many, and included participation in and shaping of process politics of the Democratic Party, especially Tammany Hall.

⁵⁴ With all of its corruption, Tammany Hall failed New York City. Tammany Hall.

however, helped the Irish immigrant, who, in turn, shaped city and national politics. Irish immigrant peasants became patriots in part by means of participation in pre-Civil War Democratic Party politics of New York City. Comprising 34% of the voters in New York City in 1855,⁵⁵ the Irish vote was important to get. Consequently, this fact suggests several questions. First, what was Tammany Hall? Secondly, how did Tammany court the Irish vote? Thirdly, why did virtually all Irish vote Democratic/Tammany? Fourth, what were the Irish attitudes toward State and national affairs from 1848-1861 as typified by the views of a major spokesman of the New York Irish, Thomas F. Meagher?

Tammany Hall was the popular name of the Tammany Society of New York, headquarters of the New York County Democratic Committee. The name was borrowed from a Delaware tribal chief, Tammanend. Incorporated in 1805 as a charity, it eventually became the prototype for all big city political machines. *The Shamrock*, the first Irish paper of New York, founded in 1816, saw Tammany as "noble, generous, honorable, patriotic, hospitable." Tammany did help the Irish immigrant peasant and served as one agent of acculturation in the process.⁵⁶ Every Tammany Hall politician, however, was not corrupt.

Judge Charles Patrick Daly of New York's Court of Common Pleas was virtually incorruptible. He joined Tammany Hall in 1838. At that time the society performed mostly charitable deeds. Soon Daly's political star rose with Tammany's growing power. At mid-century he was a member of the Democratic Nominating Committee

for the County of New York; office seekers asked him for appointments. The New York Public Library has hundreds of letters in *The Charles P. Daly Papers* from would-be office seekers addressed to Judge Daly. This son of Irish Catholic immigrants taught himself law. Respected by his friends and foes for his honesty, integrity, and keen judicial mind, he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Columbia Law School. Supporter of the New York Historical Society, first President of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of New York from 1860 to 1862, he was an acknowledged Gaelic authority and secured for his library "an almost priceless complete edition of the Seanchud Mar, a book of Brehon Laws." ⁵⁷

Second generation Irish (such as Daly) took over Tammany in the 1840's and its largely issueless politics aimed mostly at acquiring political influence. With its hierarchical structure, every city block in Tammany's organization scheme had at least one political worker called a wardheeler. Blocks headed by a captain formed districts headed by a district leader. The district leaders elected an executive committee whose chairman was the party leader or boss, Tweed being the most notorious. This machine formed a shadow government paralleling the legal, official regime. Government in the mid-nineteenth century had no social service agencies and no pensions or other financial aid. Those in need of help in a variety of circumstances from being unemployed to being evicted, could often receive direct, immediate, and effective help. At times the aid might have been inefficient, but as the only system available, recent Irish Catholic immigrants were naturally its chief beneficiaries since they

eventually took it over and ran it. The machine's strength depended on the control of public works projects which meant control of jobs. Collecting its taxes through various forms of corruption, the machine did not have to worry about breaking the law since the police worked for the machine.

Irish immigrants comprised a significant proportion of the police. According to the 1855 State of New York Census, immigrants made up 33% of New York City's police force of which 75% were Irish. Seven hundred and eighteen policemen were U.S. born, and 431 were immigrants, including 305 Irish or about 25% of the total police force. In the decades prior to the Civil war, the Democratic Party wielded political control of New York City; the police supported Tammany Hall, remaining loyal to Mayor Fernando Wood who had defied a state-centered Metropolitan Police in 1857.⁵⁸

Other than the police,⁵⁹ there were additional feeders for Tammany including volunteer fire companies and saloons. Until the New York State Legislature inaugurated the Metropolitan Fire Department in June of 1865, such fire companies as the Black Joke Engine Company No. 33 groomed future Tammany politicians such as Malachi Fallon who controlled the politics of the Seventh and Thirteenth Wards; Boss Tweed, organizer of the Big Six Engine Company in 1849 and later its foreman, controlled Tammany Hall. Success as a volunteer fireman frequently led to the acquisition of status in the Irish community. Often in their history, the Irish Catholic peasants had been the tools of their landlords. That they would become tools of

political bosses in America seemed inevitable given their prior experience as British colonial subjects. Once here, political bosses marched them in groups to the polls, and cemented the allegiance with free liquor.⁶⁰ And for the Irish, some political activity centered in the saloon.

Immigrant saloon keepers like John McSorley of 15 E. 7th Street in Manhattan were in key positions socially and politically. Indeed, his cousin, William McSorley, owned a publishing house on Barclay Street in lower Manhattan which published the first history of the Irish Brigade in 1867 by one of its officers named Captain David P. Conyngham, and entitled *The Irish Brigade and its Campaigns, with Some Account of the Corcoran Legion, and Sketches of the Principal Officers*. Such a figure as McSorley could be a cog in the Tammany machine. Brian Harrison's work on the importance of pubs in social change in Victorian England can be superimposed on New York immigrant saloons, with similar conclusions. For example, McSorley's provided, like its Victorian counterpart, an oasis from the nagging wife, crying children, boredom and pain of day laborer work. Social classes mixed in the old ale house which was the center for male recreation as well as a public meeting place. Whether or not McSorley's *per se* fostered revolutionary and reform activities as Harrison claims for Victorian England's pubs, nevertheless, such pubs did assemble working people in crowds. And in those crowds was a large percentage of the popular vote--much of it Irish.

The Fourth and Sixth wards were predominantly Irish, and went Democratic in the first popular mayoralty election and thereafter remained consistently Democratic. In most other elections during the forties and fifties, the Fourth Ward and the Fourteenth (also with many immigrants) produced a plurality or majority of Democratic votes.⁶¹

Fernando Wood, once a nativist, gave up that stance to secure the Irish vote. He controlled Tammany until the end of the 1850's, manipulated the police, and had newly-arrived Irish immigrants naturalized who promised to vote for Wood. The *Irish American* backed Wood throughout the 1850's. Wood favored improving the laborers' working conditions and regulating tenement house conditions in New York City. Rumor had it that Wood would assist emigration of the pauper class to the West.⁶²

Moreover, Irish joined the native-born Democrats mainly because the Whigs supported nativism, temperance, and Sunday blue laws. The *Irish American* expressed it thusly:

Proscription (for religious and the accident of birth) has reared its hydra heads among us, and its deadliest blows have been aimed at Irish Roman Catholics. Its followers have been and are still numerous; and if it has not succeeded in affecting all the mischief which its advent seemed to threaten, it has been owing to the fact that there was in the Republic a political body which in the darkest hour of trial was found faithful to the Constitution and the institutions bequeathed them by the glorious band of heroes and martyrs who did not hesitate to risk the sacrifice of 'their lives, their fortunes and sacred honor' that their country might become a 'secure and peaceful asylum for the oppressed of all nations.'⁶³

The Irish did not like the anti-slavery doctrine of the Republican Party. The *Citizen* wrote: "He would be a bad Irishman who voted for the ascendance of principles which proscribed himself, and which jeopardized the present freedom of a nation of white men for the vague forlorn hope of elevating black to a level for which it is at least problematical whether God and nature ever incensed them."⁶⁴ *The Irish American* put it this way: "The real facts are these, the Irish will not, cannot vote for Fremont [sic], the political corsair who at one moment bewails the fate of the poor Negro with tears of salt, and at another hobnobs with the fiery partisan of the North who fights under the banner of 'death to and down with popery, slavery, and rum!'"⁶⁵

Why the recent Irish immigrant hated the Negro (and vice-versa) was in part due to labor market competition; hence the Irish antipathy to free-soilers and with the Republican Party. As early as May of 1850, the New York *Tribune* had commented that it was difficult to understand how the Irish so recently escaped "from a galling, degrading bondage"⁶⁶ should vote against measures to grant Negroes rights, and be so racist shouting at the polls: "Down with the Nagurs! Let them go back to Africa, where they belong."⁶⁷ On the other hand, Negroes were the first to call the Irish "white niggers" or "white buckra." Remarked one slave: "My master is a great tyrant, he treats me badly as if I was a common Irishman."^{67A} Both John Mitchel and Meagher detested abolitionists. Mitchel considered *Uncle Tom's Cabin* unfair, and wanted to reopen the slave trade.^{67B} Meagher expressed similar views in the *Irish News* issues for August 5th and 8th, 1857, as we shall soon see.

To sum up the reasons for Irish voting Democratic/Tammany, then, one has only to list the variety of reasons for the surge in nativism at mid-century. Heavy famine Irish immigration of the 1840's and 1850's made the Irish an easy scapegoat for the fear the Anglo-Americans had over slavery and sectionalism issues which flared up when the passage of the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act killed the Whig Party and gave birth to the Republican Party; wealthy Americans would undoubtedly have to pay higher property taxes to pay for the indigent. Coming in such large numbers, would not the Irish one day outnumber native borns? Indeed, lots of Irish meant low wages; the British were deliberately dumping or shoveling out paupers as theorists like Wilmot Horton had urged. After all, they had taken over control of Tammany! And Tammany had consistently opposed temperance, abolitionism, women's rights, and free-soilism.

In foreign policy as in domestic affairs, nativists feared an end to healthy isolationism: would the Irish in America one day strike out at England by means of an attack on Canada? Weren't the Catholic Irish maneuvering for a takeover of U.S. political life by the Vatican? Samuel F. B. Morse saw the issue as one between popery and Protestantism, or absolutism and Republicanism, and referred to the papacy as the anti-Christ.⁶⁸ The net result of all of the Nativist attacks was to make the Irish "more clannish, nationalistic, and loyal to the Democratic Party. Nativist attacks retarded assimilation and welded the Irish into a solid unified group."⁶⁹ The Democratic Party became just one more institution which bonded the immigrant Irish

together. As Sean Wilentz notes in *Chants Democratic*, "Democrats had long made appeals to the Irish as an important part of their campaigning; with the immigrant vote secure, the nativists charged, Tammany had enriched itself with shady public contracts, at taxpayers' expense." ⁷⁰

After the 1840's Paddy's character ⁷¹ was seen as unchangeable in America with traits racial in origin and fixed; education in Republicanism could not change them. Shifts in definitions of the American character caused this fluidity of image, not changing American social and economic conditions. In the later Ante-bellum period, Americans used pseudo-sciences to define "blood" as the criterion for nationality. Now Paddy became "dirty," "ragged," "unkempt"; Irish physical appearance reflected lack of Irish character. In the mid-1850's, a *Harper's Monthly* contributor described two bogtrotters:

They were a couple of the short, frieze-coated, knee-breeches and gray-stockings fellows who are as plentiful on Irish soil as potatoes. From beneath their narrow-brimmed, old, weather-beaten hats streamed hair as unkempt as their horses' manes. The Celtic physiognomy was distinctly marked--the small and somewhat upturned nose, the black tint of the skin; the eyes now looking gray, now black; the freckled cheek, and sandy hair. Beard and whiskers covered half the face, and the short, square-shouldered bodies were bent forward with eager impatience.⁷²

On the other hand, nativists had a stable, traditional view of the Irish which was also negative. The thrust of nativist discourse, nevertheless, emphasized character; that the natural environment formed American character--even among the Irish. "Domestication" would make the Irish Americans.

Having described the Irish connection to Tammany Hall, how Tammany courted the Irish vote, and why virtually all Irish voted Democratic/Tammany, one must now describe further the Irish attitudes toward State and National affairs from 1848-1861 as typified by their main spokesman, Thomas F. Meagher. He embodied the New York Irish Brigade recruits' attitudes toward the issues causing the Civil War such as those of slavery or abolitionism, states' rights or the Union, Democratic or Republican Party allegiance. After briefly outlining his biography, it will be demonstrated that the exiled and escaped Young Irelander selected causes which were or would have been the recruits causes and articulated what recruits felt or would be made to feel when he became editor of the *Irish News*--an Irish immigrant newspaper in New York City. His complex personality mirrors the worst and best aspects of the culture of Ireland. On the positive side, the silver tongued oratorical tradition from a land of storytellers, and certain almost heroic actions. On the negative side, there was a tendency toward solving problems by means of violence, and toward a tenacious effort to make it in America no matter what.

While never an outstanding product of Jesuit school education, young Thomas of Waterford, a lawyer by training, nevertheless would find his niche as a writer and as an orator on behalf of Young Ireland and the "physical force" faction in Irish nationalism. He said:

Abhor the sword--stigmatise the sword? No, my lord, for at its blow, a giant nation started from the waters of the Atlantic, and by its redeeming magic, and in the quivering of its crimson light, the crippled colony sprang into the attitude

of a proud Republic--prosperous, limitless, and invincible! Abhor the sword--stigmatise the sword? No, my lord, for it swept the Dutch marauders out of the fine old towns of Belgium--scourged them back to their phlegmatic swamps--and knocked their flag and scepter, their laws and bayonets into the sluggish waters of the Scheldt.⁷³

"Physical force" got a shot in the arm from the 1848 revolution in Paris, and Meagher even went there briefly to show the solidarity of Young Ireland with the French. London acted swiftly to avoid revolution and passed the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act on July 22, 1848, whereby the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland could detain all people suspected of plotting against the Queen. Young Irishmen, including Meagher, were arrested in August 1848, and tried separately. Curious reporters described Meagher: "His appearance is not vulgar, but 'pretentious,' and you see at once the usual characteristics of an ad captandum orator."⁷⁴ Meagher's sentence of death was commuted,⁷⁵ and he was instead sentenced to life imprisonment on Van Dieman's Land from which he escaped in 1852. On May 29, 1852, the *New York Herald* reported that on a visit to an Irish friend's house in Brooklyn that Meagher had been saluted by portions of the 69th Regiment, serenaded by the Brooklyn Cornet band, and cheered by a crowd of 7,000 people. The New York Irish had a hero.

The New York Irish needed a hero who could lead them to a better way of life than the one afforded them in mid-nineteenth century New York City.⁷⁶ The poorest of all of New York's immigrants, the Irish filled city institutions as mentioned in the "Introduction." Fortunately, not all Irish were so destitute. Scholars⁷⁷ have demonstrated that many survived by means of the family group or help from charities.

Noted one scholar: "Although desperately poor in some cases, the Irish bonded together in family, town, and kin networks to bring in enough money to support themselves."⁷⁸

The *Irish American*⁷⁹ continued its "Meagher Excitement" by noting that New Yorkers had embraced him as well as "the entire country." The fact of rescuing an "English Felon" snatched from "the burning of despotism and cruelty" penetrated "with magnetic power into millions of warm and enthusiastic souls." The newspaper had never witnessed "the expression of such general happiness at any public event as the advent of Thomas Francis Meagher has given birth to." The editor thought that there were several reasons for Meagher's popularity. First, his speech was eloquent and patriotic. Secondly, he was unselfish and had bravely entered public life. Meagher was an "Apostle of Freedom in its holiest and noblest sense . . . We believe that Providence has spared him to re-integrate the Irish spirit in this country" . . . He could gather up the "scattered fragments of our strength and resources, and cementing them with the ingredients of mutual forbearance, brotherly love, and ardent patriotism."⁸⁰

Meagher enjoyed his celebrity status for months to come in spite of the tragic news that his son had died at birth on June 8, 1852 in Tasmania; and his wife, having resided for several years with the elder Meagher in Waterford, would die in a second childbirth in May, 1854.

How to earn a living became Meagher's preoccupation and obsession throughout the 1850's. He was at first a speaker on Irish Nationalism, but soon this topic lost appeal in American cities. Meagher also spoke fondly of Mazzini and Kossuth and this for a time alienated the Catholic hierarchy.⁸¹ Next, Meagher lobbied for a position in February and March of 1853. He spent February 27th with President Pierce, and the next day with other dignitaries where he visited the Capitol and both houses of Congress--many of whom paid him "the most remarked respect and attention." A reporter thought that "his reception by General Cass, the Honorable Pierre Soule, Honorable William H. Seward, General Sam Houston, of Texas, Douglas of Illinois, Mason of Virginia, and others was singularly cordial."⁸² While no appointment was forthcoming, Meagher continued to speak on tour. *The San Francisco Daily Herald's* reporter observed: "Mr. Meagher . . . finds it necessary to toil for his own support, and has selected the profession of a Lecturer as his avocation." And his oratory style "is strong, nervous, compact," and "concise, but by no means harsh--bitter, but not vindictive--enthusiastic, but yet not fanatical."⁸³

Several major events stand out from Meagher's activities of the 1850's, and each event captures an aspect of his very complex personality. His street brawl with McMasters, editor of the *Catholic Freeman's Journal*, over presumably slanderous remarks relating to Meagher's escape from Tasmania exemplifies his "rebel" and violent side--hence the legendary phrase "Meagher of the Sword." His hauling out of wounded passengers from a train wreck outside of Detroit in November of 1854

captures an element of the heroic side of his personality. His admission to the New York State Bar in September of 1854 and his marriage two months later to Elizabeth Townsend, daughter of wealthy Fifth Avenue merchant Peter Townsend, at the residence of Archbishop Hughes, captures the very practical and opportunistic side of his personality: to make it in America, and to make it in a big way. As a junior council for the defense in the Sickles Case in the Spring of 1859 Meagher's client won but Meagher gained little financially. And earlier, as defense attorney for some of the men on the Walker expedition in February and March of 1857 in a case that was not brought to trial, he gained neither fame nor money. He had to turn to his father-in-law. With Townsend's support, Meagher founded the *Irish News* in April of 1856 and would hold that job until April 9, 1859. All elements of his personality would come together in his many editorials in this paper.

Meagher was thought well-suited for a position in journalism by a writer for the New York *Herald* because Meagher had "more judgment and discretion" than most of his countrymen, and was also very popular. Therefore, "no objection was made when, the other day, the courts admitted him to the bar before his naturalization. Under these circumstances it is fair to expect that Mr. Meagher will produce a journal superior to the average run of Irish papers."⁸⁴ The other major paper in the city found fault with the philosophy of the paper, and felt that it was a pro-Southern Democratic organ. "Perhaps the *News* had adopted the regular Democratic slave breeding doctrine, that it

is no more harm for an aristocrat to kill an Irish waiter than it is to kill a nigger. This is a queer world, especially the Irish part of it." ⁸⁵

Meagher's writings as editor of the *Irish News* were for General Walker's Nicaraguan expedition, for the Buchanan Democrats of 1856, and for the South and its way of life. "Ten thousand citizens in the Park--the Congress of New York Democracy, have ratified the progress of Republican faith and courage by rendering an unqualified, though discriminating approval of General Walker's conduct in Nicaragua" wrote Meagher in the *News*. ⁸⁶ "Will America consent to pay the toll, struck by the Parliament whose Stamp Act she cut to pieces and flung in the foolish face of old King George, and without a murmur, and with perfect good grace and ease of heart, consent to pass from one part of her domain to another, through a double file of sneering Red coats" continued Meagher. ⁸⁷ Down with the British and their interference in Central America was an easy theme for a former Young Irelander to write about and a popular one in a young Republic full of Manifest Destiny. Meagher's patriotism was still focused on his anti-British feelings alone.

On the domestic aspects of the Democratic Party, Meagher enthusiastically supported Buchanan while staying out of local New York City politics. "The platform he accepts deprecates the bigotry of Know-Nothingism; reasserts the liberality, wisdom and grandeur of the elder statesmen of America; enunciates positively, and insists upon, the integrity of American citizenship, irrespective of creed or birthplace."⁸⁸ Meagher especially applauded Buchanan's support of popular

sovereignty: "Buchanan successful, the principles of the several States solemnly and securely renewed, the supreme dogma of popular sovereignty has nothing for the term of his Presidency to assail it."⁸⁹

After a brief trip to the South in September of 1856, Meagher returned to give his views of Charleston and of Southern society to his Celtic readers. He loved the South, Southerners, and all of her institutions. Meagher found that southerners were not all "slave-drivers with broad-brimmed hats and long whips beating Negroes." He "found a people sober, intelligent, high-minded, patriotic, and kind-hearted. One thing I missed, to-wit--the squalid misery of the laboring classes of the North. I saw no poverty. And you may depend on it, the absence of poverty is a very superior feature in any community."⁹⁰ Southerners were wonderful people for particular reasons. They had, continued Meagher,

no penchant for *isms*; and, let me tell you, they manage to get on wonderfully well without them . . . There are no cadaverous, sapless, man-forsaken females, turning politics into a burlesque, philosophy into farce, and religion into reproach. There are no long-haired fanatics preaching a millennium of free-love ... no convent-burners ... no Know-Nothings. There are no "ministers of the Gospel"--save the mark!--sermonizing from the text--"Go ye into the world and shoot at every creature," turning the church into the play-house, making rowdyism of religion.⁹¹

And Meagher approved of Southern slavery even though he had seen his own people virtually subjugated to the British. The contradiction never occurred to him. On the race question, then, there was the "apparent" hypocrisy those like Meagher and John

Mitchel saw in the abolitionists, both English and Yankee. This was also a clash between Irish and Yankee elites.

But it may be urged, "slavery is there." Well, sir, what of it? You are not responsible for it. You have no business with it. Look around you, and you will see slavery everywhere--aye, under your very nose!! Slavery ten thousand times worse than involuntary physical servitude. "Still, slavery is bad." Granted. But how are you going to remedy it? Are you an American, and would you ask your fellow countrymen to do the work of a slave? Are you a foreigner, and would you ask a European to do it? No, sir; you know better. Just mind your own affairs, then, and let slavery alone.⁹²

Meagher's fellow escaped young Irishman John Mitchel held more extreme views on race than Meagher; both had collaborated on *The Citizen* which appeared in 1854. Mitchel opposed Henry Ward Beecher and all abolitionists. In the second issue of the paper dated January 14, 1854, Mitchel became involved in a race hate theme controversy that struck a blow to Irish prestige in the northern states. Many who had sympathized with Ireland's woe were from that humanitarian group who were in the forefront of the antislavery movement. The *Tribune*, for one, never again supported Irish nationalism. Mitchel's racist quote reads: "We deny that it is a crime, or a wrong, or even a peccadillo, to hold slaves, or to buy slaves, to sell slaves, to keep slaves to their work by flogging or other needful coercion ... and as for being a particular in the wrongs, we, for our part, wish we had a good plantation, well stocked with healthy Negroes in Alabama."⁹³

What was the attraction that the South had for these well-educated Irish revolutionaries and lawyers? After all, wasn't the South just another term of the

Anglo-Saxon ascendancy? That the South had the better of the constitutional argument regarding states' rights was obvious to both. Also, just as England had Ireland on the defensive, so too did the North have the South encircled. The South's plight had that encirclement and domination in common with Ireland. Meagher tried to explain to his Irish readers how the South had been put on the defensive. "It repels by every legitimate means the assaults of the North. But when the Constitution is disregarded--a 'higher law' appealed to, justice subverted ... then the voice which says there is *disunion*, is not a false one, but a real outcry of alarm, which should bring dismay and terror to every true heart within the Union."⁹⁴ Indeed, denied a job in the Buchanan Administration, Meagher threw his editorial support to a Buchanan enemy, Stephen Douglas, in the coming Illinois election. Wrote Meagher: "We are for Douglas because we believe he is right--on the true Democratic side of the fence."⁹⁵

Turning from national to local politics, Meagher finally took a stand in New York's mayoral election of 1860 and supported the Tammany candidate Havemeyer who lost to Fernando Wood. Indeed, things looked bleak for Meagher in 1860. Without being connected politically, he had little hope of securing gainful employment. His law practice never got off the ground, and there had been no income from lectures since the mid-50's. His Central American trips and especially the one in early 1860 to Costa Rica at first appeared as a successful effort at negotiating a railroad right of way for the government of Costa Rica but when the United States Senate did not approve of an aspect of the Navy's contract, there would be no railroad

and no American money for Meagher. Before the fact of failure was known to the public, the *Irish News* reported enthusiastically of Meagher's success: "He has managed his diplomatic and other negotiations in the matter of the railway grant from Costa Rica, as happily as if he was all his life at that kind of business. He has shown that Irishmen can succeed as well as other people."⁹⁶

Meagher was given another chance at being a success with the bombardment on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, by the South; now he could earn a living as a soldier; and so too could the thousands of other Irishmen in New York who had eked out a living as a dollar a day day-laborer; but for which side would they fight? Their English enemies were pro-South, so a war against the South was also a fight against England. Before the start of the war, however, Meagher's *Irish News* editorials had been consistently pro-South, and yet his marriage into an established northern family on which he still depended for financial support, made the decision more of a practical than a philosophical one (although he claims that he "was torn away by a torrent of loyalty to the American flag").⁹⁷ That Meagher was a calculating immigrant--a social and political opportunist--was obvious from his goal-oriented behavior to make it in America. His sudden conversion to the Union's side is understandable in that it represented the most direct and rapid advancement possibility.

Meagher saw his first action at the Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861. He had fought with the 69th New York Militia as a Captain under Col. Michael Corcoran.⁹⁸ The humiliation suffered by the North provided an incentive to properly recruit and

train an all Irish unit, The Irish Brigade. The *Tribune* noted that "The Irish spirit of the North is thoroughly aroused and thousands are ready to obliterate the sad memories of the first engagement in which the green flag waved gloriously beside the Stars and Stripes."⁹⁹ Indeed, Meagher wrote a letter which appeared in the *Tribune* in order to help recruit Irishmen. He appealed to Irish nationalism and said "Every blow dealt against the great conspiracy of the south beats back the insolence and base plots of England."¹⁰⁰ To that end Meagher sent a telegram to the War Department. "I can organize an Irish Brigade of five thousand ... men. I can do so forthwith and have it ready in thirty ... days to march."¹⁰¹ By September 7, 1861, *The New York Herald Tribune* had reported that the Irish Brigade would be made up of regiments from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER I

¹ The material in this section is based on the following: Jay P. Dolan, The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865 (Baltimore, 1975); Robert Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York (New York, 1965); Kerby Miller, Emigrants and Exiles (New York, 1985); Carol Groneman, "The 'Bloody Ould Sixth'"; Edward K. Spann's The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857 (New York, 1981); Ernest A. McKay's The Civil War and New York City (Syracuse, NY, 1990); Civil War Pension Files, National Archives, Washington, DC; The Citizens Association of New York. Report of the Council of Hygiene and Public Health (New York, 1865), afterwards cited as The Report of the Council of Hygiene; Edward J. Misch, "The American Bishops and the Negro from the Civil War to the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1865-84" (Ph.D. dissertation, Gregorian University of Rome, 1968); John Duffy, A History of Public Health in New York City, 1625-1866 (New York, 1968); Adrian Cook, Armies of the Street (Lexington, 1974); and J. Miller, The 1866 Guide to New York City (New York, 1975) [first published in 1866]), pp. 99-134 is the basic text for transportation information and for the names and addresses of businesses and buildings in this dissertation.

² Quoted in Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York, 1984), p. 352. While the passage to America from Ireland is outside the scope of this dissertation, Terry Coleman and George Potter have written important works--cited in the bibliography.

³ Ernst, Robert, Immigrant Life, p. 18; Spann, The New Metropolis, p. 111.

⁴ See Dennis Clark's Hibernia America: The Irish and Regional Cultures (New York, 1986), pp. 1-33, on which portions of the next five paragraphs are based. Also, see works by Peter Linebaugh and Gareth Stedman-Jones which bring in the Irish worker in London. Earlier (in 18th century London), Peter Linebaugh demonstrated in The London Hanged (Cambridge, 1992) that the three defining artifacts of immigrant Paddy were the gallows, the shovel, and Brown Bess. By the next century in London, Gareth Stedman-Jones showed in Outcast London (Oxford, 1971) that a massive portion of the laboring population there were seasonal, casual, and versatile laborers in rough trades, not regular or skilled workers, and that very many were semi-transient Irish. The labor economy of early pre-Civil War New York was probably quite similar, i.e., Irish laborers of all sorts who, in their mass of muscle, were vital to the economy of the nation, state, and city, but who individually were marginal and expendable.

⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 31.

¹¹ See Dennis Clark, The Irish Relations: Trials of an Immigrant Tradition (East Brunswick, NJ, 1982), pp. 86-99.

¹² See E.D. Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War (New York, 1910), pp. 184-185.

^{12A} See the Pension Files in the National Archives, 88th, 69th, 63rd Regiments of New York Infantry; see the "Tables" section at the end of Chapter IV for the names of the Irish Brigade families used in this dissertation.

^{12B} See Ernst, Immigrant Life, pp. 60-98; H. Diner, Erin's Daughters in America (Baltimore, 1983), pp. 70-94.

¹³ John A. Hassard, Life of Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D. (New York, 1866), p. 212; see Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75," American Historical Review 77 (June, 1972): 625-52 (for the paragraph mentioning "The Devotional Revolution"); see the Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone, Vol. IX (New York, 1943), pp. 252-355 for the best brief overview of Hughes' life.

¹⁴ See R. F. Foster, Modern Ireland, 1600-1972 (New York, 1988), pp. 386-387.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 387.

¹⁶ See Jay P. Dolan, The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865 (Baltimore, 1975), p. 46 and following. A list of Roman Catholic churches in New York City, 1865, is found in Dolan, p. 13.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 53.

²⁰ See Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution," p. 649; and Connell, Irish Peasant Society, p. 151, for a similar evaluation.

²¹ O. Handlin's Boston Immigrants (Cambridge, 1959), p. 128, for this quote and the next.

²² John Miller, The End of Religious Controversy (New York, n.d.), pp. 243 and 122; Robert Gorman, Catholic Apologetical Literature in the United States, 1784-1858 (Washington, DC, 1939), pp. 53 and following; Dolan, The Immigrant Church, pp. 55-56.

²³ Dolan, The Immigrant Church, pp. 57-60; p. 63 relates to the material below.

²⁴ Hassard, Life of Hughes, p. 130.

²⁵ Dolan, The Immigrant Church, p. 63.

²⁶ Ernst, Immigrant Life, p. 141.

²⁷ See James A. Burns, The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States (New York, 1912), p. 124; Dolan, The Immigrant Church, p. 105, is the source for data in this part of the paragraph.

²⁸ See Dolan, p. 105, the source from which this section is summarized.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 105-106.

³⁰ Dolan, The Immigrant Church, p. 114 on which this section is based.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 115-116.

³² Rev. Dr. J. Cummings, Definitions and Aids to Memory for the Catechism: Being a Catechism in Rhyme (Boston, 1862), p. 19; also, the quote below is from this source.

³³ Ibid., p. 117.

³⁴ Christian Brothers, The Third Book of Reading Lessons (Montreal, 1860), p. 4.

³⁵ Christian Brothers, The Literary Class--Book of Fourth Series of Select Reading Lessons in Prose and Verse (New York, 1855), pp. 248-50.

³⁶ Rev. Dr. J. Cummings, Songs for Catholic Schools and the Catechisms in Rhyme (New York, 1862), pp. 35-78; Dolan, The Immigrant Church, p. 118.

³⁷ See Orestes Brownson, "The Church and the Republic," Brownson's Quarterly Review, July 1856, p. 303.

³⁸ See Connell, Irish Peasant Society.

³⁹ See A. de Tocqueville, Journeys, p. 164; p. 170.

⁴⁰ Lawrence Kehoe, Ed., Complete works of the Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D., 2 volumes (New York, 1865), Vol. 1, p. 527.

⁴¹ Truth Teller, December 21, 1833.

⁴² William Gahan, O.S.A., Sermons and Moral Discourses for All the Sundays and Principal Festivals of the Year, on the Most Important Truths and Maxims of the Gospel (Dublin, 1846), p. 254; this book of sermons was popular in both Ireland and the U.S.

⁴³ Dolan, The Immigrant Church, p. 137.

⁴⁴ See Richard Stivers, A Hair of the Dog (London, 1976), p. 6. Reasons for Irish hard drinking are summarized in Stivers, pp. 169-79.

⁴⁵ Charles E. Rosenberg, The Cholera Years (Chicago, 1987), pp. 139-140.

⁴⁶ John Todd, "Christian Duties to Domestic," Evangelist (New York), July 26, 1849.

⁴⁷ Archives of the University of Notre Dame, Archbishop John Hughes to the Society for Propagation of the Faith, Paris, May 13, 1851, p. 104, as quoted in Dolan, p. 132.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 136.

⁴⁹ Quoted in H. T. Browne, "Archbishop Hughes and Western Colonization," Catholic Historical Review, 36 (October 1950): 282.

⁵⁰ Hassard, Life of Hughes, pp. 439 and 487.

⁵¹ See Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 2 vols., ed. Phillips Bradley (New York, 1945), I:250-251.

⁵² Yehoshua Arieli, Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 297.

⁵³ See James H. Kettner, The Development of American Citizenship, 1608-1870 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978), p. 128.

⁵⁴ See Dennis Clark, Hibernia America: The Irish and Regional Cultures (New York, 1986), especially the introduction and Chapter 5.

⁵⁵ See Florence Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish Toward State and National Affairs, 1848-1892 (New York, 1951), p. 18; Sidney David Brummer, Political History of New York State During the Period of the Civil War (New York, 1911), in its entirety; Ernest A. McKay, The Civil War and New York City (Syracuse, 1990), p. 13; Robert Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York (New York, 1965), Ch. 14.

⁵⁶ See Gustavus Myers, The History of Tammany Hall (New York, 1917), for background on Tammany Hall; M. R. Werner's Tammany Hall (New York, 1928); Alexander B. Callow, Jr., The Tweed Ring (New York, 1966); The Shamrock, New York, March 9, 1816. Tammany under William M. Tweed (who took over the Hall on the eve of the war in 1860) became corrupt.

⁵⁷ Harold E. Hammond, A Commoner's Judge (Boston, 1954), pp. 130-131. He would later be the strongest backer for Meagher's and Corcoran's all-Irish units.

The next paragraph is based on William V. Shannon's The American Irish (New York, 1966), p. 20 and following.

⁵⁸ See Robert Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York, p. 163.

⁵⁹ See Ibid., p. 164.

⁶⁰ See Adrian Cook's Armies of the Street, p. 189, and Robert Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York, p. 163. On the general theme of the relationship of peasants to politics, see Eugene Weber's fascinating study, Peasants into Frenchmen (Stanford, 1976), p. 255. What Weber has to say about the personality factor is very important. "The predominance of personalities over issues remains an indicator (however faint) of an earlier stage of politics and of a time when the role of

intercessors, leaders, and interpreters was more readily admitted than in the popular politics of today. This is in part because that role was objectively greater, and in part because mentalities had not adjusted to abstraction, which is the supreme characteristic of the modern world and mind." See also Carl Wittke, The Irish in America (New York, 1970), p. 104; Brian Harrison's "Pubs" in The Victorian City: Images and Realities edited by H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, I (London, 1973), especially pp. 171-182; see Ivan Bernstein, The New York Draft Riots (New York, 1990).

⁶¹ See Robert Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York, pp. 163-166.

⁶² See The Irish American, Oct. 26, 1850.

⁶³ See The Irish American, Oct. 28, 1854 and June 21, 1856 (from which the long quote is taken).

⁶⁴ See The Citizen, July 19, 1856.

⁶⁵ See The Irish American, August 9, 1856.

⁶⁶ See The New York Tribune, May 11, 1850; for abolitionism see James Brewer Stewart, Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery (New York, 1976); and Ronald G. Walters, The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism After 1830 (Baltimore, 1976), especially pp. 75-123.

⁶⁷ Irish American, Jan. 6, 1850.

^{67A} Ibid.

^{67B} See The Citizen, Jan. 14, 1853; and all of his Jail Journal.

⁶⁸ See Edward Lind, ed. Samuel F. B. Morse: His Letters and Journals, II (Boston, 1914), p. 36.

⁶⁹ See Carl Wittke, The Irish in America, p. 122.

⁷⁰ Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (New York, 1984), p. 315.

⁷¹ See Dale Knoble, Paddy and the Republic (Middletown, Conn., 1986) offers a revision of other older nativist studies by John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New York, 1920); Oscar Handlin, The

Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People (Boston, 1952); Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism (New York, 1938). Knoble argues that Americans stereotyped "Paddy" in three periods from 1820-44; 1845-53; 1853-60--all in order to better understand themselves. Paddy was different. It was the British who first held the image of the Irish as an inherently inferior people which helped the British to justify their domination and oppression of Ireland. Richard Lebow in *White Britain and Black Ireland: The Influence of Stereotypes on Colonial Policy* (Philadelphia, 1976), demonstrates that it was the British at first who stereotyped the Irish as being lazy, superstitious, accustomed to poverty, violence, proud, and incapable of governing themselves.

⁷² See Harper's Monthly, "A Scene from Irish Life," 1855, p. 833.

⁷³ See Neil J. Smelser, Social Change in the Industrial Revolution (Chicago, 1959), pp. 261-262, for a discussion of the physical force and moral force factions, first present in Chartism. Unified group action was greatly hindered by this bifurcation. The quote from Meagher is found in Memoirs of General Thomas Francis Meagher (Worcester, Mass., 1892), p. 65, by Michael Cavanagh.

⁷⁴ London Times, Aug. 15, 1848.

⁷⁵ See the London Times, Oct. 25, 1848.

⁷⁶ See Kerby Miller, Emigrants and Exiles (New York, 1985), pp. 326 and following; Robert Ernest, Immigrant Life in New York, p. 54-58; Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic (New York, 1981), p. 352.

⁷⁷ See Carol Groneman, The "Bloody Ould Sixth": A Social Analysis of a New York City Working-Class Community in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Rochester, 1973); Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Textures of Irish America (Syracuse, 1992); Andrew M. Greeley, That Most Distressful Nation: The Tammany of the American Irish (New York, 1972); Denis Clark, Hibernia America: The Irish and Regional Cultures (New York, 1986), the introductions and Chapter 5.

⁷⁸ See Sean Wilentz, Chants Democratic, p. 352.

⁷⁹ See The Irish American, June 5, 1852.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ See Meagher to O'Brien, Aug. 8, 1856; W. S. O'Brien Papers, National Library, Dublin; quoted in Athern's Thomas Frances Meagher (New York, 1951), pp. 35-36.

⁸² See The Irish American, Mar. 12, 1853.

⁸³ See the San Francisco Daily Herald, Jan. 22 and 24, 1854.

⁸⁴ See the New York Herald, Apr. 11, 1856.

⁸⁵ New York Daily Tribune, Aug. 27, 1856.

⁸⁶ The Irish News, May 31, 1856.

⁸⁷ Ibid., May 10, 1856.

⁸⁸ Ibid., June 14, 1856.

⁸⁹ Ibid., June 28, 1856.

⁹⁰ The Irish News, Oct. 18, 1856.

⁹¹ Ibid., Oct. 18, 1856.

⁹² Ibid., Oct. 18, 1856.

⁹³ See Dumas Malone, ed., The Dictionary of American Biography, XIII (New York, 1943), pp. 35-36. In 1856 he had moved his family from New York to Knoxville where he published the proslavery newspaper *The Southern Citizen*. In 1862 he lived in Richmond, edited the pro-Jefferson Davis *Richmond Enquirer*, and was delighted that all three of his sons had fought for the Confederacy. In 1865 Mitchel returned to New York City to edit the *Daily News*. For his violent writings he was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe.

⁹⁴ The Irish News, Oct. 25, 1856.

⁹⁵ Ibid., Oct. 30, 1858.

⁹⁶ Ibid., Sept. 1, 1860.

⁹⁷ See Cavanagh, pp. 367-8. Both of Meagher's biographers (Athern and Gwynn) believe that Meagher supported the North in order to train soldiers to one day fight against his real enemy and ally of the CSA, Great Britain.

⁹⁸ See Meagher's The Last Days of the 69th in Virginia, p. 12.

⁹⁹ New York Daily Tribune, Aug. 23, 1861.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Sept. 11, 1861.

¹⁰¹ Meagher to Cameron, Sept. 7, 1861: Telegrams Received by the Secretary of War, Vol. IV, No. 23, Department of War, National Archives.

CHAPTER II

War And Recruitment--Peasants As Patriots

On Friday, October 25, 1861, Thomas Francis Meagher of Waterford, Ireland, reviewed his Irish Brigade troops at Fort Schuyler on Throg's Neck, New York. During the next week his men would be paraded to the music of Dodsworth's band and invaded by hundreds of visitors from Manhattan. Evacuated to the front in the Fall of 1861, the Irish Brigade's¹ 69th Regiment of New York Infantry was joined in December of 1861 at Camp California, Virginia, by the 88th and 63rd Regiments of New York Infantry.² Training and drilling proceeded under the command of Colonel Robert Nugent until replaced as Brigade Commander in February of 1862 by Meagher. Held out of action at the Second Battle of Bull Run on August 30, 1862, as a supporting unit in the Army of the Potomac, the Brigade eventually sailed up the York River where its baptism of fire occurred with the Siege of Yorktown, April to May, 1862.

In order to tell the military history story of the Irish Brigade, one must answer several questions. First, what was the initial response of the New York Irish to the call for volunteers after the firing on Fort Sumter in April, 1861? Secondly, with the appropriate events and battles (such as Bull Run, Antietam, and Fredericksburg) along with the culture of the Brigade in the background narrative, by whom and how were Irish Brigade units recruited in the first two years of the war? Even though this is a dissertation about peasants, not leaders, answering this question necessarily

involves a brief biographical sketch of the Brigade's leadership (the recruiters). Thirdly, what is the recruitment story like for the Brigade after Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862), and up to the resignation from the Brigade in May of 1863 by Thomas F. Meagher? My contention is that the initial popular enthusiasm of the New York Irish immediately after war started was sustained and fueled by skilled charismatic Irish leaders and speakers (like Meagher) who relied on set themes (Irish nationalism, natural Irish fighting ability, support of the *Constitution*, democracy, and the Union, and acceptance into American society) to recruit the Irish. The nature of enrollment changes with the departure of Meagher after the Chancellorsville campaign in the spring, and enactment of the draft in the summer of 1863. How the draft riots fit into the peasants as patriot's theme is a question answered in Chapter III.

Chapter III also deals with the underlying reasons for enlistment in addition to patriotism including monetary incentives from bounties and from substitution. Here, it will be demonstrated that the 63rd, 69th, and 88th regiments of New York infantry enlisted primarily for patriotic reasons. They were, however, no doubt happy to receive pay from the Federal bounty system launched in May, 1861, and supplemented by New York State Bounty in July, 1862. But they did not count on inefficient state and federal bureaucracies paying them.⁴ As the horrors of the war became more widely known--especially after Fredericksburg--recruiting became difficult, so Lincoln started the Civil War Draft in 1863. The New York City draft riots of that summer show that a small percentage of Irish formed as mobs; they had

let themselves "be led by politicians into the draft riots" and "brought down on the heads of their fellow nationals extensive criticism and unpopularity in the city." The Irish Brigade, though, and their families who supported them "had written a proud chapter of sacrifice and patriotic loyalty so their new nation . . . the bulk of the Irish population had an unshakable loyalty to the Union and while they might follow politicians in a carping policy against the administration, they remained true to the United States throughout the war."^{4A} And a very recent scholarly study of the ethnic regiments has found that "from the beginning there was no doubt about the courage, devotion, and willingness to die for the Union on the part of the Irish soldiers."^{4B}

The initial response of the New York Irish to the call for volunteers after outbreak of hostilities came when Colonel Michael Corcoran offered the services of the 69th regiment of the New York State Militia--a previously organized all-Irish unit (yet not a part of the Irish Brigade which was formed after first Bull Run).⁵ *The Irish American* reported on April 27, 1861, that the 69th could not take but half of the troops who volunteered. The most popular New York City Irish paper reported several other proofs of Irish loyalty, enthusiasm and patriotism. First, that Thomas Francis Meagher, like the overwhelming majority of his countrymen, stood fast by the Union, for which he was prepared to fight, and if necessary, die. Secondly, "Young Irishmen to arms! To arms! Young Irishmen!! Irish Zouaves!!" read the headlines. The text continued: "One hundred young Irishmen--healthy--intelligent and active--wanted at once to form a company under command of Thomas Francis

Meagher to be attached to the 69th regiment, N.Y.S.M. No applicant under eighteen or above thirty-five years of age will be enrolled in the company. Applications to be made at 36 Beekman Street every day, between the hours of 10 am and 5 p.m.."

Thirdly, *The Irish American* noted that thousands of Irish-Americans had attended the April 20, 1861 "monster meeting" at Union Square in support of the Union. There, "every hotel and private building in it was literally draped in American flags . . ." And opposite George Washington's statue was the main speaker stand on which the officers from Fort Sumter stood--including Major Anderson. "The glorious flag of Fort Sumter . . . was placed in the brazen hand of Washington's statue by Officer Hart, the New York City [Irish] policeman who escorted Mrs. Anderson to Charleston."⁶

Enthusiasm resulted in the City of New York becoming a city of military camps. Twenty-five hundred volunteers, many of them Irish, pitched tents behind the sea wall and the Battery. In City Hall Park, wooden barracks were constructed. Near Washington's statue in Union Square a large tent went up while other housing appeared in Central Park.^{6A}

Perhaps the richest portrait of Irish enthusiasm and incipient patriotism is painted by *The Irish American* in its edition for May 4, 1861. Article headlines read "Departure of the 69th regiment" and "enthusiasm of the people." On Tuesday of last week, throngs jammed lower Broadway "to bid the gallant fellows God-speed on their way" and everybody concerned felt that "never previously had there been anything like the spirit and enthusiasm of the population on this occasion." Marching to the

quarters of Colonel Corcoran in Prince Street for supplies, the 69th then proceeded to Great Jones Street where the regiment was presented" with a splendid silk United States flag, made expressly for them by the wife of Judge Daly. Colonel Corcoran received the splendid present . . . the flag was then placed beside the splendid 'green banner.'" At 3 p.m. the regiment moved to Pier No. 4 "amid deafening cheers from the immense multitude present." The crowd was so dense that a squad of police had to march ahead of the regiment to open a passage for the soldiers. *The Irish American* report then reached its crescendo: "At the head of the procession was a decorated wagon, drawn by four horses and bearing the inscription '69th, remember Fontenoy' and 'no North, no South, no East, no West, but the whole Union.'" Next came the "'Exile's Club' and the Phoenix Musketeers after whom marched about 500 citizens wearing national badges." After these came the "engineer corps of the regiment . . . next came Engine Company No. 33 (Black Joke), numbering 200 men; after whom turned out the 'Phoenix Zouaves,' who turned out to escort the 69th." Next came the members of the "Hibernia Hook and Ladder Company, No. 18, drawing a brass gun, from which they fired salutes all the way to the dock." After these came the "'Cecilion Band,' who discoursed a variety of patriotic and national airs. Then came a number of the friends of the 69th, with linked arms, marching in front of the regiment which was headed by 'Robertson's Band.'" The reporter noted that "it was . . . 6 o'clock before the embarkation was completed." And, "the fleet reached Annapolis after a prosperous voyage; and at last accounts the 69th were guarding the road from Annapolis to the

Washington Junction.⁷ The description of this procession shows not only enthusiastic support by Irish people for the Union's war effort, but also captures prominent Irish political organizations (mentioned in Chapter I) on the march such as the Black Joke Engine Company. Immigrant Irish institutions now became bonding agents for recruits to become Americans as well as to be Irish. "The Irish can truly claim" remarked historian Florence Gibson, "to have been in the forefront of the first rush to the colors which followed the attack on Fort Sumter."⁸

How had recruiting appeals been formulated for the Irish at the outbreak of hostilities? Since this dissertation deals with the Irish Brigade primarily (which was not organized until the Fall of 1861) and not the 69th regiment of the New York State Militia, we will only briefly point out the general pitch recruiters made in the Spring and Summer of 1861. "To a large extent, recruiting appeals to ethnics were exactly the same as those for all Americans."⁹ Regardless of the level of government from which the appeal came, the arguments stressed that patriots should defend the threatened union. The special pitch by Irish recruiters in the Spring and Summer of 1861 embodied Irish cultural chauvinism and the Irish warrior class prowess, as Grady McWhiney and Perry Jamieson observed: "Celts shared certain warlike characteristics. They glorified war, seemed genuinely fond of combat, and usually fought with reckless bravery."¹⁰ The reporter for *The Irish American* wrote: "The fame of the gallant corps had preceded it. The eagerness of the men in volunteering for defence of their adopted country" not to mention "their patient endurance of

hardship" and "privation on their route," and "the discipline and correct conduct of the regiment" had "won the people of Maryland and the District of Columbia that every tongue was loud in their praise." Even the Union commander General Scott was "impressed by the physique and morale of the 69th [and] is shown by his assigning them the post of honor (and of danger) in advance of the federal position."¹¹

An adjunct to the Celtic valor theme was that of Irish nationalism which Corcoran and Meagher exploited early in the war. In a recruiting speech in Philadelphia, Corcoran reminded his audience that he had refused to parade his 69th N.Y.S.M. regiment to honor the Prince of Wales in 1860; that he was a Fenian, and that the Union army training would come in handy one day in the fight against England. "When this unhappy Civil War is at a close" said Corcoran, "and the Union restored, there will be tens of thousands of Ireland's noblest sons left to redeem their native land from the oppression of old England."¹² With recruiting pitches such as these, little wonder that "Corcoran turned away five volunteers for every one accepted in early 1861."¹³ And when asked about the term of enlistment in a letter from Judge Daly of August 27, 1861, Corcoran apparently dictated a letter to the Judge which was in Meagher's handwriting, and written from headquarters of the 69th regiment, New York State Militia, Fort Corcoran, Arlington Heights, Virginia, and dated July 8, 1861. Both Meagher and Corcoran signed the letter. Corcoran did not know if the 69th would reenlist when their three months' term of service ended. He urged Judge Daly (and the Judge's influential friends) to stop making appeals to the Irish public of

New York "on behalf of the families of the men of the 69th" and in the meantime Corcoran thanked Daly for his efforts. To help "the regiment, for your hearty devotion and activity in its behalf." ^{13A} And many in New York showed interest and excitement for the Irish Brigade. The correspondence is important because it shows the level of involvement with recruiting and the concern for the troops that Judge Daly had. That a respected New York public official and member of the establishment--an Irishman himself--was active further connected the Irish Brigade to the state and legitimacy. On the eve of the first great battle of the war, this connection was crucial.

One week before defeat at the first Battle of Manassas, in July of 1861, the chaplain of the 69th regiment of N.Y.S.M. had returned home to St. Bridget's Church on Tompkin's Square. Appointed by Archbishop Hughes as the 69th's chaplain, T.J. Mooney, on leave from the regiment, approached the church and was greeted by 1,400 children plus thousands of parishioners. "The stars and stripes and the green flag of Ireland were displayed from the tower of the church where their appearance in union elicited rapturous applause."¹⁴

Even after the Union defeat at First Bull Run and the rebel capture of Corcoran, and imprisonment until his release in August 1862, he became a national hero. Recruiters "exploited his fame and that of the 'gallant-sixty-ninth' to encourage young Irishmen to enlist in Irish regiments."¹⁵ Freed in August of 1862, and promoted to Brigadier General by Lincoln upon the urging of Archbishop Hughes, "his picture graced the cover of *Harper's*. and he made a triumphant procession to several

northern cities in each of which he gave patriotic addresses and urged the Irish-American community to support the war."¹⁶ Forming Corcoran's legion after his release from prison, General Michael Corcoran died from an alcohol-related accident falling off Meagher's horse--on December 22, 1863.

Charismatic leaders continued to be invaluable in the recruiting effort for the Irish Brigade early in the war; Meagher and his staff were very effective. Emphasizing familiar themes used earlier of Irish nationalism and hatred of England as well as using the war for the political advantage of the Irish, Meagher was the model recruiter in the Northeast. As a prominent citizen, Meagher was the type most often sought after by governors and federal politicians (or vice-versa in Meagher's case) to recruit and organize regiments. They were usually given the rank of colonel by the governor in the state militia. In turn, this colonel asked his friends to help him recruit as well, and usually such friends were made captains. For example, Meagher contacted his friend Sergeant Thomas O'Neill to help recruit for the Brigade. O'Neill was made acting major in charge of the recruiting station at 42 Prince Street, and this building was named Hibernia Hall.¹⁷ Recruiting officers had their work cut out for themselves because a Civil War regiment typically had ten companies of one hundred men each. "Mass meetings were a standard feature of recruiting efforts. Here leading citizens joined prospective officers in regaling audiences with oratorical outbursts full of allusions to country and flag and breathing defiance at slaveholders and traitors."¹⁸ The North, after all, had "Meagher of the sword," a kind of secret oratorical weapon.

Appearing at the sold out Parker Music House in Boston on September 23, 1861, Meagher delivered a speech fully recounted in *The Boston Morning Journal*. A classic Irish recruiting speech with the themes of Irish nationalism, hatred of England, and love of the Union and *The Constitution*, Meagher's popularity was such that many forged tickets were presented at the door. Accompanied by her husband on the piano, Mrs. Mooney sang "The Star Spangled Banner" followed by Miss Kenny's rendition of "The Green Above the Red" and predictions that Ireland would eventually defeat England. Then Massachusetts Governor Andrew introduced the speaker. Mr. Meagher . . . who "was received with hearty demonstrations of applause. After the subsidence of this, and the expulsion of an inebriated person from the assembly, he proceeded." He asserted that Irish blood had been spilled on battlefields the world over for good, indifferent, and bad causes ["those in support of English government"]. Now we were fighting for the best cause--that of a legitimately elected government. The "hot, violent Southerners" had no provocation for their act of indiscretion. "What single grievance is there to justify . . . rebellion? What inch of territory was invaded? What single item of . . . states' rights which the Constitution gives . . . was in the slightest degree violated or impaired?" The only reason why the revolt occurred was that the Southerners had "held the chair" for fifty years and could not reconcile the loss of power. Now they had "substituted the Mexican rule of election--the bayonet and cartridge box" instead of the ballot box. The Irish were reminded that England favored the South. That was almost enough reason in itself to support the North.

"Every blow dealt against the revolution at the South is dealt at the cupidity and the claims of England . . . the triumph of the federal government will inflict a grievous wound in England." And now from this hall, "in the centre of the city where this insult to every Irish soldier was conceived, I proclaim it--know nothingism is dead! (applauded). This war, if it brought no other . . . lesson" continued Meagher, "brought with it this result--that the Irish soldier, from henceforth and forever, shall proudly stand by the side of the native born." And "in Ireland I was a revolutionist, but I am a conservative in America . . . because here in the United States under the working of the Constitution and under . . . equal laws, the people have their rights."¹⁹ Meagher was articulating covenanted patriotism. Prospective recruits were learning about patriotism from a most eloquent speaker and effective teacher.

In New York the previous week, Meagher had delivered another stem winder at the Academy of Music, and the New York *Daily Tribune's* reporter loved it. Meagher called himself "a revolutionist in the old country, a conservative in the new." The reporter saw Meagher's main idea as the establishment of Irish unity "through the fire and affliction of the great Republican trial" . . . as a true-blue Democrat. of the Jacksonian school, he sees "more danger and disgrace in the present efforts of the scheming Democratic politicians of the North, than in the platform of a party which constitutionally chose the President." There is . . . "something romantic about the orator from Ireland. Meagher is a melifluous [sic] man, and has the winning way with him."²⁰

When not speaking, Meagher was involved in other facets of Irish Brigade organization work. On August 22, 1861, Meagher wrote to Judge Daly from 41 Ann Street and said that he needed Daly's input on the appointment of General Shields as Brigadier.^{20A} And in another letter of August 23, 1861, (11 o'clock) Meagher again wrote Judge Daly, requesting a meeting "tomorrow morning at half past 9 o'clock, sharp, at the Astor House. This is a serious business with regard to Shields, and it is of the utmost consequence I should see you."^{20B} That Meagher would become so involved with Judge Daly underscores the prominence of Daly in military affairs of the Irish community and Meagher's own central role as well. No doubt Meagher's very high visibility was one of the reasons why the War Department selected him as "Acting Brigadier" in October of 1861 after James Shields turned down the job due to its low rank.

Whether or not Meagher got command of the Brigade through political conniving as claimed by one scholar²¹ is impossible to substantiate. Meagher did persuade "New York's Governor E.D. Morgan to grant official state backing for the idea of an Irish Brigade."²² Meagher no doubt campaigned for the job in the press in *The Irish American*, August 3, 10, 17, 1861, by publishing his account of the 69th New York regiment of N.Y.S.M. during its brief ninety days of service. Inflating his own importance and that of the 69th, one wonders how the Union lost First Bull Run. From his article published in *The Irish American* on the 17th of August, 1861, Meagher wrote that no soldiers could have rushed to battle with heartier elasticity and

daring than did soldiers of the 69th . . ." that their Brigadier, Colonel Sherman, "had no sympathy whatever with them" that they "had been precipitated into action when their term of service . . . had expired." Meagher continued by exclaiming that "the 69th, bearing the green flag presented to them in recognition of their refusal to participate in the reception of the Prince of Wales--still heartily and enthusiastically pressed on."²³ Meagher, however, was delighted to have the General's salary, and ordered the 69th regiment of the Brigade to Fort Schuyler, Throg's Neck, New York. The 63rd and 88th were camped nearby.

Soldiers' pay was another matter. Indeed, inflation hit New York urban unskilled laborers hard during the war years, so soldiering became financially attractive. Studies of the cost of living show that consumer prices rose by 76 percent from 1860-64, while wages rose by only 42 percent. Therefore, workers' families standard of living declined substantially. Volunteers would receive a bonus of \$100.00 upon completion of enlistment. However, state, federal, and local bounties did not corrupt the recruiting process until the failure of the Peninsular Campaign; it was in the summer and fall of 1862 that recruiting turned more mercenary.²⁴ Until then the appeal of the skilled orator was invaluable. That Meagher was successful is obvious by the geographical expansion of recruiting from New York City, to Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. For a time Meagher thought himself capable of recruiting an entire division of Irish regiments and commanding them as Major General.²⁵ Organized in Boston in December just two months after Meagher's music hall speech and made up

largely of Irish, the 28th Massachusetts joined the Irish Brigade on December 1, 1862. Two months earlier, the 116th Pennsylvania Cameron dragoons had joined the Brigade at Harper's Ferry and remained until October, 1864. The 116th Pennsylvania "is composed of the choicest material of Irishmen who I think will vie with their gallant countrymen and brothers, the 69th, in action."²⁶

Next to the 69th, the 88th was the most famous regiment of the Brigade. Called by several names such as "Mrs. Meagher's own," "Connaught Rangers," and the "Faugh-A-Ballaghs," this unit was virtually an all Gaelic unit. Some had served in the British army in the Crimea and fought in the mutiny in India. At first, the officers and noncommissioned officers came from the sixty-ninth militia.²⁷ Then, others became prominent as warriors and as journalists such as New York *Times* reporter Captain W.L.D. O'Grady, and Meagher aide and *Irish American* reporter, Irish-born James Turner. Turner's columns for the *Irish-American* focus on exactly the same themes Corcoran and Meagher had used earlier in recruitment: Irish nationalism, eventual defeat of Great Britain, and Irish gallantry.

Each regiment had been presented with two flags: one a national, and the other Irish. Tiffany's made the national flag which was six and a half by six feet. It was fringed with saffron colored silk and on the center stripe had inscribed the words "first, second, etc. regiment of the Irish Brigade. The mountings on the staff were gold plated, and two crimson tassels formed the pendants. Deep green and heavily fringed, the regimental flag had an Irish harp in the center, and above the harp a

sunburst; over this, a scroll bearing the number of the regiment." A wreath of shamrocks appeared under the harp and below this a second scroll bearing the motto in Irish, "Never retreat from the crash of spears."

The 63rd trained and camped at David's Island on the East River off Pelham. This regiment had two flags--a regimental one and a green flag. The regimental flag was made of blue silk with the motto, "sic igitur ad astra." The other flag had the arms of the state of New York on it and the motto, "vulneratus non victus" (wounded not conquered); a scroll underneath was labeled "63 New York volunteers."^{27A}

By November of 1861 the New York Regiments of the Irish Brigade were ordered out of New York toward Harrisonburg, then to the Washington area. The 69th left on November 18th, the 63rd on the 28th and the 88th on the 16th of December, 1861. After marches down Fifth Avenue, and a blessing by Archbishop Hughes and Assistant Reverend Starr at Madison and 34th Street, the Brigade's units proceeded down Broadway to the Battery and boats. New Yorkers turned out on those days to wish their soldiers good luck. When the 69th left, "Wives clung to their husbands' arms, and in a number of instances consolation was sought in a draught from a mysterious black bottle."²⁸ When the 63rd left, it was a rowdy departure, and one which witnessed civilians rushing into the ranks handing liquor to the soldiers. A reporter at the scene commented that once aboard ship, "several men determined to see their friends once more, and to get a parting 'nip,' jumped overboard, and endeavored to swim to the docks. Whether any were drowned is not known."²⁹

Enthusiasm for the Irish Brigade was indeed omnipresent--especially in the recruiting role played by Judge Daly.

Several letters from the *Charles P. Daly Collection* of the New York Public Library, underscore the central role played by Judge Daly in the organization of the Brigade. The sutler of the Irish Brigade at Fort Schuyler, T. H. Carey, wrote on November 9, 1861, that he "respectfully invites the presence of Honorable Judge Daly at his (the Sutler's) apartment on Sunday, November 10. The boat leaves from Peckslip or James St. Slip at 11 a.m." ^{29B} And another letter from Mrs. Meagher to Judge Daly on November, 1861, noted that due to the postponing of the Brigade's departure until Monday, November 18th, "the presentation of colors will take place that day at ten o'clock, rain or shine, from the Archbishop's house, Madison Avenue, corner 36th Street. We hope you will address the officers and men ... I will send Mrs. Daly tickets." ^{29C} The following note was saved in the Daly collection:

The Ladies' Committee
 - of -
 New York
 Having in Charge
 The Presentation of Colors
 - to -
 The Irish Brigade
 Have the Honor to Request the Presence of
 Judge & Mrs. Daly
 At the Residence of the
 Most Rev'd Archbishop Hughes
 9 o'clock, a.m.
 Monday, November 18th, 1861
 The Presentation Taking Place There at That Hour
 New York, November 13, 1861. ^{29D}

In Judge Daly's "Scrapbook" in *The Charles P. Daly Papers* at the New York Public Library is a newspaper clipping from the *New York Evening Post* of November 19, 1861. In presenting the colors, the Judge selected themes of Irish nationalism and covenanted patriotism as Meagher had. Daly observed how "the green flag ... recalls the period ... when Ireland was a nation" and "conveys more eloquently than words, how her nationality was lost through the practical working of the Doctrine of Secession for which the rebellious states of the South have taken up arms." The happy period of Ireland's history under Brian Borihme ended and her miseries began "when her ambitious leaders [The Jefferson Davises of that period] overthrew the fabric of the national government and instituted in its stead dictinct and separate sovereignties" through whose "internal weakness" and clashing interests ... was finally brought under the power of that stalwart English monarchy" which "since held her in its iron grasp." The Irishman could learn his present duty in the war from "the history of his own country." The Judge finished his impassioned plea for filling up the ranks of the Irish Brigade for the duration of the war with an appeal to Irish nationalism and by parenthetically implying covenanted patriotism. In the war, the Irishman should "preserve that government which Montgomery died to create, and which those Irishmen who signed the Declaration of Independence ... meant to transmit ... to every Irishman." Daly noted that America had kept its part of the covenant by giving the Irish jobs, political influence, and the vote. The Irish race in America was as responsible as any other.

That Judge Daly was the central financial figure for the Brigade is apparent from a letter to the Judge from Douglas Taylor, who had a printing establishment in the Sun Building, corner of Fulton and Nassau Streets, New York. He wrote on December 11, 1861, that his firm had been engaged in printing materials for Meagher's Brigade. Meagher had suggested contacting Daly for arranging payment. Commented Taylor: "The entire total is but [unreadable]--in these hard times quite a considerable amount. I only feel justified in taking your valuable attention from the fact that Col. Meagher informed me of your interest in all matters pertaining to the Brigade. . . . I should see you, and solicit your aid in obtaining payment for the very necessary printing ordered by him."^{29E} Additionally, A. Stewart Black of the firm of Clyde and Black located at 401 Broadway wrote Judge Daly asking that the Judge use his influence with Meagher to get his nephew a position on Meagher's staff.^{29F} And Assistant U.S. Attorney, J. T. Doyle wrote Judge Daly on December 27, 1861, and asked what the Judge wanted to do in terms of continuing to back the Irish Brigade in light of Meagher's appointment to head it up.^{29G} The Judge continued his enthusiastic support of the Irish Brigade.

Confirmed by the Senate on February 3, 1862, as Brigadier General, Meagher and his Brigade were attached to the Army of the Potomac, Sumner's Division, and fought bravely in the Peninsula Campaign in the Spring and Summer of 1862. Southern observers remarked about the bravery of the Irish Brigade during these battles of the Peninsula. Meagher's Irishmen "offered the most heroic resistance" such

that the Confederate soldiers "retired in great disorder." When General Cobb arrived his legion "renewed the attack. But the efforts of these troops were in vain. The brave Irishmen held their ground with determination which excited the admiration of our own officers."³⁰ Indeed, bravery later fostered the sense Irish Brigade soldiers would have of being entitled to a Civil War pension, so statements by the enemy about the courage of these Irishmen are important.

Not only was the bravery of the ordinary soldier praised, but so was that of Meagher and his staff. Rufus King, Jr. noted from his position as an artillery officer how "General Meagher stood by one of the pieces, and, exposed to the hottest fire, assisted the men in running the gun forward. Upon my telling him how near out of ammunition I was, he kindly volunteered to ride to General Richardson and have ammunition sent to me as soon as possible."³¹ And the Chaplain of the Brigade, Father Corby, calls the staff of the Brigade "brilliant" and notes how the officers "were decked out not only with the regulation gold straps, stripes and cords on their coats, trousers and hats, but they also had great Austrian knots of gold on their shoulders, besides numerous other ornamentations in gold, which glittered in the Virginia sun enough to dazzle one."³²

Before and after Meagher two brigadiers commanded the Irishmen fighting for the Union: Michael Corcoran and Thomas Smyth. Corcoran (1827-1863) hailed from County Sligo and emigrated to America in 1849, and eventually worked as a postal clerk. He rose from the ranks from private to colonel by 1859 of the 69th regiment of

New York State Militia. He later organized the Corcoran Legion which was not part of the Irish Brigade, but usually campaigned with it. Aside from Corcoran, Thomas Smyth also led the Irish.

Brigadier-General Thomas Smyth (1832-65) was born in County Cork and emigrated to America in 1854 when he was 22. He worked for his uncle in Philadelphia in the carriage business, then moved to Wilmington. Considered an intellectual, he left his studies of the humanities at the outbreak of the war, recruited a company which he led as Captain in the Twenty-Fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers, then took the job of Major in the First Delaware. In March, 1864, he was appointed as Irish Brigade Commander. Loved by his men and gallant in battle, he was shot in the face near Farmville while riding outside the picket-lines just two days before Lee's surrender. He was a fierce Irish nationalist just like Meagher and Corcoran were before him.

Other officers of note of the Irish Brigade include (for the 69th) General Robert Nugent, Lieutenant Colonel James E. McGee, Surgeon William O'Meagher; for the 88th--Colonel Patrick Kelly, Adjutant John R. Young, First Lieutenant Charles M. Grainger, Second Lieutenant William L. D. O'Grady, Surgeon Francis Reynolds, Reverend William Corby; for the 63rd--Colonel John Burke, colonel John Gleeson, Surgeon Laurence Reynolds, Captain John Kavanagh.

Nugent was a Catholic from County Down and fought in all of the battles of the Brigade except Antietam. For a time he served as assistant provost marshal-general of

New York. He was wounded at Fredericksburg, and commanded the Brigade for a time after Meagher's resignation. James McGee was from County Antrim and studied at St. Peter's College. He was an assistant editor of the *Nation* in 1847-48 and a secretary of a Confederate Club. He emigrated to America where he continued his journalistic activities with the *Irish American Press*. He commanded Company F of the 69th until 1865.

Surgeon William O'Meagher was a native of county Tipperary. He was in charge of hospitals during the war, and afterwards continued his practice of medicine in New York City. He examined many soldiers of the Brigade after the war and his signature appears at least fifty times in as many pension files.

The prominent leaders of the 88th were as visible as were those of the 69th. Colonel Patrick Kelly from County Galway fought in most of the engagements of the Brigade and died before Petersburg while commanding his unit, June 16, 1864. Adjutant John R. Young of King's County, Ireland died at Fredericksburg. Charles Grainer rose from Sergeant to Lieutenant and was a native of County Cork. William L.D. O'Grady left the 88th in 1864 on a surgeon's disability certificate and worked after the war as a reporter for the *New York Times* and as the editor of the *Grand Army Review* at Minetta Lane. Surgeon Francis Reynolds was from County Kilkenny, and was a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons who had served on the staff of the British Army during the Crimean War. Chaplain Reverend William Corby of Michigan served until 1864 and became the Chaplain of Notre Dame after the war.

Rounding out the Brigade's leadership, the 63rd's officers of note include Colonel John Burke of Ireland who was known as a tactician. Colonel John Gleeson of Tipperary had served with distinction in the Papal Brigade in Italy, and emigrated to America in early 1861 where he enlisted as a private and was rapidly promoted. Captain John Kavanagh of Dublin was an ardent member of the Irish Confederation who escaped to America in 1848. He died at the Battle of Antietam while leading his men in a charge. Surgeon Laurence Reynolds of Waterford had been a Chartist in England and had left Ireland as a patriot of 1848.

What issues had motivated these leaders to join the Irish Brigade in addition to patriotism (motivation of the recruits will be treated later on)? First, some of these leaders must have been "on the make" (just like Meagher) politically and socially. War provided the opportunity for inclusion and for upward social mobility. This should not be clouded by the public recruiter's language of high moral principle; they wanted in and up. Secondly, that some of the officers of the Irish Brigade had been Irish nationalists or members of the radical organizations of Young Ireland is most interesting. No doubt some of them thought that by fighting against the South, England's ally, they were continuing the struggle against England. Whether or not men like Meagher, James McGee, and John Kavanagh were actually planning to use the trained Irish troops from the Civil War to one day fight against England is only a matter of conjecture. Nevertheless, there were 400 Fenians recruited in one unit and called The Empire Brigade. It was a separate Brigade from the Irish Brigade. All of

these gallant leaders recruited soldiers and helped Meagher's Brigade fight, but such heavy casualties were inflicted by the summer of 1862 that Meagher asked for and received permission to recruit for his Brigade in New York. After all, the 69th had lost "from 750 men, at Fair Oaks, to 295 after the battle of Malvern Hill. The 88th had lost 200 men and the 63rd, which had suffered the least, was down to 500."³³ And soldiers' reports of life at the front had reached home in sufficient numbers to make the recruiters' job difficult.

Shortly before his death at the Second Battle of Bull Run, Private Patrick J. Reilly of the 69th Regiment of New York Infantry wrote several letters home (which were found in his pension file) while at Camp Winfield Scott near Yorktown. In one letter dated May 3, 1862, he wrote to his parents that his regiment had not been paid yet, but that they expected to be paid "about the 15th and then I can have a chance to send you some money for I know you stand sorely in kneed [sic] for it and the Lord know I am more eager to get it and send it to you than you are to receive it." In other letters Private Reilly wrote his parents that he "was sick here some time but thank God I have recovered and feel in the best of spirits ... You may be assured that I am all right." From Yorktown on May 9th, 1862, Private Reilly wrote that "I suppose this reaches you that small sum (twenty dollars) I sint [sic] home ... I gave Father Willet the money to send home by express." Conditions in the field were harsh such that "on our march Monday it commenced raining ... and we marched into Yorktown about four miles and dark overcame us we got ordered to march until told to stop and we

did march on through one of the muddiest roads that ever I saw" and "it pitch dark not a star to be seen sometimes slipping and falling into holes knee deep and the mud at times over our shoes and mind you it raining all this time I tell you ... would make my blood creep to think of such a march" ... These "destructive missiles called torpedoes" were "buried in the ground for the destruction of our army" ... Yet "the boys would start up a scratch of a song such as 'Dorans Ass,' 'Coming From the Wake,' 'Free and Easy,' 'Bould Sojer Boy' and others too numerous to mention."^{33A} With stories sent home like this, recruiting was becoming more challenging.

In July and August of 1862, Irish Brigade enrollment faced obstacles. Lincoln's call for 300,000 volunteers at the end of June inspired New York's Governor Morgan to proclaim on July 2, 1862, a fifty dollar bounty in addition to the twenty-five dollar bounty of the U.S. Government. Morgan's bounty commenced on July 17 and was extended to September 1, 1862. Since there was uncertainty when or if the bounties were to be paid, bounties had little effect on recruiting. The ordinary citizen probably thought that since the draft was imminent that he should hold out for more money as a substitute which would be more than he could get with bounties. Meagher, however, obviously aware that his own future depended on recruiting Irishmen for his Brigade, would not be deterred.³⁴

Ordered by McClellan to recruit, Meagher had arrived in New York on Friday night, July 18, 1862.^{34A} The *New York Times* article called his leadership brilliant and the Brigade's action (at the Chickahominy, Fair Oaks, Gaines Mill and Malvern's Hill)

gallant. The reporter observed that Meagher was in consultation with members of the Irish Brigade Committee under whose auspices he had raised the Brigade last fall. The Executive Committee consisted of Messrs. "Daniel Devon (Chairman), Richard O'Gorman, Richard Bell, Joseph Stuart, Charles P. Daly, Andrew Carrigan, James O'Grady, Samuel Sloan, William Mitchell, John Savage and John T. Doyle. There is no doubt that the General's countrymen will enthusiastically rally to the flag of the Irish Brigade." ^{34B}

A recruiting speech by Judge Daly delivered July 4, 1862, at Tammany Hall, was made two weeks before Meagher's return to New York and reprinted in *The Irish American* of July 19, 1862. That the speech was one of his favorites is obvious since it appears in his *Scrapbook* found in *The Charles P. Daly Papers*. To paraphrase the speech, the Judge remarked that ceaseless emigration over three centuries lead "to a powerful nation under the government of democratic institutions" which the South "would destroy the structure it has cost centuries to erect" and "which has leagued in its suicidal policy, the feeblest, the least enlightened, and the most aristocratic, of those ... living under a democratic government." Judge Daly's American history lesson stressed the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation when "we were a cluster of nationalities and not a nation." We became a nation "with the adoption of a constitution" ... a "spectacle of gigantic growth ... under a democratic national government" ... a blow has been struck at the fabric we have reared ... which it has now become our duty as men and as patriots to consider." He goes on to say that our

democracy did not grow from "the political teachings of speculative writers; but ... from our ... mutual dependence upon each other ... It ... "is the only form of government under which we could, or can advance as a people." Education of the people is paramount in our system. "Unrestricted freedom ... will produce great intellectual and material development, gradually elevating the mass. In our republican system men are taught self-reliance; in aristocratic systems like the South the condition "of the whole people" is "retarded" because "the labor there ... is performed by a servile class ... the relation of master and serf." European emigrants did not work there; slaves did. The aristocratic South "exalt themselves ... over what they call their blood and descent" ... "A high-souled race, descended from a stock wholly different from the 'mud-sills,' as they term the masses of the North." And "slavery must be left to take care of itself ... every other consideration must be merged in the great duty of maintaining the authority of government by force of arms." And "the principles of republican government are on trial in this great contest. Upon us has fallen the responsibility of preserving it" ... Once again the Irish were being taught the necessity of defending the Union. After all, they were keepers of the covenant. Judge Daly had primed New York for Meagher's return; he had continued to instill covenanted patriotism.

For Meagher and his staff, recruiting for the Brigade occurred at many places in the city. Wherever recruiters set up, the *New York Times* reported that "every day the veterans of the Peninsula are sending deputations to press, upon the volunteering

population here ... the wisdom of associating themselves with tried and war-taught comrades, rather than with regiments that have yet to earn their laurels."^{34C} The Irish Brigade, said the *Times*, needed recruits.^{34D}

Meagher and his staff visited Wallack's Theater located on the corner of Broadway and 13th Street on the evening of July 24, 1862. The *New York Times* reported impressive support for the Irish Brigade in that "When the General entered Wallack's Theatre the people rose en masse and cheered, ladies waived their handkerchiefs, and the greatest enthusiasm was manifested." The General then thanked them and said he was indebted "to the bravery of the officers and men of his Brigade ... In conclusion, the General appointed all the ladies present recruiting officers for the Irish Brigade. The box in which the General sat was decorated with American and Irish flags ..." ^{34E}

On July 25, 1862, Meagher spoke at the Seventh Regiment Armory at Tomkin's Market. The July 26, 1862 issue of the *Times* carried a headline which included phrases like "CEAD MILLE FAILTHE, Gen. Meagher Recruiting The Irish Brigade, The Emerald Isle Will Aid the Gem of the Ocean, Enthusiastic Gathering." The reporter noted that the room was ... "too small to accommodate even half of the ten thousand who suffered to demonstrate by their presence ... the memory was ablaze with light, and brilliant with the flags of Ireland and America" ... the appearance of the band "gave 'the Exile of Erin,' 'St. Patrick's Day,' 'Gary Owen' ... the boys were in an excellent humor, and cheered the policemen who ordered the windows opened" ...

and noted that "thirty gentlemen" had "helped themselves to water from the speaker's pitcher"; a "reckless individual" threw up "stools toward the platform, landing them on the heads of unfortunate bystanders." There were "calls and hisses for 'Greeley.'" At 8 o'clock, Meagher, accompanied by Daniel Devlin and others, took his seat underneath a huge banner--"HEADQUARTERS OF THE IRISH BRIGADE." On another occasion Meagher would discuss the casualties of the Brigade, but now "The Irish Brigade needed reinforcements (a voice--They'll have it) (Cheers)" and Meagher proceeded to state the losses by regiment of New York Infantry; the 69th down to 295; the 88th down to 400 having lost 200; the 63rd needed 200 men; 2,000 in all were needed. Meagher then read a letter from Lieutenant J.H. Donivan, of Company D, 69th Regiment of New York Infantry. Though having lost his eye that "he had one eye left and would fight for the Union yet (applause). And, if he lost his other eye, he would 'go it blind'" (applause and roars of laughter). Meagher said that "no soldiers could be better fed ..." the whiskey ration (cheers) ... had been withdrawn on medical grounds, and that was the hardest privation they had (laughter and applause)" . . .

Hard fighting had "thinned the ranks--fighting that was the glory and pride of Irishmen. Meagher delivered an earnest, patriotic, thrilling and eloquent appeal to the Irishmen in America to do their duty ... by reinforcing at once the ranks of the Irish Brigade." He then announced that the recruiting office of the Brigade would be opened at the old stand (No. 596 Broadway) and retired amid a storm of applause."^{34F}

Following all of those tested recruiting themes worked because the *Times* reported on July 29, 1862, that the recruiters had to move from the old quarters at 596 Broadway to "spacious rooms" at 398 Broadway; Major Warrenton of General Meagher's staff manned the station. "Today a splendid banner, bearing the names of the engagements wherein the Irish Brigade has distinguished itself, will be suspended from the building across the street. Branch offices will be opened in every part of the City, and there is little doubt there will be another grand rally around the green flag."^{34G}

On the evening of July 29, 1862, General Meagher and his staff attended a play at Niblo's Theater, Broadway and Prince Street, entitled "Coleen Bawn," an Irish drama. The General and his staff sat "to the stage box at the right, which was beautifully draped with the American and Irish flags, and where, upon his entrance, he was greeted with three tremendous vocal tokens of regard and consideration"^{34H} and then between acts of the play Meagher spoke. He said that recruiting was slowed by too much red tape on all levels of government": "that those who freely offer their lives to their country are properly treated; let the bounty money be ready on the spot to pay the recruit and let him feel that he is about to serve a country which will attend to his interests now ..." ^{34I}

There were several reasons why recruiting was difficult in the Summer of 1862. First, bounties were paid only for three year enlistments for those who could pass the examinations. How would this affect those who wished to join an old

regiment--already in the field? Soon, the bounty was extended to cover the old regiments too. Secondly, New York state recruiters had to stay in their own districts and recruit, and this was difficult since their own districts were often co-terminus with senatorial districts. While New York City was virtually wide open for recruiting, the rest of New York State was off limits to them. The press criticized Governor Morgan for favoring the formation of new regiments. Thirdly, *The New York Herald* of September 11, 1862, suggested that Corcoran had a resentment against Meagher who had built up his own brigade at the expense of the old 69th Regiment of N.Y.S.M., Corcoran's former regiment. In a letter to his friend, Captain James Kirker in December, 1861, Corcoran wrote: "To the men who took advantage of my absence to break up the old Sixty-Ninth for the advancement of their own sordid interest, under the mark of patriotism, I shall have something to say on a more favorable occasion."³⁴ So Irishmen loyal to Corcoran might not have joined Meagher's unit.

While nobody knows exactly how many men were recruited by the end of the Summer of 1862, just before the Antietam campaign in September, the Irish Brigade probably had 1,600 men; perhaps over half had been recruited in August. The press reported that "the recruiting officers of the Irish Brigade have been much more successful in enrolling recruits than any other organization." With the draft at hand, "there will be no opportunity to pick a corps. In the Irish Brigade they will fight under the immortal Green, and have the comforts of the old religion to which most of them belong. They cannot expect this in other regiments."³⁵

With fresh recruits Meagher rejoined his command in mid-August just in time to see action. About one month later McClellan ordered Richardson's division to which the Irish Brigade was attached, into the combat.³⁶ Lee's army of 41,000 men had occupied positions east of the Potomac River in Sharpsburg, Maryland. McClellan's army of 87,000 men occupied positions due east of the Potomac and north and east of Sharpsburg on both sides of a creek. The name of the creek was Antietam. There, "the 63rd and the 69th suffered 60 percent casualties attacking the Sunken Road."^{36A} Seated on his horse, close to the 69th, Meagher stated in his official military report that he "personally ordered them to charge upon the rebel columns ... confident that before such a charge the rebel column would give way and be dispersed."³⁷ The Irish Brigade, however, retreated. Meagher's horse was shot out from under him and he was taken unconscious from the battlefield. Meagher later estimated that only 500 men were left in the Brigade. Both armies lost about 12,000 men each in what was the single most bloody day of the war. Lee had not been driven from his positions.

The Irish Brigade was reinforced in early October at Harper's Ferry by the 116th Pennsylvania and the 28th Massachusetts. Meagher now commanded these plus the three New York Regiments and the 29th Massachusetts (not an all-Irish unit). In early November, 1862, the Army of the Potomac under its new commander, Burnside, marched in the direction of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and occupied positions across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg. The Chaplain of the Irish Brigade, Father Corby, estimated that since mid-August the Irish Brigade had been on the

march constantly for about 600 miles.³⁸ Exhausted, cold, and hungry, the damp weather between Thanksgiving and Christmas added to the uncomfortable feelings. One enlisted soldier of the Irish Brigade's 28th Massachusetts, Peter Welsh, wrote to his wife on December 8, 1862, near Fredericksburg that she should "not fret and worry so much" and "not pay so much regard to what you read in the newspapers for they do not know much about matters here" and that "not even Generals themselves can tell when a battle will take place it all depends on circumstances and there is no probability of our having a battle here at present and it is doubtful if there will be any fighting done at this point at all."³⁹

Peter Welsh was wrong about how soon the next battle would be. Since apparently Burnside felt that Lincoln and the public wanted a victory, he ordered an attack centered on Marye's Heights behind the City of Fredericksburg. The Irish Brigade would be one of the leaders in the attack.

Fourteen Brigades in all assaulted Marye's Heights that afternoon of December 13th. They had been opposed by four ranks of Georgia and North Carolina riflemen who fired in a synchronized fashion from behind a fortified position supported by artillery.⁴⁰ Such slaughter prompted Lee's famous remark to Longstreet: "It is well that war is so terrible--we should grow too fond of it!"⁴¹

Meagher's Brigade retreated across the River, and returned to Fredericksburg. Meagher assembled his men the next day. "Of the one thousand two hundred I led into action the day before, two hundred and eighty only appeared on that ground that

morning." A modern scholar's calculation of the disaster reads more precisely. "Of the 1,300 members of the Irish Brigade at Fredericksburg, 545 were killed, wounded or missing in action."⁴² Peter Welsh wrote to his wife on December 18th from Camp: "it was a fierce and bloody battle [sic] our brigade got terribly cut up [sic] it is so small now that it is not fit to go into any further action unless it is recruited up [sic] so you need not be uneasy now about me for the rest of the fighting will have to be done without our aid" [sic].⁴³ It was probably the last time that Meagher's Irish fought together as a Brigade. And there were many accounts of the bravery, heroism, and patriotism of the Irish Brigade.

George Pickett wrote to his wife how brave the Irish were. "If war, my own, is a necessity--and I suppose it is--it is a very cruel one ... Your soldier's heart almost stood still as he watched those sons of Erin fearlessly rush to their death. The brilliant assault ... was beyond description. Why, my darling, we forgot they were fighting us, and cheer after cheer at their fearlessness went up along our lines."⁴⁴ And the *London Times* reporter with Lee's army said that "never at Fontenoy, Albuera, or at Waterloo was more undoubted courage displayed by the sons of Erin than during those six frantic dashes which they directed against the almost impregnable position of their foe."⁴⁵ Indeed, comments like these by a Southern general and an English reporter about the bravery of the soldiers of the Irish Brigade gave the notion of entitlement to Brigade members to be Americans. Patriotism was actual now rather than incipient.

What made the men of the Irish Brigade so brave? In his book *Morale*, John C. M. Baynes studied the second Scottish rifles at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle in 1915 in order to determine what factors caused men to behave courageously. (He might as well have been writing about the soldiers of the Irish Brigade.) To paraphrase Baynes' major conclusion about courage--the planned outcome of proper morale--peer pressure of the regiment made men of the ranks brave. Proper morale itself was the result of a variety of factors including charismatic leaders who led by example and by instruction; order and discipline gave security which could "mean much to a man reared in a slum tenement"; the soldier found "happiness ... in comradeship and loyalty to his regiment." When in the midst of combat chaos all seemed lost, why did men continue to fight so hard? Baynes found "the biggest thing of all was that the battalion should do well; this bound all ranks together as nothing else could do." For the Scottish rifles "there was one overriding fear, and that was that he should let the battalion and his company down when the great moment came." And welded together in this way ... [they] welcomed the coming of the battle, and were not, I believe, put out by its outcome. There was no bitterness afterwards, and the survivors were again ready for anything after a few days rest." As to the importance of the leader in the formation and maintenance of morale, Baynes thought "the leader knows that other men look to him, and he is supported by their concern in his doings ... connected to some extent with the morale of the leader is the question of belief in a cause." And why "the men who came from the poorest classes were patriotic was due to their

ignorance ... they followed the lead given by their officers and N.C.O.'s. The officers and N.C.O.'s were strongly patriotic and so the more simple soldiers echoed their sentiments unhesitatingly." ^{45A}

Meagher returned to New York in January, 1863, to lobby for the return of the Irish Brigade to the city for rest and for replenishing its depleted ranks. The authorities said no. *The Irish American* cried discrimination, but there is no evidence that the men in the ranks felt discriminated against. The writer, however, felt that "if the Brigade were not so markedly and distinctively Irish, they would not have been treated with the positive injustice and neglect to which they have been exposed."⁴⁶ To relieve some of the hurt, a Requiem Mass was held on January 16, 1863, at St. Patrick's cathedral for the dead of the Irish Brigade. Judge Daly received a special invitation. ^{46A}

Afterwards, the dignitaries made their way to Delmonico's and Meagher spoke. "I give you 'The Stars and Stripes,' and the heroism of both armies ... I shall never be a Major-General after this."⁴⁷

Reaching his men in mid-February, 1863, he would soon return home on disability leave for rheumatism in April, and resign on May 14, 1863. Meagher's resignation had been precipitated because he was not allowed to recruit even though the Irish Brigade was a unit greatly reduced in numbers "scarcely having enough men to make up a good size regiment."^{47A} and did not fight together as a unit during the Confederates' Chancellorsville victory. Immediately after crossing the Rappahannock

and setting up camp at Falmouth, Meagher had asked for time to recruit his Brigade back to strength in New York, but General Hooker and the War Department denied his request. Every man was needed. "The very reliability of the Irish Brigade was one of the reasons that General Hooker was reluctant to let it go home. The Irish never refused an order and turned out to do their duty even when it was necessary to call on invalids and drummer boys to fill the ranks. There was never a question of disloyalty ... They were not allowed to rest and recruit."^{47B}

After some public relations work for the cause of the Union, Meagher wrote the War Department and asked that his command be reinstated. Finally, in September of 1864, Meagher reported to Sherman's command at Nashville, and then on to the command of General Thomas who placed Meagher in charge of convalescents guarding railroads in the vicinity of Chattanooga. By January of 1865, Meagher returned to Nashville, and after shuttling Union troops around, was apparently drunk on duty the evening of February 5, 1865, and ordered home on the 20th. He resigned in May, 1865, and headed out West to become the acting Governor of Montana territory. He died on July 1, 1867, when he drowned in the Missouri River after falling off the deck of a steamship at night. His body was never recovered, and neither was his reputation. Soldier Maurice Woulfe had written a letter home to his family in Ireland before Meagher's death. The letter is Meagher's most telling epitaph: "I was speaking to a Sergeant here that served under Meagher. He told me that he was a gentleman and a soldier, but that he wanted to gain so much praise he would not spare

his men."^{47c} He was a different man after Fredericksburg, and there is a debate about whether or not he was an alcoholic.

On St. Patrick's Day of 1863, we are left with a vivid description of the Irish culture at work after the horrors of the Fredericksburg defeat.⁴⁸ There was to be a Steeple-Chase with a winning purse of \$500.00. The quartermaster returned from Washington with thirty-five hams, roasted ox, stuffed pigs and lots of poultry. The alcohol officially bought "comprised eight baskets of champagne, ten gallons of rum, and twenty-two of whiskey. A splendid bower was erected, capable of containing some hundreds of persons, for a general invitation was issued to all the officers of the Army of the Potomac."⁴⁹ After morning mass, preparations for the race began. Many of the officers of the Brigade had entered horses for the several races, and they had rather colorful names including "Jack Hinton" (Meagher's), "Napper Tandy" (Captain Hogan), "Kathleen Mavourneen" (Captain Martin), "Nigger Bill" (Captain Langdon), etc. Between 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. they raced, then partied. Officers, enlisted men, and ladies down from Washington continued to be amused by games including a foot-race, casting weights, running after the soaped pig, the wheelbarrow race, and a dance contest.⁵⁰

At night the entertainment took a more literary bent. Dr. Laurence Reynolds, the poet laureate of the Irish Brigade and the Surgeon of the 63rd, read a poem, after which Captain Blake sang the "Song of The Irish Brigade" written by an anonymous author. A chorus from this song sums up recruiters' themes.

Now we're pledged to free this land,
So long the exile's resting place;
To crush for aye a traitorous band,
And wipe out treason's deep disgrace.
then let us pledge Columbia's cause,
God prosper poor old Ireland, too!
We'll trample on all tyrant law:
Hurrah for the old land and the new!⁵¹

A chapter of the history of the Irish Brigade ended soon after this March 17, 1863, St. Patrick's Day celebration. After Meagher's retirement three other Irishmen commanded the Brigade, and all were killed in action: Patrick Kelly, Richard Byrne, and Thomas Smyth. The next chapter in the Brigade's history and in the dissertation begins by tracing the Gettysburg campaign immediately followed by the New York City Draft riots. These events are evaluated in terms of the patriotism of the Irish Brigade. Then, our 262 soldiers for whom Pension Files have been analyzed are examined in the light of patriotism and issues such as the Civil War Bounty.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER II

¹ Since there is no reliable history of the Irish Brigade, one must piece together from various sources the military history part of the story. The first two paragraphs follow the most accurate available account by surviving officers of the 63rd, 69th, and 88th Regiments of New York Infantry at the July, 1888, dedication of the Irish Brigade monument at Gettysburg. See "New York at Gettysburg" in Monuments Commissions for the Battlefields of Gettysburg, Chattanooga, and Antietam: Final Report of the Battlefield of Gettysburg, II (Albany, 1900), 475-516; see Patrick D. O'Flaherty's History of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment in the Irish Brigade, 1861 to 1865 (New York, 1986), pp. 1-50; David Power Conyngham, The Irish Brigades (New York, 1866), pp. 1-300. The recruiting story for the Irish Brigade is new and is based on primary materials including the New York Times and the Irish-American.

² The Brigade was enlarged in October of 1862 to include the 116th Pa. and on December 1, the 28th Mass. After October of 1862 the 7th New York Heavy Artillery replaced the 116th and on March 25, 1865, they in turn were replaced by the 4th New York Heavy Artillery. See Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (Baton Rouge, 1951), pp. 118-124. See William Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments (Ames, IA), pp. 112-144.

³ The leadership information in this chapter follows the account of R.G. Athearn's Thomas Francis Meagher: An Irish Revolutionary in America (New York, 1976) and Denis Gwynn, Thomas Francis Meagher in The O'Donnell Lecture (delivered at University College Cork, July 17, 1961); Conyngham, The Irish Brigade, pp. 523-599.

⁴ See Patrick D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment in the Irish Brigade, p. 134. A summary of Union Army Enrollment is in McPherson, The Battle Cry of Freedom, pp. 309, 312, 317, 318, 323, 326-328, 330, 430, 485, 491-493, 592, 600, 611, 719-721; and Eugene C. Murdock, Patriotism Limited: 1862-1865: The Civil War Draft and the Bounty System (Oberlin, 1967), pp. 16-80.; and One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North (Madison, 1971), pp. 6-7. See Chapter III for a brief overview of Union Civil War enrollment--including the bounty system.

^{4A} See Florence Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish Toward State and national Affairs, 1848-1892 (New York, 1951), p. 173.

^{4B} See William Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, p. 122.

⁵ See Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (Baton Rouge, 1951), pp. 118, and following; William L. Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic

Regiments (Ames, IA, 1988), Chapters 4, 6, 10; Florence E. Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish Toward State and National Affairs, 1848-1892 (New York, 1951), Chapter 6; Ernest A. McKay, The Civil War and New York City (Syracuse, 1990), pp. 48-103; The Irish American, April 27, 1861, and May 4, 1861.

⁶ See The Irish American, April 27, 1861.

^{6A} See Ernest McKay, The Civil War and New York City, p. 69.

⁷ The Irish American, May 4, 1861.

⁸ See Florence Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish, p. 123.

⁹ William G. Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, p. 51.

¹⁰ See Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson, Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage (Tuscaloosa, 1982), p. 184.

¹¹ See The Irish American, May 18, 1861.

¹² See The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, Aug. 14, 1861.

¹³ See William L. Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, p. 55.

^{13A} The Charles Patrick Daly Papers, Box 3, Rare Books and Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

¹⁴ See The Irish American, July 20, 1861.

¹⁵ See William L. Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, p. 115.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 116.

¹⁷ See Patrick D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-Ninth Regiments in the Irish Brigade, 1861 to 1865 (New York, 1986), p. 57; 130-145. This account of recruiting follows selected issues as cited in the Irish American for 1861, 1862, 1863--a weekly publication; the New York Times, New York Herald, New York Daily Tribune; Bell I. Wiley's Billy Yank (Baton Rouge, 1987), pp. 20-22; Robert Athern, Thomas Francis Meagher: An Irish Revolutionary in America, pp. 102-104; Eugene Murdock, Patriotism Limited (New York, 1967), pp. 15-66; and Murdock's One Million Men (Madison, 1971), pp. 6 and 7.

¹⁸ Bell I. Wiley, Billy Yank, p. 27.

¹⁹ See The Boston Morning Journal, Sept. 24, 1861.

²⁰ See the New York Daily Tribune, Oct. 7, 1861.

^{20A} The Charles Patrick Daly Papers, Box 3, Rare Books and Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

^{20B} Ibid.

²¹ See Joseph Hermon, Celts, Catholics, and Copperheads (Columbus, 1968), p. 18.

²² See William L. Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, p. 120.

²³ See The Irish American, Aug. 17, 1861.

²⁴ See Eugene Murdock, Patriotism Limited, p. 18. The figures on the standard of living are from Mary Beth Norton, ed., A People and a Nation (Boston, 1991), 3rd/brief edition, p. 268.

²⁵ See Lorenzo Thomas to Meagher, February 18, 1862 in War of the Rebellion, Series III, 1:895.

²⁶ See The Irish American, March 8, 1862.

²⁷ The best sources for the 88th are W. L. D. O'Grady, "88th Regiment Infantry in Fox (Comp.), New York at Gettysburg, II, 510-511; The James B. Turner Papers, Albany, New York State Library. O'Grady was a reporter for the New York Times after the war and editor of the Grand Army Review. James B. Turner was Meagher's aide from early 1862 wrote for The Irish American, and attained the rank of Captain as did O'Grady. See Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy, pp. 120-121; William Burton, Melting Pot Soldier, p. 121. See the Pension Files of W. L. D. O'Grady and James B. Turner, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

^{27A} See Patrick D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment in the Irish Brigade, 1861 to 1865, p. 20 and p. 27 from whom the flag information is taken; see The Irish American for December 7, 1861.

²⁸ New York Herald, November 19, 1861.

²⁹ Ibid., November 30, 1861.

^{29B} See The Charles P. Daly Papers, Box 3, Rare Books and Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

^{29C} Ibid.

^{29D} Ibid. The paragraph below is from Daly's *Scrapbook*, Evening Post (NY), November 19, 1861; it is kept separately in The Daly Papers.

^{29E} Ibid.

^{29F} Ibid.

^{29G} Ibid.

³⁰ Lasalle C. Pickett, Pickett and His Men (Washington, D.C., 1905), p. 183.

³¹ War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol IX, Part II, 59-60.

³² Rev. William Corby, Memoirs of Chaplain Life (New York, 1866), p. 75; the biographical sketches of the prominent officers of the Brigade in the following five paragraphs are summarized from David Power Conyngham, The Irish Brigades and Its Campaigns (New York, 1867), pp. 536-598.

³³ See Robert G. Athern, Thomas Francis Meagher: An Irish Revolutionary in America, p. 114.

^{33A} See the Pension File of Patrick J. Reilly, 69th Regiment of New York Infantry, National Archives.

³⁴ The following paragraphs on recruiting are based on New York newspapers including The Irish American, The New York Tribune, New York Herald, the New York Times; Patrick D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment in the Irish Brigade, 1861-1865, pp. 129-140; Robert Athern, Thomas Francis Meagher, pp. 114-116.

^{34A} See The New York Times, July 20, 1862.

^{34B} Ibid.

^{34C} Ibid., July 22, 1862.

^{34D} Ibid., July 23, 1862.

^{34E} Ibid., July 25, 1862.

^{34F} Ibid., July 26, 1862.

^{34G} See the New York Times, July 29, 1862.

^{34H} The New York Times, July 30, 1862.

^{34I} The New York Times, July 30, 1862; P. D. O'Flaherty, op. cit., p. 134-140 for the paragraph below.

^{34J} See The New York Herald, Sept. 11, 1862.

³⁵ See the New York Herald, Aug. 7, 1862.

³⁶ The account of the battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg are from several sources: Joseph B. Mitchell's Decisive Battles of the Civil War (New York, 1955), pp. 87-108; Craig L. Symonds, A Battlefield Atlas of the Civil War (Annapolis, Md., 1984), pp. 42-54; James M. McPherson's Battle Cry of Freedom, pp. 539-575; S. W. Sears, Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam (New Haven, 1983), pp. 5-78 especially; George B. McClellan, Report of the Organization of the Army of the Potomac (New York, 1864); p 382; G. F. R. Henderson, The Civil War: A Soldier's View (Chicago, 1958), p. 74; Frank Moore, ed., The Rebellion Record, 72 Vols. (New York; 1861-68), 6:82; Paul Jones, "The Irish Brigade at Fredericksburg" in Catholic Digest, Jan. 1963, pp. 105-10; J. D. McCormack, "Never Were Men So Brave" in Civil War Times Illustrated, April 1969, pp. 36-44.

^{36A} See William Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, p. 123.

³⁷ See Meagher's Report of Sept. 30, 1862: War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol XIX, Part I, 294.

³⁸ Rev. William Corby, Memoirs of Chaplain Life, p. 119.

³⁹ Larry Kohl, ed., Irish Green and Union Blue: The Civil War Letters of Peter Welsh (New York, 1986), pp. 37-38.

⁴⁰ Rev. William Corby, Memoirs of Chaplain Life, pp. 341-351. Father Corby's eyewitness account in his Memoirs is very accurate and moving. About 9 am, Meagher first ordered the soldiers of the Brigade to place a green sprig in their caps.

marched them through the center of town, then called on his "boys" to give it their all. "Irish Brigade advance," was ordered ... in the face "of the most invulnerable point of the enemy's works." They were greeted "by a murderous fire of grape and canister and minie balls." Gaps were opened in the ranks, but they closed again and moved still onward." The first fence was gained and passed. The enemy now fell back from his "first behind his second line of breastworks." They gained the second fence, within sixty yards of the enemy's batteries, and "were met by a most disastrous enfilade and direct fire from the rebel artillery and infantry." They had no artillery to support them, and yet they "stood against shot and shell grape and canister, minie and conical balls, to fight a formidable enemy, artillery and infantry, posted behind stone walls and fortifications." Corby concluded that "the rebel position was unassailable, it was a perfect slaughter-pen, and column after column was broken against it . . . The advance of the Brigade was actually impeded by the bodies piled upon one another ... It was not a battle--it was a wholesale slaughter of human beings--sacrificed to the blind ambition and incapacity of some parties."

⁴¹ Douglas S. Freeman, R. E. Lee: A Biography, 4 Vols. (New York, 1934-35), II, 462.

⁴² Meagher's Report of December 17, 1862: Moore, The Rebellion Record, VI, 80-82; and William Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, p. 125.

⁴³ Larry Kohl, Ed., Irish Green and Union Blue, p. 40.

⁴⁴ Pickett to his wife, December 14, 1862: A. C. Inman, Soldier of the South, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁵ The Irish American, March 14, 1863.

^{45A} John C. M. Baynes, Morale (London, 1967), pp. 43, 88, 98, 99, 228.

⁴⁶ The Irish American, March 14, 1863.

^{46A} "Head-Quarters, Irish Brigade, 596 Broadway, New York, January 12th, 1863. You are most respectfully invited to attend the Grand Requiem Mass, to be offered up in ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, on Friday next, the 16th ... at 10 o'clock. A. M. for the repose of the Souls of the Officers and Soldiers of the IRISH BRIGADE, who have departed this life since the commencement of the War." See Charles P. Daly Papers, New York Public Library.

⁴⁷ The New York Times, January 17, 1863.

^{47A} See Patrick D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment in the Irish Brigade, p. 222.

^{47B} See Patrick D. O'Flaherty, History, p. 239.

^{47C} Maurice Woulfe to his family, Sept. 25, 1863, in Cadimhin O'Danachair, "A Soldier's Letters Home, 1863-74," in Irish Sword, Summer 1957, p. 57.

⁴⁸ See Rev. William Corby, Memoirs of Chaplain Life, pp. 372-383.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 373.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 379.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 380-82.

CHAPTER III

Courage in Combat, Entitlement, Recruiting--1863-1865

Several questions must be answered in order to gauge the patriotism of the Irish Brigade from 1863 to 1865, as well as to evaluate the significance of the various events. After all, all facts are not created equal. First, how well did the post-Meagher era Brigade perform in combat at Gettysburg, and how eagerly did they reenroll? John Baynes thought that following orders and behaving bravely were the by-products of good morale (see Chapter II)--the parameters of patriotism. Secondly, how do the draft riots in July of 1863 fit with the peasants into patriots' theme? Thirdly, in light of issues relating to patriotism (bounties, substitution, and desertion), what does research in the pension files at the National Archives reveal about the Irish Brigade soldiers? My contention is that Irish Brigade soldiers obeyed orders, fought courageously, and thus remained patriotic even in the face of great Brigade casualties; that the Irish law breakers arrested during the New York City draft riots, constituted a minority of the New York Irish community (many of those arrested had Protestant, not Catholic last names);¹ that pension file research reinforces Brigade patriotism notions. Many reenlisted after being wounded. And regarding bounties, fighting for money in a government sponsored system of state and federal bounties did not make the recipients mercenaries and unpatriotic. The Civil War and things associated with it were attaching the Irish Brigade soldiers and their families to the state. Patriotic participation meant that these Irish people were entitled to be Americans, and, as

Chapter IV will show, were honored by the nation when awarded the Civil War pension.

Just before the start of the Gettysburg³ campaign, Colonel Patrick Kelly took command of the Irish Brigade and held that position until he was killed in 1864 at the Battle of Petersburg. Assisted by Reverend Corby, one of Kelly's first actions was to oversee the collection of voluntary contributions by his Brigade to the poor of Ireland (\$1,240.50) and to their families in New York (\$3,500.00). Reverend Corby wrote to Archbishop Hughes in New York, and *The Irish American* of June 6, 1863, carried the story of this generosity.

Father Corby's *Memoirs* inform us that as a part of the Army of the Potomac the Brigade left June 27, 1863 and covered about 250 miles from the Rappahannock to Gettysburg averaging twenty miles per day while carrying sixty pounds of equipment. The order of battle for Meade's Army had Colonel Kelly leading the second Brigade, comprised of the 28th Massachusetts: 63rd, 69th, 88th regiments of New York Infantry (two companies only to each regiment, or about 240 men!).³ The Irish Brigade was the smallest in the division. "At Gettysburg it was only a remnant of its former self, a sad reminder of better days and a forceful commentary on a ruinous policy that permitted the recruitment of new units while older and experienced ones were allowed to take their casualties and wither away."⁴ A recruiting policy like this was of major importance because unit morale stood to suffer in the older regiments. That it did not damage the fighting spirit of the Irish Brigade (as shall be shown) is a

tribute both to the Brigade's leadership and its rank and file soldiers. After having lost 540 men at Antietam, 490 men at Fredericksburg, each of the three regiments of new infantry had to be consolidated into two companies; Colonel Richard Byrnes's 28th Massachusetts numbered 224, and Major Mulholland's 116th Pennsylvania became a four-company battalion of 142 men. On the march north, then, the Irish Brigade numbered about 600 officers and men. On July 1, 1863, the Brigade reached Tanneytown.

An "encounter engagement" is what soldiers today call the first day of the Battle at Gettysburg. Each side had its command and control problems; enemy troop locations and terrain were unknown. Still, the Confederates had the upper hand July 1: "The enemy gave way on all sides, and was driven through Gettysburg with great loss . . . more than 5,000 prisoners . . . were captured . . . the enemy retired to a range of hills south of Gettysburg." The reporter continued: "The enemy occupied a strong position, with his right upon two commanding elevants adjacent to each other [Culps Hill and Cemetery Hill]. His line extended thence upon the high ground along the Emmitsburg Road . . ."⁵

On July 2, 1863, at about 5 p.m., with the sounds of cannons in the distance, off to the left from Confederate positions on Seminary Ridge, Father Corby stepped up on a high rocky point atop several boulders; Colonel Kelly called the Irish Brigade to attention, then to order arms. A first in warfare in North America, Father Corby then would give general absolution to all the Irish Brigade soldiers. Corby, in his *Memoirs*,

quotes colonel Mulholland's account of the scene. To paraphrase, Corby explained to the troops what the offer of absolution meant; how important it was to confess one's sins, and to do one's duty. He then drove home the idea of covenanted patriotism as had Meagher, Corcoran, and Daly--reminding them "of the high and sacred nature of their trust and the noble object for which they fought." All then kneeled, heads bowed. "Father Corby pronounced the words of absolution." ⁶ Corby closed with stern words: that the "Catholic Church refuses Christian burial to the soldier who turns his back upon the foe or deserts the flag." The impending battle drama off to the south made the occasion intense which "rose and swelled and reechoed through the woods, making music more sublime than ever sounded through cathedral aisles."⁷

The strong support of the Catholic Church of Archbishop Hughes for the Union war effort is a matter of record, as well as a fact of major significance in order for the Union to have won. Hughes was a personal friend of Secretary of State Seward, and had represented the administration's viewpoint to European governments during a European tour with the Secretary early in the war. Indeed, Confederates had accused the prelate of actively recruiting soldiers for the federal armies in Ireland. ⁸

Ready for action at Gettysburg, Kelly's Irish Brigade struck the south end of the stony hill. "Although small, this demi-brigade ... made an inspiring picture as it stepped truly through the trodden wheat, its green flags and the Stars and Stripes making splashes of color above the line, its burnished arms at right shoulder shift."⁹ Here, Mulholland's eyewitness account is invaluable. To paraphrase, ¹⁰ the rebels fell

upon the Irish Brigade from the West--about forty feet away. The Confederates fired from behind trees and rocks and in the process had to expose themselves to Brigade fire. The Irishmen opened up at close range with .69 caliber muskets loaded with buck and ball. Kelly ordered his men to charge, and in a very short period of time the enemy surrendered to Mulholland.

Mulholland's conclusion was that after taking prisoners, the Irish Brigade opened fire again. As the Confederates rallied, Peter McGlashan, a captain in the Fiftieth Georgia, reported "'the hottest and sternest struggle of the war.' It was hand-to-hand fighting with clubbed rifles and bayonets." ¹¹ Eventually, Kelly had no alternative but to order the pull back from the stony hill, outflanked as he was. When Mulholland got the order delivered by Kelly's aide, he believed that the 116th was nearly surrounded: if his men were to get back, "they must go as individuals ... most made it to the shelter of the Union line on Cemetery Ridge."¹²

In a poem by William Collins entitled "*Our Fallen Comrades*" that bard manages to capture the combat:

Here, on the field of Gettysburg,
Where treason's banner flew,
Where rushed in wrath the southern
gray to smite the northern blue,
Where'er that blue, by valor
nerved, in serried ranks was seen,
There flashed between it and the
foe the daring Irish Green!¹³

Once again, the courage in combat shown yet another time by the now depleted Irish Brigade in what was the turning point battle of the war is a fact of enormous significance. The Union would be preserved; and the Irish entitled to be in the Union. With Lee's retreat after the failure of Pickett's charge on July 3, 1863, the Army of the Potomac had finally defeated the Army of Northern Virginia; Grant's army captured Vicksburg on July 3, too, and Pemberton's 30,000 Confederates. While the war dragged on for two more years, the South had been cut in half, and it was only a matter of time before the Northern victory was complete. In the meantime, Lee's army would slip back over the Potomac on July 13, while the Irish Brigade eventually settled into winter quarters on the north banks of the Rapidan River.¹⁴ Back in New York City, a riot was brewing.

How do the New York City Draft Riots of 1863 fit into the theme of peasants into patriots? With the death and destruction caused by the rioters, these law-breaking Irish were not supporting the war effort. They represented, however, a small percentage of the city's Irish population. The names of the arrested rioters taken from the grand jury indictments at the Municipal Archives of the City of New York indicate many were Protestants, as well as Catholics.

At about 10:30 a.m. on Monday, July 13, 1863, a large crowd had gathered at 677 Third Avenue at 46th Street for the reading of names drawn from a barrel to serve in the Union Army. Hundreds of names were drawn on July 11th at another location in the city and without incident. Suddenly, members of the Black Joke Volunteer Fire

Company charged the building and broke inside, overpowering soldiers and police on duty. Thus began one of the worst episodes of civil disorder in the United States history which ended on Friday, July 17, 1863,¹⁵ only after 6,000 soldiers had been brought in.

What are the facts and conclusions regarding the Riot? What were the trials of the rioters like and the results? What caused the Riot? My contention is that a combination of factors did. Economically, squalid living conditions and imagined or real competition for jobs between Irish and Blacks ranks high on the list. Politically, Governor Seymour and a Democratic Party press stirred up the Irish for their own political objectives. Realizing some Irish bitterness over the competition of Negro labor and the grievous losses of the Irish in Civil War battles, Democrats harangued audiences upon the unconstitutionality of the Draft. The New York *Daily News* and the *Freeman's Journal* carried on a virulent attack until they had some of the Irish convinced of a real grievance. The *Daily News* also declared that it was the intention to draft the Democrats so that the Republicans could control the elections.¹⁶ Finally, with a tradition of violence in New York City (including the 1834 Election Riot and anti-abolition Riots, the Stevedores' Riot of 1836, the Flour Riots of 1837, the Election Riots of 1842, the Astor Place Riots of 1849, etc.), there remained only the need to find a scapegoat, an enemy. Almost everybody including other Irish were targets, especially blacks and people with property.

The facts need to be stated at the outset because of great discrepancies in data.¹⁷

The riots cost New York County \$1,516,423.99. The number of buildings burned was over fifty and included the Colored Orphans Asylum, two police stations, three Provost Marshal's Offices, and an entire block of dwellings on Broadway. One hundred and five people died and 128 were seriously wounded in the riot, both rioters and victims. Thirty-five soldiers and 32 policemen were seriously wounded. Three hundred and fifty-two people can be identified as rioters, with only the names available for 92 of them. Two hundred and forty-one were male and 19, female. We know the age of 235 rioters with 66 under 21; 87 from 21 to 30 years old; 40 from 31 to 40; 27 from 41 to 50; 13 from 51 to 60, and two over 60. The 63 males under 20 and the 29 over 45 years of age were not liable to the draft. Most of the rioters came from the 18th and 20th wards, between 40th and 14th streets, river to river. One hundred and sixty-eight rioters' occupations were as follows: 47 had skilled occupations like carpenter, tailor, barber, bricklayer; 57 rioters held menial jobs like street paver, domestic; and 56 were laborers or factory workers. Out of the eighty-three rioters questioned about their literacy, 43 could not read or write. People at the bottom of society thus dominated this mob of the industrial age, and it was an Irish job.

Out of 184 whose country of birth can be determined, 117 were born in Ireland, forty in the United States, etc. Most of the American-born were from New York, with several born in southern states. Until July 1863, the rioters had had no previous run-in

with the law. The rioters were a fair cross-section of New York's younger male working class. They traveled in small bands of about fifty people except when they engaged in pitched battle with police and then the numbers got to about 300. The police were brave enough, but the riots showed that they had no appropriate crowd control training. And most of the Irish Catholics on the Metropolitan Police and in the various military units performed well, and many of the rioters they arrested went to trial.

Eighty-one alleged rioters went to trial. This is a very low figure considering that out of the 443 people arrested as suspected rioters, 221 were released without any charges being brought against them. Ten were discharged due to lack of evidence, and 13 were allowed to enlist if the charges against them were dropped. Sixty-seven out of 81 rioters were convicted, but the stiffest sentence a convicted rioter received was six months in the City Penitentiary. Forty people were convicted in the Courts of General Sessions and plea bargaining was used. So only 13 of those convicted were actually tried; the other 27 pleaded guilty to a lesser charge. Only one of those who attacked Negroes in the riot got a heavy prison sentence of 10 years in the State Prison. No one was ever tried for the murders of Colonel O'Brien, William Jones, or James Costello. John U. Andrews, who had spoken to the crowd at the burning of the Ninth District Draft Office, was sentenced to two years while being charged with treason. He was a Virginian. By August, 1863, the trials were all over with. Why so few were punished is the result of a combination of factors: lack of evidence, poor

work by prosecutors, and judges giving the lightest possible sentence in many cases. How the riot started has a simple immediate cause (Lincoln's March, 1863, draft proclamation and the ensuing charge that it was a poor man's fight but a rich man's war) but a complex longer range one whereby democratic press and politicians played on the insecurities of poor Irishmen.¹⁸

The *Daily News*, the *Day Book* and *Freeman's Journal* were all considered to be geared to Democrats and as such, Irish-Americans. The *Day Book* continually charged that the administration was working for the Negro at the expense of the white laborer, and wrote in the January 14th, 1861 issue, that "the Republican party is wrong--utterly wrong. They insist that black is white--that the Negro is a white man. They propose to overthrow this white Republic in a vain search after Negro freedom." After the military setbacks of 1861 and 1862, the Democrats attacked the administration for infringement of freedom of the press and individual liberties. Indeed, Irishmen were very sensitive to the central notion of the draft--coercion, a reminder of British rule in Ireland, and the *Irish American* blamed the politicians for Bull Run in its August 3rd, 1861 edition, and came out against the income tax in the August 10th edition. The paper supported Seymour for governor in 1862 and he won. In the issue of July 12, 1862, it congratulated the Irish-Americans that they were being better appreciated and mourned the fearful price in blood poured out to obtain this appreciation--well before the terrible Irish casualties at Antietam and Fredericksburg. The *Irish-American* of January 10th, 1863, attacked Lincoln's

Emancipation Proclamation. It was "illegal" and "inoperative" and is Lincoln's formal surrender "and committal to the abolition policy of the Radicals."

All the evidence indicates the Irishman's hatred of blacks. John Mitchel was more vocal than most Irishmen, but the Democrats' press almost matched his hatred. The *Day Book* carried a series of editorials (September 6, 1856, January 14, 1861) proclaiming the Negro an inferior being and asserting that the abolitionists wished to place the Negro in a position superior to the Irish laborer. The Roman Catholic Church never committed itself officially either for or against slavery in the United States. Irishmen were prone to link abolition with anti-foreign and anti-Catholic sentiment. Indeed, the *Freeman's Journal* on several occasions told its readers that the Catholic Church defended slavery (New York *Freeman's Journal*, October 3, 1863).

While the Irish support of slavery perhaps began as a part of loyalty to the Democratic Party, its continuance and the intensification of their hatred toward blacks was probably economic. The competition between black and Irish worker was more imaginary than real.¹⁹ Longshoremen, all Irish, were especially threatened.²⁰ They struck for higher wages in April, 1863, and the strike lasted until June 18th. The *Tribune* reported on June 10th, 1863, that three carloads of "contrabands" had reached Jersey City and that the Negroes then took the ferry to New York. Longshoremen beat up the blacks, chased them from the docks, shouting "Drive off the damn niggers" and "kill the niggers." The *Herald* of April 16, 1863, reported that the longshoremen were

"determined that the blacks should not drive white labor out of the market." And the proposals to recruit Negroes to fight in the war still further aroused Irish wrath.

A Democratic meeting in the 19th ward of the city was called to protest against the policy and was addressed by John Keegan. This was a month before the Longshoremen riots. Among the resolutions reported in the *Tribune* of March 6, 1863, was one which stated "That the arming of Negroes in our midst is obnoxious to our citizens and has a tendency to create unnecessary and dangerous hostility between the white and black man." It was the natural climax of the persistent effort of the pro-slavery press of New York City to strengthen the prejudice and embitter the hate of its readers, and the rest of the most ignorant part of the populace against the blacks. In ranking the causes of the riots, this pro-slavery press "effort" is at the top of the list. Indeed, the *Freeman's Journal* of May 2, 1863, published an unsubstantiated charge that white children in New York were being kidnapped and enslaved because they had the misfortune to be Irish and white. That the Irish workers in New York were more prone to racism than others was not only due to economic conditions, but to psychological and political ones as well. The Democratic Party of the Irish immigrant did not want to end slavery where it already existed. Lebow's study about English racist thinking concerning the Irish which was mentioned in an earlier chapter gives the psychological explanation. The Irish learned race hate from the English. Just as the abused child tends to repeat the very type of abuse they experienced growing

up on their children later on, so too did the New York Irish immigrant worker repeat his abuse by the English on the black man.

Simultaneous with the escalating of black hatred by Irish was a kind of demoralization fostered by the slaughter of such battles as Fredericksburg where the Irish Brigade lost so many of its men.²¹ General Meagher had pleaded with the War Department to let the Irish return to New York to rest and to recruit, but to no avail. The administration seemed to be changing the emphasis from a war to preserve the Union to a war for freeing the hated blacks.

Another major cause of the unrest in the Irish community, the leaders of the Democratic Party in New York (from Governor Seymour to the Woods) inflamed the Irish and inspired them to resist the war. On March 25 the Mozart Hall General Committees drew up a series of resolutions stating that the conscription law was subversive of the rights of state governments.²² The *Tribune* of April 8, 1863, reported the Wood Peace Democrats mass meetings for all "who opposed the war for the Negro and favored the rights of the poor." The crowd was reported to have been mostly Irish. Speakers urged the election of a Democratic President who would end the war at a Peace Conference. On May 20th at a Union Square rally, *Freeman's Journal* editor James McMasters told the audience that the South would never be conquered and that the people should organize to fight for the liberties of their state.²³ On June 3rd at a Cooper Union rally for Peace and Reunion politicians addressed a

crowd of 30,000 on the anti-draft and states' rights themes. The *Freeman's Journal* of June 13, 1863, rejoiced at the success of the meeting. Real trouble was brewing.

Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for a draft in the summer of 1863, and notified all aliens who had declared their intention to become citizens that they had sixty-five days grace to leave the country if they did not wish to come under its provisions. The *Irish American* and the *Freeman's Journal* of May 16th were both incensed. Meanwhile, the Democrats held a rally to block the draft in a July 4th New York Democratic Association meeting held at the Academy of Music. *The New York Tribune* (Greeley's republican paper) covered the speech of Governor Seymour in its July 6th edition. Seymour saw the draft as unconstitutional and therefore a violation of "our rights" and pleaded with the Republicans to have it rescinded. Or else: "that the bloody and treasonable and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob as well as by a government." *The Freeman's Journal* of July 11, 1863, maintained that the Federal Government had "no constitutional right to compel a state to do anything, much less to furnish soldiers," while the *Daily News* of the same date demanded "that the constitutionality of the law should be tested" before any attempt to enforce it was made.

Thus the draft began in an emotionally charged atmosphere of racial hatred and constitutional bickering by politicians in a politically confused situation. Seymour was a Democratic governor. Opdyke a Republican mayor with a Republican metropolitan police force and with Republican Provost Marshals appointed by the

national administration as enforcers of the draft. As Thomas Emmet saw it:

"Everything was done to exasperate the people in New York and to force them into an outbreak. The whole action was against the Irish people, who were Democrats almost to a man, and yet had from the beginning promptly volunteered for the army."²⁴ Now, the 13th of July was at hand.

Visiting New York on that Monday was Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Fremantle of the Coldstream Guards, and he kept a diary.²⁵ He recalled that on the 13th everything appeared normal, and that the people "apparently don't feel the war at all here; that they will not be anxious to make peace." Then Fremantle approached Fifth Avenue and perceived by degrees that there was a great alarm about the resistance to the draft." When he had reached his hotel he "perceived a whole block of buildings on fire close by. In the hotel itself, universal consternation prevailed, and an attack by the mob had been threatened." He noticed a black man being chased by the crowd take cover with soldiers. "He (black man) was followed by loud cries of 'Down with the nigger! Kill all niggers!'" Since this was Fremantle's first New York visit, he was curious about this anti-Negro attitude, and "inquired of a bystander what the Negroes had done that they should want to kill them? He replied civilly enough--'Oh sir, they hate them here; they are the innocent cause of all these troubles.'" Fremantle concluded: "The people who can't pay \$300.00 naturally hate being forced to fight in order to liberate the very race who they are most anxious should be slaves: that all slaves should remain slaves, but that the free northern Negroes who compete with

them for labor should be sent to the South also."²⁶ One of America's greatest civil disturbances was underway.²⁷

Now that the watching crowd had seen the draft office wrecked and the police scattered, their natural tendency to violence and riot, their hostility to authority, all exploded in their hostility to the draft. The crowd recognized Superintendent of Police Kennedy. "Here comes the son of a bitch Kennedy! Let's finish him!" Kennedy's fellow officer Murphy was beaten by the mob and had his uniform torn off.²⁸ With the police out of the way and in disarray, looting began all over the city by hundreds of mobs. The Croton Cottage restaurant on Fifth Avenue and the Palace Park House Hotel on 40th Street were sacked and looted. Another mob recognized the former editor of the *Times* standing near the ruins of the Ninth District Office. "Here's a damned abolitionist! Let's hang him!"²⁹ George Templeton Strong wrote in his diary that "Every brute in the drove was pure Keltic-hod-carrier or loafer. A few carried pieces of fence-paling and the like. They turned West into Forty-Fifth Street. Then men and small boys appeared at rear windows and began smashing the sashes and the blinds. At last a light smoke began to float out of the windows."³⁰

Mayor George Opdyke had been firing off telegrams and messages but he could not get help in sufficient numbers to subdue the rioters. Ellen Leonard, a young girl from upstate visiting her mother on East 19th Street saw First Avenue crowded "with thousands of infuriated creatures, yelling, screaming and swearing in the most frantic manner; while crowds of women, equally ferocious, were leaning from every door

and window, swinging aprons and handkerchiefs, and cheering and urging them onward and joining with them in this mad chase up the avenue like a company of raging fiends."³¹ Another mob formed when Patrick Merry, an Irish cellar digger from West 28th Street led a crowd of two or three hundred men and boys down Broadway gathering workers as he went and sacked 1180 Broadway, another draft office, and then continued looting from stores along the route. Rioting was spreading all over the city. Inspector Daniel Carpenter's cops met a crowd of 200 rioters at Broadway and Bleeker, "a crowd of ill-dressed and ill-favored men and boys, each carrying a long stick" and one carrying an American flag and a sign which read "No Draft" but the police dispersed the mob. But others rapidly formed and started attacking blacks.^{31A}

Irishman Patrick Oatis attacked a black man named Henry Johnson somewhere on Seventh Avenue. Oatis bit Johnson on the cheek and bit part of his left ear off before he was able to escape. Tuesday at 1:30 p.m. a mob swept down 41st Street to the Weehawken Ferry Building at the Hudson River. They spotted Colonel O'Brien coming out of a bar at 2nd Avenue and 19th Street and beat him to death. Father Clowry of St. Gabriel's on East 36th Street arrived and gave O'Brien extreme unction, and had him carried into a house. At dusk, the mob brought the dead man out again, tossed him into an alleyway, and set fire to the whole block. At night things got even worse. A Democratic politician named William Cruise attacked 11 Worth Street, the residence of a black named William Derrickson and said to the mob that Derrickson

was "the big nigger we want. We'll hang him to the lamp-post." William escaped, but his wife was killed and his little boy hit over the head with an ax.^{31B}

The tempo of violence increased. Street sweeping machines were seized and burned near St. Mark's Church and 11th Street by a mob led by a man who denounced "niggers" and "labor-saving machines" which would have pleased Ned Ludd. Barricades were erected all over the city and rioters attacked authorities from rooftops as well. Several attempts were made to sack the hated *Tribune* building but all failed. While Greeley himself was opposed to violence, the associates of the old abolitionist had armed the newspaper staff and had brought in a Gatling gun which was hoisted to the roof. Mobs roamed and looted. They carried various signs: DOWN WITH PROTESTANTS! DOWN WITH 300 DOLLAR MEN! Secretary of War Stanton telegraphed Mayor Opdyke on the 14th: "Five regiments are under orders to return to New York. The retreat of Lee will relieve a large force for the restoration of order in New York."³² But that was Tuesday, and they would not be there until late Wednesday.

Wednesday was the hottest day of the year, and at 9 a.m. a mob near 8th Avenue and 32nd Street was reported burning, looting, and hanging blacks (three in all). Colonel G. Mott of the regular army and a mixed contingent of mounted troops supported by Howitzers opposed the mob. The mounted troops could not break the mob. It took six rounds of fire with grape and canister to break the mob. A little

earlier that Wednesday morning occurred a very typical violent episode the degree of which showed the anger of the mob.³³

A black shoemaker named James Costello from 97 West 33rd Street was spotted by a volunteer fireman named William Mealy. Costello pulled out a gun and shot Mealy, but five whites later grabbed him, and shouted "Kill the Nigger" while they jumped up and down on him. They dragged him over to a large pothole full of water, put his face down into it and emptied a barrel of ashes over his head. They then hauled him over to a tree and hanged him from it.

An Irish laborer named George Glass from West 23rd Street led a mob which discovered two blacks in a building at 27th and 7th late Wednesday afternoon. Glass and his men dragged and beat both the man and the girl for a block. A Jewish tailor from England named Mark J. Silva hoisted the black man up and he was hanged from the lamppost. Loud cheers for Jeff Davis went up. The body was taken down a little later, and Patrick Butler, an Irish butcher in his mid-teens, grabbed the dead man's genitals and pulled the body through the streets while the crowd cheered and yelled. Earlier on Wednesday the City Council had passed an ordinance appropriating \$2.5 million to pay the fee of \$300 for any poor New Yorker who was drafted and who could not find the money himself. If the drafted man did agree to serve, the money would be paid to him as a bounty. This news together with the arrival of troops from Washington and from Gettysburg ushered in Thursday, which saw a large battle near Grammercy Park, and scattered action throughout the city.

On Friday, Archbishop John Hughes finally broke his silence by delivering a speech to the faithful gathered at his residence at Madison Avenue and 36th Street.³⁴ "I have been hurt by the reports that you are rioters. Is there not some way by which you can stop these proceedings and support the laws, none of which have been enacted against you as Irishmen and Catholics? (Cries of 'Stop the Draft')" A year earlier the Prelate denied a New York *Herald* report that he had condemned volunteering and favored the draft.³⁵ He said: "I did not recommend a coercive conscription, but that the people of the North, who stand by the Federal government, should demand conscription by their own voluntary choice and act." This ambiguous statement certainly fanned the fires of uncertainty. Another statement was issued on Saturday, July 18th.

From Washington, D.C., the Provost Marshal General named J. B. Fry telegraphed this notice printed in every New York paper: "Provost Marshals are informed that no orders have been issued countermanding the draft. Adequate force had been ordered by the Government to the points where the proceedings have been interrupted." This is to say that by the 18th there were 6,000 soldiers in the city plus the 2,200 police already on hand. The battle for New York was over.

Modern contemporary scholarship has demonstrated that the slogan "Rich man's war but poor man's fight" was untrue. "Unskilled workers and Irish-Americans were proportionately underrepresented in the Union Army" according to James McPherson. "Draft insurance societies and appropriations by city councils or political machines to

pay the commutation fee of any drafted man who did not want to go enabled poor men to buy their way out of the draft almost as readily as rich men."^{35A}

Important battles remained after Gettysburg and New York City Draft Riots including the Wilderness and Spotsylvania from May 5-19, 1864; Petersburg from June 15-18, 1864; Cold Harbor on July 3, 1864; Petersburg again on July 30, 1864. From May 4 through July 3 the North had 65,000 men killed, wounded, or missing. "This figure amounted to three-fifths of the total number of combat casualties suffered by the Army of the Potomac during the previous three years."^{35B}

In his *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, Father Corby noted how enlistments were ending, and an attempt was made to induce the veterans to reenlist "for the war." And "the members of the Irish Brigade were among the very first to do so. In December, 1863, the government gave us free transportation to New York for ourselves, horses, and servants. We reached New York City January 2, 1864, and lived in the city a portion of that winter."^{35C} While the officers had arrived in the city to rest and recruit, the enlisted men were a few days behind.

On Monday, January 4, 1864, the Sixty-Ninth Regiment of New York Infantry arrived from the Army of the Potomac. "All of the men (only seventy-eight in number) have unanimously reenlisted for the war. In consequence, they have received a furlough of thirty days."³⁶ On January 2, 1864, the Sixty-Third Regiment returned. "Of the returned, one hundred men are reported as having re-volunteered for the next three years of the war; and besides them, as a nucleus for reentering on active

service, a company of over fifty men has been left in the field on duty with the Army of the Potomac."³⁶ And the Eighty-Eighth Regiment arrived in New York on the morning of January 13. "The Eighty-eighth numbered about 150 men, all of whom have reenlisted for the war. Immediately upon their arrival the men were granted furloughs."³⁷

As a patriotic gesture, 66%³⁸ reenlistment in the face of such heavy casualties speaks very well of the New York Regiments of the Irish Brigade. Although a stimulus to patriotism was not needed for the Irish Brigade, no doubt the men felt justified in accepting the various bounties which were offered. Therefore, monetary incentives were obviously a secondary reason for reenlistment by Irish Brigade soldiers, but probably a primary consideration for others. For example, the New York *Times* carried the following advertisement on January 7, 1864:

NEW YORK COUNTY VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE

30,000 VOLUNTEERS WANTED

The following are the pecuniary inducements offered:

County Bounty, cash down	\$300
State Bounty	\$75
United States Bounty to new recruits	\$302
United States Bounty additional to veteran soldiers	<u>\$100-477</u>
TOTAL	\$777

Applications to be made personally at the office of the committee.

Signed

George Opdyke, Mayor

William M. Tweed,

Supervisor, County Committee³⁹

How do the Irish Brigade recruits and their families respond to the bounties? In a letter from the pension file of Private John Gorman, 63rd Regiment of New York Infantry dated January 11, 1862, in the National Archives, we have a clue. In this letter to the dead soldier's wife, Lieutenant Laurence Daidy wrote from Brigade headquarters near Falmouth, Virginia that Mary Gorman should "sell" the bounty. This letter shows not only the cohesiveness of the unit and concern of the officer for the family of Gorman, but it also is evidence for a "modern" outlook, a capitalist outlook. The Irish were being attached to the state; they were having to cope with red tape. To paraphrase Lieutenant Daidy's letter to Mary Gorman, aware of the many economic hardships that some New York Irish endured, the Lieutenant had already notified E. B. French in the Department of the Treasury that the late Private Gorman "was paid up to the 30th of June ... the government owes you about \$57 dollars and some cents besides \$100 dollars bounty." Then Daidy suggested that Mrs. Gorman "sell this claim at a little discount" because Washington's inefficient bureaucracy would take months to pay her. In a final effort to console the widow, Daidy remarked: "He [Private Gorman] was well cared for [and] was buried with a coffin and I have not known another private having been bured [sic] in one from our regiment but him."^{39A}

"Pecuniary considerations" obviously had helped promote reenlistments. "The soldiers," reported the *New York Times*, "were justified in expecting liberal bounties, and it was the duty of the government to offer them." The *Times* went on to explain

the most important rationale for bounties. "Their acceptance by a large number of the veterans will have a most beneficial effect in removing a great cause of bickering and jealousy between the earlier and more recent volunteers" suggested the *Times*, "and a homogeneity of temper will thus be effected, which may have a most important bearing upon the Spring campaign." The reporter ended by "applauding the patriotism ... the veterans of the Army of the Potomac in continuing in the service." And, an officer in the Irish Brigade, Captain David Conyngham, believed that the officers of the Brigade needed "to make up for the lukewarmness on the part of the authorities, who were openly and malignantly opposed to the national cause and its supporters so the officers met at Whitney House in Broadway, to plan a tribute for the brave and patriotic man of the Brigade."^{40A}

As a style of recruiting perfected by the Irish Brigade early in the war, the public speaker forum approach was now augmented to include a "Grand Banquet" which was given by the officers to the noncommissioned officers and privates at Irving Hall, part of Irving House, located at the corner of Broadway and 12th Street near A. T. Stewart's and Wallack's Theater, two blocks from Union Square.⁴¹ About noon, 250 noncommissioned officers and privates lined up at City Hall where Major Kavanagh, Captain Maroney, and other officers brought them to attention in front of City Hall. Led by Dodsworth's Band, the march up Broadway started about 12:15 and "along the whole line of march, signs and evidences of deserved appreciation of the gallant and efficient services which they and their less fortunate companions had tendered during

the many hard fought battles in which they had been, were visible on every side." ⁴²

The Irish immigrants were entitled to a ceremony in which their contributions to the cause of the Union were recognized. Now they were as American as anyone else.

Proceeding to 14th and Broadway, the Brigade then marched over to Irving Hall where the remainder of the officers received the men, immediately seated inside. Five tables extended down the entire length of the hall where the privates sat, and the noncommissioned officers sat at the head table which stretched across the room in front of the stage where the band played. The banquet hall was decorated "with American and regimental flags . . . together with a banner bearing the name of the last battle in which they were engaged--Gettysburg." And the names of other battles fought in lined the sides of the gallery, "over each of which hung the American flag."

The reporter noted that Mrs. Meagher sat in a private box, left of the stage, while "a large number of ladies" were in the galleries. After dinner, General Meagher "delivered a beautifully eulogistic address." He commended the men for their valor. The general then pictured the trials of the private soldier ... "The success of the officers was owing to the fidelity of the soldiers . . . He had declared before that no distinction could be given him however high it might be, than that which he felt he had as commander of the Irish Brigade (cheers)." There were then "two parties in the county--the Federal army under Abe Lincoln and the Rebel army under Jefferson Davis, and the latter and the rebellion would eventually be crushed (cheers). Gen.

Meagher then alluded to the demise of the Know-Nothing Party ... amid loud cheers."⁴³

About one week later, the *Irish American* carried another recruitment story about the Irish Brigade, as did the *New York Times*. Serious coverage by these papers continued until Easter when it became time to move out for the Spring campaign, the Wilderness. Newspapers stressed the competence of the officers, and reported that most of the spots had been filled. Although reporters' coverage of the Brigade was by regiment, one can clearly deduce common approaches to recruiting by all its officers. First, the recruiting pitch stressed which county in Ireland the officer was from; then, that the officer was a good leader. Recruiting officer for the 69th, Captain James E. McGee, wanted "to raise eight companies . . . The Regiments headquarters is at the No. 476 Broadway, New York." He would be assisted by Captain Blake, formerly of the 88th; a former member of General Meagher's staff, the camp companion of the gallant Emmets, and a native of Galway. Rounding out the recruiting staff of the 69th was Captain Richard A. Kelly who was promoted through the ranks from private. "This is the best possible guarantee . . . of his fitness for the position, and reliability as a company commander to be good and true to those under him. He is a native of County Kildare."⁴⁴ Colonel Kelly handled the 88th Regiments recruiting at "No. 150 Centre Street, corner of Walker Street, New York." Captain John H. Gleason, "that stalwart Tipperary man" recruited for the 63rd "in the city and throughout the state; his offices were at No. 10 Centre Street, and recruits could enroll daily "from 10 to 2

o'clock."⁴⁵ While the Irish seemed to have their recruiting fairly well organized at the company level, the City of New York tried to keep up.

All recruiting offices for the city were to be consolidated "at the northwest corner of the City Hall Park . . . The saving to the city in the matter of this building is very great: at present they are paying at the rate of about \$5,000 a year rent for the various recruiting offices while here the building will cost only some \$3,000."⁴⁶ And a similar consolidation of effort by Second Corps was reported in the *New York Times*.

Major General Hancock, Second Corps Commander, had his 50,000 man quota set for him by the War Department. He would raise these troops in New York. The *Times* reporter thought that there was no reason why "we should not, between now and the expiration of the term of the national bounties, on the 1st of March, fill up these nineteen regiments to the maximum. The number required for this purpose is . . . about ten thousand men." Of course the Irish Brigade was a part of Second Corps where "not a single color has ever been wrestled from it."⁴⁷

Second Corps established its recruiting office at Tammany Hall, with Irish Brigade stalwart Colonel Robert Nugent heading it up. "Many veterans have reenlisted" noted the reporter, and "numerous young men anxious to share their glory are daily enlisting." The service seemed like a good deal to this reporter in that "the recruits receive the best treatment, are placed in charge of brave and experienced officers, and could not be more favorably situated. General Hancock hopes soon to have his famous corps fully recruited."⁴⁸ Hancock traveled up to Boston and spoke on

March 5, 1864, to "the assembly of merchants in the exchange . . . in aid of filling up the Second Veteran Corps."⁴⁹

Returning to New York on March 7, Hancock was the principal speaker in the Tammany Hall Grand War meeting the evening of March 7, 1864. Headlines in the New York *Times* also noted that Meagher and James T. Brady would speak, and that a "Great enthusiasm [was] manifested."⁵⁰ The hall was filled, and the crowd was enthusiastic "such as has not been seen before for along, long time. An excellent band furnished patriotic music." When General Hancock started to speak it was just after 8 p.m. "There was room in his corps for every nationality." The general said that he had led many units in battle including the Irish Brigade and the Tammany Regiment. [the mention of the names elicited loud applause]." The General continued that "there was room for all. The Draft might be postponed; but if enlistments were not prompt, it would surely be enforced. The General's speech was received with enthusiastic cheers."⁵¹ Meagher's speech was short and to the point. He praised all the different regiments--"All had done nobly. All were fighting for our flag--our Government--our nation."⁵²

Two final items regarding recruiting appeared in the *Times* before the Spring campaigns. The first was a notice published in the March 30, 1864 New York *Times*, and said that the Public Board of Brokers had made a collection for General Hancock's Corps and had given him "a check for six thousand nine hundred dollars."⁵³ The New York *Times* for Tuesday, April 5, 1864, reported on the opening of the

Metropolitan Fair which had been well attended by a "large and enthusiastic crowd" for "a purpose consecrated by humanity and patriotism to the sick and suffering soldier. Although the suggestion that the day should be a holiday was made but on Sunday, it was eagerly accepted and promptly observed. Flags waved from every building." A large parade by regular troops stationed in New York (including the 69th Regiment) was watched by "ten thousand men and women" and participating were "twenty-seven bands." At 1 p.m. "the First Division formed on Fourteenth Street, the right resting on Broadway. When the line was formed, Major General Dix and staff . . . accompanied by General Meagher and Sanford, rode along it, and assumed command." When the troops had marched from "Broadway to Reade . . . through Centre Street to the east gate of the park" and at "the park troops were reviewed by the mayor and Common Council ..." ⁵³

On April 21, 1864, the *New York Times* observed that the Army of the Potomac had been in a nine month period of rest from any general engagements and that it was "now being prepared by improvements of its organization, additions to its numbers, etc." ⁵⁴

Between the Spring of 1864 and 1865, the Irish Brigade participated in the Wilderness-Spotsylvania-Cold Harbor campaign of May 4-June 3, 1864; the Petersburg campaign in its phases of June 15-18 (Battle); June 19-December 31, 1864, Siege; January-March of 1865, fall of Petersburg. No Irish Brigade representative was present when Lee surrendered his Army of Northern Virginia to

Grant at 3:45 p.m., April 9, 1865 in the home of Wilmer McLean at the Appomattox Courthouse. But the presence of the Irish Brigade had helped Grant's Army of the Potomac to win the war.⁵⁵

What was the Irish Brigade's situation at the end of June, 1864? Consolidated and fighting as a part of the Third Brigade, Second Corps, it was "greatly reduced in size" and "six of the ten field officers who had started the campaign in May had been killed or wounded severely." And a mere Captain (Maroney) commanded what was left of the Brigade. Had a senior Irish Brigade officer been present, the consolidation would not have happened. On leave in New York recruiting, Colonels Nugent and McGee "appealed to the Irish to rebuild the unit which had served with honor in every campaign since its formation" and "the Irish responded, and in a short time many new men were ready to join the old command."⁵⁶

Early in September, 1864, the Irish Brigade celebrated its third anniversary. General Meagher stopped by for a visit on his way south to his new position with General Sherman. Meagher asked Father Corby "to arrange a solemn high mass for the occasion." The Brigade beautified the camp "planting pine and cedar trees" and erected a "beautiful chapel" and "a grand avenue lined with evergreens led to the front entrance of the grounds and to the chapel." The Brigade formed at 9 o'clock in dress parade "muskets shining, shoes polished . . . the ranks formed in perfect order." Then the staff officers arrived from General Hancock on down. Meagher served as master of ceremonies: bands and "grand salute of the guns, testify to *credo in unum deum*."⁵⁷

While father Corby's *Memoirs* provide a vivid description of the anniversary celebration in most regards, he is silent on the content of his sermon. Conyngham, however, as an officer present at the event, summarized Corby's remarks, and noted how the Irish Brigade soldiers were obligated as Christians and as Irishmen to be role models for others. Corby concluded by pointing out that proper performance of their duties as soldiers would permit "a return to private life, respected and useful citizens."⁵⁸ Honorable Irish Brigade service was the ticket of admission into American society. The Brigade's actions in the war had entitled its members to a place in American life.

After the celebration of the mass was over, all attended Sunday lunch. Speeches were made by General Meagher, "who in genuine oratory, was head and shoulders above any general in the army."⁵⁹ Specifically, Meagher said that "they had proved themselves worthy descendants of their forefathers, both in valor and patriotism; and he was proud to say that no other country had contributed so much to the honor of the flag of America as Ireland" and "the Irish Brigade had never lost a color, notwithstanding the many trying ordeals through which they had passed; and to-day, as that day three years ago, the same green flag waved side by side with the same American flag over their heads."⁶⁰

General Miles's testimony was particularly laudatory. He commented on the performance of the Irish Brigade at Reams Station, and marveled at how well the Brigade held its position. "The rebels suffered fearfully at the hands of the Brigade."⁶¹

General Hancock "spoke in the highest terms of the bravery and devotedness of the Irish Brigade" and General DeTrobriand, "who said that his Irishmen claimed him as one of their own, stating that his name was in reality only slightly Frenchified from the original (O'Brien) which caused prolonged merriment." ⁶² Father Corby concluded his observation of the anniversary celebration by remarking that the Irish Brigade's membership had "character" by extending hospitality to others while "all the rest of the army was "longing for 'the flesh-pots of Egypt.'" ⁶³

On November 1, 1864, Special Orders No. 555 of Irish Division 11 Corps reorganized the reduced Irish Brigade and placed it under the command of Colonel Robert Nugent. Early in October, he had "began a reorganization of his brigade. The three New York Regiments were in fairly good condition. The Seventh New York Heavy Artillery, now serving as infantry, became the Fourth Regiment of the reconstituted brigade."⁶⁴ The Irish Brigade was no doubt grateful for the winter lull in fighting. "Siege became an artillery duel while the semi-starved military and civilian population of the Richmond-Petersburg area tightened their belts." ⁶⁵

Fighting resumed for the Brigade with the March 30, 1865 advance of Second Corps. The Irish Brigade tried unsuccessfully to drive the Confederates from White Oak Road. Their failure was the result of Lee's brilliance rather than any lack of fighting spirit or ability. But not even Lee's considerable military genius could prevent the fall of Petersburg. The Irish Brigade was a part of the assault on Petersburg which began on April 2, 1865 until everything between Petersburg and

Hatcher's Run was captured, killed, or muted. The city of Petersburg was occupied by Union forces on April 3, 1865. ⁶⁶

On April 5, 1865, the Irish Brigade started pursuit of the fleeing Confederates with the First Division, Second Corps. Ewell's Corps was captured at Sailor's Creek, and an eyewitness attributed the Union's success to "the energetic movements of the Second Corps" which brought back trophies that included "several pieces of artillery and thirteen flags. Of these the Brigade captured the largest number." ⁶⁷

Cataclysmic events unfolded in the month of April. After several more skirmishes this first week of April, 1865, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was cornered and Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox on April 8, 1865. One week later Lincoln died. At his funeral in Washington, April 19, 1865. Sergeant Smith of the 88th, Sergeant Daly of the 69th, and Sergeant Comerford of the 63rd carried the Brigade's green flags in the funeral procession from the White House to the Capitol. "The venerable General Winfield Scott, seeing the green flags beside the Stars and Stripes, raised his hat." ⁶⁸

Returning to New York over a period of several weeks from June 11-July 2, 1865, the Brigade was paid and mustered out of the service at Harts Island, July 9, 1865. The Brigade of seven hundred soldiers had earlier marched in the 4th of July parade where "their faces were wreathed with smiles, as cheer after cheer sent the air, welcoming them back to citizenship and their former homes." ⁶⁹

Afterwards, three hundred of the soldiers comprising the 28th Massachusetts departed for Boston, and the remaining four hundred men of the New York Regiments marched to Irving Hall "where a banquet was laid at the expense of the late officers of the command, co-jointly with other gentlemen of this city."⁷⁰

Assembled in front of the Hall, the soldiers immediately gave "three cheers for their commanders, and three for General Meagher, the man who raised the Irish Brigade." Meagher commented that "though there may have been a few Copperheads among the Irish . . . it must be acknowledged that the generosity of our countrymen have ever been true to heart and home to their adopted country (cheers long and loud)."⁷¹ Then, the soldiers filed into the banquet hall.

What does National Archives Pension File research reveal about the recruits of the Irish Brigade in terms of issues relating to patriotism? When did our soldiers enlist? If they enlisted in the first three years of the war (before big bounties became big business) that would support the Irish as early patriots idea. How many of our recruits reenlisted? Why did they not reenlist if that was the case? (Not reenlisting makes perfect sense for soldiers wounded or killed in action.) Therefore, of those able to reenlist, what percentage did? A substantial reenlistment by those able would underscore the patriotism of our soldiers. Were the recruits bounty jumpers or draft dodgers? If so, that would be evidence for unpatriotic behavior. Are James McPherson's conclusions that both unskilled workers and Irish-Americans were proportionately underrepresented in the Union army true for our sample?⁷² And, were

our recruits part of the famine migration? If so, how is our date of immigration data to be interpreted with regard to patriotism and in terms of the scholarly works on immigration?⁷³ Military service as an outlet for employment is an avenue of investigation. Were our recruits mercenaries? Were our recruits "Green Bluecoats" who generally behaved as expected? Lastly, were the Irish used as cannon fodder?⁷⁴ Before answering the questions above, one must first construct a straightforward account of the very confusing Civil War enrollment history and how our soldiers fit into it.⁷⁵

In April, 1861, Lincoln appealed for 75,000 ninety day militiamen. In May of 1861, he asked for 42,000 three-year army volunteers, 18,000 sailors, and 23,000 more men for the regular army. In July of 1861, Congress retroactively approved Lincoln's call, and also asked for one million three year volunteers. Seven hundred thousand men were in the Union Army by early 1862. The numbers game was, of course, highly political. Rather than recruiting old regiments which had sustained losses up to strength, states decided that the formation of new regiments would be a patronage advantage in the form of officers. Therefore, 50,000 men joined existing regiments, while 71,000 of these new three year volunteers joined new regiments. Old regiments often went into combat in 1862 and 1863 undermanned; new regiments without seasoned veterans to help them suffered heavier casualties than necessary due to inexperience. Meagher's resignation after the Battle of Chancellorsville in May of 1863 was the direct result of his frustration with the highly politicized nature of Civil

War enrollment practices. The full strength of an infantry regiment in theory was 1,000 men; of a brigade, 4000; of a division, 12,000; and of a corps, 24,000 or more. In practice, however, the average size of each unit was a third to a half of the above numbers in the Union Army. ⁷⁶

How well did the Union system for filling the ranks work? Seven percent of the non-drafted actually served. The threat of being drafted could get you a bounty for volunteering, so ultimately it was not a conscription system. "800,000 men enlisted or reenlisted voluntarily during the two years after the passage of the conscription act" while "only 46,000 drafted men served and another 74,000 provided substitutes." In the end the draft system coerced men into volunteering, and worked, but "bounty-stimulated volunteering course to seem an even greater evil than the draft." ⁷⁷

Early bounties were not seen as unpatriotic. Rather, these monies were raised by various levels of government to support the soldier's family while he served his country. Lincoln's call for troops in the summer of 1862 required an "explicit bounty," and after the draft riots of 1863, communities decided "to fill future quotas by any means possible to avoid a draft." ⁷⁸

On all levels of government a bidding war to buy volunteers resulted from Lincoln's three calls for soldiers in 1864. "Bounty brokers" begat "bounty jumpers." The conscription-substitute-bounty system produced three-quarters of a million new men who did little to help win the war. This task fell mainly on the pre-bounty

veterans of 1861 and 1862--who looked with contempt on the 1864 substitutes and bounty men.⁷⁹

What about the patriotism of the Irish Brigade recruits as measured by Pension File data? Approximately 260 Union Army privates have been analyzed, and lists compiled regarding enlistment history, battles fought in, and occupations. When did our soldiers enlist? Were most in the pre-heavy bounty /substitute/ commutation business period from 1861-1863? Out of 250 privates for whom we have dates of enlistment, 177 enlisted in the 1861-62 period, or 71%. One soldier enlisted in 1863. Fifty-seven out of 250 soldiers for whom we have dates of enlistment, enrolled in the 1864-65 period (23%). Such a high percentage (as 71%) indicates a rush to defend the Union by these Irish-born soldiers residing in New York City. And as James McPherson points out, it was these soldiers who joined in 1861 and 1862 who won the war for the Union. The average period of time signed up to serve was 2.5 years. The total number of our 260 soldiers eligible to reenlist (41 were killed in action) was 58/214 or 27%. The total number who did not reenlist due to being wounded was 86/216 or 40%. Healthy soldiers who did not reenlist comprised 69/216 or 32% of our sample. As far as finding evidence for bounty jumpers or deserters, I found only four deserters, and one soldier (#240) who committed fraud.

Were both unskilled workers and Irish-Americans . . . proportionately underrepresented in the Union Army as McPherson claims? Out of about 260 soldiers in the Irish Brigade, I found occupational categories in the Pension Files for 214 men.

Analysis of soldiers' occupations shows that over half were unskilled workers, and those soldiers usually described themselves as "laborer." There were, out of the 214 workers, 60 who described themselves as laborer and most of the other (55) labels are similar (painter, porter, hawker, fruit vendor, street cleaner). The skilled occupations listed included shoemakers, blacksmiths, bakers, book binder, and tinsmith, etc. With over half of the workers being unskilled, how can McPherson's data hold up for the Irish Brigade, which, incidentally, had 98% of the soldiers in my sample Ireland-born married Irish Catholics (whose familial situations will be presented in Chapter IV)?

What connection exists, if any, regarding the immigration dates of our soldiers and issues related to patriotism that can be deduced from the historical literature on immigration? Out of our sample, we know the exact year of immigration for about 100 soldiers. Of the 100, pre-1859 immigration totaled 71; 29 arrived in 1860 or after. So less than one-third of our soldiers came to America either when war seemed likely, or, when fighting had commenced. Maybe those hoped to find employment in the Army. There is no way of knowing if these soldiers were impressed or crimped into the service. It is doubtful (from the Pension File data anyway) that Tammany Hall played such an unpatriotic role as suggested by Bernstein and McPherson. There was a Tammany Regiment and earlier, in this chapter, it was shown that Tammany supported our Irish Brigade's recruiting efforts.

How many of our soldiers arrived in the 1845-48 famine migration? Only about 20% constituted famine migration. The number arriving in the 1850's was 50. The

bulk of our recruits (for whom immigration data could be found) arrived in the U.S. in the 1850's-65 era, long after the famine was over. Brinley Thomas and W. F. Adams noted that when the U. S. was in a boom cycle of capitalism, more foreign workers would seek work here. We were in a boom cycle except for the years 1857-59. The Democratic Congress had passed the lowest tariff since 1790 in 1857; northern bankers and manufacturers blamed them for the panic and for the low prices that followed. However unstable the U. S. economy was on the eve of the War, George Potter and Terry Coleman described how the "traders" in immigrants stressed that the streets in America were paved with gold, not that the Irish would be paving the streets; maybe soldiering had more social status, occupation-wise, and thus was a preferred employment avenue.

Were our soldiers "Green Bluecoats" and all that connotes? Were the Irish used as cannon fodder in a kind of "conspiracy theory" way by nativist "Yankee" officers? All troops who fought in the War, whatever their nationality, sustained extremely high death rates due either to continually attacking (with frontal assaults) well-fortified positions defended by troops with good weapons (e.g., Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, the Wilderness and Cold Harbor); or to disease and infection sustained in the service after the battle. "The Civil War soldier was eight times more likely to die of a wound and ten times more likely to die of disease than American soldier in World War I. Indeed, twice as many Civil War soldiers died of disease as were killed or mortally wounded in combat."⁸⁰ Moreover, it was Celtic tradition to attack.

Meagher, as mentioned at the end of Chapter II, was seen as being from that tradition and being very ambitious. Also, "the Celts were excellent fighting men ... they still believed in and practiced the Celtic charge; like wishful thinking, it was one of their folkways." And "Celts shared certain warlike characteristics. They glorified war, seemed genuinely fond of combat, and usually fought with reckless bravery."⁸¹ And as Karsten has shown for the Irish of the British Army, Irish Brigade soldiers followed orders, fought hard, and performed well.

The various motives for enlisting in the Irish Brigade have been mentioned in this chapter and the previous one, but need to be set off and ranked here (under patriotism). First, one must mention political and social inclusion near the top of the motives for joining list. Earned admission into U.S. society was possible with bravery in combat and honorable service. So being a "Celtic primitive warrior" was an asset rather than a liability. Secondly, there were a variety of economic motives--inducements for all Union soldiers such as military pay and bounties. Of the 250 Irish Brigade recruits who had known enlistment dates, 23% enrolled in the 1864-65 period and might have been "bounty-hunters" (although there is no hard Pension File evidence to support this idea). Obviously, those who had never fought against the Union were eligible to receive 160 acres of public domain under the 1862 Homestead Act if they would undertake to cultivate the land. Thirdly, one must list Irish nationalism, i.e., hatred of England and her ally, the South. That recruiters pitched their speeches to the least important motive for enlistment and were still so

successful serves as a reminder of the power of atavistic sentiments shrewdly sounded.

A recruit who seemed more or less typical of the Irish Brigade soldier was Lawrence Friery who was born in Ireland in 1843, and died in New York in 1906. He came to America about 1856, and eventually settled at 317 E. 46th St. He earned his living as a laborer. He enlisted in the Irish Brigade's 88th Regiment, Company A., on November 1, 1861, for three years, and was honorably discharged June 30, 1865. Years later he filed for (and received) a pension and gave his deposition to a notary public, then signed it with an "X". It is typical of the document type found.

The wound in my right elbow, which was a shell wound, was received in a charge on Mary's [sic] heights during the Battle of Fredericksburg . . . it was in this same charge that I received the gunshot wound in my arm for which I have been . . . pensioned. The reason that I made no mention of the elbow wound in my original declaration was through ignorance of the fact that two wounds would entitle me to a larger pension than what one wound would.⁸²

He married Ann Clark July 23, 1865, at St. Gabriel's Roman Catholic Church, and they had four children. John was born March 1, 1870; Mary, April 1, 1872; James, January 7, 1875; and William, January 7, 1877.

A Department of Taxes and Assessments letter of February 11, 1907 did not find either Ann or Lawrence Friery's names "as having been assessed for personal property" in the borough of Manhattan. A \$250 insurance policy paid his funeral expenses when he died of congestive heart failure in 1906.⁸³

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER III

¹ See Adrian Cook, Armies of the Street (Lexington, 1974), Appendix III; of the 443 arrested, about 50% had Irish-Catholic last names.

² The Irish Brigade's military history is based on The Irish American for May 9, 30 of 1863; June 6 and 27, 1863; January 2, 1864; January 9, 1864; January 16, 1864; January 23, 1864, January 30, 1864; February 6, 1864; March 5 and 12, 1864; April 16, 1864; May 28, 1864; September 7, 1864; September 24, 1864; December 11, 1864; February 11, 1865; May 13, 1865; July 5, 15 and 30, 1865. For the movements of the Irish Brigade and accounts of it on specific battles, see The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Washington, D.C., GPO, 1890; Frederick Phisterer, New York in the War of the Rebellion (Albany, N.Y., 1912), 5 Vols. and index; Monuments Commission. The Final Report on the Battlefield of Gettysburg (Albany, N.Y., 1902); George B. McClellan, McClellan's Own Story (New York, 1887); Ulysses S. Grant, Personal Memoirs (New York, 1982); David P. Conyngham, The Irish Brigade and Its Campaigns (New York, 1867); Rev. William Corby, Memoirs of Chaplain Life (Chicago, 1893); and Patrick D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment in the Irish Brigade, 1861 to 1865 (New York, 1986), pp. 248-381; Battle Cry of Freedom (New York, 1988), by James M. McPherson, pp. 626-665.

³ See Jay Luvaas and Harold W. Nelson, The U.S. Army War College Guide to the Battle of Gettysburg (Carlisle, Penn., 1986), p. 217, and pp. 1-215 for the summary of the battle from commanders present, excerpted from The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901); Harry W. Pfanz, Gettysburg: The Second Day (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987), p. 75, pp. 265-302.

⁴ See Harry W. Pfanz, Gettysburg: The Second Day, p. 75.

⁵ See O. R., XXVII, Part 2, pp. 317-19, Report of General R. E. Lee, CSA, commanding the Army of Northern Virginia.

⁶ Rev. William Corby, Memoirs, pp. 182-183.

⁷ For the quote above see Pennsylvania at Gettysburg 2:623-624; notes of a conversation with Col. Mulholland, n.d., John B. Batchelder Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, NH; as quoted in H. W. Pfanz, Gettysburg: The Second Day, pp. 268-269.

⁸ See Florence Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish Toward State and National Affairs, 1848-1892 (New York, 1951), p. 162. Gibson stated that:

"Officials of the United States government encouraged individual Irish-Americans to recruit their fellow countrymen with the plea that the training received in the Union Army was exactly what they needed in preparation for that great day when they should free the homeland ... That our federal officials sympathized with this activity seems unquestionable."

⁹ H. W. Pfanz, Gettysburg: The Second Day, p. 270.

¹⁰ See Richard Wheeler's Witness to Gettysburg (New York, 1987), pp. 202-203, in which he quotes Mulholland.

¹¹ H. W. Pfanz, Gettysburg: The Second Day, p. 288.

¹² Ibid., p. 289.

¹³ See New York at Gettysburg, 2:483.

¹⁴ See James McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, pp. 637; William Corby, Memoirs of Chaplain Life, p. 212.

¹⁵ The factual account regarding the riot is summarized from Adrian Cook's The Armies of the Street (Lexington, 1974). There is a vast literature showing the poverty of the Irish and the squalid conditions in which they lived. Charles Dickens and Jacob Riis gave the most vivid accounts. James McCague in The Second Rebellion: The Story of the New York City Draft Riots of 1863 (New York, 1968), summarizes the poverty situation. Five points was the Irish ghetto, and was located at Mulberry near where Columbus Park is today. Charles Loring Brace's The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them (New York, 1872), p. 27, notes how the dangerous classes are mostly Irish and are "far more brutal than the peasantry from which they descended, and are much banded together in associations, such as 'Dead Rabbit,' 'Plug-ugly,' and various target companies. The murder of an old man is nothing to them. They are ready for any crime, however depraved or bloody. New York has never experienced the full effect of the nature of these youthful ruffians as she will one day." Ruffians plus economic bad times equaled trouble.

Adrian Cook (p. 50) points out that "Inflation was rampant, and wages failed to keep up with rocketing prices. By July 1863 retail prices had risen 43% since 1860, while wages had only gone up 12%. The northern worker found his standard of living drastically lowered, and a rash of strikes broke out. In New York City everyone from

longshoremen to barbers, from tailors to leatherworkers, from shipwrights to journeymen coopers, demanded higher wages. Also see Iver Bernstein, The New York Draft Riots (New York, 1990), for a Marxist account.

¹⁶ Florence Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish Toward State and National Affairs, 1848-1892 (New York, 1951). See also the New York Daily News, July 11, 13, 1863. The following table from Gibson shows (p. 159) "that the quotas of the Democratic districts of the city were disproportionately large was found to be true, as a study of the following figures will show" and that Democratic districts were hard hit by the draft: Statement of Population, Draft Numbers, Voters, etc.

<u>Congressional District</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Draft</u>	<u>Vote of 1862</u>
29th	114,556	1,767	20,097
17th	111,526	1,838	17,882
23rd	116,980	2,088	17,882
28th	129,365	2,015	22,535
15th	132,232	2,260	21,026
27th	135,488	2,416	23,165
30th	141,971	2,539	25,601

New York and Brooklyn Districts:

3	132,242	2,697	16,421
2	151,951	4,146	15,967
6	117,148	4,538	12,777
8	175,998	4,892	15,195
4	131,854	5,881	12,363

¹⁷ Cook's account (pp. 158-209) appears to be the most accurate. I have done archive work with Maurice Cobb at the New York City Municipal Archives and Cook's figures seem reasonable. David M. Barnes in The Draft Riots in New York, July, 1863, based his study on a series of articles he wrote for the Times in July, 1863. Joel Tyler Headley in the Great Riots of New York, 1712-1873 (New York, 1873), is a nativist and has an ax to grind as does George Washington Walling, a police officer who saw riot duty and was interested in glorifying himself and his men in Recollections of a New York Chief of Police (New York, 1887).

Bernstein's argument in The New York Draft Riots (New York, 1990) has been labeled "obscure" by James McPherson in The New York Review of Books for September 13, 1990, p. 34. Certainly basic mob behavior is a better basis of explanation for the riots than class-consciousness; ethnic and racial hatreds more

realistic than rational attacks by savvy workers on Republican industrialists. A typical Marxist interpretation, Bernstein's study explains the riot in terms of (naturally) economic determinism, class consciousness, and oppressor vs. oppressed. In fact, however, the slogan "rich man's war but poor man's fight" was untrue.

In the context of the Civil War draft, also see Peter Levine's "Draft Evasion in the North During the Civil War, 1863-1865" in The Journal of American History, Vol. 67, No. 4 (March, 1981), pp. 816-834. See p. 830 for the summary of modernization studies in the Civil War.

¹⁸ The following material is summarized from Florence Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish, pp. 131-159.

¹⁹ See Adrian Cook who claims that black workers were continually displaced by immigrants. Also see Emerson D. Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War (New York, 1910), p. 189.

²⁰ See Charles B. Barnes, The Longshoremen (New York, 1915), p. 5. Also see Albon P. Man, Jr., "Labor Competition and the New York Draft Riots of 1863" in The Journal of Negro History, Vol. 36, 1961, pp. 375-405. According to Cook, only three longshoremen were arrested in the July, 1863 draft riots, and he says that longshoremen were not in the vanguard. Considering how few people were arrested, and how in riots as in fishing the big ones always get away, Cook's conclusion needs to be examined further, especially in light of the Report of the Committee of Merchants for the Relief of Colored People, Suffering from the Late Riots in the City of New York (New York, 1863) which mentions of the 2,450 blacks relieved, their occupations were: 1,267 laborers and longshoremen, 177 whitewashers, 176 drivers for cartmen, 250 waiters, 124 porters, 97 sailors, 72 coachmen, 45 cooks, 37 barbers, 34 chimney sweepers, 25 tradesmen, 20 butchers, 11 preachers, etc.

²¹ See Chapter II of this paper.

²² Proceedings of the Great Inaugural Mass Meeting of the Loyal National League in Syracuse, N.Y., April 11, 1863, p. 31.

²³ See S. D. Brummer, Political History of the State of New York During the Period of the Civil War (New York, 1911), pp. 72-82.

²⁴ Thomas A. Emmet, Incidents of My Life: Professional-Literary-Social with Services in the Cause of Ireland (New York, 1911), p. 87.

²⁵ Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Fremantle, Three Months in the Southern States: April-June, 1863 (New York, 1864), pp. 298-302.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Notes Cook on pp. 50-51: "Against this background of defeat and unrest, the Lincoln administration proposed the first federal conscription bill in the nation's history. All male American citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five were ordered by this bill to be enrolled in two classes. The first was composed of single men between twenty and forty-five and married men from twenty to thirty-five; the second included married men between thirty-five and forty-five. The second class was not to be called up until all the men in the first class had been drafted or exempted. Exemption was granted for a number of reasons--mental or physical disability, or proof that a drafted man was the sole support of aged or widowed parents or of orphaned children. A draftee could also escape service by providing a substitute or by paying a three hundred dollar commutation fee."

²⁸ Monday's account of the riot follows Cook's version. All Cook did was to infuse William O. Stoddard's The Volcano Under the City (New York, 1872), with other similar summaries (Barnes, Walling, etc.) with grand jury testimony and trial records from Manhattan's Criminal Court Building; see Cook, p. 71.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 81.

³⁰ Diary of George Templeton Strong, July 13, 1865, Columbia Library.

³¹ Ellen Leonard, "Three Days Reign of Terror" in Harper's Magazine (New York, June, 1867), p. 3; see Adrian Cook, Armies of the Street, pp. 71-91.

^{31A} This paragraph and the next six are summarized from Cook, pp. 71-91.

^{31B} See Herman Melville, "The House-top. A Night Piece," July, 1863, from Battle Pieces and Aspects of the War (Gainesville, Fla., 1960), pp. 86-87, as quoted in Adrian Cook, Armies of the Street (Lexington, 1974). The riot atmosphere is best captured by an eyewitness, Herman Melville.

No sleep. The sultriness pervades the air
 And binds the brain--a sense oppression, such
 As tawny tigers feel in matted shades,
 Vexing their blood and making apt for ravage.
 Beneath the stars the roofoo desert spreads
 Vacant as Libya. All is hushed near by.

Yet fitfully from far breaks a mixed surf
 Of muffled sound, the Atheist roar of riot.
 Yonder, where parching Sirius sets in drought,
 Balefully glares red Arson-there-and there.

³² Quoted in James McCague, The Second Rebellion (New York, 1968), p. 130. The account of Wednesday's 9 a.m. battle is summarized from McCague.

³³ Summarized from Cook, pp. 140-143.

³⁴ Quoted from Stoddard, pp. 289-290.

³⁵ See Thomas F. Meehan, "Archbishop Hughes and the Draft Riots" in the U. S. Catholic Historical Society's Historical Records and Studies, Vol. 1, Part II, January, 1900.

^{35A} See James McPherson, "Civil War" in The New York Review of Books, 37 (September 13, 1990), 33-34; and McPherson's Battle Cry of Freedom, pp. 606-610.

^{35B} Ibid., p. 742.

^{35C} See William Corby, Memoirs of Chaplain Life, p. 213.

³⁶ See the New York Times, January 5, 1864.

³⁷ The Irish American, January 9, 1864.

³⁸ See the New York Times, January 14, 1864; also, see David P. Conyngham, The Irish Brigade (1867), pp. 424-444 or Chapter XX.

³⁹ See the New York Times, January 7, 1864.

^{39A} See the Pension File of Private John Gorman, 63rd Regiment of New York Infantry, National Archives.

⁴⁰ Ibid., January 14, 1864; Irish American, January 9, 1864.

^{40A} See David Conyngham, The Irish Brigade, pp. 426-427.

⁴¹ In the report of the banquet, see the New York Times, January 17, 1864; for locations see J. Miller's, Miller's New York As It Is (New York, 1866), p. 68.

⁴² The New York Times, January 17, 1864.

⁴³ Ibid., and David Conyngham, The Irish Brigade, p. 428.

⁴⁴ See The Irish American, January 23, 1864 and February 6, 1864.

⁴⁵ Ibid., January 30, 1864.

⁴⁶ See the New York Times, January 30, 1864.

⁴⁷ The New York Times, February 8, 1864.

⁴⁸ Ibid., February 27, 1864.

⁴⁹ Ibid., March 6, 1864.

⁵⁰ Ibid., March 8, 1864.

⁵¹ Ibid., March 8, 1864.

⁵² Ibid., March 8, 1864.

⁵³ See the New York Times, March 30, 1864.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ See R. F. Dupuy and T. N. Dupuy, The Encyclopedia of Military History (New York, 1977), pp. 891-904; D. P. Conyngham, The Irish Brigade and Its Campaigns (New York, 1867), pp. 442-529; James McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, pp. 725-852; P. D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment in the Irish Brigade, 1861-1865, pp. 248-381; Rev. William Corby, Memoirs of Chaplain Life (Chicago, 1893), pp. 213-391; War of the Rebellion. Official Reports of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, 1880-1901), see Series 1, Vol. 36, Part 1, p. 370 (report of Colonel Smyth); Series 1, Vol. 36, Part 1, pp. 321, 906, 927-27, 942, 1070; Series 1, Vol. 40, Part 2, pp. 660 and 690; Series 1, Vol. 40, Part 1, p. 328, p. 368; Series 1, Vol. 42, Part 1, pp. 255-257; and The Irish American, May 28, 1864; September 7, 1864; September 24, 1864; December 11, 1864; February 11, 1865; July 15 and 30, 1865.

⁵⁶ P. D. O'Flaherty, History, p. 345.

⁵⁷ William Corby, Memoirs, pp. 264-265.

⁵⁸ D. P. Conyngham, Irish Brigade, p. 483.

⁵⁹ William Corby, Memoirs, p. 265.

⁶⁰ D. P. Conyngham, Irish Brigade, p. 486.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² William Corby, Memoirs, p. 265.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 267-268; D. P. Conyngham, Irish Brigade, pp. 482-489.

⁶⁴ P. D. O'Flaherty, History, p. 358; War of the Rebellion, Series 1, Vol. 42 Part 1, p. 255 (Report of Gen. Nelson A. Miles); p. 257, Report of Lt. Murphy of the 69th; p. 256, Report of Col. McDowal).

⁶⁵ See Dupuys' Encyclopedia, p. 897.

⁶⁶ See D. P. Conyngham, History, p. 520.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 523-524.

⁶⁸ P. D. O'Flaherty, History, p. 379; The Irish American, May 13, 1865.

⁶⁹ The Irish American, July 15, 1865.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² James McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, p. 606.

⁷³ W. F. Adam's Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine (New York, 1967); George Potter, To the Golden Door: The Story of the Irish in Ireland and America (Boston, 1960); T. N. Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, 1870-1890 (Philadelphia, 1966); Brinley Thomas, Migration and Economic Growth (New York, 1976); Terry Coleman, Passage to America (London, 1972).

⁷⁴ Ibid.; see Peter Karsten's "Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792-1922: Suborned or Subordinate?" Davis Center Seminar (Nov. 12, 1982), unpublished paper. Regarding the thesis of a study by sociologist Michael Hechter, the possibility

of internal colonialism is suggested. In his study entitled *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536-1966* (London, 1975), he uses the model of a core-periphery relationship with England as the industrial core to discuss the persistence of ethnicity in the Celtic fringe of Great Britain and Ireland. He emphasized the cultural division of labor and regional economic inequalities as the main causes for the persistence of ethnicity. Perhaps the reason for high Brigade casualties, however, can be found in the *Attack and Die* thesis argued by Grady McWhiney and Perry Jamieson (Tuscaloosa, 1982)--the idea of atavistic Celtic culture joined with advanced technology for efficient killing, especially when attacking heavily fortified positions.

⁷⁵ The paragraphs dealing with Civil War enrollment are based on James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, pp. 322-330; pp. 430, 485, 491-493; p. 592; pp. 600-609; and on Eugene Murdock's two books--*Patriotism Limited* (Kent, 1967); and *One Million Men* (Madison, 1971), pp. 3-177; Peter Levine, "Draft Evasion in the North During the Civil War, 1862-1865" in *the Journal of American History*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (March, 1981), pp. 816-834.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, especially James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, pp. 322-330.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 605.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 605. To summarize the bounty story at this point is appropriate. In May of 1861, the first Federal Bounty by the War Department gave the soldier \$100 for a three year enlistment. In May of 1862, reenlisting veterans got \$300 more. In July of 1862, Lincoln's call for 300,000 new volunteers (The Militia Act) compelled states to upgrade militia or the War Department would draft troops. Governor Morgan of New York was prompted at this time to propose a New York State bounty which the state legislature approved in February of 1863; \$50 was the amount. In March of 1863, the Federal government enacted the Enrollment Act whereby one could legally evade the draft by: (1) paying a commutation fee of \$300 (this was repealed in July, 1864); or (2) the draftee could get a substitute for \$300 but this price rose after the end of commutation in July, 1864. In April, 1863, New York raised its bounty to \$75 for a full three years of enlistment if half of the money went to dependents. Also in April, 1863, soldiers who reenlisted for one year received \$50; for two years, \$150. In April, 1864, the Federal government ended the \$300 amount of the bonus payment which, instead, became \$100. In July, 1864, the Congress restored the \$300 Federal Bounty as follows: an enlistment of one year earned \$100; two years, \$200; three years, \$300. In February 1865, New York State paid \$250 to draftees, but \$300 for one year enlistment; \$400 for a two years; \$600 for three years.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 606-607. Other fine scholars have criticized Irish behavior in the Civil War era, suggesting that they were unpatriotic (McPherson, Cook, Bernstein); or, that the patriotism came from an unhealthy neediness--the result of the misery and loneliness experienced while lost in an alien urban culture with its modernization forces at work (Eric Foner, T. N. Brown); that Irish tradition failed the Irish altogether, and they perished by the hundreds, anonymously (Kerby Miller).

⁸⁰ James McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, p. 485.

⁸¹ See Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson, Attack and Die (Tuscaloosa, 1982), pp. 181-184.

⁸² The Pension File of Lawrence Friery, Company A, 88th Regiment of New York Infantry, Archives of the United States of America.

⁸³ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

Peasants, Patriots, Irish-Americans: Pension and Family

I have no trade--never had any--always been a laboring man. In the last eight or nine years I have put in coal or planted sod, or worked in gardens and did such other little jobs of work that I could get. I have had no steady work for he last ten years. During this time I have sometimes received one dollar a day, at other times perhaps not more than twenty-five cents. Never kept any account of my earnings, but can safely say that my earnings for the last eight or ten years have not averaged more than \$2.50 or three dollars a week. When my son entered the army, I lived on 35th St. between 1 and 2 Ave.--don't know the number. McMahon was the name of the landlord. Lived there about six or 7 years. I paid at first four dollars a month rent and when I left there about 1868 paid him eight and a half (\$8.50) dollars rent per month. My wife never earned fifty dollars altogether while she was in this country. As long as I was able to work I would not ask her aid.

Signed,

X [Patrick Finn]
from *The Pension File of Michael
Finn, 1877*, National Archives,
Washington, D.C.

Between 1861 and 1899 Congress passed 6,791 Civil War Pension Acts.¹ Theda Skocpol demonstrated the pension's central role in American social policy formation in general; and the significance of pension receipt in particular as a way of honoring veterans and their families for having successfully defended the Union. For their sacrifices these brave soldiers were not only entitled to belong, but to live lives free from want--honorable and decent lives. The prominent position of the Civil War pension in American life suggests several questions. First, what is the history of important Civil War pension legislation? Second, how might one arrive at a method

for measuring how well New York Irish Brigade recruits and their families fared financially under the pension system? Third, having arrived at a standard of living model, how might that model be used with pension file data to shed light on the assimilation process of these Irish people into American society? Fourth, as the result of the type and timing of the pension award, what process unfolds as the Federal pension bureaucracy "red tape" glued the Brigade families into the American social structure? In a long process that encompassed and confirmed the sense veterans had of entitlement to be Americans, the Federal government showed its enormous gratitude by making substantial pension payments. Contrary to what the nativists said, the Irish Brigade soldiers and their families who received the pension were not only respectable (i.e., could achieve upward social mobility); they were respected. Even if circumstances precluded the family from achieving a minimum standard of living, receipt of a Civil War pension certified them as American--however uncertain their place in the social structure might be. Specifically, who got the money in the aggregate concludes this chapter, and throws light on exactly how much service in the Irish Brigade was worth. This chapter analyzes the impact of the pension on the families of the New York regiments of the Irish Brigade. Several "typical" families will have their history told from the pension file contents in order to keep quantitative history human; and to show the unfolding of the pension process and its impact on the family which sought inclusion, respectability, and a decent living standard.

The brief history of the dozen or so significant Civil War Pension Acts has a major theme of generosity, and of benefits and eligibility liberalization. The Act of July 22, 1861 granted a pension to volunteers as well as to regular army soldiers if they were "wounded or disabled while in the service" and "the widow, if there be one, and if not, the legal heirs of such as die, or may be killed in service, in addition to all arrears of pay and allowances, shall receive the sum of one hundred dollars." ²

About one year later, President Lincoln signed another more liberal ³ pension bill into law on July 14, 1862. All who served the Union were covered. If a soldier was wounded or contracted a disease while in the service, then a pension was awarded provided there were "no vicious habits" such as alcoholic drinking. If the soldier died, then his pension went to the next of kin--the widow, or the children, until the widow remarried or the children reached age sixteen. Others dependent upon the soldier for support could claim a pension, *viz.*, mothers and orphans' sisters. The amount of pension all of these applicants would receive was equal to that to which the soldier would have been entitled had he been totally disabled. Only one pension at a time could be granted to a mother or a sister, and the remarriage of the mother and the reaching of the sixteenth birthday for the sister disqualified each from continuing to receive the pension. Provided the application for pension by the soldier was made within a year of discharge, the commencement date for the award was to be the discharge date of the soldier, or, if appropriate, the date of the soldier's death.

Otherwise, were the pension application not filed in this first year, such pension, if granted, would commence on the day on which the application was filed.

A third important Pension Act was passed in 1864. Dealing mainly with administrative details, a Commissioner of Pensions appointed surgeon would perform the medical examinations of claimants. The pensioner would eventually be refunded the medical examination fee, and would not be required to travel great distances to file for a pension. Pension Notaries, appointed by the Commissioner of Pensions, could handle the initial filing. Additionally, a standard disability rate system replaced a rather random one which had rested mainly on the surgeon's evaluation and recommendation. Three classes of injuries were established with the first class receiving twenty dollars per month, and the second and third class receiving twenty-five dollars per month. ⁴

A fourth important Pension Act was passed on March 3, 1865. One provision stated that government employees could not be double dippers (i.e., simultaneously collect government pay and a Civil War pension). Another provision amended the Act of 1862 regarding children of deceased pensioners so as to permit such children to receive the dead soldier's pension if the widow should die or remarry.

An important Act of June 6, 1866, delineated fourteen new disabilities as well as broadened the eligibility list to include male relatives of soldiers--fathers, and orphan brothers under age sixteen. Also, efforts were made to protect pensioners from unscrupulous lawyers and agents (see footnote 14) by requiring them to swear under

oath that they had no interest in the pension award in any form. The Act of 1866 also included specialized disability rates ⁵ (see Tables 1 and 2).

On January 25, 1879, a significant piece of legislation entitled the Arrears Act was passed. This Act repealed the section of an earlier law which deprived eligible persons of a pension award "unless their case was successfully prosecuted within five years from the date of its filing." ⁶ As a result of the passage of this Arrears Act, the annual number of applications filed for pensions increased to a number almost twice as large as the totals for any previous year since the war. ⁷

There were many unfortunate developments ⁸ in the evolution of the Civil War pension system. First, from beginning to end, the pension administration system was politicized due to competition for the soldiers' vote. As the lobbying pressure brought to bear on the relevant federal officials grew, so too did the size of the pension bureaucracy which more than doubled each decade after 1870. The liberality with which Congress awarded pensions steadily increased from 1861 to 1900. The Grand Army of the Republic's membership rolls grew to over 85,000 in 1881, and veterans applied direct pressure on candidates at the ballot box and indirect pressure through the media with the publication of their own newspaper, the *National Tribune*. Corruption and fraud grew as the nineteenth century wound down. All levels of the pension bureaucracy were vulnerable--from favorably disposed examining surgeons to corrupt anonymous claims agents. ⁹ Indeed, in the election campaign of 1884, the Commissioner of Pensions used the Pension Bureau staff to work on behalf of

Republican Party candidates. "Not only was he guilty of prosecuting the interests of that important bureau to partisan purposes, but the same charge could doubtless be made against the majority of those employed in the service." ¹⁰ That the Civil War pension system involved huge expenditures is obvious. ¹¹

In 1890, Congress passed the Disability Pension Act. ¹² As a result, ninety days or more of military service with an honorable discharge was the sole requirement for a soldier to be awarded a pension if the soldier was unable to earn a living by means of manual labor. He was entitled to a pension from \$6 to \$12 per month depending on how incapacitated the soldier was. His disability could not be the result of his own "vicious habits," such as the excessive drinking of alcohol. The disability could be either mental, then, or physical of a permanent character. Widows also gained as a result of the 1890 law in that now they were entitled to a pension of \$8 per month regardless of how the soldier died, so long as she had married him before June 27, 1890, and was dependent upon her daily labor for support. When a minor child was insane, idiotic, or otherwise permanently helpless, the Act of 1890 continued the pension during life or during the period of disability.

The evaluation of the 1890 Act by the Grand Army of the Republic Pension Committee was that it "was calculated to place upon the pension rolls 'all of the survivors of the war whose conditions of health are not practically perfect.'" ¹³ There were many widows who had been young children in 1865 and who had in their teens married older Civil War soldiers--probably for their pensions. As one scholar has

noted, the 1890 Act passed because "it was the high bid for the political support of the 450,000 G.A.R. men and other ex-soldiers, with both the Republican and the Democratic parties bidding." ¹⁴ The Republican Congress of 1890 won the G.A.R. vote.

Teddy Roosevelt's Executive Order #78 of April 13, 1904, further broadened the Act of 1890. Old age became a recognized infirmity, and with advancing years came a resulting increase of pensions: after 62, one was 50% less able to work manually and was entitled to \$6 per month; after 65, to \$8; after 68, to \$10; after 70, to \$12. A soldier was no longer required to prove disability, and, regardless of wealth, would qualify for a pension. ¹⁵

Pressured once again by G.A.R. members into adopting an even more liberal pension policy, Congress passed the Act of 1912, which President Taft signed into law on May 11, 1912. By virtue of this legislation, eligible soldiers included those who were at least 62 years old and had served at least ninety days in the Civil War. The monthly pension rate increased as one grew older and as one's period of Civil War service lengthened (see Table 3). ¹⁶

Throughout the decades after the end of the Civil War, the financing of the pensions was achieved by a protective tariff which, for the most part, produced a surplus in the federal treasury. ¹⁷ With the introduction of the income tax system just before World War I, protective tariff legislation was no longer an issue for Civil War veterans, since they were assured that funding for their pension would be there, but

from a different source.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the major scholar of pension legislation following the Civil War believed that the U.S. Treasury had been raided by pension legislation which was excessively generous. "Under the pension laws, imposition has often been easy and the fruits of dishonesty great. The provisions granting pensions for disabilities not of service origin have stimulated dependence among the veterans and tended to place the service of the citizen to the state upon too mercenary a basis."¹⁹

In 1890, one out of every seventy-seven people in the United States received a Civil War pension. It is easy to understand the growing liberality with which Congress awarded the pension. G.A.R. lobbyists, pension agents based in Washington, D.C., and Congress had a symbiotic relationship with the vast bureau of pensions bureaucracy. Keeping and even expanding the system seemed in everyone's interest. "Manufacturing and other interests, which desired the maintenance of a tariff or revenue system producing at times great treasury surpluses, have looked upon the pension system as a most satisfactory means of returning these embarrassing surpluses to general circulation among the people."²⁰

Having abstracted some of the more important post-Civil War pension legislation at the beginning of this chapter, a method to determine how well the Irish recruits who were privates in the Irish Brigade and their families fared under the pension system can now be explored. As pension laws became more liberal and generous near the end of the nineteenth century, did the receipt of a pension serve as a

means of the New York City Irish gaining respectability in American life? Even if pensioners were elderly and in poor health when they started receiving their pensions, their children would nonetheless inherit what was left of it and thereby enjoy a head start--an enhanced social and economic status in society. In the light of Kerby Miller's grim view of the Irish "situation" this is significant. Both respectability and survivability were at stake.

A two part standard of living model is used; part one is similar to Groneman's (see "Introduction"). Her principle of family strength or survivability has been used in the sense that families receiving pensions were grouped based on the degree to which the family was intact (type of pension awarded, when), amount of pension, over how many years. The second half of my method is to establish at the outset the standard of living for unpensioned workers in New York in the last half of the 19th century.

A conservative estimate of unpensioned workers' amount of time worked in New York was 180 days of work per annum.²¹ For wages, the \$1.00 per day in 1860 was used for "common laborers." The wage increase of common laborers "from the decade following 1850 to the close of the century was approximately 50 percent."²² The unskilled laborer is defined as the person "without education, technical training ... but his whole equipment consists only of a fair degree of physical strength and a certain measure of plodding patience."²³ In 1860 the wages for skilled workers in New York City was approximately \$1.60 per day (mostly in the building trades). The

Aldrich Report of *Wholesale Prices, Wages, and Transportation*, Part II, March 3, 1893, has the following breakdown: ²⁴

	Painters	Carpenters	Bricklayers	Blacksmiths
1863	\$2.00	\$2.00	\$2.50	No data
1865	\$3.50	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$2.31
1870	\$4.50	\$3.75	\$5.00	\$2.33
1875	\$3.50	\$3.50	\$3.00	\$2.02
1880	\$3.00	\$2.50	\$3.00	\$1.92
1885	\$3.00	\$3.25	\$4.00	\$1.73
1890	\$3.50	\$3.50	\$4.50	\$2.19

Wages arrived at in my calculations later in this chapter are from the *Aldrich Report*, too lengthy to duplicate here. For skilled or unskilled women workers no data was collected for unpensioned workers in New York because of insufficient pension file occupational data on women available with which to make a comparison. Generally, though, women made one-third to one-half less than men. ²⁵ As to rent, a four room tenement in New York City in 1860-61 rented for \$50 per year, and a six room tenement for \$69. Accordingly, I have assumed rent of \$60 per year for the 1870-90 period. ²⁶ This is appropriate because "rents continued rising until 1872 when they ... joined the general decline." ²⁷ A standard of living model for unpensioned workers living in New York City from 1860-1890 for rent and wages is now completed except for food.

Edgar Martin's estimate is that at about 1860 "the typical working-class family ... spent ... half its income for food, probably at least a fourth for shelter, and most of

the rest for clothing." Thus, a vertical scale of the cost of living for the unpensioned working class family of four living in New York in about 1885 would be as follows: ²⁸

Rent = \$60 per year
Clothing = \$60 per year
Food = \$120 per year
Total = \$240 per year

This chapter, then, deals with the standard of living ²⁹ of the Irish Brigade recruits ³⁰ and their families in New York City. ³¹

The data are best analyzed by the grouping of various categories of pensioners. Group I includes those who received a pension prior to the Act of 1890, which Act essentially granted pensions to virtually all Civil War soldiers who had served at least ninety days, and to their dependents. Group II includes those who received a pension before and continued after 1890. Group III is comprised of post-1890 pensioners. Those included in Group IV either were denied a pension, or the amount of the pension could not be determined. Out of approximately 260 applications for pensions from all three New York Regiments, 200 were awarded. Fifty pensions were awarded before 1890. This comprises about twenty-five percent of all privates in our sample. Ninety-three pensions were awarded before and continued after 1890, or about forty-eight percent of our sample. Fifty-four pensions were awarded after 1890, or about twenty-seven percent of the 200 soldiers surveyed.

Within most Groups are tiers, based on the type of pension awarded. Group I has ten tiers (Tables 1.1-1.10); Group II, seven (Tables 2.1-2.7); Group III, six (Tables 3.1-3.6); Group IV, none (Table 4). Table numbers from 1.1-3.6 correspond to group and tier numbers, and will be used instead of repeating the word "tier" *ad infinitum*. The lower the tier number, the greater are the chances that the family was intact. That is to say, the various tiers of the Groups I-III reflect the degree to which the family was intact. For example, soldiers found in Table 1.1 are from Group I, tier 1, received a pension prior to 1890, and had the family intact.

In evaluating the financial data of each of the soldiers, questions emerge. First, what was the amount of the pension awarded? Second, over how many years was the award received? Third, was there a wage earner in the household whose yearly salary could be computed? Fourth, with the previously discussed standard of living gauge of \$240 for a family of four in 1885, were the soldiers' families able to achieve this standard of living with the help of the pension?

Before analyzing the standard of living issue in financial terms, it is important to note that any person who received a pension before the 1890 liberalization law came into effect was by definition a person who had no "vicious habits," that is, they were not alcoholics or criminals, but were respectable. Witnesses had to swear under oath that the pension applicant was thus of sound moral character after verifying the length of time the applicant had been known and under what circumstances. Various legal

documents and depositions required by the Pension Bureau in Washington connected the Irish Brigade with the federal government bureaucracy--with America.³³

What does analysis of research reveal about the pre-1890 Group I pensioners shown in Tables 1.1-1.10? All families were respectable by virtue of their receipt of the pension under stringent pre-1890 requirements; all had honorably served their new country. They had not been deserters, and they had no "vicious habits" such as drunkenness. Moreover, with each new application for a pension, new questionnaires and affidavits had to be submitted to the Bureau of Pensions attesting to the "no vicious habits" clause. Each document drew the soldier and the family members into a bureaucratic process--into American society. Regarding the meeting of the standard of living issue, the following facts emerge from each table. From Table 1.1's fourteen families, six had an income from all sources to meet the standard of living (and have the chance for upward social mobility), and eight families had substandard incomes. The five soldiers, then their widows (specifically #38, #162, #172, #181, and #248) in Table 1.2 had an income which met the standard of living. For families of soldiers #155 and #197 in Table 1.3, a marginal existence must have resulted; both fell below the \$240 per year level. Only one soldier's award (#72) together with that of a child's comprised Table 1.4. With both parents dead by 1867, court appointed guardian Richard Shea had filed bonds with the New York Surrogates Court in New York County of \$1,200 for James Dalton and \$2,400 for his sister Mary Ann. Earlier, their father, Michael, had filed an application for an invalid pension on May 9, 1865 which

was paid until January 16, 1867. The total amount of the pension paid to the Daltons was \$1,680.00, eighty percent or more of it in the form of two minors' pensions which James Dalton and Mary Ann Dalton received until they were sixteen years old (until 1872 for James and 1878 for Mary Ann) after which time they were legally provided for by Mr. Shea. Their financial status seemed secure.

Seven widows and their children (of soldiers #49, 65, 71, 82, 114, 117, and 143) found in Table 1.5 seem to present a grim picture. First, virtually all of the soldiers were either killed in action or died as the direct result of wounds received in battle soon after being wounded. Secondly, family sizes appear to be four per family after the death of the soldier--a number higher than in previous tables. Analysis reveals that of the seven families researched, pensions supported families #49, #65, #71, and #114 for an amount greater than the \$240 figure, but not families #82, #117, and #143.

Pension awards to widows, children, and guardians before the liberalization Act of 1890 includes the dependents of soldiers #131, 134 and 175. Research compiled in Table 1.6 shows that all were financially secure with the help of court-appointed guardians' wages and the pension award.

Awards for widows only of soldiers #15, 16, 17, 50, 187 and 216 appear in Table 1.7. Widowed by the war, one would therefore expect that their standard of living would be the lowest--dependent as they probably were on the support of their husband's labor. Of these six families, then, research does not support the notion that

they met the minimum standard of living, but even so, soldier #15's wife survived on her pension.

Table 1.8 includes pensions for the children of soldiers #111, #161, #213 and #249 (Patrick Carr, Martin Doran, Roger Maloney, and Patrick McCafferty). With the help of court appointed guardians and pension awards, all passed the respectability test and met the standard of living figure.³⁴

Soldiers #33 and #129 (see Table 1.9) were two of the four unmarried soldiers in this dissertation, and died early in the war. Patrick Brady's mother received \$96 per year, 1861-65. Patrick Reilly's mother received the same amount from 1862-84. Patrick had assisted in supporting the family. He paid \$5 monthly to his family. His parents made ends meet with the \$96 per year in pension plus their own labor.³⁵

The last soldier in Group I is (#185) Jeremiah Healy. He died in battle at the Wilderness in 1864, age 35. His wife Ellen, also a native of Ireland, died of exhaustion at the lunatic asylum, May 20, 1865. They had married in 1853, and resided at 63 Park Street, New York. A daughter named Honora, born in 1856, received a minor child's pension for eight years, 5 months at \$96/year, 1864-72, for \$808. Honora had thus been given a respectable label as recipient of a pension; data is too spotty to comment more on the standard of living issue.

What does analysis of the research reveal (see Tables 2.1-2.7) about the standard of living of Group II soldiers' families who received a pension before 1890 that was carried over or continued after 1890? In Table 2.1, seven families had the \$240 per

year with which to meet the minimum standard of living. One family (#74) received less than \$96 per year. Seven families received \$96 per year or more which paid the rent and each of the seven earned at least \$180 per year in wages, so the minimum standard of living was met for them. Only one of eight soldiers died before age sixty. All families' yearly pension amounts increased over time perhaps compensating for poorer health and less ability to work as one grew older. As far as any special limitations on one of these families due to a health problem or otherwise, the pension files point out no debilitating problems for the soldier until late in his life but for John Powell (#205) and Edward Hamilton (#206).³⁶ Summing up the findings of research for this first tier of Group II, given all variables of ability to work, yearly amount of pension, and length of life, seven out of eight families met the \$240 per year figure.

Turning now to Table 2.2, there were 42 families who received both a soldier's and a widow's pension before 1890, continued after. Research shows that twenty-four families met the standard of living criteria, and eighteen did not.

Data for the soldiers of families #107, #109, #135, #137, #151, #160, #168, #178, #188, #199, #259, their widows and children are found in Table 2.3. Analysis reveals that seven families met the standard of living criteria, and four did not.

Analysis provides the following facts regarding the recording secretary of the Irish Brigade (soldiers #152), shown in Table 2.4. With an income of \$300 in salary per year plus at least \$48 extra in pension, he was able to support his family of five. The file provides no information on causes of death for the wife or children, but does

indicate that the soldier could walk and work. That he lived to be age 75 shows that he was not sickly.

Soldiers in Table 2.5 did not receive a pension, but their wives and children did. Two families (#115 and #261) were at or above the standard of living for the last two decades of the 19th century, and fifteen fell below (#21, #121, #138, #191, #232, #260, and #156, #158, #167, #195, #214, 230, 231, 242, and 243).³⁷ The story of destitute devious soldier #167 named Daniel Doyle (the last in Group II, tier 5) was the only one of its type found.³⁸

Table 2.6 data shows that only the family of Michael Judge and Catherine Bennett received an award. The soldier served for three years, and was discharged in 1864. Wounded by a gunshot to the side of the head, he was still able to work. They married in 1875, had two children, but only the boy Charles lived. The soldier received a pension for sixteen years and seven months, for a total of \$1,592. He did not see this money in his lifetime, because he filed for it in 1879, and was dead soon after. It was paid in arrears to his widow. His widow received \$96 per year for only one year (1882) because she remarried. But the minor child of the remarried widow received \$96 per year, 1882-92. The remarried widow received \$12.00 in 1917; \$300 from 1917-1920; and \$360 in the last year of her life. The soldier had had a small store selling oysters. He was unreliable. According to his widow, he could not manage the store, and she did all of the work. "His mind was not right." Nevertheless, when the widow received his pension payment after his death in 1882, she and her

son and her new husband had almost \$1,600 with which to live. That, plus other pension moneys, put them over the \$240 standard of living figure. And pension receipt meant respectability status as far as the U.S. Government was concerned.

The data on the last segment of Group II soldiers is found in Table 2.7. Nine soldiers' widows received a pension including #19, #41, #45, #52, #88, #150, #176, #221 and #224. Table 2.7 shows that five either met the standard of living for a family of four or had enough to meet the needs of fewer, and four did not fare well. Two families (#19 and #221) earned money from pensions and work which put them over the \$240 amount needed for a family of four. The three widows (#150, #176, #224) could have gotten by on the \$96 per year pension money since they had no children to feed. Life would have been difficult for widows with children, #41, #45, #52, and #88. Still, the pension probably let them survive.

Group III includes seven types of pensions awarded after 1890. In Table 3.1, eight soldiers received a pension: #1, #13, #26, #27, #68, #92, #126, #165. While only two out of our eight families surveyed were over the \$240 standard of living figure (for a family of four), smaller families (#13, #26, #27) got by due to receipt of pension when the soldiers working life had ended.

Table 3.2 lists fifteen families who received a soldier's pension and a widow's pension after 1890. The standard of living for this group was for the most part above the \$240 ceiling for all but four of fourteen families. And those four had no children to support. Pensions provided relief for all when they could no longer work.³⁹

There are five families which comprise Group III, tier 3. The Desmonds, the Gleasons, the Ferris's, and the Murphys received soldiers, widows, and children's pensions after 1890. All four families' financial profile and history shows that survival without the pension late in life would have been difficult. With it, they all met the standard of living figure.

All the families of Table 3.4 (#171, #183, #237, and #262) earned amounts in excess of the benchmark standard of living. When the soldier died, pension awards sustained the mothers and children.

Only one soldier makes up Group III, tier 5, Peter McGrath, as shown in Table 3.5. The soldier was a drummer boy at age 13 for Company G, 69th Regiment of New York Infantry. He drummed at the Battle of Fair Oaks. After the war, he earned about \$360 per year as a longshoreman, and his wife earned \$90 per year as a domestic. The \$450 income positioned them to support the three children who, when both parents died about the same year, received pensions under supervision of a guardian, also pensioned. These moneys enabled them to meet the standard of living figure.

Twenty-one families are included in Table 3.6. All families were recipients of a widow's pension after 1890. Out of twenty-one families surveyed, nine had a standard of living higher than required, and eleven fell below the \$240 figure per year. But survival for the widows in all twenty-one cases was made possible by receipt of the Civil War pension.

What kept Irish Brigade families from receiving a Civil War pension? The data for Group IV is found in Table 4. Several patterns emerge from the data in terms of reasons why Irish Brigade pension applicants were rejected.

The first discernible pattern as to why a pension was not awarded was because of lack of evidence of one of the required legal documents. Of Group IV pension applicants, #3, #28, #32, #48, #95, #104, #112, #120, #122, #145, #193, and #209 filed for a pension but failed to include a crucial document. Out of the 58 families of Group IV for whom no known award amount was received, this constitutes 21%.

The second pattern emerging from Table 4 accounts for those who did not receive a known pension amount due to being ineligible. This includes deserters (3), those who served less than 90 days and those who had an illness not the result of military service. Soldiers #51, #55, #58, #59, #94, #144, #154, #203, #240, and #246 fall into this category and comprise 17% of Group IV.

The third pattern discerned includes soldiers who received no known amount of pension award due to lack of information in the pension file itself. In this category one finds soldiers #60, #62, #198, or 5% of our sample.

The remaining category includes those who received a pension award, but of an uncertain amount. They were soldiers #2, #7, #9, #10, #20, #22, #23, #25, #36, #42, #66, #70, #76, #77, #79, #87, #89, #90, #91, #93, #119, #130, #132, #141, #233, #212, #229, #233, #236, #238, #244, #245, or about 55% of Group IV pension

applicants. In a way, the story of Michael Finn (soldier #18) and his family are typical of this last segment.

Michael Finn ⁴⁰ was born December 20, 1841, in Kings County, Ireland. He came to America in 1846 and later enlisted in Company A, 88th New York Infantry Regiment, as a private. He was wounded at Antietam on September 17, 1862, and died shortly afterwards on October 9, 1862. His father, Patrick, and his mother, Catherine, had married on November 23, 1841 in Kings County, just in time for Michael's birth a month later. Another child named Julia was born. She was an invalid from age 10. The family lived in many different places. Addresses included 311 E. 35th St. from 1861-1869; 46th St. and 2nd Avenue from 1869-1874; 46th St. between 2nd and 3rd Avenue from 1875-76. Patrick lived with a friend in the 21st Ward after 1877. His wife had died on February 24, 1867, in New York.

Michael's death was an economic as well as an emotional blow, because he had supported his family prior to his death. The father "was unable to earn sufficiently to support the family without the son's assistance and after the son's enlistment the family was in very poor circumstances the father being only able to work on odd jobs whenever he could get one." ⁴¹ Other neighbors remember Michael buying food for his parents at Mrs. Healy's store: "She would buy groceries and he would pay for them; the father did not earn over one hundred and fifty dollars a year previous to and since 1862; after the son went away to the army the family appeared to be very poor and were often in want of the necessities of life the father being unable to support

them." ⁴² The father was just tired, old, and without a skill with which to earn a living; not intemperate. By his own recollection Patrick said: "I have always been temperate. I might have gone on a little spree but only once in a great while. When I obtained the last bounty money my wife spent some of it and then wanted to deposit the balance but we had some words and I took the money and went on a little spree and spent it."⁴³ The last \$100 of the bounty money paid the mother's funeral expenses. As a common laborer with asthma Patrick was willing to work but he often could not find work. When he did find work it was usually for "the usual laborer's wages of one dollar a day." ⁴⁴ In an examination by a doctor on September 6, 1876, the surgeon noted: "The right eye has been emptied of its contents. He is aged beyond his years--is poorly nourished. Disability is total \$8.00." ⁴⁵

What conclusions (in the aggregate) follow from the analysis of Groups I-III regarding respectability, and attainment of the standard of living figure of \$240 for a family of four about 1885? Virtually, all were respectable; Irish Brigade service had been worth a great deal. In Group I (pensioned prior to 1890), about 50% (20 families) had incomes of \$240 per year or more; about 50% (23) fell below, and were in the range Soltow labeled as poor--having a total estate of less than \$100 (seven cases were lost due to computer error). Of the 98 in Group II (who received a pension before 1890 that was continued after 1890), less than half superseded the \$240 per year figure (44); half did not (54)--and were poor. In Group III (pensioned post-1890), 32 families had incomes of \$240 per year or more, and 22 families had incomes

approaching Soltow's \$100 total estate figure for being poor in America. Had there been no Civil War pension safety net, most families in the "Soltow poor" range would have fit Robert Ernst's institutionalized Irish immigrant statistics quoted in the "Introduction." Every family in all three groups had been drawn into the Pension Bureaucracy of the Federal Government, assimilated, and honored. The overwhelming majority of Irish Brigade recruits and their families had kept their part of the covenant; sometimes the U.S.A. failed them, but not their traditions.

To better substantiate the resilience of the Irish Brigade families (and by implication the traditions which sustained those families), research reveals the following facts from the analysis of pension files. The average size of a family for privates (soldiers #1-262) was 4.17; the average size of a family for sergeants (soldiers #500-522) was 4.52 (only the number of children was averaged, not the number of husbands or wives, remarriages or early deaths). The life expectancy for a soldier who survived the war was 54.3 years for privates, and 56.6 years for their wives; 59.7 years for sergeants, and 73.2 years for their wives. (This statistic was obtained by averaging the age of death of each soldier not killed in action, or who failed to return from the war.) The average age of marriage for privates was 30.4 years, and for the wives, it was 25.9 years. For sergeants and their wives, the average age of marriage was 30 years and 25 years, respectively. (Many soldiers married more than once, but the records only contained one marriage date, so only that marriage was counted. The few soldiers who outlived their wives usually remarried, which

could have lifted the age of marriage statistic. Only when the second marriage date was known were the ages at the second marriage included.) The average length of marriage was 20.7 years for privates, 26.5 years for sergeants. (It must be noted that these statistics also include those marriages which were cut short by the soldier dying in the war. This could have brought down the average even though many of the soldiers had been married for quite a while before they entered the army. Even if the soldiers were married twice, only those marriages whose length was known was used.) For privates and their families, the average pension award from the government was \$2,462.52; the average age of the soldier who received his pension was 38.5 years old. For sergeants, and their families, the average amount was \$3,208.97; 42.6 years of age was the average age of the soldier who received a pension. (The average pension award statistic was compiled by averaging out the total amounts of known moneys received. This does not include pensions that were received, but in which the amount per year was unknown. So it is possible for the value to go up or down depending on whether more information is known about pensions which were not included in this statistic. In the age pension was received statistic, the age was only of soldiers receiving an invalid or similar pension.) Privates enjoyed pension benefits for about fifteen years, and sergeants about eighteen years.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER IV

¹ See William Henry Glasson's History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States (New York, 1900), p. 122; and his expanded and updated Federal Military Pension in the United States (New York, 1918); and John William Oliver's History of the Civil War Military Pensions: 1861-1885 (Madison, WI, 1917). This section of my thesis is based on these three sources.

² See Oliver, p. 6.

³ Ibid., p. 9. In administering the pension process, a fixed rate of five dollars was the limit that a pension agent or attorney could charge for helping the soldier and his family file a pension claim. Surgeons appointed by the Commissioner of Pensions would make biennial examinations or special examinations, if warranted. After 1862, those dealing with the various medical and administrative aspects of the claim verification process were appointed directly by the head of the Pension Bureau, a branch of the Department of the Interior. One dollar and fifty cents was the soldier's fee for the examination.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 16-17 and following.

⁵ See Oliver, p. 21, from which the first table in the "Tables" section is taken; and see Glasson, Federal Military Pensions in the United States, p. 133, from which the second table is taken. A major scholar of Civil War pensions, William Glasson mentions one Washington, D.C. lawyer named George E. Lemon, as "the leading Washington pension attorney" (p. 110) who established a publication called the National Tribune in October of 1877 which, "in its early numbers ... urged the enactment of additional War of 1812 pension legislation" (p. 110). This weekly publication became the main organ for lobbying on behalf of the soldiers for Congress to enact "an extensive program of pension legislation." On January 15, 1885, "Mr. Lemon testified before a committee of the House of Representatives that the National Tribune was then a weekly journal, going to between 18,000 and 19,000 post offices and having 112,000 paid subscribers" (p. 150, footnote 1). Lemon and another Washington attorney named N. W. Fitzgerald represented "one-half of all pending claims in the files of the pension office" (p. 166). Fitzgerald's publication was called Citizen Soldier. R. A. Dimmick was the only other pension agent lawyer lobbyist mentioned by Glasson. Clearly, these pension attorneys are the subject of another thesis. Another Act of June 6, 1868, contained six particularly important sections, all of which reflected the trend of Congress to be generous and flexible in the awarding of pensions. For example, one part dealt with the order of awarding pension payments which included mothers first, fathers second, orphan brothers and sisters under age sixteen third, etc. Another section of the law restated provisions of

an earlier Act to provide that pensions were to be awarded only if the disease or disability or death was the result of military service. That the pensioner had but three years to claim a pension comprised another section of the 1868 Act, while section four allowed for soldiers' children under age sixteen to have a pension at two dollars per month, regardless of whether or not was their biological mother. And the last sections of this law dealt with the arrearage issued by extending from one year (Act of 1862) to three years from the date of discharge the time in which invalids had to make application for a pension; and, to five years the time of dependent mothers or minor children. A seventh important Act, the Pension Act of July 8, 1870, attempted to deal with critical administrative aspects of the pension system. Quarterly payments replaced semiannual ones, and a maximum fee of twenty five dollars was set to check alleged attorney abuse. An eighth Act, the Pension Act of March 3, 1873, recodified all pension laws since 1861 and added several new features. New rates established for various disabilities were set according to the onset of the disability. Widows' and minor (under age sixteen) children's pensions were increased to four dollars per month--retroactive to the Act of July 25, 1866. An Act of July 1, 1877 consolidated the pension agencies throughout the country from fifty-eight to eighteen, resulting in a savings to the federal government of \$142,000 per year in administrative costs and the next year a maximum attorney fee of \$10.00 was imposed.

⁶ Oliver, p. 70.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79. Not surprisingly, this dramatic increase in pension applications spawned numerous problems. First, greater time was required to settle each claim. Second, the national opposition political party made charges that the Commissioner of Pensions had too much power. Third, the charge was made (again by Democrats) that the Pension Bureau had become politicized. And fourth, the passage of the Arrears Act increased the power enjoyed by attorneys--in the pension claim process--especially larger Washington-based firms. "There were approximately 16,000 men practicing before the Bureau. Of the 210,000 claims then pending, 180,000 were being handled by 100 attorneys.... Commissioner Bently estimated that as few as ten firms were handling at least one-half of all the claims pending in June, 1880" (see Oliver, p. 79). By an Act of June 7, 1888, widows' pensions began to accrue from the date of the husband's death, which meant that "widows could now receive arrears of payments upon their claims, regardless of the time at which they had been filed" (see Oliver, p. 87).

⁹ See footnote 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹¹ From Report of the Commissioner of Pensions for 1917, cited in Glasson, Federal Military Pensions, p. 274. To grasp the dollar amount involved in the entire pension business, a table showing how much was paid out from the federal treasury in the Civil War versus other wars of that era is presented below.

War of the Revolution	\$70,000,000.00
War of 1812	\$46,010,445.70
Indian Wars	\$14,204,286.51
War with Mexico	\$51,264,284.61
Civil War	\$4,917,245,599.49
War with Spain and the Philippine Insurrections	\$57,528,347.49

¹² See Glasson, pp. 234 *et seq.*, on which this summary is based, including Tables 1 and 2 at the end of the footnotes for Chapter IV.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Glasson, p. 237, citing the Journal of the 24th National Encampment, G.A.R., 1980, p. 169.

¹⁴ Glasson, p. 238.

¹⁵ See Glasson, pp. 250-295 on which this section is based. Roosevelt signed yet another bill into law on February 6, 1907 which increased pension rates for honorably discharged Civil War soldiers who had served at least ninety days and were 62 years old. They would receive \$12 per month commencing at age 62; \$15 per month commencing at age 70; and \$20 per month commencing at age 75. Such pensions would accrue from the date of filing the application. The soldier could claim a pension under one system only. Those previously pensioned under the Act of 1890 were now brought under the purview of the Act of 1907 so that they could take advantage of higher rates.

A little over a year later, on April 19, 1908, yet another Pension Bill became law. Earmarked for widows, the Act granted them a pension of \$12 per month if their soldier had been discharged honorably; if the marriage had taken place before June 27, 1890; and whether or not the widow happened to be wealthy. The Act of 1908 superseded that of 1890.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Table 3

Amount of Pension Received According to Length of Service

Age	Length of Service						
	90 days	6 mos.	12 mos.	18 mos.	24 mos.	30 mos.	36 mos.
62	\$13.00	\$13.50	\$14.00	\$14.50	\$15.00	\$15.50	\$16.00
66	\$15.00	\$15.50	\$16.00	\$16.50	\$17.00	\$18.00	\$19.00
70	\$18.00	\$19.00	\$20.00	\$21.50	\$23.00	\$24.00	\$25.00
75	\$21.00	\$22.50	\$24.00	\$27.00	\$30.00	\$30.00	\$30.00

This Act also duplicated a feature of the preceding pension law whereby a soldier unable to perform manual labor because of wounds received or disease contracted while in the war was entitled to \$30 per month without regard to length of service or age. Because the Act of 1912 offered higher rates than previous ones, those pensioned under earlier acts were now brought under this Act of 1912.

Another Act became law when Woodrow Wilson signed the bill on September 8, 1916. Essentially a widows' law, the important provisions were that widows who married a soldier during his period of service in the Civil War were granted a rate increase to \$20 per month. Next, on October 6, 1917, the pension rate for Civil War widows increased to twenty-five dollars a month.

The Act of 1916 also gave widows a pension, even if their husband's death was not caused by Civil War service, and even if the widow had remarried becoming widowed again, or being divorced "without their own fault." Thus, an elderly soldier could marry a much younger woman, and upon his death, the widow would become pensioned provided the soldier had been honorably discharged and had served the minimum-time military service requirement of ninety days. While remarrying cost the widow the pension, it would be restored upon the death "of her second husband, or when she is divorced from her second husband upon her own application and without fault of her own" (see Glasson, pp. 261-262).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-263.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

²⁰ Glasson, p. 266.

²¹ See Carol Groneman, The "Bloody Ould Sixth," p. 92, in which she arrived at the figure of 200 days of work out of the year; see Edith Abbott, "Wages of Unskilled Labor in the U.S., 1850-1900" in The Journal of Political Economy VIII (Chicago, 1905), pp. 321-367; N.A. Aldrich, Retail Prices and Wages, Senate Reports 1st Session, 52nd Congress, VIII (Washington, D.C., 1891-92), pp. 1932-33, 1942-43, 1974-1975, 1986-87, 2006-2007, 1962-63, 1912-13, 2028-2019, 1974-75, 1992-93, 1980-81, 2043-2049, p. 2053, p. 2078 for the wages of New York's skilled and unskilled workers from 1889-91, and for the cost of living in Philadelphia and New York for one year, 1890-91, cited hereafter as Aldrich Report VIII; Ibid., Senate Report 1394, March 3, 1893, part II, pp. 448-459, p. 455, pp. 456-457, 458-63; pp. 475-476, pp. 482-83, pp. 522-524 for more on wages and prices for skilled and unskilled workers; Edgar W. Martin, The Standard of Living in 1860 (Chicago, 1942), p. 409, p. 422, p. 393; p. 428 for the 4 room tenement rent in 1860 of \$50; Marion Casey, The Irish Middle Class in New York City, 1850-1870, Unpublished master's thesis, New York City; Carl Wittke, The Irish in America (New York, 1978), p. 217; Robert Ernst, Immigrant Life, pp. 73-79, p. 179, p. 213; W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America: The Evaluation of Status (New York, 1960); A Report of the National Bureau of Economic Research (Editors), Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century, XXIV (Princeton, 1960), especially "Retail Prices After 1850" by Ethel D. Hoover, pp. 141-190 and Stanley Lebergott's "Wage Trends, 1800-1900," pp. 449-499; James D. Smith, ed., Studies in Income and Wealth, XXXIX (New York, 1975), p. 233.

²² See Edith Abbott, "The Wages of Unskilled Labor in the United States, 1850-1900" in The Journal of Political Economy, XIII (Chicago, 1905), pp. 359-360.

²³ Ibid., p. 323.

²⁴ See footnote 33 for N.A. Aldrich, pp. 458-522; see also Edgar W. Martin, The Standard of Living in 1860 (Chicago, 1944) p. 409.

²⁵ See Edgar W. Martin, The Standard of Living in 1860 (Chicago, 1942), p. 409.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 422.

²⁷ A report of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century: Studies in Income and Wealth, XXIV (Princeton, 1960), p. 143.

²⁸ See Edgar W. Martin, The Standard of Living in 1860, pp. 378-425; see Ethel D. Hoover, "Retail Prices After 1850" in Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century: Studies in Income and Wealth, pp. 140-151; Marion Casey, The Irish Middle Class in New York City, 1850-1870 (New York University, master's thesis, 1986), pp. 6-10. All references to Hoover and Casey are from the pages above.

²⁹ While this vertical scale of budget components for the non-pensioned family of four living in New York City in about 1885 will serve as the benchmark with which to compare Irish Brigade families, two other scales are mentioned for even more perspective regarding the standard of living. One is provided by Ethel D. Hoover, and the other by Marion Casey (using Lee Soltow's method).

Year	All Items	Food	Clothing	Non-tenement Rent	Fuel and Light	Other
1860	100	100	100	100	100	100
1865	175	170	238	134	159	147
1870	141	143	141	142	126	143
1875	123	129	105	129	110	140
1880	110	111	94	127	95	133

Civil War inflation and decline afterwards affected all groups. The price of clothing reached its peak in 1864--161% higher than 1860, but sharply declined in 1865. All other groups except rents peaked in 1865. In 1872, rents declined. And in an analysis of 397 workingmen's families in Massachusetts it was found that the combined expenditures for rent plus fuel and light amounted to about 25 percent of the total.

Marion Casey used Lee Soltow's *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850-1970* (New Haven, 1975). Along with simple ratio and proportion math and found the average wealth of Irish New York City males over age 20 to be \$693.28.

New York County's twenty and over total adult male population is given by Soltow as 219,642. Equal numbers of native and foreign born men of no wealth in New York City in 1860 was 58%. Adults who had wealth of \$1.00 or more totaled 92,250. Casey computed the number of Irish with wealth at twenty thousand: or, 42% of the Irish-born adult male working population of New York City held some wealth in 1860.

As for what constitutes being poor in the U.S. in 1860, Lee Soltow's estimate from *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850-1870*, provides the final needed data.

Number of Adult Males in the U.S. in 1860 with

Total Estate Less Than \$100

	Age 20-29	Age 30-99
Native-born farmers	510,000	290,000
Foreign-born farmers	90,000	90,000
Native-born non-farmers	580,000	420,000
Foreign-born non-farmers	320,000	410,000
Total	1,500,000	1,210,000

³⁰ See "Tables, Chapter IV" regarding Pension Data for soldiers and families. Also, soldiers discussed in this chapter have pension files in the National Archives listed by their name (and Irish Brigade regiment) on the microfilm index reel, T-289, main microfilm room, Archives, 5th floor. I will only footnote those soldiers I discuss extensively. Otherwise, you may search the soldier in the Archives index and easily find them.

³¹ See Lee Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the United States, 1850-1870* (New Haven, 1975), p. 25.

³² See footnote 30, for soldiers 1-262 for the type of pension awarded and for the dollar amount awarded anytime those items are referred to in the body of the paper.

³³ See the Pension File of Private Michael Daly, 63rd Regiment of New York Infantry, National Archives for the list of documents required of all soldiers who applied for the Civil War pension. Just under a dozen items were required including certified death certificate of the soldier, marriage license, proof of divorce, etc.

³⁴ See PF/NA: Martin Doran, Company A, 88th Regiment of New York Infantry, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Martin Doran's case is so moving that it should be told in full.

Martin Doran was born in Ireland in about 1834, and his wife-to-be, Catherine Brogan, in 1832. They probably came to America about 1845 for a better life. They married in St. Bridget's Church, New York, on August 29, 1852, set up house at 358 East 24th St., and had five children--three of whom lived. Martin earned a living as a

painter and grainer. He worked for James Daly of 29th Street and 3rd Avenue, and even went by Mary Matthews' house at 320 East 34th Street after work to teach her son "little things in the trade--graining, paneling." By all accounts Martin was a hardworking and temperate family man in good health.

Martin enlisted as a Private on November 25th, 1861, to serve for three years in Company A of the 88th New York Infantry Regiment. Almost a year later, Martin was discharged for "Intemperance causing great nervous irritability" and he died at home of dysentery on December 7, 1862. The family was then broken up.

Catherine filed for a Widow's Pension on April 13, 1863. The claim was rejected in 1879 because the soldier did not die in the line of duty, but of intemperance. Catherine tried to have the decision overturned. One army friend noted that it was "absurd to suppose that this man had the opportunity of becoming intemperate. He was in the army which was continuously, almost day and night, engaged in marching and fighting. He could not buy whiskey; he could not steal it; his friends could not furnish it to him surreptitiously, and the only way he could obtain it at all was upon the order of his medical officer." In spite of all evidence to the contrary, Catherine never won the pension claim. She spent her last years living with her daughter Mary's husband, Peter Garland, and trying to secure what was rightfully hers.

Catherine Doran died of chronic endocarditis on October 1, 1888, at 201 West 123 Street in the 12th Ward. She left behind three children. Richard disappeared out west about 1879, and nobody knew his whereabouts.

On January 30, 1906, Catherine's two surviving children, Bryan and Mary, filed for the pension of their father and were awarded \$8 per month each from the date of his death. For reasons that are unclear, we can only document that about \$500 was received. The acting chief of the Board of Review for the Pension Office in the Department of the Interior was P. W. Coleman, who pointed out in his statement of September 4, 1906, that the original claim of 1864 was valid. The mistake was made by the surgeon who saw Martin Doran very hastily in general hospital, and gave the discharge diagnosis of intemperance.

³⁵ See PF/NA: Patrick Reilly, Company A, 69th Regiment of New York Infantry.

³⁶ See PF/NA: John Powell and Edward Hamilton. Powell moved from New York in 1876 and settled in California, outside San Francisco. In his pension file his sister describes him as "skeleton like" after returning from Andersonville as a POW. She fed him mashed potatoes to help his stomach lining. In addition to poor health overall he had rheumatism. He had worked for Hoboken Railroad prior to the war.

After the war, his appearance changed. He was haggard. Deponents agreed that he was generally disabled as a result of his military service. And Edward Hamilton lived until 1903 despite being considered totally disabled by the War Department appointed surgeon. Removal of a bone near the elbow caused the loss of use of the right arm.

³⁷ PF/NA: Michael Sands, Company A, 88th Regiment of New York Infantry. Michael Sands married Mary Harper in a Roman Catholic service in County Downe, on May 4, 1845. Two years later they came to New York and set up house at 510 Second Avenue. They had five children. He was killed at the Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. Mary filed for the widow's pension on February 16, 1863, and was pensioned at the rate of \$8.00 per month from December 13, 1862. Mary died in 1894, and the children were apparently all able to fend for themselves except Sarah who was totally helpless since suffering from an attack of Scarlet fever at age 2. Sarah was forty-nine inches high in 1899 and weighed sixty-seven pounds. Margaret Sands wrote to the Pension Bureau on June 28, 1899 in an effort to get her invalid sister aid: "My sister Sarah was born just three months after my father enlisted. From my earliest [sic] recollection of my sister Sarah was a cripple. I remember my mother carrying her around on a pillow and she had spasms and I have often been awakened in the night with her screams of pain. She had white swelling of the right knee and curvature of the spine ever since I can remember. She was always physically weak. She was not able to walk until twelve years of age and never able to run and jump about like other children. She was mentally strong but physically weak. She was never able to perform any manual labor. She is up and about some days and other days she will be confined to bed; any physical exertion exhausts her. She is never entirely free from pain. Her spine is curved, her breast bone protrudes. One shoulder, the right, is higher than the left. She cannot comb her hair, lace her shoes or dress properly without assistance. She is entirely dependent upon me for support. I earn a support by laundry work. Washing and ironing."

Sarah had filed for a minor's pension on November 26, 1894, and had been rejected for it because she was over age 16.

When the case was reopened in 1898, a special examiner agreed with the evidence regarding Sarah's health. And the Surgeon's statement of May 10, 1899, sums up the case this way: 'There is no evidence of any vicious habits. She has never been able to earn her own living; her hands are soft. She is permanently helpless. Sarah received \$12.00 per month from January 11, 1895, and died in 1909.

³⁸ See PF/NA of Daniel Doyle, 88th Regiment of New York Infantry. Daniel Doyle was born in Ireland in 1817. After the war Daniel Doyle married Delia. They lived together at 526 East 14th Street. He abandoned Delia and took some \$350 in pension funds with him. Returning to Ireland for a brief stay would help to cure him

of his depression suffered since the war. On February 16, 1884, Daniel Doyle died in the Liverpool Workhouse from a cerebral hemorrhage. In correspondence to his wife which was not clear enough to quote from it was apparent that Daniel had a few too many drinks along the way.

³⁹ See PF/NA: Michael Hyde, Company A, 88th Regiment of New York Infantry. Michael Hyde's parents John and Margaret were born in Ireland but Michael was born in New York in 1845. Michael was a laborer before the war. He enlisted September 23, 1861, and was wounded in his nose at the Battle of Fair Oaks and in his right arm at Petersburg in 1864. His wife Catherine was born in the U.S. in 1849 and married Michael in a Roman Catholic service at the Church of the Nativity, February 4, 1877. Two daughters were born (Mary in 1882 and Ellen in 1885). Catherine supported the family as a laundress when Michael became ill after the war earning \$2.50 per week. She lived rent-free in her building at 73 West 133 Street and had no savings. Michael had filed for the original invalid pension in May of 1887 at age 44 and was turned down. The surgeon said "the wound of the nose is not in our opinion a disability." In a subsequent statement it is clear that the wound of the nose destroyed the inside, injuring the palate and affecting his voice and speech. One day in November 1895, Michael Hyde collapsed on a New York City street "and the policeman who took him to the Presbyterian Hospital assigned him the name of John Conway without any knowledge of his true name, and guessed his age as being 51 years. He was transferred from the hospital to the New York City Asylum for the Insane on Wards Island and which has been recently changed to the Manhattan State Hospital."

A friend named Bartlett McGowan had noticed a change in Michael's mental attitudes in the 1880's, and "my attention was attracted by his 'general indifference' to everything; he had no 'snap' about him, and it seemed to me that he was becoming mentally degenerated. Don't know what caused his mental trouble. He was a man of good habits: never drank to excess and always had a moral life."

Another friend named Albert White knew that Michael was in sound mental and physical condition before the war, but that in 1863 "you could tell from the changed appearance of his nose that something had happened to it; his voice was also changed; he spoke in a peculiar voice and he said that his sense of smell had been destroyed." Michael Hyde died on March 1, 1896. One year before his death he was awarded a pension of \$12 per month, and his wife Catherine continued to collect his pension until her death six months later.

⁴⁰ See the pension file of Michael Finn, National Archives. The data in this account is derived from documents in that file, cited below.

⁴¹ Ibid., see the deposition of Catherine Corrigan of October 17, 1876.

⁴² Ibid., deposition of Julia Fay, n.d.

⁴³ Ibid., deposition of Patrick Finn of May 21, 1877.

⁴⁴ Ibid., deposition of Martin Carregan of May 13, 1877.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Surgeon's deposition of September 6, 1876. His and wife Catherine's savings account from the East River Savings Bank is found in the pension file. From 1864-66, the average balance was \$192.00. From 1867-76, the yearly balance fluctuated between \$115.00 and \$55.00.

Tables for Chapter IV begin on the next page, and should be examined with regard to the standard of living of Irish Brigade families.

Table 1: Rates and Disabilities Specified by Law

Disability	From 7/4/64	From 3/3/65	From 6/6/66	From 6/4/72	From 6/4/74	From 2/28/77	From 6/17/78	From 3/3/79	From 3/3/83	From 3/3/85
Loss/both hands	\$25.00			\$31.25	\$50.00		\$72.00			
Loss/both eyes	\$25.00			\$31.25	\$50.00		\$72.00			
Loss/both feet	\$20.00			\$31.25	\$50.00		\$72.00			
Loss/1 eye; other lost before enlistment			\$25.00	\$31.25	\$50.00		\$72.00			
Total/both hands			\$25.00	\$31.25	\$50.00		\$72.00			
Regular aid and attendance			\$25.00	\$31.25	\$50.00		\$72.00			
Periodic aid and attendance										
Loss/leg at hip			\$15.00	\$24.00				\$37.50		
Loss/arm at shoulder			\$15.00	\$18.00	\$24.00				\$30.00	\$37.50
Loss of arm at or above elbow or leg above knee			\$15.00	\$18.00	\$24.00				\$30.00	

Table 1: Rates and Disabilities Specified by Law (Continued)

Disability	From 7/4/64	From 3/3/65	From 6/6/66	From 6/4/72	From 6/4/74	From 2/28/77	From 6/17/78	From 3/3/79	From 3/3/83	From 3/3/85
Loss of leg above knee; cannot wear artificial limb			\$15.00	\$24.00					\$30.00	
Loss/1 hand or foot		\$20.00		\$24.00		\$36.00				
Total/1 arm, 1 leg				\$15.00	\$18.00					\$24.00
Total/1 hand, 1 foot			\$20.00	\$24.00		\$36.00				
Total, both feet			\$20.00	\$31.25						
Loss/hand or foot			\$15.00	\$18.00					\$24.00	
Total/1 hand or 1 foot			\$15.00	\$18.00					\$24.00	
Cannot perform manual labor			\$20.00	\$24.00					\$30.00	
Total deafness				\$13.00						

Table 1: Rates and Disabilities Specified by Law (Continued)

Disability	From 7/4/64	From 3/3/65	From 6/6/66	From 6/4/72	From 6/4/74	From 2/28/77	From 6/17/78	From 3/3/79	From 3/3/83	From 3/3/85
Disability equivalent to loss/hand or foot			\$15.00	\$18.00					\$24.00	

Table 2: Statutory Rates for Permanent Specific Disabilities

Disabilities	From 7/4/64	From 3/3/65	From 6/6/66	From 6/4/72	From 6/4/74	From 2/28/77	From 6/17/78	From 3/3/79	From 3/3/83	From 3/3/85	From 8/4/86	From 8/27/88	From 2/12/89	From 3/4/90	From 7/14/92	From 1/15/03	From 3/2/03	From 4/8/04
Loss of both hands	25.00			31.25	50.00		72.00						100.00					
Loss of both feet	20.00			31.25	50.00		72.00										100.00	
Loss of sight of both eyes	25.00			31.25	50.00		72.00											100.00
Loss of sight of one eye, the sight of the other having been lost before enlistment			25.00	31.25	50.00		72.00											100.00
Loss of one hand and one foot		20.00		24.00		36.00												60.00
Loss of a hand or a foot			15.00	18.00					30.00		36.00							46.00

Table 2: Statutory Rates for Permanent Specific Disabilities (Continued)

Disabilities	From 7/4/64	From 3/3/65	From 6/6/66	From 6/4/72	From 6/4/74	From 2/28/77	From 6/17/78	From 3/3/79	From 3/3/83	From 3/3/85	From 8/4/86	From 8/27/88	From 2/12/89	From 3/4/90	From 7/14/92	From 1/15/03	From 3/2/03	From 4/8/04
Loss of an arm at or above the elbow or a leg at or above the knee			15.00	18.00	24.00				30.00		36.00						46.00	
Loss of either a leg at the hip joint or an arm at the shoulder joint, or so near as to prevent the use of an artificial limb											45.00						55.00	
Loss of leg at hip joint			15.00	24.00				37.50			45.00						55.00	
Loss of an arm at shoulder joint			15.00	18.00	24.00					37.50	45.00						55.00	

Table 2: Statutory Rates for Permanent Specific Disabilities (Continued)

Disabilities	From 7/4/64	From 3/3/65	From 6/6/66	From 6/4/72	From 6/4/74	From 2/28/77	From 6/17/78	From 3/3/79	From 3/3/83	From 3/3/85	From 8/4/86	From 8/27/88	From 2/12/89	From 3/4/90	From 7/14/92	From 1/15/03	From 3/2/03	From 4/8/04
Total disability in both hands			25.00	31.25														
Total disability in both feet			20.00	31.25														
Total disability in one hand and one foot			20.00	24.00		36.00											60.00	
Total disability in one hand or one foot			15.00	18.00					24.00		30.00						40.00	
Total disability in arm/leg			15.00	18.00					24.00		36.00						40.00	

Table 2: Statutory Rates for Permanent Specific Disabilities (Continued)

Disabilities	From 7/4/64	From 3/3/65	From 6/6/66	From 6/4/72	From 6/4/74	From 2/28/77	From 6/17/78	From 3/3/79	From 3/3/83	From 3/3/85	From 8/4/86	From 8/27/88	From 2/12/89	From 3/4/90	From 7/14/92	From 1/15/03	From 3/2/03	From 4/8/04
Disability equivalent to the loss of a hand or a foot (third grade)			15.00	18.00					24.00									
Incapacity to perform manual labor (second grade)			20.00	24.00					30.00									
Regular aid and attendance (first grade) ²			25.00	31.25	50.00		72.00							72.00				
Frequent and periodical, not constant aid and attendance (intermediate grade)															50.00			

Table 2: Statutory Rates for Permanent Specific Disabilities (Continued)

Disabilities	From 7/4/64	From 3/3/65	From 6/6/66	From 6/4/72	From 6/4/74	From 2/28/77	From 6/17/78	From 3/3/79	From 3/3/83	From 3/3/85	From 8/4/86	From 8/27/88	From 2/12/89	From 3/4/90	From 7/14/92	From 1/15/03	From 3/2/03	From 4/8/04
Total deafness				13.00								30.00				40.00		

¹ From *Laws of the United States Governing the Granting of Army and Navy Pensions*, 110. (Compiled under the direction of the Commissioner of Pensions, 1916 edition).

² \$72 from June 17, 1878, only where the rate was \$50, under Act of June 18, 1874, and granted to date prior to June 16, 1880. First grade proper is \$50, amended by Act March 4, 1890, which increases rate to \$72.

Table 1.1: Soldiers Who Received a Pension, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health of Soldier	Soldier's Age at Death and Year He Died	Soldier's Age While in Receipt of Pension
5 John Reily & Mary	\$400	\$48	1871:5	Laborer (1865-79) @ \$180/yr.	Loss of fingers, left hand/poor health	47 in 1879	40's-53
6 Lawrence Friery & Ann Clark	\$450	\$24	1865:8	Laborer (1865-1900) @ \$180/yr.	Wounded, right arm, fair health	63 in 1906	20's-63
14 Patrick Canavan & Mary O'Bouwd	\$3,000	\$180, 1866-1874	1857:0	Laborer @ \$180/yr.	Shell wound on hand, 3 fingers off	(1835-1874) d. age 39	18-35
24 John Byrne & Catherine Quinn	\$6,000	\$130	1883:8	Letter carrier (1865-1900) @ \$200/yr.	Gunshot wound, right eye; fair health	61 in 1908	15-61
40 Peter McKenna & Mary	\$2,592	\$144, 1872-90	1866:6	Laborer (1865-1885) @ \$180/yr.	Fair	80 in 1884	mid-50's-80

Table 1.1: Soldiers Who Received a Pension, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health of Soldier	Soldier's Age at Death and Year He Died	Soldier's Age While in Receipt of Pension
75 John Duffy	\$4,272	\$100/yr.	Unknown	Laborer (1865-75) @ \$180/yr.	Fair	80 in 1884	Mid-50's-80
80 Jacob Kenney & Ellen Rice	\$480	\$96	1850:8	Brick layer, (1865-68), no work	Gunshot to left leg, poor	40 in 1868	35-40
128 Tim O'Brien & Johanna Cahill	\$1,938	\$72	1868:2	Longshoreman Laborer/Tailor @ \$180/yr.	GSW left side right hand amputated two fingers	45 in 1889	18-45
136 Joseph Hyland & Elizabeth McDonnell	\$424	\$24/yr.	1870:3	Laborer	GSW left cheek & neck, poor	43:1886	22-43
142 Michael Monogram & Sarah Black	\$1,788	\$60	1852:2	Butcher (1865-80) @ \$400/yr.	GSW to lower jaw and can't chew; fair health	68:1889	32-68

Table 1.1: Soldiers Who Received a Pension, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health of Soldier	Soldier's Age at Death and Year He Died	Soldier's Age While in Receipt of Pension
166 Tim O'Rourke & Eliza Hinley	\$1,766	\$80	1878:2	Laborer (1865-80) @ \$180/yr.	GSW to left leg, fair health	58:1883	37-58
173 Patrick Maley & Catherine Kelley & Mary Gavin	\$1,632	\$48	1868:3	Laborer (1865-1885) @ \$180/yr.	Both hands disabled; fair health	80:1912	32-80
177 Matthew English	\$780	\$48	?:1	Laborer (1865-1885) @ \$180/yr.	GSW right shoulder & right eye; fair health	62:1887	37-62
215 John Carney & Bridget Fahey	\$442	\$64	1860:8	Plasterer (1865-72) @ \$180/yr.	GSW through sternum & 4th rib fracture, poor health	34:1872	22-34

Table 1.1: Soldiers Who Received a Pension, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

- #5: This soldier's income from \$180 per year in wages, \$48 per year in pensions with \$228 income, is below the standard of living unless the wife worked, which there is no proof of.
- #6: With a family of nine, this soldier's \$180 salary per year plus the \$24 in pension would not have supported the family.
- #80: Dead in 1868 and in poor health until then, the soldier could not support his wife and eight children on the \$96 per year.
- #136: With 3 kids and a wife, the soldier was considered to be in poor health by the examining surgeon, yet only got \$20 per year.
- #166: At \$180 per day plus \$48 per year pension, the soldier brought in \$228 to support his wife and two kids, below the standard of living.
- #173: Three kids and a wife would have a tough time living on \$48 per year pension and \$180 in wages.
- #177: One child and a wife could not be sustained with \$180 yearly wage plus \$48 per year in pension.
- #215: With a family if eight kids, how could the soldier survive on \$180 per year?

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

- #14: This soldier's wage of \$180 per year and pension of \$100 per year enabled he and his wife to live.
- #24: Supporting a family of nine, this soldier's income was at least \$200 per year plus his \$130 per year pension or \$330.
- #40: Supporting a family of seven, this soldier's \$180 wage plus \$90 per year pension equaled \$200 year.
- #75: His income from wage and pension per year was \$180 plus \$100 or \$280, enough for him and his wife.
- #128: The soldier earned \$180 per year plus \$72 in pension, for his wife and two kids.
- #142: The soldier earned about \$400 per year as a butcher plus \$60 per year in pension, so he could support his wife and two children.

Table 1.2: Soldiers and Widows Received Pension, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total \$ Soldier/Wife	\$ Per Year of Soldier/Wife	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health of Soldier/Wife	Soldier's Age	Soldier's Age While in Receipt of Pension
38 Patrick O'Callaghan & Bridget	S: \$900 (1863-75) W: \$672 (1875-1882) Total: \$1,572	S: \$75/yr. W: \$96/yr.	1864:3	Laborer (1865-1975)	S: GSW Left leg and hand W: ?	31:1875	19-31
162 Peter Donnelly & Ellen Lancey	S: \$1,656 (1862-81) W: \$528 (1882-86) Total: \$2,184	S: \$96/yr. W: \$132/yr.	1833:0	Laborer (1865-78)	S: GSW head W: Chronic endocarditis	74:1882	55-74
172 John Gallagher & Cathy McGeorge	Total: \$4,140	S: \$72/yr.	1838:7	Laborer (1865-78)	S: GSW right hand, collar- bone	76:1886	53-76
181 Patrick Kennedy & Johanna Fitzgerald	S: \$693 W: \$288 Total: \$981	S: \$48/yr. W: \$96/yr.	1852:0	Laborer (1865-78)	S: GSW head	55:1882	39-55

Table 1.2: Soldiers and Widows Received Pension, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$ Soldier/Wife	\$ Per Year of Soldier/Wife	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health of Soldier/Wife	Soldier's Age	Soldier's Age While in Receipt of Pension
248 James Dunveavy & Maria Rooney	S: \$1,539 W: \$192 Total: \$1,731	S: \$60/yr. W: \$96/yr.	1870:0	Laborer (1865-77)	S: Shell wound to head	38:1877	23-38

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#38: With 3 children and a wife, this soldier's \$180 in yearly wages and his pension of \$75/yr. would not have made ends meet.

#172: Family of 7 children could not make it on \$250 the soldier brought home, and there was no evidence wife worked.

#181: This family could not have lived adequately on the \$228 per year; there is no evidence the wife worked.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#162: This soldier and his wife lived on \$180 plus \$96 per year.

#248: This soldier and his wife lived on the \$180 wages plus the \$60 pension.

Table 1.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows and Children, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total \$			Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health of Soldier	Age of Soldier at Death	Soldier's Age While in Receipt of Pension
	S	W	C					
155 Owen Foley & Eliza Gilroy	\$64/yr., 1862-67 \$72/yr., 1867-69 \$36/yr., 1869-72 \$96/yr., 1872-76 \$214/yr., 1876-77 Total: \$1,512	\$96/yr., 1877-? Total: Unknown	\$24/yr., 1877-89 Total: \$288	1853:3	Baker	Good until 1872-TB	50:1877	35-50 (child was 4 years old in 1873, got \$8/yr.
197 James Fox & Mary Brennan	\$48/yr., 1863-72	\$96/yr., 1876-86 \$144/yr., 1886-88	\$24/yr., 1876-188	1851:4	Driver	Consumption, hernia	42:1876	26-42

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#155: The soldier was unable to work after 1872 due to having TB, so the \$96/yr. did not make ends meet.

#197: This family of six could have had only a marginal existence.

Table 1.4: One Soldier Received a Pension; Then His Child, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health of Soldier	Soldier's Age at Death and Year He Died	Soldier's Age While in Receipt of Pension
72 Michael Dalton & Ellen Dowling	\$1,200 went to children. Total: \$1,680	S: \$96/yr., 1865-66; C: \$96/yr. + \$48, 1867-78	1855:2	Laborer	Poor	1867, of phthisis; wife died in 1865	?

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#72: Although both parents died about the same time (1865 and 1867), each child had \$144 per year on which to live plus the bond of \$36.00 for the two children.

Table 1.5: Pensions for Widows and Children, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total \$	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Age of Death Soldier/Wife	Information on Children
49 John McCarthy & Ann	\$1,100 or \$96/yr.; W: 1866-70; C: 1870-73	1844: 10 (each kid, \$48/yr.)	S: W: ?	S: KIA, at age 37 W: Died of nephria, at age 40	
65 James McGahan & Bridget	\$1,344 or \$96/yr.; W: 1864-76; C: 1876-?	1858: 4 (each kid, \$48/yr.)	S: Driver W: Housekeeper	S: KIA, 1864 W: Died of dropsy in 1974, age 35	Guardian: Eliza Dwyer posted bond of \$1,100 Ann: b.1860; James: b.1862
71 Peter Rourke	\$3,000 or \$96/yr.; W: 1862-64; C: 1864-69	1842: 5 (each kid, \$48/yr.)	Unknown	S: KIA (1864) W: Died 1876, age 43	Court guardian Alice Kane, \$800 bond Julia: b.1863; Stephen: b.1854; April: b.1856; Thomas: b.1858; Elizabeth: b.1861
82 Michael Crowley; Guardian: Denis Cleary	\$600 or \$96/yr.; W: 1862-66; C: 1866-70	1839:3	S: Shoemaker	S: KIA, 1862 W: Died E. 41st St. in 1864 of heart attack	Honoro: b.1853

Table 1.5: Pensions for Widows and Children, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Age of Death Soldier/Wife	Information on Children
114 Peter Mulligan	\$864 or \$96/yr.; W: 1862-66; C: 1866-70	1849:7 (\$24/yr.)		S: KIA, 1862	James: b.1854; Annie Lizzie: 1858
117 James Smith & Mary; Guardian: Kate Wall	\$1,896 or \$96/yr.; W: 1862-74; C: 1866-74	1851:2 (\$48 per child)		S: KIA (12/13/62) W: E 16th St. of phthisis (1874), age 48	Joseph: b.1861; James: 1854
143 Thomas Murphy	\$1,464 or \$96/yr.; W: 1864-?; C1: 1864-67; C2: 1864-69; C3: 1864-71; C4: 1864-73; C5: 1864-75; C6: 1864-79	1849:6, \$24 per child		S: Died 1864, rebel prison W: ?	Barth: b.1851; John: 1853; Mary: 1855; Ellen: 1851; Julia: 1859; Thomas: 1863

Table 1.5: Pensions for Widows and Children, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#82: With mention of a guardian and the loss of both parents, the household collapsed, but the children were cared for.

#117: Ibid.

#143: Ibid.

Family (or guardians) had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#49: The roughly \$200 per year in pension monies would allow the family of three to live.

#65: The \$1,100 bond of guardian plus about \$48 for each of the two children.

#71: The \$800 bond of guardian plus \$48 for each of the five children.

#114: The widow and children could have lived on the pension money.

Table 1.6: Pensions for Widows, A Child, A Guardian, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total \$	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health	Age at Death/ Cause of Death	Information on Kids
131 Peter Mernagh & Ann McHenry	Widowed: \$96/yr., 1863-66 Married: \$24/yr., 1863-74 (2 kids); \$96/yr., 1866-74 Total: \$1,286	1857:4	Unknown		Soldier: Typhoid fever (1863)	
134 Thomas Gibney & Elizabeth Dalton	Widowed: \$96/yr., 1862-66 Married: #1 = \$24/yr. (1862-68); #2 = \$24/yr. (1862-70); #3 = \$24/yr. (1862-73); #4 = \$24/yr. (1862-78); #5 = \$24/yr. (1862-66); #6 = \$24/yr. (1866-76) Total: \$2,250	1848:7	Unknown	Wounded at Antietam/leg amputated	Soldier: d. 1866 of wounds; leg off, Frederick City, MD	Bernard: b.1852; Thomas: b.1843; William: b.1857; Margaret: b.1860

Table 1.6: Pensions for Widows, A Child, A Guardian, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Health	Age at Death/ Cause of Death	Information on Kids
175 Owen Kilduff & Catherine	Widowed: \$96/yr., 1863-64 #1 = \$24/yr. (1864-69); #2 = \$24/yr. (1864-73); #3 = \$24/yr. (1864-77); #4 = \$96/yr. (1866-77) Total: \$1,836	1858:4	Unknown	S: KIA W: Heart disease	Soldier: KIA Wife: d. at age 35 of heart disease	Susan: b.1853; Michael: b.1857; Charles: b.1861; John: b.1855

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#131: The \$200 per year for the children and widow would have been sufficient.

#134: Ibid.

#175: Soldier KIA, Fredericksburg, and wife dies about 1865 but guardian kept the children.

Table 1.7: Pensions for Widows, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total Widows \$	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Age at Death, Cause of Death	Information on Kids
15 John Rafters & Mary Quinn	\$96/yr., 1865-86 \$2,400	1837:3	Shoemaker	S: d. 1865 at age 48, 570 Grand St.; W: Alive in 1889, very ill	
16 Patrick Tierney & Ann	\$96/yr., 1862-? \$700	1857:4	?	S: KIA, 12/13/62; W: Widow remarried in 1882	Mary Ann: b.1855; Michael: b.1862
17 Thomas Martin & Susan	\$96/yr., 1863-? \$1,400	1847:3		S: KIA, 9/17/62	Mary Ann: b.1852
50 Martin Lane & Mary	\$800, 1864-66/69-71 \$100/yr., 1864-71	1848:4	Laborer	S: d. of chronic diarrhea, age 35 at general hospital, Maryland, 1864	
187 James Mooney & Rose Ann Raleen	\$96/yr., 1865-69 \$368	1840:4	Porter	S: d., age 45; W: d. age 47	
216 Patrick Beehen & Mary	\$96/yr., 1863-64 \$48	1838:6		KIA, 12/13/62	

Table 1.7: Pensions for Widows, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Family had less than the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#16: With KIA soldier and two kids on only \$96 per year, would have been sufficient.

#17: Ibid.

#50: Ibid.

#187: Ibid.

#216: Ibid.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living (or survival because of family size lower than 4):

#15: Widow herself could have survived. No children were eligible for pensions.

Table 1.8: Pensions for Children, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death and Year Died	Information on Children
111 Patrick Carr & Mary Salmon	672	Child's: 1/17/68-1/12/75 @ \$96/yr. per child	10/27 - 1848	KIA	1862 Mother died 1868 of phthisis	4 children: Patrick: b. 1852; Mary Ann: b. 1854; Thomas: b. 1856; Ellen: b. 1859
161 Martin Doran & Catherine Brogan	456	Child #1: 7/25/66 -4/17/69 @ \$24/yr., or \$120; Child #2: 7/25/66-3/5/71 @ \$24/yr. or \$96; Child #3: 7/29/66-6/6/77 @ \$24/yr. or \$240	1852 -	Typhoid	Died in 1862	4

Table 1.8: Pensions for Children, Pre-1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death and Year Died	Information on Children
213 Roger Malony & Mary Duffy	832	Child #1: 9/18/62-1/11/65 or \$202; Child #2: 1865-69 or \$96/yr.	1843:2	KIA	1862	Ann & James
249 Patrick McCafferty & Rose McNamara	\$1,200	1864-77 or \$96/yr.	1859:3	KIA	25 in 1862	3

Family had less than the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living, yet the children survived with their pension and a guardian:

#161: Combined pension money supported.

#213: Ibid.

#249: Didn't survive.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#111: Thomas Father Patrick received custody of the kids; each child received \$96 per year for seven years. Thomas had \$384 each year.

Table 1.9: Pension Awarded to Mothers, Pre-1890

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death and Year Died	Information on Children and Mother
33 Patrick Brady	384	Mothers: \$96/yr, 1861-65	?	?		KIA:1861	
129 Patrick Reilly	2,040	Mothers: \$96/yr., 1862-84	?	?	KIA	1862:18	? Mother

Family had less than the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#33: Patrick's mother received \$96 per year for four years--enough to support her.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#129: The mother could have survived on \$96 per year even though it's less than the amount needed for four.

Table 1.10

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Age at Death and Year Died	Information on Children
185 Jeremiah Healy & Ellen	808	C: \$96/yr., 1864-72	1853:1	Laborer	d. 1864, KIA, Wilderness	Honora: b.1856

Note: Child's pension award below \$240 but enough for her.

Table 2.1: Pensions for Soldiers, Pre-1890 Which Were Continued After 1890

Soldier #	Age When He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year Died	Information on Children
8 James Fantry & Mary Ann	47	\$800	\$96/yr., 1887-90; \$100/yr., 1890-91; \$204/yr., 1891-	1887, Alice	Laborer; Policeman from 1870	Shell wound, left leg; 1864, Cold Harbor	d. 1898, age 58	Thomas: b.1859; Mary Ann: b.1870; James: b.1872
12 Tim McGlynn & Elizabeth	63	\$3,000	\$72/yr., 1886, \$144 to 1909, \$240/yr., 1909-12, \$360/yr., 1912-14	1882	Laborer	Weak heart, 1902	d. 1914, age 81	Mary: b.1883; Catherine: b.1888
29 Charles McCarthy	29	\$26,000	\$216/yr., 1873-83; \$288/yr., 1883-88; \$360/yr., 1888-90; \$864/yr., 1890-1904; \$1,200, 1904-10	1896	Invalid, but labored	Blind, 1888	S: d. age 66; W: d. age 55	4
74 Thomas Campbell & Susan & Margaret McCabe	50	\$2,268	\$36/yr., 1865-88; \$72/yr., 1888-90; \$144/yr., 1890-99	1891	Laborer	Fair	d. 84 years old	0

Table 2.1: Pensions for Soldiers Pre-1890 Which Were Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age When He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
99 Michael Larkin		\$4,752	\$96/yr., 1865-81; \$168/yr., 1881-83; \$360/yr., 1883-91	?	Laborer, 1870's worked Brooklyn Water Board	Loss of sight in one eye	? (lived with his mother after wife died)	2
179, not Irish born--discard	29	\$3,360	\$48/yr., 1874-75; \$72/yr., 1871-87; \$96/yr., 1887-90; \$144/yr., 1891-1905	1914:7	Laborer		73	7
205 John Powell & Margaret O'Connor	48	\$1,737	\$96/yr., 1883-88; \$120/yr., 1888-89; \$204/yr., 1889-97	1869	Cook		62	0
206 Edward Hamilton & Mary Lynch	27	\$8,110	\$96/yr., 1864-74; \$216/yr., 1874-86; \$288/yr., 1886-1903; \$552, 1903	1876	Laborer		66	1

Table 2.1: Pensions for Soldiers Pre-1890 Which Were Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age When He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
255 John Callaghan & Bridget Phelan	20	\$5,224	\$60/yr., 1865-88; \$96/yr., 1888-1907; \$144/yr., 1907-12; \$186 yr., 1912-16; \$228/yr., 1816-18	1877:1	Brushmaker		73	1 child

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#8: His \$360 per year salary supplemented with stated pension monies was ample support.

#12: His \$180 per year laborer's salary plus stated pension awards was ample support.

#29: *ibid.*

#74: The \$215 was ample for his family of two.

#99: The \$180 wage per year plus the \$96 per year pension supported this family of four at about \$280.

#205: *ibid.* (for his family of two)

#206: *ibid.* (for his family of three)

#255: *ibid.*

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
30 James Daily & Rose	40	\$2,500	\$48/yr., 1863-70; W: \$96/yr., 1870-86; \$144/yr., 1886-? + \$24/kid	1844:4	7 yrs. 1/2 time; Plasterer; 1 year week = \$90	2/3 disability, unfit for invalid corps (1863); wounded @ Antietam	47 (1823-1870); Softening of the brain	Son, John, 1858, died 1875 of consumption [James b.1855, age 16 in 1871]; Rosanna, b.1861, age 16 in 1877
34 David McO'Boy & Margaret Flannery	37	\$1,400	\$60/yr., 1863-71; \$48/yr., 1871-78; \$72/yr., 1878-83; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-?	1868:0	Worked 1863-83 (21 yrs.), Laborer; 1 year work \$180	GSW left leg, Antietam	b.1831-1883, d. 51, of pneumonia, sick for 2 days	0
35 Michael Slattery & Honora Norton	24	\$500	\$12/yr., 1865-82; \$24/yr., 1882-87; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-?, \$144/yr. in 1920	1868:0 Wife: Honora	Worked 1865-87, Policeman, for 22 yrs.	Discharged 1865; GSW right leg (1/8 disability) at 1864 Battle of Spottsylvania	1841-1887, d.46, of phthisis pulmonalis (sick 4 mos.)	0

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
39 Walter Croker & Catherine Gowen	53	\$10,000	\$48/yr., 1886-1904; \$144/yr., 1904-07; \$180/yr., 1907-1908; \$240/yr., 1908-1920; \$360/yr., 1920-?	1868:4 Catherine	1863-1886, 37 yrs., as Policeman, Stonecutter	GSW, thigh (left), Antietam	1837-1920, d.83, died of old age, cardiac	Ellen: b.1869; Margret: b.1871; John: b.1874
43 Thomas Dawns & Mary & Jane	28	\$8,200	\$96/yr., 1863-66; \$180/yr., 1866-69; \$24/yr., 1869-72; \$288/yr., 1872-83; \$360/yr., 1883-86; \$540/yr., 1886-89; Wife: \$144/yr., 1890-?	1864:2 Jane	(1863-80) Sailor could have worked 17 yrs. as a sailor	GSW, left knee (leg cut off), Antietam	1835-89, d.54, of cancer of lung and liver	Daughter Margaret worked to support man after dad died; Son Joseph

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
44 Michael Hogan & Ann	23	\$1,000	\$24/yr., 1867-90; \$144/yr., 1890-; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-?, \$24/kid	1868:1 Ann	(1865-90) Worked 35 yrs. as Watchman	1864, shell wound, right leg above knee, POW	(1841-91), d.50, of pneumonia (sick 3 weeks)	
53 Thomas Gegan & Margaret Coyle	27	\$1,488	\$48/yr., 1862-75; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-99	1863:0	(1865-1880), 15 yrs. work, Laborer	Blind in one eye, cataract, 1862	(1835-1883), d.48, Bright's disease (sick 3 yrs.)	
54 Michael McCarthy	24	\$5,000	\$96/yr., 1864-81; Wife: \$98/yr., 1881-1909 + \$24/kid	1874:1	(1864-81), 17 yrs., Waiter and Plasterer		(1840-81), d.41, of nephritis, kidney disease	
56 Owen Curran & Ellen & Bridget	48	\$1,536	\$96/yr., 1863-65; Wife: \$96/yr., 1892-1906	1864:0 Ellen	(none), years worked, Laborer	Died as result of wounds at Antietam, 1862	Died of rupture of blood vessels of right leg where amputated, d.1865 (1817-65), at age 48	

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
57 Thomas F. Canty & Mary A. Burke	24	\$2,500	\$72/yr., 1865-67; \$96/yr., 1867-71; \$180/yr., 1871-72; \$96/yr., 1872-74; \$144/yr., 1874-77; \$216/yr., 1877-?; Wife: \$96/yr., 1885-86 + \$12	1883:1	(1865-85), Clerk worked 2 yrs.	GSW right leg, 1/2 disability	Sick 10 days, died of erysipelas (1841-1885), d.44 yrs. old	
67 Patrick Moran & Bridget Keating	26	\$5,000	\$48/yr., 1863-83; \$96/yr., 1883-91; \$144/yr., 1891-92; Wife: \$96/yr., 1892-1912, \$24/kid, 1912	1868:0 Bridget	(1862-92) Marble Polisher, worked 30 yrs., Shoe Cutter, Total years worked	Caught malaria in service, Malvern Hill, disability from 1862	Died of heart disease (1839-1892), d. at age 55	

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children:
73 Patrick Doonan & Mary Rogers	29	\$8,352	\$72/yr., 1863-77; \$120/yr., 1877-81; \$168/yr., 1881-83; \$288/yr., 1883-89; #360/yr., 1889-1901; Wife: \$96/yr., 1901-?	1852:0 Mary	(1863-1900) Laborer (worked 27 yrs.), department says no work	GSW, right thigh and testicle, Antietam, 1862	Died of kidney and heart failure (1834-1901), d. age 67	
83 Michael Kelly & Rose Killeen	40	\$600	\$144/yr., 1884-?; Wife: \$96/yr., 1904-10	1871:2 Rose	(1864-90) Asst. Inspector & Bartender work, 26 yrs., he says no	GSW, right arm and hand	Died of heart and kidney disease (1844-1904), died at age 60	Mary Frances: b.1870; Michael Joseph: b.1881
84 Richard Fagan & Ellen Foley	43	\$3,700	\$36/yr., 1863-69; \$60/yr., 1869-87; \$96/yr., 1887-90; \$144/yr., 1890-04; Wife: \$96/yr., 1904-	1848:2 Ellen	(1863-87), 24 yrs. in Street Cleaning Dept.	GSW, right knee, 1863	Died of cerebral Apoplexy (1820-1904), died at 84	Matthew: b.1844; Ann: b.1857

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
97 Thomas Dooley & Bridget Ford	35	\$2,500	\$96/yr., 1863-; Wife: \$96/yr. + 48, 1863-86; \$144/yr., 1886-	1852:2	None, no days work, Book Binder	No wound, caught TB in service, discharged in 1863	Died of consumption (1828-1863), died age 35	William & Eugene
98 William Sheehan & Catherine Scully	39	\$1,500	\$48/yr., 1863-84; Wife: \$96/yr., 1892-?	1852:2 Catherine	(1863-84), 21 yrs., Baker	No wound	Died of Bright's Disease (1831-91), 61 yrs. old	Annie: 1868; Rosanna: 1855
100 James Smith	42	\$100	\$60/yr., 1865-71; \$96/yr., 1871-72; Wife: \$144/yr., ?-1890	1864 Ellen	(1865-78) Laborer, could work	Left thigh, GSW, 2/3 disability	d.1878, run over by railroad car	No children mentioned
105 Peter Brady & Mary E. Davenport	58	\$3,104	\$96/yr., 1882-84; \$144/yr., 1884-1904; Wife: \$96/yr., 1904-?	1867:4 Mary	(1863-1900) Printer, Stone Hand, 37 yrs.	Injury to testicles, hernia	Cirrhosis of liver & heart failure (1824-1904), d. age 80	William: b.1867; Edward: b.1872; George: b.1877; Ella: b.1882

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
106 George Hayes & Julia Sullivan	32	\$2,152	\$32/yr., 1863-73; \$48/yr., 1873-79; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-1906	1862:5 Julia	(1863-1879) Porter	Hernia	Died of pneumonia (1831-79), age 48	Joseph: b.1874; Mary: b.1867; Rebecca: b.1865X; Catherine: b.1871X; Elizabeth: 1872X X = died
116 Robert Groves & Elizabeth Green	13	\$12,812	\$72/yr., 1862-70); \$96/yr., 1870-73; \$72/yr., 1873-86; \$288/yr., 1886-90; \$360/yr., 1890-1917; Wife: \$240/yr., 1917; \$300 yr., 1917-?	1863:7	(1862-89) Plumber, 25 yrs.	Blind in one eye	Died of heart disease, 1917	Annie: b.1864; William: b.1867; Emma: b.1870; Robert: b.1874; George: b.1876; Susie: b.1879; Mary: b.1883

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
125 John R. Nugent & Fanny Tuttle	23	\$6,070	\$24/yr., 1865-?; \$72/yr., ?-1907; \$144/yr., 1907-12; \$228/yr., 1912; \$300/yr., 1912-17; \$360/yr., 1917-20; \$600/yr., 1920-21; Wife: \$360/yr., 1921-?	1890:0 Fanny	(1865-1900) Debt Collector for IPS	Buckshot wound in right hand	Died of heart disease (1842-1921), 79 yrs. old	
127 William Martin & Bridget Conway	28	\$3,228	\$36/yr., 1863-90; \$72/yr., 1890-1900; \$96/yr., 1900-?; \$144/yr., ?-1906; Wife: \$96/yr., 1906-?; \$144/yr., ?-1916	1866:2 Bridget	(1863-1889) Laborer, 26 yrs.	GSW, left hip, he is lame, Antietam, 1862	Died of Cerebral Apoplexy (1835-1906), age 71	No info.

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
133 James Mooney & Catherine & Bridget	22	\$13,363	\$96/yr., 1865-66; \$180/yr., 1866-72; \$216/yr., 1872-74; \$288/yr., 1874-83; \$360/yr., 1883-89; Wife: \$540/yr., 1889-1902; \$?, 1916-?	1891:3 Catherine	(1866-76) Worked 10 yrs., Laborer	GSW, left arm, amputated	Died due to fracture of skull, 1833-89, at age 66	
147 William Norris & Ellen Milan	37	\$2,136	\$24/yr., 1863-84; \$72/yr., 1889-90; \$144/yr., 1890-1900; Wife: \$96/yr., 1900-?	1851:0 Ellen	(1864-75), 11 yrs. worked, Laborer, Farmer	Fracture of clavicle and rheumatism	Died of gangrene of foot (1826-1900), at age 74	

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
157 Edward O'Shanghnessy & Catherine Clifford	15	\$4,488	\$96/yr., 1862-75; \$48/yr., 1875-83; \$72/yr., 1883-84; \$96/yr., 1884-87; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-1916; \$240/yr., 1916-?	1861:0 Catherine	(1862-85), 23 yrs., Wholesale Butcher	GSW, right arm and right side, 1861, at Bull Run	Died of drowning (1847-87), died at age 40	
159 Jeremiah O'Brian & Jessie Manzie	36	\$	\$48/yr., 1865-85; \$144/yr., 1885-87; \$192/yr., 1887-88; \$216/yr., 1888-89; \$360/yr., 1889-90; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-?	1881:0 Tessie	(1865-75), 10 yrs., Carpenter, Ship Joiner	No wound, POW, 1864-65	Pneumonia and heart failure (1829-1890), age 61 yrs.	

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
164 John Roache & Mary Blute	42	\$3,648	\$96/yr., 1865-83; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-1910	1850:2 Mary	(1866-76), 10 yrs., Laborer	GSW, left leg	Phthisis and lung hemorrhage (1823-1883), died age 61	Ellen: b.1860; Mary Ann: b.1858
169 Patrick Reilly & Mary Flanagan	17	\$4,824	\$48/yr., 1863-74; \$72/yr., 1874-88; \$96/yr., 1888-91; \$120/yr., 1891-92; Wife: \$96/yr., 1892-1908; \$144/yr., 1908-1916; \$240/yr., 1916-17	1860:2	(1863-87) Wheelwright, no work	GSW, thighs and hips, 1/4 disability, Antietam, 1876 in insane asylum, thought he was governor of New York state	Died of phthisis pulmonalis (TB), 1846-92), died at age 46	
182 William McAnally & Ellen Barlow	46	\$722	\$60/yr., 1866-; \$96/yr., 1866-69; \$180/yr., 1869-70; \$96/yr., 1890-92	1866:0 Ellen	(1861-70) Laborer, Public Porter, 5 yrs. work	GSW, right hand, amputation of fingers	Died of consumption, 1820-1970, died age 50	

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
196 Michael O'Shea & Mary Driscoll	26	\$3,248	\$96/yr., 1862-66; Wife: \$96/yr., 1866-96; \$144/yr., 1896	1895:0	No work, Tinsmith	Fractured right hand	Died of consumption, 1826-1866, 30 yrs. old	
201 Cornelius O'Keefe & Bridget Brosnan	23	\$2,499	\$24/yr., 1863-; \$24/yr., 1877-1907; \$80/yr., 1907-12; \$300/yr., 1912-?; \$144/yr., 1912-16	1867:6 Mary	(1866-88) in military, Laborer, Soldier	GSW, right hand	Died of hardening of the arteries, heart attack (1840-1912), died age 72	Mary: b.1869; Tim: b.1871; John: b.1873; Joanna: b.1875; Kate: b.1877; Daniel: b.1885
202 Arthur O'Neil & Sarah	61	\$1,818	\$72/yr., 1885-90; \$144/yr., 1890-1901; Wife: \$144/yr., 1901-02	1845:1	(1865-79) Clerk, Plow Maker, 14 yrs. work	GSW to left finger, Antietam, POW (1864-65)	Heart disease, 1824-1901, died age 81	

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
207 Michael McGuire & Rosana Sheppard	22	\$6,079	\$72/yr., 1865-85; Wife: \$96/yr., 1886-86; \$144/yr., 1886-1917; \$300/yr., 1917-18	1871:1	Printer, Painter, no work	GSW to left hand and left leg	Cirrhosis of liver (1843-1885), 42 yrs. old	Florence
208 Cornelius Callahan & Mary Sheehan	32	\$2,640	\$48/yr., 1863-80; \$72/yr., 1880-1905; Wife: ?-1905	1865:0	(1864-75) Laborer	GSW to left thigh	Died of kidney disease (1831-1905), at age 74	
210 Denis A. Sullivan & Mary Dolan	29	?	\$12/yr., 1865-1887; \$24/yr., 1887-?; \$72/yr., ?-1907; \$144/yr., 1907-12; \$186/yr., 1912-14; Wife: \$228/yr., 1915-?	1880:3 Mary	(1865-1900) Plumber, 35 yrs.	GSW to chest	Died of pneumonia (1844-1915), at age 71	Mary; Margaret; John

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
218 Owen Donahue & Mary Cullen	28	\$4,190	\$24/yr., 1862-84; \$48/yr., 1884-90; \$96/yr., 1900-06; \$240/yr., 1906-10; Wife: \$144/yr., 1910-16; \$240/yr., 1916-17	1862:3	(1865-80) Cab Driver, Blacksmith, before the war	GSW to breast	Died of pneumonia (1834-1910), at age 76	Thomas: b.1865; Eugene: b.1870; Rosie: b.1878
220 Charles Wyse & Bridget Farrell	41	\$4,378	\$96/yr., 1863-66; \$180/yr., 1866-72; \$216/yr., 1872-83; \$360/yr., 1863-86; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-94	1845:0	No work, Miller	GSW to left knee, leg amputated in field	Died of phthisis pulmonalis (TB) (1822-1886), at age 65	

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
222 Thomas McQuade & Catherine Riordan	28	\$6,868	\$96/yr., 1861-66; \$180/yr., 1866-72; \$216/yr., 1872-87; Wife: \$240/yr., 1888-89; \$316/yr., 1889-95; \$192/yr., 1895-99; \$144/yr., 1899-1917; \$300/yr., 1917-?	1870:5	(1865-80) Clerk	Left leg amputated in 1861	Died of Bright's disease, 1833-87	Alice Mary: b.1871; Thomas: b.1873; Ralph: b.1879; Catherine: b.1883; Joseph: b.1881
226 Jeremiah Sullivan & Mary Lynch	24	\$1,616	\$24/yr., 1865-83; \$48/yr., 1883-90; \$72/yr., 1890-95; \$72/yr., 1890-95; \$144/yr., 1895-96; Wife: \$120/yr., 1896-1911	1864:2	(1865-1880) shoemaker	GSW to toe and knee, toe amputated	TB (1841-96), at age 55	Eugene: b.1883; Mary: b.1865

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
227 Bernard Quinn & Betsy McCorvill	30	\$2,304	\$24/yr., 1862-64; \$24/yr., 1864-87; \$96/yr., 1887-90; \$144/yr., 1890-1900; Wife: ?, 1900-?	1853:0	(1865-75) Painter, Glazier	GSW to right breast	Chronic kidney disease (1832-90), at age 58	
241 Francis Connolly & Catherine Harrigan	24	\$1,050	\$24/yr., 1863-64; \$48/yr., 1864-84; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-91	1856:1	(1866-80) Hackman, Coachman	Two GSW's, left thigh	Died of kidney failure (1939-84), at age 45	
250 Patrick O'Brien & Catherine Davis	43	\$1,422	\$24/yr., 1865-87; \$72/yr., 1887-90; Wife: \$144/yr., 1892-95	1865:0	(1856-86) Carpet Weaver	GSW to left thigh and back of head, POW	Died of kidney disease (1822-92), at age 70	

Table 2.2: Pensions for Soldiers, Then Widows Pre-1890, Continued After 1890 (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation / Years Worked	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
254 Patrick Quinlisk & Anastasia Hickey	30	\$5,251	\$96/yr., 1865-66; \$180/yr., 1866-72; \$216/yr., 1872-73; \$288/yr., 1873-?; \$360/yr., ?-1885; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-94	1881:1	Laborer, no work	Left leg amputated 6" below hip	(1835-85), at age 50	

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#30: Soldier dead in 1870; with pension, he earned \$138 per year, 1863-70, and even if his wife worked, the family name would still have been \$228 per year to support four. Even with the widow's pension and that for her children, \$192 per year would be marginal existence.

#44: This soldier supported a family of three earning at least \$180 per year in salary and \$24 in pension for \$204.

#56: The soldier died at the end of the war, and his wife worked as housekeeper, and earned about \$90 per year, with no children. When she started receiving the \$96 per year pension, she was old and destitute.

#67: A family of two, this soldier earned \$180 in wages per year and another \$48 per year in pensions.

Table 2.2 (Continued)

#73: The soldier could not work, and the \$72 per year pension amount appears to be the only verifiable source of income; from 1883-1901, the pension met the standard of living amount, and exceeded it, but how did they survive from 1863-1883?

#83: Family of three must have been destitute in that the soldier claims he did not work and there was no pension until 1884.

#94: Soldier dead in 1863; even with \$144 per year, how could wife and 2 kids survive?

#106: Originally a family of seven, then of four, how could they have survived on \$212 per year?

#127: A family of four, this soldier could not adequately support them on \$180 per year in wages plus \$36 in pension.

#147: How could this soldier get by and support his wife on \$180 per year plus a \$24 per year pension?

#169: Unable to work after the war, the soldier's pension did not meet the standard of living. The wife and two children must have been destitute even though his wife said she did washing and ironing.

#196: The soldier died in 1866 and it is probable that on \$96 per year the widow was virtually destitute.

#207: Soldier, his wife and child had to rely totally on his \$72 per year pension.

#208: The soldier and his wife could not have gotten by on \$180 in wages and \$48 in pension.

#218: It is difficult to see how this family of five could survive on \$204 per year, salary and pension.

#220: The soldier could not work, and his pension of between \$180-\$216 per year could not have supported he and his wife.

#241: It would be a challenge for this family of three to live on \$204 per year, including pension.

#254: A family of three, how could they live on \$180 per year pension? The soldier could not work.

Totals: 18 families were destitute.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#34: The family of this soldier met the \$240 figure.

Table 2.2 (Continued)

- #35: This policeman worked for 22 years and supported his wife. His pay averaged \$2 per day or \$730 per year. The twelve additional dollars for his pension make his yearly pay \$742.
- #39: This policeman with 4 dependents worked for 37 years at \$2 per day, \$730 per year, and \$48 for pension or \$778.
- #43: Soldier supported his family of four with pay of \$180 per year and \$200 per year from pension or \$380 per year.
- #53: This soldier and his wife probably had to live on \$180 per year in salary and \$48 per year in pension or about \$228. The wife listed her occupation as washing and ironing which brought in another \$90 per year.
- #54: A family of three, the soldier's yearly wage was at least \$180; with the \$96 extra per year from the pension, the yearly amount per year for this family was \$270.
- #57: A family of three, this soldier's yearly income as a clerk was at least \$180 plus \$72 for his pension or \$250, and his pension increased.
- #84: This soldier worked for the street cleaning department for 24 years and earned at least \$300 per year from his salary and another \$36-\$80 from his pension. His wife and he had one child.
- #100: This soldier's wage was \$180 per year and his pension increased it to \$240.
- #105: A family of six lived on at least \$270 per year, wages and pension, which was raised in later years.
- #116: A plumber, this soldier's wage earned from \$360 per year; the \$72 additional pension brought the total yearly income to \$432 for a family of nine.
- #125: This soldier and his wife lived on a salary of at least \$360 per year as a debt collector--plus, \$24 per year of pension, no children.
- #133: The soldier worked 10 years as a one-armed laborer at \$180 per year plus \$180 per year pension for a total of \$360 per year, which supported a family of five.
- #157: Soldier earned at least \$180 per year as a wholesale butcher and his \$96 per year pension supported his wife: \$270 per year.
- #159: As a carpenter in New York, he earned at least \$360 per year plus another \$48 for his pension. He and his wife had no children.
- #164: He supported his wife and two children on a \$96 per year pension plus \$180 in wages for a total of \$276 per year.
- #182: This soldier and his wife survived at least until 1870 on \$240 per year.

Table 2.2 (Continued)

#201: This soldier and his wife had six children and were a military family until 1877 when he went back to being a laborer.

#202: This family of three received \$72 per year in pension money plus at least \$180 per year wages, or \$250.

#210: This father of three, a plumber, worked at least 180 days per year at \$2 per hour for \$360 a year; the \$12 additional per year in pension helped.

#222: As a clerk for 25 years, his amputation did not hinder him. Even at \$360 per year, the \$96 pension amount allowed his wife and five children to get by.

#226: A family of four, this shoemaker and salary was at least \$300 per year plus a \$24 pension.

#227: Soldier earned at least \$360 per year as a painter, and his \$24 extra in pension helped.

#250: A carpet weaver, this soldier earned at least \$240 per year in salary plus \$24 in pension.

Total: 24 families survived.

Table 2.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year Died	Information on Children
107 Hugh Corrigan or Kerrigan & Margaret Harkins	24	\$1,298	\$24/yr., 1865-84; \$72/yr., 1882-91; Wife: \$96/yr., 1882-91; Child: \$24/yr., 1891-93	1865:1	(1866-88) Laborer, Comb Maker, could work (1866-88), \$180/yr.	Shell fragments, right leg, POW, fought in most battles! Wounded at Petersburg	(1841-91), d. age 50, of pneumonia	Hugh: b.1877
109 James Donnelly & Mary Mansfield	33	\$4,000	\$24/yr., 1864-68; Wife: \$96/yr., 1868-1903; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1868-71; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1868-78; Child #3: \$24/yr., 1868-80	1868:8	(1863-68) Shoemaker, could not work. "He came back a complete wreck and had to use crutches ... and a hard hacking cough."	GSW, right leg, flesh wound on chest	(1831-1868), d. age 37, heart disease, wounded in left leg below knee, Antietam	Sarah Ann: b.1855; George: b.1862; Isabella: b.1864; Charles: b.1866, d.1870; Mary (1868-70); Elizabeth (1856-57); Charles (1858-); John: b.1860, d.1860

Table 2.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year Died	Information on Children
135 John Reilly & Mary Kavanaugh	40	\$1,118	\$48/yr., 1865-1872; \$72/yr., 1872-79; Wife: \$96/yr., 1892-94; Child: \$24/yr., 1892-93	1881:4	(1865-79) Soldier: Laborer; Wife: Seamstress	GSW, left hand, amputated 3 fingers	1825-79, d. age 54	John: b.1875; Willie: b.1877; Rose; Katie: X
137 James McManus (McDonald) & Sarah Clark	27	\$6,968	\$96/yr., 1864-66; \$180/yr., 1866-74; \$286/yr., 1874-88; \$360/yr., 1888-91; Wife: \$96/yr., 1891-94; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1891-93; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1891-97; Child #3: \$24/yr., 1891-95	1869:3	(1865-99) Soldier: Stone rubber, fruit vendor Wife: Housewife	GSW, right arm, amputated	(1837-91) Heart failure, d. at age 54	James: b.1881; Thomas: b.1879; Sarah: b.1877

Table 2.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year Died	Information on Children
151 Edward Toohill & Anna	20	\$6,264	\$72/yr., 1863-88; \$96/yr., 1888-90; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-1908; \$144/yr., 1908-1919; Child #1: \$72/yr., 1890-92; Child #2: \$48/yr., 1890-1900; \$24/yr., 1890-1904	1867:5	(1865-88) Soldier: Plumber, harbor master; Wife: Housewife	GSW, left thigh, left elbow	(1843-1890) d. age 47 of phthisis	One son, John, supported mom; he worked for Union Ferry Co., he had \$500 life insurance policy on his mom from Prudential; he got it in 1919
160 James Kelly & Kate	20	\$3,306	\$32/yr., 1862-72; \$72/yr., 1872-83; \$120/yr., 1882-88; Wife: \$144/yr., 1889-98; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1889; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1889-99	1868:2	(1866-88) Marble cutter (1866-89)	GSW, neck, left arm	(1842-1889) d. age 47, of phthisis	

Table 2.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year Died	Information on Children
168 Cornelius Sullivan	24	\$9,048	\$96/yr., 1864-72; \$216/yr., 1872-83; \$288/yr., 1883-87; \$432/yr., 1887-96; Wife: \$96/yr., 1896-?; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1896-1902; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1896-04; Child #3: \$24/yr., 1896-1906; Child #4: \$24/yr., 1896-08	1885:4	(1866-95) Porter, no heavy man, labor	Shell wound, left leg, right arm paralysis	(1840-96), d. age 56, heart failure	

Table 2.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year Died	Information on Children
178 Robert H. Kelly	24	\$6,793	\$96/yr., 1865-66; \$180/yr., 1866-74; \$180/yr., 1874-81; Wife: \$96/yr., 1881-08; \$144/yr., 1908-10; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1881-85; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1881-87; Child #d: \$24/yr., 1888-91; Child #4: \$24/yr., 1881-94; Child #5: \$24/yr., 1881-96	1863:5	(1865-80) Soldier: Barber; Wife: Washing woman	GSW, left leg, amputated above knee	(1841-81), d. age 40, paralysis	Robert: b.1867; Lizzie: b.1871; Maggie: b.1875; Frank: b.1878; Annie: b.1880
188 Martin Walsh	44	\$3,184.50	\$24/yr., 1868-71; \$48/yr., 1871-76; Wife: \$144/yr., 1890-1919; Child: \$24/yr., 1840-92	1852:5	Soldier: Laborer, coachman; Wife: Cleaning woman	GSW, foot, amputated 2 toes	(1844-76?) Pneumonia	Patrick: b.1876; James: b.1863; Martin; William; John

Table 2.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year Died	Information on Children
199 Joseph Burke & Anna Maria Duffy	23	\$3,709	\$48/yr., 1862-72; \$72/yr., 1872-86; Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-1913; Child: \$24/yr., 1890	1859:3	(1863-80) Soldier Stone cutter; Wife: ?	GSW, left elbow	(1839-86) Cirrhosis	Edward: b.1874; Annie: ?; Walter: b.1863
259 Matthew Malloy & Ann Fitzpatrick	36	\$6,883	\$96/yr., 1863-66; \$180/yr., 1866-72; \$216/yr., 1872-74; \$288/yr., 1874-82; Wife: \$96/yr., 1882-89; \$144/yr., 1889-01; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1882-84; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1882-86	1856:2	(1863-80) Carpenter	Amputated right leg	(1826-82), d. age 55, Bright's disease	Catherine: b.1868; Ellen: b.1870

Table 2.3 (Continued)

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

- #107: This soldier earned \$180 in wages plus \$24 in pension per year which was not enough to support his wife and child.
- #109: The soldier died soon after the war ended; the widow had to support five children, and \$168 per year in pensions would be inadequate.
- #151: The soldier's \$180 per year plus pension of \$72 per year for a total \$252 kept the family from perishing, but with five children, the existence must have been marginal.
- #179: This soldier brought home \$180 per year, but the \$48 in pension money would keep his wife and three children in a destitute state.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

- #135: This soldier earned \$180 in wages, and his wife worked and brought in \$50 per year. The pension of \$48-72 put this family of five at about \$278 per year.
- #137: This soldier earned \$180 per year plus \$96 in pension, putting him and his family in the survival column since the pension kept increasing.
- #160: While this family of four had an income of \$180 in wages plus \$32 in pension, the amount went up from 1872-88 so they met the standard of living.
- #168: The soldier and his five dependents survived on \$180 in wages plus \$96 in pension money.
- #178: The soldier worked as a barber at \$180 per year plus his wife worked as a washing woman at \$60 per year; add the \$96-\$180 pension and the family of seven survived.
- #188: The soldier earned \$180 per year, his wife \$60, and the pension increases from \$24-\$48 kept the family together (five kids).
- #259: He could work as a carpenter and with his pension earn about \$300 per year to support his family of four.

Table 2.4: Pensions for Soldier/Child

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
152 Richard Birmingham & Catherine Eyan	19	\$2,208	\$48/yr., 1863-66; \$72/yr., 1866-70; \$96/yr., 1870-73; \$96/yr., 1873-?; \$204/yr., ?-1914; \$258/yr., 1914-18; \$456/yr., 1918-19; Daughter: \$456/yr., 1919-?	1869:11	(1864-1912) clerk, recording secretary, Irish Brigade, \$300/yr.	GSW, right and left legs, Antietam	(1844-1919), d. age 75, influenza and pneumonia	Mary: b.1870; Annie: b.1873; Margaret: b.1880; Deceased: Ellen: 1871; Catherine (twin to Annie): 1873; Andrew: 1875; Theresa: 1876; Rose & Lily (twins): 1879; Richard: 1886; Gertrude: 1888

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#152: The soldier's salary of \$300 per year plus his extra pension money meant he could support his family of five.

Table 2.5: Pensions for Widows and Children

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
21 Michael Sands & Mary Harper	\$5,000	Wife: \$96/yr., 1862-?; Child: \$144/yr., 1895-1909	1845:5	?	KIA	?	
115 Ed McMahon & Mary	\$6,192	Wife: \$96/yr., 1862-1909; \$144/yr., 1909-?; Child #1: \$96/yr., 1867-77; Child #2: \$72/yr., 1867-77	1857:3	?	Wounded in war, KIA	June 22, 1862, died as result of wounds in thigh at Fair Oaks	James: b.1858; Edward: b.1859; Mary: b.1861
121 Michael McDonald	3,876	Wife: \$96/yr., 1866-86; \$144/yr., 1886-96; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1866-70; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1866-74; Child #3: \$?, 1866-77	1853:3	Porter, Clerk	Not wounded	(1826-1866) d. age 40, of heart attack	Mary: b.1754; Margaret: b.1855; William: b.1861
138 Daniel Cardigan & Julia Meehay	\$2,446	Wife: \$96/yr., 1890-1914; Child: \$24/yr., 1890-93	1860:4	(1866-84) Cooper, worked; 1865-80, returned to Ireland and lived with family, then NYC	Not wounded	(1838-86) d. age 42, of kidney and heart failure at 4th district prison	Daniel; John; Patrick; Margaret

Table 2.5: Pensions for Widows and Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
191 Thomas Jones & Mary	\$3,392	Wife: \$96/yr., 1864-?; \$144/yr., ?-1896; Child: \$24/yr., 1864-78	1861:1	Soldier	GSW, right hand, 1 finger off at Cold Harbor	(1831-1864) d. age 35, of apoplexy	Catherine: b.1862
232 Richard Donovan & Margaret	\$4,416	Wife: \$96/yr., 1864-1904; \$144/yr., 1904-05; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1864-73; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1864-74	1856:2	Laborer	No wound	(1835-1862) d. age 27, of consumption	Julia: b.1857; Hannah: b.1859
260 Philip Dowd & Ellen Drennen	\$4,144	Wife: \$96/yr., 1885-86; \$144/yr., 1886-1912; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1885-87; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1885-89; Child #3: \$24/yr., 1885-92; Child #4: \$24/yr., 1885-95	1868:4	(1866-84) Teamster	GSW, right hip and instep	(1833-85) d. age 52, of consumption and diarrhea	Mary: b.1871; Katherine: b.1879; John: b.1876; Ellen: b.1873

Table 2.5: Pensions for Widows and Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
156 Michael Mahoney & Ann (d. 1871)	\$1,368	Wife: \$96/yr., 1863-71; Child: \$24/yr., 1866-75; Child: \$96/yr., 1871-75	1850:1	?	KIA, GSW to head, Gettysburg	?	Catherine (guardian was James Burns)
158 John Silke McNamara & Mary	\$216 (not including the widow's pension)	Wife: \$96/yr., 1864-?; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1866-70; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1866-71	1853:2	?	Not wounded	? Died of chronic diarrhea	George: b.1854; William: b.1855
167 Daniel Doyle	\$1,512 (not including the widow's pension)	Widow: \$96/yr., ?-?; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1866-74; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1866-77; Child #3: \$24/yr., 1866-77	1866:3	Farmer, Joiner	Not wounded, he abandoned his family and went to Ireland	(1817-1884) d. age 67, of cerebral disease in Liverpool workhouse	Margaret: b.1861; James: b.1858
195 William Morrison	\$2,220	Wife: \$96/yr., 1864-?; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1866-71; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1866-73; Child #3: \$24/yr., 1866-75; Child #4: \$24/yr., 1866-79	1853:4	?	Died as POW, Andersonville, GA	Died in 1864	Edward: b.1855; John: b.1857; Mary Jane: b.1859; Robert: b.1863

Table 2.5: Pensions for Widows and Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
214 Patrick Moore	\$3,862	Wife: \$96/yr., 1868-89; Child: \$24/yr., 1869-76	1846:5	Tailor	Not wounded	d. age 51, of TB	
230 Francis McArdle & Ann Jane Campbell	\$456 + widow's pension	Wife: \$96/yr., 1862-?; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1862-70; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1862-73	1848:2	?	GSW, KIA, Antietam in 1862	d. age 43 in 1862	Francis: b.1854; James: b.1857
231 Francis Kaunagh	\$1,859	Wife: \$96/yr., 1863-81; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1863-69	1939:5	?	GSW at Antietam in 1862, eventually killed him	? d. 1863	Francis: b.1853; Ann: b.1841; Paul: b.1842; Edward: b.1845; Fanny: b.1848
242 Daniel McKeever & Mary Doonan	\$1,418	Wife: \$96/yr., 1864-74; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1866-73; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1866-76	1850:3 In 1869: U.S. Pension Agent says the mother was a drunk, so kids taken to Catholic Protectory	?	KIA	d. 1865	Charles: b.1857; Patrick: b.1860; Mary: b.1851
243 Michael White & Margaret Leehan	\$3,216	Wife: \$96/yr., 1866-87; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1866-71; \$24/yr., 1866-?	1854:2	1865, Laborer	Severe injury to shoulder, at Antietam	(1823-66) d. age 43, of consumption	Margaret: b.1858; Mary: b.1855

Table 2.5: Pensions for Widows and Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
261 John Hand & Ann Walls	\$2,669	Wife: \$96/yr., 1864-68; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1864-68; \$96/yr., 1868-77; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1864-68; \$96/yr., 1868-78	1857:3 Wife, Ann, remarried in 1868, kids still got money	Laborer	KIA, Cold Harbor, in 1864	(1822-1864) d. age 42	Ann: b.1859; John: b.1861; Bernard: b.1862

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#21: With Michael Sands killed in action, and with spotty data as far as exactly during which years the widow Mary Harper received her \$96 per year, it is difficult to see how this woman and her five children could have survived without public assistance.

#121: The widow of Michael McDonald could live only a marginal existence with \$96 per year and \$48 more staggered in 1866-74 or \$144--especially with three children to support.

#138: The soldier took his wife and four children back to Ireland from 1865-80, then returned to New York and died.

#191: Thomas Jones's widow Mary did not receive more than \$120 per year to live on in 1864 and support her daughter Catherine in what must have been a borderline survival situation.

#232: With \$144 in pension income for Margaret Donovan and her two children, 1864-73, they would need the support of charity to live a modest existence.

#260: Philip Dowd was able to work as a teamster until he died and earned at least \$180-\$240 which was not enough to support his wife and four children.

Table 2.5 (Continued)

#156: With the father killed at Gettysburg and the mother dead in 1871, daughter Catherine was taken under guardianship by James Burns about whom we know nothing. What would happen after the \$96 per year pension ended is uncertain.

#158: The family of John McNamara would not have been able to easily make ends meet on the total yearly pension income of \$144. What would the two 17-year-olds and their mother Mary do to make ends meet after 1871?

#167: Soldier Doyle abandoned his wife and children who could have had only a marginal existence on the \$168 in pension money, ending in 1877.

#195: The \$240 in pension money falls below the standard of living for the widow and her four children.

#214: This family, a widow and five children, had to subsist on \$216 pension income in 1869-76; after that?

#230: The \$144 the widow received to support her two children lasted only until 1873.

#231: The widow could not have had a very easy life with \$96 per year and only \$24 for one child. Hopefully, her children were able to care for mom.

#242: This widow had to support herself and two children on \$144, which was marginal.

#243: *Ibid.*

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#115: Mary McMahon and her three children lived on \$264 between 1867-77.

#261: The \$312 John Hand's widow, Ann, received, plus her remarriage in 1868, bode well for the three children.

Table 2.6: Pension for Soldier, Widow, Child

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
251 Michael Judge & Catherine Bennett	\$3,628	\$96/yr., 1864-81; \$96/yr., 1881-82; Child: \$96/yr., 1882-92; Remarried widow: \$144/yr., 1917-; \$300/yr., 1917-20; \$360/yr., 1920	1875:2	Oysterman	Fair, GSW, side of head, served 1861-64	(1841-1881) d. age 40, inflammation of the brain	Mary: b.1868, d.1871; Charles b.1876

Table 2.7: Pensions for Widows

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
19 George Binns & Ann Monahan	\$672	\$96/yr., 1887-93	1862:0	(1865-87) Soldier: Blacksmith; Wife: Washing		(1838-1887) d. age 49, struck by train	
41 John Buckley & Mary	\$7,500	\$96/yr. + \$12/yr. for kids, 1864-86; \$144/yr., 1886-1913	Date of marriage unknown, 7 kids	Laborer	Wounded in war, GSW, Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862 (left lung)	(1830-64) d. Dec. 1864, 7 wounds about age 35	Margaret: b.1854; John: b.1857; Ellen: b.1864; Mary: b.1850; Cornelius: b.1852; Thomas: b.1859
45 James Smart	\$3,888	Wife: \$96/yr., 1868-95; Child: \$48/yr., 1868-95	1849:3	Carpenter	Not wounded, hospital in 1862, phthisis	(1863-68) d. age 45, of phthisis and pneumonia	John: b.1851; James: b.1853; Thomas: b.1854
52 John Gorman & Mary Maher	\$2,400	Wife: \$96/yr., 1862-96; Child: \$72/yr., 1962-96	1841:4	?	KIA	? d. Dec. 1862 in military hospital, Falmouth, VA, ulceration of bowels	Eliza: b.1852; Thomas: b.1855; Margaret: b.1857; John: b.1860

Table 2.7: Pensions for Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
88 John Giblan & Mary	\$3,500	Wife: \$96/yr., 1862-93	1848:6	?	KIA, Fredericksburg	?	Catherine: b.1852; Michael: b.1854X; John: b.1857; Mary Ann: b.1859X; Jane: b.1860; Peter: b.1862X
150 John Gallagher & Alice	\$4,128	Wife: \$96/yr., 1864-1907	1857:0	Laborer	Shell wound to left leg, Fredericksburg	d. 1864, age 40, on Ward's Island, in hospital	
176 Edward Owens & Mary Gorman	\$2,800	Wife: \$96/yr., 1864-93	1857:0	Hawker	Wounds in both thighs, died on board steamer from VA to NYC	(1831-64) d. age 33, wounded at Petersburg	

Table 2.7: Pensions for Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
221 Patrick McCaffrey & Margaret Carnay	\$6,566	\$96/yr., 1865-75; \$196/yr., 1865-70; \$168/yr., 1870-72; \$144/yr., 1872-76; \$120/yr., 1876-80; \$96/yr., 1880-86; \$144/yr., 1886-1912	1852:4	Laborer	(1862-64) GSW to left shoulder, Reams Station	(1829-65) d. age 36, of chronic diarrhea	Mary A.: b.1854; Rose: b.1856; Margaret: b.1860; Juliette: b.1864
224 Samuel Russell & Ann Dealey	\$1,344	\$96/yr., 1881-95	1848:0	(1863-77) Laborer	(1861-63) not wounded, hemorrhoids and rheumatism	(1828-1877) d. age 49	

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

- #41: Mary Buckley's standard of living fell below the \$240 mark at \$168 per year with which to support four children.
- #45: James Smart's widow had to support herself and three children on \$144 per year, insufficient in New York.
- #52: Without public assistance, Mary Gorman's \$168 could not alone support herself and four children.
- #88: The three children and widow of John Giblan had to subsist on \$96 per year.
- #150: Alice Gallagher's only income was her \$96 per year pension.

Table 2.7 (Continued)

#176: Mary Owens's \$96 per year gave her a marginal existence.

#224: Ann Dealey's widow's pension of \$96 per year put her well below that \$240 level for a family of four.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#19: George Binns earned about \$2 per day as a blacksmith or about \$360 per year. His wife Ann brought in about \$50 per year from her occupation, washing. After his death, her pension of \$96 per year could have sustained her had they saved.

#221: Margaret McCaffrey and her four children lived above the \$240 at \$280--all because of receipt of pension.

Table 3.1: Pensions for Soldiers

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
1 Patrick Murphy & Mary Ann	81	\$720	\$144/yr., 1890-95	Ann = 1878:0	S: Watchman, \$180/yr., 1864-91; W: Servant, \$90/yr.	Wounded in war, served 1861-63	(1819-1895) d. age 76, of exhaustion and general disability	
13 John Lawler & Mary; Ann (d. 1877)	49	\$4,000	\$120/yr., 1897-1912; \$36/yr., 1912-13	Mary = 1864; Ann = 1912	(1865-97) Soldier, \$180/yr.	GSW, right leg, Wilderness (1864); in service (1863-64)	(1838-1914) d. age 76	
26 Timothy Connell & Cathering		\$720	\$144/yr., 1890-95	1888:0	(1866-1890) Laborer	No war wound, deafness and curvature of spine	(1842-92) d. age 50 of phthisis in soldier's home, Bath, NY, where he lived from 1890	
27 James Fahery & Elizabeth Ernst	65	\$432	\$144/yr., 1897-1900	1878:1	(1866-1897) Laborer	Hip and back wounds in combat, Malvern Hill, served 1861-65	(1835-1900) d. age 68 of phthisis	

Table 3.1: Pensions for Soldiers (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
68 Patrick Riley & Catherine Beglam		\$1,100	\$72/yr., 1892-96; \$96/yr., 1896-99	1847:4	(1866-92) Laborer	GSW to left hand, bayonet wound to left shoulder, Cold Harbor; served 1864-65	?	Mary Ann: b.1848; George: b.1853; Emma: b.1857; Elizabeth: b.1859
92 Phelam Devitt & Margaret	64	\$8,856	\$72/yr., 1906-07; \$180/yr., 1907-1912; \$300/yr., 1912-20; \$600/yr., 1920; \$864/yr., 1920-26	1885:2	(1866-1906) Musician, Glass Filterer, Laborer	No wound, served 1861-65	(1842-1926) d. age 84 of heart disease and senility	Francis: b.1888; Eileen: X
126 Patrick Riley & Catherine Beglam	61	\$698	\$72/yr., 1892-96; \$96/yr., 1896-1900	1847:4	(1866-90) Laborer	Bayonet wound, left shoulder, Cold Harbor, served 1864-65	(1830-1900) 70	Mary Ann: b.1848; George: b.1853 Emma: b.1857; Elizabeth: b.1859

Table 3.1: Pensions for Soldiers (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
165 John Kerwin & Ann Donar	49	\$9,156	\$144/yr., 1890-1911; \$144/yr., 1911-12; \$276/yr., 1912-16; \$360/yr., 1916-18; \$480/yr., 1918-26; \$780/yr., 1926	1867:11	(1866-1890) Plasterer, Mason	No war wound, served 1861-64, but contracted rupture, Battle of Mechanicsville in June 1862	*1841-1926) d. age 85	John: b.1869; Mary: b.1873; Ann: b.1871, d.1872; Andrew: b.1874; Joseph: b.1876; Edward: b.1878; Leo: b.1881; Michael: b.1883; William: b.1885; Frances: b.1887, d.1889; Albert

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#13: John Lawler and his first wife Mary who died in 1877 earned the \$180 wage of the laborer per year, and did survive on this. When unable to work in 1897 due to old age, the \$120 per year pension allowed him to manage.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

#26: Although below the standard of living for the family of four, Timothy and Catherine Connell got by on his income as laborer at \$180 per year. When he could no longer work the last five years of his life, his \$144 per year pension supported him well in the soldier's home.

#27: James and Elizabeth Fahery had to live frugally on his probable \$180 per year, but when he could no longer work, the \$144 per year pension allowed him to survive.

#68: Patrick and Catherine Riley lived on his \$180 per year but in a destitute way with their four children. The soldier's pension of \$72 per year after 1892 at least covered the rent.

#92: Phelam Devitt received no pension until 1906 at age 64. The last 14 years he received from \$300 to \$864 per year!

#126: The \$180 per year Patrick Riley earned without pension was a marginal salary with a wife and four children.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#1: This family consisted of the soldier Patrick Murphy and his wife. Patrick earned \$180 per year as a laborer, and Ann, his second wife from 1878, worked as a servant and earned \$90 per year. When he was no longer able to work in 1891, the government pensioned him at \$144 per year keeping his last five years more comfortable.

#165: The salary of \$3.00 per day as a mason permitted John Kerwin and his wife Ann to earn the \$540 per year necessary to support their huge family and the \$144 per year pension increasing 25% each year until 1926 provided them comfort in old age.

Table 3.2: Pensions for Soldiers/Widows

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
11 Michael Hyde & Catherine McCarthy	58	\$2,016	S: \$144/yr., 1895-96; W: \$144/yr., 1895-1908	1871:2	(1865-91) S: Laborer, \$180/yr.; W: Laundress at \$130/yr.	Served 1861-65; injury to nose and right arm, Petersburg	(1845-96) d. age 51, in Ward's Island; asylum 1891-96 for "general paresis" mental infirmity	Mary: b.1882; Ellen: b.1885
61 William Hart & Edwina Jones	50	\$624	S: \$144/yr., 1891-92; W: \$96/yr., 1892-97	1872:0	(1865-90) Painter, \$540/yr.	(1862-63) GSW to right hand and leg	(1841-92) d. age 51, of phthisis	
81 John Daly & Mary Patterson	73	\$600	S: \$144/yr., 1890-94; W: \$96/yr., 1896-?	1855:0	(1864-89) Laborer; Metal Dealer	(1862-63) Discharge for heart disease and rheumatism	(1817-94) d. age 77 of bronchitis	
85 John Farrell & Mary Dawson	57	\$1,300	S: \$72/yr., 1890-97; \$96/yr., 1897-04; \$120/yr., 1904-?; W: \$96/yr., 1906-?	1870:4	(1866-89) Clerk	(1861-65) Rheumatism after 1890	(1824-1906) d. age 72 of pneumonia	Mary: b.1874; Anna: b.1881; John: b.1884; Martin: b.1886

Table 3.2: Pensions for Soldiers/Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
113 Richard H. Roach & Mary Ann Welsh They owned 1243 Washington Ave., New York, valued at \$7,500; rents out one floor for \$16/mo. [1906].	60	\$1,296	S: \$144/yr., 1905-06; W: \$144/yr., 1908-1916	1869:6	S: Butcher, Clerk (1865-90); W: Rented out apartment she owned	(1864-65) Wounded right ankle, Wilderness	(1843-1906) d. age 63 of TB	William: b.1871; Margaret: b.1873; Richard: b.1875; James: b.1877; Isabel: b.1884; Anna: b.1889
146 Patrick Cullon or Collin & Rose Wiley	41		S: \$96/yr., 1891-98; W: \$96/yr., 1898-1906	1865:0	(1866-90) Laborer, Cement Maker	(1861-65) Wounded at Antietam	(1850-98) d. ag 48 of cardiac disease	
149 John Hagan & Mary Gray (He was ordered to pay wife \$5 per wk. support, 1892, gave \$10.	60	\$504	S: \$72/yr., 1890-97; W: \$96/yr., 1899-?	1872:0	(1864-89) Roofer, Master Plumber He had \$2,000 worth of property in Mt. Vernon, NY	(1861-63) No wound	(1847-97) d. age 58	*

Table 3.2: Pensions for Soldiers/Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
163 Cornelius McMiller & Catherine Mathews	61	\$1,920	S: \$96/yr., 1890-92; W: \$96/yr., 1895-?; \$144/yr., ?-1913	1870:1	(1866-90) Carpenter	(1861-64) Wounded left knee, Wilderness, rheumatism	(1829-92) D. age 63 1/2 Cirrhosis of liver	
170 John F. Cronin & Elizabeth Ann Cropp	60	\$11,220	S: \$72/yr., 1908; \$144/yr., 1909-12; \$162/yr., 1912-13; \$186/yr., 1913-18; \$360/yr., 1918; \$384/yr., 1919-?; \$600/yr., ?-1921; W: \$360/yr., 1921-28; \$480/yr., 1928-40	1871:11	Truant Officer, Gunsmith, Hatter; worked 1866-1907	(1864-65) No wound	1849-1921 d. age 72, of pneumonia	Elizabeth: 1872X; John F.: 1873X; Joseph: 1875X; Eugene: 1877X; Mary Josephine: 1878X; Charles: 1881X; Lillian: 1883; Phillip: 1886; Henry: 1890; Vincent: 1894; Raymond: 1897

Table 3.2: Pensions for Soldiers/Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
180 Henry Southwell & Jane Kevitt	49	\$3,676	S: \$96/yr., 1890-1901; \$120/yr., 1901-03; W: \$96/yr., 1903-28; \$480/yr., 1928-?	1874:3	(1864-89) Cooper	(1861-63) GSW to left leg	(1841-1903) d. age 62, of consumption	Helen: 1875; William: 1877; Henry: 1885
190 Michael Guinan & Annie Nevers	65	\$872	S: \$144/yr., 1890-95; W: \$96/yr., 1895-97	1854:0	(1866-89) Confectioner	1865, no wound	(1825-95) d. age 70, heart disease	
204 Miles McPortland & Margaret Coyne	47	\$740	S: \$144/yr., 1890-93; W: \$96/yr., 1893-96	1865:0	Watchman	(1861-65) No wound	(1843-93) d. age 50, pneumonia	
211 Joseph Demorest (John Duffy) & Catherine Fagan	56	\$240	S: \$72/yr., 1898-1900; W: \$96/yr., 1900-01	1864:0	(1866-97) Book binder	(1864-65) No wound	(1842-99) d. age 57 of apoplexy (in soldier's home in Fogus, ME, 1898	

Table 3.2: Pensions for Soldiers/Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
228 James Morrow & Catherine & Mary	66	\$2,230	S: \$96/yr., 1890-97; \$120/yr., 1897-1904; \$144/yr., 1904-05; W: \$300/yr., 1918-20; \$360/yr., 1920-?	1892:0	(1866-89) Laborer	(1864-65) No wound	(1824-1905) d. age 81, no cause of death given	

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#146: He and his wife had no children, but the Cullons probably earned less than \$200 per year. The \$96 in pension received in the 1890's kept them in their tenement apartment, and out of the poor house.

#190: As a confectioner, Michael Guinan's yearly wage fell below the \$240 figure, but he had only a wife to support. When he could no longer earn the \$180 per year, the \$144 in pension at least kept him in basic food and shelter.

#204: Miles and Margaret McPortland earned under the \$240 per year amount needed for a family of four, but from 1890 in the pension kept them from being homeless and starved.

#228: James Morrow earned only about \$180 per year, so the \$96 in yearly pension he received after 1890 when unable to work was even increased to \$120 per year giving support in the last years.

Table 3.2 (Continued)

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#11: Michael Hyde, his wife Catherine, and their two children got by on their parents' income of \$310 per year. When Michael could no longer work after 1895, his pension of \$144 and her salary kept the family afloat.

#61: William Hart earned \$540 per year as a painter. The pension he and his wife received provided a good cushion.

#73: His wage as a metal dealer was at least \$360 per year and his wife and he could manage on that. His \$144 per year pension made up the difference when he could no longer work.

#85: John Farrell supported his wife and four children on his clerk's wage of about \$360 per year, and the added pension monies after 1890 kept their heads above water.

#113: This family owned property valued at \$7,500 on Washington Ave. in the Bronx. As a clerk and butcher, Richard Roach did quite well--even supporting a wife and six children. The exact yearly income is in excess of \$540. The \$144 per year pension he and his wife received allowed her to get by after his death by renting out one floor for \$16 per month.

#149: Master plumber John Hagan had at least \$2,000 worth of property in Mt. Vernon. His yearly wage was at least \$540, and he and his wife had no children. After 1892 his wife left him due to his "mean" behavior and the court ordered him to pay her support of \$5 per week or \$250 per year. Both of their pensions were like social security benefits today.

#163: The \$540 per year income Cornelius McMiller earned supported his wife and child, and the pension provided an extra \$96 per year at the end of their lives.

#170: With the various occupations of gunsmith, hatter, and tenant officer, from 1866-1907, John Cronin earned at least \$540 per year with which to support his wife and the 5/11 children who lived. The pension of between \$72 per year in 1908 to \$600 per year in 1921 made ends meet.

#180: Soldier Henry Southwell supported his wife and three children on his salary of \$540 per year as a cooper. From 1890-1928, the pension kept his wife and he afloat.

#211: John Demorest supported himself and Catherine his wife on the book binder yearly wage of at least \$540 per year, and the pension kicked in another \$72 per year when he could no longer work, 1898-1900.

Table 3.2 (Continued)

* "2 District Police Court. City and County of New York, ss:

MARY HAGAN, of No. 26 W. 36th Street, being duly sworn, deposes and says that she is the lawful wife of John Hagan; that she has been married to him twenty years; that she is the mother of no children, of whom he is the father, and that her said husband has abandoned deponent in said City, without adequate support and in danger of becoming a burden upon the Public, and has neglected to provide according to his means for his family. Deponent prays that her said husband may be arrested, and dealt with as the law directs.

(Signed) Mary Hagan.

Sworn before me this 26 day of April, 1892.

(Signed) P. Divver, Police Justice.

On the back of the foregoing affidavit is endorsed the following, 'Paroled, defendant agreeing to pay \$5 per week.' The defendant, John Hagan, was subsequently arrested on or about April 26, 1892, as shown by certification already given and on April 28, 1892, the above endorsement was made upon the papers.

Respectfully,

EBEN DEMAREST, per POLICE CLERK."

Table 3.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Ded	Information on Children
78 James Desmond & Bridget	41	\$1,536	S: \$144/yr., 1890-98; W: \$96/yr., 1898-1902; C: \$72/yr., 1898-1902	1870:3	(1866-89) Painter, \$540/yr.	(1864-65) No war wounds, rheumatism and heart trouble from 1890	(1849-98) d. age 49, of concussion of the brain	Howell: b.1886; Florence: b.1891; George: b.1893
148 William Gleason & Sarah McLaude	49	\$5,280	S: \$144/yr., 1890-91; W: \$96/yr., 1891-98; Child #1: \$96/yr., 1891; Child #2: \$72/yr., 1891-1901; Child #3: \$120/yr., 1898-1907; Child #4: \$48/yr., 1891-1906; Child #5: \$24/yr., 1891-1907;	1874:7	(1866-89) S: Miller W: Milliner	(1863-65) No war wounds, after 1890 bad back and liver disease and general disability, rheumatism	Died falling down the stairs; Sarah died in 1898 in Manhattan State Hospital	Mary; Sarah; William; Teresa. Annie J. Hopkins of Minnesota was guardian for all but Mary.

Table 3.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Ded	Information on Children
148 Continued			Child #6: \$168/yr., 1898-1901; Child #7: \$144/yr., 1898-1905					
234 Thomas Ferris & Anna & Delia	46	\$9,788	S: \$72/yr., 1890-95; \$72/yr., 1899-1907); \$144/yr., 1907-1912; \$204/yr., 1912-19?; \$276/yr., 1919-20; \$360/yr., 1920-24; \$864/yr., 1924-;W: \$360/yr., 1924-38; Child: \$73/yr., 1924	1902.5	(1866-89) Watchman, Patrolman, \$360/yr.	(1861-64) No war wounds	(1844-1924) d. age 80, of arterio- sclerosis	Mary: 1908; Alicia: 1904; Thomas: 1908

Table 3.3: Pensions for Soldiers, Widows, Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Age He Got Pension	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Ded	Information on Children
239 John Murphy & Mary & Bessie	51	\$2,872	S: \$72/yr., 1899-1901; \$96/yr., 1901-02; W: \$144/yr., 1908-?; \$360/yr., ?-1926; Child: \$24/yr., 1908-14	1881:5	(1866-98) Stonecutter, \$540/yr.	(1864-65) No war wounds	(1848-1902) d. age 54, of pneumonia and heart disease	Florence: b.1898; Rebecca: b.1872; Mary: b.1874; Catherine: b.1882; William: b.1884

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

None.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#78: James Desmond supported his wife and three children on the \$540 per year wages earned as a painter. His old age pension of \$144 cushioned the blow from not being able to work anymore, and at his death, his widow and children were able to survive on the \$168 per year.

#148: As a wage earner, William Gleason brought in about \$360 per year--sufficient to support his wife and four children. Survival was enhanced by the soldier being pensioned, then his wife and children: \$144 for him; \$300+ for them.

Table 3.3 (Continued)

#234: Thomas Ferris's \$360 per year wage was sufficient to support his wife and three children, and when he could no longer work after 1890, his pensions from \$72 to \$864 in the year of his death made survival easier. As late as 1924 his second wife received over \$400 in pension income per year!

#239: John Murphy earned about \$540 per year in his trade as a stone cutter whereby he could support his wife and five children. His and his wife's pensions at the turn of the century must have allowed their survival.

Table 3.4: Pension for Widows and Children

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
237 Patrick Slattery	\$234	W: \$96/yr., 1890-92; \$24/yr., 1890-91	1864:7	(1866-84) Police Officer	(1864-65) Not wounded in war	(1842-84) Consumption	Elizabeth: b.1876; Patrick: b.1869; Margaret: b.1872; Joseph X: b.1874; Edward x: b.1887; Agnes X: b.1879; Daniel: b.1867
262 Henry Magee & Alice	\$2,574	W: \$96/yr., 1891-1916; C: \$24/yr., 1891-95	1879:1	(1866-90) Engineer	GSW to left arm	d.1891 Pneumonia	
171 Peter Gilligan & Mary & Eliza	\$1,800	W: \$96/yr., 1890-1903; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1890-92; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1890-98; Child #3: \$24/yr., 1890-91; Child #4: \$24/yr., 1890-1902	Eliza: 1875; Mary: 1881, had all four children	(1866-88) S: Laborer, Salt Miner, Coal Digger; W: Washing, house cleaning	Wounded left hand	(1849-1889) d. age 50, pneumonia	Anne: 1876; Richard (1883-1891); John: 1882; Peter: 1886

Table 3.4: Pension for Widows and Children (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
183	\$1,884	W: \$96/yr., 1891-1910; C: \$24/yr., 1891-93	1886:1	(1866-84) S: Moulder; W: Domestic	(1864-65) Not wounded in war	(1847-85) Consumption, at age 38	Mary: 1877

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

None.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#171: Peter and Mary supported their four children on their combined wages of \$270 per year. And the \$192 she received in pension money allowed them to survive after his death.

#183: William Tucker earned about \$540 per year as a moulder, and his wife about \$90 as a domestic. Supporting Mary (the daughter) became more difficult on the \$120 per year pension the wife received after William's death.

#237: The Slatterys lived on his policeman's salary of about \$360 per year and found it difficult to support their four children. The \$120 in pension after the death of the soldier was a good buffer for survival.

#262: Henry and Alice McGee and their child lived on his \$540 per year salary and after his death, the \$120 in pension allowed them to survive.

Table 3.5: Pension for Widow, Children, Guardian

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
194 Peter McGrath & Mary	\$1,136	W: \$120/yr., 1890; Child #1: \$24/yr., 1890-92; Child #2: \$24/yr., 1890-94; Child #3: \$24/yr., 1890-99; Guardian's Pension: \$96/yr., 1890-99	1875:3	(1866-88) S: Longshoreman W: Domestic	(1862-63)	(1849-89) D. age 40, of pneumonia	James: 1876; Peter: 1878; Andrew: 1883

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#194: He earned about \$360 per year as a longshoreman. She earned \$90 per year as a domestic. The \$450 income positioned them to support the three children who, when both parents died about the same year, received a pension under the supervision of a guardian, also pensioned.

Table 3.6: Pensions for Widows

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
4 Terrence Clark & Sarah Maginnis	?	W: \$96/yr., 1890-92	1858:2	No work after war; Painter: nobody would hire a one handed painter	(1861-62) Amputation of finger and part of left hand bone; wounded at Antietam	(1835-80) d. age 45, of pneumonia	John James: b.1860; Terrence: b.1861
31 Patrick O'Neill & Catherine Fee	\$3,500	W: \$96/yr., 1890-?; \$144/yr., ?-1911	1848:3	(1866-76) Laborer, \$180/yr.	GSW to right thigh, partial paralysis of right arm	(1845-76) d. age 31 of spinal disease (meningitis)	Thomas: b.1866; Teresa: 1871
37 Michael J. Kane & Mary O'Connor	\$576	W: \$96/yr., 1890-96	1856:1	(1866-76) Laborer, \$180/yr.	(1861-63) GSW to right leg, loss of eye, lame in leg	(1823-76) d. age 54, of phthisis	
46 Maurice Walsh & Ann J. Kerr	\$768	W: \$96/yr., 1890-98	1854:0	(1866-72) S: Policeman, \$360/yr.; W: Washer & Ironer, \$90/yr.	(1861-63) GSW to hand, Malvern Hill	(1827-69) d. age 42, of dysentary	Patrick: 1866; John
63 Timothy Smith & Bridget Murray	\$2,000	W: \$96/yr., 1870-86; \$144/yr., 1886-?	1848:0	No wound, Laborer	(1861-63) GSW to small of back	(1825-70) d. age 45, of phthisis	
64 Hugh Curry & Catherine Lynch	\$1,056	W: \$96/yr., 1890-1901	1843:0	(1864-78) Laborer	(1861-63) No war wound	(1815-1878) d. age 63 of dysentery	

Table 3.6: Pensions for Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
86 John Dowling & Ann Carmody	\$672	W: \$96/yr., 1890-97	1849:0	(1865-70) Tinsmith	(1862-64) No war wound but piles and kidney problems	(1825-70) d. age 45, of gastritis	
102 Austin Quinn & Mary Brennan	\$384	W: \$96/yr., 1890-94	1857:0	(1866-87) S: Laborer W: Worker	No war wound, served 1865	(1838-88) d., age 50, of pneumonia and heart failure	
103 Nicholas Murphy & Maria Finer	\$176	W: \$96/yr., 1896-98	1942:0	(1863-75) Laborer	(1861-62) No war wound, rheumatism	(1819-76) d. age 62, of gangrenous tonsillitis	
108 James Kiely & Margaret Hetherman	\$608	W: \$96/yr., 1890-?	1855:1	S: Butcher; W: her son dies and her daughter-in-law supports her	1861 No war wounds	(1829-67) d. age 38, of consumption	Thomas
123 Michael Hughes & Jane Gillespie & Mary Ann O'Hara (d. 1850)	\$192 (at least)	W: \$96/yr., 1890-92	1854:0	(1863-72) S: Bricklayer; W: Jane: Domestic and nurse earned \$15/mo., \$340/yr.	(1861-62) No war wound	(1823-73) d. age 50, of consumption	

Table 3.6: Pensions for Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
124 Patrick Dunn & Mary Welsh	\$360	W: \$96/yr., 1891-95	1859:1	(1866-85) S: Laborer; W: Laundress & Washer Woman	(1861-65) No war wound	(1842-86) d. age 44, of pneumonia and consumption	Patrick: b.1869
140 Francis McVey or McVeigh & Ann Dawson		W: \$96/yr., 1890-99	1848:0	(1866-78) S: Porter	(1864-65) No war wounds	(1815-1878) d. age 63, of cirrhosis of the liver	
184 Patrick Murray & Catherine Crane	\$1,440	\$96/yr., 1891-1906	1872:2	(1866-79) Truck Driver	(1861-65) No war wounds	(1839-80) d. age 41, of enlargement of spleen and liver	Both children dead
200 Peter McArdle & Mary Cashion	\$3,312	W: \$144/yr., 1908-16; \$240/yr., 1916-25	1868:5	(1866-90) S: Laborer; W: Homemaker In 1896, they sold a lot in Brooklyn for \$12,000 to Mary's sister, who at her death, deeded it to the children: 70 Rodney St., Brooklyn	(1864-65) Contusion of knee joint, rheumatism	(1838-98) D. age 60, of pneumonia	James: 1869; Mary: 1871; Peter: 1876; Margaret: 1879; Elizabeth: 1882

Table 3.6: Pensions for Widows (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children
217 John Coady & Ann Handy	\$560	W: \$96/yr., 1890-96	1847:3	(1866-71) Laborer	(1862-65) No war wounds	(1827-71) d. age 44, of cholera	Mary: b.1856; Patrick: b.1868; Katie: b.1866
219 Michael Carey & Bridget O'Brien	\$408	W: \$96/yr., 1890-94	1857:1	(1864-88) Laborer	(1861-63) No war wound	(1836-88) d. age 52, of phthisis	Widow lived with her son, who supported her in old age.
225 Michael McDonald & Mary Carroll	\$552	W: \$96/yr., 1892-97	1853:1	(1866-91) S: Shoemaker; W: housekeeping (for her daughter Mary)	(1865) No war wounds	(1828-92) d. age 64, of cerebral hemorrhage	Mary: b.1862
235 Michael Fitzgerald & Bridget Egan	\$2,624	W: \$96/yr., 1890-1914; \$240/yr., 1914-?; \$360/yr., ?-1921	1862:0	(1862-85) S: Hatter; W: Saloon keeper, 124 Ferry St., Newark	(1861) No war wounds, slight injury, Bull Run, building entrenchments	(1839-86) D. age 47, of Bright's disease	Wife says soldier boarded in Henry St., NYC, with his sister, Mary Pendergast (don't know when)
247 Patrick Jennings & Catherine Smith	\$920	\$96/yr., 1890-1900	1845:0	(1866-81) S: Liquor Dealer	(1864-65) No war wounds	(1817-82) D. age 65, of phlymonous	
256 James Sparks & Alice Toumy	\$2,360	W: \$96/yr., 1890-1915	1857:1	Laborer, Plasterer	(1862-65) GSW to the head, wore strong glasses	(1829-86) d. age 57, of fall downstairs	John

Table 3.6 (Continued)

Family had less than \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

- #4: Terrence Clark could not work to support his wife. Their friends, public charity, and finally the pension she received in 1890 of \$96 per year allowed for survival--her husband having died in 1880.
- #31: Patrick O'Neill's wage as a laborer was not enough to support his family of a wife and two children, but his widow did receive a pension the last twenty years of her life (1890-1910) of at least \$96 per year, sustaining her in old age.
- #37: Michael and Mary Kane had no children yet probably earned under \$240 per year required for a family of four. They survived. She had to have worked after his death in 1876, and is finally a pension recipient, 1890-96, of \$96 per year.
- #47: As the housekeeper for her two sons after the death of her husband in 1869, Elizabeth Greeley was able to survive with the help of the Civil War pension she received in the last 15 years of her life of \$96 per year.
- #64: Hugh and Catherine Curry had a marginal existence on his laborer's wages even with no children. Dead in 1878, the widow's survival was assured when in 1890 she began receiving \$96 per year until 1901.
- #86: John Dowling and his wife Ann struggled. He was in poor health, 1865-70; she must have worked after his death. The last seven years of her life she received the \$96 per year and survived.
- #103: Nicholas Murphy and his wife Maria lived a marginal existence--even with no children to support. In the last two years of her life, Maria did receive \$96 per year.
- #108: The Kielys also had a destitute situation. At his death in 1867, she was supported by her daughter-in-law, but did receive the pension in 1890, at \$96.
- #140: The McVeys must have had a marginal life, even with no children. Her widow's pension of \$96 per year allowed them to survive.
- #184: Although Patrick Murphy drove a truck, 1866-79, their existence must have been tenuous. From 1891-1906, Catherine could survive, though, due to receipt of \$96 per year in pension money.
- #217: The small yearly wage of the laborer did not sustain the Coady family, especially with three children. Ann did receive \$96 per year, 1890-96.

Table 3.6 (Continued)

#219: Michael Carey earned under \$240 per year as a laborer yet had to support his wife and child. When he died, the son supported his mother, and the pension of \$96 per year she received aided in the survival.

Family had the \$240 per year to meet the minimum standard of living:

#46: The combined income of Maurice and Ann Walsh was about \$500 per year. Her \$90 salary kept her going until from his death in 1872, until she received the \$96 per year pension, 1890-98.

#102: Austin and Mary Quinn had no children to support and lived comfortably on their combined incomes of \$270 per year. Dead in 1888, Austin Quinn's Civil War service entitled Mary to old age security by receiving the \$96 per year pension, 1890-94.

#123: The Hughes' wage was \$450 per year on his salary as a bricklayer. From 1873 widow Jane earned \$340 per year as a domestic/nurse, and in the last two years of her life from 1890-92 received \$96 per year in pension.

#124: Patrick and Mary dunn both worked and earned about \$270 per year with only one child to support. She received \$96 per year the last four years she was alive.

#200: Peter and Mary McArdle had five children, and he was able to work from 1866-90 to support his family. His stated occupation, however, as laborer, could not have allowed him the ownership of a home at 70 Rodney Street, Brooklyn. Shortly before his death in 1898, Peter sold the home to his wife's sister, who then deeded it to the children. The sale price was \$12,000! Peter's widow received a pension from 1908-25 of over \$144 per year.

#225: The \$540 Michael McDonald earned as a shoemaker from 1866-91 supported this family of three. At his death, widow Mary received over five years, \$552 in payments of \$96 per year. She lived with her daughter Mary.

#235: The Fitzgeralds combined wage with no children to support was at least double the \$240.

#247: Patrick Jennings earned more than the \$240 per year as a liquor dealer, and had only his wife to support. Her widow's pension of \$96 per year from 1890-1900 allowed her to survive.

#256: James Sparks supported his wife and son on plasterer yearly wages of about \$540 per year. Her widow's pension of \$96 per year from 1890-1915 totaled \$2,360 and allowed her to survive.

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
2 Patrick & Mary Molloy	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., + \$24/yr., 1869-?	1895:2	Could not work, unknown, 1865-69	(1864-65) Treatment for syphilis; POW, 1864	d. 1869, of phthisis	James Joseph: b.1866; Mary: b.1868
3 Edward Ward & Julia Walton (d.1860) & Margaret Rodgers (1861)		None, son Pat rejected, no proof it was his dad	Julia: 1860 Margaret: 1861 (died of typhus in 1865)	Unknown	(1861-63) POW, 1862-63, Richmond	d. 1863, in railroad accident	Patrick: b.1854; Catherine: b.1855; Mary Ann: b.1858
7 Martin Concannon	Unknown	S: \$96/yr., 1892-?	1867:1	Shoe Cutter	(1862-65) Rheumatism	Unknown	William: b.1872
9 Daniel O'Leary & Mary Lane	Unknown	W: ?	1865:0	Unknown; W: Washing	(1861-65)	d. 1892 Unknown	
10 Thomas Hennessey & Bridget	Unknown	S: \$96/yr., ?-1906	1851:2	Laborer	(1861-64)	(1829-1901) d. age 72 of TB	Mary & Ann (lived with mom after dad died)
18 Patrick Finn & Catherine	Unknown	Father received pension--don't know details	1841:2 Wife died 1867; father asks for pension	Laborer	(1861-62) Wounded at Antietam	(1841) d. age 21, Oct. 1862, wounded in combat	Michael; Julia (invalid from age 10)

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
20 James McBride & Mary	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., ?-?	1851:2	Unknown	KIA, Gettysburg	d. 1863 unknown	Mary: b.1859; John b.1862
22 Thomas Lyons & Bridget Clark	Unknown	S&W: Recommended to receive, no proof	1849:0	(1866-91) Laborer	(1863-65)	(1836-92) d. age 56, of bronchitis	
23 Thomas Keogan & Margaret	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1890-?	1857:0	(1863-71) Bricklayer	(1862-62) Discharge for bad eyesight, myopia	(1865-71) d. age 36, of fracture to skull from fall in street	
25 John McNally; #1: Ann (d.1873); #2: Bridget (d.1882); #3: Margaret	Unknown	S: \$24/yr., 1865-?	1888:2	(1866-96) Teamster	(1861-65) GSW, right side	(1835-97) d. age 62	
28 Thomas Sweeney & Bridget & Catherine		None	1865:2	(1866-88) Laborer	(1861-64)	(1837-1889) d. age 52, of cerebral apoplexy	Henry: bo.1868 (claimed he was the child of John & Bridget); Charles: b.1872
32 Patrick Byrnes & Margaret Fay		W: None, could not prove military service	1870:1	S: Laborer; White: Domestic	(1861-62) GSW, shot off ear, wounded leg	(1834-90) d. age 56 of pneumonia and heart failure	Name for child not found

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
36 Patrick Dunnigan & Ann	Unknown	\$96/yr., 1862-?	1855:2	Laborer	(1861-62) KIA, Fair Oaks	Died of wounds	Sam: b.1872; Ann: b.1862
42 Patrick Kinsela & Bridget	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1862-?; \$48/yr., 1866-?	1849:2	Unknown	(1/62-9/62) KIA, Antietam	d. 1862	Arthur: b.1851; John: b.1857
48 William Johnson & Margaret Sharon		None	1854:0	Mason	(1861-64) Discharged due to injury of left knee joint; KIA later	(1829-64) KIA, Wilderness (not substantiated)	
51 Patrick Gilchrist & Catherine Doyle		None, no disability from causes alleged since discharged	1849:0	(1866-80) Mason	(1863-65) GSW, left arm, Antietam	(1835-81) d. age 50, of brain concussion	
55 Richard Boles & Catherine		None: Claimed rejected for pension, pneumonia not the result of military service	1863:1	Laborer	(1861-63) Contracted phthisis in military	(1823-63) d. age 40, of pneumonia	
58 Ignatius Fox & Catherine Durham		None, not honorably discharged	1865:3	Harness Maker		(1833-85) d. age 52, in 1864, of pneumonia	Marcella: b.1874; Ignatius: b.1878; Anna: b.1880

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
59 John Connor & Ellen		None, he was a deserter	1837:0	Unknown	(1861-62) Deserted	d. 1863	
60 John Hardeman & Margaret Dunn		None, no reason	1852:0	S: Unknown; W: Washing and ironing	(1861-65)	(1833-66) d. age 33 of injuries	
62 Thomas Healy & Eliza Hartnett		None, no reason	1848:0	Tailor	(1861-63)	(1826-66) d. age 40, of cholera (in work house)	
66 Francis McLaughlin & Alicia Byrne	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1862-?	1847:2	Unknown	(1861-62) KIA, Antietam	d. 1862	Francis; Catherine
70 Patrick Coughlan & Ellen Moran	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1874-?	1831:0	(1864-74) Carpenter	(1861-63) Rheumatism	(1808-74) d. age 66, of heart disease	
76 Martin McGowen & Margaret Keough	Unknown	S: \$72/yr., 1865-?; W: \$96/yr., 1890-?	1855:1	Baker, could not work	(1861-63) GSW, arm, chest, at Antietam	d. 1887, of dropsy	James: b.1872
77 William McCarthy & Mary	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., + \$48/yr., 1862-?	1850:3	Unknown	(1861-62) KIA, Antietam, 9/7/62		William: b.1855; Catherine: b.1850; Mary Ellen: b.1861

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
79 Owen Donnollan & Bridget Reilly		W: \$96/yr., 1890-?	1842:6	(1865-82) Laborer	(1864-65)	(1820-82) d. age 62, of lung congestion	Mary Ellen; Michael (supports his mother after father's death)
87 Francis McGarity & Bridget Inoger	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1864-?	1849:1	Unknown	(1864-)	d. 1864, of chronic diarrhea	one child died in 1859
89 James Brindley & Elizabeth Seymour	Unknown	W: \$144/yr., 1901-?	1850:4	Clerk	(1861-64) KIA, Petersburg		Ellen: b.1837; John: b.1855; James: b.1861; Thomas: b.1863
90 James Gibasy & Ellen	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1862-?; C: ?, 1866	1862:2		(1862) wounded 12/13/62	d. 1862, of wounds, Fredericksburg	Mary Ann: b.1857; Margaret: b.1862
91 Dennis Donovan & Mary Farrell		W: \$96/yr., 1890-?	1861:0	S: Shoemaker; W: Washing	(1866-65) wounded 1864 and POW	(1832-67) d. age 35, of abscess of jaw bone	
93 Thomas Bowler & Ellen		W: \$96/yr. + \$24/yr., 1868-?	1856:1 Wife stayed in Cork with child			Died of wounds, 4/14/64	Abagil: b.1858
94 Patrick Tracy		None	1857:1	Laborer (He was a substitute soldier, paid \$1,000)	(1862-65) GSW, deserted first enlistment	(1837-190?) Unknown	Edward: b.1870

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
95 John Coffee & Catherine		Could not get proof of his death, no pension	1862:2	Laborer	(1861-64) KIA, Wilderness	(1836-64) d. age 29	Daniel: b.1862; Mary: b.1865
104 Patrick Kerrigan & Mary Beatty		None: Soldier found not guilty of desertion by court martial	1844:0	Laborer	(1861-63)	(1808-66) d. age 58	Widow should have gotten a pension, but lawyer goofed on paperwork
112 John Guinee, aka James Riley, & Margaret Carpenter		None: Evidence of death and cause is not satisfactory	1858:1	Laborer	(1861-62) Chronic Diarrhea	d. 1863 of rheumatism	Mirhcael: b.1859
119 Neil McLaughlin & Mary	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1863-?	1853:2	Unknown	(1861-62) GSW of shoulder and right leg, Fredericksburg	d. of wounds, 1863	John: b.1856; Sarah: b.1861
120 Francis Higgins & Ann Dunne		None	1855:0	Miller	(1861-62) Perhaps KIA: Malvern Hill	(1831-62) d. age 31, no positive proof	
122 William Fulton & Margaret Connerton & Eliza Farrell		None: Widow's pension rejected 1878, bad attorney	Eliza: 1853; Margaret: 1860	Laborer	(1861-64) GSW to shoulder	(1827-53) d. age 37, of consumption	Mary Ann; Annie: b.1856

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
130 Michael Sullivan & Mary Shay	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1864-?; \$144/yr., ?-1888	1843:0	Unknown	(1864) POW	d. 1864, Andersonville	
132 Philip Tierney & Catherine Ryan	Unknown	W&C: ?	1848:3	Unknown	(1862-64) KIA: Cold Harbor	d. 1864	Annie: b.1853; Catherine: b.1860; Patrick: b.1855
141 John Quarters & Catherine Horan	Unknown	\$96/yr., 1862-?	1857:0	Unknown	(1861-62) KIA, Fredericksburg	d. 12/13/62	
144 Patrick Powers & Margaret Welsh		None: probably deserted	1355:0	Unknown	(1861-62) Maybe KIA, maybe deserted		Patrick Powers enlisted as a substitute after deserting in 1862; caught in 1864, escaped
145 Bernard Fitzpatrick & Margaret Dunigan		W: None: Did not submit proper proof	Unknown	(1864-?) Laborer	(1861-63) Injured in fall from tree, 1863	Maybe died 1867, cause unknown	Soldier stayed and worked in VA as grave digger
153 John Brown & Hannah Fox		W: Rejected, he deserted 9/26/61	1864:0	S: Tinsmith;	(1861)	(1842-93) d. age 51, of dysentery	As servant, wife got room and board plus \$4 per month

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
154 Francis McGrane & Jane Hardin		None: Soldier did not serve 40 days	1852:3	Chandler	(1861)	(1835-66) d. age 31, of sunstroke	Maria: b.1860; Ann: b.1855; Patrick: b.1853
193 John Frawley & Mary Nash		None: could not furnish proof of death	1846:0	Blacksmith	(1861-62) POW, after Malvern Hill	(1822-62) d. age 40, of injury in battle	No kids
198 Timothy Corbett & Bridget Grady		None	1862:1	Unknown		Unknown	
203 Philip Portland & Elizabeth Daugherty		None	?	Clerk	(1861-63)	(1836-1911) d. age 75	Charge of desertion appealed, never removed
209 Michael Powers & Mary Walsh		None: Widow making claim had a different Michael Powers than soldier	1863:1	Tinsmith	(1864-65) Rupture while in service	(1836-1902) d. age 66	Mary Louise: b.1875
212 Owen Donohue & Bridge Curran	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1862-?; \$144/yr., ?-1893	1850:2	Unknown	(1861-62) KIA, Malvern Hill	(1826-62) d. age 36	Peter: b.1850; Mary Agnes: b.1858
229 Michael Daly & Ellen Hoar	Unknown	W: She was eligible, but applied too late	1870:1	S: Laborer; W: Domestic	(1861-65)	(1844-71) D. age 27, of syphilis	Mary: b.1870

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
233 John Wallace & Mary Conner	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., ?-?	1862:0	Unknown	(1864) POW	d. 1864, of starvation and pneumonia	
236 Michael McDermott & Ellen Seery	Unknown	W: Insufficient data	1859:1	Painter	(1861-63) Illness: "moon blindness," chronic diarrhea was not an illness for which soldiers were pensioned	(1837-70) d. age 33, of pneumonia	John: b.1861
238 Thomas Brown & Mary Maher	Unknown	W: \$96/yr., 1862-?	1842:1	Unknown	(1862) Soldier died in Union Hospital of diarrhea	(?-1862) d. of pneumonia	Ellen: b.1849
240 James Burke & Margaret Clarke		None: Fraudulent enlistment	1849:2	Unknown	(1861-63)	(1813-63) d. of paralysis from exposure and overexertion	James: b.1850; Edward: b.1853
244 Daniel O'Keefe & Johanna	Unknown	W: Awarded for unknown amount	1860:6	Laborer	(1862-65) GSW, hand	(1832-72) d. age 40, of consumption	Johanna: b.1864; Catherine: b.1861; Michael: b.1869; Elizabeth: b.1866X; Ellen: b.1868; Daniel: X

Table 4: Denied a Pension or, if Awarded, Amounts Not Calculable (Continued)

Soldier #	Total \$	\$ Per Year	Year Married & No. of Kids	Occupation	Soldier's Health	Soldier's Age at Death & Year He Died	Information on Children/Other
245 Matthew Donahue & Margaret Collins		W: \$96/yr., 1890-?	1869:9	(1866-85) Grave Digger	(1864-65) GSW, right forearm, POW	(1817-64) d. of pneumonia	
246 Robert Pullam & Julia Russell		None	1850:0	(1866-73) Boat Crimper	(1865) He did not serve 90 days	(1827-73) d. age 46, of consumption	

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

In May of 1885, William L. D. O'Grady, formerly Captain, 88th Regiment of New York Infantry, wrote and edited the first issue of *The Grand Army Review* with his office at No. 72 William Street. Published monthly at a price of twenty cents per issue, it was a newspaper of all of the soldiers, North and South. Honorably discharged veterans would meet in print, and comment on matters of concern to all. Pension news, reunions of regiments, and plans to build monuments to honor the dead of both sides were typical news items. But the most important article was the one O'Grady wrote for the very first issue, entitled "Amor Patriae." To paraphrase, he stated that no "true patriot" could look upon the institutions of his country and remain a stranger "to the feelings they are calculated to inspire." The recollections of the past "crowd around him, and a cord strengthened by ten thousand associations, bind him down to his native land." The "legitimate offspring of this fond attachment is a spirit of national pride" ... U.S. history unfolds and strengthens convictions because of its origin, and the superiority of its political institutions as contrasted with those of other countries. Our passion for liberty is obvious. We are "proud of our origin, proud of our history, proud of our ancestry. But the principal source of attachment is the superiority of our political institutions ... The first great principle that presents itself is that of man's capacity to govern himself ... It places all men right where they ought to be, on a political level." Since each man has rights, everyone feels "his individual importance as a man and a citizen. It admits of no inequalities ... It opens the way to

wealth, honor and distinction alike to all ... It was love for this government that put over one million men in the field, and those that are left now form the Grand Army of the Republic, ever ready to respond again to their country's call." O'Grady and other Irish Brigaders were now keepers of the Covenant; they were patriotic Americans.

In a long process of assimilation and inclusion beginning with the world of work, various institutions cushioned the cultural shock these Irish immigrants experienced upon arrival in New York. As workers, nevertheless, the Irish found their first slot in the U.S. as unskilled laborers--builders of canals, railroads, and roads. Transportation changed them and America. Tammany Hall's agents then gave needed social services in exchange for the Irish voting democratic. The Roman Catholic Church of Archbishop Hughes cared for the spiritually needy in the city's parish churches, for the education of children in parochial schools, for the sick in St. Vincent's Hospital, and for the poor in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Socially conservative in philosophy, Hughes's Catholic church helped to domesticate the Irish immigrant and to instill patriotism (with various school plays and school readers) and fidelity to Catholic tradition (with the most popular catechism in the antebellum period--which included the text of Bishop Richard Challoner, *The Catholic Christian Instructed*). A new mid-nineteenth century newspaper named the *Irish American* told Irishmen in its November 11, 1851, edition to "thoroughly integrate as American citizens ..." The most important pre-war social context for prospective Irish Brigade recruits, then, was the slums, labor, parishes, and hustles of survival in New York,

and all the discrimination they suffered there at Yankee-Anglo hands. By volunteering in the Federal war, they could make a major claim to acceptance both social and political. (In that regard, many of them may not have differed very much in motivation from the northern ex-slaves and menial freemen who volunteered in great numbers for the Black regiments, and who were portrayed so superbly in "Glory.") The opportunity came in April 1861.

The Civil War and things associated with it had turned Irish Catholic peasants into Americans. A recruiting poster from William Griffin's *A Portrait of the Irish in America* (New York, 1981), illustration #198, no page number, portions of broadsides from the Civil War collection of the New York Historical Society, and a reporter's observations of the St. Patrick's Day parade in New York of 1887, serve as an appropriate summary and conclusion.

Civil War recruiting posters for the Union army appealed to Irishmen as defenders of their adopted country, as well as the enemies of England. The Confederate 'cotton lords' were often identified as the trading partners and natural allies of Ireland's persecutor. Emphasizing the rights and power of the people also had a special appeal for laborers nursing a grudge against aristocratic landlords and their counterparts among the southern planters. Training in the American army would serve Irish Americans in Ireland's coming war of liberation.

YOUNG AMERICA AND OLD IRELAND
ONE AND INSEPARABLE!
The COTTON-LORDS and TRAITOR-ALLIES of ENGLAND Must
Be Put Down!
ONCE FOR ALL – ONCE AND FOR EVER!
IRISHMEN, TO THE FIELD!
Irishmen up, Arm and Strike Victoriously for
DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY!
The Rights and Power of the People.
THE GALLANT COLONEL OF THE
69th,
FIFTY ACTIVE YOUNG IRISHMEN.
Apply Immediately to Col. Galligher, and the Head-Quarters of the Irish
Dragoons, N.W. corner 7th and Chestnut Sts.

Skilled orators and recruiters such as Charles P. Daly and Thomas F. Meagher frequently used the themes of this poster to fill up the ranks of the Irish Brigade. One must not be seduced by the recruiters' rhetoric reeking with high moral tone; Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, and a host of others both North and South used high moral tone. While patriotism certainly accounts for pre-Fredericksburg recruiting (as well as that from 1863 on for the Irish Brigade), economic incentives to join played a part too. Still, Irish Brigade courage in combat established the notion that the Irish were entitled to be Americans, and nullified movements such as nativism to exclude them.

In *Broadsides* from the Civil War collection of the New York Historical Society, nativism and gallantry are linked. In John F. Poole's "No Irish Need Apply," that author links fighting skill with acceptance by Americans of the Irish as Americans:

Ould Ireland on the battle-field a lasting fame has made;
 We all have heard of Meagher's men, and Corcoran's brigade.
 Though fools may flout and bigots rave, and fanatics may cry,
 Yet when they want good fighting-men, the Irish may apply,
 And when for freedom and the right they raise the battle-cry,
 Then the Rebel ranks begin to think: No Irish need apply.

And in another *Broadside* entitled, "The Gallant 69th Regiment," the unknown author remarked:

When rebels first attempted desolation,
 And swore they our land would deform,
 The '69th' our brave Army's foundation,
 Swore our Country should ride the foul storm,
 With the stars and Stripes, so glorious floating o'er them,
 And nought but Patriotic feelings in view,
 With 'Father Mooney' bravely marching before them,
 In defence of the Red, White, and Blue.

With the issuing of the Civil War pension, the Federal Government showed its enormous gratitude to soldiers who had defended the Union and to their relatives who had also made sacrifices. Most Irish Brigade families who applied for the Civil War pension were granted one. Not only were the Irish now seen as part of (respectable) and honored members of American society, but about half of those who received the pension met the standard of living figure of \$240 per year for an unpensioned family of four in New York City in the last half of the 19th century. And for those who received a pension yet fell below the \$240 figure, the pension allowed them to stay in the lower class rather than the underclass.

Other conclusions revealed by analysis of these pension files include facts relating to Irish Brigade family resilience and, by implication, their traditions. Privates and sergeants compared according to average family size was 4.17 to 4.52; to life expectancy, 54.3 years for privates (and 56.6 years for their wives); 59.7 years for sergeants (and 73.2 years for their wives). Thirty and four-tenths (30.4) years was the average age at which privates married; 25.9 years for their wives. Thirty and 25 years was the average marriage age for sergeants and their wives. Privates married for about 21 years, and sergeants for about 27. On average, privates received (at 39 years of age) a total pension award of about \$2,462 for fifteen years while sergeants (aged 43 years) got \$3,208 for 18 years. Most recruits had volunteered for Irish Brigade service in the first three years of the war--before recruiting became big business--and as a recent immigrant group were prone to extreme patriotism as a technique of assimilation.

For the week ending March 26, 1887, *The Irish-American* reported the most important story--the St. Patrick's Day parade. To paraphrase the reporter's front page column, all buildings displayed the national flag and the "immortal green flag." Shamrocks and small U.S. flags were attached to babies and to buggies. After stacking arms outside the Cathedral of St. Patrick, the 69th Regiment entered the Cathedral; Colonel Cavanagh and his staff "marched at the head of the Regiment up the center aisle of the cathedral" where he and his officers "entered the four pews on the gospel side and the Regiment filed into those following." And "the Veteran Corps

of the Sixty-Ninth had already taken their places on the epistle side." Archbishop Corrigan celebrated a pontifical high mass. After mass, the 69th Regiment filed out of the cathedral followed by fellow worshippers.

That day the 69th paraded 500 men on a day in which "the weather was blustering and cold." The Regiment paraded "in state service uniform, without overcoats, and made a very fine display, and the advent of a large number of stalwart young men in the ranks was particularly noticeable." The parade began at 2 p.m., and "proceeded through 5th Ave. to 12th St., to Broadway, to 14th St.," and "around Washington's Monument to Broadway, to 17th St., passing the reviewing stand, to 4th Ave., to 18th St., to 5th Ave., to 57th St., to the Eastern Boulevard, to Jones' Wood Colosseum." The reporter concluded by noting that there had been "much enthusiasm all along the route. No celebration of the kind of late years has drawn out so many people." The Irish were happy to be Irish-Americans.

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