

ROCHESTER HISTORY

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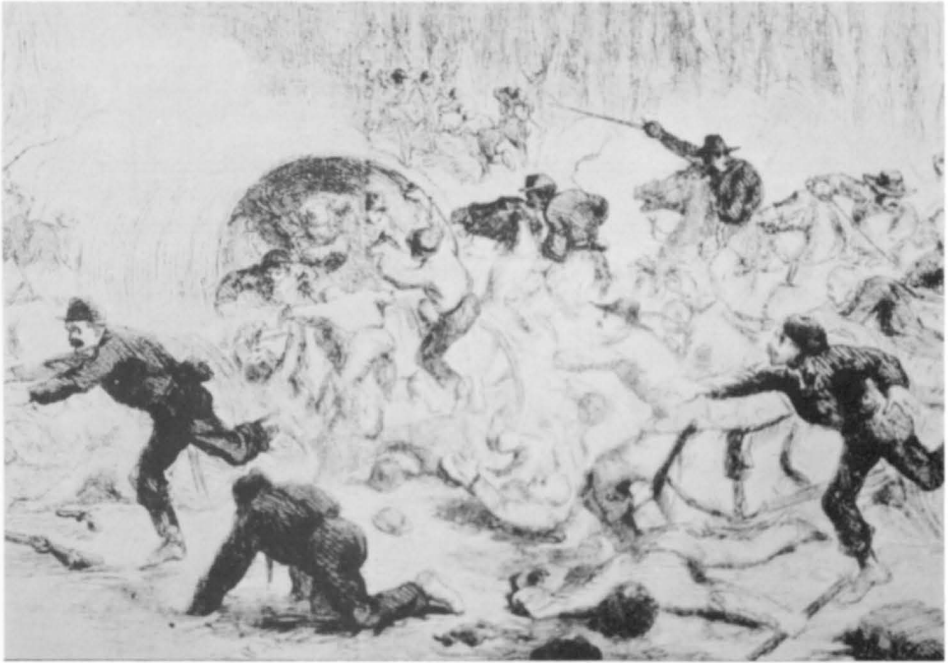
Winter, 1991

No. 1

The Civil War Draft in Rochester Part One

by Donald M. Fisher





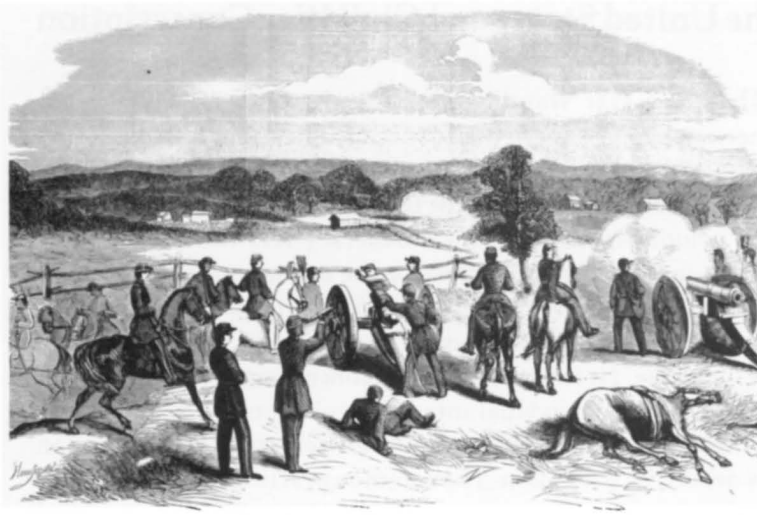
*Above: The first battle at Bull Run was a Union defeat that made the civilian population realize the seriousness of war, **Illustrated London News** August 17, 1861.*

Cover: Detail of bounty poster, private collection, courtesy of Mrs. Samter Horowitz. Dated August 26, 1862.

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The first charge of the Battle of Bull Run as depicted by *Harper's Weekly* August 3, 1861.

Raising An Army in Rochester

Part Two, the conclusion of *The Civil War Draft in Rochester*, will appear in Vol. LIII No. 2, Spring, 1991.

The Civil War affected American society in a multitude of ways, and perhaps one of the more important wartime issues on the homefront was national conscription, or the drafting of men into the army. That issue influenced every community, and Rochester and surrounding communities were no exception. Rochester's reactions to federal military acts, and its actual participation in the drafts will, in some ways, demonstrate how one community was able to endure the hardships of war. Also, a sense of where Rochester fit into northern society as a whole should illustrate how its people viewed themselves. An understanding of the significance of political, economic and social factors shows the values of the people of Rochester during the war.

The United States and Civil War Conscription

The Civil War was indeed the first conflict in which the American people experienced conscription on a national scale. At the outbreak of the war on April 12, 1861, and throughout its opening months, the armies of the North and the South swelled with volunteers. While the Confederacy was the first to draft soldiers into its army, the North came to the conclusion in 1862 that it would soon also have to introduce national conscription to increase the number of troops in its own ranks.

It was the North's philosophy concerning the raising and maintenance of individual infantry regiments early in the war that proved to be a highly significant reason why conscription was needed by the Union. The common practice in the North was for a local area to raise a regiment, outfit it, send it off to war, and then focus on raising a new unit. By so doing, relatively older regiments were not sent troop replacements, so that as the war progressed, some older regiments dwindled from their original roster of 1,000 men down to 200. The consequence of this practice was that the Union Army always had an influx of inexperienced regiments into their field armies, instead of fusing new troops with veterans in existing regiments.

The federal government passed the Enrollment Act on March 3, 1863, whereby all males between the ages of 20 and 45 would be eligible for forthcoming national drafts. In all, there were four Union Army drafts throughout the war: one in 1863, two in 1864, and one in the early spring of 1865.¹ Although the Enrollment Act was basically a federal response to the need for more men, its real purpose was to stimulate volunteering in various communities.² The War Department declared that congressional districts would be given manpower quotas, ". . . based on a percentage of its eligible males minus the number of men who had already served in the army."³ By using congressional districts as a base unit, as opposed to counties, conscription attempted to reflect a federal character. For example, the base unit of the national draft in the Rochester area, before the Enrollment Act, was Monroe County, which was composed of the city of Rochester and 19 townships; the national drafts of 1863-65 used the 28th Congressional District, which included both Monroe and Orleans counties, as a base unit. The districts were given 50 days to fill their quotas, and those failing to meet the assigned figures were subject to a draft to make up for the difference.

To avoid the “stigma of conscription,” districts resorted to raising money for bounties for men who volunteered. This eventually led to a bidding war between districts for each other’s men, as many historians have argued that wealthier districts lured away men from poorer districts. To combat this practice, a convention that gave rise to the common notion of the Civil War being called “a rich man’s war, but a poor man’s fight,” the federal, state and local governments intervened in 1864 and contributed more funds for bounty payments, enabling volunteers to earn, in some cases, in excess of \$1,000 by enlisting, no matter which district they chose to enlist in. This was highly significant since the average annual income of northern laborers in 1864 was \$400.⁴ By the end of the war, the federal government had spent about \$300 million on U.S. bounties, roughly nine percent of its expenditures from 1861-1865.⁵

While bounties were paid to get men to enlist, the widespread practices of substitution and commutation in Northern communities were perceived to be legitimate ways for men to avoid fighting in the war. Whereas substitution allowed a drafted man to hire someone else to go in his place, commutation enabled him to pay a \$300 fee to the federal government that more or less nullified his notice of conscription, but did not exempt him from future drafts. The commutation issue inevitably created tension between the various socio economic classes throughout the North, as it was sometimes more difficult for working-class men to pay the fee. Congress did eventually eliminate the practice of commutation, except for conscientious objectors, in July 1864, but this only provoked another bidding war for substitutes.

Throughout the war, conscription in the North accounted for approximately 46,000 draftees and 118,000 substitutes, roughly eight percent of the Union Army’s total manpower resources. Taken at face value, these figures might lead one to assume that conscription was a failure, as the South was able to raise larger numbers of troops through its draft system, both in absolute and relative terms. But one must remember that the intention of the draft was to encourage volunteering. During the two years that the North used national conscription, over one million men either enlisted or re-enlisted into the army. Perhaps the most significant factor in aiding these enlistments was the bounty system, which in some areas of the North allowed men to receive anywhere between \$50 and \$1,000.⁶ “The Union, like the Confederacy, paid dearly for attempting to encourage volunteering at the same time

THE NEW REGIMENT!



The Government would prefer to get volunteers rather than to draft them, in order to be able to select the best. Therefore, there will be a great
BOUNTY OF \$254!

ATTENTION, Citizens of _____

YOU WILL BE A

WAR MEETING

At _____

On _____

Evening, _____

inst.

Capt. WHITING'S COMPANY

Of the second Maine County Regiment.

AND SEVERAL GOOD SPEAKERS will address the Meeting. Seats will be provided. The attendance of every Patriot is earnestly requested.

HEADQUARTERS, Tent on South East Corner of Court House Square.

Lieut. PORTER FARLEY. Capt. A. N. WHITING.

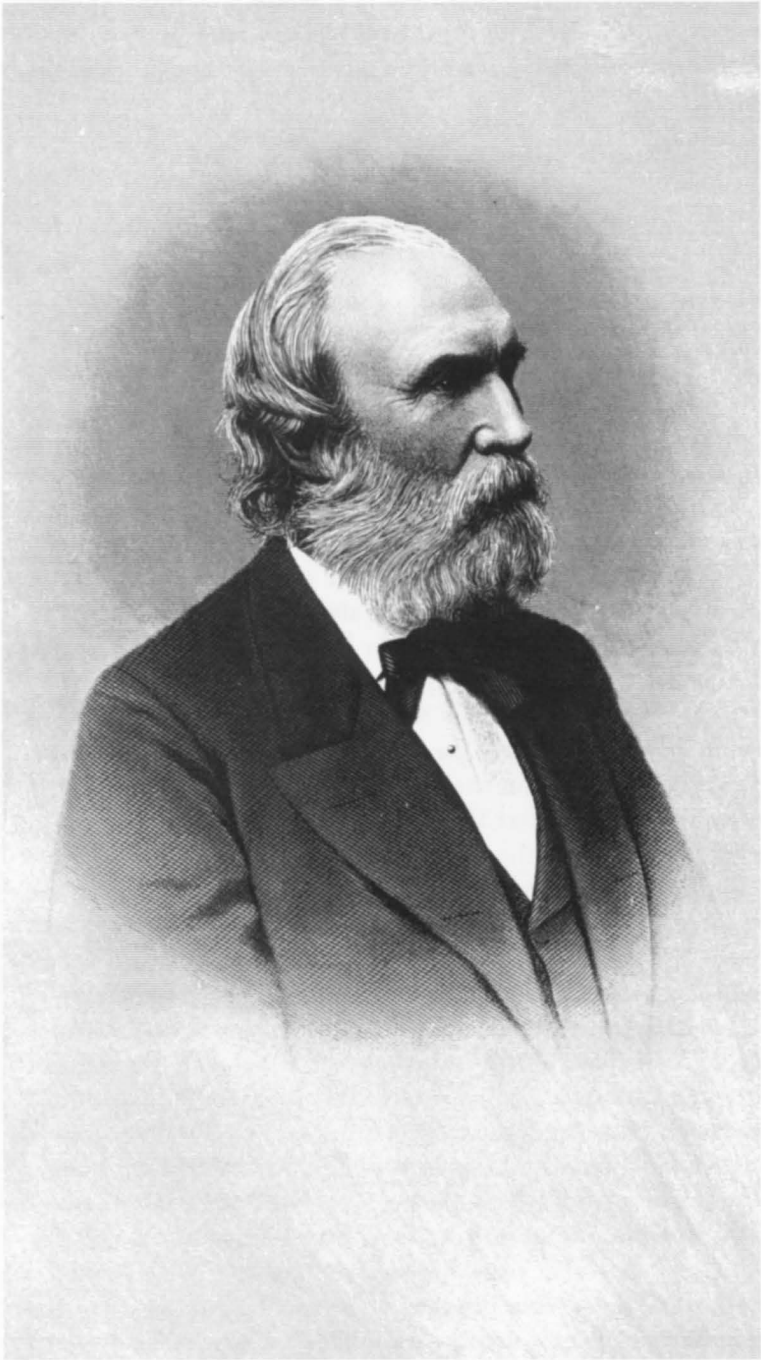
Private collection, courtesy of Mrs. Samter Horowitz. Calling attention to citizens of Brighton to meet at Cobb's Hill School House on Tuesday, August 26, 1862.

as it enforced conscription, and the whole story of bounty-jumpers, quack doctors, substitute brokers, and broken-down substitutes constitutes one of the seamier chapters of Civil War history.”⁷

Rochester Goes to War

Rochester was the eighteenth largest city in the United States in 1860, with a city population of 48,204.⁸ Setting along the Erie Canal, Rochester was a center for light industry and trade, and was the heart of New York State’s sixth largest county, as Monroe County had a population of 100,648.⁹ For the most part, it was a city that was not unlike other Northern cities in terms of its politics, culture and economics. While the Republican and Democratic parties battled each other for civic control of the city and county, as they did in most other communities, Rochester was also an important city in the abolitionist movement. The area’s largest ethnic groups were the Irish (37.9 percent of foreign born) and the Germans (30.4 percent of foreign born).¹⁰

Before conscription even became an issue, the citizens of Rochester had to consider the outbreak of the war and its effects on their city. With the shelling of Fort Sumter, the people of Rochester realized that the attack meant war, and a sense of patriotism overcame the city that was not unlike that which most other northern communities experienced.¹¹ Six days after the attack, on April 18, 1861, Rochester Mayor John Nash called for a public meeting in City Hall to address the issue of war.¹² Eventually, the discussion led to an unanimous agreement as to the position of Rochester in the war. The people of Rochester officially resolved: “. . . we hereby pledge ourselves to the support of the rightfully constituted authorities of the land, and to uphold and maintain, at every cost, the dignity, honor and greatness of these United States.”¹³ University of Rochester President Martin B. Anderson gave a speech, stating “that ‘the Rubicon was passed’ and the time for action had arrived.”¹⁴ Lincoln’s call for volunteers was also read at the assembly and Nash named a committee whose sole purpose was to collect money for the dependents of future volunteers. Also, as a sign of Rochester’s patriotic excitement for the war, the names of 39 men, the first citizens of Rochester to enlist, were read aloud.¹⁵



After hearing the news of the attack on Ft. Sumter, University of Rochester President Martin B. Anderson gave a speech at city hall in which he said, "The Rubicon was passed and the time for action had arrived."

Six days after the attack on Ft. Sumter, Mayor John Nash call a public meeting to discuss the war and President Lincoln's call for volunteers.



The people of Rochester responded to Lincoln's call for volunteers with enthusiasm throughout the first few weeks of the war, as did the rest of the North. Although there were various factions in Rochester, whether they were political, socio-economic or ethnic in nature, the overall attitude of the community was one of unity. Politically, most were in agreement with one another, as both Republican and Democratic leaders dedicated their parties to the cause of the Union, and called for a quick and decisive prosecution of the war.¹⁶ Not only did the American-born citizens react fervently, but many of the immigrants did as well. Irish, German and British immigrants, as well as those men born in America, jointly reacted to the war with a sense of patriotism and kinship.¹⁷ Parades of army recruits frequented the streets of Rochester in the opening weeks of the war as a romantic aura of adventure swept over the city.

Infantry companies were raised almost immediately, and units composed entirely of German or Irish immigrants were formed. In fact, there was one fully German-speaking company under the command of Capt. Adolph Nolte, editor of the *Rochester Beobachter*, a German language newspaper.¹⁸ During the opening months of the war, and throughout the war, German and Irish ethnic communities were targeted for recruiting. The remainder of Rochester's early manpower contributions came from either men from existing militia formations or from new volunteer enrollments. While most of the city's army allotment was filled with enlistees, some militiamen of the Rochester City Dragoons and the Light Guard also joined.¹⁹ Eight companies, known collectively as the 13th Regiment of New York State Volunteers



Congressman Alfred Ely of Rochester observed the Battle of Bull Run from a hilltop nearby. He and Monroe County District Attorney Calvin Huson, Jr. were captured when they neared the battle to check on soldiers they knew. Huson died in captivity.

(nick-named the “Rochester Regiment”), left the city on May 3 for Washington, D.C., and were cheered on by an estimated crowd of 20,000 people.²⁰

Above all else, the reason most men in the North, and Rochester-area men in particular, were eager to go to war was because of their belief in “the Union.” No matter what the individual’s political affiliation, social class, or ethnic background, most people had a strong feeling for the concept of “the Union.” It was in fact this belief in “the Union” that was the initial motivating factor with which men joined the army. As the years progressed, this reason became secondary to the payment of bounties and to the threat of being drafted.

Early in the war, the people of Rochester preoccupied themselves with activities that committed them to the war itself. Not only were flags flown from many buildings, but Bibles and clothing were collected for soldiers. The people of the Rochester area cared much for its first regiment, the 13th, as a great amount of concern and attention was given to these first volunteers.

Union Army enlistments continued with regularity after the 13th Regiment departed Rochester, and attempts were made to create new companies and a new regiment. Later, other regiments that were mainly composed of Rochester troops included the 108th and 140th regiments of New York State volunteers, while Rochester men dotted the rosters of dozens of other regiments as well.

It was not until the Confederate victory at the Battle of Bull Run that Rochester, as well as the rest of the North, truly appreciated the full implications of war. On the evening of July 22, 1861, people crowded the area near the city's telegraph office to find out what happened to their first local regiment. Despite many rumors, including one that there were 266 Rochester casualties, the actual losses for the 600 men that were engaged were 12 killed, 26 wounded, and 27 taken prisoner.²¹ With this, Rochester was soon forced to face the reality that it was an armed conflict that its men were being sent to, not a romantic adventure.

A struggle was imminent for the people of the Rochester area, as they learned that death and destruction were by no means unique to soldiers and battlefields. Although some were amused when it was learned that local congressman Alfred Ely was temporarily taken prisoner at Bull Run, the revelry ceased when news arrived of the death in a Richmond prison of one of Ely's companions, former Monroe County District Attorney Calvin Huson, Jr.²² Oddly enough, the circumstance under which Ely and Huson were taken prisoner was quite ironic. Because Ely was very concerned about the 13th Regiment, Ely and Huson decided to watch the battle from a hill with other Washington officials. "... As rumors had reached him (Ely) that some of the soldiers in whom he felt a deep interest had been either killed or wounded in the action, he felt it to be his duty to visit the regiment and ascertain their exact condition."²³ Overall, the Battle of Bull Run served as the first of several traumatic community experiences that would make the civilian population of Rochester realize the full ramifications of war.

Even with the revealing experience at Bull Run, Rochester still remained relatively enthusiastic about the war, as its troop contributions kept pace with the rest of the North's communities.²⁴ Even when the Union Army's troop quota exceeded



The battle at Bull Run as illustrated



the local enlistment rate, the state draft was formally implemented without open resistance; bounties and "other inducements" probably downplayed the compulsory disposition of the draft.²⁵ It was also at this time, during the late summer of 1861, that Rochester's newspapers began discussing the possibilities of national, as opposed to state, conscription. Quoting "a prominent Republican," the *Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser*, Rochester's Democratic newspaper, first stated the Republican view in an editorial:

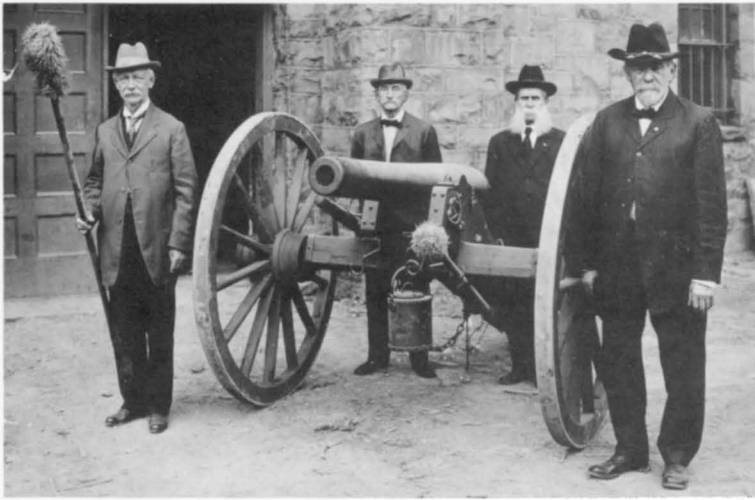
A Draft or a Conscription -- 'Outbursts of patriotism' will not provide for all the necessities of war; and money, even, is more easily obtained by voluntary tenders than men. . . . A conscription or a draft must be resorted to. But a conscription is the least burdensome, as it takes the lowest ages first, and leaves no families to be supported by public charity.²⁶

In the same editorial, the *Union* then put forth its own position on the issue of conscription, a view that was held by many Democrats on both the local and national levels:

Had the members of the Administration been as well advised as to the resolute character which this conflict was predestined to assume, as the mass of their intelligent countrymen, there would have been no need of a draft or conscription. For it is morally certain that half a million of Volunteers to serve till the end of the war could have been obtained within ninety days after the fall of Sumter, had the Administration seen fit to encourage volunteering by accepting companies, regiments and brigades as fast as they should have been organized.²⁷

In other words, Democrats believed that the reason the Union Army was suffering setbacks in western Virginia and the Mississippi valley was because of the federal government's "inability" to recruit enough troops during the first few months of the war.²⁸

Enlistments began to decline slightly by the fall of 1861 and advertisements for the first \$100 bounties began appearing throughout the city of Rochester.²⁹ These bounties, which grew to \$300 by the spring of 1862, as well as special appeals to the Irish and German ethnic communities, soon increased enlistments. Ethnic groups were targeted because recruiters believed they were giving them the opportunity to prove themselves loyal to their new country. Private bounties of \$25 were also paid to



From left, Egbert Hoekstra, Dwight Squires, James Kennedy and Captain Gilbert H. Reynolds with the cannon The Reynolds Battery L, First NY Vol., Lt. Art., lost in battle. Reynolds organized 150 men with his brother John. Gilbert lost an eye, but later fought in Gettysburg. He was captured, then freed. He injured the other eye and was forced to leave the army. He died in April, 1913.

recruits by several influential individuals and organizations in the area, as it became socially fashionable.³⁰ Overall, the only lapse in recruiting was in the Spring of 1862, and that was only temporary.³¹

Throughout 1862, it became apparent that national conscription was inevitable. Although Rochester's civilian population was in some ways oblivious to the Union Army's need for more troops, the men from Rochester who were actually serving in the army at the front knew otherwise. George Breck, a junior officer with Battery L of the First New York Light Artillery (popularly known as "Reynolds' Battery"), wrote his sister Ellen a letter, dated July 19, 1862, stating his beliefs. From a war zone, he wrote:

Unless there are thousands more who will enlist, and enlist speedily, depend on it, drafting or conscription will have to be resorted to. This is as sure as fate. You have no idea how decimated our army has become, by death and disability. The number of sick, wounded, etc., is fully 25 percent of the whole army. I almost believe that the Confederate Army is the larger of the two.³²

In another letter, dated the same day, Breck made comments and predicted what he perceived would be the public's reaction to a draft. He wrote:

What a stir there would be in some of the northern towns and cities if they should go to drafting. What a large and speedy emigration to Canada there would be! What a depopulation in the way of young men if that is possible, considering their paucity already!³³

Breck's thoughts concerning men fleeing to Canada became reality in August. The issue became so acute that Capt. James Mooney, Acting Military Commandant in Rochester, asked for and received permission from Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to arrest all men leaving for Canada.³⁴

Monroe County, of which Rochester comprised half its population, set out to fill its July 1, 1862 troop quota with the aid of bounties. There was much debate before any bounty figures were decided upon, as the *Union* unsuccessfully attempted to encourage the city to vote for money for a new regiment and also forewarn the city of a possible draft:

What man in Monroe County would be opposed to voting \$50,000, \$75,000, or \$100,000 if necessary, in order to secure the *immediate* enrollment of the regiment which *must* and *will* be raised here. If men do not come forward voluntarily, and that speedily, a resort to drafting becomes necessary.³⁵

Although the city's Board of Supervisors wanted to grant \$100 county bounties to encourage volunteering, it decided against it when it learned the state government was planning to offer \$50 bounties.³⁶ A relatively large meeting was held on July 15, with the purpose of bringing the community together for fighting the war, and several speeches were made. One speech was given by University President Anderson, who asked Rochester men to "Go into the armies and fight, and God will take care of the cause of freedom."³⁷

As the summer progressed, the people of the city became more excited and enthralled with the war. Lincoln's summer call for an additional 300,000 volunteers prompted the Rochester area to "redouble its efforts."³⁸ Acting as the devil's advocate, the *Union* sought to pose the question of what the people of the United States, and especially of the Rochester area, should do after the 300,000-man call had been met.

But what then? Does anybody suppose that while we are recruiting our strength the enemy is idly looking on with indifference and taking no steps to meet the new force preparing to move against him? . . . Paper proclamations will not put down the rebellion, enthusiastic professions of loyalty to the Government and attachment to the Union will not put down the rebellion, the most lavish offers of money as bounties will not put down the rebellion, and in our judgment the 300,000 men now raising will not sufficiently reinforce the army to enable it to put down the rebellion.³⁹

What the *Union* did believe would put down the rebellion was an overwhelming and numerically-superior army that would be aided by an additional force of 500,000 men to be raised through a national draft.⁴⁰

As a sign of how serious Rochester took its quota, an August 19 mayoral order was issued that requested all local businesses to close their doors at 3:30 p.m. for a ten-day period so that the city could focus on filling the quota.⁴¹ Monroe County's quota was filled on September 3, as it was one of the first four counties in New York State to meet its quota.⁴² According to the *Union*, the county exceeded its original quota of 3,112 men by actually recruiting 3,310.⁴³ The city of Rochester itself surpassed its quota of 1,484 by signing up 1,627 men.⁴⁴ Thus, a state draft was avoided in Rochester. Although the state draft was to begin on October 10, Monroe County was in fact one of 25 counties to meet its quota.⁴⁵ Reflecting a sense of scorn concerning the towns that did not meet their quotas, the *Union's* editors wrote:

Many towns have sent many more than their quota, but their excess of patriotism will not avail those localities which, through selfishness, or cowardice, or sympathy for our common enemy shirk their responsibility.⁴⁶

While bounties were helping to entice men to enlist at this time, newspaper advertisements did as well. It was a common practice for Rochester's newspapers to run recruiting advertisements complete with patriotic, monetary and regimental prestige appeals.⁴⁷

Late in 1862, there was a local belief that a state draft might still occur in Rochester, despite the fact that the city had already met its recent quota. The local draft board sent a list of all volunteers enlisted in Rochester to Albany on November 5, but the feeling existed among some that a draft would still take place in Rochester regardless.⁴⁸ Even though no draft had been ordered in

Rochester by mid-November, an exemption board was set up to hear individual cases. With no official draft, this action was puzzling to many, as the *Union* wrote:

. . . and we now ask why is a Commissioner sitting to hear applications for exemption if no draft is contemplated? It is a useless and an expensive process, if no draft is to be made in this country.⁴⁹

The issue that concerned most at this time related directly to the belief that Rochester had indeed already filled its quota. While there was debate as to the exact number of men the Rochester area had sent to the Union Army, even the local draft board was not sure of the precise number of troops.⁵⁰ People anxiously awaited the announcement of the number of men recruited in Rochester since July. The board eventually sent a list to Albany of the names of 3,294 men that had enlisted into the army, while the quota had been only 3,116, or an excess of 178.⁵¹ The debate raged on as to the exact number of men furnished by Rochester, as the *Union* published differing recruit and quota figures on several occasions throughout 1862.⁵² A draft did inevitably occur in Rochester, but not until national conscription during the summer of 1863.

The dispute as to how the North should raise its army continued in Rochester throughout the entire year of 1862. While some advocated a volunteer system, others sought a draft. Those who argued for the volunteer system said it was the only method that should be used because the federal or state governments should not press men into military service; they believed it was undemocratic. Not only was there a moral belief that a draft was wrong, but there was also an anti-draft conviction based upon actual practice. In fact, some argued that armies composed of drafted men were not desirable because of their relative incompetence, which they said was due to their lack of sincerity. Reporting from Baltimore, a *Union* correspondent wrote:

At present, however, the "draft" seems to be claiming--or at least receiving--as much attention as any other subject. I have heard it asserted that drafted men compose the best armies; but if the present be an example, I have thus far failed to see the "pint."⁵³

The writer also cited an example, concerning the 4th Regiment, in which only 106 of an estimated 300-to-400 substitutes responded to a roll call after a few days march that finished in Harper's Ferry.⁵⁴

Noble army! It is much doubted whether Maryland Heights will be found to possess more attraction to those "birds of flight" than the show grounds of Baltimore have. Time will tell; but "still they come," slowly.⁵⁵

Those who argued for the draft usually declared it was the only fair system because it took men from all social classes, rich and poor. They also said the volunteer system, with the aid of the bounty system, inevitably led to the creation of an army filled with men of low socio-economic backgrounds because of their families' need for bounty money. This debate was, of course, addressed in Rochester as well, from all levels of society. In an article entitled "Drafting vs. Volunteering," an author, identified only as "G", somewhat pragmatically wrote:

The prejudices which most people entertain against drafting is as unreasonable as it is short-sighted and selfish. Unreasonable, because a conscription is the fairest method of enlarging the army; short-sighted, because it is the quickest and consequently the cheapest way to end the war; and selfish because none but those who would not volunteer are afraid of being drafted.⁵⁶

"G" also said too many troops were needed to win the war for the idea of a national draft to be ignored. Opposing the popular view that draftees were low-quality troops, "G" also wrote:

And let none be misled by the false idea that conscripts do not make equally as good soldiers as volunteers. Theories are useless when facts contradict them. Napoleon's conquering legions were all conscripts. . .⁵⁷

It was also by the time bounties began to be offered in 1862 that distinctions began to be made between the various types of soldiers. In other words, the differentiation between the professionals, the volunteers, the conscripts, and the substitutes evolved. Naturally, this was true for Rochester and its soldiers as well. The *Union* printed a letter on November 1, 1862, sent by a soldier of the 13th Regiment who enlisted in 1861, regarding new recruits who were paid bounties. He wrote:

What a contrast between the 'milsops' and the 'solid men' of the North! The 140th now shows a larger list of deserters than the 13th does after eighteen months service. Half the high priced men who enlisted did so for money, nothing else; others were afraid of being drafted; few of them came from pure patriotism as did the first regiment who came without any inducements, not even the \$100 bounty.⁵⁸

Another writer, from the 27th Regiment, painted a different picture concerning new troops. He wrote:

The material of which the old regiments were formed, was considered the 'scum of creation,' and their absence in the community as 'good riddance to bad rubbish' at the North, . .

and

. . . it must be acknowledged that the new regiments are composed on the whole of a better class of men, more earnest, more orderlike, and more willing to submit, and learn what is required of them.⁵⁹

Together, the two letters suggest perhaps that the first men to enlist were either very adventurous and patriotic or had poor financial situations, while the recruits of a year later were mercenaries, opportunists and evaders of the maligned label of "conscript".⁶⁰

Throughout the war, a problem that plagued draft boards, whether they were for federal or state drafts, concerned medical and occupational exemptions. The draft laws allowed for certain exemptions from a draft based on physical disabilities or because an individual held a job that was indispensable for the community. Often, those drafted would have a doctor sign an exemption form based upon a fraudulent illness or disability. This practice occurred frequently in the Rochester area, as in other northern communities. The *Union* sarcastically reported what it perceived to be taking place at the City Clerk's office:

If all the men who have been there to examine the militia rolls and put in their exemption papers, had gone to the recruiting stations and enlisted, what a large army this city would sent out! . . . The whole thing is a burlesque, and whoever has been instrumental in getting it up ought to be indicted, provided the expense of the work is paid from the public fund.⁶¹

Among the prevailing reasons that men declared exemptions included: blindness and other "bodily infirmities"; status as fireman, militia man, or public office holder; or, conscientious objection.⁶²

Overall, Rochester had a positive attitude during the war's first two years, yet the strains of manpower recruiting were beginning to be seen. While it was becoming inevitable that national conscription was in the near future, the volunteer and bounty systems were finding their niches in Rochester. As it was already

obvious that no one wanted to be drafted, provisions were being made to raise money to stimulate volunteering. Republicans supported a federal draft, while Democrats believed it would not have been needed had the federal government run the war properly. Democrats offered no solutions--only negative comments--and contended that the draft was against states' rights.

End Notes

1. The actual dates of the drafts were July 1863; March 14, 1864; July 18, 1864; and December 19, 1864.
2. James M. McPherson, **Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction** (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), pg. 356.
3. Ibid.
4. James W. Geary, "Civil War Conscription in the North: A Historiographical Review," **Civil War History** (Vol. XXXII, No. 3, 1986), pg. 214.
5. Final Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War, **House Executive Documents**, 39th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IV, Appendix, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1860), Part I, pp. 213, hereinafter cited as **Fry's Report**. Non-federal bounties totalled almost \$286 million. Ibid., pp. 214-223. Total federal government expenditures were \$3.3 billion during the war. Peter J. Parish, **The American Civil War** (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1975), pg. 362.
6. Geary, pp. 215-216. While bounties jumped by as much as 1,000 percent throughout the war, the inflation rate in the North from 1861-1865 was "only" 80 percent. The South's inflation rate was 9,000 percent. McPherson, pg. 205.
7. Parish, pg. 142.
8. **The Eighth Census, 1860** (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), pg. 336.
9. Ibid., pg. 345.
10. There were 12,626 Irish and 10,113 Germans of 33,278 foreign born in Monroe County in 1855. **Census of the State of New York, For 1855** (Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen & Sons, 1857), pp. 110-111.
11. Blake McKelvey, "Rochester's Part in the Civil War," **Rochester History**, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (Jan., 1961), pg. 5.
12. Ibid.

13. Ruth Marsh, "A History of Rochester's Part in the Civil War," The Rochester Historical Society, **Publications**, XXII, 1944, pg. 4.
14. Blake McKelvey, **Rochester: The Flower City** (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), pg. 64..
15. Marsh, pg. 4.
16. Ibid., pg. 8.
17. McKelvey, "Rochester's Part in the Civil War," pg. 2.
18. Blake McKelvey, "The Germans of Rochester: Their Traditions and Contributions," **Rochester History**, Vol. XX, No. 1 (Jan., 1958), pg. 6.
19. Marsh, pp. 18-19.
20. McKelvey, "Rochester's Part in the Civil War," pg. 5.
21. McKelvey, "Rochester's Part in the Civil War," pg. 8.
22. Ibid., pg. 5.
23. Charles Lanman (ed.), **Journal of Alfred Ely** (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1862), pg. 3.
24. McKelvey, **Rochester: The Flower City**, pg. 89.
25. Ibid.
26. **Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser**, August 31, 1861, pg. 1.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. McKelvey, "Rochester's Part in the Civil War," pg. 7.
30. Marsh, pp. 31-32.
31. Ibid., pg. 21.
32. Blake McKelvey (ed.), "George Breck's Civil War Letters From the 'Reynolds Battery,'" The Rochester Historical Society, **Publications**, Vol. XXII, 1944, pg. 98.
33. Ibid., pp. 99-100.
34. **War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies** (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901) , Series III, Vol. 2, pp. 329 and 345, hereinafter designated as **Official Records**.
35. **Union**, July 9, 1862, pg. 1.
36. Marsh, pg. 30.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., pg. 32.
39. **Union**, July 30, 1862, pg. 3.
40. Ibid., pg. 1.

41. Marsh, pg. 32.
42. Ibid.
43. **Union**, November 15, 1862, pg. 2.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., September 30, 1862, pg. 3.
46. Ibid., October 4, 1862, pg. 2.
47. Marsh, pg. 23.
48. **Union**, November 5, 1862, pg. 2.
49. Ibid., November 8, 1862, pg. 2.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., November 10, 1862, pg. 2.
52. Despite the variance in figures, all published quotas and recruiting figures verified that Rochester did meet its quota.
53. **Union**, December 3, 1862, pg. 2.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., August 2, 1862, pg. 2.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., November 1, 1862, pg. 2.
59. Marsh, pp. 23-24.
60. Ibid., pg. 24.
61. **Union**, August 6, 1862, pg. 2.
62. Ibid.

Donald Fisher is a graduate history student at SUNY at Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y. and a graduate of St. John Fisher College.

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Back Cover: President Abraham Lincoln in the summer of 1861 by an unknown photographer. By 1863 Lincoln was forced to raise troops by draft. The draft actually stimulated enlistments.

