MANTON MARBLE AND THE 1863 NEW YORK DRAFT RIOTS

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ABSTRACT

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The American Civil War lasted four years, but one hundred and fourteen years later many questions still go unanswered. There are questions which evolve around the fighting of the war, and there are concomitant issues. One indirect question which has long perplexed historians and scholars alike is the 1863 New York Draft Riots, and the complex issues surrounding its duration. The biographer of Manton Marble expressed what he considered to be one answer to the extension of the riots. Manton Marble was part owner and editor of a prestigious New York newspaper during that period of time. Marble's biographer gives only a cursory coverage of the New York City draft riots. In summing up the cause and effects of the riots he concluded that had not Marble and other Democrat editors wrote such inflammatory articles, the riot would have been ephemeral. Other historians soon began to express same or similar postulations.

The following paper is a natural response to the above conclusion. The riots which took place that hot July

week of 1863 in New York City stemmed from more complex causes than newspaper articles. To narrow it down, the causes which produced and extended the riots were multifarious to say the least. To indict Marble and other newspaper editors is to take a simplistic approach to a complicated situation. People, not articles, caused the riot, ostensibly a protest to the Emancipation Proclamation and conscription, to grow and expand into a near sack of New York City. So, looking through and not past the so-called inflammatory articles the following issues will be addressed: the social/economic conditions of the city, racial adjustment as it existed in the city during this period, and the political atmosphere's relationship toward the affected population. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to define the exact causes of the 1863 New York Draft Riots, but it will acquit Manton Marble and his peers of the indictment placed against them.

An in-depth consideration of Manton Marble's personality, and not his business acumen, will be addressed. The life styles of those most affected by conscription will be studied. The physical make-up of the city will be viewed, from its ability to motivate personal behavior. The city's political base will be looked at from the perspective of power politics. The final analysis will address the reasons and rationale for Marble's writing the kind of articles that he did. Along with the reasons and rationale for the articles will naturally come a

re-evaluation of each article.

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INTRODUCTION

The most tragic and internecine chapter of American History was recorded between the years of 1861 and 1865. This period saw the dream of the American Revolution transformed into a nightmare and the monumental efforts of the founding fathers almost destroyed. History records that during this period father turned against son, brother fought against brother, and some families were torn apart never to unite again. Never before or since has America experienced such a potential destructive upheaval. That historical event was the American Civil War. In July of 1863, in New York City, a concomitant event to the American Civil War took place. Manton Marble, editor of a New York City newspaper, had the dubious honor of being judged by history as a willing participant in that event.

After 1865 a myriad number of historians, both domestic and foreign, gave magnificent accounts of various aspects of this classical struggle. This thesis is an attempt to explain one nebulous event which came about because of that great war. The historical episode which will be addressed herein was the New York Draft Riots of 1863. The purpose is not to cover the week of July 12, 1863, day by day, but to seek out the true relationship between Manton Marble's New York World editorials and the continuance of the riots.

The newspaper editorials under consideration are the ones published in the New York World shortly before and

during that week of riots. Specifically this thesis will attempt to discover the motives and rationale of Manton Marble, editor of the newspaper, during those trying days, when he published what have been interpreted to be incendiary editorials. Some historians feel that had not Manton Marble, through his editorials, supported and encouraged the rioters, the insurrection would have been ephemeral. Many historians go as far as to indict Marble's actions as being criminal in nature and ignoble in deed. One such critic who arraigned Manton Marble was George T. McJimsey who wrote an excellent biography on the life of Marble and felt that the articles published by the World that July week of 1863 were inflammatory and inciting.[1]

This thesis will attempt to establish whether or not there was any complicity by Manton Marble in the 1863 New York Draft Riots. History is the long and sometimes tragic story which shows that man is capable of performing the most perfidious acts. Because of this historical axiomatic approach Manton Marble stands accused, and to some convicted, before the historical bar of justice. After much research little if any evidence came to light that would support, even by the most partial grand jury, such an indictment. But history is a process of evaluation and re-evaluation and as such no thesis can stand as a

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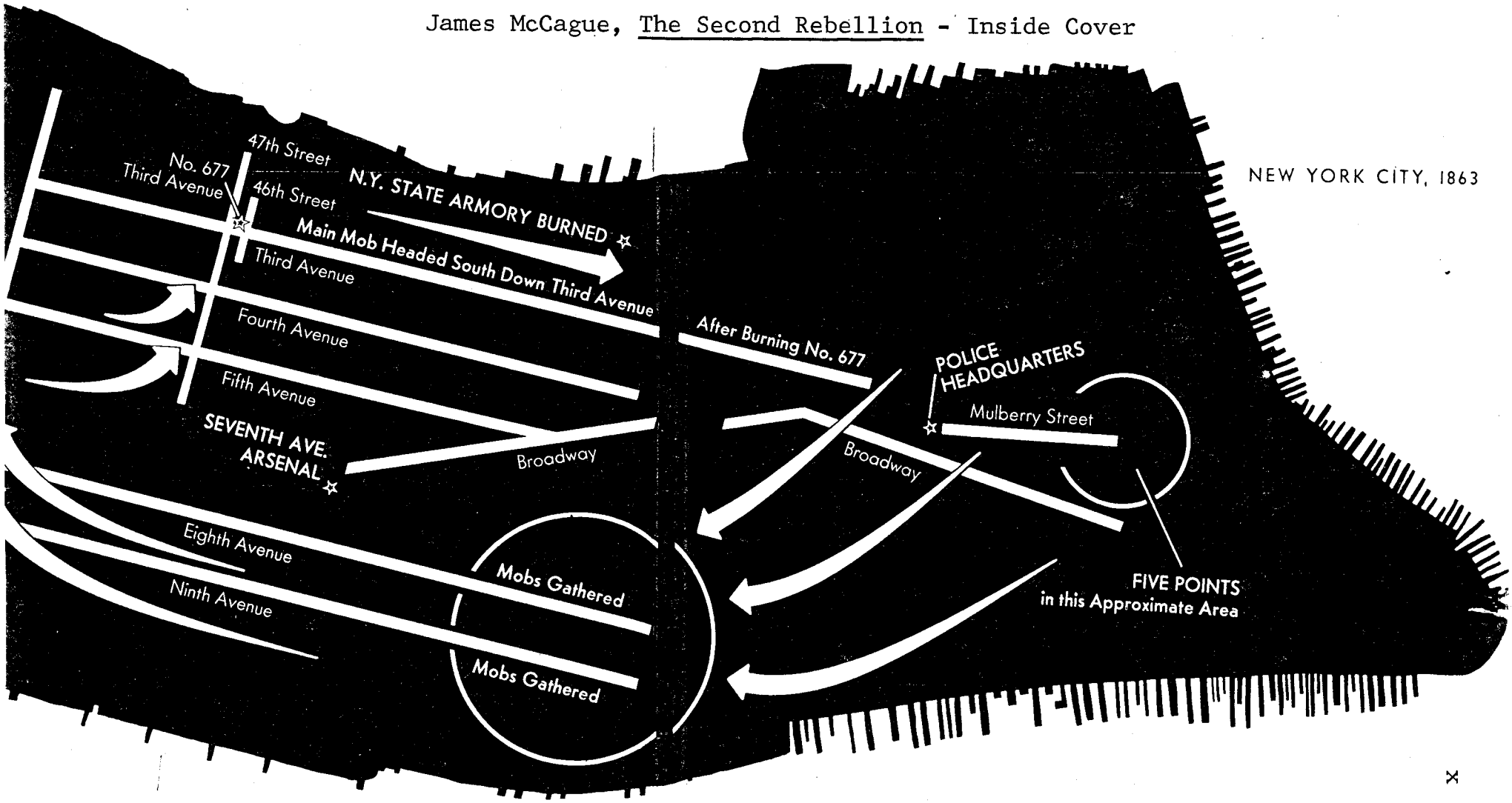
[1]George T. McJimsey, Genteel Partisan: Manton Marble 1834-1917 (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa University Press, 1971), p. 49.

truism. This thesis stems from such a need: an historical re-evaluation of the 1863 New York Draft Riots.

MAP OF RIOT AREA

James McCague, The Second Rebellion - Inside Cover



CHAPTER I

PURITAN INFLUENCE

If one can believe contemporary psychiatrists, the human psyche is capable of transcending time, able to inculcate the ideas and philosophy of one generation into the next. This being so, individuals develop certain traits which they are able to pass on genetically from parent to child. It cannot be denied that individuals who were sired by old New England stock possessed certain virtues. Manton Marble vividly displayed all the virtues of a nineteenth century conservative New England gentleman. He was pious, industrious, well-educated, protective of the status quo, capitalistic, and property conscious. His one great concern in life was to pursue a career as an artist, a man of letters. Since all men at birth possess no cultural traits it is of primary importance here to look at the kind of family and community life which produced Mr. Marble.[2]

Manton Marble's ancestors were the epitome of hard-working Puritan New England stock which helped settle and develop Massachusetts. Official documents of many small Massachusetts towns bore the names of those related to

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[2]McJimsey, Marble, p. 4.

Marble. Near Andover, Massachusetts stands a landmark known as Marble Ridge which was named after Manton's great-grandfather. The Marbles and those related both by blood and marriage sacrificed life and property, like others, to help the colonies secure their liberty from English control.[3] E. Benjamin Andrews suggests in his History of the United States, "At Bunker Hill an undisciplined body of farmers, ill-armed, weary, hungry and thirsty, calmly awaited the charge of old British campaigners, and by a fire of dreadful precision drove them back."[4] Members of Marble's family stood with this gallant group at Bunker Hill. Marble's family no doubt was as magnanimous as General John Philip Schuyler when it came to their property. Schuyler put the torch to his own grain fields at Saratoga lest they feed the foe. After the victory was won the Marble family set about to help build a great nation. Most were yeoman farmers and artisans, the backbone of inchoate America. It was from this solid New England stock that Joel Marble, Manton's father, came, one of ten children born to a Deacon Solomon Marble.[5]

Joel Marble did not follow the traditional family occupation, but finished his education and pursued a career as a teacher. While still in his early twenties he left

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[3]McJimsey, p. 3.

[4]E. Benjamin Andrews, History of the United States 6 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 2:152.

[5]Andrews, History of the United States, 2:153.

Millbury, Massachusetts and moved to Worcester. A short time after his arrival he met and married Nancy Coes and became a school teacher in the Baptist Worcester Manual Labor High School. Being a young man Joel was influenced by the community in which he lived. Manton's personality was a reflection of his father, and Joel's personality was a direct reflection of the community which he lived in for the greater part of his young life.

Worcester, Massachusetts was established in 1713 by Jonas Rice and Adam Winthrop. The men who founded Worcester were orthodox Puritans and their methodology for settlements followed the Puritan tradition. They established provisions for religious and educational instruction of youth. They inculcated in all their settlements the ideology of Puritan living. Those who followed these early settlers continued this ideology. Within a short period of twenty years the fledgling community of Worcester was beginning to blossom forth with all the attributes of the older and better known New England towns.

Events of the greatest magnitude would interrupt the tranquillity of Worcester from time to time. Charles Allen, a probate court judge from Worcester, had been selected a Worcester County delegate to the 1848 national Whig convention meeting in Philadelphia. This was a tense time in both local and national politics. The main issue of the day was slavery and how northern states should deal with it. The central committee of the national Whigs felt

that the best way to handle such a volatile issue was to leave it out of the Whig platform. The national committee had unanimously endorsed Zachary Taylor as the Whig standard bearer. Not only was Taylor not opposed to slavery but he was a slaveholder himself. Allen had heard the Worcester County Whig convention adopt a resolution before electing him as a delegate to the national convention that "in addition to the former issues between the Whig parties and their opponents, we recognize as another and most important one, our uncompromising opposition to any further extension of slavery over any territory of the United States, or to any legislation by the national government the specific object of which is to sustain the institution of slavery. That in the opinion of this convention no candidate for the presidency can receive the electoral vote of Massachusetts who is not publicly known to be opposed to the extension of slavery."[6] Armed with the resolution Judge Allen arose and addressed the Philadelphia convention. He stated that before the people of Massachusetts would support an individual such as Taylor they would first rather see the dissolution of the Whig party. Many of the national leaders expressed to Judge Allen that they did not feel his opinion was that of the majority of his state. But, when the judge returned to Worcester and made

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[6]The Worcester Bank and Trust, Historical Events of Worcester 1722-1922 (Worcester, Mass., 1922), p. 153.

his report a resolution was passed by the convention that "Massachusetts wears no chains and spurns all bribes; that Massachusetts goes now and will forever go for free land and a free world."[7] This was the attitude which Joel Marble had been exposed to during his stay in Worcester and he was able to inculcate the same philosophy in young Manton. The 1854 Butman Riot in Worcester brings us a complete circle in which is established the New England psyche. Asa O. Butman, a United States Deputy Marshal, supposedly came to Worcester to capture a black resident named William Jankins as a fugitive slave. The people of Worcester became incensed and forced the marshal to make a hasty exit.

The personality of Joel Marble was deeply influenced by these events in and around Worcester. Joel was filled with the New England Puritanical ideology. He had burning within him the ideals of the American Revolution, the high moral standards set by New England life. In 1840 when Joel Marble decided to move his family from Worcester to Albany, New York, he was truly a representative of the Puritan ethic. Joel took a job as a school teacher at District No. 2 public school which was located across the street from the capital. Among his students was his son, Manton. It was from his father's teaching that Manton began to perceive the world. Joel Marble was

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[7]Worcester Bank and Trust, Worcester, p. 42.

able to transfer from himself to his son certain traits which would later show themselves in Manton's business dealings and personal life. For example, in Worcester Joel was exposed to a strong Whig party philosophy which later Manton would display.

Joel and Nancy Marble wanted the best for their son, and young Manton responded with high scholastic achievement. The records of 1850 show Manton's youthful ambition as being channeled toward becoming a man of letters.[8] When he completed his public school education, his parents enrolled him in the Albany Academy.[a] There young Manton excelled in all of his classic studies which consisted of algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus, and nautical astronomy. Though Manton did well in mathematics his interest turned toward literature. He joined the Academy's literary society, Phi Mu Alpha, in 1852. Soon after becoming a member of the society he entered a poem entitled, "Visions: The Arctic Discovered," in Albany's annual poetry contest which was conducted by the Albany Young Men's Association. From that entry, an invitation

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[8]McJimsey, p. 4.

[a]In November of 1812, through the persistence of Mayor Philip S. Van Renssellaer, a committee was appointed by the Common Council to report on the expediency of establishing a city academy. Albany Academy was chartered by the Regents of the University of the State of New York on March 4, 1813. It had a classical curriculum. Some of its noted graduates were Herman Melville and DeWitt Clinton. Archives, Albany Academy, Albany, New York.

came to him from the association to be the poet at the next Fourth of July celebration. Manton quickly accepted the offer and thus launched his literary career.

Many of Joel Marble's friends recognized the talent of the young Manton and one such friend, John F. Rathbone, offered to aid in the boy's education. Rathbone was a wealthy Albany stone manufacturer and philanthropist, but more importantly, he was a trustee of the University of Rochester. The Marbles had long been acquainted with the Revolutionary War General, John Rathbone. The general had been Manton's Sunday School teacher at Emmanuel Baptist Church, a church that would always be an important part of Manton Marble's life. He was thoroughly inculcated with the Baptist doctrine and motivated his life through the teachings of the church. The general's offer of aid was readily accepted because by now Manton's ambitions were beyond his father's economic position. Manton wished to enroll at the newly opened and prestigious University of Rochester. For this purpose no one else could be better suited to help than General Rathbone. After taking a special examination Manton entered the University of Rochester in January of 1853.

Manton's college experience was to have a lasting effect on both his career and personal life. During his first year he met Martin Brewer Anderson, the university's president, who would become his mentor and guide in the future. Anderson saw in Marble the qualities he felt were

necessary if a man was to succeed in journalism. Anderson was well qualified to make this judgment because before he became president of Rochester University he was editor and publisher of the Recorder, a weekly newspaper published in New York City. Marble referred to Anderson, a staunch conservative, as the wisest counsellor of his youthful years. While editor of the New York newspaper he had brought attention to himself by opposing a movement within the Baptist church to revise the old translation of the Bible. In announcing his opposition he declared, "We publish the Recorder to advocate orthodox Baptist principles, not any thousand systems of which the world is full, and which we believe to be destructive of the best interest of the human soul. We thank God that we are not a modern liberal. We are not of those who care not whether a man worship twenty gods or one."[9] Anderson felt that Christ spoke through the Bible and he could not distinguish between obedience to Christ and loyalty to the Word of God. Dr. Anderson's personality was a combination of religious orthodoxy and social service. He strongly believed that the American civilization was a perfect example of how God wished man to live on earth. He felt it was the noble man's responsibility to support and protect the American way of life. He was diametrically opposed to unrestricted immigration because he believed that only the most corrupt elements

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[9]McJimsey, p. 4.

came from Europe to settle in America. Finally, Anderson believed that a true man was the most noble product on earth; nobler than a clergyman, a physician, an advocate or a merchant. In one of his lectures he stated, "Let us shape our educational systems to make men."[10]

Manton absorbed much of Anderson's conservative Americanism. He blended Anderson's religious orthodoxy and social service with his Puritanical ideology. By this time, Marble had successfully combined the personalities of his father and Dr. Anderson within his own. Manton had coupled his father's tenacious love for the American government, as viewed from the Whig ideology, with Anderson's conservative Americanism and religious orthodoxy. Manton emerged from college with strong conservative views. The first semester of his senior year Marble worked as an apprentice for a local newspaper, the Rochester American, which was edited by Chester P. Dewey, a son of one of the college professors. In the Rochester American editorial policy Marble found a political philosophy to go with his personal ideologies, conservative Whiggery.

The Rochester American took a strong stand on all the leading issues of the day. These issues were abolitionism, the Fugitive Slave Act, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the annexation of Cuba. In regard to the abolitionist movement the newspaper called for restraint. The American

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[10]McJimsey, p. 6.

revered the Constitution too much to condone or support the abolitionists and their civil disobedience. The abolitionist movement began with a group of young New Englanders bent on an era of national reform. From this defensive setting sprang the nineteenth century crusade against slavery. These young people had a strong sense of their individuality, a deadly earnestness about moral issues, and confidence in their ability to master themselves and to improve the world. Above all, these reformers believed in their own superiority and fully expected to accomplish their goal.[11] The newspaper was opposed to the institution of slavery, and it called for a stop to the agitations of individuals who would divide the nation over that issue, abolitionists and slaveholders alike. In May of 1854, after a federal officer had been killed in Boston during the Anthony Burns riots,[b] an editorial appeared in the American attacking the abolitionists and their methods. It stated that, "the abolitionists were standing in the desecrated temple of liberty--polluting its floor with their ensanguined feet and brandishing the axe from which drips the gore of a man struck down to death in the

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[11] James Brewer Stewart, Holy Warriors, The Abolitionists and American Slavery (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), p. 39.

[b] On May 25, 1854, a well educated young fugitive slave named Anthony Burns was arrested, the first in Boston since Thomas Sims. Again a vigilance committee convened, the protest meeting assembled and Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker all but urged violent action to end Burns' captivity. Stewart, Warriors, pp. 157-158.

performance of his duty as an official of the law."[12] The paper went on to suggest that the actions of the abolitionists bordered on treason. The main cause for these social problems lay in ignorance, said the American. It would civilize both the abolitionist and the slaveholder through the common school concept. If the country would make the common school mandatory in each state soon the superiority of an enlightened and free industry would replace that of the unenlightened slave labor in the South. The American supported the Fugitive Slave Act, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the annexation of Cuba. Those controversies evolved around the following issues: first, in 1850, as a part of the Compromise of that year, Congress amended the 1793 Fugitive Slave Laws to include new, far harsher provisions. The law authorized federal commissioners, not state judges, to process fugitive cases, and every northern citizen was obliged to assist in the recapture of escapees. Also, whites who abetted escaped slaves now risked severe penalty, and the fugitives themselves were deprived of the right to trial by jury or opportunity to testify.[13] Second, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, introduced by Stephen A. Douglas in the Senate on January 4, 1854, in its first form was simply a bill to organize the Nebraska territory. During the debates on the measure Senator Douglas proposed three

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[12] McJimsey, p. 7.

[13] Stewart, p. 122.

controversial amendments: (a) the territory was split into two separate sections, (b) on the question of slavery the people of the territory would decide for themselves if their state would be free or not, and (c) the Nebraska bill would repeal the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Finally, the annexation of Cuba was a measure which the southern states were eager to have the federal government accomplish. The main reason that the South desired the annexation of Cuba was to expand her institution of slavery, and to prevent Spain, who possessed the island, from emancipating the slaves there. The position taken by the American on each of these issues was fully endorsed by Manton.

The most important part of Manton Marble's apprenticeship at the American was his political indoctrination. Already an ardent member of the Whig party, through his father's influence, he now aligned himself with the conservative element of that party. During this period the Democratic party was the antithesis of his personal philosophy, but he found much that he could embrace in Whig political ideology. A brief look into the origins of the Whig party will show why it had attracted young Manton.

The Whig party was organized in 1834. It suceeded the National Republican party from which came many of its leaders. The specific purpose of its organization was to drive from power those individuals, the Jacksonians, who were responsible for the country's depressed economic situation. Men like Daniel Webster and Henry Clay led the

vanguard of well known politicians who abandoned the National Republicans to become standard bearers of the Whig party. So from the outset the Whig party was not at liberty to select its candidates or to determine its issues. Men like Webster and Clay brought with them all of their isms and political ideologies. The Whig party's position on most issues varied according to circumstances. Their only consistent point was a constant criticism of the expansion of executive power. Those who controlled the Whig party expressed in many ways the conservative point of view in politics. Many voters who were conservative by temperament were abandoning politics before the birth of the Whig party provided them with a safe haven. The Democratic party seemed in their eyes to be pandering to the criminal element of society. Men of Manton Marble's genteel persuasion in the 1830's viewed with alarm election day rioting and street fighting which sometimes occurred in New York City, Albany and Philadelphia. One newspaper, the Niles Register, suggested, "the character of our countrymen seems suddenly changed and thousands interpret the laws in their own way--sometimes in one case and then in another guided only by their own will."[14] All of Manton's training and education led him to believe that he must be involved in the betterment of society, so it is only natural that a political organization such as the Whig party would attract him. In

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[14]E. Malcolm Carroll, Origins of the Whig Party (Raleigh, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1925), p. 187.

his youth the Whig party held the political philosophy and social ideology which Marble felt could best stabilize him in an uncertain world.

The final socializing element which aided in producing Manton Marble was religion. His ancestors were steeped in Puritan faith; but as the Revolution faded in the minds of New Englanders other religious sects sprang up in New England. One such sect was the Baptist faith of which his father became a member. The church provided Joel with the motivation to break the traditional family occupation of farming and shopkeeping and become a teacher. In 1836 the Baptist church provided Joel with a job as a steward of the Worcester Manual Labor High School. By the time Manton was three years old his family were devout Baptists. In 1840 after Joel and his family arrived in Albany they joined the Emmanuel Baptist Church on Pearl Street. It was here that young Manton received his religious training under General Rathbone. The general not only taught the Ten Commandments to Manton and his fellow pupils, but Baptist religious philosophy as well. This early training was to have a most profound effect on Manton throughout his life. Even when he had placed his economic well-being ahead of his spiritual satisfaction, he maintained close ties with the church.

The first Baptist church was established at Rehoboth, Massachusetts in the year of 1660 by John Myles. The Baptist faith prospered in the new world and by the

1790's many settlements were designated as places where a church might be established. In the spring of 1795, James Wilson arrived in Worcester, making the fourth Baptist in that settlement. Helping to establish the Baptist church, he exerted a wide influence there for nearly forty years.[15] By 1836 the Worcester Baptist Church had grown significantly and included among its members the Marble family. The social influence of the Baptist church is the genius of the denomination. Its social and theological influence comes from a fervent belief in its principles. The Baptists were reformers and yet one would be hard pressed to find a Baptist program of social reform. Still, most nineteenth century social reforms were championed by some Baptists. They tried to reach society through collective thought, i.e., the social mind rather than social program. Baptists "felt if church membership means genuine religious life, it certainly follows that this life must be expressed in the midst of all our social activities."[16] It can readily be seen that the Baptist faith was a champion of human rights and advocated active participation in legal programs for social change. O.K. and Marjorie Armstrong in their book. The Indomitable Baptist, note that "From the

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[15]Caleb A. Wall, Reminiscence of Worcester Historical and Genealogical (Worcester: Tyler and Seagrave, 1877), p. 149.

[16]Rev. Ilsley Boone, S.T.M., Elements in Baptist Development (Boston: The Backus Historical Society, 1913), pp. 152-155.

late 1830's most Baptist ministers in the northern states, especially in New England, were thundering against human bondage, and their churches passed resolutions against the institution. Antislavery societies sprang up in communities all over the North, and Baptist ministers and church leaders leaped to the front of the movement carrying the banner of abolition."[17] Consequently, Manton Marble as a devout Baptist would have supported the institution of slavery only with difficulty.

Manton Marble was a pious man and he was dedicated to his chosen faith. Yet one of the biggest obstacles to a successful business life was his Baptist faith. In reviewing Manton's early life we find him, a well educated man, strong in principles, conservative by nature, ambitious by persuasion, and tenacious by training. We have to ask ourselves if a man with his genteel qualities could incite such a pandemic slaughter as the 1863 New York Draft Riots. Would his psyche allow him to remain in a sane state if he had perpetrated such a deed? Research shows some probability of his psyche being at war with his physical self if he consciously participated in an act which resulted in the loss of so many lives and the destruction of so much valuable property. Manton Marble possessed all the virtues of his society and he placed a

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[17] O.K. Armstrong and Marjorie Armstrong, The Indomitable Baptist (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), p. 164.

high value on them. He could not have turned his back on his life's work and set about to destroy society. The coming chapters will show how Manton Marble struggled to attain his honored place in society, and reach his personal goal of a noble manhood. Support for the New York riot would have clearly conflicted with that goal.

CHAPTER II

A STEP TOWARD A NOBLE MANHOOD

The Rochester American, edited by Chester P. Dewey, postulated the following social theories about the Negro. The American was for public education, but it felt that education had its limits, and these limits ran out before they reached the Negro. The American also professed, since the Negro met with so much hostility due to a combination of prejudice and cruelty in the North, that it was best he be colonized in Africa. The paper justified this position by pointing out that only in Africa could a Black man be free to live as a man: erect, independent, and equal. Young Manton was thoroughly immersed in this ideology. These were the values instilled in him during his apprenticeship, values to which he would adhere strongly later in life.

On the Rochester American Marble performed such mundane newspaper tasks as reviewing books, writing feature articles and editorials; his work was well received. He was encouraged to write as often as possible in order to gain confidence. Marble's timid hopes of becoming a newspaper editor were reassured when Chester P. Dewey informed him that a job awaited upon graduation from college. On campus at the University of Rochester Marble worked hard to deepen his knowledge of current events and public affairs.

His final semester of college found him supplementing regular studies with readings in history and political theory. At the culmination of his college career, Marble gave the commencement oration which dealt with the Italian republics. At the same time he received the president's prize for best senior essay entitled, "The Ancient and The Modern Idea of The State." Marble, at this point, by no means had a clear picture of his future. He had chosen his career, but he was undecided as to the best location. Rochester held some opportunity, but his youthful spirit directed him away from the place of his student and apprenticeship activities. So, with much trepidation and a bundle of recommendations so impressive that it embarrassed him, Marble, following Dr. Anderson's advice once more, set out for Boston.[18] Marble's first full-time employment in the newspaper business was with the Boston Journal. His duties consisted of reporting, item collecting, and book reviewing, at a starting salary of $500 per year. Manton Marble's choice of profession was outstanding when reviewed in retrospect.

In 1690 the pioneer of American journalism, Public Occurrence, appeared. Its publisher was Benjamin Harris, and Richard Pierce was the printer.[19] The significance of this event can best be summed up by the following statement:

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[18]McJimsey, p. 9.

[19]Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1873), p. 44.

"Whatever is just, whatever is humane, whatever is good, whatever is true . . . in the golden light of the future must prevail." The newspaper industry in America in 1860 had followed this rule and had become a most powerful instrument. Manton Marble had chosen a career which would make him one of the leaders of a communication medium; a field which could and would control public opinion like nothing ever had or would until the twentieth century and the introduction of radio and television. But, to fully understand the might which Manton possessed by the summer of 1863, we must investigate the history of the newspaper in America.

In 1690 the atmosphere under colonial rule did not permit a newspaper to flourish in America. When editor Harris touched upon some military matters in one of his publications, the local authorities frowned on the publication and killed the newspaper outright within twenty-four hours.[20] It was not until 1704 that another attempt was made to establish the newspaper industry in the colonies. In Journalism in the United States, Frederic Hudson suggests that "After fourteen years of deprivation the tastes and opinion of the public had sufficiently ripened for the authorities to tolerate and authorize a newspaper under great restriction."[21] From that time on the newspaper

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[20]Hudson, Journalism, p. 45.

[21]Hudson, p. 51.

industry became a permanent institution in America. Men like Benjamin Franklin, Amos Kendall, John M. Niles, and John Campbell were all colonial newspaper publishers. These men were the individuals who established the rules by which Manton Marble's World would play in the summer of 1863. Marble's editorial procedures were the same used by Benjamin Franklin when he attacked the colonial authorities for what he felt were governmental injustices.

With the establishment of the American newspaper industry after the Revolutionary War came the emergence of party politics. The combination of these two great forces was the one catalyst which would in 1863 drive Manton Marble from his solid stand on Puritan principles and ideology into the arena of power politics. This great social phenomenon became apparent right after the end of the Revolutionary War. Hudson states that, "scarcely had the echo of the last hostile gun of the Revolution died away when the country became divided into two great political camps, with newspapers as their needle-guns, and pamphlets as their chassepots. During this period of public excitement and popular agitation, all newspapers were arrayed on either side of a political question."[22] Hudson limited political control of the press to a period covering fifty years, 1783-1832. He states that "journalism, however, had not yet become a profession. It was a power with the people but it was

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[22]Hudson, p. 144.

managed by ambitious political chiefs between the years of 1783-1832."[23] The journalists' views and opinions on public affairs were the inspiration of politicians and statesmen. Editors were free of person; they had their rights; they felt their power in all elections, and in all great questions that agitated the public mind, but they were bound to party. Independence of opinion and expression, outside of party, was political and financial ruin.

After 1832 there still lingered a very close relationship between party politics and newspapers. This can best be illustrated by the following example concerning the New York Tribune. "The Tribune was always a political paper and it was always a party paper. From 1841, when its founder, Horace Greeley, thought that a cheap Whig paper was needed to counteract the Democratic tendencies of cheap press, to 1861 when there were a plethora of rumors that the Tribune staff would be depleted to fill positions in the new administration in Washington."[24]

July 1855 found Manton Marble an eager young newspaperman ready to conquer his chosen profession. At first all seemed well for the young college graduate, but as the months passed Manton wondered if he had made a mistake. He found his work not quite as rewarding as he had hoped it would be. To a young man with so much talent and

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[23]Hudson, p. 142.

[24]Hudson, p. 535.

enthusiasm the mundane duties of a news reporter must have seemed limiting. By the end of the year, Manton was pondering his future. On the Journal Marble was devoting most of his energy to writing book reviews. Charles O. Rogers, the owner of the paper, noticed the restlessness in the young man. Rogers felt that he could arouse Marble's interest by giving him more responsibilities; he thereby promoted him to assistant editor. Because Marble showed so much interest in literary pursuits his editor-in-chief, James A. Dix, lost all confidence in his ability to perform as a political or news editor, but he maintained implicit confidence in Marble as a book reviewer.

Being a book reviewer did little to attract Manton to his work, so early in 1856 he secured a job as assistant librarian at the Boston Athenaeum. He had, for all intents and purposes, given up his dream of becoming a journalist for a more scholarly endeavor. He continued to write book reviews for the Boston Traveller at the same time, thereby not totally severing his association with the newspaper industry. His venture into literature, though short, was somewhat self-rewarding. As he put it, he found out how it was to be in the world and yet not of it.[25] Manton felt that he was well on his way to attaining the idea of a noble manhood, which was his youth's ambition. But as fate would have it, for a young man of so much journalistic

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[25]McJimsey, p. 10.

talent, opportunity knocked once more at his door. The owner of the Boston Traveller offered him the position of editor-in-chief of the paper.

On the Traveller Marble found the environment much to his liking. In politics the paper espoused the type of conservative Whiggery that he had been so long associated with. It denounced abolitionists and slaveholders alike. The paper felt that natural economic forces would bring an end to the cursed institution, but until that time came, it urged all men to uphold the laws protecting slavery.[26]

For the first six months Marble devoted all of his energies to his work. It was during this period that Manton developed the one trait necessary to move up in the news industry--aggressiveness. "Even John F. Rathbone, who had so often worried about his lack of self-confidence, noted the change and even felt constrained to caution him against too much self-pride in his accomplishments."[27] The change in Manton's posture was good for his newspaper career, but outside forces prevented him from reaching his full potential with the Traveller. The end of the six-month period found the paper moving to change its image. Early in 1857 the Traveller consolidated with three other papers, changed its format, and adopted independent Republicanism for its politics. Manton was himself demoted to

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[26]McJimsey, p. 10.

[27]McJimsey, p. 11.

the position of literary editor and Samuel Bowles was made editor-in-chief. Bowles immediately changed the newspaper's stance on the slavery issue, from a conservative one to an antislavery one. He openly attacked the Fugitive Slave Laws. He supported the Republican candidate for governor, and totally rejected the paper's earlier nativism.[28] Next, Bowles began to criticize Manton for the elevated moral tones of all of his book reviews. Manton refused to compromise his principles, and in the spring of 1857 he resigned from the Boston Traveller.

Manton Marble's first two attempts to establish himself in the newspaper profession had ended in his resignation. Thoroughly frustrated by these two setbacks, Marble once again turned to his mentor, Dr. Anderson, and his close friend, John F. Rathbone. Both felt that he should not make a hasty decision in abandoning journalism, and Rathbone then suggested that he go to New York City where his journalistic talents might better be appreciated. Accepting these suggestions, and to support himself, he became involved in giving public lectures on classical utopias. Being well read in this field he enjoyed himself immensely and for a brief time entertained the possibility of making this his chosen career. But, because of pressure from John F. Rathbone, Dr. Anderson, and some intrapersonal feelings, by March 1858, he had once again returned to

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[28]Hudson, p. 11.

journalism.

The Evening Post of New York was the newspaper which Marble selected for his return to the field of journalism. This was a strange choice for him because it broke his long association with conservative Whiggery. The Evening Post had long spoken for the radical wing of the New York Democratic party, but more important was the fact that one of his old professors from the University of Rochester worked on the paper, Charles P. Dewey, who had instructed Marble in editorial writing.[29] Marble's association with the paper was to be a short one, but he made the necessary contacts which would prove useful in his career. While on the Evening Post Manton went through what could be termed a period of agonizing self-reappraisal. He began to believe in himself. He felt that he could succeed as a newspaperman. To organize himself better he asked for and received a leave of absence from the paper to tour the West. While there he continued to write for the Post and furnished illustrated articles for Harpers Magazine. In his writings from the West he confirmed his earlier suspicions of Catholicism and the charitable works of the Catholic church. He described the charitable works of the nuns at Selkirk as "inspired elsewhere than at Rome, and at sources long forsaken by the successors of St. Peter."[30]

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[29]McJimsey, p. 12.

[30]McJimsey, p. 15.

Late in the year of 1859 Manton felt he was once again ready to resume the competitive pace of newspaper journalism. Before leaving the West he wrote Dr. Anderson and informed him of his return and expressed his discontent with working for the Evening Post. Soon after returning to New York he began looking for a new job.[31] Hearing of the establishment of a new journal, the World, he decided to submit his application. Early in 1860 Manton offered his services to the new proprietors, Alexander Cummings and J. R. Spalding.

The World made its appearance on the streets of New York City in June of 1860. It was a dignified and moral sheet. Two hundred thousand dollars was spent to make the World a success. The men who established the paper felt that what was needed and wanted by the people of the city was a moral and religious daily paper.[32] So, with this high purpose in mind and ample financing, the World was launched. The owners of the World were overjoyed to receive Marble's application because a brief check of his background disclosed a young man who met all of their criteria for employment.

Early in June of 1860 notices appeared in the Herald of the coming publication of the World: "The World originated in the belief that the time had come for living

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[31]McJimsey, p. 15.

[32]Hudson, p. 667.

Christianity to assert itself in secular journalism more positively than it has yet done." Although the World would not support any religious doctrine, it would show the authority and efficacy of Christian principles in practical life. Its news coverage would provide up-to-date stories of all moral, religious, social, political, literary, and industrial events. It would not pander to or corrupt its readers' tastes. Its criticism would faithfully expose infidelity and immorality, wherever lurking in current publications of the day. In politics the paper would profess to see good and bad in both parties and declared it would never lend itself to party service. It promised that slavery is a moral, social and political evil, yet one that can be safely and effectually treated only by those who have a legislative and legal jurisdiction over it. It would not oppose slavery where it stood, but would oppose the establishing of it elsewhere. In judging its candidates for political office it would use Whiggish principles. Its political programs, in short, appealed to the traditionalism, constitutionalism, and rationalism established by the founding fathers.[33]

The first copy of the World appeared on June 14, 1860. The issue of secession was foremost in the minds of most citizens. In its first edition the World spoke for

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[33]"The World: An Independent Morning Newspaper," The New York Herald, June 9, 1860, p. 7.

reason and moderation by calling all Americans to stand by the Constitution and the Union. The World supported the election of Abraham Lincoln, and saw him as an antidote for disunion. The World sent out a clarion call for both morality and social order. Most of this philosophy was in harmony with Manton's idea of political order. He himself was a strong supporter of Lincoln. The secession crisis, however, was not the only crisis facing the World at this time. During this period, the two founders of the paper, Cummings and Spalding, differed as to the best method of managing the paper. By late 1860 the difference of opinion had grown into an irreconcilable split, which led to a reorganization of the paper. It was at this time that Marble acquired, through his association with Cummings, a high regard for professional virtue. Marble was impressed by Cummings' business sense and the adroitness he displayed when making decisions. In the ensuing battle between Cummings and Spalding, Manton sided with Cummings because he felt he was the better businessman of the two. In the short time Marble had worked with Spalding he had proven himself incompetent to hold any top position with the newspaper. Thus, when the reorganization was over Spalding was out and Cummings was retained as editor-in-chief. Marble now became the managing editor with increased responsibility and personal influence on the paper. Though eager for professional success, Manton was worried lest his rise be construed as selfish ambition. He later brushed off all

his new success as a twist of fate. After the reorganization was over the most immediate problem of the new management was making the paper profitable.

In his new position as managing editor Marble saw that the paper's circulation suffered from its religious restraints and not being a member of the associated press. Marble was assiduous in his work. It would be fair to say that it was his idea to form a merger between the Courier and Enquirer and the World. Also, along with the merger the World decided to drop its religious character. The World's financial status improved somewhat after the merger, and Marble's influence grew. The increase in circulation was short lived and by the fall of 1861 the World was once again in financial difficulties. By this time, Marble had invested a large amount of his personal savings in World stock and was dreaming of trying to get controlling interest of the paper.

In a letter to Dr. Anderson, Marble expressed the position of the paper in the secession crisis. He stated, "I think we have not made a mistaken estimate of public sentiment nor of final right in saying that when the alternative is only this, disunion--or the end of slavery, slavery and not the union must go to the wall. The staunchest Democrat I know would rather see the South a San Domingo than the union divided."[34] The World thus was

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[34]Marble to Anderson, June 11, 1861, Anderson Papers, University of Rochester Library.

holding steadfast to the Lincoln Administration's views of the war. By late fall of 1861 Marble's perspicacity of public opinion began to change. He made a correlation between the circulation of the World and public enthusiasm for Republican administration war policies. Though Marble had compromised many of his early convictions, he was still the idealist. It was during this time that fate stepped in and a chain of events began which would change Marble's total perspective toward life. Marble had expressed earlier to Anderson that the entire newspaper business was hurting in New York City, and if the World was to survive outside help was needed. Marble began a campaign to increase the amount of corporation printing the paper did, and to get more advertising. The corporation printing was not an easy thing to control, but advertising was another matter. Most, if not all, political advertising was done in the newspapers. In its notice of publication, the World had vowed to remain out from under political fetters, but economics was rapidly changing this view. So, folding up his principles and leaving them in his office desk, Marble began to seek economic support from the local Republican party. The aid would be two-fold. First, economic support through some political advertisement; second, a personal loan of some $33,000 for himself. The money would enable Marble to buy controlling interest in the newspaper. He was encouraged in his quest to secure control of the paper by remarks about his excellent newspaper ability that

drifted out of the trustees' meetings. During the late fall and early winter of 1861-62 Marble's relationship with Cummings became strained. In a letter which he wrote to Dr. Anderson, Marble spoke of Cummings' profligacy in the management of the paper.[35] Marble may have been somewhat turgid in his vilification of Cummings' ability. At one point in their relationship Marble had only praise for him, but now his presence was a threat to Marble's own ambitious plans.

By early spring of 1862 Marble informed the trustees of his interest in purchasing control of the World. Most were in agreement and wished him success in his venture. By May of 1862 Marble was short some $25,000 toward the purchase price. He had approached Weed and the local Republican party for financial aid, but was refused. His letters to Anderson were filled with vilification and condemnation of Weed and the Republican party of New York. In one letter dated March 6, 1862, Marble informed Dr. Anderson of a probable new source of funds. "What I would most desire for the newspaper and myself would be enough money from liberal Democrats to control more than half the stock. I would then put the paper through good times and have it lead the way in the reconstruction of the parties and of the Union."[36] One can see here that Marble, the

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[35]Marble to Anderson, August 1, 1861, Anderson Papers.

[36]Marble to Anderson, March 6, 1862, Anderson Papers.

idealist, was still playing an important role in making decisions for Marble, the entrepreneur. It would appear that Marble was justifying to himself that his motives and desires for control of the World were altruistic in nature, but his methods were very much of the world.[37] In a letter dated May 23, 1862 Manton informed Dr. Anderson that he was successful in his venture and he had control of more than half of the newspaper stock. Manton Marble had matured into a sophisticated businessman, for he pointed out how he had succeeded without the aid of Weed and the local Republican party. He snidely mentioned that Mr. Cummings was out. As to his future, the letter continued, " (along with the controlling share of the stock) comes the very natural desire to insure beyond contingency the success of the paper and increase the value of that portion of the stock which I shall in any event retain."[38] Marble closed his letter with a tacit mention of his benefactors, "The fears which I expressed to you in my last letter led me to look for more all-sided help. That I strongly incline to the alliance of which I then spoke as a choice of providence, and as one which in the long run would give me more money, more power, wider political and personal connection and larger opportunities of doing good work in and with the World in the long future than

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[37]McJimsey, p. 32.

[38]Marble to Anderson, May 23, 1862, Anderson Papers.

any other which is now feasible or which would gratify a shorter sighted ambition."[39] This letter more than any other of Manton's correspondence demonstrates the changes which had occurred in his personality from the time he finished college until late spring of 1862. Also, the letter shows that Marble's brief tenure with the Evening Post and his establishment of friendships within the Democratic party had paid some dividends.

Now in full control of the paper Marble began to look toward the economic stabilization of the paper. He saw that in the short run he would need $2,000 for present debts to ensure continued operation of the paper. How and where to come up with this amount posed a perplexing problem. He had to weigh both sides of the political and economic coin. On the one side were his instincts which guided him toward the Lincoln Administration and the Republican party. He felt that President Lincoln was a good conservative. Earlier, he had supported the President's position on the war's most divisive issue, emancipation. His editorials had mentioned a program of gradual emancipation with compensation and colonization. The World suggested a program which would transport the younger slaves back to Africa thereby allowing for a rapid diminution in slave birth. With this would automatically follow the introduction of machine technology to the southern

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[39]Marble to Anderson, May 23, 1862, Anderson Papers.

plantation system. The paper had opposed the Second Confiscation Act and was hoping the North would be magnanimous in victory.[c] Marble saw no need to treat the South as a conquered territory. The war was being fought only to reestablish the authority of the Constitution. Once the war was over he felt that the South should be allowed to resume business as usual. But, the most poignant issue on this side of the coin was, if Marble was to maintain his present position, there were two things which would be necessary. First, the administration would have to avoid doing anything to offend his conservatism and secondly, the Republican party must find a place for the World in its patronage system.

On the other side of the political/economical coin stood Samuel Lathan Mitchell Barlow and the Democratic party. Beside the friendships established by Manton, the Democracy also had financial benefits to offer. Marble's letters hinted that his benefactor, during his attempt to secure control of the World might well have been an unnamed person of Democratic persuasion. The conservative element

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[c]In the summer session of 1861 Congress passed a half-way measure of confiscation (August 6, 1861) which provided for the seizure of all property used for "insurrectionary purposes." In the long session of the thirty-seventh Congress the Radicals succeeded in passing a far more sweeping measure known as "the Second Confiscation Act," one of the most drastic laws ever enacted by the American Congress. The law covered three main subjects: punishment for treason, the confiscation of property, and the emancipation of slaves. J. G. Randall and David Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction (Lexington, Mass.: Heath and Company, 1969), pp. 283-284.

of the democracy was also a drawing force that had attraction for Marble. Manton saw in the Democratic party a chance for the World to become its political press, although up to this time the World had never been involved in partisan politics. After carefully weighing both sides of the coin, Marble first decided in favor of his traditional upbringing and held fast to the Republican party. After a short while Manton found that the Republican party would be lacking in both of his prerequisites. Therefore, on August 16, 1862 Marble made his way to the office of S. L. M. Barlow, a prominent New York lawyer and staunch Democrat. Marble explained his dilemma, the need to pay the paper's $2,000 debt. The Republican party had had an empty purse for the World due to Marble's extreme conservative views. Barlow was quick to take advantage of Marble's position of need and ambition and made him a loan of $2,000. Tentatively Barlow promised a place of prominence in the Democratic party for Marble and the World. Earlier Marble had himself thought of this very type of alliance and now the opportunity was at hand. The exact terms of the loan were not known, but Marble's actions and editorials toward the Republicans became much more abusive. "Although Marble may not have specifically committed himself (and the paper) to the Democracy he did increase his attack on the Lincoln Administration within two weeks after receiving the loan."[40]

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[40]McJimsey, p. 38.

While Manton increased his attacks on the Lincoln Administration, he would at this time only use innuendo against the President. In so doing, Manton was attempting to convince himself that he had not totally abandoned all of his earlier principles.

During the last part of August 1862 the New York World published a series of vehement articles in opposition to arbitrary arrests. Arbitrary arrest was a means used by the government to control those who would speak or act against the administration's prosecution of the war. Many individuals were held in jail for weeks or even months without bond, and then released without a trial. The August 30 editions of the New York World referred to the arbitrary arrests of: David Webster for advertising his readiness to procure a substitute for the approaching draft; Charles Ingersoll for his public speech wherein he criticized the Lincoln Administration; and Brigadier General Charles Pomeroy Stone for alleged perfidy on his part at the Battle of Ball's Bluff. Succinctly stated, the article pointed out that the administration was not giving those arrested a chance to have their guilt or innocence decided by their peers. Marble's article also made reference to the fact that even the rebel government allowed public criticism, and that Ingersoll's tirade was no more than a political speech. He ended his article by stating that he was not supporting any party in the matter of the war. After these articles appeared in the World its circulation

began to increase. Marble felt that the increase was due to the prosaicness and probity of the articles. Other newspapers such as the Tribune pointed out, however, that the World's increase in circulation was due to the fact that its editorials had found favor among a certain political class--Democrats.[41]

Barlow was in the meantime making good on his promise to Marble. He was securing support for the World within the Democratic party. Barlow had three specific things in mind for the World. First, he would solicit some individuals from the ranks of the Democratic party to provide economic security for the World by purchasing stock in the paper. Second, he hoped to merge the newspaper that was presently speaking for the Democracy, the Albany Argus, with the World, thereby making the World the sole spokesman for the Democracy in the state of New York. Third, he planned to use Marble and the paper to revitalize and reorganize the Democratic party. The first part of his plan was realized when Barlow, along with John Anderson, a prominent tobacconist, Hiram Cranston, the proprietor of the New York Hotel, and Fernando Wood, mayor of New York City, and boss of the Democratic party's Tammany Hall, purchased stock in the New York World. Together they purchased eighty-seven thousand dollars worth of stock. The next two parts of

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[41]McJimsey, p. 39.

his plan would have to await the results of the upcoming gubernatorial election in which Barlow hoped that Marble and his paper would play an important part for the Democratic party. During this time of reorganization the World steered a seemingly neutral course between the two parties. This attitude stemmed from Marble's basic skeptical nature. All negotiations were not final on the stock purchases and he wanted positive proof that the World had permanent ties with the Democrats. The 1862 fall election found the New York World actively supporting the Democratic nominee, Horatio Seymour, for governor. Seymour was a conservative with strong political convictions. He measured up to Marble's ideals. The Republican party's nomination for governor officially ended Marble's connection with the party. James S. Wadsworth was the antithesis of Marble's traditional upbringing and represented the type of philosophy which could never be supported by the World. On September 29, 1862, the World declared that, "all who voted for Wadsworth had to believe that the war could be won only by resorting to unconditional emancipation of the slave."[42] If this was the case, the World declared, the election would turn on the single issue of emancipation. True to his conservative Republicanism and Whiggery, he fully committed his paper and his career to the Democratic party. This decision led to the resignation

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[42]McJimsey, p. 40.

from the paper of many of his close and old friends. Marble himself had some regrets in abandoning the Lincoln Administration. He said that his decision was based upon the fact that a conservative ideology was in the best interest of the country at this time. In a letter dated October 19, 1862 to Dr. Anderson, Marble best summed up his situation by saying that, "for once, interest seemed to coincide with duty."[43] Barlow felt, notwithstanding Marble's philosophical views, with Seymour's victory the time was right to initiate the other parts of his plan.

The New York gubernatorial election of 1862 tied Manton Marble and the World to the Democratic party, both in name and deed. Barlow, along with other Democratic leaders, began a movement to secure for Marble and his paper a solid position in their political machine. They knew that the best way to achieve this was to merge the World with the present party paper, the Albany Argus. Their first attempt met with failure due basically to Marble's fears that if the merger was successful he might lose control. But soon Marble began to see that his new political association and ideology was bringing an increase in the paper's circulation. The above events, Seymour's election, the newspaper's increase in circulation, plus Barlow's commitment, had solidified Manton Marble and the World to the Democratic party.

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[43]Marble to Anderson, October 19, 1862, Anderson Papers.

Barlow was successful in his negotiations with the state Democratic political machine, the Regency. He then initiated procedures to gain Marble's confidence. But, due to Marble's strong convictions nothing came of the merger until the summer of 1863, and only then because they agreed to most of Marble's demands. He was to control the majority of the stock and remain managing editor with full control over editorial policy. When the merger was completed, Marble launched an ambitious campaign to capitalize on the World's new position, both economically and politically. Marble's main objective was to use the World to rebuild the national Democratic party and make the paper a clearing house for all party information. From that time on his ambition would depend upon his own ability to achieve the desired goals. Early spring of 1863 found Marble and the World well on their way toward reaching their destination. With increasing frequency the Republican papers referred to the World as the voice of the Albany Regency. So without a doubt by the spring of 1863 Manton Marble's destiny was inextricably tied to the destiny of the Democratic party.

At this same time, the lines of battle were drawn for the upcoming 1864 presidential election. Leading the vanguard for the Democratic party stood Manton Marble and his World. The summer of 1863 found Marble busy at work trying to rebuild the national Democratic party for the task ahead, unseating the Lincoln Administration. After a cursory investigation of the problem confronting him,

Marble took a fourfold approach to solving it. First, Marble and the New York Regency were both in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. To accomplish this the Democratic party had to eliminate its internal rivalries and cliques. Marble immediately began trying to resolve the differences between the Regency and the Peace Democrats who were vituperative in their opposition to the Lincoln Administration. Clement L. Vallandigham, the outspoken representative from Ohio, who opposed the war and its concomitant issue of black emancipation, was their leader. The Vallandigham issue was important because of his being arrested for making a verbal attack on the Lincoln Administration.[d] The World in coming to his defense set a precedent for the type of editorial attacks it would use in future assaults against the Lincoln Administration. So hotly did the World denounce the arrest that it went far beyond its traditional conservatism. When a mob was being formed in Columbus, Ohio for the purpose of forcibly freeing Vallandigham, the World on May 9, 1863 praised the mob. A statement in the editorial read, "There are times when

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[d]In April of 1863 General Ambrose Burnside issued general order no. 38 which declared that assertions of sympathy with the enemy, or any other manifestation of treason, real or implied, would not be permitted. On May 1, 1863 Clement L. Vallandigham addressed a Democratic meeting at Mount Vernon, Ohio. During his address Vallandigham made statements which Burnside felt breached his order, he thereby had Vallandigham arrested. J. G. Randall and David Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction, pp. 313-314.

even violence is nobler than cowardly apathy."[44]

The second part of Marble's strategy for rebuilding the Democratic party was to totally check the Peace Democrats. He would attempt to accomplish this by first denying that such a movement existed in the ranks of the Democratic party. If this was not successful he would say that they were an insignificant minority and submerge the peace issue beneath the more popular issue of free speech. The third part of his plan would be to establish, for the Democratic party, a philosophy of the "Union as it was and the Constitution as it is." This philosophy was in perfect harmony with Vallandigham and the Peace Democrats. The war was being fought to reestablish the authority of the government in Washington, not to destroy the institution of slavery and emancipate the black man. The final part of Manton's complex strategy was for the Democratic party to endorse the principles of states' rights and personal liberty. Marble felt that if he was successful the Democrats would be victorious in the coming presidential election. With victory would come financial success for the World and himself.

While Marble was attempting to rebuild the Democratic party during the summer of 1863, the New York Draft Riots broke out. They gave the Republicans better

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[44]"The Kidnapping of Mr. Vallandigham," New York World, May 9, 1863, p. 4.

cause to attack the Democracy. They also alienated from the Democrats the conservative Republican who, Marble felt, brought the Democrats victory in the gubernatorial election.[45] Marble could only have viewed the riots which broke out July 13, 1863 with alarm and consternation.

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[45]McJimsey, p. 48.

CHAPTER III

THE WEEK OF RIOTS JULY 13 - JULY 17, 1863

The characteristic which has permeated American society from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day germinated in New York City. That characteristic is the mixing together of various ethnic groups. New York City was a primary port of entry for European immigrants during the nineteenth century. Because of this population influx, synonyms such as, "mixing bowl" of the world, or multi-ethnic, became associated with the American way of life. But, no new concept is without its birth pains; and New York City, being the womb for this enigmatic social embryo, felt some of those pains.

Statistics show New York's diverse population in 1863. The immigrant Irish comprised 25.4 per cent of the white population, with the Germans representing 14.7 per cent. In numbers the white population of New York City consisted of 409,469 native born Americans, 203,740 Irish, and 119,984 Germans. The 1860 census reported the total white population of New York City as 813,669. The same census report placed the number of blacks living in New York City at 12,471.[46] As the decade of 1860 began, the

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[46]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States: 1860 Population, (Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 337.

enmity between the Irish and Negroes of New York City was at its peak. The reasons for this increase in hostility did not rest in comparative ethnic numbers, but in the social/economic structure of New York City, and the unique personality of the Irish, coupled with the fact that there was a strong pervasiveness of British mores. Thus, even though the Irish were numerically the second largest ethnic group, they found themselves in competition with Negroes for the city's menial jobs. To best understand the explosive atmosphere of New York City on that hot July morning in 1863, one needs to examine the physical structure of the city and social/economic condition of the following ethnic groups: Irish, German, native born American, and Negro. Also, a comparison will be made between the immigrant Irish and the immigrant German, along with the prevailing social expectation of each immigrant group. Finally, it will be shown how politics and the news media affected each of the ethnic groups during the week of July 13, 1863.

By 1863 New York City was called the Empire City because of its prominence and national prestige. It was by all standards an opulent society. The nation recognized New York City as a commercial empire with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. The completion of the canal made it possible for the city to grow at a rapid pace. The discovery of California gold in the late 1840's resulted in the piers of New York being lined with fast

clippers bound to and from Panama, Cape Horn, and Eldorado. The expansion of the railroad industry made New York City the center of an iron web that reached out to all the trade sources in the hinterlands.[47] With this increase in commerce came the opportunity of setting national taste in fashion, arts, and popular opinion. Physically the city consisted of Manhattan Island, for Brooklyn was a separate city. Yorkville, Manhattanville, and Harlem were still rural districts, although expansion was causing these outlying areas to lose their individual identity. The center of the city was overcrowded and congested. A visitor to New York City in 1863 was faced with the following Broadway Avenue scene: the wide straight avenue was perpetually crowded, both pavement and sidewalks alike. Horse drawn vehicles bound downtown in the morning filled the pavement from curb to curb with a river of wheels and trampling hooves. In the evening the only change was the direction of the flow, but the traffic was undiminished. City authorities had no real plan for the direction of traffic. A pedestrian trying to cross from one sidewalk to the other faced a hazardous passage that often took a half hour or more. Conditions on Third Avenue, Fifth and other main arteries were slightly better, though still crowded.[48]

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[47]James McCague, The Second Rebellion: The Story of New York Draft Riots of 1863 (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1958), p. 13.

[48]McCague, Second Rebellion, p. 14.

New York City was divided into two economic groups: the haves and have-nots, with Broadway Avenue serving as the dividing line. New Yorkers referred to the west side of Broadway as the dollar side, the east side as the shilling side.[49] On the east side of lower Broadway, just beyond Anthony Street, lay an area of slums that extended all the way to the East River. This area comprised the sixth ward and the residents themselves referred to it as the "Bloody Ould Sixth."[e] The heart of the sixth ward was the intersection of five streets: Anthony St., Cross St., Little Water St., Orange St. and Mulberry St. The terminus of the five streets met at a triangular plaza one acre in size, with a small park located in its center. This park was called, ironically, Paradise Square. "The five points were inhabited by the very poor, mostly Irish, with a heavy sprinkling of free Negroes. As early as the 1840's the area had sunk into utter squalor."[50]

The Five Points district was a prime example of the physical conditions in which most immigrant Irish lived. Three thousand people were packed into Baxter Street from Chatham to Canal, a distance of less than one-half mile. One lot on that street, twenty-five by one

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[49]McCague, p. 20.

[e]Because of the number of murders and robberies occurring in this ward, its residents labeled it the "Bloody Ould Sixth." McCague, p. 20.

[50]McCague, p. 21.

hundred feet in size, held a two-story tenement which contained eight apartments sheltering two hundred and eighty-six persons. Around the points and Paradise Square were 270 saloons, and several times that number of dance halls, houses of prostitution, and green groceries which sold more wet goods than vegetables.

An eminent British author pointed to the debauchery and abject poverty existing in the Five Points district. He pointed to the fact that there was dirt and filth everywhere, and how from the lack of proper upkeep, the houses were becoming prematurely old.[51] Like most English, he held a very low opinion of American society, but other contemporary American writers verified his description of the Five Points.

Somewhat north of Five Points, and running diagonally up from Chatham Square to Astor Place, was the famous Bowery.[52] The Bowery, in earlier years, was as well known a thoroughfare as Broadway to visitors of New York City. Established during the colonial period, the Bowery district contributed much to the city's reputation as a cultural center. Theaters of the finest quality attracted audiences of the social elite. By 1860 those were bygone days and the city's changing population had a negative effect on the Bowery. The new residents,

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[51]Herbert Asbury, The Gangs of New York (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1928), pp. 9-10.

[52]McCague, p. 23.

immigrants mostly from Ireland, brought with them the blights of poverty and congestion which along with other factors devastated the Bowery. Politically the Bowery was the fourth ward and centered around Cherry, Water, and Roosevelt Streets. The fourth ward was no different, esthetically or economically, from the sixth ward; it was just a numerically different political subdivision. As one observer remarked, "Everywhere in the ward there was squalor and misery equal to the worst the five points could show."[53]

Police records show that these were the areas where the mobs formed to carry out their riotous acts of July 1863. Police records reveal: "It was from those areas, the five points and the Bowery, that gangs came swarming from their holes at the first indication of trouble and formed the organized nuclei around which the rioters rallied."[54] If the postulations of sociologists can be believed, that environment forms ninety per cent of a person's personality, then one can well understand why the 1863 Draft Riots of New York grew into such a pandemic rebellion. New York City was a much younger city than those in Europe of similar size. But there were certain small districts of that fledgling city with the unhappy fame of containing more human beings packed to

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[53]McCague, p. 25.

[54]Asbury, Gangs of New York, p. 119.

the square yard, and stained with more acts of blood and riot, within a given period, than is true of any other equal spaces of earth in the civilized world.[55] To recapitulate: there were those on the east side of Broadway who had no assignable homes. The criminal element on the east side numbered into the tens of thousands. The poor, and hard pressed who depended for their daily bread on that day's earnings numbered in the thousands. These were the masses who were forced to behold, on the west side, the gilded rewards of toil all about them, but were never permitted to touch them.[56]

The west side of Broadway truly displayed the opulence of New York City. Fifth Avenue can be used as a model to illustrate the life style of the elite. On the avenue stood the Fifth Avenue Hotel, a six-story white marble showplace. The hotel was equipped with the latest innovations; the new elevator system was called a perpendicular railway intersecting each story. The Fifth Avenue Hotel made fashionable Madison Square a favorite hideaway for the upper crust. Fifth Avenue and the surrounding streets were the location of the rococo mansions of the very rich. These homes were magnificient; they had ballrooms, banquet halls, and art galleries. Along Lexington Avenue and from Twentieth to Twenty-Ninth Street stood

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[55]Charles Loring Brace, The Dangerous Classes of New York (New York: Wykoop and Hallenbeck, 1980), p. 25.

[56]Brace, Dangerous Classes, p. 29.

New York's famous brownstones, the prestigious mansions five or six stories in height. This neighborhood was comprised of both old and new money; the former were the families of the Astors, Rhinelanders, Schermerhorns, Gracies, and Joneses; these people still ruled society. The latter was an influx of what the former called "The vulgar wealth from California." There was a feverish competition between the two groups for social power and Manton Marble was a part of the new group of industrious young men making an attempt to gain power. The life style of these folk can only be called ostentatious. There was a tremendous amount of money spent on glamorous clothes and accessories by New York's nabobs. New York's prosperous put on a spectacular display of parties, banquets, grand balls, and gilded rites, during the decade of 1850. Nightly, on Fifth Avenue at Fourteenth Street, the have-nots could see a parade of the city's elite trooping into Demonico's restaurant. To this group, America was truly an opulent society. Those individuals who lived on the west side of Broadway were mostly all of English heritage or native born Americans.[57]

The east side of Broadway Avenue was overwhelmingly Irish. "A census conducted by the five points House of Industry about the time of the Civil War fixed the number of Irish families in the district at 3,435; while the next

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[57]McCague, p. 14.

in number were the Italians with 416. There were but 167 families of native born American stock, and 73 recently from England."[58] The old Brewery was the heart of the Five Points, and was the most celebrated tenement building in the history of the city. More than 1,000 persons lived there.[f] The tenement's population was equally divided between Irish and Negroes. About ten years before the 1863 Draft Riots this tenement was destroyed and its tenants turned out to find a new place to live. The German population, living on the shilling side of Broadway, occupied the peripheral edge between the have and have-nots. The German immigrant was industrious and possessed skills and crafts which stood him well in his adopted homeland. His community was not in want of major repairs or in a state of debauchery. As a class the Germans were hard working and unobtrusive; they caused little or no trouble during the riots of July 1863. Police records show the German resident of the sixth ward offered to help the authorities combat the rioters.[59]

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[58]Brace, p. 9.

[f]It was called Coulter's Brewery when it was erected in 1792 on the banks of the old collect, and the beer brewed there was famous throughout the eastern states. It became known simply as the old Brewery after it had been transformed into a dwelling in 1837, having become so dilapidated that it could no longer be used for its original purpose. The building was five stories in height. Asbury, p. 13.

[59]David M. Barnes, The Draft Riots in New York, July 1863 (New York: Baker and Godwin, 1863), p. 21.

The unanswered question which the previous material exposes is, why were the Irish placed in such a degrading position? By 1776 the original thirteen colonies were thoroughly inculcated with British ideologies. The most deleterious part of these ideologies, as far as the Irish were concerned, was how the British perceived the Irish as people. In 1537 Henry VIII of England was declared King of Ireland. When he broke with Rome he tried unsuccessfully to introduce English laws and Protestant religion to the Irish people.[60] Since then the English condemned both the Irish as a people, and Catholicism as a religion.

From 1845 to 1850 Ireland experienced a crushing failure of her potato crop which was the national staple. This was the primary food upon which the peasantry depended. Between 1841 and 1851 Ireland lost 2.5 million people; one million died and 1.5 million left the country. Because of their deep hatred for the English and strict British immigration laws, the Irish went to America hoping to find wealth and dignity. The 1863 Draft Riots were a culmination of the hopes and desires for wealth and dignity of these immigrants. English oppression of the Irish people did not end on the east side of the Atlantic, but was successfully transferred both in thought and deed to American shores.[61]

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[60]William J. Whalen, The Irish in America (Chicago: Claretian Publication, 1972), pp. 1-11.

[61]Whalen, The Irish in America, pp. 1-11.

The political situation which existed in New York City at this time could, at best, be described as ambiguous, and at worst, execrable. In the state of New York there were three political groups vying for power: the Democrats, the Republicans, and the Know-Nothing or American party. The Democrats had been in power during most of the previous years. But in 1856 the new Republican party won control of the state legislature. This legislature, under the direction of Governor John Alsop King, a Republican, passed a series of acts which they hoped would bring reform to New York City. One of these laws would have a far reaching impact on the police force, and its relationship with the governor's office during the 1863 Draft Riots. It abolished the New York Municipal Police force, and in its place established the Metropolitan Police District. The municipal police were controlled by Tammany Hall and the Democratic political machine. Along with this act, the governor was empowered to appoint a new board of three police commissioners. The commissioners appointed by the governor were all men who had campaigned actively for reform in New York City. These commissioners would become the center of controversy just before and during the Draft Riots. Fernando Wood, who was the Democratic mayor of the city at this time, was also political boss of Tammany Hall. Wood refused to comply with the act and did not disband the Municipal force; the result was two police departments. After the two forces fought an open battle in July of 1857,

the courts took action and forced the disbandment of the Municipals. The last official act of the Republican governor was the appointment of Thomas C. Acton, John Bergen and James Bowen as police commissioners of New York City.

The year of 1863 found the roles reversed politically in the state and city of New York; the governor was Horatio Seymour, a Democrat; the mayor was George Opdyke, a Republican. "The idea of a politically hostile police board deeply disturbed Governor Seymour, and he initiated numerous legal attempts to unseat the three men. All of his efforts were successfully blocked and the feud continued."[62]

George Opdyke, a self-made millionaire, was the seventy-sixth mayor of New York City. He was a man who constantly strove to conceal his plebeian origins. As a Republican, he was a strong supporter of the Union. His money came from holdings in a prosperous textile importing company, a chain of mercantile establishments, several clothing factories, and a silent partnership in a factory known as Marston and Company. The Marston Company housed a state armory which would be a prime target of the mob during the week of the riots. Under his administration the city was run honestly, if not smoothly. The inability of his office to function more effectively rested on

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[62]Irving Werstein, July 1863 (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1957), p. 62.

elected Democrats. These men used petty annoyances to disrupt day-to-day operations of Opdyke's office. During the riots Fernando Wood and Tammany Hall would be busy disrupting effective police operations and perpetuating civil disturbances.[g]

The ability of the Democratic party to exert so much influence over the rioters lay in its organization. While the Republican party was attracting many former Whigs and conservative Democrats into its ranks, the Democratic party was fast filling its ranks with European immigrants. One curious aspect of the Democratic party was its close association with New York City street gangs.

To understand the relationship between the gangs of New York City and organized politics, a brief history of these street gangs is needed. The Five Points was a perfect breeding ground for street gangs. The first ones appeared shortly after the great influx of Irish immigration into the Points area. These were not the type of youth gangs which exist in our large cities today; instead they were professional gangsters. "They made their living by dealing in nefarious enterprises. Individual members or the whole gang was for hire, they could be used to commit a single act of violence or disrupt a city

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[g]The first day of the draft there was a tip that the Knights of the Golden Circle were planning to seize the U.S. Arsenal located at Seventh Avenue and Thirty-Fifth Street. Fernando Wood was suspected of being their leader, with others high within the Democratic party. McCague, p. 51.

election." The membership of these gangs extended into the hundreds. Some political demagogues had succeeded during the 1830's and 40's in using these gangs successfully to disrupt city elections. The two main gangs used for political disruption were the Bowery Boys and the Dead Rabbits. During this early period gangs often fought among themselves. Frequently, the police were unable to disperse the mob and were compelled to ask the National Guard and the regular army for aid. The city soon became accustomed to regiments of soldiers marching in battle array through the streets to quell a gang riot. When not involved in gang activity many of these young ruffians were members of volunteer fire groups. Nearly all were strong adherents to Tammany Hall. By 1830 the underworld became an important factor in the life of New York City politics.[63]

In 1856 when Mayor Wood was seeking his second term, the street gangs were fully behind him. On election day these gangs under the direction of men like Isaiah Rynders, skirmished almost without interference making it impossible for honest folk to vote. When the results were announced, Fernando Wood was mayor again by a plurality of nearly ten thousand votes. Another election which tacitly shows the influence of gang activity on the outcome of the voting was the 1862 New York gubernatorial race. The following returns came from precincts in the heart

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[63]Asbury, p. 30.

of the sixth ward.

Precinct	Seymour	Wadsworth
Mackerellville	570	53
Five Points	812	58
Corlears	365	40
Water Street Dance House	360	15

Thirty-five other districts of the same sort gave Seymour 10,557 to 1,520 for Wadsworth. Seymour's majority in the election was 10,981 votes. These election districts figured on the police book as containing: 2,743 groggeries, 279 brothels, 170 places where thieves and ruffians habitually resorted, 105 policy shops with gambling and dance halls to match, and also embraced the haunts of murderers and robbers. These two groups would be the catalyst of the event which would erupt into the 1863 New York Draft Riots.[64]

In March 1863, the Lincoln Administration pushed through Congress the country's first draft law. From the very beginning this new concept of raising troops was obnoxious to many people of the northern states. Conscription to them was synonymous with the most vicious European despots. It was not just the psychological aspects of conscription which antagonized many people in large northern industrial cities, but the political ramifications were also a concomitant issue. The Democratic party leaped

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[64]Henry Collins Brown, Brownstone Fronts and Saratoga Trunks (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1935), p. 123.

on this volatile political issue like a hungry dog on a bone. In the state of New York, Democrats like the newly elected Governor Seymour, used the most vituperative language when speaking on the issue. Governor Seymour remarked during his 1863 Fourth of July speech in New York City that "on conscription, the present administration had better remember . . . that the bloody, treasonable and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob as well as a government."[65] Other much less responsible individuals went as far as to suggest that "in dealing with federal conscription, the state of New York should arm itself to the teeth and under the command of Governor Seymour, resist this measure at all peril."[66] Through harangues such as this, the Democratic party was able to make conscription solely a political issue in New York City. The Democratic party postulated two arguments: one, the draft was not necessary; two if the federal government could satisfactorily prove to the citizens the act was necessary, then conscription should and must be conducted by the state and local governmental

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[65]McCague, p. 9.

[66]McCague, p. 10.

agencies.[h] But most citizens did not look at this vexatious question in a pragmatic way. The masses looked at the issue solely from an emotional viewpoint.

Emotions are powerful motivating factors in the human personality. The events which most stirred human emotions in the summer of 1863 were conscription with its exemption clauses, and the Emancipation Proclamation which took effect January 1, 1863. On the first event, most New York daily newspapers made mention of the fact that provost marshals of each district met at Colonel Robert Nugent's office without giving notice to the papers. The New York Tribune commented: "The draft calls for a thousand and one persons of the first class. The first class consisted of single men between the ages of 20-45 and married men between the ages of 20-35. In a large number of cases the $300 exception clause will be made available by the drafted men, but the majority will enter the service in propria persona or by substitute."[67] Many individuals subject to the draft could not afford the $300 exemption fee nor provide a suitable substitute.

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[h]It pointed out that when President Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 men he did not include any participation for local authorities. Asbury, p. 122; The World states that the federal administration should justify the need for 300,000 troops to the people of New York City. "The Draft," New York World, July 11, 1863, p. 4.

[67]"The Draft in New York," The New York Tribune, July 11, 1863, p. 4.

The cold facts to immigrants living in the Bowery and Five Points districts were they could either go to some far distant battlefield and die for some cause which they neither understood nor had feeling for, or they could use various means to resist. During any period of social discontent there will be rumors and more rumors. On Saturday, July 11, 1863, the first day of the draft in New York City, the New York Tribune noted, "Many stories have been circulated to the effect that bands, gangs, and companies have been organized here and there with the intention of resisting the draft. That the members are armed and drilled, hold secret meetings and so forth; but from all we can learn no such organizations exist and even if they did they would amount to nothing."[68]

The second emotional event, that of the Emancipation Proclamation, involved job competition. Democratic controlled newspapers filled the minds of the immigrants with the idea that they would soon be displaced from their menial jobs by former slaves. This concept viewed from a rational aspect might become a reality, but the facts pointed out that no such movement of blacks was taking place. Unfortunately, many of those most affected believed that they would soon be overrun by a wave of black humanity. Emotions exploded when it was stated in the Democratic press that Irish immigrants were being forced to

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[68]"The Draft," New York Tribune, July 11, 1863, pp. 4-5.

fight and die to free black men who would replace them on the jobs they left behind.[69] The newspapers of New York, whether Republican or Democratic, did little to alleviate the fear of mass migration by blacks from the South.[i] Some papers did try to show that the Emancipation Proclamation could only be addressed by a change of government control in Washington; the World was one such paper. With emotions running high and anything but a knowledgeable understanding of the conscription law, the people of New York City faced the first day of the draft, July 11, 1863.

The city of New York began draft proceedings on a Saturday morning and after all the uproar, the events of that morning could only be called anticlimatic. After the first name was drawn, William Jones, those present made a few jokes, and the draft went on. Most of those familiar with the riots, and the problems leading up to them, felt that Saturday was a bad day for implementation of the draft because it gave one and one-half days for those who were intent on disrupting the draft to spread

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[69]Albon P. Man, "Labor Competition and the New York Draft Riots of 1863," The Journal of Negro History vol. 36 (October 1951), p. 375.

[i]In May of 1861 the Irish American published articles which pointed out that there would be Negro labor competition if emancipation took place. Irish American, May 24, 1861; Orestes A. Brownson wrote in his review that Democratic leaders and journalists during this time convinced the Irish that emancipation meant economic suicide for them. Orestes A. Brownson, "Catholics and the Anti-Draft Riots," Brownson's Quarterly Review, Third New York Series, IV (October 1863), p. 401.

discontent. The work week was six days long at the time, and those most likely to be drafted would be finishing their work week at 4:00 p.m. Saturday. Newspaper accounts reveal that the green groceries, grog shops, and saloons were alive with conversation about what had taken place earlier that day. Many of the individuals who normally would have gone home after about one or two hours of imbibing stayed on and listened as one rabble rouser after another took the floor. One such bar, where this type of activity took place, was located on the corner of Thirty-Ninth Street and Second Avenue. Present to record many of the remarks was a newspaper reporter from the Herald. In his article dated July 13, 1863 he stated that, "Here (in the bar) might be heard some rich and rare remarks relative to the conscription. As it is upon this body that the great brunt of the draft will fall, their opinions, as a matter of course, ought to be looked upon with a great deal of consideration."[70] The motives of these individuals were multifarious to be sure, but each one had an interest in draft disruption.

The dawning of the next day found an unusual amount of activity in the local saloons of the various districts. The atmosphere in the green groceries and grog shops resembled the day before an important election.

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[70]"The Draft Today," The New York Herald, July 13, 1863, p. 5.

Along with vilification of the policies of Lincoln's Administration, there were loud protests against the draft; "Many openly boasted that they would never be drafted without a fight."[71] The local eating places and bars were alive with discussion of draft evasion, both legal and illegal. Sunday night found an uneasy calm settling over a hot, muggy, poised New York City. Monday, July 13, 1863, the crowd in front of Provost Marshal Captain Charles E. Jenkins' office was anything but small or in a jovial mood. The large crowd funneled down into Forty-Sixth Street. Jenkins could see from a glance that the nature of the crowd was pugnacious. Captain Galen Porter was in charge of the sixty man police detail at the draft office. He also could see that his small contingent was no match for such a formidable foe. Sagaciously he suggested that Jenkins suspend the draft that day. Jenkins replied, "No rabble will stop me from carrying out my duty. You are to keep order, and I expect you to do your job, as I'll do mine." At 10:30 a.m. Captain Jenkins signaled a clerk to raise the window blinds, an indication that the office was ready to do business. An angry cry came from the mob, "They're starting the draft!" The crowd surged forward and one of the greatest catastrophes ever to visit New York City in the nineteenth century began.[72]

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[71]Werstein, July 1863, p. 17.

[72]McCague, p. 64.

Monday, July 13, and Tuesday, July 14, 1863 saw the city of New York transformed into a battleground which equaled many Civil War scenes. Man's inhumanity to man displayed itself most vividly in the first two or three days of rioting. Tuesday, the front pages of city newspapers displayed in bold print articles entitled, "The Colored Orphan Asylum." These articles told the tragic tale of how a howling mob attacked a Negro orphanage and burned it to the ground causing the death of one pitiful child. The articles explained that this horrific mob was spurred on by the simple suggestion that the building was full of Negro children. So that one is not misled by the terrible picture depicted by earlier statements of the tragic Negro orphanage, it is only fair to comment on the heroism of the volunteer fire company which responded to the call for help by the administrators of the orphanage. When the mob first invaded the orphanage grounds they were confronted by the supervisor, a white man named William E. Davis. Mr. Davis convinced the mob to allow him and other members of his staff to evacuate some two to three hundred children. At first the mob acquiesced, but as is the nature of leaderless mobs, someone shouted that the time was up and the mob surged forward intent on burning the orphanage and all its occupants. Fortunately, a company of firemen, led by Chief Engineer John Decker, came on the scene. With great courage and intrepid determination they drove the mob back until the children were

safely removed.[73]

Though many Negroes suffered disastrously from the result of riotous acts, others suffered both monetarily and physically. The four days of anarchy and destruction visited upon New York City from July 13, to July 16, 1863 left eighteen people killed by the mob, eleven of whom were Negroes. A total of seventy were reported missing, and many of these were Negroes. Five Negroes were reported chased into the East River and drowned. Police figures on deaths among white rioters ranged from 1,200 to 1,500. It is impossible to know how many bodies of Negro victims of the lynch mobs were borne away by the waters on either side of Manhattan Island. Significantly, the Negro population of the metropolis dropped twenty per cent between 1860 and 1865, declining from 12,472 to 9,945.[74] There were suggestions that some of the mob killed by the federal troopers were innocent victims. The above figures can be substantiated from official police precinct records that indicate the police and other reputable witnesses estimated that four or five hundred of the mob were killed outright; a great many of the wounded died days or weeks later.[75] Three policemen were killed due to direct contact with the mob. The military was somewhat reluctant to release their

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[73]McCague, p. 75.

[74]Man, "Labor Competition; Draft Riots," p. 375.

[75]McCague, p. 178.

number of casualties, but unofficial estimates show their losses at about fifty men.

Monetary losses to structural property alone reached the staggering figure of five million dollars. The number of buildings burned by the mob from Monday morning until Wednesday morning was extensive. Among them were the Negro orphan asylum, two police stations, three provost marshal offices, and the entire block of dwellings on Broadway.[76] Two hundred more buildings throughout the riot area were destroyed. Many stores and private dwellings were broken into and their contents carried away. The aggregate amount of property destroyed and stolen amounted to close to one million two hundred thousand dollars.[77] The police were thorough in their post-riot actions. The entire city was searched and the greatest portion of the property taken from the buildings sacked by the mob was recovered. But a large amount of other property had been wantonly destroyed.[78] There is no doubt that the mob had made an attempt to sack and burn the city when they ran amuck from July 13, to July 16, 1863. Their reasons were multifarious, and dealt with many more issues than inflammatory newspaper articles.

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[76]Barnes, Draft Riots, pp. 5-6.

[77]Barnes, pp. 5-6.

[78]McCague, p. 179.

History has overlooked the multitude of causes and focused solely on the articles published in various newspaper. Tragically and without factual evidence, Manton Marble has been unfairly indicted as having been responsible for the continuation of the 1863 Draft Riots. The concluding chapter will evaluate the charges against Marble.

CHAPTER IV

MARBLE VINDICATED

Manton Marble clearly possessed the means by which to incite the riotous mob that made up the New York Riots the week of July 13, 1863. But in this instance he had neither the will nor the motive for such an act. Marble's accusers used articles published by him in the New York World to justify their infamous claim. These same articles present implicit evidence to the contrary. It is evident that by 1863 Manton Marble was no longer the idealistic dreamer of 1855. But certain values and characteristics cannot be shed easily. Though Marble, by 1863, was in the bellicose arena of high finance and power politics, he still maintained his New England qualities. Marble's life up to that date had been a series of personal compromises, but he had always drawn the proverbial line. All of Marble's articles before and during that week, reflected his Puritanical personality.

Marble's first assignment for the World was to write the notification, published in the New York Herald, June 9, 1860 announcing the publication of the new paper. This notification showed the elevated moral tone with which Marble always wrote. In it he spoke of the purpose of the paper, using turgid terms to express himself. The

article gave ample notice that a Christian newspaper was being established, one that would not cater to or pander corruption of any type. The first two paragraphs were laced with Manton's Christian philosophy and social/political ideology. A look at these two paragraphs is necessary to adequately demonstrate the true nature of Manton Marble's personality. The first paragraph reads: "This intelligence is furnished in some good measure at least by newspapers already established and ably conducted; but the World had originated in the widely prevalent feeling that the time has come for living Christianity to assert itself in secular journalism more positively than it has yet done, and will adapt itself to that acknowledged want. Neither assuming nor seeking to be preacher of religious doctrine it yet will recognize in all the judgement upon practical affairs of life the authority and efficacy of Christian principles. Its capital had been supplied by members of various religious denominations and it will do the work, without bids on the common ground of the great Christian truth."[79]

The above paragraph shows that Marble was not a materialist in June of 1860. He believed in the supreme worth of the regenerated individual. The World was not only going to reemphasize the message of Jesus, but in

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[79]"An Independent Morning Newspaper," New York Herald, June 9, 1860, p. 7.

Marble's mind it was going to save society itself from materialism. To Manton Marble the idea of political power and materialism was one and the same. Marble, at this time, was much the idealist and could have used the paper to effect disruptive social change. But it will be pointed out that his concept of material worth would change and he would desire both wealth and political power. The next paragraph will show that Marble had within him the nature of capitalism.

The second paragraph of the June 9, 1860 notice stated: "The World will aim to be the first newspaper in the land in respect to all objects which truly belong to the province of a secular journal. The name it bears will be its true index--taking the world in no dead physical sense, but applying it to all the religious, moral, social, political, literary, and industrial workings that make up the mighty life of this nineteenth century."[80] Marble pledged to publish the truth whether the article was addressing politics, business or religion. He promised that the World would employ only the best qualified, and most intelligent individuals for its staff. He ended this notification with a commitment not to pander public taste.

When Cummings and Spalding decided to hire Manton Marble they knew that he was a literary metaphysical

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[80]New York Herald, June 9, 1860, p. 7.

individual but the above paragraph shows that he possessed a paradoxical personality. He demonstrated in this notification that he was bound and determined to operate a first-rate paper which would be competitive in that day's market. The previous chapters show how Manton, after joining the staff of the World, began to make concessions to, and compromises with his moral principles. On June 9, 1860 Marble was unconsciously telling the citizens of New York City that his was to be a force to be reckoned with in the future. We find that this force was not to be in the area of social change, but that of economic development and political revitalization. This course might seem strange to those with just a cursory bit of knowledge about Marble. But to one who has a greater knowledge and viewed the first five years of Manton's post college years from the proper perspective, his course seemed normal. Marble's early years in journalism found him in an internecine battle with his moral principles. These first five years brought him to the harsh reality that capitalism and the Christian ethic were not compatible. Manton learned during this period of his life that he was more the industrialist-entrepreneur than utopian dreamer. In looking at the week of July 13, 1863 we can now draw the correlation that entrepreneurs are builders and not destroyers. So it only follows that if Manton Marble was a builder and not a destroyer, then why has history labeled him with such a grievous epithet as riot rouser?

Marble's main antagonist was Horace Greeley of the Tribune. From its very conception the Tribune had been used by Greeley to attack institutions and ideas he felt were counterproductive to society. He had for years uttered words that men of Manton Marble's genteel persuasion would consider nonsense. Greeley was the type of man Manton struggled not to become in those early years of journalism. Horace Greeley had no qualms about using his paper to advocate the Republican party and its ideologies. He supported the abolitionist and most of the other social reforms of that day. Greeley was considered a radical in many circles of New York society. Historians viewed Horace Greeley as a decorous source for historical research; thereby, many of his articles were used by them to help assess the week of July 13, 1863. The Tribune used many statements from articles published in the World that hot July week to heap criticism upon Marble. Greeley was a crusader for justice and social change; Marble a conservative through and through. So, it naturally follows that neither individual was capable of correctly interpreting the other. The sagacity of Greeley's crusading personality is not being questioned here, but the correctness of his interpretation of Marble's articles is being rejected.

The first article appeared July 10, 1863 in the World. It began by explaining regulations which would be used to determine the city's enrollment quota. But Marble

went further; he questioned the accuracy of the federal government's figures. He stated that there were three hundred thousand names enrolled in the city and of these it was supposed sixty thousand belonged to the first class. He continued by saying that this made the proportion of those liable to the draft one in about four and a half. He pointed out that there must be a mistake in the city's enrollment requirements. Because the proportion in Rhode Island and Massachusetts was one in two, he felt that the city of New York should have been the same. The article noted: "This draft will come with peculiar severity upon this city and Brooklyn. Some seven thousand of our militia, young men all liable to the draft, are at the seat of the war and of course cannot be called upon; nor is there any allowance made by the state, as promised, on account of their services."[81] Marble went on to speak of another hardship visited upon the New York City area. This hardship dealt with the fact that able-bodied men would be taken away from a necessary harvest which was at hand. This is one of the so-called inflammatory articles which historians used to indict Manton Marble. A close look at this article will show that there is nothing inciting or inflammatory about it. First, each question raised by Marble is legitimate. Why was the enrollment system used

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[81]"The Draft at Last," The New York World, July 10, 1863, pp. 5-8.

by the federal government different in New York than in other states? The harvest had to be gathered in the New York vicinity! Why didn't the federal government address these questions? But of greater importance to this case, why didn't the Tribune make an intelligent rebuttal and clarify these points? Friday found the Tribune responding with an article which just announced the draft plus some sections of the Draft Law regulations.[82]

The summer of 1863 found Marble on one side of the conscription question and Greeley on the other. In trying to deal fairly with the issue of draft riot complicity, it will be necessary to look at other New York daily papers. The fact that most newspapers were staunchly connected with one political party or the other, makes it difficult to find papers which could be considered unbiased. Not being able to use the above mentioned criteria necessitates another means of determining which paper's articles must be used. Those means are: the reputation of the newspaper's editor, and credibility of the paper. Taking these two factors into consideration the following newspapers were selected: the Herald, with James Gordon Bennett as its editor, and the Times, with Henry Jarvis Raymond as its editor. This selection is by no means an attempt to discredit the other fine newspapers in New York City at that time. The following articles will demonstrate

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[82]"The Draft in New York," The New York Tribune, July 10, 1863, p. 4.

a more practical approach to the complex question of federal conscription.

James Gordon Bennett's Herald printed a small article on July 10, 1863 found on the bottom of page four. The article entitled, "Conscription," could be considered a patriotic speech. Bennett warned both domestic rebel and foreign foe to beware of the power of the United States of America: "Let the rebels therefore take notice from the new draft of three hundred thousand men that it is useless for them to resist, and let foreign powers beware of what they do, as we intend to bring every offender to account as soon as we dispose of our domestic troubles. The resources of the country in men and money are unbounded and it will be impossible either for the rebels or their European allies to make headway against us."[83] The Herald published articles concerning the draft on Saturday, July 11, and Sunday, July 12, but neither article questioned the validity or the necessity of conscription. On Saturday, the Herald announced that the draft had commenced and commented on the procedures used for enrollment, plus gave brief extractions of the regulations.[84] Sunday's articles gave an account of what took place on Saturday when the draft commenced, and stated that there was mostly

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[83]"The Conscription," The New York Herald, July 10, 1863, p. 4.

[84]"The Draft in New York and Brooklyn," The New York Herald, July 11, 1863, p. 6.

acquiescence to the proceedings.[85] The Times included a more detailed coverage of the draft proceedings. The first article on July 10, 1863, page two, followed the same tone as the article in the Herald that day. But Raymond ended his article by answering some of the questions asked by Manton Marble in the World. He pointed to why there were inconsistencies in the enrollment requirements. The article stated that as yet there had not been any call issued for the troops from the War Department, and the drawings which were now taking place were in consequence of "district orders" emanating directly from Colonel James D. Fry, the Provost Marshal-General of the entire country. Consequently, all speculation as to "proportionate quotas" was absurd. The numbers called for from the city of New York were about twenty-five thousand.[86] The second article of that day gave a succinct explanation as to the necessity of the draft. In it, Raymond did an admirable job in pointing to the need for more troops and a large army.[87] Saturday, two articles appeared in the Times; the first, on page four, made the same points for the draft and expressed similar sentiments as the second article had on

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[85]"The Draft," The New York World, July 12, 1863, p. 8.

[86]"Local Intelligence, The Draft," The New York Times, July 10, 1863, p. 2.

[87]"The Conscription and the War," The New York Times, July 10, 1863, p. 4.

the tenth of July.[88] However, the next article made a few comments on the propriety of the draft, and went on to give an in-depth analysis of who was eligible for the draft. The article spelled out who was on the Board of Enrollment; it also covered those exempted. Ironically, many of those involved in the riot were exempt, according to this article, because of felony records.[89] Sunday found the Times commenting on the draft in three different sections of the paper. On page four, there was a notice that the draft had commenced in the city and directed readers to page six for further comment. Page six consisted of comments on the way the draft was conducted, and a list of names of those selected on July 11. Also on page four was a letter to the editor; this letter from a concerned citizen demonstrated the worries of the average person about to be drafted. The letter did not contain any comments about intended violence by the people of the city.[90]

The above articles show that there were newspapers in the city addressing the issues of conscription. Thus, Horace Greeley's editorials were written with a definite bias. This bias was vented against every newspaper that

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[88]"The War and Conscription," The New York Times, July 11, 1863, p. 8.

[89]"The Draft, It Begins Today," The New York Times, July 11, 1863, p. 8.

[90]"General News, Yesterday's Draft," The New York Times, July 12, 1863, pp. 4-6.

opposed the execution of the draft. Marble was Greeley's antithesis; most of Greeley's diatribe was directed against Manton. Soon he was singling out Marble as a leading Copperhead in the city, which was far from the truth. He used his press to establish in the minds of many New Yorkers the idea that draft opposition was synonymous with treason. Many historians have taken up this line of reasoning.[j] Could an individual be loyal to the United States and be in opposition to the draft? The answer is an historical paradox. If one carried his opposition to the point of sedition, as Greeley contended Marble and his allies did, the answer is no. But if one's legitimate concern is based on what is suspected to be the illegal extension of executive power, and the issue has never before been addressed, with no precedent for guidance, one could be loyal to the United States and question the legitimacy of conscription, the answer is yes. The Conscription Act, which went into effect July 13, 1863, was the first legislation of this kind to be adopted by the United States Congress.[k] With this in mind, one has to take into consideration the

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[j]Some historians who felt that Marble's articles were used to incite the riots are: David Donald, George McJimsey, J. G. Randall, and J. T. Headley.

[k]By this act all able bodied male citizens between twenty and forty-five, besides alien declarants, were "to constitute the national force," and were declared liable to military service. Federal machinery of enforcement was elaborately provided, including enrollment officers organized by congressional districts, boards of enrollment, provost marshals, and, overall, a provost marshal-general in Washington. J. G. Randall and David Donald, p. 314.

extreme consternation of a conservative when confronted with such an act. Marble was in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the Civil War, but only within the confines of the Constitution. Nowhere in the Constitution was it spelled out that the citizens were subject to conscription. Marble's articles published during the week of July 13, 1863 reflected his conservative nature and political ambitions, and nothing more. To best demonstrate that such was the case, an in-depth look at the New York World is needed. Articles from July 13 through July 15, 1863 will be the focus of our attention. Riot articles from other newspapers, the New York Tribune, the New York Times, and the New York Herald covering the same dates will be used to show that a great injustice has been done to Manton Marble.

The dawn of July 13, 1863 brought with it the day's publication of the New York World. On page four there was an article entitled, "The Draft." It began with a scathing attack on the administration: "Whether the weak and reckless men who temporarily administer the federal government are aware of the fact or not, it is undeniably a fact that the very existence of the government they administer is quite as seriously involved in the execution of the conscription which they are now putting in force as it has been in any other measure or event

of the war."[91] The article went on with an outline of the direction the government should have taken after its victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Once again Marble turned his pen on members of the Lincoln Administration. Marble stated that his suggestions were so obvious, the people ought not to be surprised to learn that they had never entered the mind of Secretary Stanton. Marble blamed Stanton for what amounted to misfeasance, and non-feasance of office: "The Conscription Act once in his (Stanton's) hands, he seems to have waited for a moment when its application must necessarily seem to the masses less urgent than ever to visit it upon the country under circumstances of superfluous and exasperating mystery."[92] He went on to suggest that the administration was insensible and incapable of subordinating party to patriotism. But, true to his conservative nature he pointed out a way in which the Lincoln Administration might redeem itself in the hearts and minds of the American people: "It is not too late for the administration at least to remedy its errors of omission. It is due to past sacrifices and to the present temper of the country that no shadow of a doubt should be permitted to rest upon the impartiality of the conscription now imposed upon a great and free people for the first time in their history. It is vital to the permanence of our

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[91]"The Draft," The New York World, July 13, 1863, p. 4.

[92]New York World, July 13, 1863, p. 4.

institutions, and to interest not less important than any which are involved in the actual contest we are waging, that the utmost pains should be taken in the execution of the work now commenced to make the people understand and feel that the force which thus presses down upon their purses and their persons is imposed in the name and for the service of their country."[93] Taking into consideration the above article, not once did Manton Marble suggest or even hint that resistance of any kind should be used.

In the same vein, the New York Tribune published a much less provocative article. It consisted of routine facts pertaining to Saturday's draft commencement.[94] One must remember that radical policy and innovative governmental programs were Greeley's philosophy. In many instances he had suggested strong positive action to the Lincoln Administration in its prosecution of the war.[1] Greeley could only hope that conscription would be accepted by the city and he thereby had, out of necessity, to take the position, the less said about conscription, the better. The New York Herald published an article on July 13, 1863 which was more philosophical than accurate. It basically covered the feelings of those who were most likely to be

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[93] World, July 13, 1863, p. 4.

[94] World, July 13, 1863, p. 4.

[1] Horace Greeley's open letter to the President which was printed in the Tribune August 19, 1862. It was entitled, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions."

drafted. The article reflected the fact that most of the group interviewed (barroom crowd) felt that the draft was unfair. A numerical identification was not associated with this group, although its ethnic make-up was mentioned as being Irish. The Herald summed up its article with the following: "The feeling throughout the entire city in relation to the draft is certainly of a very excited nature, but still no attempt at an outbreak of resistance has been spoken of, except in the twentieth ward, eighth district."[95] The Herald article was ostensibly written to inform the citizens of New York City about draft proceedings, but a close examination will show that promoting the paper's circulation was the real motive. Bennett's editorial of July 13, 1863 did little to quell the masses' misunderstandings of the draft, and nothing was suggested that would be in the best interest of the government. On July 13, 1863 the pro-administration Times published an article which favored conscription. Editor Raymond spoke of the nation's Enrollment Act as being in the best interest of the nation as a whole: "It may not be necessary that a man of those drafts shall ever go into line of battle during this war. Yet it is a national blessing that conscription has been imposed. It is a matter of prime concern that it should be settled, once and for

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[95]"The Draft Today," The New York Herald, July 13, 1863, p. 5.

all, whether this government is or is not strong enough to compel military service in its defense."[96] The Times went on to explain its rationale, the article covered the problems encountered by the federal government in its prosecution of the War of 1812. Points were made that if America and her institutions were to survive, the means of self protection had to be provided. During these days of southern rebellion and political unrest this article falls between moderation and political expediency.

Did Manton Marble have a hand in the continuance of the 1863 New York Draft Riots? An article published in the New York World on Tuesday, July 14, 1863 was entitled, "Yesterday's Riot." The first paragraph dealt with the insensitivity of the Lincoln Administration toward the citizens of New York. But, the main part, which is of prime concern to us, is the advice which Manton gave the mob after one day of rioting. Marble explained to those rioters still in the streets: "We have one word to say to those who resist and those who countenance resistance to the draft, and we appeal, as having a right to appeal in that what injustice has been done you, we have never failed to resist and protest against, when protest were proscribed and resistance was a crime. Stop where you are. Let this lawlessness cease. Mobs must stop or be put down. No government can tolerate them. None should

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[96]"The Conscription, A Great National Benefit," The New York Times, July 13, 1863, p. 4.

tolerate them. Anarchy is no refuge from injustice or wrong."[97] This was not ambiguous advice, but direct and to the point. Manton was concerned about the safety of the city in general and the property which he controlled specifically. He went on to advise the citizens how they could best remedy their problems. "Your resistance is ill-timed and unlawful. The courts still exist in the state of New York. Law and the protection of the law is measured out to the humblest citizen. The governor of the state will suffer no law to be disobeyed, whether by mobs or misguided rulers. The first man whom the conscription calls unwillingly from his home has it in his power to test the constitutionality of the law by which he is selected, and the decision of the courts will be sustained in the Empire State against any and every power which attempts to override them."[98] This article was filled with advice to the riotous element of the city. Manton's biographer felt that the advice given by the World during that week of riots was destructive but the above excerpts tend to destroy that idea.[99] The Tribune and other leading journals also reflected on the first day of rioting.

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[97]"Yesterday's Riot," The New York World, July 14, 1863, p. 4.

[98]World, July 14, 1863, p. 4.

[99]McJimsey, p. 49.

The Tribune article of July 14, 1863 postulated its usual diatribe which evolved around a Copperhead conspiracy to aid the rebellious southern states. Without directly naming the New York World, Greeley's article began the odious task of indicting Manton Marble as a riot conspirator. It noted that the riot "has a deeper meaning, and is literally a removal of the seat of war to the banks of the Hudson. These howling mobs are hounded on by thoughtful and designing men who are at work in the interest of the southern rebellion."[100] Previous evidence shows that Manton Marble was not a Peace Democrat or Copperhead. So it naturally follows that his interest would run counter to the supposed riot conspirators. Greeley went on in the next article of July 14, 1863, entitled "Martial Law," to show his partisanship toward the federal government.[101] The Herald's article of July 14, 1863 was a cursory one and stuck to what had occurred the day before.[102] Another article in the Herald demonstrated that certain individuals were about the business of testing the constitutionality of the new conscription law.[103]

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[100]"The Riot," The New York Tribune, July 14, 1863, p. 4.

[101]New York Tribune, July 14, 1863, p. 4.

[102]"The Situation," The New York Herald, July 14, 1863, p. 4.

[103]"The Constitutionality of the Conscription," The New York Herald, July 14, 1863, p. 8.

The New York Times did an admirable job in its article of July 14, 1863 in defending the concept of conscription, plus the integrity of the administration. In this article, however, Raymond showed his Republicanism by expounding that: "the assiduous fanning of every malignant passion by a portion of our public press, and by platform demagogues, has at last resulted in an open outbreak, and for hours a mob, embracing thousands, raged at its full, went through an extended section of our city, with arson and bloody violence."[104] Though Raymond had a tendency to lean toward the Lincoln Administration he was philosophically correct when he explained the issues which were involved that hot July week in 1863. Raymond said the issue was not whether conscription was right or wrong, but whether a national law should be trampled under foot. He showed that the Conscription Act had followed all necessary procedures, and had been approved by both the legislative and executive branches of the federal government, and was therefore the law of the land. He pointed out with prosaic lucidity that all laws, yes, even those which seemed to infringe on one's rights as an American citizen, had to and must be obeyed. The New York Times article best exemplified what was right for the crisis which was confronting the city. Unlike either Marble or

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[104]"The Riots of Yesterday," The New York Times, July 14, 1863, p. 4.

Greeley he seemed to be unfettered by philosophy, or uncontrollable isms. He summed everything up as follows: "It behooves all our authorities and all our citizens, without regard to political opinions or to party differences, to rally to the support of law and order. If this thought would have been used as a maxim, the necessity for this paper would have been cancelled out, but such was not the case." Wednesday found Manton Marble and his nemesis, Horace Greeley, both poised to deliver a crescendo in editorial tirade against each other.

The Wednesday editorials were the most vehement that Greeley published. Greeley's article that day was titled, "Before the Riot" with an indicting subtitle, "The Torch That Lit The Flame--The Copperhead Press of Monday." Marble's articles were every bit as vituperative as Greeley's. Both men showed more concern about placing blame than resolving the riot. In his article Marble took a two-fold approach: First, he placed responsibility of the riots squarely on the shoulders of what he called the radical journals. In Marble's mind the radical press consisted of the Tribune, the Times, and the Evening Post. Marble noted that each of these papers shared equally in the act. He stated: "We charge it, therefore plainly upon the radical journals of this city that they, and chiefly they have educated the people of New York to pitch of passion and the extremes of desperate feeling which have gleamed out so luridly and so terribly upon us

in these last days . . . ."[105] Secondly, Marble's article attempted to reassure the citizens of New York City that Governor Seymour would quell the disorder. Also, he tried to exonerate himself and those editors of like temperament from responsibility and blame of riotous conspiracy: "When educated men are called 'traitors' and enemies of their country and copperheads because they think for themselves and say what they think, their natural weapon against assaults at once so silly and so vile is contempt for the assailants."[106] The same day Marble published another article in which he gave, what he called, "a little good advice." The article gave advice to citizens, rioters, federal troops and local police authorities. The advice consisted of eight points, each point conservative and applicable.[107]

Greeley's article was much more ambiguous and capricious than Manton Marble's. He published in the Tribune on July 15, 1863 excerpts from the editorials of July 13 from the Daily News "The Inquisition Conscription;" the World, "The Draft;" and the Journal of Commerce, "Keep It In Mind."[108] By his introductory statement

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[105]"Enemies of Law and Order, A Little Good Advice," The New York World, July 15, 1863, p. 4.

[106]World, July 15, 1863, p. 4.

[107]World, July 15, 1863, p. 4.

[108]"Before the Riot," The New York Tribune, July 15, 1863, p. 2.

Greeley lumped all of the above journals into the same category, the Copperhead press. Going further, he used special type to call attention to certain excerpts in each article. This method tended to take the reader's attention away from the full meaning of the article and stress one or two sentences. Greeley's motives in publishing such an article were similar in nature to Marble's; both men had turgid political ambitions. The other journals published articles that Wednesday which dealt directly with the anarchy gripping New York City. The Herald published an editorial which was contradictory; it pointed out at first that even though the provost marshal's office did not reinstitute the draft on Tuesday, the rioters resumed their destructive work. However, Bennett ended his editorial with the unsound well publicized philosophy that once Washington suspended the draft, peace would once again prevail.[109] The New York Times editorial was most efficacious and to the point.[110] Raymond's paper was truly about the business of trying to quell the riot and alleviate the fears of the citizens. Raymond's editorial was effective, poignant, and best summed up the obligations of those individuals in responsible positions throughout the city.

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[109]"The City Wednesday," The New York Herald, July 15, 1863, p. 4.

[110]"The Raging Riot--Its Character and the True Attitude Towards It," The New York Times, July 15, 1863, p. 4.

History is accurate information about past events which have been intelligently researched. The 1863 New York Draft Riot was one such past event which was intelligently researched. The research, which was somewhat extensive, produced a multiplicity of causative theories. One such theory was that if the radical press had not written inflammatory articles the riot, if it had erupted, would have been brought under control after the first day. This theory goes further; it indicts an individual and his journal specifically. In historical circles it was commonly accepted that this individual was Manton Marble, editor of the New York World. The main purpose and intent of this paper was to establish whether or not this theory was true. The facts clearly show that Marble was not guilty of this infamous accusation. The first three chapters show that Marble's personality would not allow him to be involved in riotous action. He was a man who had risen from an average background, struggled to become, in 1863, what he often referred to as a nobleman. It would have been self-defeating for him to participate in any way in the rioting. His sagacious nature, if not his common sense, would not have let him become involved. Marble, by 1863, was a man on his way up; he had all of his money invested in property which was readily accessible to the mob. One mistaken word, one misunderstanding and the New York World might have gone up in smoke and flames. No, neither Marble nor any newspaper editor was guilty of

perpetuating the riots. Marble and Greeley were both political advocates and the issues which extended the riots were social. Chapter III points out the festering social problems which existed in New York City during that period. The draft was just a catalyst which ignited an already smoldering fire. Marble, Greeley and Bennett were using the conscription issue to further their political interests. Only Raymond went beyond petty personal interest and reached the more humanitarian level. His article of July 15, 1863 admonished all other political editors, charging them with their public responsibility. He stated: "The people of New York and the laboring men of New York are not incendiaries, nor robbers, nor assassins. They do not hunt down men whose only offense is the color God gave them. They do not pillage an asylum for orphan children, and burn the very roof over those orphans heads."[111] He pointed out that the Herald had characterized the mob as being the people of New York City. Also, that the World, when referring to the rioters, had called them the laboring class. Surely Raymond's article had demonstrated that the mob, which ran wild in New York City during the previous three days were not from the working class; nor could they be considered a composite of the people of that city. Raymond ended his article by defining the responsibility of men of public office and community influence. He let it be known

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[111] Times, July 15, 1863, p. 4.

that the duties of the executive officers of the state or of the city were not an issue. These men should not negotiate or supplicate, they should execute the laws. To execute, he pointed out, meant to enforce by authority. This was the business of their offices. It is manifest that Raymond's article was directed at individuals such as Manton Marble, George Opdyke, Horatio Seymour, and Horace Greeley, among others. The article implicitly defined the responsibilities of these people. Raymond charged each one of them to live up to those responsibilities and aid in reestablishment of peace in the city. He left little doubt that these individuals were more concerned about their own political self-interest than quelling the riot and the restoration of tranquillity in the city.

That Marble and many others were only guilty of playing politics, and nothing more, has been made abundantly clear by the facts presented in this chapter. In reevaluating the effects of Manton Marble's articles on the continuation of the July 1863 riots, basic evidence should be considered. First, Marble's articles from Friday, July 10, 1863, the day before the commencement of the draft, to Sunday, July 12, 1863, the day before the commencement of the riots, were directed at the Lincoln Administration, not the people of New York City. The fact that Governor Seymour and many other individuals had already established in the minds of those to be drafted the idea that conscription was unconstitutional is

undeniable. Marble's articles could have reaffirmed this idea in the minds of those affected, but could not have driven them into the streets. In the articles published by Marble the weekend before the riots the only suggestion which he made was that Lincoln himself take control of the administration and return it to the conservative platform on which it was elected. The second and most conclusive piece of evidence which this reevaluation establishes is that none of the articles published by Marble's New York World from Monday, July 13, 1863 until order had been restored on Thursday, July 16, 1863 condoned the actions of the mob. Every line in the articles denounced and condemned the mob's actions. Marble advised those affected by conscription to go through the courts where they could be vindicated in their righteous indignation, and to get out of the streets where they would be only justifiably shot down. The riots only served as an impediment to Manton Marble's only concern at that time, which was to elect a Democratic president.

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