

CHAPTER VI.

THE CIVIL WAR

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1. INTRODUCTION

In any study of the American Civil War, and especially of the period just prior to the opening of hostilities between the two sections of the country, considerable attention must be focussed upon the activities of the "Border States." In fact, the very nature of the struggle between the North and South depended in large measure upon the stand taken by those states. The beginning of armed conflict, occasioned by President Abraham Lincoln's call for troops on April 15, 1861, forced the eight slave states that remained in the Union to decide whether they would secede, or remain loyal to the Federal government. Four of them quickly joined the seven¹ that had already seceded: Virginia on April 17, Arkansas on May 6, North Carolina on May 20, and Tennessee on June 8. This action was taken despite that fact that a strong Union sentiment existed in each of the states. In the remaining slave states, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, Union sentiment, determined by economic interests and aided by arbitrary arrests, military force, and other factors, was sufficiently strong to prevent secession. In all except Delaware, however, there was considerable indecision, and the question hung in the balance for many days. These four states, by virtue of their geographical position, man power, and economic resources, would be of inestimable value to the section they decided to support.

Maryland attracted the attention of the whole country and, in the light of events that developed, her decision seemed to have a greater bearing upon the conflict than that of any other border state. This was true, not so much because of her wealth, for that was not great; nor because of her population, that was comparatively small; nor yet because of her representatives in public life, for they, with two or three exceptions, were men of no unusual ability or prominence. Rather, it was because of her geographical position. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Lincoln's biographers, have written: "Of more immediate and vital importance . . . than that of any other border slave state, was the course of Maryland in this crisis."²

Between Maryland and Virginia lay the District of Columbia containing the seat of government, and the public archives of the United States. In Baltimore, the chief city of Maryland, converged three of the great railroad routes by which loyal troops must approach Washington.³ Should Maryland secede from the Union and cast her fortune with the Southern Confederacy, Washington would be surrounded by enemy territory and cut off from communication with the North.

Since the path that Maryland would follow might determine the course of the war, pressure of unusual degree was brought to play upon her from both Northern and Southern states. Divided sympathies and honest divergence of views, as well as a great emotional susceptibility during such a crisis, so delayed the final charting of the course of Maryland that outside pressure was employed to force the State to openly declare itself.

THE OLD LINE STATE

It was the good fortune of the Union that the Governor of Maryland in the early days of the war, Thomas Holliday Hicks of Dorchester County, was a friend of the Union, though he was hardly of that unflinching fearlessness needed in revolutionary emergencies. There has been much difference of opinion concerning this man. His contemporaries disagreed as to his real part in saving Maryland for the Union. During the period he stood out in great prominence in the State, not because of any brilliancy or any consistency in his policies and statements, but because in the end he was an adherent of the Union and took advantage of his position as governor to follow a course momentous in its results.

A sharp division of opinion and sentiment continued to exist even until the end of the war. Only by constant watchfulness and the actual presence of Federal military power was Maryland saved for the Union and kept in step with its major purposes until the end of the conflict.

2. SECTIONALISM IN MARYLAND

Geographical factors had an important bearing upon the sentiments, thoughts, and actions of the people of Maryland during the Civil War. No state in the Union, perhaps, is more divided by natural physical features. These features are all the more noticeable in Maryland because of the relatively small size of the State. And the people, at least in 1860, were no more uniform in background, interests, sentiments, occupations, and culture than were the physical features.

The flow of immigration to the State prior to 1860 contributed much to the life of Maryland. German and Irish immigrants came in large numbers and settled in Baltimore and on the upper Western Shore. These elements were easily assimilated; they aided in the economic development of the State; they themselves prospered, and they bestowed benefits upon others by virtue of their progressiveness, their industry, and their new ideas. The Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland, largely agricultural, were the more conservative sections. Economically they lagged far behind the sections settled by the foreign groups. The homogeneous Eastern Shore, practically isolated from the much more populous and diversified Western Shore, did not develop new practices and economic activities as readily as the latter. And Southern Maryland, closely bound to the South by interests and occupations, failed to match strides with Baltimore City and the upper part of the State in diversification. The foreign and out-of-state groups that came to Maryland were searching for new economic opportunities or for political freedom; they were people of action who did not hesitate to proclaim their political views. Differing from the people of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland in race and occupation, the people of the upper Western Shore differed also on the political issues of the day.

It is true, of course, that differences in the make-up of the population of the sections of Maryland did not alone account for the diversity of political ideas. W. Jefferson Buchanan, a contemporary writer who wished that Maryland might secede from the Union, declared that the character of the population within the State was the most important reason why Maryland could not join the Confederacy.⁴ He believed that other obstacles caused by commercial and agricultural differences might have been overcome. He thought that fifty years earlier Maryland would have joined a Southern Confederacy. At that time peddlers, petty manufacturers, and day laborers had not "polluted her soil with their penurious feet," and mer-

THE CIVIL WAR

chant princes and "lords of agriculture" were then in control. But in 1860, "Her population . . . is mixed, the ancient stock having absorbed much bad blood."

A surprisingly high percentage of the people in Maryland in 1860 were not native born. Of the total 599,860 free population in that year, 118,799 were born outside the State.⁵ Of the latter number, 40,694 were born in other states or territories, and 77,536 were born in foreign countries. The Northern states furnished 24,386 of those born in other states. Pennsylvania contributed 18,457 people and New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts accounted for all but 1,176 of the remainder. From the Border States came 4,954 persons, and the District of Columbia furnished 1,925.

It is reasonable to conclude that this migration to Maryland influenced political thought in the State. And since it was predominantly a Northern group that came to live in Maryland, chiefly for economic reasons, the trend of political interests was pro-Northern. Actually, this out-of-state group allied itself with the Union during the war. Of the 77,536 foreign born persons living in Maryland in 1860, many were favorably inclined toward the North. The German states alone furnished 43,884 immigrant aliens to Maryland, Ireland 24,872, England 4,235, and Scotland 1,583.

Political nativism in Maryland played a far more important role than would appear on the surface. The great diversification of the population naturally led to a variety of political opinions and thus to the indecision and inability of the State as a whole to agree upon the issues of the Civil War. A united political front was impossible.

There was a persistent struggle between the planters of the coastal region and the farmers of the interior of Maryland from 1750 to 1850 for political control.⁶ The tidewater counties retained their political power by refusing to reapportion representation in the Maryland General Assembly on the basis of numbers. With this control they protected their slaves and wealth against the dangers of a democracy interested in internal improvements, and capable of imposing a tax upon slave property in order to promote its own ends. Internal improvements were needed in the State in order to secure for Maryland the growing trade of the West, and for developing the mineral resources of Western Maryland. For these improvements, the capital and credit of the State were required. The slave interests, maintaining their control of the legislature, would not let it be used.⁷ By the Constitution of 1776 all counties were given a quota of four delegates, with two each to Annapolis and Baltimore City. In 1824, Baltimore City was given four delegates. Thus in 1850 Baltimore City, including one-fourth of the entire population of the State, had but one-sixteenth of the total representation in the House of Delegates.⁸

In 1851, however, pressure became so great that a convention was called which adopted a new constitution. Representation in the House of Delegates was based on proportional population, and Baltimore City was to have four more delegates than the most populous county. All counties and Baltimore City were to have one member in the Senate. The counties that had opposed the call of the convention were either on the Eastern Shore or in Southern Maryland, and opposition to the adoption of the constitution came from the same quarters.⁹

This constitution recognized and protected slavery, however, and provided that, "The Legislature shall not pass any law abolishing the relation of master or slave

THE OLD LINE STATE

as it now exists in the state.”¹⁰ Unsuccessful attempts were made to restrict suffrage to immigrants until ten years after they had declared their intention to become naturalized. This, of course, was aimed against the foreign influence by the slave interests and by those believing in strict nativism for other reasons. The victory in 1851 of the larger and Union supporting counties should have assured strong support of the Federal Government by Maryland in 1860-1861, but other factors, opposition to coercion and state rights, stood in the way of a united front for the Union.

It has been suggested that the factors of geography and people were accountable for Maryland's divided feelings on the question of slavery, but a fuller explanation is necessary to show just how the State forces were aligned in regard to this all-important issue. The State was in a favorable geographical position for some of its inhabitants to carry on the slave trade, and this was done extensively. On the other hand, Maryland always had a group of churchmen, moralists, humanitarians, and a few rabid abolitionists, who worked for emancipation. Another group, composed of the industrial and commercial interests of Baltimore and the upper Western Shore, was not vitally interested in the question. To the industrial and commercial interests slavery was incidental to their support of the North from which section they derived great material gains.

The agricultural development of Maryland had never been conducive to an extensive growth of slavery except in Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore, and there was springing up in the State a new economic interest—manufacturing—that made no demand for and did not use slave labor. Along with the increase of manufacturing, there was a corresponding increase in commerce. The value of ship tonnage was rising steadily. Canals and railroads likewise were being built rapidly. From an economic point of view, therefore, Maryland favored the emancipation of the slave, except in thinly populated Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore.¹¹

3. CONFLICTING ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Maryland was possessed of three major economic interests: agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce. The latter two were steadily increasing in importance as the Civil War approached. Their activities were not diffused over the entire State, but each was confined to a fairly definite and limited area and had an important bearing on the course of the State. Had Maryland possessed economic interests entirely connected with the North, it is believed that the State would have determined at once to support the Union. Social ties with the South would not have been strong enough to offset an economic alliance with the North. On the other hand, had the State been dominated by economic interests in line with the South, it is believed that secession would have resulted.

Maryland long delayed her decision when the country was practically certain that war was imminent. An analysis of specific grievances and views of the contending factions in the State, based on economic questions, will help to explain that decision. The tariff question provides a good starting point. Tariff sentiment divided Maryland from 1832 to 1860. The landholding classes of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland were in favor of a tariff for revenue only. They desired an open market in which they might buy necessary manufactured articles, par-

THE CIVIL WAR

ticularly since they had to compete in an open market in selling their tobacco, cereals, timber and other products.

Other sections of the State, particularly populous Baltimore City, had developed industrial and commercial pursuits. The natural advantages of Baltimore as a commercial and manufacturing centre were early recognized. The growing manufacturing interests desired protection against their foreign competitors. But the commercial class joined the agricultural interests and favored a low tariff. Having made Baltimore famous in the days of the fast-sailing clippers, the merchants and shippers looked with dismay on any attempt to increase tariff rates for fear it would destroy the carrying trade that had contributed so largely to the City's earlier growth and prosperity.¹² Maryland led the Southern states in shipbuilding.¹³

The trade of Baltimore was over a hundred million dollars in 1858.¹⁴ It is clear, therefore, that Maryland's economic interests were important. It is clear also that those who represented the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests, respectively, hardly could be expected to agree on tariff and most other problems of economic nature. Add to these the great number of non-economic problems and the complexity of the State's situation is apparent.

4. POLITICAL INDECISION AND FEDERAL ACTION

Those people of Maryland closely allied with the seceding Southern states clamored for a session of the State legislature hoping that a convention might be authorized that would pass an ordinance of secession. Governor Hicks was equally implored by another group to refrain from calling the special session. According to one writer, arguments advanced for and against secession during this period were not based on a question of "right or wrong, of justice or injustice, or upon any political creed or theory, but rather upon the material gains to be derived from some action."¹⁵

Political events of 1850's, however, had helped additionally to divide Marylanders. The Dred Scott decision led to bitter attacks upon the Supreme Court of the United States whose Chief Justice was Roger B. Taney of Maryland. Marylanders resented the abuse to which he was subjected. They resented also the accusations made in the Northern press attempting to involve Maryland in the John Brown raid. They resented the refusal of Northerners to obey the Fugitive Slave Law.

Meanwhile, the political life of the State was characterized by change and confusion. The Whig party, long dominant in the state, practically ceased to exist. The American or Know Nothing party arose to take its place and control the State government. The Democratic party, divided in sentiment on the slavery issue, declined in importance. The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 did nothing to calm ruffled water in Maryland. Results of the election in Maryland were: Breckenridge, 42,482; Bell, 41,760; Douglas, 5,966; and Lincoln, 2,294.¹⁶

Southern sympathizers were particularly embittered by the election results, while others, professing to be Unionists, saw Lincoln's elevation to power as damaging to slave interests but still felt he should be supported.¹⁷ Governor Hicks took the latter position. The editor of the *Baltimore Exchange*, a Breckenridge paper sympathetic entirely with the South, said that the returns of the election did not warrant disunion and that the people would trust to the guidance "of worse men than Mr. Lincoln rather than sanction at this juncture any step that would

THE OLD LINE STATE

imperil the bonds of the Union and shake the stability of the Republic." ¹⁸ The *Conservator*, a Breckenridge newspaper of Kent County, expressed the same idea, stating, "The Union has given us seventy years peace among ourselves," and Lincoln's election was not sufficient cause for secession or revolution. ¹⁹ The *Centreville Advocate* was reported, however, as showing decided leanings toward secession, even before the election. ²⁰

Maryland's vote is clear evidence that Southern sympathy was great in the State and until late 1861 secession was a strong possibility. Hicks continued to forestall a meeting of the legislature until April, 1861. By this time the Federal government realized the importance of keeping Maryland in the Union and made certain that secession was thwarted. The Maryland legislature was placed under close military surveillance, its disloyal members kept in line.

Following the recommendation of President Lincoln, the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended in Maryland in late April, 1861. Arbitrary arrests followed and dissension between Hicks and the Legislature increased. The latter felt that Hicks was not taking adequate action to prevent infringements upon the rights of Marylanders. The House protested to him on June 17 of General Benjamin Butler's action in seizing arms in Worcester County, inquiring if Hicks had sanctioned such conduct, and demanding to know where the arms had been taken and what move had been made to recover them. Hicks replied that the first question was impertinent and that the House must ask General Butler to answer the others. ²¹ Butler was first in command of the Department of Annapolis. After occupying Baltimore without orders he was replaced on May 15, 1861, by General George Cadawallader who was himself succeeded on June 10, 1861, by Major General Nathaniel Banks of Massachusetts. Banks made a series of arrests at once, sending Marshal George P. Kane of the Baltimore Police Department and the four members of the Police Board to Fort McHenry. ²² Baltimore was brought fully under military control. On July 23, General Banks was replaced by Major General John A. Dix and the department was renamed the Department of Maryland, with headquarters still in Baltimore. ²³

In the summer of 1861, following the battle of Bull Run, secessionists in Maryland took on new courage. Governor Hicks asked Secretary of War Cameron on August 28 for arms to equip loyal Marylanders. Hicks enclosed two letters which he had received "from gentlemen of high character" who were "good Union men." One letter, from S. W. Spencer of Chestertown, dated August 24 stated:

I see movements here and in Baltimore indicating that the secessionists are only biding their time and waiting for a chance to rise up in rebellion. We can keep them down if we are properly organized and armed. We have, many, many thanks to you, thus far saved our State from revolution and civil war, and do not let us now lose it from want of proper precaution.

Spencer suggested that a regiment in Kent County or in Queen Anne's and Kent combined be organized to offset the secessionists. The second letter, of the same date, also came from Chestertown and was signed by Spencer, Jesse K. Hines, and George Vickers (later United States Senator). It expressed the same views as Spencer's individual letter. ²⁴

On September 11, Secretary of War Cameron ordered the arrest of members of the Maryland Legislature to prevent the passage of an ordinance of secession.

THE CIVIL WAR

Subsequently, approximately thirty members of that body were arrested and interned at Fort McHenry, Fort Lafayette, and Fort Warren.²⁵ *The Baltimore American*, leading Unionist journal in Maryland, and Governor Hicks heartily endorsed these arrests. Hicks, who had just a few months before stated he wanted to always live in a state that allowed slavery and that self-interest would compel him to support the South, now said of the arrested legislators: "We can no longer mince matters with these desperate people."²⁶ Each legislator was classified.²⁷

It was Federal military force, therefore, that in the end made certain that Maryland remained in the Union. The people of the State, despite their economic ties with the North and their love for the Union, were enraged at the passage of Federal troops over their soil, at the establishment of martial law, at the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and the suppression of the newspapers,²⁸ the supervision of elections, and the arrest of many leading citizens. Friction between the Federal government and the State continued throughout the war.

5. MARYLAND IN THE SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS, 1861

When President Lincoln issued his call on April 15, 1861, for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion and "cause the laws to be duly executed," he also called Congress to meet in special session on July 4 in order to take proper measures for the public safety.²⁹ Subsequently, Hicks issued a proclamation calling for a special election on June 13 for members of Congress. In the first Congressional District, embracing the six lower Eastern Shore counties, John Woodland Crisfield, Unionist, won by 1,800 votes over Daniel M. Henry, nominated by a State Rights Convention. Edwin Hanson Webster, Unionist, was unopposed in the Second District, consisting then of Kent, Cecil, Carroll, and parts of Baltimore County. In the Third District, made up of parts of Baltimore County and wards 1-8 inclusive of Baltimore City, Cornelius Lawrence Ludlow Leary, Unionist, defeated William P. Preston, State Rights candidate.

The election in the Fourth District (Wards 9-20 of Baltimore City) was bitterly waged, with Henry May winning over Henry Winter Davis, incumbent, who ran as an Unconditional, Unionist. May, believed to be a Unionist, defeated the brilliant Davis partly because many felt the latter did not represent the Union Party. In the Fifth District (Allegany, Washington, and Frederick Counties), Francis Thomas, Unionist, was unopposed, while in the Sixth District Charles Benedict Calvert, Unionist, defeated Benjamin Gwinn Harris, nominated by a State Rights convention. This district was the hotbed of secessionism on the Western Shore, comprising as it did the Southern Maryland and Central counties of Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, St. Mary's, Prince George's, Howard, and Montgomery.

Maryland was thus represented by May, Calvert, Thomas, Leary, Crisfield, and Webster in the special session of Congress. All but Leary and Calvert had served in the House previously. In the Senate, Maryland was represented by James Alfred Pearce and Anthony Kennedy.

In his message to Congress, read on July 5, President Lincoln asked for an appropriation of \$400,000,000 and for the raising of 400,000 men in order to make "this contest a short and decisive one." The President's defense of his extraordinary acts since the fall of Fort Sumter was of special interest to Maryland. He believed

THE OLD LINE STATE

that the call for 75,000 troops, and the proclamation of the blockade were strictly legal. The call for three-year troops and the increase in the regular army and navy would, he hoped, be ratified "then and now" by Congress, if not strictly legal. The President declared that it had been necessary to the public safety to authorize the commanding general to suspend the writ of habeas corpus; and the act was no violation of the Constitution. This subject engaged the attention of Congress from the first day, and concerned Maryland directly because of the famed Merryman case, that caused so much unfavorable action in that State.

Lincoln called to task the "border states—so called—in fact, the middle States," for favoring "a policy which they called 'armed neutrality'; that is, an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way, or the disunion the other, over their soil." The President very obviously had Maryland in mind since Governor Hicks, in his proclamation calling for Maryland's quota of troops on May 14, had said he hoped Maryland could maintain a neutral position. Such action, said Lincoln, would "be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation—and yet not quite an impassable one; for, under the guise of neutrality, it would tie the hands of the Union men." Supplies could then be passed freely from them to the insurrectionists, "which it could not do as an open enemy." This would do for the disunionists what they most desired—"feed them well and give them disunion without a struggle of their own." Furthermore, it "recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens,³⁰ it is nevertheless very injurious in effect."

Maryland's representatives were only moderately active in the debates. Henry May provided fireworks sufficient for them all, however, while Francis Thomas and Charles B. Calvert were quite outspoken on occasion in defense of Maryland. May was charged by John F. Potter of Wisconsin with aiding and abetting the enemy. Henceforth during this special session he spent much time defending himself. He protested against the Federal Government's arbitrary actions in Maryland and sought to bring about a compromise. May was arrested in September by order of the Secretary of War and committed to Fort McHenry and later to Forts Monroe and Lafayette. His arrest was contemporaneous with that of Mayor George William Brown of Baltimore and members of the Maryland legislature. Except for May, Maryland's other Congressional representatives indicated they would support the administration in its major policies.

In summary, two schools of thought were represented by Maryland in the special session. The first was led by Thomas in the House and Kennedy in the Senate; the other found its leadership under Henry May in the House and Pearce in the Senate. Thomas and Kennedy opposed the policies of the administration, but they believed that above all the Union must be preserved. They deplored the subjugation of Maryland but preferred it to the destruction of the Union. May and Pearce, however, while claiming undying loyalty to the Union, placed the Union second to the constitutional rights of Maryland and protested vigorously against every measure of oppression directed at the State. May was so outspoken that an effort was made to expel him from the House. Which group best represented Maryland public opinion, it is impossible to say, since that opinion was never consistent

THE CIVIL WAR

enough to be gauged accurately. But in the long run it is believed that Kennedy and Thomas, rather than May and Pearce, more truly represented Maryland.

6. ELECTIONS OF 1861 AND LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS OF 1861 AND 1862

The elections, in Maryland in November, 1861, represented the last major trial of strength between the Unionists and State Righters or the Peace party. The contest over the governorship and the control of the legislature were of prime interest. Augustus Williamson Bradford of Harford County was the Unionist candidate by the unanimous vote of the Baltimore convention that nominated him. Benjamin C. Howard of Baltimore County was named by the State Rights group to oppose Bradford. Alexander Evans, a political leader in Cecil County, wrote to Bradford on August 5, ten days prior to the latter's nomination, stating that Cecil County voters were behind him.³¹ Tension mounted throughout the State as election day approached. Federal authorities in Maryland and Unionists themselves demanded the aid of Federal troops to safeguard Union voters and prevent the disloyal from voting. Major General John A. Dix wrote to General McClellan, on October 7, asking for steamboats or tugs drawing no more than five feet of water that could be used to "go up the rivers and enter the numberless inlets and bays on the Eastern Shore . . . breaking up . . . the meetings which are held . . . in hostility to the Government."³²

Election day passed quietly although some arrests were made on the charge of disloyalty. Bradford polled 57,502 votes to 26,700 for Howard and carried all but three Southern Maryland counties and Talbot County on the Eastern Shore. He lost Talbot County by one vote.

General Banks listed in his official report the places that had been patrolled by troop detachments, cavalry, or infantry, and claimed that no armed men had gone near the polls nor had there been any serious disturbance in the State. Disloyal interference had been planned at several places, but the presence of troops had frightened it away. The people of Maryland were generally satisfied with the result of the election and the part played by the military, said Banks.³³

The news of the Union victory was received with a feeling of relief by the Federal authorities. President Lincoln was so assured as to Maryland's loyalty that he drew up a proclamation releasing political prisoners of the State on condition that they would not reclaim offices they may have held at the time of their arrests, that they would take the oath of allegiance to maintain the Union and the Constitution, and that they would in no way aid or abet the existing insurrection against the Federal government.³⁴ This proclamation, however, was never issued, although Reverdy Johnson and others urged it as a means of conciliating the hostile elements in Maryland.³⁵

The manner of Bradford's election is perhaps the least satisfactory feature of his entire career, private and public. That he was responsible for the military interference in his behalf is doubtful, but it is certain that he had knowledge of the way in which his success was brought about. It is likely that he would have won the election without the aid of the Federal government, and by a comfortable margin. But a large proportion of his vote was secured by intimidation, the illegal voting of soldiers, and the unlawful use of soldiery. Ignoring these facts, Bradford declared that his inauguration called to "mind the value and success of republican

THE OLD LINE STATE

institutions in recognizing, as it were, the power of the people peacefully to select and inaugurate their political rulers by the simple expression of the voice of the majority." ³⁶

The results of the 1861 election destroyed practically all hope the State Rights party had of taking Maryland into the Confederacy, and many Maryland sympathizers with the Southern cause fled from the State after November, 1861. Many of them enlisted in the Confederate army to join their fellow citizens already recruited by a station that had been set up in Baltimore in 1861.³⁷ The Federal and State authorities promptly suppressed all signs of secession sympathy of an active nature. Typical of such action was the seizure on November 20 of Miller's Hotel in Baltimore. This was done to break up arrangements, which Southern sympathizers had made, for carrying on regular communication with Confederates in Virginia. Employers of and lodgers in the hotel were held responsible for this communication with "Secessia," but the proprietors, although loyal men, were kept under strict surveillance.³⁸

After the election Maryland became in fact as well as in name a loyal state. Southern sympathizers still gave the Union leaders much trouble but there was little likelihood of a successful secession movement getting under way. Neither was there any likelihood that the Federal government would be seriously interfered with. There were times when Governor Bradford did not see eye to eye with the Federal administration, but these differences arose over methods of conducting war and not over its major purposes.

When the elections of November, 1861, indicated that the legislature would be controlled by the Unionists, Governor Hicks decided to summon that body into special session in order to align the State with the North in defense of the Union. He therefore issued a call on November 16 for the legislature to assemble in Annapolis on December 3.³⁹

The legislature endeavored to undo all that its predecessor had done in opposing the Federal administration. Its chief measure repealed the act passed in April which indemnified Baltimore officials for penalties incurred in suppressing disorder on April 19.⁴⁰ A joint committee was appointed to interview General McClellan and "solicit the adoption of some plan to prevent the admission of fugitive slaves, within the lines of the Army."⁴¹ A set of resolutions that defended the Federal government's prosecution of the war was adopted.⁴²

The regular session of the legislature met on January 1, 1862, a week before the colorful inauguration of Governor Bradford. Hicks addressed the body for the last time on January 2, concerning himself chiefly with questions of State finance and public improvements.⁴³ Despite the fact Unionists were in control of the State, a strong secession sentiment still lurked in Maryland. The *Baltimore American* said: "It parades our streets with impudent sneers at everything loyal; flaunts itself in our churches and public assemblies; insults the Union sentiment on all occasions; and every week almost, is caught affording aid and comfort to the enemy. . . ." ⁴⁴

The most important law passed by this legislature defined and provided the death penalty for anyone convicted of "treasonably levying war against this State, or [who] shall adhere to the enemies thereof, whether foreign or domestic, giving them aid or comfort, within this State or elsewhere." Various degrees of punishment were prescribed for numerous offenses, such as conspiring to burn bridges,

THE CIVIL WAR

destroy railroads, break canals, or in any way encouraging the secession of Maryland. Minor offenses, as displaying the Confederate flag and encouraging departure for a rebellious state were likewise punishable.⁴⁵ There is no report of any arrests made under this act, however, according to Scharf, a contemporary historian.⁴⁶ That is not to say that Southern sympathy was at an end. Nor were all Unionists in harmony.

7. DEVELOPMENTS IN 1863

There were, in Maryland, unconditional Unionists and conservative Unionists. Such a differentiation often caused much bitterness and peculiar situations arose as in the Congressional elections of 1863. Edwin H. Webster was again chosen from the Second District, including Kent and Cecil counties. In the First District Unconditional Unionists gained control of a meeting held at Snow Hill, nominated a ticket for Worcester County, and endorsed John A. J. Creswell for Representative in Congress. The conservative Unionists, led by John W. Crisfield who sought reelection from the First District, objected to the candidates. Crisfield's friends adopted the platform of the Union State Central Committee and placed an independent ticket in the field. They approved Lincoln's course in suppressing the war but objected to the injection of the emancipation question in the election. The Unconditional Unionists tried to have members of the conservative Union group arrested.⁴⁷ Jockeying for advantage was bitter. The Unconditional Unionists, considered revolutionary by the conservative Unionists, numbered among their foremost members the famous Henry Winter Davis of Baltimore, Creswell, Judge Hugh Lennox Bond, Henry Howe Goldsborough, who was nominated for Comptroller, Archibald Stirling, Jr., Henry Stockbridge, and Stockett Matthews. The *Kent News* of Chestertown charged that the *Baltimore American* was the organ of the Unconditional Union party. The *American* denied this or that it was the organ of any party, asserted that its "idea" was to rid Maryland of slavery as soon as possible, and avowed that secessionists would vote for such men as Crisfield. George Vickers, close adviser of Governor Bradford, informed the latter from Chestertown that the Unconditional Unionists were urging that voters of an "odious or objectionable character" should be required to take a test oath. Vickers insisted that such an oath was both unconstitutional and unnecessary since Maryland laws set voting qualifications. Further, Vickers insisted that Bradford should protest to Lincoln and inform Marylanders that he opposed such interference. The Provost Marshal of the Eastern Shore was quoted by Vickers as saying that what could not be gained by "greenbacks" could be gained by the bayonet in the coming election.⁴⁸

Ex-governor Hicks, now in the United States Senate, wrote to Bradford that he was surprised at Creswell's conversion to Unconditional Union doctrines, and classified him with other "fanatics" and "political sycophants." He predicted a Crisfield victory if the military kept hands off the election.⁴⁹

The situation on the Eastern Shore became such that General Robert C. Schenck, commander of the Middle Department, issued the famous General Orders No. 53, which provided for the arrest of disloyal persons found at or near election polls, for an oath of allegiance to be taken by any whose loyalty was questioned by the judges of election and for reports to Schenck of all judges of election who refused to take such an oath.⁵⁰ Martial law,⁵¹ proclaimed on the Western Shore in June,

THE OLD LINE STATE

1863, had never been proclaimed on the Eastern Shore. Schenck therefore believed his order necessary to maintain order on the Shore. Lincoln was persuaded to revoke the first part of the order, however, even though Governor Bradford prepared a proclamation making it clear that he opposed the whole thing. Bradford's proclamation was not printed by order of Schenck who also would not let it circulate on the Eastern Shore nor let steamboats carry it across the Bay. Schenck maintained that loyal citizens on the Eastern Shore as well as in other parts of the State had asked that a test oath be required.⁵²

The conflict between Bradford and Schenck led to irregularities in prescribing the oath to voters. At some polls all were required to take it; at others, none.

A situation that caused more resentment than the General Orders of General Schenck developed when Lieutenant Colonel C. C. Tevis issued an order at Chestertown urging all loyal voters to vote the "whole Government Ticket, upon the platform adopted by the Union League Convention [the Unconditional Union group]. None other is recognized by the Federal authorities as loyal and worthy of the support of any one who desires the peace and restoration of this Union."⁵³ This brazen order was suppressed by General Schenck and Colonel Tevis was placed under arrest. On November 6 he issued a statement explaining his action and requesting release. The request was granted, presumably without a trial, three days later by Schenck who explained that Tevis appeared "to have acted himself in good faith and from a sense of duty," but was misled by Captain John Frazier, Provost Marshal of the First Congressional District. Frazier was himself a candidate for Clerk of Court in Kent County, and thus one of the "Government Ticket." Schenck explained that Tevis and Frazier, prompted by "indiscreet or bad advisers," had overstepped their powers.⁵⁴

Military authorities used various methods to control the polls throughout the State. On the Eastern Shore the tickets supporting Crisfield were not allowed at all; at other places the army actively supported candidates for local office. General Lockwood, for instance, who was in charge of Somerset County and at the same time an Unconditional Union candidate for sheriff, announced that anyone who voted for him would not be molested. The Democrats shrewdly tricked him, however, by not placing his name on the ballot after promising to do so. At Princess Anne, in the same county, only one citizen was allowed to vote, the election judges were arrested and the polls closed. The judges were soon released, but voting was not resumed.⁵⁵

Military interference was more obnoxious in Kent County than anywhere else. Kent was a small county but had contributed more than its share of the State's quota of volunteers and drafted men. Nevertheless, on Monday, November 2, Provost Marshal Frazier arrested some of the leading men of the county, including James B. Ricaud, Union candidate for the State Senate; Jesse K. Hines, Union nominee for Clerk of Court and therefore Frazier's opponent; Colonel Edward Wilkens; Colonel S. W. Spencer, called by Bradford one of the most loyal Union men on the Eastern Shore; Charles Stanley, Thomas Baker, David A. Benjamin, George W. T. Perkins, John T. Dodd, James H. Plummer, and William B. Usilton. George Vickers and George B. Westcott, the latter a Union candidate for the House of Delegates, were slated for arrest, but escaped because they were in Baltimore at the time protesting to General Schenck of military abuses in Kent County.

THE CIVIL WAR

The arrested men were taken to Schenck's headquarters in Baltimore on the steamer *Nellie Pentz*. Schenck was surprised to see so many prisoners, stating that only a few arrests had been ordered for interference with Negro enlistment in Kent County.⁵⁶ He soon released them and they returned to Chestertown on Wednesday morning. But Frazier's purpose had been served. The men had been taken away at a time when their influence, as candidates or political leaders, could have been exercised. Their arrests also intimidated many of their friends who either voted for the Unconditional Union candidates or abstained from voting.⁵⁷ Many other outrages were perpetrated on the Eastern Shore and cases were reported in other parts of the State. None, however, were on so large a scale or conducted with such bold effrontery as those on the Eastern Shore, where General Schenck's original order and not Lincoln's modification was enforced. A force of cavalry had been sent to each Eastern Shore county to be used at the polls.⁵⁸

Great excitement prevailed on election day, especially in the First and Fifth Congressional Districts. Baltimore City, however, was quieter and gatherings at the voting places were generally smaller than at preceding elections. Military and police orders were posted prominently at precinct polls, but military guards were reported to have abstained from much interference with voters. Drinking houses were kept closed. The *Baltimore American* reported that "Tickets of all kinds were in abundance at the polls, and all loyal men voted their sentiments freely, so far as the choice of candidates was concerned."⁵⁹

Unconditional Unionists were victorious in the first four Congressional Districts: Creswell won over Crisfield, 6,742 to 5,482 in the first; Webster, Henry Winter Davis, and Thomas were unopposed in the second, third, and fourth districts, respectively, while Benjamin G. Harris, Democrat, won in the fifth over John G. Holland, Unconditional Unionist and Charles B. Calvert, Conservative Unionist. The total Union vote, if united, would have defeated Harris. In the State as a whole, the combined Unconditional Union and Union vote was only about one-half of the total vote of the presidential election in 1860. This drop was obviously due to the lack of opposition for many Union candidates and to the fact that many Southern sympathizers had either been prevented from voting or had left the State. It is estimated that one-third of those qualified to vote failed to do so in many sections. Except on the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland, the State appeared Unconditionally Unionist, since that party was also successful in its quest for control of the legislature and other State offices. Many elections were contested when the legislature met in 1864, but the House of Delegates, controlled by Unconditional Unionists, gave no aid to the contestants.⁶⁰

8. CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1864; ELECTIONS OF 1864; LEGISLATURE, 1865

The Unionists were occupied in the latter days of 1863 and the early months of 1864 in making plans for the State Constitutional Convention which the legislature was expected to authorize. Governor Bradford recommended in his message to the legislature that a convention be called to revise the constitution with particular reference to slavery. The legislature complied, the people approved the call, and a convention met at Annapolis on April 27. A new Constitution was drawn up, the main provision of which freed all slaves in Maryland, effective November 1, 1864. It was also provided that oaths of allegiance should be taken by certain offi-

THE OLD LINE STATE

cials and others. Anyone who refused to take the oath was disfranchised and barred from office.⁶¹

The elections of 1864, State and national, were epochal in Maryland. They gave Lincoln's opponents a chance to register their hostility to Negro enlistments, armed interference at elections, and other Republican policies that had aroused much bitterness among conservative Unionists in Maryland. The Democratic party, in fact, was staging a comeback in Maryland. It had never been dead in Southern Maryland but it had been totally suppressed in the rest of the State by Federal troops since 1860. In 1864 it was reorganized at Annapolis under the leadership of ex-Governor Thomas G. Pratt, Judge Richard B. Carmichael, Colonel John F. Dent, Oliver Miller, Oden Bowie, Daniel Clarke, Colonel James T. Briscoe and others. A committee which later became the State Central Committee was appointed, with Oden Bowie, later Governor of Maryland, as chairman, and with A. Leo Knott, as Secretary. A Democratic State Convention, fully attended, met in Baltimore on June 16. A delegation was sent to the National Democratic Convention in Chicago on August 27. The nomination of General George B. McClellan was unacceptable to many in the Maryland delegation because of his connection with the arrests of political leaders in Maryland early in the war, but the State Democratic Convention ratified McClellan's nomination by a unanimous vote on September 29.⁶²

The State Union Convention met in Baltimore on October 18 and ratified the nominations of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, who had been nominated by the Union Party Convention in Baltimore four months earlier.

Lincoln carried Maryland by a majority of 7,432, although he had a minority of the popular vote outside of Baltimore City. The Union Republicans made a clean sweep of the chief State offices. Thomas Swann defeated Ezekiel F. Chambers for the governorship by a vote of 40,579 to 32,068. Other Republican nominees for State offices polled approximately the same majorities over their Democratic rivals. The *Baltimore American* asserted that since the Union, or Republican, vote had been larger than that cast for the Constitution on October 12-13, a gain had been made for the cause of Unionism and emancipation.⁶³

The Democrats showed real strength in electing two candidates to Congress. John A. J. Creswell, Unconditional Unionist, was defeated for reelection in the First District by Hiram McCullough, Democrat, by a vote of 9,677 to 6,307. Actually, the First District was normally a Democratic stronghold. Military interference had helped elect Creswell in 1863. Harris defeated Holland in the Fifth District for the second Democratic victory. Union candidates won by comfortable majorities in the other districts. The Democrats secured a majority of two in the State Senate, but the resignation of William H. Holland, Democratic Senator-elect from Dorchester County, and the election of Thomas K. Carroll, Unionist, to fill the vacancy, brought a tie in the Senate between the Union and Democratic members. The House of Delegates had 52 Unionists and 28 Democrats.

The Unionists, or Republicans as now called, had in a period of months, aided by the Federal government, elected a state convention, framed a new constitution, abolished slavery in the State, made changes in the State government, helped to re-elect Lincoln, and carried most of the State elections. They were naturally optimistic over the future. The strength of the reorganized Democratic party was

THE CIVIL WAR

not to be discounted, however. Its strength in the State Senate and its victories in two Congressional Districts were important steps toward its return to power in Maryland. One of the Democratic leaders expressed his party's comeback as follows: "Thus was the Democratic party of Maryland after an interregnum of four years resuscitated, and started again on a career, which though marked in its earlier stages by trials and defeats, was destined in the end to be crowned with success."⁶⁴ In spite of test oaths, partisan election judges, and the supporting influence of the Federal army, the Democrats had indicated that the Republican control of Maryland could be shaken and possibly broken in the near future.

The newly elected legislature assembled on January 5 to hear Governor Bradford's biennial message. He delivered one of his ablest addresses and the legislature set to work. It ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution and passed two important laws. One removed all but two disabilities imposed on the colored population under slavery.⁶⁵ The other provided for the registration of voters in the State according to the requirements of the new Constitution.⁶⁶ This act, famous in Maryland's political history, formed the basis for most of the political strife during the remainder of the war. It provided that the Governor appoint three citizens "most known for loyalty, firmness and uprightness" as registers in each ward or election district. He was also to appoint three men to register the sailors and soldiers of the State. The registers were to enroll the names of all voters upon registration books. From these lists, entry on which was indispensable in order to exercise the right of suffrage, the registers were to exclude all disloyal persons. They might even refuse to permit persons who had taken the oath of allegiance to register. Ample powers were thus given the registers to exclude Southern sympathizers from registration.⁶⁷ This act was bitterly criticized throughout the State and was never effectively enforced.⁶⁸

Acts of lesser importance provided for taking the soldiers' vote,⁶⁹ and for the prohibition of the sale of spirituous liquors or fermented liquors in the several counties during election day.⁷⁰ Several futile attempts were made by the legislature to pass an act requiring corporation officials, educators, and others to take the oath of allegiance as directed by the new constitution.⁷¹ The legislature adjourned on March 27.

The Maryland Legislature from April to September 1861, was composed primarily of Southern sympathizers ready to carry the State into secession. But after the arrest of its disloyal members in September and the election of loyal members in November, the legislature settled down in December, 1861, to follow a program of adherence to the Union. The legislature passed stringent measures curtailing the liberties of the people, and its loyalty was questioned with some justification, but on the whole the wartime Legislature acquitted itself creditably. Governor Bradford aided the Legislature greatly with his practical suggestions and recommendations. The Unionists carried the November, 1865, elections, and Governor Bradford called for a special session of the Legislature to meet on January 10, 1866, so that Governor-elect Thomas Swann might begin at once the process of "self-reconstruction" in Maryland.⁷² Swann, although elected as a Union-Republican, was not in sympathy with the Radical Republicans who gained strength in Maryland in 1866 and sought to limit the elective franchise in order to hold them-

THE OLD LINE STATE

selves in power. Accordingly, Swann began to cooperate with the Democrats and was largely responsible for that party's come-back in Maryland.

9. MARYLAND'S RECORD IN CONGRESS, 1861-1865

As indicated earlier, Maryland's feelings were expressed frequently by her various members of Congress during the war. Usually forthright, they presented resolutions from the State Legislature, they supported bills that would be of benefit to the State; and they protested vigorously against any measure calculated to inflict injury upon the institutions of the State. They were quick to come to Maryland's defense at all times, although there was not always full agreement even among those representing the State as to what its best interests were.

During the war period Maryland was represented in the Senate by Anthony Kennedy, James Alfred Pearce, Reverdy Johnson, and Thomas Holliday Hicks, and in the House of Representatives by Charles B. Calvert, John W. Crisfield, John A. J. Creswell, Henry May, Edwin H. Webster, Francis Thomas, Cornelius L. L. Leary, and Benjamin G. Harris.

Somewhat typical of a Maryland speech in Congress during the war was that of Edwin H. Webster on June 9, 1862, when he analyzed the political situation in the State as follows:

. . . Two parties only are found there [Maryland] now—the friends of the Union and the enemies of the Union; the men who stand for the protection of the government, for the upholding of its flag; and for the enforcement of its laws, and the men who desire to see those laws set at defiance, that flag trampled in the dust, and that government broken in pieces. . . .

Why, sir, look at the delegation from my State on this floor and see how old party lines have ceased to exist. At the last presidential election my friend who sits in front of me (Mr. Crisfield) voted for Breckinridge. My colleagues, the one who sits immediately in front of me (Mr. Calvert) and the one who sits behind me (Mr. Leary), and myself voted for Bell. My other colleagues (Mr. Thomas and Mr. May) voted for Douglas. The people of the State, when they came to send a delegation to Congress, selected men from all the old parties, and sent them here to deliberate and determine not for party, but for that which is higher and holier than party, their country.⁷³

Webster closed his speech, as nearly every Marylander did, by urging Congress not to interfere with the institution of slavery in the State, and to prosecute the war on a basis of suppressing the Rebellion and restoring the Union.

Maryland's delegation in Congress during the Civil War was, with the exception of Reverdy Johnson in the Senate and Henry Winter Davis in the House of Representatives, an average one. Johnson and Davis would have won distinction in any deliberative body. In 1861 not a single member of the delegation was wholly loyal. Certain members, notably Pearce in the Senate and Henry May and Benjamin G. Harris in the House, were vigorous opponents of the Lincoln Administration and the war. Others, including Crisfield, Webster, Leary, Thomas, and Calvert swung from a doubtful loyal position in 1861 and 1862 to a loyal one by 1863. Crisfield and May were replaced in 1863 by the Unconditional Unionists, Creswell and Davis. Davis, although strong in his loyalty to the Union, found himself at odds with Lincoln over early restoration policies. In shifting to the fold of the Rad-

THE CIVIL WAR

ical Republicans he lost the support of the *Baltimore American*, Unionist newspaper that in 1863 considered him its ideal candidate. The Maryland delegation was primarily interested in the measures that directly affected their State, particularly those concerning slavery and emancipation. They often criticized the Government's policies on these and other issues but they bitterly resented any expression of doubt as to Maryland's loyalty to the Union.

10. SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION

Throughout the war in Maryland, next to the question of loyalty or secession, the most important problem of the people concerned slavery and emancipation. When Lincoln proposed on March 6, 1862, that a policy of compensated emancipation be adopted, both branches of Congress passed a resolution providing for such compensation for any state that would adopt gradual abolishment of slavery. Calvert, Crisfield, Leary, and Thomas of Maryland voted against the resolution in the House, while Webster and May were apparently absent. In the Senate, Kennedy voted against it. Pearce was absent. When Lincoln invited the Border States' delegations to confer with him on the resolution on March 10, Leary and Crisfield were the only Marylanders present. Crisfield asserted that it was his opinion Maryland would accept emancipation if compensated and if rid of the Negro, and if not coerced in such action.⁷⁴ Marylanders, especially those in counties bordering on the District of Columbia were greatly upset over the action of Congress in April, 1862, by which compensated emancipation was provided for the District. Maryland slaves began to escape in great numbers to freedom land, despite protests from Maryland owners who claimed that the Fugitive Slave Law should be enforced and the slaves returned to them.

When Lincoln issued his Proclamation of Emancipation on January 1, 1863, there was opposition in Maryland by the slave-holding group, even though the proclamation applied only to states in rebellion. A bill in Congress, providing for an appropriation of \$10,000,000 to aid emancipation in Maryland and reported by the Committee on Emancipation and Colonization on February 25, 1863, died after being recommitted. Crisfield said the measure was not desired by Maryland. The institution of slavery was on the way out, however, and as it broke down in Maryland the hostility of the agricultural districts to free Negroes became more evident. The citizens of Dorchester County met in January, 1863, and passed a series of resolutions demanding that the Maryland "vagrant" laws be enforced against Negroes. They declared "That Maryland can never be the paradise of free Negroism—the free Negro state of the Union. If involuntary Negro servitude cannot exist, we must have exclusively white labor. That is, if in the providence of God, this country was intended as a home for the exclusive occupation of the white man, there should be no dark spots upon it—it should be white all over."⁷⁵

Serious problems arose when the enlistment of Maryland Negroes in the Federal service began in July, 1863. The Secretary of War directed Colonel William Birney to organize a colored regiment whose members were to be credited to the State's quota just as were white troops. Much confusion and dissension over the Negro enlistments followed, and on September 2 General Schenck was informed that Colonel Birney was interfering with slaves on the Eastern Shore. For instance, the rumor was circulating over the Eastern Shore that Birney

THE OLD LINE STATE

was bringing colored companies in uniform to Talbot County, there to strut before the Negroes and aid hasty enlistment. Senator Hicks, on behalf of a deputation of "good and respectable Union" men of Talbot County who had come to him for advice, protested to Lincoln of this procedure.⁷⁶ Marylanders were further agitated by a long and urgent letter written by Judge Hugh Lennox Bond of the Baltimore Circuit Court to Secretary of War Stanton proposing that all Negroes, free or slave, be enlisted. Many leaders and private citizens throughout the State expressed their approval of Governor Bradford's attack on Bond's position. George Vickers wrote to Bradford from Chestertown that "rabid republicans" of Bond's type would "precipitate and force emancipation upon Maryland without regard to time, means, or compensation." Two days later Bradford received another letter from Chestertown signed by Vickers, James B. Ricaud, George B. Wescott, and S. N. Spencer in which they made the familiar complaint that slaves on the Eastern Shore were being enlisted illegally. Eastern Shore farms would be devoid of all labor unless this practice stopped at once, said these men.⁷⁷

Such protests and others finally led to a change in the enlistment policy of colored troops. Lincoln directed Stanton to issue an order on October 3, 1863, providing that only able-bodied men should be enlisted, that they should be credited to the State and county quotas, and should be free after the war. Free Negroes and slaves, with the consent of loyal owners but not with the consent of disloyal owners, were to be enlisted first. If, in thirty days, this number was not adequate, slaves of loyal owners who had not given their consent, should be enlisted. Loyal owners were to be compensated, whether they gave their consent or not, at not over \$300 a slave when they filed deeds of manumission. A board was to be appointed to audit such claims.⁷⁸

This new directive met general approval, but some opposition continued. Vickers resisted the recruiting so effectively in Kent County that Birney was directed by Lincoln to call it off for the time being. After investigating the activities of Vickers, Birney alleged that he formerly had been a "noisy constitutional Union man," but on slave questions had become a virulent enemy of the government and associated with known secessionists. He was said to have organized a mob to burn the small government steamer sent to Chestertown to carry colored troops to recruiting headquarters. Without doubt, Birney's accusations against Vickers may have been colored; nevertheless, Vickers was resisting recruitment of Negroes. Birney also reported that Judge Richard B. Carmichael of Easton, a circuit court judge whose arrest while on the bench in 1862 created a sensation, was an active opponent of Negro enlistment. As a whole, Birney reported, the Eastern Shore favored the recruitment of colored troops and aided him as much as possible. Only a few rebel sympathizers, slaveholders, and politicians stood in the way.⁷⁹

The Constitution of 1864 was met with violent opposition by those who asserted that the test oath and the soldiers' vote constituted the margin of victory. The Eastern Shore by its vote had indicated its pronounced hostility. Frauds in the soldiers' vote and alleged illegality of the test oath were the basis for opposition. The freedom brought on by the new Constitution created serious problems. Many of the more tenacious slave-holders took advantage of an unrepealed provision

THE CIVIL WAR

in the Black Code of the State laws and apprenticed Negro slave children before the new Constitution went into effect on November 1, 1864. But the practise continued even after the day of freedom. To protect the Negroes, Major General Lewis Wallace, commanding the Middle Department, decided to take matters into his own hands until January when the Maryland Legislature could pass protective laws. Wallace issued "General Orders No. 112" by which a Freedman's Bureau was created for the Middle Department. Provost Marshals on both sides of the Bay were to look out for the interests of the freed Negroes. The Maryland Legislature in January passed a bill removing practically all the disabilities placed on Negroes by the slave codes.⁹⁰

11. RAISING TROOPS; MILITARY PROBLEMS

Space forbids a complete coverage of Maryland during the Civil War. Primarily, the political developments have been analyzed. The story must be augmented, however, with a note on military affairs relating to the State. Generally, the various political, economic, social, and military events were so closely related that it is difficult to determine where one begins and the other ends.

Despite large bounties and the draft system, soldiers were raised with much difficulty in Maryland. The efforts of both the Federal and Confederate agents were none too successful at times, while the State government struggled to meet each quota. Those friendly toward the Union often refused to fight because of its coercive measures, so they said, while those sympathetic with the South naturally gave no willing aid to the Union. But even under these circumstances, Maryland furnished a large number of troops to both the Union and the Confederacy. From the first call of the Federal government on April 15, 1861, through the tenth and last call of December 19, 1864, Maryland furnished 46,638 men. This was about two-thirds of her total quotas, which amounted to 70,965. In addition, 3,678 men paid commutations. Aggregate bounties paid to Marylanders to fight for the Union came to \$6,271,992.⁹¹ Total losses of Maryland were not great, numbering 2,982 of whom 1,160 died of diseases. Only 909 were killed or mortally wounded. The State contributed 35 military organizations, consisting of cavalry, light and heavy artillery and infantry.⁹²

Many Marylanders offered their services to the Confederacy as soon as hostilities commenced. Confederate authorities at first were not inclined to accept military aid from non-Confederate states, but asked Marylanders to hold themselves in readiness. After May 1 the services of Marylanders were eagerly accepted. Over 20,000 served the South before the war was over. Major General Isaac R. Trimble, a Marylander assigned to the Department of North Virginia, said of his fellow Marylanders fighting for the Confederacy: "General Lee often told me that he had much at heart the separate organization of all Marylanders. 'They are,' he said, 'unrivalled soldiers; and if brought together, we may get many other Marylanders to join us.'" This was attempted in 1863, Trimble said, but it was then too late since Maryland troops were unwilling to leave their comrades in other organizations. Marylanders were particularly noted for their refusal to desert the Confederacy. Trimble added that the First Maryland Regiment was composed of men who "were the dandies of the army, better dressed, and in gayer spirits than any in the whole army, and never one deserter."⁹³

THE OLD LINE STATE

Except for the Battle of Antietam, Maryland was spared major bloodshed. There were many rumors of invasion, however. Baltimore was threatened and special preparations were made to defend the city. When General Lee's army entered Maryland in September, 1862, Governor Bradford called for additional volunteers and asked Secretary of War Stanton for infantry arms and equipment for four or five thousand men. Stanton agreed, stating arms would be furnished as fast as men could be organized into companies. Additional bounties were offered. Stanton, aware of troop raising difficulties in Maryland and aware also of the dangers to the North of Lee's movements into Maryland, allowed the State the use of certain cavalry companies and infantry regiments to enforce the draft.⁸⁴ The pressing situation resulted in Maryland raising four new infantry regiments, one battery, and several cavalry companies.⁸⁵

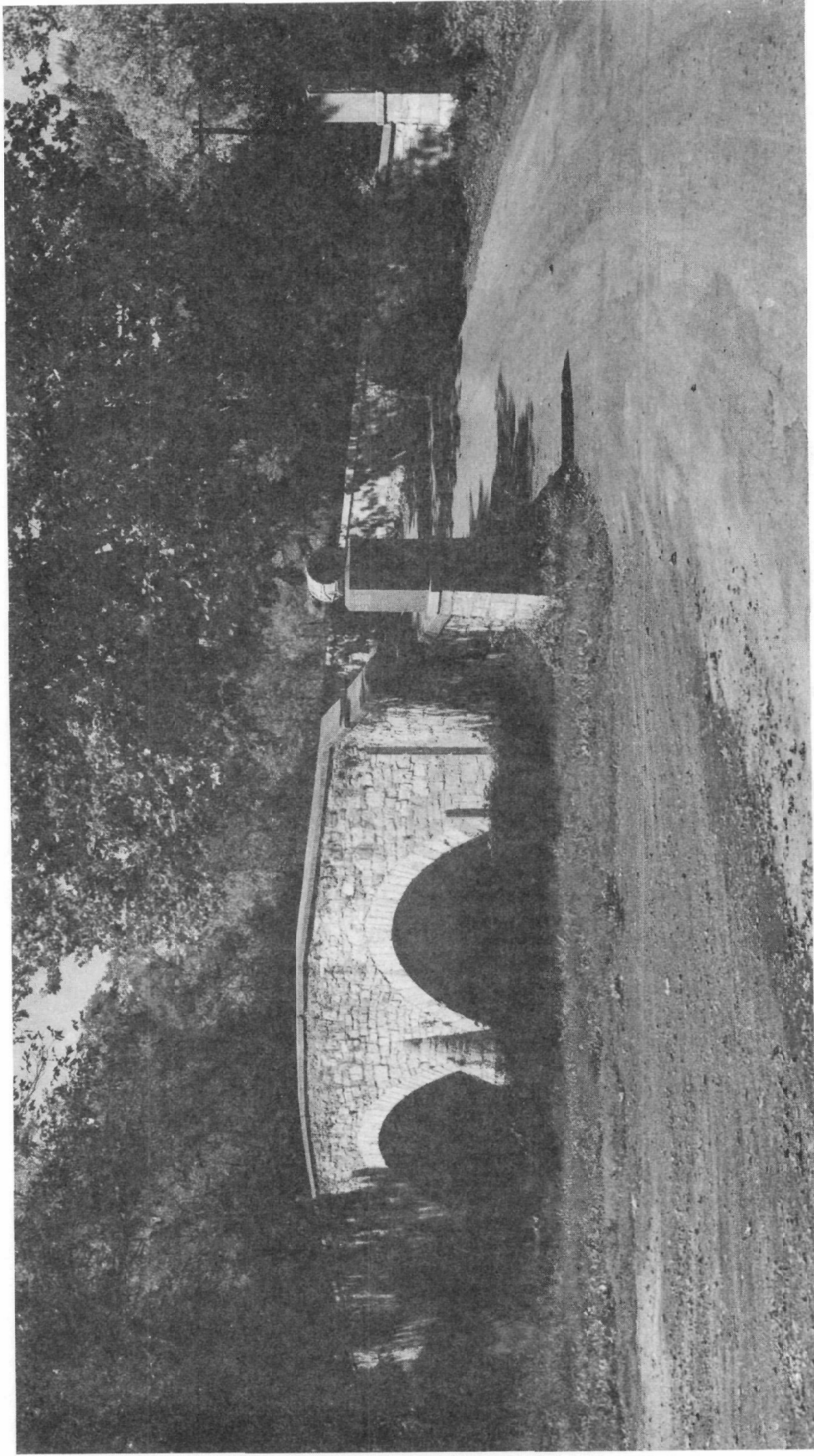
General Lee in September 1862 issued a deliverance proclamation to Marylanders, which stated the Confederate States had long watched with deepest sympathy the outrages inflicted upon Maryland by the Federal Government. The Confederate Army was now in Maryland to help restore the State's sovereignty, but would not intimidate her citizens who must join the Confederacy only by their own free will. ⁸⁶ Colonel Bradley T. Johnson, a Marylander in the Confederacy, issued a proclamation simultaneously with Lee's. It was an emotional appeal for enlistments in the Confederacy to help free Maryland.⁸⁷

Following his proclamation, Lee's men seized Middletown, Frederick County, declared martial law, and sought to enlist men in the Confederate Service. Westminster and other towns in Carroll, Washington and Frederick Counties were seized. But the Southern army never met the reception it had expected in Maryland, partly because it was so long in coming and because the Western Maryland counties for the most part were loyal to the Union.⁸⁸

Governor Bradford extended his and Maryland's gratitude to General McClellan for checking the Confederates at Antietam. McClellan replied that Maryland's appreciation of his army's victory would stimulate it to "renewed efforts in the sacred cause of the Union."⁸⁹

In June, 1863, when Maryland and the Northern States were again threatened by Lee, President Lincoln called into service the militias of the states concerned, requesting 100,000 additional men. Maryland was to supply 10,000 to protect her own soil.⁹⁰ But her residents assumed either that the State was not in danger or were unwilling to defend it. Bradford took them to task, observing that many were unwilling to sign up for fear they would be used outside the State, or because they asserted the draft would place disloyal men alongside loyal men. This was poor reasoning, he said. Nevertheless, Maryland furnished only 1,615 men of the desired 10,000, as stern opposition met enrollment officers. Fortunately, for Maryland at least, there was no Confederate invasion of the State except passage of Lee's forces to and from Gettysburg. Further enlistments under this order of Lincoln's were suspended.⁹¹ The Federal Government had taken every precaution against disaffection in Maryland, with Major-General Robert C. Schenck, commander of the Middle Department, issuing a proclamation calling for martial law on June 30, 1863.⁹²

Major General Isaac R. Trimble, appealed to Marylanders to join the Confederacy as Lee's armies moved northward.⁹³ At the same time Bradford made



BURNSIDE BRIDGE AT ANTIETAM
Scene of General Burnside's attempt to cross at this point
at the cost of heavy casualties

THE OLD LINE STATE

appeals for their continued loyalty to the Union. Baltimore was additionally prepared for defense, amid constant rumors of attack.⁹⁴ Recruitment efforts by the Confederates were futile, although they took animals and forage and disrupted communications, tearing up Baltimore and Ohio Railroad tracks, bridges, water stations, and telegraph lines. When at last Lee had withdrawn into Virginia following Gettysburg, Bradford issued a proclamation recommending that the people give thanks at religious services on Sunday, July 19.⁹⁵

12. RECONSTRUCTION

The period of Reconstruction in Maryland never took on the proportions it did in states that had seceded. Nevertheless, as already suggested, the period involved serious transitions in Maryland. Despite a study by William Starr Myer⁹⁶ nearly fifty years ago, much that went on in the State following the surrender of Lee and the assassination of Lincoln has come to light only recently through the writings of W. A. Low.⁹⁷

The return of Marylanders from the Confederacy was often accompanied by signs of prejudice and vindictiveness. The *Baltimore American* of May 1, 1865 described the ex-Confederate soldiers in Maryland as "defiant and pompous," and stated that they strutted around like conquerors. In time, however, milder counsels began to prevail among the Union people. Even so, many leaders of the Union party found it to their advantage to keep alive the controversies and hatreds of the past. By so doing they hoped to overcome all opposition within and without the party. As 1865 came to a close, Myers states that "typical conditions of Civil War times" were pushed into the past, and adds that

Almost coincident with the new year began the self-reconstruction of Maryland. In the ensuing period the registration act was finally repealed and the defeated Union party split up into two factions. The radical wing became the Republican party in the State, and the conservatives joined the triumphant Democrats, in whose hands lay the destinies of Maryland for many years.⁹⁸

Professor Low discusses the work of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, popularly known as the Freedmen's Bureau. Established just prior to Lee's surrender, it was to care for freedmen, refugees, and abandoned lands of the South; to issue food, clothing, and fuel; and to administer to the medical needs of freedmen and refugees. In July, 1866, the Bureau's powers were enlarged by Congress to help provide education for the freed people. Maryland, of course, was not one of the military districts created to administer the rebel states, not having seceded, but the Freedmen's Bureau was much in operation in the State. Its work did not, in Maryland, extend to medical and food services or to care and disposition of "abandoned" Confederate property. Low states that with the exception of the settlement of veteran bounty claims, "the work in Maryland was concerned largely with problems of education and the administration of justice."⁹⁹

The apprentice system, which had taken hold in Maryland as well as in the more Southern States, and which was an encumbrance to the education of Negro youths, was attacked successfully. Despite legal provision for Negro public education in Maryland's Constitutions of 1864 and 1867, little was done by the

THE CIVIL WAR

State. It was left to the Freedmen's Bureau, which stimulated private and religious philanthropy. The Bureau kept data on Negro education and made regular reports to Washington. The monthly report for October, 1867, shows that 55 of the 81 Negro schools were being maintained partially by Negroes, while 42 were owned solely by freedmen. The Bureau helped to provide materials for construction of schools. A "Colored Normal School" was established to train Negro teachers. The work of the Bureau naturally met opposition, particularly on the Eastern Shore and in Southern Maryland where the destruction of the apprentice system was particularly resented. Talk of a Klan in Maryland did not materialize. Nor did resentment reach the violent stages it did in the Lower South. Despite hostile acts, there was no widespread looting, plundering or violence against Negroes or their sympathizers.¹⁰⁰

In addition to education, the Bureau in Maryland was involved in such matters as protecting the Negro from violence, establishing and guarding his legal rights, and coordinating a program to facilitate the transition of the Negro from slavery to freedom.¹⁰¹ Working toward the elimination of the apprentice system brought on the most ticklish and complicated problems. But the system of binding Negro youths was beginning to crumble as early as 1867. The matter was returned to the hands of local civil officials by mid-1868 and by the close of the year, reenslavement of Negro youths, forbidden by the Constitution of 1867, was disappearing rapidly. Low concludes that

By the end of 1868 it was apparent that sentiment in the State was beginning to accept Emancipation and some aspects of Reconstruction as a *fait accompli*. Having reluctantly freed its slaves and abolished the system of virtual slavery that followed in its wake, the State recognized the passing of the institution of slavery, and entertained the idea of encouraging immigrant European labor as a 'prompt remedy for the distress which the sudden subversion of our labor system had brought.' Once this basic recognition had been established, the way was now open for the attainment of rights, privileges, and responsibilities that go along with the acquisition of freedom.¹⁰²

NOTES

- ¹ These seven were South Carolina on December 20, 1860; Mississippi on January 9, 1861; Florida and Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 19; Louisiana, January 26; and Texas on February 23, 1861.
- ² *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, IV, p. 93.
- ³ These three were the Baltimore and Ohio; the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore; and the Northern Central Railroad.
- ⁴ *Maryland's Crisis, A Political Outline*, pp. 14-15. Richmond, 1863.
- ⁵ *Census of 1860*, Volume on Population, p. 215.
- ⁶ Fletcher Melvin Green, *Constitutional Development in The South Atlantic States, 1776-1860*, pp. 240-248, 272-287. Chapel Hill, 1930.
- ⁷ James Warner Harry, *Maryland Constitution of 1851*, p. 394. Baltimore, 1902.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 396.
- ⁹ These counties were Anne Arundel, Charles, Calvert, Kent, Montgomery, Prince George's Somerset and St. Mary's. See James Warner Harry, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-5, 463-4. The constitution was adopted by a vote of 29,025 for, and 18,616 against.
- ¹⁰ Article III, Section 43. See Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions*, III, p. 1726. Washington, 1909.
- ¹¹ The Eastern Shore in 1860 had a total of 24,957 slaves, or 28.6 per cent of the slave population. This was nearly one-sixth of the Eastern Shore's 145,128 population. Baltimore City had 21,610

THE OLD LINE STATE

- slaves, which was about one-tenth of the City's total population, and 24.6 per cent of the total slave population. Most of the slaves in Baltimore were house servants and could be replaced easily by free Negroes. *Census of 1860*, Volume on Population, p. 214.
- ²¹ Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland*, p. 487. New York, 1929.
- ²² Thomas Prentice Kettell, *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits, As Exhibited in Statistical Facts and Other Figures; Showing the Necessity of Union to The Future Prosperity and Welfare of The Republic*, p. 85. New York, 1860.
- ²³ The exact amount, \$108,000,000. *DeBow's Review*, XXVI, p. 323, 1859.
- ²⁴ Carl M. Frasure, "Union Sentiment in Maryland, 1859-1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, (Hereafter abbreviated *MHM*) XXIV, 217.
- ²⁵ *Baltimore Sun*, November 24, 1860.
- ²⁶ The most complete account of the background of the Civil War in Maryland is the partly unpublished doctoral dissertation of Charles Branch Clark (University of North Carolina Library). Chapters III-VII of this work, not published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (1941-1946) with other chapters, are entitled: "Politics of the Fifties and the Election of 1860"; "The Period of Indecision, November 6, 1860-March 4, 1861"; "Lincoln's Call for Troops and the Baltimore Riots"; "The Special Session of the State Legislature"; and "Federal Military Suppression of Maryland." These chapters are based upon all available sources. The outstanding published work for this early war period is George L. P. Radcliffe's *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War*, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XIX, Nos. 11-12. Baltimore, 1901.
- ²⁷ November 9, 1860.
- ²⁸ Quoted in *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D.C., November 29, 1860.
- ²⁹ See *Baltimore American*, November 13, 1860.
- ³⁰ *Maryland House Journal, 1861*, pp. 268, 274. Hicks later added that the arms were finding their way to the South; hence his order to have them collected.
- ³¹ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 Volumes, Government Printing Office, 1st Series, I, pp. 675, 139, 141-143; 1st Series, II, pp. 607, 638-639. Cited hereafter as *Official Records*. For interesting letters on turbulent days of April and May 1861 in Baltimore, see letters of General Isaac R. Trimble, with introduction by Charles McHenry Howard, in "Baltimore and the Crisis of 1861," *MHM* XLI, 257-281.
- ³² *Official Records*, 1st Series, II, p. 759.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 3rd Series, I, p. 463.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1st Series, V, pp. 192-197; 2nd Series, I, pp. 678-679.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1st Series, V, p. 197; *Baltimore American*, September 19, 20, 1861.
- ³⁶ A list was prepared of all members of the Extra Session of April 1861 and opposite each name was indicated the political inclination of the member. The letters "S.S.S.S." stood for a secessionist of the most violent type. Three S's, two, or one, indicated less violent secessionists. *Secret Correspondence Illustrating the Condition of Affairs in Maryland*, a pamphlet bound with *Maryland Pamphlets, 1861-1865*, III, pp. 24-26, 29-30, Peabody Library, Baltimore; *Maryland House Journal*, 1861, Extra Session.
- ³⁷ In addition to the aforementioned work of Charles B. Clark, see especially for newspaper suppression Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of the Baltimore Press During the Civil War," *MHM*, XXXVI, pp. 150-170.
- ³⁸ Charles B. Clark, "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War Period," *MHM*, XXXVII, pp. 171-192. (Chapters of the author's work which appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* have been bound and published in a single volume. Chestertown, Maryland, 1952.
- ³⁹ Governor Hicks had by this time definitely cast his lot with the Union, and apparently was one of those referred to here.
- ⁴⁰ Alexander Evans to Bradford, August 5, 1861, Bradford, *Mss.*, Maryland Historical Society Library. Quoted also in Clark, "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War," *MHM*, XXXVII, p. 380.
- ⁴¹ *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 614-615. The letter is dated October 7, 1861.
- ⁴² Banks to Brigadier-General Williams, Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, November 14, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 651-652. Among the towns to which Banks sent detachments of troops were Hagerstown, Funkstown, Sandy Hook, Petersville, Jefferson, Urbana, New Market, Buckeystown, Frederick City, Woodsborough, Myersville, Wolfesville, Emmitsburg, Mechanicstown, Wolfe's Tavern and Rockville.

THE CIVIL WAR

- ²⁴ *Official Records*, 2nd Series, I, 617.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 704.
- ²⁶ Bradford's inaugural address, January 8, 1862, *Bradford Mss.* Also printed in *Maryland Senate Documents*, 1861-1862, Doc. A.
- ²⁷ *Official Records*, 1st Series, I, 276.
- ²⁸ Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, III, "Diary," p. 85.
- ²⁹ George L. P. Radcliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 119; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, I, p. 448. 1861.
- ³⁰ *Laws of Maryland*, 1861-1862, Ch. 13. Passed January 4, 1862.
- ³¹ *Maryland Senate Journal*, 1861-1862, p. 44; *Maryland House Journal*, 1861-1862, pp. 92-93; *Laws of Maryland*, 1861-1862, Resolution No. 2.
- ³² *Laws of Maryland*, 1861-1862, pp. 332-334.
- ³³ *Maryland House Documents*, 1861-1862, Doc. B; *Baltimore American*, January 3, 1862; *Maryland News Sheet*, January 3, 1862.
- ³⁴ January 4, 1862. The editorial from which this is taken is entitled: "The Imperative Necessity of Vindicating The Position of Maryland."
- ³⁵ *Laws of Maryland*, 1862, Ch. 235, pp. 250-54.
- ³⁶ *History of Maryland*, III, 465-66. For an account of the Unionist domination in Maryland from 1861 forward, see Clark, *op. cit.* XXXVIII, pp. 230-260. 1943.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 242; S. S. McMaster of Newtown, Worcester County, to Governor Bradford, October 20, 1863, *Bradford Mss.*
- ³⁸ *Bradford Mss.*, October 22, 1863.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, October 20, 1863.
- ⁴⁰ *Official Records*, 1st Series, XXIX, part 2, p. 394; *Baltimore American*, November 2, 1863; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, p. 562.
- ⁴¹ *Official Records*, 1st Series, XXVII, part 3, pp. 437-438; Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VII, Document No. 86, pp. 328-329; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, III, 1863, p. 609.
- ⁴² *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, pp. 988-990; *Baltimore Sun*, November 4, 1863.
- ⁴³ *Maryland House and Senate Documents*, 1864, Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message. See also Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America During the Great Rebellion From November 6, 1860 to July 4, 1864*, p. 311. Washington, 1865. Governor Bradford, in explanation of his trouble with Schenck, prepared for the public a long statement, never issued, in which he said that as Tevis issued his order all the printers in the vicinity were arrested in order that no one could print a reply to it. *Bradford Mss.* The "Government Ticket" was printed on yellow paper to distinguish it from the others.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* See also *Baltimore American*, November 6, 10, 1863.
- ⁴⁵ *Maryland House and Senate Documents*, 1864, Doc. A.
- ⁴⁶ See Bradford's unpublished account of this affair. *Bradford Mss.* See also the account in the *Chestertown News*, leading organ of the Unionists in Kent County. It was reprinted in the *Sun*, November 9, 1863.
- ⁴⁷ Frazier was defeated by Hines by 800 votes for Clerk of the Court, but the rest of the "government ticket" was elected. *Sun*, November 9, 1863. *Maryland House and Senate Documents*, 1864, Doc. A.
- ⁴⁸ George Vickers to Bradford, November 8, 1863, *Executive Letter Book*, pp. 485-487. Vickers describes in details outrages committed in Queen Anne's County.
- ⁴⁹ November 5, 1863; *Baltimore Sun*, November 5, 1863.
- ⁵⁰ Clark, *op. cit.* XXXVIII, 256-258; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, III, p. 623; *Maryland House Documents*, 1864, Doc. A. Maryland had six representatives by the apportionment of 1850, which had still been in effect in the summer of 1861. However, apportionment on the basis of the *Census of 1860* cut Maryland to five representatives. This became effective in this 1863 election.
- ⁵¹ William Starr Myers, *Maryland Constitution of 1864*, JHU Studies, 1901, presents a full description of the convention proceedings. For the new Constitution see Thorpe, *op. cit.*, III, 1741-1779. The Eastern Shore opposed calling the Constitutional Convention by a vote of 6,898 to 6,512. The total vote for Maryland was 31,593 for and 19,524 against. The Eastern Shore also opposed adoption of the Constitution by a vote of 11,095 to 4,420, while the State as a whole was voting 30,174 for and 29,799 against. The Constitution was carried by the disputed soldier's vote which was 2,633 for and 263 against.

THE OLD LINE STATE

- ⁴⁴ Clark, *op. cit.*, XXXIX, pp. 149-161.
- ⁴⁵ *Baltimore American*, November 29, 1864. Election results are carried in this issue. The nomination of Lincoln and Johnson in Baltimore is well covered by William Frank Zornow, "The Union Party Convention at Baltimore in 1864," *MHM*, XLV, pp. 176-200.
- ⁴⁶ A. Leo Knott, *A Biographical Sketch*, p. 31.
- ⁴⁷ This act passed both houses by large votes on March 24. *Laws of Maryland*, 1865, Ch. 87, p. 136; Ch. 166, pp. 306-7.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch. 174, pp. 322-30. Passed March 24, 1865.
- ⁴⁹ See Bernard C. Steiner, *Citizenship and Suffrage in Maryland*, pp. 47-48.
- ⁵⁰ Myers, *Self-Reconstruction of Maryland*, J.H.U. Studies, XXVII, Nos. 1-2, 1909, p. 18 *et seq.*
- ⁵¹ *Laws of Maryland*, 1865, Ch. 124, pp. 187-89. Passed March 23, 1865. Poll were to be opened in each regiment or company at the quarters of the commanding officer.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, Ch. 191, p. 361. Passed March 24, 1865.
- ⁵³ *Maryland Senate Journal*, 1865, p. 247; *Maryland House Journal*, 1865, p. 39.
- ⁵⁴ For this story see Myers, *Self-Reconstruction of Maryland*.
- ⁵⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., Pt. 3, p. 2215.
- ⁵⁶ See for a detailed discussion Clark, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XL, pp. 295-309 and XLI, No. 2, pp. 132-158.
- ⁵⁷ *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, Jan. 27, 1863.
- ⁵⁸ *Official Records*, 2nd Series, III, pp. 470-71; 3rd Series, III, pp. 760-61, 767-68.
- ⁵⁹ *Bradford Mss.*, September 13, 14, 16, 1863; *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 7, 1863; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, p. 571.
- ⁶⁰ Stanton to Bradford Oct. 5, 1863; Bradford to Stanton, Oct. 8, 1863, *Executive Letter Book*, pp. 455-56.
- ⁶¹ *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, pp. 862, 881-82.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, 1st Series, XLIII, part 2, pp. 587-88; *Maryland Senate Documents*, 1865, Doc. J.; *Maryland Senate Journal*, 1865, pp. 385-86; *Maryland House Journal*, 1865, pp. 752-53.
- ⁶³ *Official Records*, 3rd Series, IV, 72-4, 1264-70; V, 744-45.
- ⁶⁴ Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of The War of Rebellion*, p. 12. Des Moines, 1908. The additional breakdown shows 647 dying as prisoners of war, 98 from accidents, and 168 from other causes except battle.
- ⁶⁵ *Confederate Veteran*, XVII, p. 22; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXXVII, 1909, p. 235; Edward McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
- ⁶⁶ *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 8, 1862; *Official Records*, 3rd Series, II, 537-38; *Bradford Diary*, Sept. 12, 1862; *Executive Letter Book*, pp. 335-6.
- ⁶⁷ *Official Records*, 3rd Series, II, 865-6.
- ⁶⁸ *Baltimore American*, September 13, 1862; Frank Moore, *op. cit.*, V, Diary, p. 75.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 78; *Baltimore Clipper*, Sept. 13, 1862; *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 27, 1862.
- ⁷¹ *Bradford Diary*, Sept. 29, 1862; *Baltimore American*, Oct. 1, 1862; McClellan to Bradford, Oct. 18, 1862, *Bradford Mss.*
- ⁷² *Official Records*, 3rd Series, III, 362.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1st Series, XXVII, Pt. 3, pp. 169-70, 3rd Series, III, pp. 492, 611, IV p. 1265; *Bradford Diary*, June 16, 22, 1863; *Baltimore Sun*, June 17, 1863; Moore, *op. cit.*, VII, Diary, p. 36, Documents No. 76, pp. 315-16. See Fletcher M. Green, "A People at War: Hagerstown, Maryland, June 15-August 31, 1863," *MHM*, XL, pp. 251-60. This is the edited diary of Miss Lutie Kealhofer, resident of Hagerstown, whose suitor and future husband was serving with the Confederate Army in the invasion.
- ⁷⁴ The Middle Department also included parts of Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Virginia.
- ⁷⁵ Moore, *op. cit.*, VII, Document No. 52, pp. 275-6.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Diary, pp. 6, 11, 14-15.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, III, 609; *Bradford Diary*, July 15, 1863; *Baltimore Sun*, July 16, 1863.
- ⁷⁸ See Myers, *Self-Reconstruction of Maryland*.
- ⁷⁹ Dr. Low is Professor of History at Maryland State College, Princess Anne, Maryland. Among

THE CIVIL WAR

other valuable contributions, he has published two articles of note on Maryland and Reconstruction. They are: "The Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Maryland," *MHM*, XLVII, 29-39, and "The Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights in Maryland," *The Journal of Negro History*, XXXVII, 221-47.

¹⁸ Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁹ "The Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Maryland," *loc. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-39.

²¹ Low, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights in Maryland," *loc. cit.*, p. 221.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 247.