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THE
"SOUTHERN RIGHTS"
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PREFACE.

WHILE the general questions at issue between the North and South, and the varying phases of the contest between the two great sections have been widely discussed, both at home and abroad, comparatively little has been said of the position of the people of the "Border States." The more momentous or more exciting incidents of the war have, in a great measure, absorbed the attention of the world. Moreover, the almost total subversion of their political institutions, and the enforced silence of a large proportion of their citizens, have made it difficult for persons at a distance to form an accurate idea of the real condition of things in those States. In addition to this, the Federal Government and its partisans have resorted, without shame or scruple, to the most scandalous and wilful misrepresentations, in order to destroy the power and credit of their opponents.

It is time that something more was said about the struggle made by the Southern men of the "Border States" for the preservation of their rights, and the means by which their adversaries have sought to disfranchise and enslave them. It

especially becomes the Southern men of Maryland, who have suffered so much, and have been traduced so shamelessly, to speak again in vindication of themselves and their cause. And it behooves them, moreover, to point out the marked contrast between their course and that of the Union men of the State—a contrast which reflects as much honor on the former as it does discredit on their opponents and oppressors. It is the object of these pages merely to throw together, in a cursory way, a few prominent facts, illustrative of the course of the two parties in this State. To this sad portion of the annals of Maryland, full justice will some day be done by the historian who shall tell the story of the Revolution in which the great Republic of the West went down.

BALTIMORE, January, 1863.

THE "SOUTHERN RIGHTS" PARTY.

In considering the aims and conduct of what was termed the "Southern Rights Party" in Maryland, it is necessary to a proper understanding of these, to advert briefly to the general views and feeling of the people of the State prior to Mr. Lincoln's election.

It is a well known fact that for some time before the Presidential election of 1860, many men in the South, and even in the North, were satisfied that a revolution was impending which would probably separate forever the two sections of the country. Though many others refused to accept this conclusion, they could not deny that the signs of the times seemed very significantly to foreshadow the end they so much dreaded.

The people of the South, though unwilling to abandon the Union, had for a long time regarded with feelings of alarm and indignation the growth of a spirit in the North, fiercely hostile to them and their institutions. The increasing frequency and bitterness of the assaults made upon them through the press, in the pulpit and on the hustings, satisfied them that interference with their rights would soon take a more practical shape. Nor were they without more definite grounds for this belief. Acts had been deliberately passed by the Legislatures of many States for the purpose of punishing Southern men who should venture to assert their rights in those States. A Governor of the most important of the Western States, had refused to surrender, on the demand of the Governor of Kentucky, a man who had been indicted in the latter State; and, this refusal was persisted in, notwithstanding the decision of the Supreme Court which determined that the Governor of Ohio was violating a plain constitutional obligation. A raid had been made into Virginia by a handful of fanatics, and although they failed to effect their objects, their endeavor was applauded in the most extravagant terms by thousands of the Northern people. Even in the Halls of Congress, speeches in which the most denunciatory and threatening language was used towards the South, were almost of weekly occurrence; and the endorsement of the infamous "Helper book" by a large proportion of the Northern representatives, showed how little the South could rely for justice on the fairness or good will of the Republican party. That party had, in the course of a few years, grown from a petty faction into an all powerful organization. With the increase of its numbers, the expansion of its political creed had kept pace. Its hostility towards the institutions of the South, and its determination to avail itself of the first pretext in order to assail them, became more and more manifest from year to year; and there was no longer room to doubt its ultimate purpose when it planted itself upon the Chicago Platform and nominated Abraham Lincoln. At that time, this

party was in the ascendant throughout the wealthiest and most populous portion of the country, and was strong enough to control the Electoral College, whose votes were to make the next President. But it is not necessary to adduce other instances to show how well grounded were the apprehensions of the people of the Southern States. That these misgivings were shared by the vast mass of the people of Maryland is indisputable. Even those of them who supported the policy of Mr. Lincoln after his inauguration, and who aided or approved his despotic proceedings in that State, had been as earnest as others in pointing out the wrongs and dangers of the South, and had constantly predicted that the ruin of the nation would follow upon the triumph of the Republican party. Innumerable extracts might be given in illustration of the fact, were it not so familiar as to be altogether beyond question: a few examples will suffice.

They will serve to show how the aggressions of the North were regarded by those who afterwards asserted that the popular movement in the South was a wanton rebellion, for which there was no shadow of excuse.

In March, 1858, Mr. Reverdy Johnson was invited to attend a meeting of the friends of the then Administration in Baltimore. In his letter responding to the invitation he said:

“The institution of Slavery, so inseparably connected with the very existence and honor of the Southern States—without which the most of them would soon be as desolate as the British Isles, one vast scene of ruin, visiting upon the other States a pecuniary loss, scarcely, if at all, less severe and destructive, and a political calamity in extent and consequences incalculable—is daily, hourly, made the topic of unfraternal, bitter, insulting reproach and invective. Every opprobrious epithet our language contains, and the industrious research of the demagogue can discover is, in this regard, heaped upon Southern citizens, who in every thing that imparts dignity to humanity—talents, attainments, patriotism, morality, religion—are more than their equals. * * * It was but the other day that a Senator from a Northern State, * * * in a speech carefully elaborated, and in print before spoken, desecrated the Senate Chamber by virtually threatening the South with early practical subjugation, hurling the bitterest anathemas at their system of labor, denouncing it as at war with the Declaration of Independence, repugnant to the instincts of humanity, and an outrage upon the laws of God. Never was there a more direct incentive to servile insurrection.”

In 1859, in a pamphlet written in reply to Judge Black, and entitled “Remarks on Popular Sovereignty,” Mr. Johnson said:

“The success of the Republicans will be a calamity, it is feared, beyond remedy, perpetual and fatal.”

In June, 1860, a few months before Mr. Lincoln's election, in a speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, he remarked:

“Distraction now is full of peril to this national party, this heretofore consistent, zealous, powerful friend of the South. On its defeat, the almost certain result of their dissensions, Republican ascendancy ensues; every branch of the Government will then, in a short interval, be under Republican control. And then where will the nation be? Where the South, on this great question of Southern rights? Wilmot Proviso, the abolition of slavery everywhere where it is maintained by that party, the power in Congress to abolish it exists, the prevention of what is called the domestic slave trade, and a supreme judiciary certain to affirm the constitutionality of such legislation. The Dred Scott decision,—what will be its authority then? it will be derided and trampled upon. All the security it justly throws around slave property will at the ear-

liest moment be torn away. And these things happening, what is to follow? As sure as Heaven's clouds of fire and tempest carry desolation in their train, so sure is it that this now peaceful and happy land will be shaken to its very foundations, and the Union, the glorious Union of our noble ancestors, an inheritance to us more precious than was ever conferred on a people, will be tumbled into ruins, and the fondest hopes of the human race blasted forever."

And in the preceding month he wrote a letter to the Chairman of a "Douglas Meeting" in New York, in which he deprecated any divisions in the Democratic party; and the most appalling consequence of such dissensions which his imagination could suggest, was the election to the Presidency of "the Republican, Lincoln, reeking with the grossest heresies of political abolitionism, the true author of the irreconcilable conflict."

Similar views were entertained by Governor Hicks. He had been not less decided than the party with which he acted in the State, in asserting that the rights of the South were seriously menaced; and this opinion he maintained down to the moment of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. On the 6th of December, 1860, in a letter to a gentleman of the State, he remarked in reference to the "Personal Liberty Bills" which had been passed by Northern Legislatures:

"These laws should be repealed at once, and the rights of the South guaranteed by the Constitution, should be respected and enforced. After allowing a reasonable time for action on the part of Northern States, if they shall neglect or refuse to observe the plain requirements of the Constitution, then, in my judgment, we shall be fully warranted in demanding a division of the country."

On the 9th of December, he stated his determination to use all his powers, to secure the rights of Maryland, "after full consultation and in fraternal concert, with the other Border States," and added:

"I am now in correspondence with the Governors of those States, and I await with solicitude for the indication of the course to be pursued by them. When this is made known to me I shall be ready to take such steps as our duty and interest shall demand, and I do not doubt the people of Maryland are ready to go with the people of those States for weal or woe."

He also said in an address to the people of the State, dated January 3d, 1861:

"Believing that the interests of Maryland were bound up with those of the Border Slaveholding States, I have been engaged, for months past, in a full interchange of views with the Governors of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, with a view to concerted action upon our part. These consultations, which are still in progress, I feel justified in saying, have resulted in good; so that when the proper time for action arrives, these sister States, bound up in a common destiny, will I trust, be prepared to act together."

In that address he stated his reasons for not calling the Legislature, and observed:

"If the action of the Legislature would be simply to declare that Maryland is with the South in sympathy and feeling—that she demands from the North a repeal of offensive and unconstitutional statutes; and appeals to it for new guarantees—that she will wait a reasonable time for the North to purge her statute books, and do justice to her Southern brethren, and, if her appeals are vain, will make common cause with her sister Border States in resistance to tyranny, if need be—they would be only saying what the whole country well

knows, and what may be said much more effectually by her people themselves in their meetings, than by a Legislature chosen eighteen months since, when none of these questions were raised before them. That Maryland is a conservative Southern State, all know who know anything of her people or her history."

Not only did Governor Hicks think that Maryland would "make common cause with her sister Border States in resistance to tyranny," but he was perfectly willing, immediately after Mr. Lincoln's election, to send to the States further South such arms as could not be used here. Mr. E. H. Webster, of Harford County, and then a member of Congress, had made or endorsed an application for arms for a Militia Company in his County. In a letter to him dated the 9th of November, 1860, Governor Hicks said "We expect at an early day an additional supply, and, of the first received, your people shall be furnished. Will they be good men to send out to kill Lincoln and his men? If not, suppose the arms would be better sent South." Certainly Governor Hicks thought the South had grievances to be redressed.

The Baltimore *American*, whose opinions, dishonest and unstable as they usually were, were nevertheless always in accordance with what it supposed to be the popular feeling in the State, spoke constantly in the same tone and to the same effect. It was afterwards the leading organ of the Union party.

Now the language above referred to, was that of men who voted against Mr. Breckenridge; and who, after his accession to power, supported the usurpations of Mr. Lincoln. When such men so spoke, the feeling of the mass of the people of Maryland, can be readily inferred.

But while they thus sympathized with their brethren of the South, and resented the aggressive attitude which the North had assumed, nine-tenths of the people of the State hoped and labored up to the last moment, for the preservation of the Union. They deplored the action of South Carolina, which, at the time, seemed to them unduly precipitate, and with an unexampled unanimity they urged the Northern people to offer or accept some compromise which would provide further guarantees for the rights of the South. But the representatives of the North rejected all overtures. In Congress they defeated propositions which they knew would satisfy the South, and they pertinaciously prevented the "Peace Conference" from arriving at any result. All this was productive of bitter disappointment to all parties in Maryland. The Union men, as they afterwards called themselves, were as zealous as any others in insisting on such legislation as would raise new barriers between the South and its assailants. Governor Hicks in an interview at Washington with Governor Morehead, of Kentucky, a member of the "Peace Conference," said to the latter, just before the "Conference" finally adjourned, that, unless the North offered the Crittenden Compromise or its equivalent to the South, he would go back to Maryland and urge her people to espouse the cause of the South.

Such was the state of feeling in Maryland when Mr. Lincoln took his seat as President. At that time, seven States had withdrawn from the Union, but the other Southern States still remained in the old Confederacy, and still hoped that the new President would pursue such a course as would not only satisfy their people but induce those of the seceded States to resume their former places. They were again doomed to disappoint-

ment. Mr. Lincoln had before his election avowed his purpose to disregard a decision of the Supreme Court adjudicating an important question of constitutional law. Having taken this ground, upon what the South regarded as a vital point, the "Border States" had every reason to fear that he might on all other occasions interpret the Constitution for himself, or ignore it altogether. That the spirit with which he went into office had not changed since the time when he had thus repudiated the law of the land, was soon made manifest. He had shown in the speeches which he made on his way to Washington, that he utterly failed to comprehend, or was absolutely indifferent to the danger that menaced the nation. He immediately appointed as members of his Cabinet, and as Diplomatic and Consular representatives of the country, men who had not only expressed for years the most rancorous hostility towards the Southern people, but of whom many had avowed their determination to interfere with the institutions of that section whenever opportunity might offer. Wm. H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Montgomery Blair, Joshua R. Giddings, James S. Pike, Jas. E. Harvey, Carl Schurz, Robert Dale Owen, Cassius M. Clay, Thos. Corwin and Anson Burlingame were among those selected as his advisers at home or agents abroad.

Such being Mr. Lincoln's antecedents, what, when he had obtained control of the Army, Navy, Treasury, Post Office, and to a certain extent of the Judiciary, might not the "Border States" expect? Their people felt that he might, and probably would make a show of conforming for a time to the Constitution; but should they acquiesce in the then position of affairs, the whole North, which gave his party so large a vote in 1860, would, they they thought, be certain in 1862, to send large Republican delegations to Congress—that he would by that time have garrisoned the Forts and filled the offices in the South with his creatures—and that in such case the fate of all the Southern States would be well nigh sealed. It was clear that he believed, with his party, that a large proportion of the non-slaveholding people of the South were friendly to his views, and that another portion was so wedded to the "Union," as to be willing to sacrifice all things else to maintain it, and he supposed he could carry out successfully the principles of his party. His subsequent course proved how lightly he regarded his constitutional obligations, and it is fair to presume that he would not have permitted these to stand between him and the consummation of his hopes. It is not then to be wondered at that a majority of the people of Maryland not only watched Mr. Lincoln's course with painful anxiety, but began to think that the action of South Carolina had been wisely taken as the only measure of self-defence left her. Many, however, still clung to the hope that the Union might yet survive.

It became very evident, a few weeks after his inauguration that Mr. Lincoln had no intention of making any compromise with, or of trying to conciliate the South, and that the latter was, under such circumstances determined to maintain its position by an appeal to arms. He had one of two courses to pursue. If he believed, as he asserted, that the uprising in the South was nothing more than a local insurrection in each of the seceded States, to which the great mass of the people in each was utterly opposed, he could have sent into each of those States a military force large enough to protect the officers of the Federal Courts and to enable them to discharge their duties. He could then, if his view of the "rebel-

lion" was a correct one, have brought the guilty parties to justice by due process of law. This was the case provided for by the Act of Congress under which he professed to act. If on the other hand he was satisfied that the Southern people had inaugurated a Revolution which he thought should be resisted, and resistance to which would involve a war between the two sections of the country, it was then his duty to consult the representatives of the country before he resorted to coercive measures and initiated a war against the people of eight or nine populous and powerful States. Certainly the people of those States which remained under his jurisdiction and who would have to fight the battles and bear the taxes consequent upon such a struggle, had the right to be consulted as to whether they would re-model their Constitution, or become parties to the stupendous war that was impending. But Mr. Lincoln pursued neither of these courses. He did not think the Southern people were really united and in earnest, and he supposed that whatever might be their determination, the force he could array against them would speedily reduce them to unconditional submission. Backed, therefore, by the Republican party which controlled the resources of the North as well as public opinion in that section, he resolved to "crush the rebellion" after his own high-handed fashion. This he did, regardless alike of the rights or interests of the South, of the wishes of a large portion of the people of the North, and of the laws he was sworn to obey.

On the 15th of April, some six weeks after his inauguration, he issued a proclamation calling on the militia of the several States to the number of seventy-five thousand. He at the same time convened an extraordinary session of Congress designating the 4th of July as the day on which it should assemble. It was clear that he did not desire the advice or interference of Congress until he had given to events the direction he was determined they should take. On the 15th of April he issued another Proclamation announcing that the Ports of seven States were to be regarded as blockaded, and declaring his purpose to send an adequate force to prevent the "entrance and exit of vessels from the Ports aforesaid."

These violations of his Constitutional powers, and the disingenuous and arrogant manner in which he dealt with the Commissioners from the Virginia Convention, satisfied the people of that State that he would not approach the questions before him in a spirit of practical and conciliating statesmanship, but that he was preparing to settle them by an unscrupulous and arbitrary resort to brute force. Virginia and North Carolina then seceded.

A large majority—certainly a very large proportion of the people of Maryland, agreed upon all points with the people of Virginia. That party in the former State which more earnestly sympathized with the Southern people, and unqualifiedly recognized the justice of their cause, had for months urged the Governor to call the Legislature together that it might deliberate upon the position of affairs, adopt measures to protect the interests and honor of the State, and also designate the mode in which the sense of her people might be taken in regard to their future course. Governor Hicks, however, had steadily refused to convene the Legislature. This loyal gentleman, who has since been so ardent a "coercionist," and who has sacrificed himself to the Union cause by accepting a seat in the

United States Senate, at that time urged that the State should maintain a neutral attitude.

Such was the condition of things in Maryland up to the 19th of April, 1861. On that day a Massachusetts Regiment arrived at Baltimore on its way to Washington, under the President's call of the 15th. The people were at that time greatly exasperated against the Administration. They had not been permitted to express their opinions through their representatives upon the grave questions that affected them so nearly. They knew that they had not been fairly dealt with by their own Governor and his advisers; and they felt, moreover, that their rights and liberties were then at the mercy of a President who was ready to sacrifice them to advance the ends of a fanatical sectional party.

The Massachusetts troops therefore, met, when they reached Baltimore, with anything but a cordial greeting. Groans and hisses broke from the crowds which gathered to see them pass, and finally an attack was made upon them. In the riot which ensued, the soldiers fired at random as they ran, and three soldiers and twelve citizens were killed, and nine soldiers and three citizens were wounded. The assault was an unpremeditated one, and the authorities did all in their power to preserve the peace. The Police Commissioners had not only been unable to obtain any information in regard to the precise time at which the troops were expected to reach Baltimore, but there is every reason to believe that such information was designedly withheld. But they were not the less energetic in their efforts to protect the troops. Whatever might have been their opinions upon the momentous questions of the day, they were determined to discharge the duties imposed upon them by the laws of Maryland, and they did so faithfully. The police had been on duty in force the previous day and evening, awaiting the arrival of these very troops. When the latter reached Baltimore at an unexpected hour, the police were sent to the Camden Street Depot, where most of the soldiers were assembled. It was not known to Marshal Kane that another detachment was on its march through the City, until he received information that it was then being attacked about half a mile from where he was stationed. He instantly marched a police force to the place, and as he met the retreating soldiers, he formed his men, with their revolvers in hand, across the street between the troops and their assailants. The police of Baltimore that day saved the soldiers from extermination. No one doubted the good faith and efficiency of the authorities. The evidence on this point is conclusive. Governor Hicks, in his message to the Legislature, dated April 25th, said: "the Mayor and Police Board gave to the Massachusetts soldiers all the protection they could afford, acting with the utmost promptness and bravery."

Mr. Lincoln, at an interview between him and the Mayor and other gentlemen of Baltimore, on the 22d of April, "*recognized the good faith of the City and State authorities.*"

Captain Dike, one of the Massachusetts officers who was wounded on the occasion, published the following card in the Boston Courier :

"BALTIMORE, April 25, 1861.

"It is but an act of justice that induces me to say to my friends who may feel any interest, and to the community generally, that in the affair which occurred in this city on Friday, the 19th instant, *the Mayor and city authorities should*

be exonerated from blame or censure, as they did all in their power, as far as my knowledge extends, to quell the riot, and Mayor Brown attested the sincerity of his desire to preserve the peace, and pass our regiment safely through the city, by marching at the head of its column, and remaining there at the risk of his life.

“Candor could not permit me to say less, and a desire to place the conduct of the authorities here, on the occasion, in a right position, as well as to allay feelings, urges me to this act of sheer justice.

“JOHN H. DIKE,

“*Capt. Co. C. 7th Reg., attached to 6th Reg. Mass., V. M.*”

Colonel Jones, who was in command of the Regiment on the 19th of April, wrote to Marshal Kane, ten days afterwards, and said in concluding his letter, “many thanks for the Christian conduct of the authorities of Baltimore in this truly unfortunate affair.”

The affair of the 19th of April, naturally produced intense excitement in the community; and though the feeling against the Administration and the North was very general, almost all citizens regretted the collision that had taken place.

But the feeling of the people of Baltimore was changed from one of mere excitement to one of stern determination, when they heard on the night of the 19th, and on the following morning that other Northern Regiments, then on the way to Baltimore, were loud in their threats of vengeance against the people of the City. These troops were approaching Baltimore from the North and the East, and thousands of them were within twenty-five or thirty miles of it. Information was also received by the telegraph, that the most vindictive feeling against the whole population of Baltimore had been aroused in the Northern cities, and that numerous bodies of men were organizing for the avowed purpose of marching, on their own responsibility, to inflict punishment upon our people. The Northern papers, too, were filled with the most savage denunciations and brutal threats. The majority of our citizens, apart from their sympathy with the South, knew that the evasive Proclamation under which the troops had been summoned to Washington, was in violation of the Constitution, and that as a matter of law, the State of Maryland had the right to resist, if she pleased, the march of such an army through Maryland. But, however much some men might have dissented from this view, all were united in the resolution not to accept at the hands of Northern regiments, the punishment with which they indiscriminately threatened Baltimore. It is not necessary at this time to enter upon a narrative of the events of the succeeding days. A few facts will suffice to show that almost the whole population of the State and City was united upon that occasion. The men who had most strongly sympathized with the South, and who, as the preceding Presidential Election had shown, were largely in the majority in the City, were of course prepared to oppose all the illegal measures of the Administration, and all attempts on the part of Northern soldiers to regulate matters in Maryland. But this feeling was not confined to one political organization. It was almost universal. The fact is notorious; as a few references to the course pursued by those who had been most prominently opposed to the election of Mr. Breckenridge and the revolution in the South, will show. On the afternoon of the 19th of April, a town-meeting was held, at which Governor Hicks appeared, and in the course of his remarks, he said that “he was a Marylander and would

sooner have his right arm cut off than raise it against a sister Southern State." On the same evening, the following editorial article appeared in the *American* newspaper :

"LET US UNITE.

"The results of this morning must determine the position of all men. We must agree, first: to secure the re-establishment of harmony among ourselves, and all then join in whatever measures may be determined upon. Whatever differences may have or do yet exist, the blood of our citizens shed in our streets is an irresistible appeal to us all to unite as Marylanders, to meet firmly and together the responsibilities clustering thickly about us.

"There can be no difficulty now in the Governor, the Mayor and the Police authorities from together concerting those measures which are necessary to the public safety. Let us first seek unity among ourselves, and then act. In such a crisis as this, all other considerations must give way to our duty towards one another and to the State and City."

On that night, the Mayor and Police Commissioners determined, Governor Hicks consenting, to burn the bridges on the "Philadelphia and Wilmington" and the "Northern Central" Rail Roads. The citizens also turned out *en masse* with arms in their hands, and began to enrol themselves in companies, and the Police Commissioners thought it the wisest, as indeed it was their only course, to assume command of these volunteer organizations. The action of the Police Board was subsequently explained by them in their report to the Legislature, from which the following is an extract:

"The absolute necessity of the measures thus determined upon by the Governor, Mayor and Police Board, is fully illustrated by the fact, that early on Sunday morning, reliable information reached the City, of the presence of a large body of Pennsylvania troops amounting to about twenty-four hundred men, who had reached Ashland near Cockeysville, by the way of the Northern Central Rail Road, and were stopped in their progress towards Baltimore, by the partial destruction of the Ashland Bridge. Every intelligent citizen at all acquainted with the state of feeling then existing, must be satisfied, that if these troops had attempted to march through the City, an immense loss of life would have ensued, in the conflict which would necessarily have taken place. The bitter feelings already engendered, would have been intensely increased by such a conflict: all attempts at conciliation would have been vain, and terrible destruction would have been the consequence, if as is certain, other bodies of troops had insisted upon forcing their way through the City.

"The tone of the whole of the Northern press, and of the mass of the population, was violent in the extreme. Incursions upon our City were daily threatened, not only by troops in the service of the Federal Government, but by the vilest and most reckless desperadoes, acting independently, and, as they threatened, in despite of the Government, backed by well known influential citizens, and sworn to the commission of all kinds of excesses. In short, every possible effort was made to alarm this community. In this condition of things, the Board felt it to be their solemn duty to continue the organization which had already been commenced, for the purpose of assuring the people of Baltimore that no effort would be spared to protect all within its borders to the full extent of their ability. All the means employed were devoted to this end, and with no view of producing a collision with the General Government, which the Board were particularly anxious to avoid, and an arrangement was happily effected by the Mayor with the General Government that no troops should be passed through the City."

The proceedings of the State and Municipal authorities were heartily sustained by the community. On the morning of the 20th, the City Coun-

cil passed an ordinance appropriating the sum of five hundred thousand dollars "to be expended under the direction of the Mayor," "for the purpose of putting the City in a complete state of defence against any description of danger arising, or which may arise out of the present crisis." The ordinance passed both Branches of the Council unanimously. A few hours after the City Council had taken this action, Messrs. Columbus O'Donnell, Johns Hopkins and John Clarke, as a Committee on the part of the Banks of the City, waited on the Mayor and informed him that they were authorized to advance the sum voted by the City Council for the purpose designated. Mr. O'Donnell, as spokesman of the Committee, expressed his gratification at being the medium through which the tender of this loan to the City was offered. On the same afternoon, the *American* put forth another appeal to the people, as follows:

"PREPARATION AND ORGANIZATION.

"It is no longer a time to discuss, but to act so as to direct them. We have through our constituted authorities declared that the Northern troops shall not be passed through our City, and that declaration must now be supported with determination, energy and unanimity. There must be preparation, organization and good counsel. To prevent the passage of these troops they should be met beyond the limits of the City by such an organized force as will make the prohibition effectual. We must keep the war away from our homes, if possible. The facts stated elsewhere show what measures have already been taken to secure these ends."

In the same article it referred to the specific measures which had been taken to place the City in a state of defence, all of which it evidently approved. It said:

"The bridges on the Philadelphia and Northern Central Rail Roads have been destroyed by order of the Mayor. This will prevent the attempt to suddenly precipitate any large bodies of troops upon us, and give time for preparation."

It is true that the *American* in an article written in January, 1863, when Mr. Lincoln still exercised absolute sway over Maryland, strenuously asserted that its own course upon the 19th and 20th of April, 1861, was altogether a dishonest one. It assured its readers that when it had apparently approved the action of the authorities and people, it was playing them false in the hope of luring them to destruction; and that the gentlemen who, on the part of the Banks, had offered money to the Mayor, were animated by motives little creditable to men of integrity or courage. The *American* will probably be believed by most people when it asseverates its own baseness on any specific occasion. But the evidence in this case, strange to say, will not sustain its statement. It is pretty certain that the language which the *American* now says was used for the purpose of deceiving the public really meant what it professed to mean, and that the duplicity of which it desires to stand convicted, is to be found in its article of January 7th, 1863, and not in those of April 19th and 20th, 1861.

The *Baltimore County American*, which then was, and afterwards again became, a violent Union paper, published an "Extra" on the afternoon of the 20th, in which it said:

“Civil war is in our midst. A riot has occurred between soldiers from the North and the citizens of Baltimore, and unarmed men have fallen beneath the musket shots of soldiers from another State. We have stood long by the UNION FLAG—we have contended thus far beneath its folds, but now we must coincide with Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown, as well as with the sentiment of the people of the entire State, in saying that Northern troops shall not pass unharmed through the State of Maryland for the purpose of subjugating the South. Northern troops are now, it is said, marching to Washington intending to *force* themselves through Maryland, and we can but say to our people, respond to the call issued by the Governor, and defend your State.”

At this time a few gentlemen, acting simply upon their own responsibility, undertook to obtain subscriptions among the merchants in their immediate neighborhood to be devoted to the purchase of arms, or placing the City, otherwise, in a defensible position. Among the firms that subscribed and paid one hundred dollars each, were Messrs. Benner, Dennison & Co.; Isaac Coale, Jr. & Bro., Turnbull, Slade & Co.; Mills, Mayhew & Co.; Cushing & Bailey; John Turnbull, Jr.; F. Fickey & Sons; Rice, Chase & Co. A memorandum was annexed to the signature of the last named firm as follows: “with the hope that the above arms may be placed in the hands of the Police Commissioners for distribution.” Many other Union men were also subscribers. When it is remembered that the gentlemen composing the Committee from the Banks, and those belonging to the above named firms, and the editors of the newspapers referred to were recognized shortly afterwards as among the most violent partisans of Mr. Lincoln, it is not reasonable to suppose that there was much division of sentiment in Baltimore on and immediately after the 19th of April.

It is equally capable of proof that though the people were thus united, no violence was, with a solitary exception, done to the few whose opinions differed radically from those of the mass of the community. Men who were known always to have been strenuous supporters of Mr. Lincoln, and to have sympathized warmly with the most extreme politicians of the North, walked the streets unmolested. One individual's house was invaded by a self constituted military company, and in spite of the efforts of the policemen present, he was assaulted. But the leader of the party was arrested within a few hours by the police, and subsequently tried and punished. The people of Baltimore, though bent upon vindicating their own rights, did not then, or afterwards, desire or attempt to compel any citizen to forego his political opinions.

On the 22d of April, Governor Hicks issued a Proclamation, convening a special session of the Legislature. It became necessary to elect delegates from Baltimore City, and the “State Rights’ Convention” nominated ten gentlemen of high character and ability. There was no opposition to their election. The gentlemen thus elected had been recognized for months preceding, as among the most earnest and efficient advocates of the rights of the South. But they also, like the large majority of their fellow-citizens, had been ardently desirous of the preservation of the Union. Their views were those which had been expressed during the previous winter by various “Conferences” and “Conventions” which had been held in Baltimore, and in which many of them had participated. At a meeting held on the 11th of January, 1861, at which representatives of the different Counties of the State were present, the following resolutions were among those unanimously adopted:

Resolved, As the opinion of this Conference, that Maryland is this day, as she ever has been, true to the American Union; that she will exert all her influence for its peaceful preservation, and that in her efforts to that end, she will rely upon the wisdom and patriotism of her tried and faithful sons, and upon an all-wise and overruling Providence.

Resolved, That the people of Maryland are deeply impressed with the dangers which are threatening the Union, and have an abiding confidence that there is nothing in the grave questions at issue which is not susceptible of adjustment by fair constitutional compromise; and it is the opinion of this meeting that the people of Maryland will accept the proposed constitutional and legislative guarantees known as the Crittenden compromise, as a fair and proper settlement of the fatal controversy which is now distracting the republic.

At a meeting of the "Southern Rights Convention" in Baltimore on the 19th of February, an address was adopted from which the following extracts are taken:

It is untrue, therefore, that the Southern Rights men of Maryland desired the election of a Sovereign Convention, in order that they might carry Maryland out of the Union. Their earnest purpose, on the contrary, was to prevent secession and disunion, by a formidable movement to obtain such a settlement as could alone preserve the Union, and failing in that, then to avert the calamities of fratricidal war by a peaceable separation. * * * *
All that we ask, all that we shall demand and insist upon is, that the people of Maryland may settle at the ballot box these great issues, which no other power on earth has the right to decide for them.

Thus the men who at that time sympathised with the Southern cause, were laboring for the preservation of the Union. They were urging upon Congress and the Northern people the necessity of resorting to compromising rather than coercive measures, and they simply asked that the people of Maryland should be afforded an opportunity to take counsel together, and that in case of a dissolution of the Union, the State should be permitted to exercise her undoubted rights in determining her future political position.

On the 26th of April, Annapolis being then occupied by Federal troops, the Legislature met at Frederick, in pursuance of a Proclamation of Governor Hicks, who being, as he said, "desirous of the safety and comfort of the members of the Legislature," had changed their place of meeting. At the time when the Legislature assembled, it was the general desire of its members and of the public, that the sense of the people should be taken in regard to the course that the State should pursue in so grave an emergency. The calling of a popular Convention was the object that a large majority had in view. Governor Hicks, in his message to the Legislature, dated the 25th of April, while recognizing the fact that the State of Maryland had some sovereign rights, gave no evidence of a disposition to do battle for the Union, but advised that she should preserve "a neutral position" between the two sections.

On the 3d of May, only a week after the Legislature met, Mr. Lincoln issued a Proclamation, calling out forty-two thousand volunteers for three years service, and directing the Regular Army to be increased by the enlistment of twenty-two thousand and seven hundred additional men, and the Navy to be increased by the enlistment of eighteen thousand additional seamen. That this Proclamation was in flagrant violation of the Constitution, no man North or South could doubt.

The proposition to call a Sovereign Convention having been referred in the Legislature to the Committee on "Federal Relations," the Committee, through its Chairman, Mr. Wallis, reported adversely to it on the 9th of May. After discussing the manifest violations of the Constitution of which Mr. Lincoln had been guilty, the Committee referred to the question immediately before it, and spoke thus of the then situation of Maryland:

"A State of the Union, held to the obligations of that relation, and having never through her constituted authorities pretended to repudiate or abjure them, she is treated as a conquered enemy. Her soil is occupied; her property and that of her citizens are sequestered; her public highways are seized and obstructed; her laws are suspended; her capital is converted into a military post; her Legislature is compelled, in the language of her Executive, to consult its "safety" by holding its sessions at a distance from her offices and archives; troops are quartered around the peaceful homesteads of her people; her citizens are subjected to the illegal and arbitrary violence of military arrest and confinement; her very freedom, in fine, all that distinguished her from a Neapolitan province, before Naples was liberated, is under the armed heel of the Government. That such a fate is imposed upon her, without constitutional authority; that indeed no respect to the Constitution is even pretended in her regard; the frank admission of the Federal authorities to the Commissioners recently accredited to them by this Legislature, renders a mortifying and almost intolerable certainty. * * * * * It does not become the dignity of the State of Maryland to attempt the performance of an act of sovereignty, absolute or qualified, at a moment when not only her sovereignty but her Federal equality is subordinated to the law of the drum-head. No election, held at such a time and with such surroundings, could by possibility be fair or free. No result which could be reached by it would command the confidence or secure the willing obedience of the people. The Committee therefore feel it their duty to recommend the postponement of the subject for the present."

After this time the continued occupation of the whole State by an overwhelming force, acting under the orders of Mr. Lincoln, rendered it absolutely impossible for the Legislature to take any action looking to the due maintenance of the rights and interests of Maryland. That body therefore adjourned from time to time, and could only, at its different sessions, protest against the wrongs done its constituents, and denounce the despotism which had superseded the laws and Constitution. But the Legislature did not, as has been falsely charged, contemplate taking any action save such as was clearly within the sphere of its duty and its delegated powers. It has been alleged over and over again, by persons who were not particularly scrupulous about the truth or falsity of their statements, that the Legislature contemplated passing an ordinance of Secession in utter disregard of the laws or Constitution of the State, and of the rights of a portion of its people. Though not a tittle of evidence ever has been or can be offered to sustain the charge, it may be as well to quote the report of the Committee to whom was referred a petition from two hundred and sixteen voters of Prince George's County, praying the "Legislature, if in its judgment it possessed the power, to pass an Ordinance of Secession without delay." The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Wallis, reported on the very same morning adversely to the petition, saying that, in the judgment of the Committee, the Legislature did not possess the power to pass such an Ordinance. The report was adopted by a vote of fifty-three to thirteen. That question was thus set at rest, and was never again mooted.

It has been, moreover, said that the Legislature intended to pass a bill entitled "An act to provide for the Safety and Peace of the people of Maryland," which was presented in the Senate and passed in secret session, to a second reading. This statement also is wholly unfounded. The Bill provided for the appointment of a "Board of Public Safety," and named six leading citizens of the State as its members. This Board was to provide for the arming and organization of the militia, and was to report to the Legislature until a Sovereign Convention was elected. The Bill was introduced in the Senate on the first of May, and was hastily passed to a second reading, simply because of a misunderstanding as to its origin and purport on the part of a majority of the Senators, and of misrepresentations on the part of some who were favorable to it. But few of the Senators had any knowledge of the existence of such a Bill before it was read in the Senate; and scarcely any of the Members of the other House had heard of it until it had passed to its second reading in the Senate. Only one member of the Baltimore City delegation had any knowledge of it up to that moment, and he had objected to it, and had in vain sought to procure a copy of it. When its character became known to some of the delegates of the lower House, they went into the Senate Chamber and protested against the measure, and convinced a number of Senators that they were acting under a serious misunderstanding. It became evident that the Bill could not, under the circumstances, get a majority in the Senate, and those who had been supporting it, suffered it to be re-committed on the morning of the fourth, and that was the last that was ever heard of it. It is a notorious fact, that if the measure had passed the Senate, it would have been rejected in the other House by a majority of seven or eight out of every ten votes.

The history of that session of the Legislature will constitute a brilliant page in the history of the State. No men have ever assembled in her Legislative halls who more manfully struggled for the rights of their constituents or who manifested less disposition to use power for the oppression of their opponents. But they did not hesitate to express their convictions upon the grave issues with which they were face to face. Early in May, 1861, they adopted resolutions which neither they nor their constituents need ever be ashamed to re-read. They said:

"WHEREAS, In the judgment of the General Assembly of Maryland, the war now waged by the Government of the United States upon the people of the Confederate States, is unconstitutional in its origin, purposes and conduct; repugnant to civilization and sound policy; subversive of the free principles upon which the Federal Union was founded, and certain to result in the hopeless and bloody overthrow of our existing institutions; and,

"WHEREAS, The people of Maryland, while recognizing the obligation of their State, as a member of the Union, to submit in good faith to the exercise of all the legal and constitutional powers of the General Government, and to join as one man in fighting its authorized battles, do reverence, nevertheless, the great American principle of self-government, and sympathize deeply with their Southern brethren in their noble and manly determination to uphold the same; and,

"WHEREAS, Not merely on their own account and to turn away from their own soil the calamities of civil war, but for the blessed sake of humanity, and to avoid the wanton shedding of fraternal blood, in a miserable contest which can bring nothing with it but sorrow, shame and desolation, the people of

Maryland are enlisted, with their whole hearts, on the side of reconciliation and peace; now, therefore, it is hereby

“Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the State of Maryland owes it to her own self-respect and her respect for the Constitution, not less than to her deepest and most honorable sympathies, to register this, her solemn protest, against the war which the Federal Government has declared upon the Confederate States of the South, and our sister and neighbor Virginia, and to announce her resolute determination to have no part or lot, directly or indirectly, in its prosecution.

“Resolved, That the State of Maryland earnestly and anxiously desires the restoration of peace between the belligerent sections of the country; and the President, authorities, and people of the Confederate States, having, over and over again, officially and unofficially, declared that they seek only peace and self-defence, and to be let alone, and that they are willing to throw down the sword, the instant that the sword now drawn against them shall be sheathed, the Senators and Delegates of Maryland do beseech and implore the President of the United States to accept the olive branch which is thus held out to him; and in the name of God and humanity, to cease this unholy and most wretched and unprofitable strife, at least until the assembling of Congress in Washington shall have given time for the prevalence of cooler and better counsels.

“Resolved, That the State of Maryland desires the peaceful and immediate recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, and hereby gives her cordial assent thereunto, as a member of the Union: entertaining the profound conviction that the willing return of the Southern people to their former Federal relations is a thing beyond hope, and that the attempt to coerce them will only add slaughter and hate to impossibility.

“Resolved, That the present military occupation of Maryland, being for purposes, in the opinion of this Legislature, in flagrant violation of the Constitution, the General Assembly of the State, in the name of her people, does hereby protest against the same, and against the oppressive restrictions and illegalities with which it is attended; calling upon all good citizens, at the same time, in the most earnest and authoritative manner, to abstain from all violent and unlawful interference, of every sort; with the troops in transit through our territory or quartered among us, and patiently and peacefully to leave to time and reason the ultimate and certain re-establishment and vindication of the right.”

Such were the views of the “Southern Rights” men of Maryland. There was nothing treasonable in such language then, nor is there now, notwithstanding all that Mr. Lincoln and his obsequious followers may say to the contrary. And it would have been well for him and for his country had he hearkened to the brave words of remonstrance and warning then so eloquently uttered. The blood that has since reddened the land would not now have been upon the heads of him and his.

The Legislature and the people for whom it spoke, knew that it was their undoubted privilege to canvas at all times the policy and principles of the Federal Government—nay, even to advocate, if they so pleased, a change in the form of Government itself. They knew they had the same right to oppose a war for which they were to be taxed and drafted, that Mr Lincoln and his partisans had to wage it; and they knew, moreover, that they might lawfully resist all such measures of the Federal Government as were clearly in violation of the Constitution. They exercised merely the privileges to which they had been born, and which they had been taught to believe were immutably secured to them by the form of Government under which they lived. Upon these principles they acted, but they acted fairly. While advocating their own views, they desired that the people of Maryland should be permitted to speak freely. As they

resented the subjugation of the State by Northern troops, so they would never have consented that it should belong to the Southern Confederacy by right of conquest.

But, for expressing these opinions, the Legislature was finally suppressed by the arrest of many of its leading members, in September, 1861, just as it was about again to assemble. With its suppression, closed for a time the public record of the party which it more particularly represented. That record has stood, and can stand the test of the most malignant criticism. That there were some extreme men connected with that party, who, more than once, were the advocates of extreme measures, was true of it, as of all the political organizations that ever existed, but they were few and wholly powerless. The fact that the "Southern Rights" party, while defending the liberties of Maryland and of the South, never sought to trench upon the rights of what it believed to be a small minority of the people of the State, is indisputable. Let its course be contrasted with that of its opponents.

THE "UNION" PARTY.

Within a month after the 19th of April, 1861, the State of Maryland was occupied by Federal troops, in such force as to render freedom of action on the part of her people an impossibility. Her rivers, roads and railways were occupied by the Federal fleets and armies; her chief cities were commanded by forts and gunboats, and the legions of the North were daily swarming in overwhelming numbers across her borders. Then the "Union party" began to gather strength and grow vociferous. It clamored for war, and denounced as "disloyal" all who opposed the coercive measures of the Administration. Men who had for years, and up to a recent date, predicted that the aggressions of the Northern people, and the possible ascendancy of the Republican party, would drive the Southern States out of the Union, suddenly found that the secession of those States was a "causeless" rebellion, instigated by a few ambitious politicians. Capitalists who had offered money for the purchase of arms with which to resist the Northern troops after the 19th of April, discovered that the very measures of the Municipal authorities, which at that time they themselves had applauded, were heinous acts of treason. The *American* not only tried to convince itself that its articles of the 19th and 20th of April were written in a spirit friendly to Mr. Lincoln, but tried to convince other people that its editors had then risked life and property in resisting the popular outbreak. But the Federal Government manifested, day after day, a more significant determination to resort to arbitrary measures to suppress all opposition, and its power to enforce its decrees, became more and more obvious; and the Union party increased in numbers and in patriotic devotion to the Federal Government. The Federal bayonets were at their command, and their will was to be thenceforth the standard of law and duty to the people of Maryland.

On the 27th of June, the Marshal of Police was arrested and taken to Fort McHenry. A "Provost Marshal" was, on the same day, appointed by General Banks and directed to take charge of the Police force. The Police Commissioners were summarily seized on the morning of July 1st, and at once sent to Fort McHenry. In that Fort, there was even then a prisoner who had vainly appealed to the Courts for justice. He had been arrested and was then held in open defiance of the requirements of the law by a military officer acting under the orders of Mr. Lincoln, and the writ which had been issued by direction of the Chief Justice of the United States, was treated with contempt. After the incarceration of Mr. Merryman, and the refusal of Mr. Lincoln's officials to respect the decision of Judge Taney, it was but mocking the people of Maryland to tell them to appeal to the laws and Constitution in defence of their rights.

The City was taken possession of by the Federal troops, whose commander subsequently appointed a Police force which was paid by the Federal Government. From that time no man's rights were respected—to no law could he successfully appeal for protection. Some weeks afterwards, the Legislature was suppressed by the seizure of its most influential members, and at the same time three of the editors of two newspapers which steadily opposed Mr. Lincoln's usurpations, were arrested and lodged in Government Forts. Neither then, nor afterwards, did the authors or agents of these wrongs pretend to respect the forms of law, nor did they generally condescend to prefer, even informally, any specific charges against those whom they thus thrust into prison. Nor was it merely in its overthrow of the laws and Constitution of the State, that the "Union" party aided and abetted the Federal Government. They equally countenanced and apologized for the insolent and barbarous treatment to which individual citizens were subjected. Brutal outrages such as had never disgraced the soil of Maryland, and acts of petty tyranny which any man would, a twelvemonth before, have been ashamed to order or execute, were perpetrated without eliciting a word of public remonstrance or denunciation from the "Union" party. Persons were dragged from their homes upon the mere order of some contemptible underling of the Government. The houses of citizens were invaded and ransacked in the search for arms, papers and flags; and oftentimes without even the pretext of an excuse for the outrage being vouchsafed to the occupants. Newspapers were denied the privilege of passing through the mails, and were finally suppressed by the arrest of their editors. Men and women were stopped on the streets and ordered to strip from their persons ribbons or scarfs, of which the colors were obnoxious. Nurses were borne off to the Station House for carrying in their arms babies wearing red and white socks. Free speech became an act of treason, which the Government agents punished when they chose; and persons of both sexes and of all ages were over and over again arrested for some casual remark which was disrespectful to the Government, and was therefore deemed to be "disloyal." Even the unconscious utterances of the drunken reveller were noted by the active agents of Mr. Lincoln, and numbers of men were arrested for having in their cups said something that savored of respect for Mr. Jefferson Davis or "Stonewall" Jackson. In the shameless race for pre-eminence in servility to the all-powerful dictator, spies and policemen had not the foremost place; for the Judge upon the bench of the Criminal Court, and the State's Attorney, gravely asserted, when a man was on trial before them, that it was illegal and treasonable to drink the health of Mr. Jefferson Davis. And the Counsel who denied the ridiculous proposition, was sent for months to Fort La Fayette, by the Provost Marshal. All this time the "Union" party hounded on the Government officials to acts of increased severity. The rights of their opponents were alluded to, only to be derided. It was assumed that all the privileges to which those opposing Mr. Lincoln's proceedings had been born, were abrogated; and that the protection which the laws nominally threw around them, had been dissipated by a whisper from the autocrat at Washington. The *Baltimore American* was blatant in its outcries for the initiation of more stringent measures, which should crush out every vestige of free thought and free speech, in a community in which its own base teachings had been always tolerated. Politicians who

had enjoyed all the rewards and honors which the State could once confer, and who still professed to have its dignity as well as interest at heart, saw its representatives driven from their place at the point of the bayonet, and merely sneered at what they called the "defunct Legislature." A dozen or more of the most wealthy and influential members of the "Union" party, not content with silent gratitude to the man who had lent them regiments, went to render their humble homage in person. Bowing before the despot's throne, they thanked him for having removed from their midst, those whom they designated as "incendiary politicians," and assured him that he had thereby laid, though they did not say where, "the foundations of affection and gratitude." And there was not a man among them who did not know that his own character for integrity and manhood would, in the community in which he lived, suffer by a comparison with that of more than one of the prisoners whom he thus infamously libelled, and who were then in Fort Warren, and defenceless.

As the election, appointed to be held November 6th, 1861 approached, it became manifest that the right of suffrage was to be accorded to the people of the State, only to such extent as might be consistent with the objects of the "Union" party. The *National Intelligencer*, which in Washington City and elsewhere, was properly regarded, at that time, as a leading organ of the Administration, published on the 31st of October, an article upon the approaching elections in Maryland. The object of the *Intelligencer* was to intimidate the candidates and the voters who dared to differ from Mr. Lincoln and his party, and the threats so plainly thrown out were undoubtedly to be regarded as intimations from high official quarters of the purposes of the Administration. After stating that the previous acts of the Government were to be interpreted as emphatically declaring "its determination, that Maryland shall be governed loyally," the *Intelligencer* said:

"The nominations have already advised the Government who they are whom their friends deem worthy the honors of Fort La Fayette, and whom, without injustice, it can suspect. This is information which the Government has long desired. It knows precisely who are the most active in instigating treason and inciting rebellion. It needs further only to know by whom these leading conspirators are supported. This it will learn by forbearing arrests till after the day of election, and taking its observations as events on that day transpire. Neither the Government nor the friends of Union in the State could have desired a plan which would so effectually have furnished the Government the information needed to enable it to act energetically and efficiently. Its alert and vigilant agents in Baltimore, will not fail to avail themselves of this golden opportunity.

The nomination, and the election of traitors could produce no other result than their removal. If madness and folly in wantonness, a spirit of bravado, or a lust of notoriety, will toy with treason and incite rebellion, they but make their possessors the target of a Government which in Baltimore and Maryland is irresistible; and they will find, too late for their comfort, that the day for forbearance and leniency is past. Success or defeat of secession at the polls is all one to the status of Maryland, but defeat will be most profitable to the leaders who are in nomination. We will wait to see who recklessly brave the Government. We are sure what course the Government will, for we know what course it must, pursue."

Lest this distinct announcement of the disgraceful purposes of the Federal authorities, should fail to give the "Union" party the power and

offices it so much coveted, General Dix seized the opportunity of letting the people of Baltimore know that he took a profound interest in the election, and that the United States Marshal and the Provost Marshal proposed to give it their attention likewise. On the 1st of November, General Dix issued a Proclamation in which he alleged that "certain individuals," who had been in arms against the United States in Virginia, had returned to their former homes for the purpose of taking part in the elections, and thus "carrying out at the polls the treason they had committed in the field;" and that "other individuals lately residents of Maryland," who had aided and abetted those in arms against the United States, were "about to participate in the election for the same treacherous purpose." He therefore directed the "United States Marshal of Maryland, and the Provost Marshal of the City of Baltimore," to arrest all such persons. He further requested the Judges of Election to commit any such persons; and called on all "good and loyal citizens" to support the Judges of Election, the United States Marshal and the Provost Marshal in their efforts to secure a "free and fair expression of the voice of the people of Maryland, and at the same time to prevent the ballot box from being polluted by treasonable votes."

At the polls the following placard was conspicuously displayed:

"NOTICE.

"PROCLAMATION OF GENL. DIX.

"All persons are requested to POINT OUT to the Judges of Election, and TO THE POLICE, any individual attempting to vote, or who may be present AT THIS POLL, who may have been actually 'engaged in acts of hostility to the United States, or in actively *aiding and abetting* those in arms against the United States;' and especially those who, on the 19th of April, and subsequent days, took part in *opposing the march of the United States troops*, or in *transmitting stores and supplies or forwarding persons or communications* into States engaged in the rebellion.

"*John W. Woods, Steam Book and Job Printer, 202 Baltimore Street.*"

As General Dix had taken so much pains to suppress free thought and free speech in Maryland, it is not probable that his warmest partisans could have honestly believed that he really desired a "free and fair expression of the voice of the people of Maryland." They too, knew as well as General Dix, that of the "individuals" who had left the State and had become citizens or soldiers of the Southern Confederacy, not many enough to change the election in a single precinct would return for the purpose of voting. His speciously worded Proclamation deceived no one. It was indisputably, as was the placard posted at the Polls, a direct invitation to the officials and agents of the Government to use their power for the purpose of intimidating or otherwise excluding from the ballot box, all voters who were likely to cast their ballots against the Administration candidates. The "Union" party and its opponents understood this fully, and the former acted accordingly. But the scenes which characterized the election would, apart from the previous intimations from high quarters to that effect, have sufficiently proved that Mr. Lincoln's partisans had determined that the "voice of the people of Maryland" should be made to speak in commendation of his usurpations. Soldiers were stationed at

the polls in numerous places throughout the State. Many hundreds of citizens were arrested in the various counties, and in the City of Baltimore, without the slightest pretext, and evidently for the mere purpose of deterring their neighbors and political friends from attempting to exercise their rights. The vast majority of those so arrested were men who, as was perfectly well known, had not, since the beginning of the war, been out of Maryland. Test oaths, which had, since the Revolution of 1776, been unheard of among the laws of the State, were offered to other citizens, whose votes were refused when they declined to submit to so gross an outrage. Small as the vote was, it is a notorious fact that an immense number of illegal votes were everywhere cast for the Administration candidates. Massachusetts soldiers are known to have boasted in Boston that they voted on that day in Baltimore as often as they pleased. General Dix informed Mr. Brown, the Mayor of Baltimore, at Fort Warren, that not more than a thousand illegal votes had been cast, and was, it may be presumed, satisfied with himself for having permitted the ballot box to be "polluted" only by his friends, and only to that extent. His statement was about on a par, in point of truthfulness, with his affectation of a desire to obtain "a free and fair expression of the voice of the people of Maryland." That people knows full well, and General Dix knows likewise, that the election was a shameless mockery, and that its results were but the work of fraud and violence. But the "Union" party applauded this wanton violation of the rights of their fellow-citizens, and the laws of their State, and accepted such an election as an honest popular decision upon the momentous issues involved.

Men enough were found who were willing to accept the fruits of successes so achieved; and a Governor of Maryland, and a large portion of her Legislature and Judiciary, went into office with the knowledge that they owed their elevation to power to those who controlled the Northern bayonets then within her borders.

The Legislature met in December, 1861, and among the resolutions passed within the first few weeks of the session, was one in which the country was assured that the "people of Maryland" did "not hesitate to express their approval of the course and policy of the President in the conduct of the war thus far, as exemplified by his official acts." Not one word had these representatives to say in condemnation of the usurpations which had changed a free government into the most offensive of despotisms, or of arbitrary proceedings which had annulled for a time the laws of Maryland. Not one word of remonstrance or denunciation did they utter while their fellow citizens were daily outraged in their own homes, or seized in violation of right, law and justice, and borne off to be imprisoned in other States. So far from protesting against the arbitrary measures which had been adopted for the suppression of free speech in Maryland, they did their uttermost to give the sanction of law to the system of government adopted by Mr. Lincoln's Generals. They passed an Act which will hereafter stand pre-eminent as the most disgraceful that was ever before a Legislature of any State. By this grossly unconstitutional law, it was made a Penitentiary offence to hold a public meeting, intended to promote or encourage the separation of Maryland "from the Government or Union of the United States," or to promote or encourage

the union of Maryland with the Southern Confederacy. To "offer inducements to any minor or other person to abandon his home or place of temporary residence for the purpose of going into any of the States in rebellion," was "to be deemed evidence of disloyalty," for which "disloyalty" the party convicted was to be fined. It was further provided that any party should be fined or sent to the Penitentiary who should "attempt to seduce, entice or persuade" any other person to commit any one of the "offences" prohibited by the Act, even though no such offence should be committed. Under cover of this enactment it was supposed the press could be effectually muzzled. Thus, for the first time in Maryland, it became a crime in her citizens to advocate in a public meeting, a change in the form of Government under which they lived. It became an offence to send any one to the South for any purpose whatsoever, because it was presumed that none but a "disloyal" man would hold any intercourse, even with his nearest relatives, in that section. And in order that Mr. Lincoln's detectives might have the broadest field within which to scatter accusations broadcast, they were authorized not only to hunt up the individual who might have thought of committing one of the newly devised offences and had abandoned his purpose, but also to call to account those who could be charged with having persuaded any such person, at any time, to entertain a proscribed intention. This high-handed and infamous attempt to throttle their political opponents, and to abrogate in Maryland the right of free speech upon the issues of the day, was supported by an overwhelming majority of the Legislature. Outside of the Legislature, it met with an equally cordial endorsement from the "Union" party.

That the Legislature was fully determined to give its sanction to the most arbitrary measures that could be devised by Mr. Lincoln to suppress all opposition to his will, was proven not less by what it refused to do, than by what it did. As early as the 13th of December, 1861, Mr. Harris, of St. Mary's County, introduced in the House of Delegates, a very temperate resolution proposing that the Committees on Federal Relations of the House and Senate should proceed to Washington and see Mr. Lincoln in relation to those citizens who had been arbitrarily arrested and were then held by the Government. The Committees were, in the language of the resolution, to "request an interview with his Excellency, the President of the United States, and express to him the strong desire of the General Assembly of Maryland for the release of our imprisoned fellow-citizens, and urge upon him the propriety of their early unconditional discharge from prison." This resolution was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, of which Mr. Reverdy Johnson was Chairman. That gentlemen, for reasons best known to himself and the party friends who subsequently elected him to the United States Senate, did not trouble himself to make any report whatever upon the resolution. He could approach Mr. Seward, as the counsel of prisoners who had retained him, but he and his party declined to place themselves publicly, in antagonism to the all powerful potentate at the Capital.

The First Branch of the City Council which was elected under the auspices of the Military Governor of Baltimore, in October, 1861, pursued to the extent of its power the "loyal" course which characterized all other representatives of the "Union" party. It sanctioned or applauded all

the tyrannical measures which had placed the people of Baltimore bound and silenced at the feet of Mr. Lincoln.

Among other proceedings, it adopted an ordinance prescribing a test-oath, which was to be administered to the teachers in the Public Schools; and the School Commissioners ejected from their places numbers of these teachers, and among them many women who refused to submit their political opinions to any such examination. The Second Branch of the Council for many months honestly discharged its duty, in the face of innumerable attempts to intimidate it. But when it stood in the way of measures the passage of which was a matter of importance to the Administration, General Wool interposed his advice and influence; and the Second Branch, as then constituted, ceased to exist. His own account of the matter shows the nature of the demands made upon him by the "Union" party, and the sort of aid he rendered it. When Mr. Lincoln, after General McClellan had been driven back from Richmond to the James River, called for three hundred thousand men, "the Union men of Baltimore," says General Wool, "called on the City Council for an appropriation of \$300,000 to be applied to the raising of four or five regiments required for the city. The First Branch of the Common Council voted for the appropriation; the Second Branch refused to vote for it; soon after which I was waited upon by some who called themselves Union men, and was urged to use coercive measures." General Wool, strange to say, was, at the moment, seized with some conscientious scruples about coercing "a legislative body, constitutionally elected, to vote as he might dictate," and so expressed himself to these "Union" men. "This," he says, "did not satisfy the gentlemen, when I replied that I thought, if they would not interfere, I could arrange the matter without resorting to force or dictation. I made good the declaration, and produced the arrangement, which gave the Union party a Common Council which voted, I believe, the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars." The arrangement thus produced, to quote still further General Wool's account, was "that the members of the Second Branch of the Council not in favor of the appropriation, after consultation with myself, resigned, and their places were afterwards filled by Union men." Thus did Mr. Lincoln's General, and, of course, without resorting to "dictation," intimidate and eject from office one Branch of the Municipal Government, because it refused to appropriate three hundred thousand dollars to further the ends of the Administration. And this outrageous proceeding, also, was sanctioned, or acquiesced in, by the "loyal" patriots of Baltimore, who were "fighting for the Constitution."

Nor was it only through the action of the Legislature and City Councils that the "Union" party endeavored to make the people of Baltimore deport themselves as the obsequious slaves of the Federal Government. Through the press and through resolutions at public meetings it invoked the passions of the most violent and depraved of its followers, as well as the power of the Government, to aid it in crushing its opponents. At a large public meeting, held on the 29th of July, 1862, and at which the Governor, who was indebted to Federal bayonets for his position, presided, a resolution was adopted requesting the President to "instruct the General in command of this Military Department to require all male citizens above the age of eighteen to come forward" and take an oath to

“maintain the National Sovereignty paramount to that of all State, county, or corporate powers,” and to “discourage, discountenance, and forever oppose secession, rebellion, and the disintegration of the Federal Union.” Those who should refuse to take the oath which it was thus proposed to tender them, and which was to bind every man to “forever” oppose what was already an accomplished fact, were, if the President had endorsed the resolution, to be banished from their homes. The proposition brought forth no public remonstrance from any portion of the “Union” party. On the contrary, the First Branch of the City Council adopted a resolution, a few days afterwards, requesting General Wool “to administer such an oath to all the citizens of the City of Baltimore at the earliest possible period.” General Wool rejected this advice, “for the reason,” as he said, that it would, at a critical moment, “send twenty thousand men to swell the army of Jefferson Davis.” But the suggestion was not the less disgraceful to the party which sanctioned it, because it proved to be impracticable.

What might not have been the extent of the violence which the leaders of the “Union” party would have instigated, had not the Military Commanders of the Department thought it politic to check them, it is impossible to say. But if ruffians were not omnipotent, and if their will was not the law to the people of Maryland, and especially of Baltimore, it was not for want of encouragement on the part of the “Union” party. The journals which represented that party, day after day, urged upon the Administration measures which would have been regarded as rigorous in Warsaw. And the apparent approbation with which on one occasion the outrages of a band of notorious outlaws were regarded, affords conclusive evidence of the spirit in which the “Union” party would have ruled the City, had a superior power permitted it to have its way. When these men whose names had long been familiar to the records of the Criminal Court, wantonly and murderously assailed numbers of peaceable citizens on the most public streets of Baltimore, and were subsequently arrested by order of the military authorities, and committed to Fort McHenry, instant and successful efforts were made for their release. Individuals who had influence in official quarters hurried to Washington to procure the liberation of their useful friends, and many of the staunchest supporters of the Administration grew eloquent, for the first time, in denunciation of illegal arrests and arbitrary imprisonment. The rights of upright and honorable citizens were recklessly trampled upon daily, but the most abandoned followers of the Government were shielded from punishment for outrages of unprovoked brutality, openly perpetrated. And not content with affording protection to such men as these, the “Union” party deemed them worthy of rewards and honors, and some of those who had participated in the very scenes referred to, and who could not have been at any fair election, elected constables of their wards, held then or afterwards, Commissions in the Army.

Throughout the State the people groaned under the same tyrannical rule as that which so heavily pressed upon the population of her chief City. And not only were the laws daily and hourly set at naught, but it was regarded as an offence against the Dictator to appeal to them for protection. One of the most upright and honored Judges of the State—a man whose unimpeachable character not even the breath of slander had ever

ventured to assail—was dragged from the Bench while engaged in the discharge of his judicial duties. For not yielding a ready and un murmuring assent to the demand of the Government officials who went to seize him, he was brutally beaten, and faint and bleeding, was carried like a common felon on board of a steamboat, and conveyed to Fort McHenry. His crime was, that in his charge to the Grand Jury, he had cited the laws of Maryland and the Constitution of the United States, in proof of the illegality of the arbitrary arrests made by order of Mr. Lincoln.

It would require too much space and time to state in detail all the unjustifiable and infamous proceedings to which the "Union" party resorted in order to gag and manacle the "Southern Rights" men of Maryland. Because the latter dared to exercise what had been recognized for seventy years as their indisputable rights, they were treated as though they had placed themselves beyond the pale of the law. Their houses were invaded, their correspondence violated, their business interfered with by the imposition of all manner of illegal restrictions, their arms seized, and they themselves by hundreds imprisoned or disfranchised. And all these outrages were sanctioned and applauded by the "Union" party. The system by which her rulers had endeavored to stifle disaffection in England two centuries before, was deliberately selected as a precedent, by the men who usurped power in Maryland in 1861. And for what was this party contending? It had earnestly insisted before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, upon some recognition by Congress of the rights of the South, and the adoption of the Crittenden or some equivalent Compromise; but when the North refused to accept any Compromise whatever, the "Union" party acquiesced in that decision. It vehemently opposed any attempt to coerce the South, but when a coercive policy was resorted to by Mr. Lincoln, it energetically supported him. It loudly asserted that the subjugation of the South was an impossibility, but when this was attempted, it lent its aid to the Administration. It professed then to advocate the war only while it should be carried on under the forms of the Constitution, and for the reconstruction of the Union, but it continued earnestly to support a war waged in defiance of all laws, and for the destruction of the State Governments in the South. It followed Mr. Lincoln step by step, in every usurpation and outrage of which he was guilty; and from the time when he asseverated that he had no other object in calling out troops than to defend Washington, down to the time when he appointed Provost Marshals to rule with absolute authority, the Northern States, and indiscriminately confiscated and devastated whole districts in the South, the "Union" party endorsed his policy. The pleas which this party advanced in its own justification, were as little defensible as its conduct. They were not less absurdly inconsistent with each other than at variance with every principle which American freemen had ever been taught to respect. "We are," said the "Union" party, "maintaining the Constitution;" and these being "revolutionary times, we have the right to resort to all the means which we have adopted to sustain the Government." It claimed to be exempted from legal or Constitutional restraints itself, while it denounced as traitors to the Constitution all who resisted its arbitrary measures. It insisted that it could justifiably revolutionize the Government, but that all those opposing it were bound to adhere to the letter of the law. For men who,

in defense of their rights, were merely appealing to the Constitution and the laws, the "Union" party thought no punishment too severe, but it regarded the obsolete theory of "political necessity" as sufficient to excuse, on its part, the establishment of a pure and simple military despotism.

The day is fast approaching when it will no longer be necessary to discuss these puerilities seriously in any intelligent community. It will be difficult to make a future generation understand that a party once existed in Maryland which branded as infamous, beyond example, those who resorted to force to maintain their interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, and which, nevertheless, regarded as honest and patriotic, the resort on its own part to the most arbitrary and atrocious acts, in order to make its views of that instrument a law to all other men. It will also be difficult for those who shall come after us, to understand how this party could honestly treat a revolution in the South as a justification to itself for inflicting all imaginable indignities and wrongs upon a large portion of the people of other States. Because there was a revolution in the South, why, when the Constitution was still said to be supreme in Maryland, should the people of that State have been precluded from expressing their opinions as to the most politic and just mode of meeting that revolution? Why should they have been silenced, disfranchised and imprisoned because they desired to deal with a revolution in a conciliatory spirit, instead of adopting the futile and brutal policy of letting loose against the Southern people the incarnate demons of murder, rapine and anarchy? These are questions which the civilized world elsewhere has resolved already, and which will soon have to be answered here. How they will be answered few men can, in their calmer moments doubt. The written laws and Constitution of the once powerful Republic are still extant, and the record of Mr. Lincoln's Administration will not soon be forgotten. The measures to which he had recourse in Maryland to crush out all opposition to his will, and the people who sustained such a despotism here, will be long remembered. A fearful responsibility is theirs.

If the Constitution still exists in Maryland, they must answer for having trampled its every provision under foot. If a revolution or civil war has superseded all law in this State, they alone inaugurated it, and are responsible for its consequences. And in one shape or another, sooner or later, retribution will inevitably overtake the agents and abettors of the despotism which has so remorselessly oppressed this people. Unless the courage and constancy which, in other days, established here a constitutional government have altogether departed from among us, the outraged laws will yet vindicate their supremacy, and inflict adequate punishment on those who have been recreant to the faith and example of their fathers. But be the course of events what it may, something of the old freedom of thought and speech will still survive, and the record which the active supporters of Abraham Lincoln have made for themselves in Maryland will forever bear testimony to their guilt and folly, and the odium that is destined to attach to their names their children's children will not outlive.



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