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THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT
OF THE CIVIL WAR ON MARYLAND

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Richard Ray Duncan, A.B., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1963

Approved by

Henry H. Simmons
Adviser
Department of History
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CHAPTER I

SECESSION: ECONOMIC REACTION AND THE WAR CRISIS IN 1861

The uncertain political events and movements of the later months of 1860 had far reaching economic ramifications on the state of Maryland and her economy. The growing program of Southern economic independence, coupled with the specter of the secession of the lower South, reversed the trend of improving economic conditions which had been prevailing in the first half of 1860. Early in the summer of 1860 economic conditions considerably contracted and worsened as a result of the approaching election crisis and further contracted as a result of post-election developments in the South. Maryland, as a border state, found herself with lines of commercial trade with both sections and consequently suffered greatly from the disruption of her normal trade outlets. Much of Baltimore's trade and tradition were tied to the South, but at the same time her coastwise trade had developed to the point where 60 per cent of this was with Northern ports.  

Nevertheless, even with the growing

commercial connections with the North, the loss of Southern markets was a cause of serious distress and dissatisfaction in Baltimore.

With the instability of the political situation, economic conditions in Maryland reflected much of the insecurity of the times, and trade became generally prostrate in Baltimore and other Maryland communities. One week prior to the November election two Baltimore banking firms suspended specie payments which soon became the course of action followed by the other banks of the city. In the days following the election, Baltimore bank officials met and agreed on an immediate and general suspension. Following the lead of Baltimore and other Northern commercial centers, banks throughout the state generally complied with this policy and suspended specie payments as well.

The announcement of the suspension created no financial panic, but was quietly received by the business community. It actually made for little actual inconvenience, except in a few cases where payments had to be made to other Eastern commercial centers. Specie payments remained nominally

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2 Ibid., 55-56.
3 Cumberland, Democratic Alleganian, November 24, 1860, and Middletown, Valley Register, November 30, 1860.
4 Baltimore, Sun, November 23, 1860.
suspended, but by the early part of April, 1861 resumption had taken place in many banks in the Baltimore area. Although the contracted state of business and money had a depressing effect on the stock exchange, financially it benefited many of the city's banks.5

Along with the suspension of specie payments in Maryland, Baltimore banks, fearing Southern confiscation of Northern investments in the South and the non-payment of debts to Northern creditors, refused to extend further credit or to increase loans.6 Coupled with the contraction of credit and prostration of business, the number of business failures in the city considerably increased over the previous year's total. In 1860 Baltimore had eighty-two failures, representing liabilities of $2,880,500, while in the following year the number increased to 121, representing losses of $4,057,000. However, in the remainder of the state there was an actual decline in the number of business failures for in 1860 they had totaled thirty-two with aggregate losses of $183,000, while in the following year they had declined to fourteen recorded failures with liabilities of only $104,000.7

5Ibid., April 12, 1861.
6J. Thomas Scharf, History of Maryland (Baltimore, 1879), III, 467.
7The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1861 (New York, 1862), 312.
With Baltimore and its suburbs containing approximately 40 per cent of Maryland's manufacturing interests and responsible for approximately 75 per cent of the state's total annual value of production, the political uncertainties seriously affected the city and adversely affected the confidence of the commercial element concerning investments and securities. By December, 1860 the lack of confidence had made trading on the stock exchange difficult and dull. Many financiers preferred to wait and see the trend of developments, and as a consequence stocks dropped to their lowest point since the panic of 1857. The stock market consistently showed a marked depressed condition, although stock quotations varied with the currents of contemporary political and financial developments. Despite fluctuations, the general trend was down regardless of short periods of stability and temporary rise.

By early November of 1860 city securities had declined between 2 per cent and 2½ per cent, while shares of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Northern Central Railway had declined as much as $4.00 and $3.00 in one week. Much

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8 *Sun*, December 9 and 19, 1860.
uneasiness also prevailed in Baltimore financial circles as to the policy Southern banks would follow concerning currency. As a result of this uncertainty, rates of discount on Virginia and North Carolina money advanced irregularly, and also contributed much to the restraint on the flow of capital and affected the stock market. On November 1, 1860 Baltimore and Ohio shares had closed on the stock exchange at seventy-three while the Northern Central shares were holding at twenty without demand, but by the end of November the decline had brought Baltimore and Ohio shares down to sixty and the Northern Central shares down to 16 3/4. By the middle of December the Baltimore and Ohio had dropped even further and was closing at bids of 49 1/2 while the Northern Central was selling at between fourteen and fifteen.

Nevertheless, the Baltimore financial community was becoming more adjusted to the political uncertainties and began to feel that even if the Union were dissolved the material resources and interest would still retain some value. Consequently, there was a temporary rise in the stock exchange with state bonds advancing as much as 4 to 6 per cent. Even

10 Ibid., November 9, 1860.
11 Ibid., November 1 and November 30, 1860.
12 Ibid., December 11, 1860.
13 Ibid., December 5, 1860.
with the financial upturn in the latter part of December and January, transactions still remained of a limited nature and money still remained considerably tight with the continued reluctance of many capitalists to invest in stocks on the Baltimore market. Reflecting some of this return of confidence, Baltimore and Ohio shares advanced and were bringing bids of sixty in February, although the Northern Central Railway shares remained at fourteen.

In April with the increase in the rumors of war and actual war developments in the South, much of the uncertainty of the financial community returned and again stock market quotations began to decline. With the real existence of war between the North and South, stock prices plunged even lower, while Southern currency depreciated even further on the Baltimore market. The depreciation of Southern currency and stocks had real meaning for areas such as Frederick where most of the city's financial interests were principally tied up in Southern securities. In August, Southern securities, which Frederick business men had purchased for eighty-five to

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14 Ibid., January 26, 1861.
15 Ibid., February 18, 1861.
16 Ibid., April 6-17, 1861.
ninety-five cents on the dollar, had dropped in value to between forty-five and fifty cents on the dollar.  

Trade and manufacturing also considerably contracted, and many establishments were merely conducting nominal operations. Although there was a temporary and heavy demand from the South for supplies, the demand was chiefly for goods such as fire arms. At the same time, with the general stagnation of business and scarcity of money, Baltimore agents in the South were finding it extremely difficult to collect past bills and debts for their firms. In April of 1861 the Baltimore Custom house gave an insight into the decreased economic activity of Baltimore. While the custom house reported that receipts for the preceding March had totaled $98,105.84, for the same month in 1861 they had amounted to only $65,522.82.

Reflecting the contraction of commercial activity, the Baltimore Corn and Flour Exchange's membership dropped and caused the organization some financial embarrassment. The

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17 "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of August 2, 1861. (A diary on Microfilm in the C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, Maryland.)
18 Sun, December 9, 1860.
20 Sun, April 2, 1861.
number of subscribers in the previous year had totaled approximately four hundred but had declined in 1861 to 339 members and caused a deficit of $1,194.10 for the Exchange. Being unable to secure a rent reduction on the Exchange building, the organization was forced to raise the annual subscription rate from $10.00 per annum to $15.00.  

Many other Baltimore firms felt the effects of depressed conditions and were forced to lay off a considerable portion of their staff. The firm of Wesenfeld and Company reported that it had to reduce its labor force of over a thousand employees with a monthly payroll averaging $12,000 to 250 with a payroll of $3,000 in 1861. The firm of Register and Webb, which had employed approximately forty persons during the previous year, cut its staff to thirty, and worked them only twenty to thirty-five hours a week in order to keep them in subsistence. Straus, Hartman, Hofflin and Company which had employed 635 women, 311 men, and 33 cutters and machine hands in the clothing industry, had reduced its staff to 225 women, 121 men, and only 7 cutters and machine hands in the same month in 1861. Many other firms found themselves making similar reductions and working their staff at a

considerably reduced number of hours in order to sustain as many employees as possible, while the Union factory of Baltimore resorted to the substitution of store goods for money since very few goods were selling. The stoppage and interference with trade along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was an additional factor in the rising unemployment in western Maryland, and forced many vicinities such as Sharpsburg and Williamsport to contribute supplies and the necessities of life to sustain many of the unemployed.

The large numbers of unemployed in Maryland and Baltimore caused great concern to local authorities and charitable organizations. The Baltimore city council in an attempt to relieve some of the unemployment problem appropriated $20,000 to be used in the improvement of the city parks. Such public works were useful in absorbing some of the unemployed, and in July the Baltimore Sun reported that the city had provided 5,398 persons representing aggregate households

22Sun, March 25 and 27, 1861.
24Sun, June 15, 1861.
25Ibid., March 28 and April 4, 1861.
of some 18,134 persons with work in the parks. Persons employed in park work received seventy-five cents a day which netted them a total weekly wage earning of $4.50 on which they supported their families. 26

Nevertheless, there still remained wide-spread unemployment and need for relief of the city's poor. In April, in a meeting of workmen, a memorial and petition was adopted requesting the mayor and the council to provide for additional public works and expenditures beyond the $20,000 which had already been appropriated by the council. 27 Appeals were also made to the Baltimore's Board of Trade to help alleviate conditions, but this agency indicated that it had no power to do so, though expressing the hope that individuals of the Board would respond to the appeal. 28

Local charities were also active in helping to relieve some of the distress of the unemployed. The Baltimore Poor Association made frequent appeals to help the needy. Churches and other groups conducted fund raising campaigns with exhibitions and concerts for the poor. The Poor Association

26 Ibid., July 12, 1861.
27 Ibid., April 9, 1861.
reported that in the three months of April, May, and June it had spent $3,315.64 in helping some 688 families representing approximately 2,655 persons, while the German Society of Maryland in 1861 reported that it had had 4,158 applicants for financial aid and after investigation of their cases all the applicants were given financial help. Along with financial aid, the Society also gave free medical prescriptions to some 4,608 persons. In order to meet the increased demands on their treasury, German Society members increased their subscriptions, while the society itself sold $4,000 worth of Baltimore City 6 per cent stock for $3,422.50 to raise additional money. In addition to the Poor Association, the German Society, and other charity groups, private and church philanthropy helped establish soup kitchens to feed needy families and individuals. One of the largest of these was established by Ross Winans, a Baltimore industrialist, and had the capacity to supply six thousand persons daily with eight hundred gallons of soup and sixteen hundred loaves of bread.

29 Sun, July 16, 1861.
31 Cambridge, Herald, December 4, 1861.
The unsettled conditions also had a profound effect on property values and rents. Both rents and property values had declined in some cases up to 50 per cent of their former values. Warehouses and houses were renting a half their normal rate of return. Many houses of the larger class in the western section of Baltimore were vacant of tenants, although the more inexpensive smaller homes were well occupied. Rents in the city were estimated to have fallen approximately a third of their former return, and in some cases the rents were not even demanded.

Construction work on the larger class of houses had completely halted with many of them only half completed and their roofs unfinished. Other areas as well as Baltimore suffered from the resultant stagnation of trade. In Frederick the building business had come to a stand-still, and Jacob Englebrecht recorded in his diary that the local brickyard had taken on the appearance of not having been used for years. Not only was construction work stagnated along with

33 Sun, August 28, 1861.
35 Sun, August 28, 1861.
36 "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of August 2, 1861.
the reduced value in rents, but property values fell as well. In some areas such as in Kent County it had become extremely difficult to sell property, and, in one such case, a real estate agent advised his client that even a public sale would be useless in disposing of her property. There were indications in Maryland and Baltimore during the last months of 1861 that some confidence in real estate had returned and that transactions were again being made.

In the first half of 1860 Baltimore's commercial activity in trade had presented an encouraging and health aspect, but the political upheavals in the last months of the year reversed this trend. Before the reversal of economic conditions the Baltimore Collection District on October 1, 1860 had reported receipts of 206,422 tons which had represented a slight increase over the same period for the previous year, and although the value of imports had fallen from a total value of $10,408,933 in 1859 to a total of $10,271,818 in 1860, the value of exports had considerably increased from the 1859 figure of $8,724,261 to $10,968,599 in the following year. The reduction in imports had been attributed mainly to the

37 R. Semans Papers: R. Semans to Mrs. A. A. Spaight, January 7, 1861. (Collection of letters in the Maryland Historical Society Library.)
38 Sun, November 6, 1861.
large quantity of goods remaining on hand from the previous year in Baltimore warehouses. The increased commercial ac-
tivity of the city's harbor was also reflected in the in-
creasing number of arrivals, excluding bay craft, at the port of Baltimore. In the previous year 2,373 arrivals had been reported, while the number in 1860 had increased to 2,426. The shipbuilding industry as well continued to be active. There was no actual increase in the total number of vessels under construction, but the tonnage totals showed a slight increase in the figures over the previous year's total of 7,710 tons to a total of 7,929 in 1860.39

Many other facets of the city's commercial activity had been on the increase in 1860. Approximately thirty packing houses had been involved in the oyster trade which had produced a product estimated at a total value of $1,800,000 and which also provided employment for some three thousand persons and approximately five hundred vessels to supply the packing houses. With the blockade of Virginia waters where many of the oyster beds were located and the strict sur-
veilliance of ships on Maryland waters, there was some

39The 11th Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Balti-
more; Being for the Year 1860 (Baltimore, 1861), 5-6.
diminution of the trade, although it benefited from an increase in both wholesale and retail prices. The Baltimore Sun reported in December that while the season was not as extensive as in former years, the war seemed to have had little effect on it in that several of the favorite species were being run successfully through the blockade.\textsuperscript{40}

The dry goods trade, which was the largest and most important segment of Baltimore's commercial interests, had shown an unusual amount of activity in the early months of 1860, but with the growth of the political crisis, trade stagnated and made for very limited transactions in dry goods in the fall and into 1861.\textsuperscript{41} With the interruption of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the loss of Southern markets in 1861, the shoe and boot industry estimated its business had declined to a third of the previous year's total. The paper and book industry was also affected by a similar reaction in its market which had also dropped to a third of what it had been formerly.\textsuperscript{42}

Even with the military crisis in 1861 and with the continual interruptions of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad,

\textsuperscript{40}Sun, December 5, 1861.
\textsuperscript{41}11th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 47-48.
\textsuperscript{42}Sun, January 2, 1862.
the city's actual exports continued to rise from the 1860 figure of $10,913,170 to $11,983,793 in 1861. Although there was an increase in export value, the volume of imports dropped sharply from $9,379,121 in 1860 to $5,534,411 in the following year. Much of this decline was attributed to the effects of the Morrill tariff rather than to the war and chiefly affected commodities such as dry goods, hardware, and iron. The Baltimore Collection District further reflected some of the contraction of business; in 1860 the tonnage figures had amounted to 206,422, but it fell to 200,206 in the following year. With the upheaval and turmoil in the city during April, an additional impediment was created for the harbor trade. The buoys of the new ship channel were removed and ships were forced to use the old shipping channel which limited the entrance to vessels with a draft of less than twenty feet.\footnote{The 12th Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Baltimore; Being for the Year 1861 (Baltimore, 1862), 3-5. In the 11th Annual Report of the Board of Trade on pages 6 and 15 the value of imports and exports are cited as $10,271,818 and $10,968,599, respectively, but in subsequent reports of the Board of Trade the 1860 figures are quoted as $9,379,121 and $10,913,170, respectively.}

The number of vessels, exclusive of bay craft, arriving in the harbor during 1861 declined from the 1860 total of 2,426 to 1,652 ships. The reduced commercial
activity in the harbor and city was also felt in the shipbuilding industry which in 1860 had had thirty-eight ships under construction with a total tonnage of 7,929 tons. In 1861 this figure had dropped to fifteen with an aggregate tonnage of 3,346. Most of the vessels under construction were of the smaller class, although one first class ship of a thousand tons was being constructed for a house in Bremen.44 The result of the situation was that early in June of 1861 a delegation of merchants and shipbuilders went to Washington and interviewed Lincoln to make sure that they would receive a fair share of the government's business.45 As an indication of the beginning shift in the shipbuilding industry, it was announced in July that the firm of J. J. Abrahms had been awarded a government contract to build a gun boat, while the firm of Charles Reeder had been awarded the contract for the machinery.46

War conditions seriously affected the coal market. With the constant interruptions of both the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the effects

44 Ibid., 3-4 and 27-28.
46 Ibid., July 6, 1861.
resulted in increasing shortages of Cumberland coal in Baltimore markets. Receipts for 1860 from the Cumberland region had totaled 397,684 tons, but the volume for 1861 fell to a mere 156,500 for the city's market. By the end of 1861, bituminous coal had become very scarce in Baltimore, and much of the supply that was being transported into the city and Washington, D.C. was being carried on the Northern Central Railway. The scarcity of coal in eastern Maryland was intensified with the decline of shipments on the Baltimore and Ohio and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. In the previous year the railroad had hauled 493,031 tons on its road while an additional 295,878 had been hauled by the canal for a total aggregate tonnage of 788,909, but in 1861 the figure had dropped to only 172,075 carried by the railroad and 97,599 by canal for a yearly total of 269,674 tons. Consequently, the scarcity of bituminous increased the demand for anthracite coal, although even in this market also there was a decline in the totals from the previous year's 325,129 to 248,100 tons in 1861. Most of the anthracite transported to Baltimore was carried on the Northern Central and by way of the

47 12th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 16-17.
48 Gun, November 27, 1861.
49 Thomas J. Scharf, History of Western Maryland (Philadelphia, 1882), II, 1441.
Susquehanna and Tide-Water canals and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. By August many of the factories and ships in the Baltimore area were forced to using anthracite as a substitute fuel.

Interruptions on the Baltimore and Ohio, the beginnings of the blockade of Southern ports by the Federal government, and the interdiction of supplies from Memphis by the Confederate government also seriously affected those industries in the city which had depended upon cotton for their raw material. The city's manufacturers continued operations until their supplies were exhausted, and were then subsequently forced to reduce their operations in line with the fluctuations of supply. Maryland manufacturers were now forced to depend upon Eastern ports and markets for much of the limited supply of cotton. Even though several companies were given government contracts for the production of duck, much of the needed raw material remained unavailable. In 1860 Baltimore cotton imports had totaled 50,580 bales of which 45,000 had been consumed locally, while the 1861 figure had declined to 29,366 bales with only 3,358 of this total being exported to Europe.

12th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 16-17.
Sun, August 24, 1861.
The grain trade, one of the principal items of trade for the city, also began readjusting itself to the new conditions. The principal sources of grain for the Baltimore market had been the areas of Maryland, southern Pennsylvania, and the northern part of Virginia, but after April, 1861 northern Virginia was closed to Baltimore factors. However, the two Virginia counties on the Eastern shore now began to send their grain to Baltimore markets. Actually the number of receipts for the year differed very little from the previous year's total, despite the closing of northern Virginia after April, and the continuance of fairly prosperous conditions was greatly stimulated by the increasing expenditures of the Federal government to supply the Army of the Potomac, and this stimulus caused grain prices to rise materially.  

The hazards of rail transportation on the Baltimore and Ohio also had a resultant effect on the city millers of Baltimore. City merchants became increasingly cautious in shipping their merchandise without strong guarantees against loss. Also along with this caution in shipping, merchants generally resorted to the cash system in handling commercial transactions, and commission agents were most reluctant to

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53 12th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 19.
make advances on produce from the interior without great assurance of prompt receipt. Despite this, flour prices actually fluctuated very little in 1861, except during the April turmoil when they reached their highest point but immediately declined with the re-establishment of order in the city. Even though the overall total of flour inspections had declined in Baltimore from the previous year's total of 966,515 barrels to 890,404, the city's exports for the year actually showed an increase of over 50,000 barrels over 1860's figure. The rise in export totals was attributed to the increased heavy demand from South American markets.  

With the existing state of war and the tightening blockade around the South, Baltimore's guano trade was seriously and irreparably damaged. The city's chief source of supply was Peru, while its largest consumer had been the South and the state of Maryland. In 1860, 71,614 tons of the commodity had been imported into the state whose total value was estimated at $37,000,000, but with the loss of Southern markets it was estimated that sales in 1861 had not exceeded ten thousand tons. Consequently with the drop in demand, the importation of the item fell to a mere 30,834 in 1861, and at the end of the year agents had on hand a stock of

54 Ibid., 19.
some forty thousand tons, which was double that of the previous year.\textsuperscript{55}

Other commodities along with guano were similarly affected by the war. With the suspension of the city's Southern trade, the largest consumer of Baltimore whiskey was lost to the city. Receipts in the Baltimore area fell more than 50 per cent from the former year. In 1860 recorded receipts had totaled 219,032 barrels of which 34,529 had been distilled within the city itself, while in the following year receipts had declined to 100,793 barrels with 23,300 being manufactured in Baltimore. But with the demand just about balancing the diminished supply there were no special fluctuations in whiskey prices.\textsuperscript{56} Along with the diminished activity in whiskey the importation of rice seriously declined for similar reasons. With the closing of Charleston and Savannah harbors by the blockade, Baltimore's chief source of supply was closed. In 1860 the city's receipts had totaled 14,433 tierces of rice, but in the next year Baltimore merchants managed to receive only 6,908 tierces before the closing of the blockade. Some relief for the market did come later

\textsuperscript{55}11th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 31, and 12th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 19.

\textsuperscript{56}12th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 26.
with the addition of a thousand bags of rice from Dutch markets. 57

The sugar industry in Baltimore which also had been active in 1860 showed a growing decline in output. During most of the year the industry had shown an increase of consumption by boosting it by some ten million pounds over the previous year's total. Towards the end of 1860 this activity had greatly slackened and in the following year the city's two sugar refineries remained idle during portions of the year. Despite the fact that only thirty-four or thirty-five million pounds of raw sugar were refined, the subsequent rise in prices proved to be very satisfactory to the manufacturers. 58

The metal industry also had been in fairly full operation during 1860, but most of the iron furnaces and rolling mills had netted small profits. With the coming of the war the industry temporarily contracted, with most of the normal channels of pig iron and bar iron obstructed by the war, 59 but the conflict also began to create a new outlet for the iron industry. One rolling mill at Canton found itself busy

57 Ibid., 23.
59 11th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 33.
manufacturing heavy plate for the Federal government along with its non-government business. Much of the remaining trade was confined to supplying the needs of the army and navy. The Avalon Nail works, which were confined exclusively to a domestic market, had reduced its output to about 20 per cent of the usual market demand. Along with the rest of the metal industry, the copper industry was also affected by the prevailing depressed conditions, but at the same time the two smelting companies were able to refine ten million pounds of ingots and increase their shipments abroad to 3,007,000 pounds.

The two main arteries of trade from Baltimore and eastern Maryland to the West and western Maryland, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, seriously felt the effects of the geographical and civil cleavage between the two sections and suffered from constant periods of interruptions, surveillance, and destruction of their facilities as a result of war time conditions. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal ran entirely along the northern shore of the Potomac river on Maryland soil from Georgetown.

60 Sun, June 18, 1861.
61 Ibid., January 2, 1861.
in the District of Columbia to Cumberland, while the Baltimore and Ohio passed from Maryland into Virginia at Harper's Ferry and remained largely in Virginia territory to Cumberland. With both lines of communications being situated in the border area between the two warring sections, they became subjected to constant military interference and depredations with the changing tides of war.

With the uncertainty created by the political crisis in the latter part of 1860, many shippers were afraid to transport their commodities over the Baltimore and Ohio and began to use the more northerly railroad lines. By mid-January, 1861 the Baltimore and Ohio had begun to feel the effects of this switch, and by the beginning of February the business slump of the line had become very pronounced. 63 To help restore confidence in the Baltimore and Ohio, early in February, John W. Garrett, the president of the road with the sanction of the Board of Directors, guaranteed all shippers against loss of damage, seizure, or detention resulting from the political instability of the times. 64

64 Sun., February 14, 1861.
With the resulting impediments of war, there was a definite decline in the financial receipts for 1861, and after April the character of much of the business carried on the Baltimore and Ohio was materially changed to meet government demands and business. The requirements of the Federal government for prompt and heavy transportation bore heavily on the road's engines, equipment, and personnel. Military demands consumed much of the railroad's traffic which was employed for short hauls and consisted mainly of hay, wagons, and other freight. The government also used many of the railroad's cars for warehouses to store military equipment, and many freight cars were subsequently lost to the company for traffic use.

Government regulations of both Union and Confederate officials hampered the remaining non-governmental traffic on the line. During the April turmoil in Baltimore and the resultant destruction of railroad bridges, the Federal government seized the railroad and in conjunction with the company supervised its operation until October when it was again returned entirely to the company's management.

65 35th Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, for the Year Ending September 30, 1861 (Baltimore), 11.
66 Ibid., 31.
67 Ibid., 36.
marked was the governmental regulation and supervision by both sides of the road's Main Stem which extended from Baltimore to Wheeling, Virginia. With the military occupation of Harper's Ferry by the Virginia militia, rail traffic into Virginia came increasingly under the control and supervision of that state, and traffic crossed the Potomac with her consent. By May, Colonel Thomas Jackson, who was in command of the area, began to tighten up on the flow of commerce on the Main Stem under the pretext that the noise of the trains at night disturbed his troops. Consequently, the Baltimore and Ohio was now forced to operate its line past Harper's Ferry exclusively during the daytime. Eventually, just before the evacuation of the area by the Confederate forces, in one master stroke, Jackson stopped all traffic and confiscated four small locomotives which he immediately sent South for use on Confederate railroads. 68

Federal officials also began restricting and supervising traffic passing into Virginia from Maryland on the Baltimore and Ohio. In early May General Benjamin Butler informed General Scott that he had begun a policy of searching and examining all trains to prevent the flow of arms and

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munitions as well as armed men into Virginia. Butler's policy was subsequently approved by General Scott. Initially, Butler had allowed provisions to pass into western Virginia with little restriction, but later he revised his original order and prohibited provisions as well. However, Garrett of the Baltimore and Ohio seriously objected to this policy and argued that a far greater quantity of supplies passed from the west to the east than was carried westward. Garrett also asserted that such a policy would cause considerable distress among the miners of the Cumberland region, who depended on receiving cured provisions from Baltimore, and would also cause Virginia to retaliate with a similar policy, although the latter had already taken the step of stopping the passage of livestock into Maryland. Nevertheless, Butler received ample authority to regulate transportation and was directed to examine for concealed munitions in the baggage of all passengers going west from Baltimore. Butler


71 Official Records, Series I, II, 629-630; Marshall, Correspondence of Benjamin Butler, I, 69-70.
was also given the authority to return all provisions to the consignees if he deemed it expedient. Consequently, early in June the Baltimore and Ohio announced that because of the danger and risks of detention of freight, shipments and passenger services into Virginia had been temporarily discontinued.

As a consequence of the adverse conditions in 1861, the Baltimore and Ohio showed a marked decline of $710,770.24 in revenue on the Main Stem for the fiscal year ending on September 30th compared with the previous year. In the 1860 fiscal year income on the Main Stem had totaled $3,922,202.94, but in 1861 it had declined to $3,211,425.70. The reduction of yearly earnings was not as great on the Washington Branch even with the stoppage and interruption of rail traffic in April. In the previous year income on the Washington Branch had totaled $462,880.44 which dropped in 1861 to $438,139.69. Actually, much of the railroad's business for 1861 remained unsettled and did not reflect a completely accurate financial picture of its revenue.

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72 Ibid., Series 1, II, 633; Ibid., I, 75-76.
73 Sun, June 5, 1861.
75 36th Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, for the Year Ending September 30, 1862 (Baltimore), 6.
Unlike the Baltimore and Ohio, the Northern Central Railway did not penetrate into Southern territory but provided Baltimore with a rail link into Pennsylvania. As a consequence, the road profited by being protected by its favorable geographical position and by the demands on its services from the Federal government. The company in 1861 was able to increase its earnings 44½ per cent over the previous year's revenue. In the early part of the summer before company officials were able to devise an adequate system for handling the road's increased traffic, a number of losses were sustained by the line as a result of wrong deliveries and miscarriages. With the subsequent increase of government business on the railroad the volume of local freight declined as a consequence of the lack of adequate facilities to handle it. The lack of facilities was also responsible for the decline of some 56,574 tons of coal transported to Baltimore on the Northern Central. Yet, with the hauling of government troops and supplies the railroad had now added another important source of revenue. Out of the total net earnings of $1,417,977.06 for 1861, the Federal government paid the Northern Central some $336,835.49, while the state of Pennsylvania paid it an additional $24,039.34 for the transportation of her troops. For the carrying of troops on the railroad
the company received two cents a mile per man as compensation by Federal authorities. 76

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal found itself even in greater financial difficulties than the Baltimore and Ohio. With the line lying entirely on the northern shore of the Potomac river, it was not only subjected to military interference and depredations from both sides, but also damage from flooding and high water as well. As a result, revenues for the canal were less than at any previous period since its completion. 77 By May, Confederate officials had begun interfering with the traffic on the canal as well as the railroad, and were refusing to allow traffic to pass Harper's Ferry until Maryland had withdrawn her objection to the occupation

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76 Seventh Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Northern Central Railway Co. to the Stockholders for the Year 1861 (Baltimore, 1862), 29 and 34-36. Indicative of the rates charged the government by other railroads, the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company proposed "to charge for troops, in numbers of fifty or more, at one time, at the rate of two dollars each between Philadelphia and Baltimore (or two-thirds of full fare). Sick, wounded, or discharged soldiers, presenting an order from the Department for passage as such, will be carried at the above rates, even in small parties or singly from Baltimore northward. Freight for the United States, between Philadelphia and Baltimore and any stations, we charge our regular rates...." Letters of the President of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company to the Secretary of War (Washington, 1862), 27.

77 34th Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, to the Stockholders (Washington, 1862), 3-4.
of "Pinnacle Rock" on the Maryland side of the river. In an effort to safeguard canal property against Confederate action Alfred Spates, president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal company, visited Confederate headquarters at Harper's Ferry to interview General Johnston. He hoped to keep Southern forces from making further depredations on canal property and wished also to complain about the property already destroyed. Spates asserted that since the canal was Maryland property, it should therefore be exempted from Confederate action, but Johnston maintained the position that his orders directed him to destroy all property that could be of use to the Federal forces. Consequently, in withdrawing from the region the Southern army destroyed approximately twenty-five canal boats to prevent them from being used to transport troops across the Potomac onto the Virginia side. Confederate actions along the canal adversely affected public opinion in western Maryland towards the Confederacy, and earlier when it had been reported that the Southerners had destroyed dam number four on the canal, a wave of great indignation erupted in the Hagerstown area against the South.

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78 Washington, D.C., National Intelligencer, May 20, 1861; Sun, May 21, 1861.
79 Valley Register, June 21, 1861.
80 Sun, June 27, 1861.
81 Valley Register, June 14, 1861.
With the rise of difficulties, traffic and revenue on the canal seriously declined from the former year. Tolls for 1861 amounted to only $70,566.99 in contrast to the previous year's total of $182,343.86. The decline of tolls representing some $111,776.87 was also indicative of the corresponding drop in the tonnage carried by the canal. In 1860 the volume of freight had amounted to 334,533 tons, while in the following year the recorded figure had dropped to 144,814. The most important commodity carried on the canal was coal, and it, too, dangerously reflected the decrease in business. In 1861 only 119,893 tons of coal were carried down the canal in contrast to the previous year's total of 283,249.  

With the reduction of revenues and increase in expenses to maintain the canal's operation, the company was forced to institute a policy of rigid economy to cut expenses. In pursuing this policy the offices of paymaster, general superintendent, and chief engineer were abolished at a savings of $5,150.00, and their duties assigned to the president of the company without an increase in his salary.  

Other reductions in the company's staff were also made and effected a

8234th Annual Report of Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 8.  
83Cumberland, Civilian and Telegraph, July 18, 1861.
Still with the loss of freight and damage to its facilities the canal remained in extremely poor condition, and Spates personally paid for many of its repairs out of his own private funds.

Two important underlying factors were in operation in Maryland's economy during the summer of 1860 and in 1861. Fear, which helped create a situation of financial stagnation in the business community as a consequence of anxieties as to the effects of the crisis; and the actual loss of Southern markets, which caused a real contraction in the commercial activity of many segments of the state's economic life, produced a serious depressing effect upon Maryland. Apprehension as to the final outcome of the crisis was productive of a marked decline in securities on the stock market unrelated to their actual value and of an extremely pronounced cautious attitude of Baltimore bankers, merchants, and financiers which in itself bred a lack of confidence. The loss of Southern markets as an outlet for such items as shoes, whiskey, dry goods, and guano and the difficulty in collecting past bills from the South, as well as the cutting off of Baltimore's source of such commodities as rice and cotton, had real meaning

84 34th Annual Report of Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 5-6.

85 Civilian and Telegraph, August 15 and 29, 1861.
for the city's business community. Thus the interaction of these factors caused a general financial and industrial contraction which, in turn, became responsible for the growth of unemployment among the laboring classes and helped to compound the situation further.

Yet, at the same time, in 1861 there began to appear a factor which was to become increasingly important to Maryland's economy. The role of the Federal government, at first small but later to become a major factor, was helpful in relieving some of the distress in the areas of grain, iron and metal manufacturing, and transportation, although military interference on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad did not bolster it financially as in the case of the Northern Central Railway. Consequently, with the war many segments of Maryland commercial activity began to adjust to meet increasing government demands and needs and became the recipients of Federal contracts.
CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT TO
WAR TIME CONDITIONS

Many of the unsettled economic conditions in Baltimore and Maryland continued into 1862, but there were also definite signs of returning prosperity to some segments of commercial life and of a more settled adjustment to war time conditions. With the progress of the war and the various needs of the government and army, certain areas of business life became much more attuned to the transition and began to profit from this new source of revenue. Still, war time conditions did, on occasion, adversely affect economic conditions in Maryland. Restrictions on trade and commerce persisted and coupled with the new development of invasion from the South and frequent Confederate raids, which temporarily destroyed lines of communication, handicapped the flow of commerce.

Yet some branches of the commercial community continued to languish as a consequence of higher tariffs, depreciation of currency, and the general effects of the war. There was also a further contraction of Baltimore's foreign
commerce, not only as it had been in 1861, in regards to imports, but now in the value of exports to foreign markets as well. In the previous year the value of imports into the city had dropped to $5,534,411 from $9,379,121 in 1860, and in 1862 there was even a further decline to $3,466,458 for the year. Exports, which had previously increased to $11,471,793 over the 1860 figure of $10,913,170, now dropped in 1862 below the two previous years' totals to a low of $10,346,164. But at the same time, the actual aggregate tonnage for the port of Baltimore showed a slight increase over the 200,206 tons of 1861 to 201,118.\(^1\)

Restrictions on trade were a constant source of complaint by the business community. The Baltimore Board of Trade complained bitterly about the number of restrictions on commerce by the military authorities under the plea of military necessity, which the board felt was merely a form of discrimination against the city in favor of other Northern cities.\(^2\) Vessels using the Potomac river were required to obtain permits from officers of the Navy Department,\(^3\) and merchants, who

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\(^1\)The 13th Annual Report of The Board of Trade of Baltimore; Being for the Year 1862 (Baltimore, 1863), 3-4.

\(^2\)Ibid., 3-4.

\(^3\)Sun, September 15, 1862.
were engaged in the shipment of merchandise, were required to submit to a loyalty oath by the collector of the port. Later in September merchants were also required to submit duplicate bills of lading as well as subscribe to an oath that the goods were not intended for any prohibited use. Captains of the vessel, in cases where they were acting as purchasing agents, also had to comply with similar oaths. The Cambridge Herald reported that for local merchants to trade with Baltimore they not only had to comply with such restrictions and subscribe to an oath but also had to file an affidavit with the collector that all invoices were correct. Even merchandise which was shipped into the western counties required a custom house permit costing twenty cents and was subject to the necessary oath before it could be transported westward.

Heavy demands by the government for transportation of troops and supplies commanded much of the city's steamship and transportation facilities and consequently reduced the number of ships in use for domestic trade. The Board of Trade in its annual report indicated that steamship lines between Baltimore and Northern ports had been virtually suspended as

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4 Ibid., September 26, 1862.
5 Cambridge, Herald, October 1, 1862.
6 Frederick, Examiner, November 12, 1862.
a consequence of this demand. Many of the local sailing vessels therefore found constant employment navigating rivers as government transports, and the government was thus responsible for creating more prosperous times for domestic shipping interests. However, coupled with this factor, the increased scarcity of coal was an additional deterrent to maritime activity, and the regular coastal trade was considered dull.

The shipbuilding interests of the city also showed considerably more activity than they had in the previous year. Although city shipyards were still not operating at full capacity, the number and tonnage of ships under construction had increased, but still did not approach the number and tonnage constructed in 1860. In the previous year, fifteen vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 3,346 tons had been built, while in 1862 the number of ships under construction had increased to nineteen with an aggregate tonnage of 4,696. Shipbuilders also found that construction of medium and lower class vessels was much more profitable than of ships of the larger class, and consequently there was considerably more

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7 13th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 4-5.
8 Ibid., 29.
9 Sun, January 21, 1863.
10 13th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 29.
activity in these two classes. Along with the building of new vessels the shipbuilding industry also profited by doing a considerable amount of repair work on government ships which were employed as a part of the blockade.\textsuperscript{11}

War conditions also had far reaching ramifications on dry goods, hardware, and provisions and required merchants to make a temporary adjustment to the new prevailing conditions. Much of the demand in previous years for supplies had come from the South and Southwest, but with the war these markets were now closed to Baltimore factors. But fortunately for the local business the increased activity of the Federal government in purchasing supplies for the needs of the army helped to relieve the depressed state of the market, and since Baltimore was situated very near the military operations in Virginia she was able to gain a fair share of the business in supplying the army with provisions.\textsuperscript{12} Nevertheless, even with the increased government purchases the Board of Trade reported that local trade in provisions, liquors, boots and shoes, and groceries had still declined.\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Ibid.}, 4-5.
\item\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Sun}, January 2, 1863.
\item\textsuperscript{13} \textit{13th Annual Report of Board of Trade}, 3-4.
\end{itemize}
Manufacturing interests which initially had been seriously affected by the early developments of the crisis and war were now beginning to enjoy much more prosperous times under the protection of new and higher tariffs as well as from the increased spending by the government for supplies and equipment.\textsuperscript{14} The iron industry, reacting to the new demands for its products, seemed to be revitalized and prices rapidly advanced. Charcoal pig iron, which had nearly ceased being produced, again began to expand, and soon six furnaces were engaged in producing over six thousand tons selling between $30.00 and $42.00 a ton. Rolling mills in the area also became crowded with orders in 1862, and one firm, Abbott and Sons, produced over ten thousand tons, while another new rolling mill was put into operation at Locus Point.\textsuperscript{15} With the change in construction of military vessels from wood to iron, the subsequent increase in demand for iron gave an even greater impetus for the revitalization of the industry.\textsuperscript{16} Iron plates became a chief item of production in meeting government orders, and plants like the Avalon Mills altered

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 3-4.
\textsuperscript{15} Sun., January 2, 1863.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., May 3, 1862.
their facilities to accommodate the new needs. Along with the iron industry the city's copper smelting companies were also in full operation and were restricted in their operations only by the scarcity of coal. 17

With the source of much of Baltimore's cotton supply still closed to the city, the industry continued to operate on a limited basis. Local textile mills were frequently closed down in response to the lagging supply of cotton. Much of the raw material was received from the East, but in addition to this source there was some relief from the West which supplied city factors with some three thousand to four thousand bales. Cotton prices were guided by New York market quotations, and during the year prices greatly fluctuated and reached some of their highest levels in 1862. 18 Still, even with a limited supply of cotton, many firms did succeed in making profits. The Union factory in Baltimore was able to declare dividends of $2.50 a share in April, while later in August Richard H. Townsend in his diary noted that the Union factory had sold 175 bales of brown drills for 32½¢

17 Ibid., January 2, 1863.
18 13th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 22-23.
to 25¢ a yard which was generally worth only from 10¢ to 12½¢ a yard. 19

Another branch of trade which still continued to be seriously affected by the war was guano, which almost virtually ceased to exist. With its chief consumer, the South, cut off from the Baltimore market the importation of the item was drastically cut. While in the previous year 30,834 tons had been imported into the city and had represented a considerable decline from 1860's total of 71,614 tons, the 1862 tonnage figures dropped to a mere 4,000. 20 Also with Southern markets cut off, whiskey continued to suffer as well as the guano trade. Although with the impending heavy excise tax to be laid on whiskey, the first eight months of the year proved to be its most active period. Despite this outburst of activity in the first part of the year, the loss of the Southern market, the heavy excise tax of ten cents on the gallon, and the high price of corn and rye forced most distillers in the Baltimore region virtually to suspend operations. 21

20 13th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 24.
21 Ibid., 29; Sun, January 2, 1863.
Rice like whiskey was another commodity to feel the effects of the war. With the effects of the blockade there was so little activity in rice that the Board of Trade in its annual publication deemed it unnecessary to include any quotations in regard to it. Other imported items such as coffee also continued to decline from their former figures. Coffee fell from 190,150 pounds in 1860 to 139,804 in the succeeding year and to 79,929 in 1862. The Board of Trade attributed some of the decline to the high prices which prevailed throughout the year, and with the quantity limited it proved to be a profitable enterprise for those engaged in the importation of the item. At the opening of 1862 coffee had been quoted at 20¢, but by December the price had risen to 31½¢ to 32¢. The rise of the commodity in price created difficulties for the consumer, and many newspapers in the western section of the state carried, in their columns, recipes for imitation coffee.

The oyster market likewise had to readjust to prevailing conditions and to a shortened supply, with the principal fields of Virginia still being closed to Maryland.

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22 Ibid., 26.
23 Ibid., 21.
24 Thomas J. C. Williams, A History of Washington County, Maryland (1906), I, 321.
dredgers. The heavy reliance upon Maryland beds in the previous year reduced the output of those areas in supplying the market. Another damaging effect upon the trade was the large number of vessels either destroyed, seized, or confiscated since the beginning of the war. 25 But in response to the diminished supply, prices advanced, and it proved to be an active as well as profitable season for Baltimore houses. Along with this rise in prices and also with a newly increased demand from the West, established oyster firms were able to maintain full employment. Engaged in this trade were some thirty-three houses which handled around a million and a half bushels, of which approximately only two hundred thousand were locally consumed. Even though the industry was not as hard hit by the war as some others, there was a drop in total income to city factors from this source. The estimated value for the 1862 season was between $1,200,000 and $1,400,000 in contrast to the former year's estimate of $1,800,000. 26

While the volume of trade in many other areas had declined, inspections of flour on the other hand were higher

25 Sun, October 9, 1862.
26 13th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 30; Sun, January 20, 1863.
than in any previous year since 1853. Receipts in the previous year which had totaled 890,404 barrels had risen in 1862 to 967,632. But at the same time there was actually a slight decline in exports from the 375,658 barrels in 1861 to 360,273 for 1862. Although flour as an export commodity had shown a decline, domestic consumption on the other hand increased to meet both local and government requirements. As with flour, the consumption of corn also materially rose to meet military needs as well as the city's. Responding to the expanded market, corn receipts also increased to 3,220,189 bushels over the previous year's total of 2,490,374 bushels. 27

Another segment of the city's trade which also began to profit from government purchases was wool. In actuality it was more of a readjustment of the trade, for foreign imports totaled only one-half of 1861's figure, while domestic receipts showed an increase from 555,750 pounds to 675,245 in 1862. Earlier in the year trading in wool had been somewhat slack, but with increased demands from the government for low and medium grades the market became increasingly more active and prices advanced as much as 50 per cent. 28

27 Ibid., 22-23.
28 Ibid., 28.
Despite frequent raids and the Confederate invasion in September, economic conditions of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad improved over 1861. In fact, in the two months of July and August company revenues were in excess of $1,200,000, which was the largest income theretofore earned by the road in any similar given time period since the finishing of the line to the Ohio River. Nevertheless, there still prevailed constant feelings of frustration over the frequent interruptions of trade on the Main Stem. These interruptions consequently forced some business otherwise carried on the Baltimore and Ohio over the Pennsylvania Central Railroad and allowed the Pennsylvania Central to increase its freight rates. Company officials had also become rather sensitive to charges of disloyalty from Northern and Western critics, and they blamed these charges as the reason for the government's delay in assisting the company in completely reopening the road. To offset such criticism the board ordered that if any employee in any capacity was known or discovered to be disloyal, he would be immediately discharged and that

29 Ibid., 4-5.
henceforth no persons except loyal citizens would be hired by the railroad.\textsuperscript{30}

In spite of the continuance of adverse conditions, the road's earnings on both the Washington Branch and the Main Stem showed a considerable increase from both passenger revenue and freight. Indicative of the growing rail traffic was the growth on the Washington Branch. At the beginning of the war the company estimated that it required an average of eight cars a day to take care of the freight service to Washington, but from October, 1861 to March, 1862 the number of cars needed had grown to an estimated four hundred cars a day loaded with supplies for both the civilian and military populace of the city.\textsuperscript{31} While in 1861 the Washington Branch had derived some $327,879.03 from passenger service and

\textsuperscript{30}Times, April 11, 1862. Actions such as Garrett's cancellation in April, 1861 of the arrangements with Governor Dennison of Ohio to transport troops eastward in order to handle troops coming from the North to Washington created distrust in that quarter, and the conflicts in the first year between Garrett and Thomas A. Scott, who in 1860 had become vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad and had been appointed Assistant Secretary of War in 1861, and Secretary of War Cameron, who was also a director of the Northern Central, bred charges of disloyalty out of the ensuing tensions of war and past hostilities. Thomas Weber, The Northern Railroads in the Civil War (New York, 1952), 29-30 and 37-38.

\textsuperscript{31}The 36th Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, for the Year Ending September 30, 1862 (Baltimore), 38.
$110,260.66 from freight for an aggregate total of $438,139.69, receipts for 1862 had risen to $778,416.67 of which $444,262.30 were from passenger and $334,154.37 from freight revenue. With the growth of revenue the company was able to pay semi-annual dividends of 4½ per cent on its stock.  

Even with military operations and property destruction along the Main Stem it was able also to increase its earnings considerably over the previous year's total. Much of its increased revenues was the result of more frequent usage of the line in conjunction with military operations, and even much of the civilian traffic was related to the military establishment. In this connection the government had priority for the use of the line in transporting troops and supplies, and there were times when the company was ordered to carry soldiers and supplies to the exclusion of other freight.  Yet passenger service, which in the previous year had netted the company $887,159.05, increased to a total of $1,769,479.13 in 1862. Freight revenues also rose, but only slightly in comparison to the year's passenger revenue; freight income amounted to $2,712,361.85 in contrast

32 Ibid., 13 and 28-29.
33 Official Records, Series 1, XII, Part 3, 217.
to the 1861 total of $2,324,266.65. But at the same time within this increase in the volume of freight, there was a serious decline in the amount of coal being shipped on the Main Stem. While in 1861 213,984 tons had been shipped on the Baltimore and Ohio, the amount of coal hauled in the fiscal year 1862 declined to 160,705 tons. 34

The Northern Central Railway also profited as a result of the war, and the growth of the railroad's business became much greater than its capacity and created occasional shipping problems. With military demands having priority, normal operations were often interrupted and became a source of complaint as well as embarrassment to shippers, especially those dealing in coal. Still the road's gross earnings indicated a 35 per cent increase over the previous year's revenue. The total earnings for the year 1862 amounted to $1,891,055.32 and represented an increase of $496,518.59 over the income for 1861. Although the railroad still depended upon the government as a source of income, in 1862 there was a slight decline in fares from this source for the transportation of troops in the amount of $20,422.19 compared with 1861. 35 

35 Eighth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Northern Central Railway Co. to the Stockholders for the Year 1862 (Baltimore, 1863), 4, 23, and 27.
Of the three major lines of transportation the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal still continued to feel the adverse effects of the war more acutely and had not recovered from the previous year's slump. Several factors were instrumental in the continued decline of canal revenues in 1862. Confederate raids and Lee's invasion in September along with those emanating from natural causes were sources of interruption to traffic. Low water in the Potomac and river flooding caused breaches and damage along the canal and helped to add to the mounting financial difficulties of the company. As a result of a combination of these factors, tolls for 1862 slumped some $6,581.14 below the previous year's total. The decrease in revenue also reflected the corresponding drop in the volume of tonnage both ascending and descending the canal. Indicative of this reduction in freight was the drop in the transportation of coal, which was one of the principal items carried by the company, from 119,893 to 94,819 tons. During the year much of the supervisory authority which had been assumed by military authorities over the canal was again placed under the direction of the company's president,

The 35th Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company to the Stockholders (Washington, 1863), 3-7.
Alfred Spates. Also some of the confiscated property, including boats, lock houses, and scows, was returned to the company's control. 37

Even though the canal itself remained in a financially precarious position, it did spur some economic activity along its route. In Cumberland, boatyards were busily engaged in preparations for the 1862 commercial season. New boats were under construction to replace those which had been either destroyed or confiscated, while old ones were refurbished for further service. 38 Also many persons along the canal became employed in cutting and shipping wood to Washington to supply the Army of the Potomac with fuel. With the government paying $4.00 a cord and each regiment being allotted 250 cords for its winter supply, the quantity of wood needed was great, and the Baltimore Sun estimated the value of the trade at around a million dollars. 39

37 Civilian and Telegraph, May 1, 1862.
38 Sun, March 24, 1862.
39 Ibid., January 8, 1862.
CHAPTER III

TREND TOWARDS ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Many of the improving economic conditions which were in evidence during 1862 had, by 1863, considerably increased Baltimore's prosperity and stability in contrast to the previous two years of instability and uncertainty. Much of the financial inertia which had been created by the crisis and the war began to give way to a renewed period of commercial activity on the part of both merchants and industrialists. Within this resurgence of economic growth new outlets and enterprises were sought for capital, as in the case of the newly emerging oil industry as well as in the expansion of older industries. One of the chief factors underlying much of Baltimore's prosperity were the liberal expenditures by the Federal government for supplies, produce, and transportation. By 1863 the Federal government had become very important to the economy of Maryland and almost all phases of her commercial life either directly or indirectly.¹

¹The 14th Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Baltimore; Being for the Year 1863 (Baltimore, 1864), 1.
Reflecting this increase in commercial activity was the sharp rise in currency circulation in 1863. During the period of crisis in January, 1861, bank circulation was reported to have been $3,558,000 which had increased only to $3,794,000 by the following January, but circulation in 1863, with the return of more favorable conditions, jumped to $6,650,000 in the same month and suffered only a slight decline to $6,437,600 by July, 1863. The condition of the state treasury was also considered so prosperous that consideration was given to the repeal of all direct tax laws, but for fear of future exigencies which might arise out of the war, the Governor was reluctant to recommend their total repeal. As it was, he did recommend that some restrictions be placed on the rate of taxation.

The Baltimore harbor showed a slight growth of activity over the two preceding years. The number of ships arriving at the port was the largest since 1860, but within this count was included a large number of small ships which were used as government transports. The total number of vessels had increased to 2,510 in contrast to the 2,403 of

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2 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1863* (New York, 1864), 411.
the previous year. Yet at the same time there was an actual decline in Baltimore's foreign commerce. The value of exports shipped from her harbor in 1863 amounted to only $9,967,903 in comparison with the 1862 total of $10,346,164. In actuality it was a continuance of a decline which had begun in 1861 when exports had totaled $11,471,790 and had decreased in 1862 to $10,346,164 and to an even lower figure in 1863. Even though foreign imports indicated a slight increase, the actual total was far greater than the records indicated inasmuch as many of the city's imports were received at more northerly ports where the duties were paid and then transshipped to the Baltimore market. Consequently, most of the city's imported dry goods came through Northern ports.

Restrictions on Maryland trade as an outgrowth of military necessity continued into 1863. Trade regulations remained a source of considerable resentment among the commercial community, and Baltimore merchants in several meetings protested that some of the proscriptions on trade were not justified merely because of the state's geographical position to the war. Despite the protests the Federal government still

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4 14th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 33-34 and 38.
5 Ibid., 1.
6 Sun, August 18, 1863.
maintained a strict surveillance over commerce, and, in 1863, instructions were sent to the Boards of Trade of Salisbury and Princess Anne counties to tighten up the restrictions in those areas. They were ordered to deny commercial permits to all persons who were suspected of disloyalty, regardless of the fact that they might have taken an oath of allegiance to the government. Yet, the issuance of the permits was left up to the board's discretion, and it was indicated that mere disagreement with policies of the government was not to be construed necessarily as being disloyal. It was also suggested that if all the members of a firm did not take an oath or give some satisfaction as to their loyalty, then that firm should also be denied a permit until those who were considered disloyal were dismissed from the establishment.

Traffic on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was still strictly supervised to prevent the shipment of contraband of war to areas south of the Potomac River. In March the government began to tighten its control, and in doing so issued orders that the trade regulations, which had been promulgated earlier in January, were to be strictly enforced. Consequently, only supplies shipped to loyal families, sutlers, and

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Cambridge, Herald, April 22, 1863; Sun, April 27, 1863.
Union soldiers bearing a custom house permit were allowed to pass from Maryland into Virginia. The necessary permit was required to bear the signature of the proper revenue officer as well as the written approval of an officer who had inspected the merchandise before shipment to insure the true nature of the goods. Certain items in the regulations were generally proscribed by the military, such as liquors, except those for military usage, as well as all items termed as contraband and those which did not have a proper permit. In cases where there was an indication that the oath of allegiance had been merely taken for profit motives, it was not accepted as an act of good faith and provided grounds for the denial of a permit.  

Regardless of the governmental restrictions, Baltimore and Maryland trade prospered and benefited from the presence of the army despite some of the resulting inconveniences. The flour trade was one such enterprise which profited by the demands of the government. With the increased demands from the military coupled with the domestic market needs, the consumption of flour was larger than it had been in any previous year. This coupled with a considerable

8 Official Records, Series 1, XXV, Part 2, 142-143.
coastwise trade caused inspections to total some 135,226 barrels over the 1862 figure of 967,632 barrels. However, there still persisted a continuation of the decline in the amount of the commodity exported, for in 1863 exports totaled only 326,450 in contrast to the 360,273 barrels of the previous year and 375,658 in 1861. Yet even though as an export commodity flour continued to decline, there was a new development and increased activity among city millers in refining a superior brand which was suitable to a warm climate and which was exportable to South America.  

The cotton industry in Baltimore still remained largely unsettled and depended upon the fluctuation of supply, which in turn produced fluctuating prices. Changing prices were a cause of constant concern to manufacturers, for with the drop in prices profits also shrank, and consequently the market on such occasions proved not to be very remunerative for the capitalist. The Union factory reflected some of the plight of the textile industry in Baltimore. Its operations were rather sporadic with periods when the mill was kept running at half time merely to keep the labor force together, while at other times such as in May it was idle for the

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9 14th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 1-6 and 25.
entire month. Thus the trade was fairly well limited to the needs of the Maryland region. Most of the city's raw material was received from either the West or New York. Some 2,285 bales had been brought into the city by way of the Northern Central Railway and another 3,869 had been transported by the Baltimore and Ohio, while an additional 4,000 had been received from New York making a total of 10,154 bales for the year.12

Early in the year Baltimore factors had become very apprehensive over the oyster season's prospects. As a result of the previous season's scarcity, prices had gone up an estimated 25 per cent, but in 1863 there had been considerable alarm over the fear that many of the oyster beds had been either exhausted or destroyed. Another cause for the concern was the estimate that one-half of the boats normally engaged in the trade had been destroyed since the beginning of the war.13 But contrary to the earlier fears of the commercial community, the market for 1863 was estimated to have increased 33 1/3 per cent over the previous year's business. Consequently, the increased activity gave wider employment, and the season netted nearly two million bushels.14

11Ibid., 928, 939, and 941.
1214th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 24-25.
13Sun, July 18, 1863.
14Ibid., January 1, 1864.
Another commercial activity which was beginning to expand rapidly and to assume a place of importance in the city's economy was the petroleum industry. Baltimore's geographical proximity to the oil fields of western Virginia and Pennsylvania gave Baltimore entrepreneurs hope that it might become a major petroleum center. Oil receipts by 1863 had doubled and between four and five new establishments had been added to the city's growing number of refineries, which totaled some twelve concerns operating in the city. The year's receipts had risen to 63,189 barrels compared with the 28,580 which had been received in 1862. Within this figure 19,563 barrels of refined oil and 38,506 of crude oil had been imported from Parkersburg, Virginia along with some 2,000 barrels from other sources. Oil as an export commodity also greatly increased over the previous year's total, for in 1862 only 172,830 gallons had been shipped to foreign ports, whereas in 1863 the figure had jumped to 915,866.  

The coal industry was another area to feel the revival of increased activity and demands, and was also favored with fairly uninterrupted transportation facilities, with the exception of the month of July, and consequently mine operators were able to provide Baltimore with the largest supply of coal

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15 14th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 28.
ever brought to the city's market. With the favorable conditions, tonnage figures increased from the 1862 total of 554,787 to 812,428 tons for 1863. Of this figure, 432,683 tons were carried over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which represented an increase of 271,564 tons for that line, while the Northern Central Railway transported some 107,688 tons which was only a slight increase of 20,168 over this road. However, coal being shipped through the Susquehanna canal showed an actual decline of some 50,092 tons, but with an additional 5,188 tons from foreign sources and the quantity brought to the city by the two railroads, the Baltimore market was well supplied with bituminous coal. But at the same time, with the increase in the supply of bituminous, there was a lesser dependence upon anthracite, and consequently there was a slight decline in its yearly volume of 399,670 in 1862 to 379,745 tons for 1863.\(^{16}\)

The increased influx of coal furnished a much needed supply of fuel for Baltimore's booming iron industry. The Ashland Iron works was in full operation and was reported to have been doing better than it had ever done before.\(^{17}\) The iron works had increased its production by May to two hundred

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\(^{16}\)Ibid., 34-35.

\(^{17}\)Sun, March 28, 1863.
tons of first grade pig iron a week.\textsuperscript{18} Other manufacturers also seemed to be prospering as well by the end of 1863, and Townsend in his diary recorded that they "were able to dispose of their goods as soon as they were ready for market."\textsuperscript{19}

The shipbuilding industry was also busy in 1863, but still remained below the 1860 number of ships and tonnage under construction. Still, the year reported a total of twenty-six vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 5,561 tons under construction as compared with the previous year's figure of only nineteen ships with an aggregate tonnage of 4,696, but it still remained below the 1860 figure of thirty-eight ships with an aggregate tonnage of 7,929.\textsuperscript{20} Not only were the shipyards of Baltimore active, but the boatyards of Cumberland were also busily engaged in building and repairing canal boats for the opening of the season to transport coal to eastern markets.\textsuperscript{21}

Even though prosperity was beginning to return to Maryland the war still had serious effects on some commodities such as rice and guano. The guano trade continued to decline

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., May 30, 1863.
\textsuperscript{19} "Diary of Richard H. Townsend," II, 944.
\textsuperscript{20} 14th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 33.
\textsuperscript{21} Sun, March 7, 1863.
with its normal outlets cut off, and consequently only 3,000 tons were imported in 1863 in contrast to the 4,000 in 1862 and the 30,834 which had been imported in 1861. The languishing trade in the commodity caused the agency to shut down and send the residue of its stock of some 13,000 tons to Spain. Nevertheless, there still remained in the state a limited supply of guano to supply immediate domestic needs. On a quantitative basis the coffee market continued to decline with imports dropping from 79,929 bags in 1862 to 75,801 in 1863, while in 1860 the Baltimore area had imported 190,150 bags. Much of the decline was attributed more to the high price of the commodity than to other reasons.

Financial conditions of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad also reflected the improving conditions in contrast to the two previous years. The railroad had become extremely important to both the civilian populace and the military, which used it for the transportation of troops and supplies. Especially important to both civilians and the military was the transportation of coal on the line. With the heavy demand

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22 14th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 27.
23 Ibid., 24-25.
for its facilities from both elements the road became taxed to its utmost capacity. 24 However, as in 1862, the Baltimore and Ohio was not without a period of interruption and the road was again subjected to considerable damage as a result of Confederate actions. Yet the company was able to pay two dividends of 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) per cent on the Washington Branch and 3 per cent on the Main Stem into the State Treasury. Consequently with the dividends and the capitation tax on passengers traveling on the Washington Branch, the Baltimore and Ohio provided Maryland with one of her most remunerative investments. 25

Even though the road did enjoy a more prosperous year, the earnings on the Washington Branch declined some $75,293.08 from the 1862 total but still remained $264,983.90 above the 1861 figure. The Washington Branch received a total of $703,123.59 in revenue for the fiscal year; revenues from passenger service had actually increased at the expense of freight from the $444,262.30 of the previous year to $500,117.08 in 1863, but it was revenue from freight tonnage that had caused the overall drop in income for the line. In

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24 *Times*, January 10, 1863.

1862 revenue had amounted to $334,154.37 but in the following year totaled only $203,006.51. Despite the decline in revenue, the line was still being taxed to its capacity, and the company was engaged in major improvements to better its facilities, and in the latter part of the year the Baltimore and Ohio began the construction of a second track to help accommodate the heavy traffic of the road.

Unlike the Washington Branch, earnings on the Main Stem from both passenger and freight revenue considerably increased. These increases were partially the result of the greater length of time the entire route was opened to traffic in contrast to the previous year. Whereas in the preceding year the entire line was open only for approximately a little over four and a half months, in 1863, the road remained opened approximately six months out of the year. Rate increases also helped to add additional revenues to the company. Consequently, the company derived some $2,332,806.37 in income in contrast to the previous year's total of $1,769,497.13 from passenger service and an even larger amount from freight tolls of $2,712,361.85 to $4,177,138.69 for 1863, and as a result the aggregate yearly earnings on the Main Stem increased from a total of $4,481,858.98 in 1862 to $6,509,945.06. Also indicative of this increase of business was the near
doubling in the quantity of coal handled in 1863. In the previous year the line had hauled only 160,705 tons, but during 1863 this had risen to 307,547 tons. 26

As in the case of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Northern Central Railway also continued to benefit from the increased traffic on its road. The company estimated its earnings to have increased some 20 per cent over the previous year's income. 27 With the increase of both civilian and government business, the road's single track and equipment were severely taxed to their utmost capacity. Along with this growth of business local trade on the line also had considerably improved. It had been formerly customary to suspend local trains during the winter months, but with the increase of local traffic a successful attempt was made to maintain trains during the winter, and with its success the company reversed its former policy. Still the government remained one of the company's largest customers; out of a total net revenue for the year of $2,307,448.30 the government's bill for the transportation of troops amounted to $307,739.30 in


27 Ninth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Northern Central Railway Co. to the Stockholders for the Year 1863 (Baltimore, 1864), 23.
comparison with the $592,676.50 from regular passenger
service.  

The railroad did suffer considerable damage and loss of business from the Confederate invasion in June and July, and company officials estimated the loss at some $108,792.83 in business as a consequence of the invasion. The losses would have been far greater had not company officials, with the first War Department reports of the impending threat, taken precautions of removing all of its rolling stock to areas of safety. Such actions saved much of the movable property from depredations, and from the middle of June and into July operations on the Northern Central were virtually suspended except for military usage. But despite many of the company's precautions thirty-three bridges were destroyed along with much other damage done to the line. Company officials estimated the cost of the invasion to the railroad at $234,900.  

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal also suffered similar damages to its property as well as a loss of business. The company estimated that the depredations had cost the canal some $15,000, while it had lost some $50,000 in revenue. Yet despite Confederate actions the financial condition of the

28 Ibid., 15.
29 Ibid., 15, 31-32.
canal had improved over the two previous years. In 1863 there were fewer military interruptions and canal tolls were able to increase $90,942.42 over the 1862 figure. The aggregate tonnage ascending the canal only slightly increased from the previous year's total of 2,603 to 2,936 tons, but the descending traffic tonnage doubled from 124,190 in 1862 to 262,911 for 1863. With the increased tonnage and the resultant rise in income the canal was able to net a profit of $60,432.88 after expenses. 30

The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal also gave evidence of the increased commercial activity of the Baltimore area. The company in its annual statement reported its receipts to have been greater than in any previous year of its operation. The number of ships passing both westward and eastward through the canal had greatly increased. East bound traffic accounted for 6,813 boats in contrast to 1862's figure of 5,750, while vessels heading west had increased from 5,963 to 7,480 in 1863. Within this growth there was a considerable increase in tolls collected from Baltimore and Havre de Grace sources. There had been a steady growth in the amount of tolls from

30 The 36th Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company to the Stockholders (Washington, 1864), 3-8.
Baltimore sources; in 1861 receipts had totaled $70,689.75 and had risen to $95,673.56 in the following year and in 1863 had reached the total of $118,953.50. Tolls from Havre de Grace sources indicated much more fluctuation; in 1861 revenue collected from boats of this origin had been $37,959.35 which had declined in the following year to $25,325.00, but had again increased to $37,987.90 in 1863, a figure fairly consistent with the 1861 one and the 1860 receipts of $38,519.15.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{31} The Forty-Fourth General Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company (Philadelphia, 1863), 7-13.
RETURN OF PROSPERITY DURING THE LAST STAGES OF THE WAR

By 1864 much of Baltimore's former prosperity had returned, a fact which prompted the Baltimore American to assert that despite the loss of Southern markets the city had found new outlets of trade and was "as prosperous as ever." The Board of Trade also reported that after the first two years of prostrated trade, the city had considerably recovered, and its prospects of growing prosperity were good. Yet, with the many evidences of a general return to good times, there were remaining in Maryland's economy a number of disturbing factors which continued to persist as an outgrowth of the war. Inflation, which had a tendency to conceal the actual quantitative growth of the city's economy, made for higher prices to the individual consumer. Interruptions of rail traffic on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and canal

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1 Baltimore, American and Commercial Advertiser, February 5, 1864. (Hereafter cited as the American.)
2 The 15th Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Baltimore; Being for the Year 1864 (Baltimore, 1864), 3-5.
shipments on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal by Confederate forces were a continuing source of interference to the major suppliers of coal and western products to the city's market. The scarcity of labor resulting from recruitment and emancipation of slaves was another adverse factor operating in the state's economic life. Nevertheless, in the last year and four months of the war, the state recovered from the depressed period which had followed the 1860 crisis, and the city's economic future in 1864 looked promising, while the Baltimore *American* predicted with great optimism a return to the day when trade with the South would be resumed under even more favorable conditions.³

The port facilities of the city's harbor continued to increase commercial activity in both the value of exports and imports over the 1863 totals. In 1863 imports had totaled some $5,386,704, while in 1864 they had risen to $6,076,299 but still remained less than the 1860 figure of $9,379,121. In the value of exports the 1864 total exceeded both the 1860 figure of $10,913,170 and the previous year's total of $9,967,903 for a high of $12,362,448.⁴ The growth of commercial activity can be readily seen in the harbor figures

³*American*, February 5, 1864.
⁴15th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 38.
for April and May. In April 8,599 permits representing an estimated value of $2,068,956.08 were issued in contrast to the corresponding month of the preceding year, in which 6,179 representing an estimated value of $1,198,549.93 had been granted,\(^5\) while in May 806, more permits with an increase of $301,870.15 were recorded over the corresponding previous month.\(^6\) At the same time the value of exports do not necessarily indicate an equivalent quantitative increase in exports, and such items as breadstuffs, with the exception of flour, pork, lard, and tallow, actually showed a decline.

In the case of tobacco its value as an export had grown, but the actual quantity had dropped and was responsible for its rise in value.\(^7\)

The volume of ships, consisting mainly of local steamers, arriving at Baltimore remained fairly consistent and showed only a slight increase over the former year. The city's commercial ties with Europe were largely confined to tobacco, bark, timber, and petroleum. Most of the medium and smaller class vessels continued to be in active demand and apparently commanded better rates than the larger ships.

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\(^5\) *American*, May 4, 1864.
\(^7\) *Sun*, January 4, 1865.
Much of the demand for the services of craft in these two categories came from government sources for use in transporting troops and supplies, and consequently such employment formed a substantial portion of the carrying-trade's revenue. The shipbuilding industry in Baltimore in 1864 showed a decline in relation to the previous year in the number and tonnage under construction, and those ships which were under construction were all of the more profitable smaller class.

Exports such as flour and petroleum continued to show an increase as an export commodity, although flour inspections in the city actually declined some 69,425 barrels from the previous year's total of 1,102,858 barrels. Despite the drop in inspections, which were still above the 1862 and 1861 figures, foreign exports rose from 326,450 barrels in 1863 to 333,042 and slightly reversed the downward trend from the 1861 total of 375,658. Still the Federal government remained one of the city's heaviest users of flour, averaging approximately 15,000 barrels a month for an aggregate yearly consumption of approximately 180,000 barrels. The government

8 15th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 34.
9 Ibid., 3-5.
10 Ibid., 32.
was also a heavy purchaser of Maryland grain, and consequently the heavy demands on general provision supplies and corn for the army and navy kept stocks of merchants at low levels.¹¹

Even though the petroleum industry had showed strong flourishing signs of expansion in 1863 and had increased its exports from 915,866 gallons of the previous year to 929,971 in 1864, there was actually a contraction in its activity during the year. Oil receipts from western Pennsylvania showed a decline and there was no further increase in the number of refineries in operation in the city. The Board of Trade reported that actually one or two of the establishments had been destroyed by fire during the year.¹²

Items such as coffee, cotton, and guano remained very irregular on the Baltimore market. Even though the coffee market remained somewhat irregular in 1864, importations had considerably increased; in 1863 imports had totaled 75,801 bags, while in 1864 this figure had risen to 97,620 of which 91,184 bags had been imported from Rio de Janeiro. Unlike the coffee trade, transactions in guano remained limited and continued to suffer from the loss of markets. As a

¹¹Ibid., 32.
¹²Ibid., 33.
consequence it had almost wilted away compared to its pre-war activity. The importation of the commodity did rise slightly over the 1863 figure by approximately 1,400 tons, but was still fairly consistent with the 1862 figure of 4,000 tons and the 1863 total of 3,000.\textsuperscript{13}

The cotton industry in Baltimore was still limited in its supply and was confined mainly to supplying local needs. In 1864 city factors received an estimated 16,433 bales from a variety of sources, a figure which represented a marked improvement over the preceding year. Of this total, 4,533 bales had been transported to city markets by the Baltimore and Ohio. An additional 2,000 was hauled by the Northern Central Railway, while another 10,000 bales arrived from New York, the West Indies, and Matamoras.\textsuperscript{14} Cotton prices still fluctuated considerably during 1864 and in the early months of 1865. By August prices had risen to a record high and remained temporarily high. Even though prices for cotton goods were also high, manufacturers in August complained that they "fell short of the advance in the raw material," and Richard Townsend, recording in his diary in September, complained

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 28 and 31.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 29.
that the price of raw cotton allowed no profits to the manufacturer. The high prices of August were of short duration, for in January, 1865 the price of raw cotton dropped to ninety cents a pound from a high of $1.85 in September, and with the news that Sherman's army had captured thirty thousand bales the market price continued to decline, so that by April, 1865 the commodity was bringing fifty-six cents a pound.  

For the average citizen, inflation made the cost of living a high price to pay for the return to prosperity. Groups like the clergy with their lagging salaries found the rising cost of living difficult to manage. The Jewish clergy, which had had their salaries cut in 1861 as a result of the depressed conditions, by 1864 were feeling the effects of inflation on their reduced income. In 1861 Rabbi Szold of the Oheb Shanlon Congregation had had his salary reduced from $125.00 to $75.00 per month, while another rabbi in the city suffered a similar fate. With the rising cost of living much of the clergy's financial plight was reflected in Cantor

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16American, February 9, 1864. In the North with the rising inflation the greatest sufferers seemed to have been clerks and college professors among those who lived on fixed incomes, but especially acute was the effect on seamstresses who in some cases witnessed a reduction of the piece rate on shirts. Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North, 186 and 201.
Leucht's appeal in late 1865 for a $500.00 raise per year. In support of his appeal he maintained that:

The return of peace has not been accompanied, as was anticipated, by reduction in prices but on the contrary most articles of necessity are held at higher figures than ever.

Despite this appeal, the request was denied. 17

Items of all types had risen to new and higher levels for consumers. By February, 1864 the price of bricks and lumber had doubled, while foodstuffs such as beef, butter, and flour were, considering previous price levels, regarded as high. Beef was bringing from 20¢ to 25¢ a pound, eggs from 50¢ to 60¢ a dozen, and flour from $7.50 to $10.00 a barrel in the Baltimore area. By summer prices had risen even higher, although there were still fluctuations in the market. Eggs sold for 60¢ a dozen; butter in June had sold for as high as 75¢ to $1.00 a pound but had declined by September to 55¢ to 75¢; beef brought 30¢ to 35¢; and coffee sold for 55¢ a pound, while vegetables were estimated at two or three times pre-war prices. 18

There was considerable agitation and resentment over the high prices of commodities in the Baltimore area, and in

the later part of the summer an attempt was undertaken to curb some of the rise in prices, especially on such items as coal and milk. A large meeting held in the city at Temperance Temple protested the growing inflation and sought to devise a method to protect the consumer. By resolution the meeting formed itself into the People's Organization. It was proposed that a joint stock company be formed with a capitalization of $250,000 with shares of five dollars in order that each member might be able to invest in the organization. It was hoped with this capital that coal could be brought directly from the mine to the consumer and thus reduce its price to its members.19 Despite this attempt and constant complaints by the public, prices continued to remain high.

The mayor of Baltimore, reflecting this growing agitation over inflation and especially the rise of coal prices, accused the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad of charging extravagant rates, and reflectively charged that it was "compelling those interested to look for a remedy, and we must not be surprised if the coal interests of Cumberland make a connection with Pennsylvania works if an independent route is not

19 *Sun., September 1, 1864.*
secured." Garrett in attacking the statement maintained that it was unfounded in fact. He asserted that in reality the Pennsylvania Railroad charged "equivalent to one dollar and ten cents per ton of two thousand two hundred and forty pounds,...for the same distance than the Baltimore and Ohio Company charges from Piedmont to Locus Point wharves."\textsuperscript{20}

Not only was the Baltimore consumer plagued with a growing inflation, but other areas were similarly affected. The Hagerstown area reflected much of the price index in the western Maryland region in such items as butter, eggs, lard, and white flour. Indicative of this inflationary spiral was the change of price levels between March and December. In March butter was quoted at 25¢ a pound, eggs at 15¢ a dozen, lard at 9¢ a pound, and white flour at $8.50 a barrel, while in May the same items were as follows: butter at 19¢ to 20¢, eggs at 15¢, lard at 12¢, and white flour at $9.50, but by December they had risen to new levels: butter at 45¢, eggs at 30¢, lard at 20¢, and white flour at $12.50 a barrel.\textsuperscript{21} Yet at the same time there were certain benefits derived by farmers as a result of the rising inflation. James Pearre of

\textsuperscript{20}Address of John W. Garrett, on his re-election as President of the Baltimore and Ohio R.R. Co., on the 23rd November, 1864 together with the Remarks of the President on the Annual Message of the Mayor of Baltimore on the 11th January, 1865 (Baltimore, 1865), 18.

\textsuperscript{21}Hagerstown, Herald and Torch, March 2, May 25, and December 14, 1864.
near Liberty, Maryland recorded that everything brought high prices from little chickens to half-fat cattle; he even re­ported that old cows brought prices ranging from $40 to $50 and little chickens which, when sold at the farm brought thirty cents, sold for fifty cents when they were taken to market. 22

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad continued to profit from the growing volume of business on both the Main Stem and the Washington Branch lines of the road. As was the case in the previous years, the railroad was again subjected to fre­quent interruptions from Confederate raids and in 1864 serious flooding of the Potomac River as well. By 1864 the company had become so accustomed to Southern raids and its resultant destruction of track and bridges that the company had per­fected arrangements by which they were able to repair damaged sections with increased rapidity. A large labor force with all the necessary supplies was maintained and held in readi­ness to be sent to the needed section as soon as the danger had passed. The company had also begun to put into effect the policy of replacing all destroyed wooden bridges with first

22"James Pearre Collection," 1864. (A manuscript of un­numbered and undated notations in the Maryland Historical Society Library.)
class iron ones. In order to secure the iron necessary for this task the Baltimore and Ohio began the construction of an extensive foundry at Mount Clare which was in the process of being completed in the last part of 1864. Despite the destruction from both Confederate actions and floods, the Main Stem was able to operate approximately three-fourths of the year in contrast to the previous year when it was able to operate approximately only six months of the year.

With the more favorable conditions the gross earnings of the Main Stem were able to surpass the previous year's total by $2,067,747.19 and the 1862 earnings by $4,095,833.27. Tonnage on the line also increased an estimated 25 per cent over 1863. Along with this increase was a corresponding growth of freight traffic on the Main Stem of 45,270 tons over the 1863 tonnage figure of 120,848. Within this rise was also an increase in the volume of coal carried from 307,547 tons to 359,561 in 1864. Still at the same time expenses increased approximately 8 per cent and the recurring Southern raids prevented the company from making

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23 Address of John W. Garrett, 6.
24 Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, for the Year Ending September 30, 1864 (Baltimore), 6-7 and 39.
25 Ibid., 39.
permanent repairs on much of the line. Yet despite military interruptions, floods, and an increasing overhead, the line was able to produce net profits of $763,085.55 in 1864.\textsuperscript{26}

The Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio also enjoyed a prosperous year and much work was done on the line. Sections of the road which had begun to be double tracked from the Relay House to Washington were completed in 1864 and greatly facilitated transportation of the heavy troop movements during the year. In this undertaking the company had experienced some difficulty in maintaining sufficient material to complete the double-tracking, for during four different periods the road, as a result of Confederate actions, was forced to divert much of this material to make repairs on the Main Stem. Also during the course of the war the Baltimore and Ohio had replaced its track and ties with iron rails of heavier weight and with white oak ties to accommodate the heavy wartime traffic of the line.\textsuperscript{27}

The railroad did suffer a temporary interruption in its services during July as a consequence of Early’s raid in the state, but despite this, its earnings increased over the

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 7-8.
\textsuperscript{27}Address of John W. Garrett, 4-5.
preceding year's total by $161,357.20 and over the 1862 figure by $86,064.12. Although revenues from passenger service continued to grow, tolls derived from freight showed a decline from the previous year of $27,169.64.28

The Northern Central Railway also continued to profit with its growth of business, and consequently by 1864 had become a sound financial investment for Maryland and Baltimore capital. Its resultant prosperity as a consequence of the war necessitated the addition of more equipment for the road, and during the year the company added 12 locomotives, 209 house cars, 200 gondolas, 8 passenger cars, and 200 coal cars to the rolling stock of the line. Despite the fact that the financial success of the company seemed secure, company officials were considerably concerned with counter-acting the opinion that the road's well-being depended upon Federal patronage and the continuance of the war. In an attempt to offset such beliefs the company asserted that the coal receipts, which would have accrued to the line had not military needs preempted the necessary transportation facilities to handle it, alone would have more than equaled the revenue derived from transporting troops and government supplies. The Northern Central also complained that having to

28The 38th Annual Report of Baltimore and Ohio, 9-10 and 44-45.
handle government freight and passengers for a third less than the 1861 rates "to the exclusion of the present rates of all other roads that are not used for military purposes" put them at a disadvantage. 29

The volume of government traffic carried on the Northern Central at the expense of civilian freight did affect the quantity of coal shipped to Baltimore markets. In the previous year 107,000 tons had been transported on the line in contrast to the 75,000 tons hauled in 1864 by the road. Company officials consistently maintained that the figure would have been much higher had it not been for government demands on its facilities. They further estimated that the company had transported more than double the number of troops in 1864 than they had in the previous year. But despite this seeming interference with the railroad's business, local trade had increased over the two-year period by 33 per cent and gross earnings had increased $744,220.85 and $464,805.74 in net earnings over 1863. 30

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal had recovered from its earlier financial slump and enjoyed its most prosperous year

29 Tenth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Northern Central Railway Co. to the Stockholders for the Year 1864 (Baltimore, 1865), 9-10.
30 Ibid., 21-22.
since its organization, despite Confederate raids and Early's invasion of Maryland in July. Even with the destruction to the canal from Early's raid, which cost the company an estimated $12,000, eighty canal boats, and a loss of revenue of $200,000, the tolls for 1864 considerably improved. In the previous year $154,928.26 in tolls had been collected, but during 1864 revenues had risen to $225,897.34 for an increase of $70,969.08 over the 1863 figure. Tonnage figures descending the canal also reflected this increase in growth from 262,911 tons to 288,881 in 1864, although the tonnage tolls from traffic ascending the canal actually declined from the previous year; this figure dropped from a total of 2,936 tons to 1,891 in 1864. Along with the rising volume of trade was the growth of the coal traffic descending the canal from 229,416 to 260,368 tons in 1864.\textsuperscript{31} Earlier in the year canal rates had also been increased to three-eights of a cent a mile which made an increase of sixty-nine cents a ton on freight between Cumberland and Georgetown, D.C.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{31}The 37th Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company to the Stockholders (Washington, 1865), 4-9.

\textsuperscript{32}Civilian and Telegraph, April 21, 1864.
The higher cost of transportation, coupled with increased mining costs and a depressed market, caused a decline in coal shipments in the closing months of 1864 and caused mining activity in the Cumberland region to be partially suspended.\(^{33}\)

\(^{33}\)37th Annual Report of Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 6.
CHAPTER V

FEDERAL SUPPRESSION

The political turmoil of the latter months of 1860 and the beginning months of 1861 had serious ramifications on the social as well as the economic life of Marylanders of the 1860's. As great as the impact of the war was on the economic life of Maryland, its initial effect was more in terms of dislocation and readjustment to wartime conditions with eventual economic recovery and subsequent prosperity than it was a continuing depression. The impact upon the social structure had far deeper significance for the state. Maryland, as a border state, with commercial, social, and family ties with the South and Virginia, felt severe strains from her position in the secession crisis and from the war itself. In the early months of the crisis Maryland found herself being pulled in various directions by different groups, and it was not until after Federal military intervention and occupation that in reality the state's position was settled. Even then much discontent and disaffection with the Union and the North continued to persist throughout the war period,
although effective means to implement a policy of opposition was no longer feasible due to the constant presence of Federal troops on her soil.

In the early months of the crisis much dissatisfaction with the North found its outlet in the form of meetings and newspaper comment. However, within this growing protest, there was a strong strain of moderation, and many looked with strong disfavor on secession as a rightful remedy for the wrongs that the South was alleged to have suffered. The Cumberland Democratic Alleganian, while deploring the 1860 election results, asserted that Lincoln's election was not a sufficient cause for the dissolution of the Union. ¹

Another Cumberland paper, the Civilian and Telegraph, maintained that while Marylanders as slave-holders would defend their rights and would be sympathetic in helping to protect Southern rights, they were not willing to go along with unconstitutional measures or follow the lead of the South in seceding from the Union. ²

Many, while denouncing the validity of secession, also equally denied the legality of coercion. The Civilian and Telegraph felt that the idea of forcing South Carolina to

¹Democratic Alleganian, November 10, 1860.
²Civilian and Telegraph, November 15, 1860.
repeal her act of secession was absurd, while at the same time this journal asserted that the Federal government had the right to collect revenues at the ports of entry into South Carolina and repel any attack made on Ft. Moultrie. The Frederick Herald also refused to accept the proposition that Lincoln's election was sufficient cause for the secession of any state, but was also opposed to any policy of coercion in preserving the Union. The Herald believed that any such policy would make the breach only more irreconcilable, and therefore proposed that Maryland assume a position of an armed neutral.

Newspapers like the Baltimore Sun adopted a conciliatory attitude and asserted that there was no real spirit of disunion or secession within Maryland. In supporting this position the paper announced that it favored the Union and its restoration. The Sun hoped that Maryland would aid the South not by seceding but with policies which would be conciliatory and which would bring about a reconstruction of the Union. Later, it viewed Southern military preparations as being merely defensive measures against possible coercion, and appealed to its readers as follows:

4 Sun, December 15, 1860.
5 Ibid., January 10, 1861.
If we want to have peace, we must make peace, insist upon it, and in the event of collision still look for peace and reconciliation as the only hope of a future and perpetual Union.⁶

Many, along with the Bel Air Aegis, believed their loyalty to be tied with Southern institutions and honor. But, as with many other papers, the Aegis tempered its editorial comments with expressions of loyalty to the Union by maintaining that it was neither secessionist nor disunionist and that it would support Southern action only as long as it remained true to the constitution.⁷ Citizens in county meetings throughout the state in Frederick, Cecil, Washington, and Kent also affirmed their loyalty to the Union, but hoped for the redress of Southern grievances. One such grievance, which was generally cited by Marylanders, was the resentment against the personal liberty laws of the North.

Even within these moderate affirmations of loyalty, there were opposing currents of thought as to the position Maryland should play in the crisis. Those more sympathetic to the South felt that Governor Hicks should convene the legislature and adopt measures suitable to the exigencies of the situation, while others opposed such a course, for fear

⁶ Ibid., January 17, 1861.
⁷ Bel Air, Aegis, December 1, 1860.
that the convening of the legislature would ultimately mean Maryland's secession.

Less moderate expressions were also reflected in the emerging cross currents of sentiment in town and county meetings. In some areas moderation gave way to more extreme positions and the desire for action. In a large meeting held at Port Tobacco secession was acknowledged as a rightful remedy, but at the same time the meeting indicated that it preferred that the present difficulties be worked out by lawful means. Feeling was tense enough in Charles County to motivate a meeting to pass a resolution requesting all those who had voted for Lincoln in the past election to leave the county by January 1st, while in the Annapolis area a Northern schoolmaster was run out of the county for having delivered an abolitionist speech in the local schoolhouse.

The African Methodist Episcopal conference, which had previously held its annual conferences in Baltimore, was prevented from holding its annual conference by a police board ruling. Since free Negroes not residing within the state of Maryland were legally prohibited from entering the state, the police

8Sun, December 15, 1860.
9Aegis, December 8, 1860; Valley Register, December 7, 1860.
10Sun, February 23, 1861.
board deemed that such a conference would be unlawful. ¹¹

In Anne Arundel County, resolutions were passed advocating that steps be taken toward the creation of a Southern confederacy in consultation and cooperation with other Southern states and that the Maryland legislature should be convened in preparation for such a possibility. ¹² Those attending a mass meeting in Montgomery County, while sympathizing with the South and asserting that all efforts should be made to reconcile the two sections, resolved that Maryland should consent to separation from the Union if the breach could not be healed. ¹³ At another meeting in Queen Anne's County, Governor Hicks was attacked for evading his constitutional duties of convening the legislature to deal with the crisis; peaceable secession was recognized and coercion was opposed and it was asserted that "common sympathy will inevitably unite the fortunes of Maryland with Virginia and her Southern sisters." ¹⁴ Other meetings in the Hagerstown area and in the Upper Marlborough region of Prince George's County echoed a similar refrain that Maryland's destiny was

¹¹Aegis, March 23, 1861.
¹²Sun, January 3, 1861.
¹³Ibid., January 8, 1861.
¹⁴Ibid., February 16, 1861.
intertwined with that of the South and Virginia. 15

While at many meetings in the state support was given to secession sentiment, at many others there was those who placed themselves strongly on record in supporting the Union. They generally refused to recognize the legitimacy of secession as a remedy and endorsed Governor Hicks' refusal to call the legislature into session. At many of these meetings the Crittenden proposals were supported as being a fair basis of compromise. At a Union meeting at Port Deposit it was asserted that South Carolina's action was not only unconstitutional but also unworthy of Maryland's sympathy. Other resolutions stated that any attempt of South Carolina to obstruct the execution of Federal law would be treason and an act of war upon the United States government. 16 At another meeting in western Maryland at Frostburg the maintenance of the Union under any circumstances was favored, 17 while in neighboring Oakland it was asserted that since the seceding states had acted against the advice of the border states, there should be no cooperation with the fanatics of the South. 18

15 Ibid., January 31 and February 1, 1861.
16 American, January 4, 1861.
17 Civilian and Telegraph, January 17, 1861.
18 Democratic Alleghanian, January 26, 1861.
Demonstrations were also a frequent accompaniment to these Union meetings, and they became a frequent and favorite form of Union expression in the state. In a Cumberland demonstration supporters marched in long processions while from one of the surrounding mountains a salute of thirty-three guns was fired in honor of the Union,\(^{19}\) and in Frederick a pole ninety-six feet tall with a Union flag and a streamer bearing Governor Hicks' name on it was raised as the local band played patriotic music to an enthusiastic crowd.\(^{20}\)

Laboring groups in Maryland were very concerned over the impact the sectional crisis might have on the state's economy. In assessing the state's geographical position, those present at a Union meeting in Frederick affirmed their loyalty to the Union, but at the same time noted Maryland's commercial ties with the South and especially those with Virginia. Sentiment was to the effect that the commercial ties of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the Chesapeake bay linked Maryland and Virginia's destiny together.\(^{21}\) In discussing the state's

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\(^{19}\) *Civilian and Telegraph*, January 24, 1861.

\(^{20}\) "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of January 21, 1861; *Sun*, January 22, 1861.

\(^{21}\) *Sun*, January 19, 1861.
commercial position in connection with the crisis, the Baltimore Sun had frequently maintained that the city's main commercial outlet was with the South, and warned that if it was to continue to be a thriving center it had to be with the South. 22

A further motivating force toward secession was the idea that, in the case of such action, Baltimore would become the South's chief port and commercial center. A correspondent of the Frederick Herald, writing to the Baltimore Sun from Mississippi, held out the inducement that if Maryland seceded, the city would become the New York of the South. 23 However, despite this growing commercial appeal and prevailing depression, laboring groups increasingly manifested a strong Union leaning along with their expressions of sympathy for the grievances of the South. Despite such sympathy, they generally stood opposed to either disunion or secession, and there was a general feeling that their material prosperity was dependent upon the maintenance of the Union. Those present at labor meetings in Baltimore voiced the fear that a dissolution of the Union would mean the destruction of the

22 Ibid., January 16, 1861.
23 Ibid., February 20, 1861.
industrial prosperity of Maryland. There was also the fear that laboring groups would fare far worse in a Southern confederacy than in the Union.

Workingmen at meetings in both Annapolis and Williamsport pointedly affirmed their loyalty to the Union and approved Governor Hicks' policy, and at a labor meeting at Towsontown it was declared that the people of the territories should solve the question of slavery for themselves and that Maryland should wait for an overt action on the part of the North before it acted. At the beginning of the war, in some areas, pressure was applied to laboring groups by stanch pro-Southern elements in an attempt to influence them to support a more sympathetic position toward the South. In the Easton area on the Eastern Shore such pressure was exerted on local mechanics, farmers, and shopkeepers.

Groups such as the German Turner societies, which were largely composed of members from the middle class and those from the lower economic classes, were generally more

24 Ibid., January 10, 1861.
25 American, January 4, 1861.
26 Sun, January 5, 1861; American, February 4, 1861.
27 Ibid., January 19, 1861.
sympathetic to the Union than to the Southern cause. However, in the case of the Germania club of Baltimore, which was composed of the German social elite, largely tobacco traders, the membership had strong sympathetic business leanings toward the South.  

While many in the lower economic groups manifested Union sentiments, among the upper classes there were many who favored a closer tie with the South, although in all economic classes there were no strict divisional lines, and supporters of both causes were to be found. Nevertheless, there was frequent cause for complaint by Federal authorities and the Northern press as to the Southern sympathies of the wealthier classes of Baltimore and Maryland. In areas such as Easton it was reported that almost all of the local lawyers were sympathetic to the South.

With the news of the firing upon Ft. Sumter and the call for troops, the period of relative calm which had followed Lincoln's inauguration ended. An uneasy and tense situation was created throughout the state and especially in Baltimore. The rapid growth of war developments, coupled with the large number of unemployed in Baltimore, increased

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a rather explosive restlessness in the city, and the attempt of the Federal government to pass troops through the city enroute to Washington ignited this restlessness and resulted in rioting on April the 19th against the Federal government.

Lincoln's call for troops created a wave of excitement in Baltimore, and, in order to allay some of this mounting tension, Governor Hicks left Annapolis for the city and then hurried on to Washington to consult with Secretary of War Cameron. In the ensuing interview with Cameron, Hicks presented Maryland's strong opposition to coercion and was assured by Cameron that state military units would be used only to protect Washington and public property within Maryland.

Meanwhile, in response to Lincoln's call for troops, Massachusetts had already dispatched a number of men to Washington by rail. Actually some Northern soldiers had passed safely through Baltimore on the 18th of April under the protection of the city's police, but the remainder did not arrive until the following day. Meanwhile tension had considerably intensified in opposition to the passage of

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Northern troops through the city. With this mounting bel­ligerency, city police found it increasingly difficult to maintain peace and order, while business was almost virtually suspended. Within this bellicose atmosphere a group of Southern Rights men, meeting at the Taylor building, expressed strong sentiments in opposition to the passage of Federal troops and threatened possible resistance. Even though the meeting did not definitely advocate attacking them, the temper and tone of its expressions contributed materially to the emotional excitement of the city where there were many who had serious dispositions against allowing Federal regiments to pass.

In the hope of easing some of the mounting tensions in Baltimore and Maryland, Governor Hicks, in a proclamation on April the 18th, counseled Marylanders to practice restraint and to refrain from all actions which might precipitate either violence or heated controversy. To help to pacify the public temper further, Hicks reiterated that state military units would not be sent out of the state except in defense of Washington. In addition to this, Governor Hicks

33 George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861* (Baltimore, 1887), 35-38; *Sun*, April 19, 1861.
34 *Times*, April 20, 1861.
also requested Mayor Brown to issue a similar statement. In
the Mayor's statement, Brown concurred with the Governor and
also went on to state his personal determination to preserve
peace, order, and honor in Maryland. 35

But with the arrival of Northern troops in the city
on April 19, and in spite of the efforts of the local authori-
ties to maintain order and to protect the soldiers, rioting
and fighting broke out between citizens and the Sixth Massa-
chusetts Regiment. By evening the city was engulfed with
hysteria and was prepared for a military siege. Reacting to
the outbreak of violence, the Governor, Mayor, and the presi-
dent of the police board immediately ordered the assembling
of the city's military companies and the convening of a large
public meeting in Monument Square at 4:00 p.m. During the
course of the meeting several of the speakers severely de-
nounced the policy of coercion and asked that Northern troops,
which would be used against the South should not be permitted
to pass through Maryland. Mayor Brown in his speech reflected
much of this sentiment but at the same time he denied the
right of a state to secede. Following Mayor Brown, Governor
Hicks concurred with Brown's statements but also further

35 Brown, Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 40;
Frank Moore, The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American
Events (New York), I, 76-77.
expressed his desire to see the Union preserved. With this statement there was an angry outcry against him, and the Governor was forced into compromising his statement by asserting that "I bow in submission to the people. I am a Marylander; I love my state and I love the Union, but I will suffer my right arm to be torn from my body before I will raise it to strike a sister state."  

In the meantime Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown had sent off reports of the rioting in Baltimore to Washington and had requested the Federal government not to send any additional troops to the city. They claimed that city and state military units, which had been called into service, would be sufficient to restore order.  

On receiving the Governor's and Mayor's reports, Federal authorities misinterpreted them to signify that no additional troops were needed merely to restore order, but a clarification of the message's meaning was soon forthcoming in a telegram to John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, from Governor Hicks, Mayor Brown, and Charles Howard, the president of the police board. The dispatch advised Garrett to return all

36 George Lovic Pierce Radcliffe, Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War (Baltimore, 1901), 54-55; Sun, April 20, 1861.
37 Sun, April 22, 1861.
Northern troops to the Maryland border. Garrett in acknowledge the telegram indicated his approval of the move, and stated that he would act accordingly. Subsequently, the Baltimore and Ohio then sent a note to the Northern Central and the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad to inform them that the Baltimore and Ohio would not forward any additional troops to Washington. Both railroads in replying agreed that for the present they would comply with the request and not pass troops over their roads to Baltimore.\(^{38}\)

In conjunction with these moves by city and state authorities Mayor Brown sent H. Lennox Bond, George W. Dobbin, and John C. Brune by express train to confer with Lincoln and to inform him that further passage of Federal troops through the city was not feasible. In support of this contention, the mayor's representatives expressed their concern over the maintenance of order if additional soldiers were sent to the city, and they indicated that the local authorities would not be responsible for the consequences if it were done.

No immediate reply was forthcoming from Washington until the following day, and in the meantime rumors of more troops heading toward Baltimore continued to circulate within

\(^{38}\) *Ibid.*, April 20, 1861.
the city. Having received no reply, on the evening of April 19th, Mayor Brown, Marshal Kane, and the police board, meeting with Governor Hicks, generally agreed that for the safety and peace of Baltimore no further troops should be permitted to pass through. During the discussions a proposal to destroy the bridges leading into the city was put forth and generally agreed upon, although it is subject to debate as to whether Governor Hicks consented to this plan or not. 39 Nevertheless, the plan was put into effect with Marshal Kane personally leading one group, and a number of bridges were destroyed. 40 Later the Northern Central Railroad estimated the damage done to their road at $117,609.63. 41

In an attempt to prevent further clashes between citizens and the Federal government, the police board established a guard outside Fort McHenry with orders to arrest any person or groups who might threaten an attack upon the fort. A steam tug was also employed in the harbor by the police to prevent any violence against the government receiving ship Allegheny, which was at the time anchored in the harbor. To

39 Radcliffe feels that there was little doubt that some form of consent was given by Governor Hicks. Radcliffe, Governor Thomas H. Hicks and the Civil War, 57.
40 Brown, Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 57-59.
41 Seventh Annual Report of Northern Central Railway, 10-11.
prevent further misunderstandings from developing between city authorities and the national government, Federal authorities were notified and informed as to the reasons for the board's actions and precautions. 42

Great restlessness continued to mount in the streets, and bands of young boys and men roamed the city in search of arms and munitions. In several instances these disorderly groups attempted to break into hardware stores to seize arms and munitions but were deterred only by the arrival of the police. On the morning of April the 20th a large Confederate flag appeared over the States Rights Club, and in the emotional upheaval even Union supporters were prone to display Southern banners. On the same day the Minute Men, a Union club, replaced the national flag above their headquarters with the Maryland state flag. 43 Southern banners began to be widely displayed in the city, while there was a conspicuous absence of those of the Union cause, and persons found it most unwise to manifest any Union sentiments. 44 Groups of men were also active in paying visits to Northern merchants

42 Official Records, Series 1, II, 10-11.
43 Brown, Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 64.
44 Sun, April 22, 1861; Times, April 22, 1861.
who had been hostile to the South and proceeded to intimidate them by displaying hemp ropes with a threat that the rope might be used on a lamp post to support the merchant if he did not leave the city. 45

A mob, appearing before the German Turnhalle, demanded that the Turners remove their Union flag from the building and replace it with a state one. The Turners resisted and refused to do so, but later the mob appeared a second time. This time the mob invaded the Turnhalle and wrecked the building's interior. Also wrecked in the mounting mob action in Baltimore was the newspaper office of the two German-Republican papers, the Wecker and the Turnseitung. Fortunately for the newspapers the arrival of the police prevented the mob from totally wrecking the building. Still, damage was extensive enough so that it was several weeks before either one was again published in its entirety. Along with the Wecker and Turnseitung the offices of the German-Jewish monthly, the Sinai, suffered a similar fate, and the editor, Rabbi David Einhorn, was forced to flee Baltimore because of the publication of an article on the 20th of April advocating the abolition of slavery.

45 Baltimore, The South, April 23, 1861.
More confusion and turmoil were added to the already chaotic condition of the city with the arrival of additional military units from the surrounding communities to help aid in the defense of the city. The news of the rioting in Baltimore had rapidly spread throughout the state, and on the day after the disturbances there appeared in many communities a handbill of a telegram sent to Frederick by Marshal Kane accepting the offer of men and asking for their immediate dispatch to Baltimore. Consequently many volunteer units began to swarm into the city on the 22nd of April and the succeeding days. Undisciplined and frequently disorderly, they presented another factor which both civilians and city officials had to manage in an already chaotic city.

Meanwhile, the mayor called upon all citizens, who possessed guns suitable for use, to contribute and deposit them with the board of police for the city's use. The city council appropriated $500,000 to be used for defense, and within a few hours a committee of bankers, composed of Johns Hopkins, John Clark, and Columbus O'Donnell, advanced the

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46 Sun, April 22, 1861.
necessary money to the city. Later the appropriation was confirmed and ratified by the state legislature to insure the legality of the action.

To help siphon off some of the restlessness and lawlessness of the city into more controllable outlets, the police board announced that under its direction it would accept the aid of any association in the defense of Baltimore. The board then appointed Colonel Issac R. Trimble to act as its agent and to supervise and direct those associations willing to submit to his authority. With this accomplished the board immediately ordered those associations under Trimble to refrain from using martial music in the streets, which might either cause the collection of crowds, create rumors, or intensify the general excitement of the public. An additional order was also promptly issued for the same reason prohibiting all unnecessary parading of military units on the city's streets.

48 J. Thomas Scharf, History of Maryland (Baltimore, 1879), III, 416.
49 Journal of Proceedings of House of Delegates, in extra Session (Frederick, 1861), 13; Journal of Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland, in extra Session (Frederick, 1861), 36.
50 "Baltimore and the Crisis of 1861," Maryland Historical Magazine (Baltimore, 1946), XLI, 259. (The Issac Trimble Papers.)
51 Ibid., 261.
The police indicated their strong determination to re-establish order and to restore a semblance of calm to Baltimore. In line with this it was directed that all disorderly persons would be immediately subject to arrest and that all persons found idle on the streets after 6:00 p.m. would be arrested and confined in the station house. Parents were also advised to keep their children off the streets, and the proprietors of amusement places and barrooms were requested and ordered to keep their establishments closed until order was again established within the city. Most barrooms and places of amusement adhered to the request, while some like the Holliday Street theatre and the Museum had already suspended theatrical performances of their own accord. Those which refused to abide by the order, like the proprietor of the Union Hotel, were arrested and faced the prospect of having to pay a $100.00 fine for refusing to close their places in compliance with the mayor’s order. Other orders which were issued prohibited bands from playing martial music in the streets or in other places where crowds might gather. Flags of any kind were not allowed to be displayed for thirty

52 Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 66; *Sun*, April 24, 1861.
53 *Sun*, April 20, 1861.
days, except those on buildings or vessels belonging to the United States government. However, by May 10th, with the easing of tensions, city authorities removed the prohibition against the display of flags in Baltimore.55

The board of police, reflecting the concern over a possible siege, deemed it in the best interest and safety of the city to prohibit "provisions of any kind" to be removed from the city without its authorization. Trimble at first was entrusted with authority to use his discretion in executing the order, but on the same day, April 22nd, the board revoked his discretionary authority to grant permits. In tightening the restrictions it was now ordered that none should leave.56 Vessels, such as the British Queen Victoria and other foreign ships, which had taken on cargoes before the issuance of the order, were prohibited from taking on of any additional restricted cargo regardless of whether the provisions had been previously purchased for shipment. Later on the following day the mayor and board, being satisfied that there was a sufficient supply of certain provisions in

54 South, April 22, 1861.
55 Brown, Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 82; Sun, April 27, 1861.
the city and reacting to the pressure being exerted by Balti-
more commercial elements, removed some of the prohibitions
against the exportation of "Provisions, Breadstuffs, and
Bituminous Coal." 57

Nevertheless, not all restrictions were removed and a
number of merchants continued to press for the general re-
moval of flour and other breadstuffs from the proscribed list.
The board, still maintaining that it was concerned with the
safety of the domestic market, continued to feel it was un-
wise to allow shipments out of the state or even the shipment
of large quantities to points within the state. Finally,
under the mounting pressure from many members of the Flour and
Corn Exchange and other merchants and citizens, the board
directed that all restrictions be removed. 58

By the 27th of April the board of police felt that the
general excitement had subsided sufficiently to dispense with
a large portion of the military units in Baltimore and there-
fore directed Colonel Trimble to dismiss part of his force at
his discretion. Before dismissing the associations the
Colonel was advised to make any necessary arrangements for

57 Ibid., 262-263.
58 Ibid., 266.
their recall that he deemed wise. Later, on May 2nd, he was further directed to reduce his force to one hundred men, to collect all arms, which were the property of the city, and have the remaining force guard them until a proper disposition could be made of them. In dismissing the force under him, Trimble indicated that the danger had passed and extended the board's thanks to the associations for their services on behalf of the city. He further requested the men to return to their homes and set a good example of peaceful conduct for their neighbors.

With the possibility of prosecution in the criminal court of Baltimore for incidents growing out of the actions directed by the city authorities, both the actions of the mayor and board received the approval and confirmation of the state legislature when it met. In a resolution introduced into the House of Delegates and with the concurrence of the Senate, the mayor and board of police were relieved from any prosecution arising out of their efforts to maintain order.

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59 Ibid., 261 and 267.
60 Ibid., 275-276.
Signs in the last days of April were also indicative of a revival of the Union feeling in Baltimore which had been suppressed by the rioting and its aftermath. As one of the first signs, those on board a ship, sailing past Ft. McHenry and crowded with persons bearing the national colors, cheered and saluted the fort's flag which was in turn dipped in honor of the occasion as they sailed past.\textsuperscript{62} The New York \textit{Times} on May 2nd reported that four Union meetings with many sympathetic demonstrations favoring the Union had been held in different sections of the city. Also, in early May, a petition began to circulate in Baltimore among Union supporters to be sent to Washington as an indication of their sentiments and their belief that Federal troops should pass through Baltimore unobstructed. The petition also asserted that they as loyal citizens would make an effort to see that such passage was unobstructed.\textsuperscript{63} Later in the middle of May another large Union meeting passed a series of resolutions denouncing the right of secession and proclaiming that Maryland would stand by the Union. It was further asserted that

\textsuperscript{62} Clark, "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Regiment," \textit{Maryland Historical Magazine}, 71.

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Times}, May 2, 1861.
the Federal government had the right to use the railroads of the state to transport troops to the capital. 64

Nevertheless, the growing manifestations of loyalty in Baltimore did not mean the evaporation of opposition to the war or to the Federal government. With the resurgence of Union sentiment, tension and hostility between pro-Union and pro-Southern supporters deepened and erupted on varying public occasions, especially on the announcements of Union victories and defeats. 65 In an attempt to counteract some of the more open manifestations of Southern sympathy, General Dix in September prohibited the display of Confederate envelopes and music in store windows. 66

Along with the resurgence of Union sentiment, Governor Hicks directed Colonel E. R. Petterbridge to collect all arms belonging to the state of Maryland and in the possession of disbanded companies and to remove them to a place of safety. 67 In a public proclamation at Frederick on June 7, 1861 Hicks ordered that all such arms which "have been placed beyond the control of the constituted authorities and

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64 Sun, May 15, 1861.
67 Thomas Holliday Hicks' Papers: Order from Governor Hicks to Colonel E. R. Petterbridge, May 30, 1861.
also with the military companies of Baltimore of which some were suspected of disloyalty" were to be surrendered to Colonel Petterbridge. The state legislature, however, thought differently and prior to its temporary adjournment in June passed a resolution requesting the Governor to return the arms to the state armories and that "he return to all regularly organized and uniformed volunteer companies of the State the arms reclaimed for them." Hicks' refusal to comply with this request was supported by many segments of the population, and he received approval and encouragement to defy this resolution.

The turmoil had other ramifications for Baltimore. Both the commercial and social life of the city was affected by the results of the rioting. There was almost a complete break down on the local stock market whereupon the stock board voted temporarily to adjourn. Revenue for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad dropped considerably and was less than it had been in any previous corresponding month. The receipts at the Custom House also reflected the stagnation of

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68 Moore, Rebellion Record, I, 347-348.
69 Hicks' Papers: "Old Guard" to Governor Hicks, June 25, 1861.
70 Sun, May 9, 1861.
commercial life. The Sun reported on May 1st that since April 19th receipts had averaged less than $100 a day.71 Since conditions seemed to be inimical to business as a result of the destruction of the railroad bridges, the Northern Central Railway decided to move its company's office from the city to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.72

Many bank depositors, fearing the effects of the turmoil on local finances, drew heavily on the savings banks of Baltimore.73 City wharves were practically deserted, while many other establishments were similarly empty. Real estate transfers ceased, and one report indicated that if a forced sale had been necessary, the property would have brought only half of its former value. Hotels were also empty of much of their clientele, and Mount Washington Female College in Baltimore County closed as a result of a combination of the effects of the rioting and accumulated financial problems.74

71 Ibid., May 1, 1861.
72 Seventh Annual Report of the Northern Central Railway, 10-11.
73 National Intelligencer, April 20, 1861; Sun, April 24, 1861.
74 National Intelligencer, May 3, 1861; Times, May 6, 1861; and Bernard C. Steiner, History of Education in Maryland (Washington, 1894), 270.
With the destruction of railroad bridges and telegraphic communications, the city was isolated from the other commercial centers of the nation and the lack of transportation facilities had an additional paralyzing effect on the city's economy. Mail service as well as travel was suspended, although the Adams Express Company began to run four-horse expresses from Washington to Baltimore and to Havre de Grace until regular service was again restored. To help restore the economic conditions in the city, pressure was exerted on the board of police to remove trade restrictions, and petitions were sent to the legislature for the immediate rebuilding of the bridges. In a large meeting at the Corn Exchange, resolutions were passed favoring the immediate reconstruction of the bridges and the restoration of rail traffic as soon as possible. The city council also joined in the chorus asking for the rebuilding of the bridges and restoration of rail connections and also forwarded a petition to the legislature to press its demands.

Efforts were also made by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to restore connections with other eastern commercial

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75 Sun, April 26, 1861.
76 Sun, May 3, 1861; Times, May 3, 1861; and National Intelligencer, May 4, 1861.
centers. In a request to Secretary of War Cameron, Garrett asked permission to resume rail traffic between Washington and Baltimore with a reduced number of trains under government supervision.  

Cameron, however, indicated that he would be willing to consent to such a proposal only when the lines running into the city of Baltimore were again in condition to provide uninterrupted transportation over them, and when the government was also assured that it could safely transport munitions, arms, supplies, and troops over the road without interruption or molestation. Despite this prior attitude on the part of Cameron, on May 3rd special orders were issued by the Headquarters of the Department of Pennsylvania to allow the resumption of commercial and passenger service between Annapolis and Washington, and by May 7th trains, subject to military supervision and inspection at the Relay House, were running once again on the Main Stem and the Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio. Later, on May 9th, Federal troops passed through Baltimore on their way to the capital without any demonstrations.

77 Official Records, Series 1, II, 615.
78 Ibid., Series 1, II, 617-619.
79 Sun, May 7, 1861.
During the crisis Lincoln had received reports concerning the rioting from both Mayor Brown and Governor Hicks along with their request not to permit or order any additional troops to pass through Baltimore.\(^{80}\) Lincoln, realizing the critical political situation and geographical position of Maryland and the necessity of keeping her within the Union, had requested that both men come to Washington by special train to consult with him.\(^{81}\) At the time, Governor Hicks was in Annapolis, and Mayor Brown left for the capital with several other Maryland leaders to consult with the President without the Governor. In the ensuing interview, Lincoln stated his position and indicated the necessity of Federal troops passing through the state for the defense of Washington, although he did not insist that they be brought through Baltimore. It was finally agreed in compromising that, if at all feasible, troops should be detoured around the city to prevent the recurrence of trouble, while city officials promised to use all their possible means to prevent any further attacks by citizens on Northern soldiers.\(^{82}\)

\(^{80}\) *Official Records*, Series 2, I, 564.


Immediately following the interview with Lincoln, Brown was notified by Garrett of the Baltimore and Ohio that Northern troops were approaching Cockeysville, which was approximately fourteen miles north of Baltimore, and had created a state of intense excitement in the town, in which the people were beginning to arm themselves. Lincoln was immediately notified of the new development, and an order was quickly dispatched ordering the troops to withdraw from the Cockeysville vicinity back into Pennsylvania.83

Nevertheless troop movements were already in motion which were rapidly to bring Baltimore and Maryland under close supervision by the Federal government. Another detachment of Massachusetts troops under General Benjamin Butler was headed toward Washington, but at Philadelphia, on being informed that the route to the capital was closed, Butler moved his force as far as Perryville by rail and then to Annapolis by boat. The General's arrival in the Annapolis vicinity around midnight was heralded by rockets and lights on the shore, and this event, coupled with the outburst of violence in Baltimore on the previous day, sharpened the tense and excitable condition of the community. A letter was

quickly dispatched to Butler from Governor Hicks advising him not to land his men on shore because of the intense excitement prevailing in the town, and the Governor requested him to take them elsewhere, or to retain them on board until orders were received from General Scott. Butler's reply merely asked for permission to land and contained the guarantee of the good behavior of the men. In replying he maintained that since he had been forced to make the detour and his men were in need of supplies, he intended to land. Later in a meeting with Hicks and Mayor Magruder of Annapolis at the Academy, Butler was further pressed not to land there, but he continued to persist in his intentions and again asked for provisions. In reaction to his position Butler was told that he would not be permitted to buy provisions in the town, and the meeting closed with an ominous threat from Butler to the effect that:

I suppose there are sufficient provisions in this capital of Maryland to feed a thousand men, and if the people will not sell those provisions, a thousand hungry, armed men have other means of getting what they want to eat besides buying it.

84 Official Records, Series 1, II, 586-587.
85 Benjamin F. Butler, Butler's Book (Boston, 1892), 194.
86 Official Records, Series 1, II, 589-590.
Actually any real trouble was avoided by Butler's men receiving the needed supplies from the Naval Academy. 87

In the meantime, the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad had begun to take up sections of its track to prevent the passage of Federal troops to Washington. But to offset this action Butler detailed two companies of men with authority to seize the railroad and its property to prevent any further destruction of the road's property. Along with the seizure he also had immediately prepared an inventory of all the railroad's property and presented a duplicate list of the inventory to the company's officials for their use. In conjunction with these moves the General also ordered the immediate repair of approximately four miles of torn-up track to its junction with the Baltimore and Ohio. 88

Governor Hicks was quick to protest the seizure of railroad property and maintained that the occupation of the road by the military would prevent members of the Maryland legislature, which was to convene in Annapolis on the 26th of April, from reaching that city. 89 Butler in replying to

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87 Butler, Butler's Book, 195; Marshall, Correspondence of Benjamin F. Butler, I, 18.
88 Marshall, Correspondence of Benjamin F. Butler, 27-34.
89 Ibid., 28; Times, April 29, 1861.
Hick's letter explained and defended his actions as an expedient to save the road from further destruction and also as a means to obtain transportation to evacuate Annapolis before the state legislature met. Later in May the railroad was returned by the Federal government to company officials.

During his stay in Annapolis, General Butler did attempt to allay much of the local suspicion and animosity against the Federal government. On learning that there was fear of a possible slave insurrection in the area, he tendered his services in helping to suppress such a rebellion if necessary, but Governor Hicks declined to accept the offer. Much distrust of Butler's force continued and influenced the Governor's decision to convene the legislature in Frederick rather than in Annapolis, although several months later Hicks cited as his reason for doing so that Frederick was known for its Union sentiment. Actually both factors were probably motivating reasons behind his decision.

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90 Official Records, Series 1, II, 593-594.
91 Sun, May 27, 1861.
92 Official Records, Series 1, II, 594; Marshal, Correspondence of Benjamin F. Butler, 38-39.
93 Radcliffe, Governor Thomas H. Hicks and the Civil War, 68-69.
With the passage of time Butler's continued efforts succeeded in reducing some tensions in a number of ways. He issued orders against any unauthorized interference with private property by his troops and indicated that in cases where unauthorized actions resulted in damage to property, reparations would be made. Butler's attitude, coupled with the good behavior of his men, also aided and led within a short period to a fair amount of good will being generated between the local populace and the troops. Along with the return of general confidence, many who had fled at Butler's approach now returned to the city. With the troops in Annapolis the expanded demand for produce and provisions considerably inflated the local economy. Flour began to rise and bring prices as high as $20.00 a barrel. Within a month's time the Mayor of Annapolis had radically reversed his former sentiments and now applied for the position of post sutler, which was refused by the General, while Governor Hicks deposited the seal of the State of Maryland with him for safe keeping in case the legislature should pass an ordinance of secession.

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94 Moore, Rebellion Record, I, 60.
95 Butler, Butler's Book, 196-198.
Government control was soon extended also to the Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad leading into the capital, and Federal authorities seized the rolling stock of the two roads between Annapolis and Washington.\textsuperscript{96} With government control over the two lines, General Winfield Scott promptly directed Butler to station men at convenient distances along the rail line, with special attention given to bridges and principal points along the road, to protect it from further destruction.\textsuperscript{97} A more blanket form of jurisdiction came from Lincoln. On April 27th the President ordered the Commanding General of the Army to suspend the writ of \textit{habeas corpus} at any point or in any vicinity which offered resistance to the Federal government on the line of communication between the cities of Philadelphia and Washington.\textsuperscript{98}

\textsuperscript{96}Official Records, Series 1, II, 594-595; Sun, April 25, 1861. With two other exceptions - the operation of the railroads during the Gettysburg campaign and the temporary operation of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad in 1864 as an outgrowth of rioting in Pennsylvania - the only two railroads temporarily seized in the North during the war by the government were the Baltimore and Ohio and the Annapolis and Elk Ridge. Thomas Weber, \textit{The Northern Railroads in the Civil War} (New York, 1952), 99.

\textsuperscript{97}Marshall, \textit{Correspondence of Benjamin F. Butler}, 42.

\textsuperscript{98}Official Records, Series 2, I, 567; James D. Richardson, ed., \textit{Messages and Papers of the Presidents} (New York, 1897), VII, 3219.
The Relay House soon became a major point of Federal occupation and railroad supervision, since it was here the Main Stem of the Baltimore and Ohio joined the Washington Branch leading into Baltimore. Just a few miles to the south lay Annapolis Junction where the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad connected with the Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio. Along with this control Butler, with General Scott's approval, began the immediate surveillance of all trains for weapons, munitions, and armed men which might be headed for Virginia. Also to curb the increasing traffic, which interfered with the transportation of troops, Butler established a four dollar tariff on all rail passage except for those persons who were on official business.

Meanwhile unknown to both General Scott and Lincoln, General Butler on the 14th of May, with a detachment of troops, marched to Baltimore and succeeded in occupying Federal Hill without opposition. In the announcement of the occupation of the city Butler asserted that he was there only for the purpose of enforcing respect and obedience to Federal law, and to state law as well if the civil officials so wished. At the same time the General was careful to point

100 Marshall, Correspondence of Benjamin F. Butler, 57-58.
out that the military had no desire to interfere with the normal functions of the civil authorities or the activities of loyal citizens, although it was indicated that all weapons which were designed to be used against the government were to be seized and all assemblages of armed men, except the police, were to be forbidden. All displays of Southern flags or banners were equally forbidden within the city. To ease the effect of the proclamation the General held out as an inducement to the commercial element, the prospect of supplying rations and other supplies for forty thousand men which would be purchased in the city if loyal men so chose to sell them. It was also indicated that when a loyal citizen was chosen to execute faithfully the laws, the military would then be returned to the suburbs. Despite Butler's success General Scott was not only unimpressed with his actions, but immediately wired him to stop issuing proclamations.

Regardless of Scott's apprehension, Butler's actions in occupying the city by martial law, coupled with the declaration that the Federal troops had no desire to interfere with the business community or the normal functions of


municipal government, but only to maintain the laws and to protect the people, won for the General the respect of much of the Baltimore populace. The military encampment on Federal Hill soon became an increasing center of attraction for the populace of the city, and visitors with their families frequently visited the camp. The soldiers also provided an additional source of income for cake and apple women who would visit the camp collecting the spare money of the soldiers, who were apparently very liberal in their spending.\textsuperscript{103}

But along with the occupation began a period of military arrests of citizens for actions or sentiments deemed subversive by the Federal authorities. With the replacing of Butler with Brevet-Major General George Cadwallader to the command of the Department of Annapolis, authority was also given to him to make arrests and detain prisoners in spite of a presentation of a writ of \textit{habeas corpus}. Although Cadwallader was cautioned to use such authority with judgment and discretion,\textsuperscript{104} a constitutional issue of legality was raised over military tactics when he caused the arrest of John Merryman. The resultant disposition of the case was to

\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Sun, May 15 and 16, 1861.}  
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Official Records, Series 2, I, 571-572.}
indicate the general course which both Federal and judicial authorities would follow during the war period.

The case arose out of the arrest of John Merryman near Cockeysville for advocating secession and for aiding in the burning of the bridges. Since a writ of *habeas corpus* had already been refused by the military authorities, application was made directly to the Supreme Court of the United States. Taking note of the seriousness of the issue, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney left Washington for Baltimore to hear the petition for the writ of *habeas corpus*. Subsequently, Cadwallader was served with a writ issued by the Chief Justice for him to appear in the Baltimore Federal court with John Merryman on May 27th and there to make known the reasons for the latter's arrest. Military authorities refused to comply with Taney's summons on the grounds that the arrest had been made by virtue of the authority of the President to suspend the writ in the interest of public safety. In his reply to the court the General requested the postponement of any further action until he could receive additional instructions from higher authorities. In the forthcoming instructions his authority to arrest all persons engaged in

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subversive activities and to confine them was reaffirmed. Cadwallader was further instructed to reply that he would comply with the writs at the conclusion of "the present unhappy difficulties." ¹⁰⁶

Taney, in reviewing the case, questioned the constitutionality of the position of the military authorities. The Chief Justice felt the case hinged on the issue of persons being arrested on vague and indefinite charges and then being incarcerated by the military without being allowed recourse to the writ of habeas corpus to investigate the legality of the charge. He further felt that the military's refusal to honor the writ on the grounds that the President had the right to suspend the writ was unconstitutional. Taney argued that neither the President nor any of his administrative agents possessed the authority to suspend it and that the only constitutional way in which it could be suspended was by action of Congress. By this line of argument he asserted that persons not subject to the articles of war were not subject to arrest and detention by military officials unless the person was turned over to the civil authorities for proceedings. However, the Chief Justice declared that the court had

exercised all the power conferred upon it but had "been resisted by a force too strong for me to overcome." Taney then filed his opinions with the Federal circuit court in Baltimore and sent a copy under seal to Lincoln in Washington indicating that it was now up to the President to execute the laws under his constitutional obligation and to decide "what measures he will take to cause the civil process of the United States to be respected and enforced." 107

Nevertheless, the military continued to make arrests in an increasing volume, especially after General Nathaniel P. Banks assumed command on June 11th. And on June 24th General Scott, seeking to strike a damaging blow at secession sentiment in Baltimore, ordered the arrest of the city's police commissioners. 108 Subsequently, on the 27th of June, Banks in a public proclamation announced the arrest of the chief of police, Marshal George P. Kane, but did not carry out that action against any of the other commissioners. To allay some of the fears against the increasing military intervention, Banks indicated his desire not to interfere with the legitimate functions of the civil government of Baltimore,

107 Official Records, Series 2, I, 577-585; Brown, Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861, 89.
108 Ibid., Series 1, II, 138-139.
but at the same time asserted that the Federal government could not permit any unlawful combination of persons, who had designs of offering resistance to the laws, to enjoy the very protection and privileges of the government. Banks charged that Kane was both a protector and witness to such combinations engaged in illegal activities against the government. With the removal of Kane as chief of police, Colonel Kenly of the Maryland Volunteers was subsequently appointed by Banks as provost marshal for the city, and Kenly was order to organize a police force of four hundred men to serve under him.\textsuperscript{109}

The arrest of Marshal Kane created great confusion and excitement in the city and menacing crowds gathered around newspaper offices for more news and information relative to the arrest. But with the strengthening of the police force the crowds were quickly dispersed.\textsuperscript{110} That afternoon Mayor Brown was informed of Colonel Kenly's appointment as provost marshal and of the suspension of the functions of the police board. However, the police board refused to recognize the legality of the government's move and protested

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., Series 1, II, 139-141; Official Records, Series 2, I, 623-625.
\textsuperscript{110} Harrison, "Journal," 28-29.
Banks' action by passing a resolution stating that it had no authority to transfer the control of the police to any other person or authority. The board also asserted that it would do nothing further to excite public tension or obstruct the order, but contended that the suspension of its functions also suspended the operation of police law in Baltimore and consequently placed the police on "off duty" status.¹¹¹

The board's actions caused much confusion among the police and virtually brought about the disbanding of the force. While crowds witnessed the proceedings around the station houses, fixtures, documents, and books were removed for safe keeping. Reacting to the rising confusion, the provost marshal countered the board's move by assuring the public that all loyal men would be retained on the force and that the board did not legally possess the authority to suspend the force. Nevertheless, the board meeting in session again ordered all policemen to remove their stars and numbers from their uniforms, and by the afternoon of the 27th of June there was a conspicuous absence of policemen on the streets and an increasing growth of boisterousness among the people. To off-set this the military authorities were quick to

¹¹¹ Sun, June 28, 1861.
appoint new police and the city was in military readiness to meet any outburst of violence.\textsuperscript{112}

In support of his position, Banks asserted that the suspension of the functions of the police board did not affect the force itself, but it was to be retained intact. In so doing he asserted that if the laws of the city were not enforced, it would be the fault of the city and its officials and not his. The new system of police soon went into effect and possession was taken of the station houses. Also at the request of the military, Mayor Brown ordered all keys to the fire alarm telegraph boxes to be turned over to the provost marshal. The new provost policemen in Baltimore were not designated by a special uniform but were distinguishable by a ribbon tied through the button hole of their coats. With the institution of the new police force, persons were again being arrested for municipal violations.\textsuperscript{113}

Finally, on July 1st, Banks took the ultimate step and announced the arrest of the remaining police commissioners, Charles Howard, William H. Gatchell, Charles D. Hinks, and John Davis. Reasons given by Banks for their arrest were

\textsuperscript{112}\textit{Ibid.}, June 28, 1861.

\textsuperscript{113}\textit{Ibid.}, June 29, 1861.
that the board had continued in secret session after their suspension and that they had suspended the police law which was an "unwarrantable construction" of his proclamation. The board was also charged with holding a large group of armed men, subject to its authority, whose existence and intentions were deemed inconsistent with the authority of the Federal government. He also maintained as evidence of this intention that the police headquarters, under the board's direction, resembled a concealed arsenal.\(^{114}\) Privately, in a letter to Assistant Adjutant General Colonel Townsend, Banks wrote that the charge against the commissioners was more of a negative character, arising more from an error of judgment of "culpable inefficiency" in not performing an official duty, than any positive action on their part. At the same time, while he believed that a trial would probably not result in a conviction, he felt that, in the interest of public safety, the commissioners should be held.\(^{115}\) To insure against an outburst of rioting in the city over the arrests, troops were stationed throughout Baltimore in the principal squares and at the post office building. Many of the leading

\(^{114}\) *Official Records*, Series 1, II, 141; *Official Records*, Series 2, I, 625.

Southern sympathizers, fearing arrest too, were reported to have fled the city.

To support Banks' newly created military force in the city, Congress appropriated $100,000 to be used in paying their salaries, and by early August the men were beginning to receive payment from the appropriated money. In the meantime the city continued to compensate policemen who had been placed on "off duty" status by the actions of the police board. But General John Adams Dix, assuming command in July, ordered the immediate cessation of compensation to all those who had been placed in this category. Mayor Brown protested the order, but acquiesced and indicated that he would show no signs of resistance and would put it into effect.

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117 *Sun*, July 25-26, 1861.
119 *Official Records*, Series 2, I, 644; *Sun*, September 11, 1861; and Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, 104-105.
CHAPTER VI

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND MILITARY CONTROL

With the growth of arrests and restrictions by the Federal government, Marylanders became increasingly concerned for their civil liberties. One manifestation of this concern was in the action of the state legislature. The House of Delegates in extra session protested the military occupation, the accompanying restrictions, and alleged illegalities of the Federal government, but, at the same time, cautioned the citizens of Maryland to refrain from any unlawful interference or violence against either the passage or quartering of troops within the state.\(^1\) Both branches of the legislature concurred in protesting the arrest of the police board in Baltimore "under color of military necessity" and the appropriation of money by Congress for the compensation of the new police force as being unconstitutional and a "subversion of the federal compact."\(^2\)

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\(^2\) Ibid., 365-367; Proceedings of the Senate, 314-315.
Even though arrests continued despite mounting opposition, Federal officials were becoming more sensitive to public feeling, with the growing volume of complaints. In the face of the steady influx of complaints to the War Department, Cameron ordered officers in Maryland to use greater care in making arrests and then only for good cause. He further suggested that, as well as using discretion in their actions, the military police officers should be Marylanders themselves. After consultation with some of the leading and influential citizens of Baltimore, Banks announced the removal of Colonel Kenly as provost marshal and the appointment of Colonel R. Dodge of the city to the position. Along with this action it was further announced that the military units, which had been sent into the city at the time of the arrest of the police commissioners, had been withdrawn to their former positions in the suburbs of the city.

With the growth of arrests, Federal authorities became increasingly aware of the limited facilities to handle the growing volume of prisoners. To cope with some of the problem, Banks suggested that the persons held be divided

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4 Sun, July 10, 1861.
into two categories: those detained temporarily for the public safety and those charged with high crimes and misdemeanors. When General Dix assumed command of Maryland in July 1861 he became increasingly suspicious of charges against persons unless they were supported from reliable sources. Many times there were good reasons for questioning the validity of some charges. In one such case, Jacob Enfield had displayed on his barn an old flag with the names of Buchanan and Breckinridge printed on it, but Enfield had pasted strips bearing the names of McClellan and Pendleton over the other two. However, in a rain storm the paper strips were washed off exposing the original names which subsequently led to his arrest and a sentence to do work on Fort Dix.

With the new General in command greater restraint was evident in the military's interference in civilian affairs, and Dix ordered that the searching of private houses should be done by the police rather than the military. He also allowed a relaxation of the general policy of prohibiting persons from passing out of the city with arms. It

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6 Ibid., Series 2, I, 599.
was now modified to merely searching for concealed weapons and permitted persons obviously going on sporting expeditions to leave Baltimore with shotguns.  

The sessions of the legislature had been viewed with suspicion by Federal officials because of possible actions it might take in regard to secession. As early as April, following the rioting in Baltimore, Lincoln had become apprehensive as to Maryland's course of action, but had ordered General Scott not to interfere unless an ordinance of secession was actually passed. Nevertheless, orders had been given to Butler by General Scott to adopt quick and decisive measures if the state attempted to secede, even if it meant the bombardment of her cities and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Finally with the reconvening of the legislature in September, 1861 it was decided as a matter of safety to arrest all those members who were regarded as disloyal. The preparations for the arrest were planned well in advance, before the legislature met, and when it did

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9 Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, VII, 3218-3219; Basler, Works of Abraham Lincoln, IV, 344.
10 Official Records, Series 1, II, 601-602.
reconvene, martial law was immediately proclaimed in Frederick, and the outskirts of the city surrounded by Federal troops. No one was permitted to leave without a pass, although free entrance into the city was still permitted. Those who were arrested, with the exception of those released under oath for medical or other reasons, were sent to Annapolis and taken to Fort Monroe for confinement.

Suppression of disloyal expression began to be directed in other directions during 1861. Newspapers, considered disloyal, were denied the use of mail facilities, and the Baltimore Exchange, the Marlboro Planter's Advocate, and the Frederick Herald were all placed on the proscribed list. As a result, both of the latter two papers were forced to suspend their publishing activities. During the series of arrests in Frederick, the editor of the Herald was also arrested along with the state legislators but released after taking an oath of allegiance, while in Baltimore the two papers, the Exchange and the South, which had been a product of the April troubles and were designed to espouse the

11 Scharf, History of Western Maryland, II, 205-206; "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry September 18, 1861.
12 Ibid., 205-209.
13 Sun, June 26, 1861; Aegis, September 14, 1861; and "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry September 24, 1861.
Southern cause and rights, had their offices searched by the detective Allen Pinkerton for treasonable material and the editors were arrested.  

Not only were the constant presence of the Federal army and its restrictions being felt in regard to the expression of opinions and sentiments, but also in regard to the tightening trade restrictions on commerce between Virginia and Maryland. As has already been indicated, with the restoration of rail service on the Baltimore and Ohio, the Federal government extended its control and supervision over the road. In so doing Federal authorities attempted to suppress the illicit smuggling trade between the citizens of Maryland and Virginia. Along with this, military guards were stationed on wharves in Baltimore as a preventive measure against the shipment of arms to Eastern Shore Maryland, which had become a chief center of the illicit trade with Virginia. In addition to these measures, a squadron of Federal ships was kept on the Chesapeake Bay to keep the region under surveillance and to search ships for contraband

16 Official Records, Series 1, II, 770; Official Records, Series 1, V, 572 and 577.
of war. As a further check on the flow of persons leaving Maryland for Virginia, Banks temporarily stopped the Patuxent steamers from service between Baltimore and Saint Mary's County. Under General Dix all steamers between Baltimore and Saint Mary's County and the other adjoining counties were again stopped for similar reasons.

By late August of 1861 the government was maintaining a tight control over commerce in a determined effort to suppress illicit trade and at times committed depredations on property without seeming justification. In one such case, George W. Carpenter, who was in the lumber business, complained that the government had destroyed his boats without giving any reasons. To strengthen effective control over Eastern Shore trading activities, Dix requested four steamers of slight draught which could easily penetrate the various inlets, rivers, and bays of the shore. A squadron of cavalry was also stationed at Millstone Landing on the

17 Sun, June 13, 1861.
18 Ibid., July 12 and 17, 1861.
19 Official Records, Series 1, V, 578.
20 Robert Spear Papers: "George W. Carpenter to Robert Spear, August 30, 1861." (Collection of letters in Maryland Historical Society Library.)
Eastern Shore to increase the government's mobility in keeping a large area under surveillance.\textsuperscript{22}

On December 19th, in General Orders No. 56, the government outlined some of the travel and trade regulations which affected the Maryland area. Civilians were prohibited from crossing the Potomac into Virginia without a proper pass from military headquarters, but citizens who were not suspected of disloyalty were not required to have a pass while traveling north of the Potomac. All alcoholic beverages, except those for hospitals, subsistence stores, or for the private stock of an officer, were not allowed to be shipped south of the Potomac.\textsuperscript{23} A number of articles were also placed on the proscribed list as contraband of war. Items such as gold and silver, clothing and materials for the manufacturing of clothing, arms, and munitions, were designated as contraband. Along with these materials used in the manufacture of weapons, books on military education, saddles and other equipment which might be used in various types of cavalry units, naval stores and timber, and all types of machinery and railroad equipment, or other commodities which might benefit the enemy were placed on the list.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., Series 1, V, 675-676.
\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., Series 1, V, 688-690.
\textsuperscript{24}Democratic Alleganian, May 19, 1861.
Many of the tensions over attitudes and positions as to the war continued to manifest themselves on various occasions in 1862, despite the fact that at the same time currents were beginning to move Marylanders into new directions which were to remain substantially unchanged for the duration of the war. Despite this running tide, events and occasions frequently provoked outbursts of violence and rioting. Meetings and public events provided opportunities for displays of political and personal sentiments. In a lecture at the Maryland Institute the Rev. Fugit, in stating his opposition to a proposed legislative test oath for clergymen, asserted that before he would submit to it he would suffer martyrdom. Fugit's address created a considerable furor among the audience, and he was forced to stop speaking as a consequence. Then the audience broke out into cheers for the Union and groans for the speaker. On another occasion at the graduation ceremonies of the University of Maryland an audience used this event to display their particular sentiments by hissing and applauding the graduates as they received their diplomas. The candidate's political

25 Times, February 19, 1862.
proclivities were designated by the bouquets presented to them by their friends. The event finally became so rowdy that the police had to threaten to expel anyone who engaged in unruly conduct.26

Confederate victories and Union defeats were another opportunity to express Southern feelings and sentiments, much to the distress of pro-Union men. Manifestations of sympathy were also shown frequently toward Southern prisoners incarcerated in Baltimore, and the New York Times reported that the authorities had denied permission to visit prisoners except to those who brought them the necessities of life.27 Songs and sheet music which appeared in many homes expressed additional sentiments such as the one found in Cumberland by a Times reporter which went:

The Despots heel is on thy shore,
Maryland, My Maryland!
His torch is at thy temple door,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Avenge the patriotic gore
that flocked the streets of Baltimore,
And be that Battle Queen of yore,
Maryland, My Maryland!

and which had been set to the tune of "Maryland, My Maryland" by an unidentified author.28

26 Harrison, "Journal," entry of March 1, 1862.
27 Times, April 5, 1862.
28 Ibid., May 12, 1862.
Toward the last of May violence and rioting broke out in both Baltimore and Hagerstown over the news of the defeat of General Banks at Front Royal, Virginia. The precipitating factor was that the 1st Maryland Regiment was with Banks and, this coupled with Southern sympathizers swarming out into the streets in a festive mood over the Confederate victory, did much to infuriate Unionists and ignite an explosive atmosphere. Union supporters became so angered over the news and demonstrations of jubilation that an armed clash ensued between the two groups. Groups of Union men began to pursue and chase Southern men down streets and eventually forced many of them to display flags as well as desist from any further demonstrations. A mob also formed outside the German-American newspaper, Deutsche Correspondent, which was a Democratic paper, although not secessionist in sentiment, and forced it to display a national flag. Finally General Dix in cooperation with the police restored order to the city.

When the news of Banks' defeat and retreat from Front Royal to Winchester, coupled with the rumors of the possible

29 Official Records, Series 1, XII, Part 3, 230-231 and 253; Sun, May 25-26; and Times, May 26, 1862.
30 Cunz, Maryland Germans, 310.
approach of the Confederate army along with stories about the suffering of Union men, reached Hagerstown, violence also erupted in that city. A mob gathered in the city streets and vented its rage on the Hagerstown Mail, a pro-Southern newspaper, destroying its presses, type, and other materials as well as demolishing the building itself. Unfortunately, the building was owned by a Union man, and in consequence of the damage done to the structure, a fund was raised among Unionists to compensate the owner fully for the damage done to his property. Later in the following month mob action again broke out in the city. This time it was directed against two Southern sympathizers. The outcome was the gutting of a jewelry establishment and a restaurant by mob violence.

Expressions and displays of Southern sympathy were always under the restraining influence of the presence of the military in Maryland, and arrests by the military continued in increasing numbers and became even more repressive with the replacement of General John A. Dix by General John E. Wool on June 1, 1862. Earlier, Dix's extensive authority

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32 Scharf, History of Western Maryland, I, 223-224.
33 Valley Register, June 20, 1862; Sun, June 21, 1862.
had been reaffirmed in April by an executive order which authorized him to use his discretion in exercising control over Baltimore's city police as he saw fit and to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, to institute martial law, and to make arrests in the interests of public safety in maintaining respect and obedience to the authority of the Federal government.

Even though Dix's administration was repressive toward manifestations regarded as disloyalty, at the same time he was greatly concerned with building support for the Federal government in Maryland. On assuming command, Dix had found that Baltimore was being plagued with countless deserters from the Union army hiding in the city and consequently creating much lawlessness with their drunkenness and disorderly conduct. He immediately ordered the Baltimore police to arrest all soldiers found in the city without a proper pass, and the General also adopted strict regulations regarding the issuance of passes to visit the city. Within approximately ten days Dix had succeeded in clearing Baltimore of all deserters and in reestablishing order. In handling the situation the General had relied on the local

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34 Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VII, 3313.
police, which had been returned to the city's jurisdiction earlier in March, 1861, to make the arrests rather than using military personnel in order to build local support for the government. Dix's actions consequently did help bolster some of the lagging confidence and respect for the government.

Yet, at the same time, the most spectacular arrest during his administration was that of Judge Richard Carmichael of Easton which did much to damage respect for Federal authorities. Carmichael was judge of the circuit court for Talbot, Queen Anne, and Kent counties and was considered by Federal officials to be one of the principal leaders of disaffection and disloyalty on the Eastern Shore. After delaying seven months when Secretary of State Seward had first indicated that Carmichael should be arrested, Dix finally sent a detachment of men to Easton to make the arrest. Unfortunately the military authorities failed to take public opinion into consideration and made the arrest within the confines of the courtroom itself. When the judge was confronted by the military, he refused to recognize the

37 Ibid., Series 2, II, 58.
government's authority and had to be violently dragged out of the courtroom and taken to Fort McHenry. The handling of the Carmichael case created a strong feeling of antagonism against Federal authorities, and even many Union supporters felt the situation had been badly handled. Finally on December 3, 1862 Judge Carmichael was released without ever having been officially charged or given a trial.\(^\text{38}\)

With the replacement of Dix in June by General Wool, a strict disciplinarian, a more repressive regime than that of the former administration was instituted in Baltimore and Maryland. With the rise in the number of arrests General Wool became suspicious of the character and grounds of some of the arrests. Consequently, he ordered that they should not be made on mere charges of treason or disloyalty without first having the charges submitted in writing under oath to certify that the indictment was true, and then it was to be submitted to the commanding general for approval.\(^\text{39}\)

Still Wool continued the general policy of suppression of disloyalty with even more vigor than his predecessor had


\(^{39}\) *Official Records*, Series 1, XIX, Part 2, 286-287.
used. Both the Rockville Union and the Sentinel were suspended in November by the military, and the editor of the Sentinel arrested and temporarily incarcerated. The two composers of the music, "the Stonewall Quicksters," which had been dedicated to Stonewall Jackson, were also ordered to be arrested by the General. The display of Union flags in churches came to be expected by military authorities as an indication of loyalty regardless of the feelings or objections on the part of some ministers who felt it might symbolize a union of church and state. Those who refused to display the flag ran the risk of being arrested.

Wool's repressive measures came to be greatly resented in Baltimore, and even Union supporters such as the loyal newspaper, the Baltimore American, were unenthusiastic over his conduct. The American indicated that it felt if the government would trust the people more, Union feeling in the city might be even stronger than it was. Finally with the mounting resentment a petition was circulated and presented to the government for Wool's approval, and on December 23, 1862 he was replaced by Major General Robert C. Schenck.

40 Sun, November 20, 1862.
41 Official Records, Series 2, IV, 663.
42 Andrews, Tercentenary History of Maryland, I, 865.
43 Times, October 30, 1862.
Difficulties with military authorities were not always confined to questions of loyalty but touched matters such as the sale of alcoholic beverages to soldiers as well. As early as October, 1861 dealers in alcoholic beverages in Frederick had been warned not to sell liquors to soldiers, and in order to deal with violations of the order, a squad of soldiers had been sent to two of the local establishments and had destroyed their liquor supply as a penalty for a violation. One saloon keeper, Christian Eckstein, had his saloon raided three times in a single year. On the Eastern Shore in Princess Anne County similar orders were issued to liquor dealers with the threat of vigorous measures if they did not comply with the request. Later the Easton Gazette reported that even the marshal of Talbot County had been arrested for selling liquor within five miles of the army camp. However, one act of interference in local affairs which did receive praise from Frederick citizens was the arrest of nineteen "lewd" women by the provost marshal, who had them quickly sent off to Washington.

44 "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of October 29, 1861; Sun, October 31, 1861.
45 Ibid., entry of July 14, 1862; Frederick, Examiner, July 16, 1862; Valley Register, November 28, 1862.
46 Cambridge, Herald, February 12, 1862.
47 Ibid., December 10, 1862.
48 Examiner, March 15, 1862; Valley Register, March 7, 1862.
With the replacement of the unpopular General Wool by Major-General Robert C. Schenck in December, 1862 restrictions and actions continued to be even more repressive, despite the previous outcry. Indicative of the repressiveness of his administration was the volume of arrests for the month of July alone; in that month 361 persons were arrested of whom 317 were then released under parole while the remainder suffered various dispositions.\textsuperscript{49} Items such as pictures, books, and music which would have been permitted in most other Northern cities were vigorously suppressed in Baltimore. \textsuperscript{50} Schenck's control over the city was essentially that of a martinet, for with the General there was no middle ground in the war, only loyalty or disloyalty. Violations of military regulations and restrictions by citizens were quickly brought to an accounting. Displays of possible disloyalty were regarded as totally incompatible with his concept of order, as was demonstrated in the "woman difficulty" which he had inherited from his predecessor. While men who were sympathetic to the South dared not risk indicating their proclivities or insulting soldiers, women, using their sex as protection, did so with

\begin{footnotes}
\item[49] The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1863 (New York, 1860), 612.
\item[50] Clark, "Suppression and Control of Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, LIV, 266.
\end{footnotes}
impunity. Especially obnoxious to Union authorities was the display of Southern colors on their persons while promenading on the public streets. To put an end to this situation Schenck collected a number of prostitutes who were then well dressed and given Southern colors to wear, and were then sent to walk on the streets to greet the Baltimore ladies with the salute of "sister in the holy cause." With the resulting humiliation of the ladies, the "woman difficulty" was adequately solved by the General. 51

Arrests began to cover a wide range of activities from the selling of alcoholic beverages to soldiers to not displaying the national emblems on ceremonial occasions. Selling intoxicating liquors often times resulted in the confiscation of the saloonkeeper's stock for this violation of military regulations. Two saloonkeepers in September not only had their stock confiscated but received sentences of forty-eight hours in jail. 52 Boarding housekeepers were also threatened with possible action for not giving proper information to enrolling officers about their roomers. In one such case, Mrs. E. N. Toy was arrested, and only after she

51 Howard Carroll, Twelve Americans (New York, 1883), 250-251.
52 Sun, September 22, 1863.
had given the proper information was she released from military custody.  

In the case of an independent Methodist Episcopal church where its members had hired a hall in the western part of the city in which to hold their services, a government detective appeared at the hall and ordered them to display a United States flag before allowing the service to be held. Not having a flag in their immediate possession, one was soon secured and placed in a prominent place while the congregation then proceeded with the service. In another Methodist Episcopal church it was reported to the provost marshal, William S. Fish, that a portion of the congregation strongly objected to the presence of the Union flag in the church. Fish subsequently ordered the minister to continue to display the flag in a conspicuous place until further orders. Another minister on arriving at his church found a large Union flag suspended in front of the church, and on removing it he was immediately arrested by the military authorities.

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53 American Annual Cyclopaedia of 1863, 611.
54 Sun, April 20, 1863.
55 Scharf, History of Maryland, III, 526-527.
General Schenck was also instrumental in closing down social organizations which he deemed centers of disloyalty. In June the Maryland Club of Baltimore was ordered closed, and its members were arrested and paroled, while the government seized the building. The reason given for the government's actions was that the club was a place for the disloyal elements of the city to congregate. Later the Alston Club House and the Germania Club were similarly closed by the authorities. The Germania Club consisted of the social elite of the German element and had been principally composed of tobacco traders who had a tendency to align their social and economic interests with the South. Frederick Schepeller, who had been the club's president and had expressed strong Southern sympathies, withdrew as president and was succeeded by a strong Union man. This action, coupled with a declaration from the organization that it was neutral in political matters, moved the Federal government to allow the club to resume and reopen its doors, but it complied with the expectation of the authorities that a Union flag was to be displayed alongside the German flag in the building.

56Sun, June 29, 1863.
57Cunz, Maryland Germans, 310-311; Dieter Cunz, A History of the Germania Club of Baltimore City, Maryland (Baltimore, 1940), 13.
Schenck also felt that the authorities were responsible for creating public displays of loyalty as well as discouraging manifestations of disloyalty. Consequently, he took the 4th of July as a proper occasion to put such a policy into effect. In a proclamation on July 3rd he requested and recommended that all houses and business firms display an American flag between the hours of 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. as a symbol of their loyalty, and he also indicated that if such a flag did not appear, "its absence there will only prove that patriotic hearts do not beat beneath that roof."  

Later in the month the provost marshal visited a Baltimore book store and seized approximately sixty books, most of which were Pollard's *Southern History of the War*. The bookseller was arrested and then released on parole under the condition that he not sell such books. The publication of the poem, "The Southern Cross," brought about the arrest of the proprietors and editor of the Baltimore Republican and *Argus*. They were then denied any form of communication with

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59 *Sun*, April 30, 1863.
families or other persons and were sent beyond Federal lines into the South without even a change of clothing. Other newspapers had also run into similar difficulties with military authorities in 1863. The Hagerstown Free Press had earlier been suppressed in March, and its editor, A. G. Boyd, sent beyond Federal lines. Later the Baltimore Daily Gazette and the Evening Transcript, which had just begun publication by the former editor of the Gazette, were ordered to suspend operations.

The General was equally determined to suppress the illicit traffic in letters which were being sent between the South and Baltimore. Most of the letters which were carried in the trade were of a family and personal nature, but authorities claimed that military information was also contained within some of them, and therefore it was decided to stop the entire clandestine traffic. The penalty for a person living in the Maryland military department engaging in this illicit activity was arrest and then deportation beyond Federal lines in the South.

60 National Intelligencer, September 16, 1863; American Cyclopaedia of 1863, 613.
61 Valley Register, March 20, 1863.
62 Sun, November 11, 1863; Scharf, Chronicles of Baltimore, 628.
63 Official Records, Series 1, XXVII, Part 3, 482-483.
A number of arrests in the summer of 1863 also grew out of the Confederate invasion into Pennsylvania of that year. Any activity which was regarded as suspicious fraternization with the enemy was considered as a possible cause for government action, and in Westminster approximately fifteen to twenty women were arrested and then paroled after taking an oath of allegiance. Their particular offense arose out of the act of having fed Lee's army. One of the most important arrests made, stemming out of the invasion, was the apprehension of Alfred Spates, president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, because of an interview which he had held with General Lee and Ewell in an attempt to safeguard the canal. Spates was taken and temporarily confined in Fort McHenry, but later in September he was released on $10,000 bail.

As had been the case in the preceding years, the Federal government continued to exercise wide authority in Maryland affairs during 1864, and, under the command of General Lew Wallace, Marylanders witnessed attempted extensions of control in other directions as well. The

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64 *National Intelligencer*, September 4, 1863; *Valley Register*, September 11, 1863.
65 *Sun*, September 2, 1863; *Civilian and Telegraph*, September 25, 1863.
financial affairs of commercial firms as well as of ordinary citizens soon became an object of scrutiny by the government which attempted to probe and to limit their responsibility to shareholders if they were Southerners or considered disloyal. Suppression of disloyal sentiments also continued to occupy military officials in 1864, with the result that a number of newspapers found themselves in conflict with the authorities.

In the spring of 1864 General Wallace ordered the Baltimore *Evening Transcript* to cease publication for reporting a false item in its columns to the effect that the army of the Potomac had lost seventy thousand men. In a note to the publisher, he informed him that if any further issue of the paper was published, the military would take possession of its office and the staff would be arrested. Later the successor to the *Transcript*, the *Bulletin*, was also ordered to cease publication. Its editors had originally gained permission to issue the paper on the condition that they were loyal and would support the government. Similarly, in July the *Frederick Union* reported that the office of the *Frederick Towsontown, Baltimore County Advocate*, May 21, 1864; *Times*, May 19, 1864.

66 *American*, August 8, 1864.
Republican Citizen had also been ordered closed and its editors arrested and sent beyond Federal lines as a consequence of the publication of an unacceptable article. 68

Another Baltimore newspaper which conflicted with the government's tightening scrutiny of news and information was the city's Evening Post. The Post had published an item reporting a reputed riot in Cincinnati in which a Lincoln Club had fired upon citizens and had killed and wounded several women and children. Wallace used the pretext that he was afraid that mob action would destroy the paper if it were not suppressed. 69 Although it was not closed down, the Katholische Volkszeitung, a Catholic paper, was ordered to send a copy of its paper each week to the assistant provost marshal for examination, and it was warned that if it contained any direct or indirect attacks or statements against the government it, too, would be closed and the editor punished. 70

General Wallace also turned his attention to the illegal smuggling activities of Marylanders with the Confederacy,

68 Sun, July 29, 1864.
69 Ibid., October 1, 1864; Civilian and Telegraph, October 6, 1864.
70 Scharf, History of Maryland, III, 667.
and, in a letter to Secretary of War Stanton, he suggested that six light draught vessels should be used to patrol the Eastern Shore in order to cut down on blockade running activities. Wallace also urged more stringent regulations regarding permits and clearances for trade from Baltimore, since he considered the city a center of illicit traffic. 71 In May, newspapers reported that one of the schooners, which had been engaged in this smuggling for some time, had been seized by the government just off Ft. McHenry with a cargo of contraband valued at $6,000. 72

On April 26th General Wallace issued a set of orders which would have had far reaching effects if they had been put into effect. Wallace, on his own initiative, hoped to penalize persons who held property or securities in the state and who in any way had aided the Confederacy either directly or indirectly. In order to accomplish this he ordered that all income from property or securities should be withheld from such persons and paid to the Maryland military department instead of the proscribed individual. The order further

71 Official Records, Series 1, XXXVIII, 884-885.
72 American, May 3, 1864.
provided that all persons who were responsible for making such payments were subject to punishment by a military commission if they failed to comply with the command.\textsuperscript{73}

Later, on the 1st of May, military authorities issued General Orders No. 33 to amplify the General Orders No. 30 of April 26th. All commercial concerns such as banks, insurance companies, railroads, turnpikes, ferries, and manufacturing companies were directed to make written reports, certified under oath, giving the names and addresses of all proprietors or stockholders who had had any financial interest in their business within the previous year and who since April 19th, 1861 had been a resident of a Southern state or an employee of the Confederacy in any capacity. All financial returns due to such persons since May 1, 1863 were to be reported, with the amount then payable to the proper authorities. It was also further ordered that all corporations, joint-stock companies, and individuals who had paid money to such persons in the form of interest were to submit a statement, verified under oath, not later than June 15, 1864, as to the names and addresses of such persons and the full nature of the

\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Official Records}, Series 1, XXXVIII, 989-990.
transactions. Commercial concerns were also required to report all rents paid to such individuals since May 1, 1863, and persons who had hired slaves belonging to this category of persons since January 1, 1864 also had to file statements containing the owner's name, the rate of hire, the name of each slave, and the names of any person to whom such payments had been made to or were due to at the time of the issuance of the order.

In a communication to the Attorney General Edward Bates explaining the reasoning behind the issuance of General Orders No. 30 and No. 33, Wallace maintained that during the course of the war thousands of Marylanders had at one time or another gone into the South and aided the Confederacy, and that many of these individuals on investigation were still drawing income from property and investments in the state. He felt that the situation aided the enemy in allowing him to retain his financial support and was also objectionable and intolerable in not being in keeping with the spirit of the acts of Congress. He fully admitted the assumption "of large power over persons, contracts, and property purely civil," but felt justified that the authority was necessary to reach

74 Ibid., Series 1, XXXVII, Part 1, 638-639.
such persons. It was further argued that there was no con-
fiscation involved but that the authorities merely held the
money in custody to deprive disloyal citizens of this
support. The General also indicated that in retaining pos-
session of such funds, they could be acted upon later if the
government ever decided to prosecute for a judgment of
confiscation and that this was a convenient method of dis-
closing properties which might be acted against at a future
date. 75

Officials in Washington were not impressed with the
General's actions and regarded them as an undue extension of
his authority in the Middle Department. Consequently, he was
informed that such power was vested only in the President
and such actions required his direction and judgment. Wallace
was then directed to revoke the orders and to take no further
actions in the execution of them. 76

As in the administration of General Schenck, there was
little tolerance by Wallace toward Southern sympathizers and
on occasions there was a definitely marked intolerance toward

75 Official Records, Series 3, IV, 413-415. Wallace had
already seized the estate of General George H. Steuart,
which was valued at $250,000.
76 Ibid., Series 3, IV, 431-432.
such persons. A number of prominent booksellers were arrested in May when military authorities investigated their premises and found their stock to contain packs of cards bearing portraits of Confederate leaders, a Southern history of the war, and envelopes with painted Confederate flags. Later there was considerable excitement and confusion in the city when the provost marshal with a detachment of men closed approximately seven firms, of which Hamilton Easter and Company, the city's largest dry goods house, was one, and arrested the proprietors and clerks. Guards were then stationed outside the firms and those arrested were marched off to the provost marshal's office to be sent to Washington by special train.

Even small matters of loyalty had concern for General Wallace. On learning that pressure was being brought to bear on a minister of Saint Timothy's church in Catonsville for his resignation and retirement, Wallace took the opportunity to write the minister assuring him of all the protection in

77 *American*, May 24, 1864.
78 *National Intelligencer*, October 18, 1864.
his power if he wished to continue in charge of the church. The General also indicated that unless the church would choose a man of undoubted loyalty, services would not be allowed to continue at Saint Timothy's.  

79 Official Records, Series 1, XXXVII, Part 2, 590.
CHAPTER VII

THE IMPACT OF WAR ON RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The confusion created by the political crisis in Maryland and the sharpening differences in religious groups over slavery had serious ramifications for many during the war period. The resultant antagonism toward the North on the slave issue helped further to complicate the already frustrating political tensions in Maryland society. Conversely the growing sectional tension between North and South created an emotionally charged atmosphere which made for neither religious unity nor action and provided another issue upon which Marylanders were to divide. Political and social divisions were consequently manifested in the congregations of all denominations and were a cause of much difficulty within the churches of Maryland.

Especially was this true of the Methodist Episcopal church. In the proceedings of the church's General Conference in Buffalo in 1860 Methodist unit was severely strained, and the proceedings were the cause of many protests from its clergy and lay members in the state. Within the General
Conference the forces which had desired to strengthen the

discipline's chapter on slavery succeeded in passing the "new
chapter" by a 155 to 58 vote. With the adoption of the "new
chapter" the Conference now asserted:

We declare that we are as much as ever convinced
of the great evil of slavery. We believe that
the buying, selling or holding of human beings,
as chattels, is contrary to the laws of God and
nature, inconsistent with its Golden Rule in our
Discipline, which requires all who desire to
remain among us to 'do no harm, and to avoid evil
of every kind.' We therefore affectionately ad­
monish all our preachers and people to keep them­selves pure from this great evil, and to seek its
extrication by lawful and Christian means.¹

Much dismay and anger were felt in the border conferences
after the adoption of the 'new chapter,' and for fear of
alienating them the House of Bishops, meeting in Cincinnati,
passed a resolution which asserted "that in our judgment there
was no action of the late General Conference of the Methodist
Episcopal Church which changed the terms of membership in
said Church."²

Resentment remained strong in Maryland against the
action of the General Conference, and the 'new chapter' came
under increasing attacks from both lay and clergy. As early

¹Charles Baumer Swaney, Episcopal Methodism and Slavery
(Boston, 1926), 266; William Warren Sweet, The Methodist
Episcopal Church and the Civil War (Cincinnati, 1912), 39-40.

²Ibid., 227.
as June, one month after the convention at Buffalo, a meeting of the laymen of the "City Station" church in Baltimore charged that the new provision had been passed without proper authority and resolved to refuse to obey it, while in another convention at the Eutaw Street church it was asserted "that we will not submit to the "New Chapter," nor to the jurisdiction of the 'Buffalo General Conference.'"  

Lay agitation also erupted in other areas. In the lower counties on the Eastern Shore, which were attached to the Philadelphia Conference, a meeting held in Cambridge in Dorchester County denounced the "new chapter" and proposed that the peninsula counties of Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware separate themselves from the Philadelphia jurisdiction and form their own or join the Baltimore one. To implement such a move, a call was extended to all churches on the peninsula to meet in Baltimore on March the 5th for a general consultation as to the course they should pursue. Provisions were also made that, in the event the Cambridge proposals were refused, all churches and circuits, which were in agreement with the resolutions, would apply to be included.

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3 Minutes of the Sessions of the Baltimore Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church (South), 1862-1865 (Staunton, Virginia 1899), 3-5; American, January 2, 1861.
within the jurisdiction of the Baltimore Conference under the condition, however, that it would in turn renounce its allegiance to the General Conference. Later, in a layman's convention, representing several circuits of the Cambridge area, the demand for the removal of slavery from the church's jurisdiction was put forth with the proposal that such authority be left up to the local jurisdiction. The laymen also called for a fairer proportion of church periodicals to be edited and controlled by the border conferences. They also asked for a division of the Philadelphia Conference; the underlying motive for this was the desire to be supplied with ministers who agreed with them and their sentiments.

At the Asbury Methodist church in Somerset County another meeting asserted that the recent action of the General Conference was an "unjustifiable and inexcusable violation of its solemn pledges and good faith to the border churches." Consequently, it was resolved that, since protests were useless, to dissociate themselves from the General Conference. At the same time the action was quickly tempered with a decision to reassemble after both the Philadelphia and the

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4 American, January 16, 1861; Sun, January 16, 1861.
5 Sun, March 12, 1861.
Baltimore conferences had met to reassess their position in the light of the then prevailing conditions.  

Just prior to the meeting of the Baltimore conference in Staunton, Virginia, a layman's convention convening in the same community passed resolutions calling for the separation of the Baltimore Conference from the General Conference and asserted that the responsibility of a permanent separation would lie with that body. Despite their declaration of separation they still maintained that they were, "notwithstanding, an integral part of the 'Methodist Episcopal Church.'" It was also suggested that a proper basis for reunion would be the ignoring of the slavery question by leaving it to the management of the individual conferences.

When the Baltimore Conference, which represented some 43,581 Methodists, finally convened in Staunton, the pressure for separation had considerably mounted and was given formidable support by the memorials and petitions of the layman's meeting which had preceded it. Eventually, the position that the "new chapter" on slavery had severed the ecclesiastical relationship between it and the General Conference was

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6 Ibid., March 15, 1861.

7 Ibid., March 18, 1861.
accepted after a long debate. The presiding officer, Bishop Scott, refused to put forth the resolution before the group, regarding it as a "violation of the order and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church, but a majority being in favor of separation, adopted it despite the opposition. 8

The conference's position was set forth in a series of resolutions which it was hoped would serve as a basis for reunion with the General Conference if adopted by that body. They called for the abrogation of the "new chapter"; the placement of the jurisdiction over slavery with the local conferences; and the consignment of a fairer portion of the church's periodicals to the supervision of the Baltimore Conference. Although the majority succeeded in severing its ecclesiastical ties with the larger body, the act was by no means a unanimous one. On the vote forty-four members abstained from voting while eighty-two stood in favor of the resolution. In a dissenting report the minority expressed their opposition to the "new chapter," but at the same time they refused to vote for separation because of its appeal to revolution as a redress without proper consultation with the other conferences. They also expressed the fear that the

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8 Sweet, Methodist Episcopal Church and Civil War, 48.
action would serve to strengthen those members who favored political secession.

The East Baltimore Conference, meeting in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, also protested the adoption of the "new chapter" but was much more temperate in its actions. In expressing its disapproval over the change in the discipline it asserted that there could be no administration of the new rule in its jurisdiction and in so doing put forth the proposition:

That we respectfully ask the several Annual Conferences at their ensuing sessions, with a view to the harmony of the whole Church, to give their assent to the following: That the General Conference be and is hereby requested to repeal the chapter on slavery, and instead thereof empower each Annual Conference, within whose bounds the relation of slavery exists, to make such regulations upon this subject, as in their judgment may best subserve the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom among them.

It was then directed that the bishops should submit its resolutions to the other conferences for discussion and action. The conclave then adjourned without severing its ties as had the Baltimore Conference.

The Philadelphia Conference, which contained the Eastern Shore circuits, also adopted a report favoring the

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9 Sun, March 26, 1861; National Intelligencer, March 27, 1861.

10 The Fourth Annual Register of the East Baltimore Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church (Baltimore, 1861), 26-27; Sun, March 21, 1861.
repeal of the "new chapter" and in doing so concurred with the actions of the East Baltimore meeting. It was the only other conference to concur in this move. The conclave in reacting to pressure from the peninsula circuits drew up and adopted an address to the Methodists of the counties of Delaware, Eastern Shore Virginia and Maryland expressing profound sympathy over the turmoil in those areas and desire for separation but indicating that it felt that a division of the conference was unwise at that time. ¹¹

Preparing for its annual conferences in 1862, the Methodist church still felt the rancors of the preceding year, but during the conference held in March the general course which it was to pursue for the remainder of the war years was essentially established. Indicative of this direction was the action taken by the Baltimore Conference in Maryland reversing its former stand. With the interposition of war this group was broken up into three segments. Those members, who resided in Virginia and found it impossible to travel to Baltimore where the meeting was to have been held in 1862, met at Harrisonburg, Virginia, while another group of five ministers, who disapproved of the actions taken by

¹¹ Sun, March 30, 1861; Sweet, Methodist Episcopal Church and Civil War, 48.
the remaining members in Maryland, assembled in a business establishment. The remaining group consisted of a majority of those members in the Maryland area, and they met at the designated time and place, the Light Street Church in Baltimore. While the Harrisonburg group continued to adhere to the actions taken at the previous meeting in Staunton, the conclave at the Light Street church reversed the conference's previous decision.  

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Meeting in Baltimore with more than half of its former members behind military lines in Virginia, the Light Street group reviewed the previous decision taken at Staunton, and after considerable deliberation it resolved that the action of those members who had voted for severance had withdrawn them from the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal church. Therefore it was directed that these names would be stricken from the roll unless they would signify their obedience to the church's jurisdiction. If this was complied with, the conference would then deem their act of withdrawal null and void. After considerable debate the resolution was finally adopted by a vote of thirty-four

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12 Minutes of the Sessions of the Baltimore Annual Conference (South, 6-7; Sweet, Methodist Episcopal Church and Civil War, 48-50.
to twenty-two, but at the same time it was indicated that the action in no way meant approval of the "new chapter" on slavery and that they would continue to work for its repeal or modification.  

The remaining group of five ministers, anticipating the actions of the Light Street meeting, took no part in their proceedings but assembled in a local merchants' countingroom. There they assumed the position that since the Light Street conclave was being held under the jurisdiction of the General Conference, which still adhered to the "new chapter," this was a bar to their participation by their previous decision at Staunton, and they saw no reason for regretting or reversing their former stand as to the church's jurisdiction. In turning to the question as to their existence in the church, they asserted:

What shall be our relation to each other as preachers? We shall continue as heretofore, Brethren in the same church, conference, and cause, and will faithfully stand by each other for our mutual help, as need may require and ability to serve. We will also co-operate in all ministerial work.  

Meanwhile in the city a group of laymen began to unite and to organize an independent Methodist Episcopal church.

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13 Sun, March 6 and 12, 1861.
14 Minutes of the Sessions of the Baltimore Annual Conference (South), 7-8.
With four congregations actually succeeding in establishing themselves, they accepted the five dissident ministers as pastors of their churches. In their declaration of purpose and principles they declared their adherence to the Discipline of 1856 and went on further to state their opposition to political questions arising in their congregations. In concluding their statement they asserted that:

As members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, independent of the General Conference of 1860, we shall know no change of the doctrines, principles, or usages of Methodism. All we ask of the Ministry is to confine themselves exclusively to the one work of 'spreading scriptural holiness over these lands,' and to preach 'Christ and Him Crucified.'

Having no churches, they were forced to utilize public halls until they could establish themselves more firmly. Despite their disclaimer as to politics, they were largely suspected of disloyalty, and critics referred to them as "organized disloyalty." On one occasion when excitement had become quite tense in Baltimore, the mayor sent a note to the "Central" congregation suggesting that in the interest of their own safety they not hold services.

The East Baltimore Conference, also meeting in Baltimore, opened its sessions with a series of patriotic

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15 _Ibid._, 9.
16 _Ibid._, 12-13 and 18; _Sun_, March 19 and 29, 1862.
resolutions which were seriously and heatedly debated but finally adopted, originally by a vote of 132 to 15, subsequently changed to 164 to 17. In the resolutions the conference expressed its "abhorrence of the rebellion" and considered its nature treasonable. In doing so it also declared its strong approval of the Federal government's efforts to suppress the "rebellion," and maintained that it was the duty of a citizen to help sustain the government in the crisis.

In answer to charges that the pulpit was being used for political teachings, the meeting went on record by asserting that "in the inculcation of loyal principles and sentiments, we recognize the pulpit and the press as legitimate instrumentalities." 17

Most of the seventeen voting against the resolutions professed their loyalty to the Union but felt that such action was inexpedient at that time. They hoped to avoid the introduction of political questions into the churches if possible. They also resented the manner in which the issue was thrust upon the convention, and, in voicing their displeasure, reiterated their belief that any action beyond

17 *The Fifth Annual Register of the East Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1862), 6-7; *Sun*, March 6, 1862; Bel Air, *National American*, March 28, 1862.
affirming their adherence to Article XXII of the discipline, which bound all Methodists to submission and obedience to the government, was unnecessary. With the adoption of the resolutions the minority was allowed the privilege of having a statement of explanation printed in the minutes as to their position to guard "against any interpretation of that vote which impugns their faith in XXII, Article of Religion." 18

In the following year, when the East Baltimore Conference met at York, Pennsylvania, on the opening day the assembly ordered that an American flag be hung out in front of the church and again reaffirmed its loyalty to the government and "our unflinching devotion to our country, in the hour of peril." 19 Later in 1864 the group even more strongly pronounced itself in support of the Federal government and announced its intention to refuse to "receive into the conference or elect to ministerial orders either from the local or itinerant ranks, any man of known disloyalty." 20

Strong support for the Union and government was also manifested in the meetings of the Philadelphia Conference

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18 Ibid., 6-7 and 33.
19 The Sixth Annual Register of the East Baltimore Conference of The Methodist Episcopal Church (Baltimore, 1863), 7-14.
20 American, March 9, 1864.
during the war. In discussing the war in its 1864 meeting in Wilmington, Delaware, those present maintained that the "rebellion" was "causeless in its origin" and "wicked in its objects," and therefore it was the duty of the government to suppress it. They also viewed the Confederacy, with its foundation of slavery, as a threat to civil and religious freedom, and rejoiced "in the prospects of the speedy and entire abolition of slavery in this Country." In reviewing their previous stand on slavery and their concurring protest with the East Baltimore Conference in 1861 they reversed their former position. They now stated that pro-slavery sentiments were tantamount to error. In a warning to their clergy and other teachers they asserted:

That forebearing as we desire to be toward all ministers who have fallen into the error, either of pro-slaveryism or disloyalty, we record it as our solemn judgement that no such man ought to be a religious teacher in our Church, and if there be any such, we do hereby request him to withdraw from among us.

The group further instructed the presiding elders not to employ any persons as substitutes who were regarded as either pro-slavery or disloyal.  

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21 Minutes of the Seventy-Seventh Session of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Philadelphia, 1864), 8-15, 44-45, and 50.
Both the Roman Catholic and the Episcopal churches also expressed Union sentiments and held their denominations in check, although there remained considerable discord within the individual congregations. As an indication of the official position of the Roman Catholic church in Maryland, Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, in conjunction with the observation of the day of fast set aside by Lincoln, ordered that the prayer framed by John Carroll "be recited on all Sundays at the parochial Mass, and which is entirely irrespective of all political and personal considerations, shall be henceforward read on each Sunday." But with the prayer including a section on behalf of the President of the United States, Congress, and the state of the nation it certainly bore a favorable predisposition to the Union. Later, upon Kenrick's death in 1864, the Federal government attempted to exert pressure upon the Vatican to insure the appointment of a pro-Union prelate as the new archbishop, but despite this pressure the Right Reverend Martin J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville, was appointed to fill the vacancy.

22 Moore, Rebellion Record, III, 59-60; National Intelligencer, September 7, 1861.
Bishop W. R. Wittingham, Bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Maryland, more directly supported the Union cause in the state. Wittingham based his support in favor of the Union on the admonition against rebellion which appeared in the twenty-eighth canon of the Convocation Book of 1604, although the Bishop indicated that he personally had never concerned himself over the origin of the United States. In January the prelate, in an open letter to Governor Hicks, approved the Governor's policy and course of action. On the report that several Episcopal rectors in his diocese were omitting the prayer for the President of the United States, he immediately issued a circular letter which made any such omission a violation of the priest's ordination vow and a cause for disciplinary action if it continued after the circular. Wittingham himself estimated that two-thirds of his "most intelligent" laity and one-fifth of his most devoted and learned clergy were sympathetic to the doctrines of state rights.

Later, in a pastoral letter in August, Bishop Wittingham again left little doubt as to his Union sympathies.

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24 *American*, January 18, 1861; *Valley Register*, January 25, 1861; and *Civilian Telegraph*, January 24, 1861.
25 *Sun*, May 20, 1861.
when he asserted that "there can be no reasonable doubt in what direction our allegiance is solemnly pledged to the Searcher of hearts when we pray to him to deliver us from sedition, privy-conspiracy, and rebellion." Later in another pastoral letter he further warned his parishioners that if any of them had cast their lot with those opposing the government to beware lest they be harboring a delusion of "the not unguilty fruit of self abandonment to the trammels of party, and to the voluntary blindness of prejudice, nursed by pride of station, of influence and of connexion."  

Under the direction and guidance of the Bishop, the Episcopal church continued officially for the remainder of the war to espouse strong Union sentiments and to give support to the government. In keeping with the church's official Union orientation, in 1862, Wittingham issued a pastoral letter to the diocese in which he enclosed the form of a prayer of thanksgiving to be used by local parishes in celebration of Union victories. When a convention of the diocese met, the proceedings were maintained on a harmonious

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27 Moore, Rebellion Record, II, 528-529.
28 Annapolis, Gazette, August 29, 1861.
29 Sun, March 17, 1862.
level by bringing up only business which was of immediate necessity and then prudently and rapidly transacting it. To avoid disunity no new matters which might have excited dis-harmony were introduced before the convention.  

Actual harmony and unit in the Episcopal church were more apparent than real. Serious dissensions and discord persisted and were in evidence in the various individual parishes. On several occasions when the Bishop conducted services in Grace church in Baltimore many of its parishioners who were sympathetic to the South refrained from attending. Another manifestation of hostile sentiments was in evidence on Fast days. It was noticed that Fast days set aside by Presidential proclamation were poorly attended, while those days which had been set aside by Jefferson Davis for the South were crowded to capacity.  

By 1862, strife had begun to show its effects in the parish organization of All Saint's Episcopal church in Frederick. Church officials had difficult in securing men to serve on the vestry; some resigned while others refused to serve. The rector, since he differed with many of his

30 Ibid., March 30, 1862.  
31 Harrison, "Journal," entry of June 15, 1862; Sun, April 13, 1862.  
32 Dix, Memoirs of John Dix, II, 34.
parishioners who were sympathetic to Southern views, was made so uncomfortable that he resigned.\textsuperscript{33} In Baltimore at Grace Church the vestry elections became a contest between two groups. Those sympathetic to the South attempted to get rid of the rector, Dr. Coxe, for some of his views which he had expressed in a letter to a friend in London and which were subsequently published in the London \textit{Guardian}, while Coxe's supporters rushed to his defense. The outcome was a defeat and setback for the Southern group and the retention of Dr. Coxe as rector.\textsuperscript{34}

Officials of the Lutheran church, with the growth of the crisis, had become very apprehensive over the possibility of continued unity of the church, and after the outbreak of war in April it was decided to postpone the holding of the General Synod in Lancaster, Pennsylvania to a \textit{future} time. Many Lutherans hoped that the postponement would prevent any break from occurring within the church. The Baltimore Lutheran \textit{Observer}, which opposed the idea of division in the church, lent its support to the policy of postponement and asserted that under "the present conditions of affairs the

\textsuperscript{33} Ernest Helfenstein, \textit{History of All Saints' Parish in Frederick County, Maryland} (Frederick, 1932), 99; "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of May 22, 1862.

\textsuperscript{34} Harrison, "Journal," entry of April 23, 1862.
various interests of the church could not have received that calm consideration which ought always to characterize the deliberations of ecclesiastical bodies." 35

The postponement of the General Synod in the previous year, however, did not prevent the Lutheran church from having difficulty as a result of the way. Delegates from the Northern synods in the General Synod meeting in Lancaster put forth a series of resolutions which went on record as opposing and condemning Southern actions and expressing their approval of constitutional emancipation. The Baltimore Lutheran Observer felt that the resolution on slavery was "unnecessary and inexpedient." The church paper did agree with the principle in the abstract but felt that such a resolution was not wise since it would strengthen the opposition and hinder emancipation, not expedite it. 36

Against the background of sectional crisis the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Old School, met in Philadelphia in May, 1861 and experienced the strain of two cross currents of opinion: those who wanted a strong stand in support of the Union and Federal government and those who preferred to remain silent on temporal matters. The

35 C. W. Heathcote, The Lutheran Church and the Civil War (1919), 65-66.
36 Ibid., 74-76; Valley Register, May 23; 1862.
introduction of a series of resolutions in support of the Federal government by Dr. Gardiner Spring touched off a long, heated, and serious debate. Finally, at the conclusion of the debate, the Spring Resolutions with slight alterations were adopted and put the church on record as favoring support for the Union and government.\[37\]

The Baltimore Synod of the church did not meet in 1861 and consequently took no action on the Spring Resolutions. In not meeting, the synod prevented a serious crisis from arising in the local area, for one church leader estimated that "from one-third to two-thirds of these various congregations sympathize with the South." Despite the number of pro-Southern members it contained, the synod leaned more toward pacifism than toward agitation of trouble.\[38\] Early in the war in a statement of its views, the Synod of Baltimore asserted:

Resolved, that whilst this Presbytery is unwilling that it should be understood as doubting the doctrine that governments are ordained of God, and that it is the duty of Christians to pray for their rulers; and that while as at present, our residence is under it, it is our duty to obey and render allegiance to our present government, and to pray that our rulers may be guided by God's

\[37\] Lewis G. Van der Velde, *The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union 1861-1869* (Cambridge, 1932), 49-64.

\[38\] Van der Velde, *Presbyterian Churches and Federal Union*, 185.
spirit to that which is just and right, and by His grace be kept from doing that which is unjust and sinful, yet owing to the peculiar circumstances under which we are placed, we deem it unnecessary for us to make any further declaration, especially as our ecclesiastical relations remain the same, and no practical benefit will be gained thereby.\textsuperscript{39}

Beyond its mild resolutions of loyalty in the early part of the war, it remained silent for the remainder of the conflict.

The Methodist Protestant church was even less prone to allow discussions which might create discord to arise in their churches. In a resolution passed by the quarterly meeting of the Queen Anne's circuit, which was to be read from every pulpit within the circuit, it was suggested that political issues should be avoided since they tended to be injudicious both to the individual and the cause of the church.\textsuperscript{41} The publication, the \textit{Methodist Protestant} of Baltimore, did take a position against the war as being a "cruel and wicked thing." It argued that the crisis should be peaceably settled in that war with its victories and defeats would, essentially in the end, leave things as they

\textsuperscript{39}Sun, October 15, 1862.
\textsuperscript{40}Van der Velde, \textit{Presbyterian Churches and Federal Union}, 210-211
\textsuperscript{41}Sun, May 29, 1861.
were in the beginning only to be in turn settled by peaceful methods. 42

The Methodist Protestant church continued to discourage and to disapprove of the use of religious means as a conveyor of political teachings. In a meeting of its annual conference in Chestertown, the policy of the Methodist Protestant, in adhering strictly to the sphere of theology and ecclesiastical principles in promoting "the highest and purest influences of religion and virtue on the public mind and character," was officially endorsed and approved. 43

Similar repercussions of confusion and frustration were also felt in the Baltimore Jewish community, which in 1859 numbered an estimated 5,000 to 7,000 persons and composed a small segment of the larger German population of the city. The prevailing tensions in 1861 also produced differences of thought and varying currents of expression among the city's four synagogues. Exponents of the more conservative opposition found comfort in the oldest and most orthodox synagogue led by Rabbi Bernard Illoway, who supported the

42 Moore, The Rebellion Record, I, 183.
43 Minutes of the 34th Session of the Methodist Protestant Church (Baltimore), 19; Sun, March 19, 1862.
cause of peace and the *status quo*. Even though the rabbi did not advocate secession, he did express his sympathy for the South and defended slavery, sentiments, which brought forth attacks from more liberal elements. 44

A more moderate position was taken and adopted by rabbis' Henry Hochheimer and Benjamin Szold. Much of the moderate position lacked definition and conciseness of statement on issues, for Szold in hoping to keep peace among the various religious factions avoided well defined stands on religious issues and pleaded for reconciliation among the varying groups. With the emerging crisis Szold advocated a policy of "neutrality." Although the position is not clear, he supported the union but at the same time was willing to make almost any concession to maintain peace. 45

Liberals who viewed the crisis as involving the same principles as those of the 1848 revolutions in Europe found an articulate voice in Rabbi David Einhorn, who was the rabbi of the Har Sinai congregation and who also edited the monthly paper, *Sinai*. Einhorn made his paper an advocate of reform and an opponent of slavery, and in terming slavery "the cancer of the Union" he bitterly denounced and attacked

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the institution's defenders, both Jewish and non-Jewish.
Einhorn's positions and attacks created considerable discord within the Jewish community. Earlier a rift had developed between Einhorn and Rabbi Szold which soon not only involved the two men but both of their congregations as well. The ensuing and continuing bitterness moved Szold's congregation, the Oheb Shalon, to denounce the Sinai and to express their determination not to allow the paper to appear in their homes.46

With the increasing tension in Baltimore as a result of the crisis, Jews of both moderate and conservative factions became increasingly alarmed by Einhorn's pronouncements lest they endanger their position in the community. This sensitivity to their position provoked accusations that he was being irresponsible and moved some to attempt to try to disassociate him from the Jewish group. Finally with the outbreak of violence in Baltimore on April 19, 1861 the rabbi's position became perilous and on the following day Einhorn was urged to leave the city, since he had been identified as an abolitionist and he was in danger. Later, after additional persuasion, coupled with warnings that his name appeared on

46 *Ibid.*, 75-78.
a proscribed list, the rabbi with his family fled Baltimore on April 22nd never to return to the city or his congregation.47

A few days after having arrived in Philadelphia he wrote to his congregation indicating his intention of returning to his duties in Baltimore, but, at the same time, he wanted an official reply expressing the congregation's willingness to continue to listen to his sermons. In response to his letter of April 30th the rabbi was informed that the congregation of Har Sinai looked forward to his return, but that it was also respectfully requested:

That it would be most desirable—for the sake of your own safety as well as out of consideration for that of your congregational members—for you to avoid from the pulpit, in the future, everything touching on the exciting questions of the day, and we beg you to please regard this observation as due only to our sad circumstances.

Einhorn considered such terms incompatible with his duties as a preacher, and on the 16th of May he resigned from his position with the Baltimore group. Fortunately, at the same time, a congregation in Philadelphia issued a call for him to serve them and Einhorn remained in that city.48

Many congregations in all denominations reflected the diverse public reaction to war developments and found

48 Ibid., 153-155.
themselves increasingly divided in the crisis. Division within local churches created serious domestic organizational dissension and discord despite each denomination's official orientation. In the Presbyterian church at Port Deposit a minister, in opposing the war, found himself being opposed by a portion of his congregation, while in Frederick the Reverend P. B. Schwartz of the Old German Reformed church was threatened by a member of the congregation to run him out of town if he continued to pray for the President of the United States. In Middletown the minister of the local Evangelical Lutheran church, much to the regret of his congregation, resigned his post as the result of the state of political affairs.

Also, with the increase of Federal interference in Maryland affairs, churches and ministers occasionally came into conflict with the military authorities. With the government exercising a much closer scrutiny over religious groups, the display of Union flags in churches came to be expected as an indication of loyalty, regardless of the feelings or objections on the part of some ministers, who felt it might symbolize a union of church and state. Those

49 Sun, August 5, 1861.
50 Valley Register, May 10, 1861.
51 Cunz, Maryland Germans, 290.
who refused to display the flag ran the risk of being arrested. Ministers who were regarded as disloyal in sentiment also ran the risk of being imprisoned for statements or actions. Such an example occurred in Elkton where the local Episcopal rector, much to the dismay of the female portion of his congregation, was arrested for using treasonable language.

In the fall of 1860 and the following months of 1861, Maryland school bells began to ring with a cautious timidity and soon began to reflect the adverse effects of the coming war. In the ensuing confusion and due to the arrival of the war itself, the state's colleges and schools were affected in varying degrees. Those colleges which depended upon Southern patronage suffered from a loss of students. Consequently, the resulting decline in enrollment compounded the financial difficulties of many schools, and, in several cases, the interaction of the two factors, loss of students and increasing financial indebtedness, forced them to suspend their operations. Yet at the same time not all schools suffered reverses. After the initial impact of the crisis, a

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52 Andrews, Tercentenary History of Maryland, I, 865.
53 Sun, November 12, 1861.
number of schools actually seemed to prosper and increase in their enrollments as well as in their faculties.

With the crisis and the war, students and faculty alike were caught up in the currents of controversy. Many who were from the South left school to return to their homes, while faculty members, who felt strong loyalties, resigned to serve their respective causes. At Mount Saint Mary's College, a Roman Catholic school, many of the Southern students had withdrawn by the Spring of 1861, for the rioting in Baltimore on April 19th and war developments, had spurred parents to write a growing volume of letters calling students home. Reflecting this movement was the school's third collegiate class of 1860-61, which had been so large that it had required division, but by its graduation year of 1863 had only seven members left. By the commencement of 1861 there were only ten professors instead of fourteen on the faculty, and whereas in the 1859-60 session enrollment had reached 173, not including seminarians, by the end of 1861 it had dropped to 126 boys and thirty seminarians. The decline was further indicated by the college rolls for 1863; the student body had fallen to ninety-four boys and twenty-seven seminarians.
The school's enrollment, however, hit a low in the 1861-62 session when the student body totaled only sixty-seven with twenty-eight seminarians, which was the lowest in half a century. Nevertheless, college officials were determined it should remain open, despite the mounting financial embarrassment. Many of those Southern students who did remain were impoverished and added a financial burden on the college, for school authorities felt that they had an obligation to sustain the remaining Southerners whether they had the ability to pay or not. In order to do this the college borrowed heavily and consequently at the conclusion of the war, Mount Saint Mary's College was heavily in debt. 54

The University of Maryland was also affected by the loss of its Southern students returning to their homes, and the University's enrollment dropped to its lowest level in the 1862-63 session. It was estimated that registrations had fallen off 50 per cent leaving a student body of 103 and a graduating class of seven members. In the School of Medicine two of its faculty members resigned to join opposing armies. The School of Medicine also reflected the changing interest

54 Mary M. Meline and Rev. Edward F. X. McSweeny, The Story of the Mountain (Emmitsburg, Maryland, 1911), II, 8-14 passim; Bernard C. Steiner, The History of University Education in Maryland (Baltimore, 1891), 34.
of the times and gave particular attention to military surgery and hygiene.\textsuperscript{55}

Not all colleges in the Maryland area were as able to surmount the difficulties arising from financial indebtedness and the loss of Southern patronage as Mount Saint Mary's was, and were either forced to close or to suspend their operations temporarily. Those schools which closed as a result of adverse conditions were Mount Washington Female College in Baltimore County, the Patapsco Female Institute in Anne Arundel County, the College of St. James in Washington County, and St. John's College at Annapolis. Both the Patapsco Female Institute and Mount Washington College had been successful girls' schools up until 1861, when they were forced to close. With the cutting off of Southern patronage, the Patapsco Female Institute closed in May, while the Mount Washington Female College also shut down in that year as a result of a combination of the rioting in Baltimore on April 19th and financial difficulties.\textsuperscript{56}

Another school to feel the effects of the crisis was St. John's College in Annapolis which suspended its

\textsuperscript{55}Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, \textit{University of Maryland 1807-1907} (New York, 1907), II, 238-245.

\textsuperscript{56}Alfred C. Roth, Jr., "A History of Education in Anne Arundel County, Maryland before 1865." (Master's thesis at the University of Maryland, 1944); Steiner, \textit{History of Education in Maryland}, 270.
operations for the duration of the war. The suspension grew out of an investigation conducted by the board of trustees, who discovered that the college had no students enrolled from outside the town. Coupled with the institution's already heavy indebtedness, a majority of the board decided temporarily to close St. John's except for the grammar school, which had always been a self-supporting department of the institution.

The College of St. James, an Episcopal church school located in Washington County, managed to survive until 1864 when it fell victim to General Jubal Early's raid into Maryland during that year. Before the outbreak of the war the school had shown definite signs of being a success. The number of students enrolled during the 1860-61 session had totaled 113 of which fifty-five were registered in the college and fifty-eight in the grammar school. But in the following year enrollment figures had dropped to a mere fifty-two with a graduating class of less than half. Not only was the college affected by the fact that many of its students were Southern but also from the disadvantage of being so

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57 Annapolis, Maryland Republican, October 19, 1861; Sun, October 21, 1861.
58 Register of the College of St. James, and the Grammar School; Washington County, Maryland, for the Eighteenth Session 1859-1860 (Baltimore, 1860), 5-6 and 10-11.
close to the theater of war in Washington County. In a com-mencement address in 1862 the school's rector, John B. Kerfoot, blamed the war for many of the college's difficulties and asserted that if it were not for the conflict the new college building would have been paid for and that the endowment fund would also have progressed far better than it had. He further indicated that with the decline of the student body it would be necessary to make a reduction in the school's staff. 59

However, during Early's raid in 1864, Confederate authorities arrested two of the school's faculty members in retaliation for the arrest of a Virginia clergyman. As the school was already financially distressed, the arrest brought about the announcement in September that it would close. 60

Under different circumstances the Naval Academy at Annapolis also suspended its operations in that city, and was temporarily moved to Newport, Rhode Island for the duration of the war. With the secession crisis the Superintendent of The Naval Academy, Captain Blake, began increasingly to be alarmed over the possibility of an attack on the academy and of

59 John B. Kerfoot, An Address Delivered at the Commencement of the College of St. James (Baltimore, 1862), n. 3-6; Sun, July 14, 1862.
60 Sun, September 8, 1864; Steiner, History of Education in Maryland, 259.
the capture of the Constitution, which was moored at the institution's docks. Much of the Captain's fear was based on the prevalence of Southern sympathy existing in the surrounding community, for he felt that such sentiments might precipitate an attack. Fearing this, Blake wrote to the Secretary of Navy, Gideon Welles, in April, 1861 and proposed a plan which would have, in case of attack, destroyed all guns and stores which could not be carried away with the Academy's personnel on the Constitution to Philadelphia.

With the arrival of General Butler in Annapolis, the school's routine was broken and the Academy began to take on the appearance of a military camp. Captain Blake again wrote to the Secretary of Navy, and this time he recommended the school's removal to Fort Adams at Newport, Rhode Island. Acting on the suggestion, Secretary Welles gave the order for its removal to Newport, and the institution's furniture, books, models, and apparatus along with its staff were loaded on board the Baltic and sent to its new home. 61 For fear that the removal might be made permanent, both the House of Delegates and the Senate of the Maryland legislature

61 James Russell Soley, Historical Sketch of the United States Naval Academy (Washington, 1876), 104-107.
protested against such a possibility and expressed their hope that it would ultimately be reestablished in Annapolis. 62

Many Maryland schools survived the crisis and continued to grow. The Baltimore Female College, which received a state donation of $1,500, temporarily reflected confusion and fear of the crisis, and it was reported in 1862 that, as a consequence of the war, enrollment had fallen from 150 to fifteen, but by March, 1862 it had risen to sixty-eight. 63

The college continued to recover and by 1863 it had a student body of eighty-nine with a faculty of seven professors, of which five were women. 64 By the close of the war in 1865 the college had expanded to eight professors and 120 students. 65

The Central High School in Baltimore, whose name was changed to the Baltimore City College in 1866, was little affected by the crisis and war. Its enrollment in 1860 had numbered 204, with a graduating class of twenty-four, while

63 Sun, March 13, 1862.
64 Register of the Baltimore Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, March 4, 1863, 23.
65 Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to the General Assembly of Maryland (Annapolis, 1865), 126-127.
four years later it totaled 205 with a graduating class of thirteen. One side effect of the rioting in Baltimore in 1861 was the decision in that year to hold the school's graduation exercises in private rather than in the Maryland Institute and to limit them to a few city officials, friends, family and the graduates themselves, because of the excitable conditions prevailing in the city.  

Another Baltimore school whose enrollment figures remained unaffected was Loyola College, a Roman Catholic school. In fact, registration figures indicated some growth, for in the 1860-61 session the student body had numbered 111 with a faculty and staff of thirteen, while in the succeeding year it had risen to 115, although it did drop to 108 in the 1862-63 year. By 1865 Loyola was reported to have had a student enrollment of 130 with fifteen professors. 

Undoubtedly a factor, which aided both the Baltimore City

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66 Steiner, History of Education in Maryland, 216-217; James Chancellor Leonhart, One Hundred Years of the Baltimore City College (Baltimore, 1939), 27.
67 Loyola College, Baltimore, Catalogue of the Officers and Students, for the Academic Year 1860-61, 1861-62, 1862-63 (Baltimore, 1861, 1862, 1863), 11-14; 12-15; 16.
68 Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to the General Assembly of Maryland, 126-127.
College and Loyola College during the war, was that both were day schools and did not board students.

Other schools in the Maryland area which survived the initial impact of the war were Anne Arundel County Academy and the Rock Hill Institute. The Anne Arundel County Academy fluctuated little between 1859 and 1862. The enrollment figure for 1859 was twenty, while in 1862 nineteen students were registered. Although registration figures remained fairly constant, the school's indebtedness did increase between 1859 and 1863. While the Anne Arundel County Academy remained fairly constant, the Rock Hill Institute at Ellicott's Mills, which was operated by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, actually increased its number of students. Almost all of the Institute's students were from Maryland and in the 1861-62 session registration rolls totaled seventy-four, while in the following session the number had increased to 151.

The war's effect on the public school system in Baltimore was small; it had less of an impact than the

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69 Roth, "History of Education in Anne Arundel County," 150.

70 Catalogue of Rock Hill Institute, Ellicott's Mills, Howard County, Maryland for the Scholastic Year 1861-62, 1862-63 (Baltimore, 1862, 1863), 5-7, 20-24.
depression of 1857. In the panic of that year student enrollment had fallen off by 1,200, while in the crisis of 1861 it dropped only two hundred. Despite the temporary decline in registrations, the system began to increase its number of students in 1862, although not at as rapid a rate as formerly. There were, however, some indirect effects as a consequence of the conflict. With the increasing scarcity of labor toward the latter part of the war, as a consequence of the draft, many of the older students were induced by rising wages to drop out of school and seek employment.  

The war also had ramifications for teachers as well as for students. In August, 1862 the Baltimore city council passed an ordinance which required all city employees including teachers to subscribe to a certified loyalty oath and to file it with the city comptroller within five days. If this was not done, the teacher's appointment was then considered to be null and void. Some objected to this, and as a result twenty-five teachers resigned rather than submit to the oath. Later in February, 1863 the ordinance

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71 Steiner, History of Education in Maryland, 216-217.  
72 Rules of Order of the Board of School Commissioners, and Regulations of the Public Schools in the City of Baltimore (Baltimore, 1863), 83-85.  
73 Leonhart, One Hundred Years of Baltimore City College, 28-29.
was modified, and the requirement of filing within five days was repealed. Although the ordinance was modified, the principle of the oath was maintained in addition to the one required by the state constitution. Later in the same year the city council further directed that all teachers were required to teach national songs in the schools, and any student who refused to learn them was to be dismissed. 74

74 Rules of Order of the Board of School Commissioners, and Regulations of the Public Schools, 83-85.
CHAPTER VIII

THE TOTTERING EDIFICE OF SLAVERY

With the coming of the war apprehensions arose as to its effect on slavery. With the actual outbreak of fighting many feared with reason that the system would be destroyed. Wartime conditions shattered the institution's security and set in motion forces which were soon to cause its final collapse, with emancipation coming in the closing months of the war. And with freedom for the slaves new problems were created for the whites in establishing social and economic relationships with the former slave class.

With the beginning of the conflict between North and South, many Marylanders feared the possibility of Federal interference with slavery. In becoming involved almost immediately with Maryland affairs, the Federal government found itself having constantly to work out and to clarify its relationship with the institution. As early as April, 1861, to allay fears and create good will in Annapolis, Butler had proffered his services to Governor Hicks in suppressing a possible slave insurrection. Later when General Dix took command in the state, appreciating the sensitivity of the
population on the issue, he ordered that no Negroes, except laborers and servants who had the consent of their masters, would be permitted to enter army camps. In further supplementing the order he directed that if any did enter a camp without the knowledge of the officer in charge, the slave was to be immediately surrendered on the owner's demand. Again in November Dix reiterated his position, directing his subordinates to use special care not to interfere with slave property or to commit any actions which might be misconstrued or misrepresented.¹

Troops were also further cautioned against either inciting slave insubordination or insurrection. As early as September, 1861, orders had been given against any conduct on the part of soldiers which might provoke this, but there were also indications that the orders had been violated on several occasions. The knowledge of such violations finally provoked General Stone to recommend that all such violators read the thirty-third article of war, for he promised that all such offenders would be punished for any infraction, and furthermore, on request of the civil authorities, violators would be turned over to them for additional proceedings.²

¹Official Records, Series 2, I, 772-775.
²Moore, Rebellion Record, IV, 11; Times, February 15, 1862.
Nevertheless, the problem of slavery and slaves escaping from their masters became an increasingly serious one for slave owners in certain sections of Maryland. Reflecting this concern a committee of citizens on the Eastern Shore complained bitterly to Governor Bradford about the number of slaves escaping from their counties to Washington. The committee further accused Federal officials in Washington of refusing to aid in helping to return the slaves to their proper owners, and in order to counteract this they asked Bradford to establish an armed force in those counties to prevent this flight of slaves. However, the Governor refused to comply fully with the request. Escaping slaves continued to pose a serious labor problem for many, and in Talbot County on the Eastern Shore it was reported that with the rapid loss of slaves some of the larger estates were being broken up into smaller farms which were considered to be more economically advantageous.

In the later months of 1862 there was also great apprehension, tension and fear of an impending slave insurrection. Rumors, playing on such fears, became more

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4 Harrison, "Journal," entry of May 23, 1862.
psychologically acute with the growing scarcity of white men in the area as a result of their serving in the army. Incidents which seemed to verify rumors merely increased the prevailing tension. In one such incident six Negroes attacked their owner's house in Charles County during his absence but were repulsed with a gun by the owner's wife. The local neighbors threatened to hang the attackers and only through the intervention of the master's wife were the slaves saved and merely whipped as their punishment. Such incidents along with stories that slaves were intending to stop work after the Christmas holidays helped further to compound fears in the peninsula counties.

By 1863 the tottering edifice of slavery presented a source of growing tensions which had serious ramifications for Marylanders in the loss of capital and labor. With the army as a constant drain upon manpower the maintenance of a sufficient agricultural labor force became an increasingly serious problem for the eastern portions of the state. To accentuate the difficulty was the growing insecurity of the institution of slavery as a source of labor as a consequence of two factors: the growing number of slaves escaping from

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5 *Times*, November 3, 1862.
farms and plantations to the North and to Washington and the government's policy of enlisting Negroes into the Federal army. The two together began to spell the doom of the institution in Maryland.

Escaping slaves continued to bring forth vociferous protests from slaveholding counties. In early January of 1863 citizens of Dorchester County demanded the enforcement of "vagrant" laws against Negroes, and in the summer, with the renewed efforts on the part of slaves to escape from the state, the sheriff of Prince George's County, in reporting to Governor Bradford that the county was suffering from a large number of runaways, asked the Governor for permission to call out a Posse Comitatus to deal with the situation. Bradford's reply indicated that he felt the sheriff was duly authorized already to arrest runaways if he could accomplish it peaceably, but for fear of collision with the military authorities he advised against the use of a Posse Comitatus.

To curb the flight of slaves other action, such as the organization of patrols, was undertaken. In one such instance a group of fugitives from Anne Arundel and Calvert counties were pursued by their masters who, on overtaking

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them in Prince George's County, engaged them in a battle in which five were wounded and five were placed in the jail at Upper Marlboro for safekeeping. In Washington County in western Maryland escaping slaves were so numerous that the Hagerstown Herald and Torch referred to their flight as a process known as emancipation without compensation.

To compound the problem the government, in July, ordered the recruitment of Negroes into the army, and on July the 6th Major-General Schenck was informed that the Chief of Bureau for Organizing Colored Troops was to form a colored regiment in his department and that Colonel Birney was being sent to him for that purpose. With Birney in charge of recruiting activities, the enlistment of Negroes was pursued with vigor and determination and intensified the whole slavery controversy in the state.

Non-slaveholders became as concerned with the issue as slaveholders and feared its effects on labor. They believed that not only would recruitment deprive certain areas of needed labor, but with the scarcity of labor and with the reluctance of free labor to enter the state as long as

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8 Hagerstown, Herald and Torch, September 30, 1863.
9 Ibid., June 3, 1863.
slavery existed it would double the value of the institution. Non-slaveholders also reasoned that the recruitment of freedmen would increase slave values and would in effect be giving indirect aid to elements which were hostile to the government. Consequently, they proposed in order to avoid this that both free Negroes and slaves should be accepted.¹¹

With the initiation of actual recruitment in Maryland much confusion was created, and many complaints began to be voiced against the government. Many times when slaves had previous knowledge that a steamer was to arrive in an area for recruiting purposes, Negroes would flock to the shore and docks to be taken on board the boat. At Eastern Neck Island slaves appeared in such crowds that many were left behind by necessity. It was estimated that between 150 and 200 were carried off in the steamer.¹² Critics quickly accused Colonel Birney and his agents of interfering with slavery on the Eastern Shore, and such criticism prompted the government to order Birney to revoke any authority given to civilians to act as his agent and indicated to him that only

¹² National Intelligencer, September 30, 1863.
commissioned officers were to be employed in such a capacity.

In September ex-Governor Hicks in a letter from Cambridge to Lincoln warned the Administration about the confusion and excitement which were being created by recruiting agents in that area as a result of indiscriminately enlisting slaves of both loyal and disloyal persons during the harvest season when labor was at a premium. Probably more important was his warning that it was creating an adverse public reaction toward the government just before the approaching election. Hicks himself saw no objection to the use of Negroes in the army but indicated that the news that Colonel Birney accompanied by colored troops was intending to visit the Eastern Shore to enlist slaves as well as freedmen had caused considerable public anxiety. He also indicated that he had been visited by a deputation of Union men from Talbot County who had expressed their concern over its effects on the Shore. Finally, in closing the ex-Governor recommended to the President that enlistments be continued but that colored troops should not be used to aid in their recruitment.  

Even Governor A. W. Bradford in a letter to Montgomery Blair joined in the chorus of protests over procedures employed in the enlistment of slaves and indicated his concern over the excitement which this action was creating in Maryland. He complained that earlier he had gone to Washington and had been assured by Lincoln and Stanton that the policy of enlisting slaves in the army had not been decided upon, but that the practice was still being continued, with many loyal men suffering the loss of slaves as well as those considered disloyal. He indicated that a delegation of four Union men from Talbot County had called upon him and had remonstrated against their not even being allowed to determine whether their slaves were on board a boat in order that they could later present proof for compensation. Bradford further expressed his concern that the chief complaints were coming from Union men and consequently it might have serious repercussions for the Republican party in the approaching state elections.¹⁵

Later Lincoln wired Bradford to come to Washington to establish a general understanding in writing as to the matters of the complaint. Stanton in a written communication

to the President, commenting on the previous meeting with the Governor, indicated that he had thought that the basic policy had been agreed upon already. He felt that agreement had been reached on the decision that all freedmen should be recruited and that slaves with the consent of their owners would also be subject to enlistment. He felt that agreement also had been reached on the point that if the government found it absolutely necessary to recruit them, despite the consent of the master, then loyal owners upon filing a deed of manumission with the War Department would be granted compensation, although those regarded as disloyal would be barred from compensation. Stanton regarded the enlistment of slaves in Maryland a military necessity which would be useful in allowing the release of white soldiers for other duties. Also the Secretary of War, in answering the charge of his agents using irregular practices, maintained that recruiting officers had given receipts to owners claiming slaves, and if there had been departures from this, it had been without the Department's approval and redress would be made. In a memorandum Lincoln essentially agreed with the basic general policy. But at the same time he also made known his disapproval of any offensive recruiting and of any practice of taking away slaves who were unfit for enlistment. 16

A few days later the War Department issued a confidential order, General Orders No. 329, which covered the general policy of Negro enlistments. It authorized the establishment of recruiting stations by the Bureau for Organizing Colored Troops and established regulations governing recruitment. In these regulations all able-bodied men were subject to being drafted and would be credited to the state's quota. All such persons serving in the army were to receive their freedom, and slaves of loyal persons, except in cases of necessity, were required to have their master's written permission. Their owners were to be granted compensation not exceeding $300, if within ten days, they filed a claim, a deed of manumission, and an oath of allegiance to the government. The order established a board of three persons appointed by the President whose duties were to make rolls and information available to the general public and to investigate claims and issue certificates for payment by the chief of the bureau. Those persons who were regarded as disloyal were, however, to be denied any form of compensation. 17

17Ibid., Series 3, III, 860-861; The order was finally issued publicly on October 27, 1863 in Circular No. 1. Official Records, Series 3, III, 937-938.
The enlistment policy which had been worked out seemed to give general satisfaction and was instrumental in relieving some of the burden of conscription on the white populace. It also provided a step in the direction of emancipation and compensated slave owners at the same time.\textsuperscript{18} Even though the misunderstanding between Governor Bradford and the government had been cleared up, the Governor asked Stanton to postpone temporarily the enlistment time, for he felt that the stipulated thirty days was insufficient to inform and educate the public as to the government's actions, and probably more important, he believed that a delay during the harvest season would be advisable in view of the general shortage of labor.\textsuperscript{19}

The recruiting of Negro slaves coupled with the escape problem began increasingly to worsen Maryland's agricultural situation. The Cambridge Herald in October reported that 180 slaves had been taken from Queen Anne's County, while eighty-five had been recruited for military service from Cambridge.\textsuperscript{20} Another report indicated that 140 had been enlisted in Princess Anne County, while a large

\textsuperscript{18} Clark, "Politics in Maryland," \textit{Maryland Historical Magazine}, XLI, 144.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Official Records}, Series 3, III, 862-863.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{National Intelligencer}, October 5, 1863.
number had also been taken in Somerset County. In early October Lincoln requested Colonel Birney to estimate the number of slaves which had been drafted in the state and to this request Birney responded that between 1,250 and 1,300 had been inducted into the army.

The growing scarcity of labor forced farmers to pay higher wages to attract help. In Harford County scarcity forced farmers to pay $1.50 to $1.75 a day to those who were still available, and farmers regarded such salaries as quite high. The National Intelligencer reported that in the counties of Talbot and Dorchester the region had been deprived of its best labor, leaving slave owners with the women and children to care for the best they could. The disappearance of a substantial portion of the labor force was cause for grave concern among farmers in the harvest season. In Dorchester County much of the corn remained unharvested since there were no available substitutes for the missing slaves. Farmers in Montgomery County as well were concerned over the lack of farm hands to help them save their corn, fodder, and

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21 Sun, October 30, 1863.
23 Valley Register, September 18, 1863.
24 National Intelligencer, September 30, 1863.
other crops before the winter weather arrived. In a letter to Governor Bradford Dr. John H. Bayne reported that the loss of slaves in the counties along the Potomac River had had serious effects on the region and that many fields were being left uncultivated as a consequence of the inability to find a substitute form of labor. Coupled with this, the Leonard-town Gazette reported that slave property in St. Mary's County had become so insecure as to render it virtually worthless. The insecurity manifested in St. Mary's County with its resultant drop in slave values merely foreshadowed the complete economic and legal collapse of the institution in the following year when emancipation became an integral part of Maryland's constitutional system.

During the year 1864 Marylanders finally witnessed the destruction of one of their oldest institutions as an outgrowth of a war which they had had no desire to see. Actually as early as the previous year there were indications of the coming change as a consequence of governmental policies of enlistment. With the fall of the tottering edifice

25 Sun, September 30, 1863.
26 Bradford Papers: Dr. John H. Bayne to Governor A. W. Bradford, October 9, 1863.
27 Sun, October 24, 1863.
of slavery there were far reaching ramifications for the state. Its collapse, coupled with the continuing drain of manpower into the army, created a serious scarcity of labor throughout the state, and was the cause for some decline in staple crops.  

The policy inaugurated by the government in the previous year in recruiting slaves for military service continued in 1864, and the practices engaged in by the enrolling officers remained a source of complaint and protest. Reverdy Johnson complained in the United States Senate that Federal officers were visiting farms and enlisting slaves with or without the owner's consent by merely telling them that they must enlist. As late as May, Governor Bradford, in a letter to Colonel James B. Fry, Provost-Marshal-General, referring to recruiting practices, also blamed irregularities of enlisting those unfit for military service as a factor in the drain on the state's labor supply.  

In January it had been announced that a board of claims was in session in Baltimore, although it had been actually meeting since December, 1863, and had begun to award

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28 15th Annual Report of Board of Trade, 5.  
29 American, January 5, 1864.  
compensation to loyal claimants. Claims for compensation along with a deed of manumission, an affidavit of ownership, and an oath of allegiance, certified by two witnesses that the owner was not disloyal, were required to be presented to the board before March 1st. By the 1st of October it was reported that some 244 petitions had been acted upon of which only nine had been rejected, while the others had received varying amounts of reimbursement.

It had also become increasingly apparent that slavery was tottering and had become an unreliable source of labor supply. Even though loyal slave owners received compensation for their loss, it was a poor substitute for the loss of the labor. The Kent News reported that in that county all the able-bodied slaves had been drained off and that those who were left were not worth coming after. Later in April the New York Times estimated that over eight thousand Negroes had been recruited in the state and that almost all of them had been slaves, since apparently very few of the freedmen had enlisted in the army.

31 Ibid., Series 3, IV, 790; American, January 5, 1864; and Clark, "Politics in Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine, XLI, 146-147.
32 American, January 18, 1864.
33 Times, April 4, 1864; Even though slaves were not entitled to the bounty that free volunteers were, the inducement of freedom from their labors was apparently sufficient cause for enlistment. Bradford Papers; Circular, May 27, 1864.
Consequently, slave values had virtually collapsed in many areas before the institution was officially abolished with the adoption of the new state constitution in 1864. The estimated slave value in 1860 had been $35,331,111, but by 1864 much of this capital had been wiped out. In Frederick during March at a slave auction one eight-year-old girl brought $1.00, another slave woman $15.00, and a woman with a five-year-old child $25.00, while at an auction in the same city two years previously a Negro woman of thirty and her two children had been sold in lot for $200.00, while a boy of ten brought $45.00. As early as 1862 there had been complaints about the drop in slave values when it was estimated that servants of the aforementioned types would have brought $2,500 in 1860. In Hagerstown, appraisers of an estate valued its seventeen slaves, ranging in ages from four to over forty-five, at $5.00 apiece. But with the new constitution the value of the institution was totally destroyed by article twenty-four in the Declaration of Rights, which abolished slavery, and article I, section

34 Scharf, History of Maryland, III, 583.
35 Sun, March 10, 1864.
36 Williams, History of Washington County, I, 317.
37 Sun, March 25, 1864.
thirty-six, which prevented the General Assembly from ever compensating former slave owners. 38

On gaining their freedom, former slaves flocked to Baltimore in ever increasing numbers to become a source of bewilderment and complaint from both citizens and local authorities. Police stations and other facilities began to be filled to capacity, and in order to keep many of these former slaves from starving the mayor had to request help from the military for additional accommodations and food. General Wallace was very responsive to the plight of the new freedmen and readily extended the government's protection to them. Since there was much bitter opposition to emancipation still remaining, Wallace felt that many would try to circumvent the new constitution and to reinstate slavery under a different guise. Consequently, to offset any moves in this direction, the General issued a proclamation placing all former slaves in Maryland under special military protection. 39

In the proclamation, Wallace officially condemned any attempt to evade the constitutional provisions of

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emancipation by the use of forced apprenticeships and made known the military's interest in protecting the freedmen. To implement his feelings, a freedman's bureau with its office in Baltimore was created for the military department. The bureau was given authority to investigate complaints, to examine persons, and to make arrests, while provost marshals were also directed to cooperate with the bureau and were ordered to hear complaints and to collect and forward information of illegal actions to Baltimore. Finally the General directed the mayor of the city to take possession of the former Maryland Club House building, which was renamed Freedman's Rest, for use in caring for sick and helpless Negroes. It was also suggested that in case donations and money from city fines proved to be insufficient for its maintenance and support, then a list of known Southern sympathizers in the city possibly might be drawn up for the purpose of laying a contribution upon them for its support.

The movement into the city was only one of the problems stemming out of emancipation. A more real and perplexing one was that of the economic status of the remaining

Negroes in the rural areas. In working out a new relationship of employment, persons had to be ever aware of the suspicious and watchful eyes of the military which scrutinized all actions toward the freedmen with a view toward preventing the continuation of any semblance of slavery in the state.

In a meeting held in Charles County the problem was tackled by the local citizens, and in a series of resolutions it was recommended that employers hire laborers by the year except in seasons of harvest and hay time; that no employer should induce anyone to quit the services of another; and that wages should be standard. It was suggested that first-class workers should receive a maximum of $120.00 a year with house-room, firewood, and food. It was also asserted:

That it is earnestly recommended to the proprietors and owners of houses and land not to rent or lease any house or land to any free Negro or Negroes, unless such lease or renting was prior to the 1st of November, unless such house or land is kept under the control and supervision of the proprietor or owner thereof, so as to prevent such house or land from being the resort of the idle, vicious and dishonest of this class.41

A similar meeting in Talbot County recommended to employers a sum of $150.00 with board for first-class laborers, $60.00

41Sun, November 21, 1864.
to $90.00 with board for boys between eleven and seventeen, and from $30.00 to $50.00 with board for single women. As in the case of the Charles County meeting it was also recommended that all such persons should be hired only by the year.\footnote{Ibid., December 15, 1864.} Despite these and similar moves, much remained to be worked out in the following years.
CHAPTER IX

MILITARY INVASIONS AND THE CIVILIAN POPULACE

In the summer of 1862 Marylanders experienced a new development in their already troubled and complicated domestic matters. For, with the shifting fortunes of war Maryland now became the field of battle for the two opposing armies, and consequently experienced the ravages of destructive internecine warfare on its property. Yet at the same time destruction to property in the state was largely confined, in 1862, to actions which were incidental to the conduct of a war and not to destruction from punitive motives. In an attempt to gain active support for the Southern cause Maryland was treated as a sister state which had been subjugated by the Federal government. Confederate forces maintained strict discipline and a respect for property in order not to alienate the local populace. However, even though Confederate conduct won equal praise from Northern and state critics, the destructive forces of war inevitably left its toll and scars on the state.

With the defeat of Banks at Cedar Mountain and his subsequent retreat down the Valley of Virginia and with the
subsequent defeat of General John Pope near Manassas Junction, the movement of Lee's army toward the Valley transformed the threat of a Confederate invasion of Maryland into a reality. With the Union army in retreat, refugees swarmed into the region from the lower Valley. As early as May hotels as well as private homes in Williamsport and Hagerstown were filled to capacity with escaping refugees, while less fortunate ones found what comfort they could in neighboring fields along the turnpike.¹ With the advance of the Confederate army into Maryland many others joined in the flight, clogging roads leading to areas of safety. Many Unionists in Hagerstown fled northward, while shopkeepers closed their stores and sent as much of their merchandise northward as possible.² City officials were among those joining in the flight and they took with them as many of the public records as possible for safe keeping.³ The Hagerstown Bank collected all its bank notes which were not in circulation and had them burned to prevent them from falling into Confederate hands. Subsequently, after the crisis had passed, a new set of notes

¹National Intelligencer, May 31, 1862.
²Times, September 11 and 13, 1862; Sun, September 11, 1862.
³Official Records, Series 1, XIX, Part 2, 268; Moore, Rebellion Record, V, 77.
would again be issued and signed until a new threat appeared, and the procedure would then be repeated. 4

In the neighboring community of Middletown many Unionists also fled into Pennsylvania to escape possible re-prisals for their Union sentiments, since it had been rumored that many local names had been sent to Southern sympathizers in Frederick for possible future use. 5 Among those fleeing from Middletown was the editor of the Valley Register, who later reported to the readers that he had "skedaddled" to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania to keep from falling into Confederate hands. 6

In Frederick, excitement ran high as rumors continued to mount over the approaching Confederate army. Public officials in Frederick left before the Southern advance, while the postmaster removed all government mail to places of safety. Government supplies which could not be removed to safety were quickly burned to prevent capture. 7 Meanwhile the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad managed to save

4The Hagerstown Bank at Hagerstown, Maryland (The Knickerbocker Press, 1910), 95-96.
5Times, September 12, 1862.
6Valley Register, September 19, 1862.
7Lewis H. Steiner, Report of Lewis H. Steiner, M.D., Inspector of the Sanitary Commission (New York, 1862), 6; "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry September 6, 1862; Times, September 10, 1862.
much of its rolling stock by previously transferring it to the ends of its line in areas of safety.

Excitement in Baltimore also grew and large crowds gathered in the streets around newspaper offices seeking news of the invasion. To restrain the excited populace the police force was enlarged and squads of men were stationed around the various newspaper offices to prevent disturbances or obstructions of the streets. Barrooms in the city were also closed to prevent any further inflammation of excitement and passion. The Baltimore stock market reflected the apprehension of Marylanders toward the invasion, and railroad securities of those lines which were threatened by the Confederates considerably declined. Other stocks as well reacted to the news, and state and city securities dropped along with railroad stocks. As a result of the financial stagnation, the market temporarily remained inactive with neither the buyer nor seller being disposed to accept the current rates indicated on the market.

As the Confederate army reached Maryland soil it was in the spirit of a liberating army and not one invading an

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8 *Times*, September 9, 1862.
10 *Sun*, September 13, 1862.
alien territory. In crossing the Potomac river the troops were led shouting and singing by a brass band playing "Maryland, My Maryland." Despite their enthusiasm the ragged and dirty condition of the Southern army surprised and shocked many Marylanders, and with some of the romantic illusions punctured, even the ardor of local Southern sympathizers had a tendency to cool. On September 8th General Robert E. Lee in a proclamation stated the reasons for the presence of Confederate forces on Maryland soil. In the statement Lee asserted that the South had watched Maryland reduced to a conquered province and that the army had come merely to restore her rights. Continuing, Lee maintained that there would be no restraint or intimidation of freedom of speech or free will, and that it was their choice to make as to their destiny without constraint, and that the decision would be respected regardless of the choice. However, Lee had few expectations about a general uprising in support of the South.  

13 Ibid., Series 1, XIX, Part 2, 596-597. In a dispatch to Jefferson Davis Lee wrote: "Notwithstanding individual expressions of kindness that have been given, and the general sympathy in the success of the Confederate States, situated as Maryland is, I do not anticipate any general rising of the people in our behalf." Clifford Dowdey and Louis H. Manarin, ed., The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee (Boston, 1961), 297-298.
Earlier, on September 6, 1862, Frederick received its first taste of military occupation by an opposing army. The city was quickly crowded with Confederates eager to buy needed goods and supplies, especially shoes. All merchandise was paid for in either Confederate or other forms of Southern currency and in some cases even United States Treasury notes. To offset shoplifting or other such activity on the part of soldiers, military authorities placed guards at those stores which requested them and allowed only a few soldiers to enter the store at a time.  

Within a very short time many of the local merchants were completely sold out of their stocks, but as long as the supplies lasted the army continued its purchases, and shoe stores were required to remain open even on Sunday for the benefit of the shoeless men. Confederate buying was not confined exclusively to men's shoes, but both women's and children's shoes were eagerly bought up, to be sent back home to their families in the South. When the Federal army re-entered Frederick they found the streets literally strewn with old discarded shoes and clothes left by the Confederate army.

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14 Steiner, Report of Lewis H. Steiner, 9; "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of September 6, 1862.
15 Ibid., 15.
16 Times, September 13, 1862.
17 Ibid., September 15, 1862.
With the presence of the invading army, provisions became very scarce in the Frederick area. Such scarcity increased prices materially, especially with the willingness of the Confederates to pay double prices. There was a feeling of public indignation toward some Frederick merchants who had closed their stores to Confederate soldiers and then demanded high prices for their merchandise from local citizens; coffee rose to 75¢ a pound and brown sugar to 40¢ a pound. Even though Lee found sufficient forage for his troops the scarcity of provisions had given him cause for concern. Much of the difficulty in securing supplies stemmed from two factors: much of the wheat crop was still to be harvested by farmers, and many of the local millers and farmers were reluctant to do business with the Southern forces. Along with the provisions that they were able to secure, the army was able to obtain 1,000 pairs of shoes from Frederick, 250 pairs from Williamsport, and 400 pairs from Hagerstown. The total number of shoes estimated by Lee to have been purchased in Maryland was between four thousand and five thousand.

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pairs which still remained insufficient for the needs of the Confederate army. 22

One of the most serious losses sustained by local citizens was not property damage but financial loss as a result of a devaluated currency. One Frederick merchant was left with $8,000 in Southern scrip for his entire stock of flour for which the Confederate army had paid him $16.00 a barrel, while in Hagerstown they were able to purchase some fifteen hundred barrels of flour leaving a variety of scrip. 23 Even though the Southerners used United States Treasury notes in purchasing commodities, there was a preference to use Confederate money and to retain Federal currency, much to the chagrin of many merchants. In this business men of both political persuasions suffered equally. 24 Later, in the early part of 1863, groups of speculators were reported to have been scouring the Middletown area for Confederate scrip and were paying 40¢ on the dollar for it. The money was then taken into Virginia where it was used to buy flour, wheat, and other supplies. 25

22 Ibid., Series 1, XIX, Part 2, 614.
23 Ibid., Series 1, XIX, Part 2, 604-605.
24 National Intelligencer, September 12, 1862.
25 Valley Register, January 30, 1863.
The conduct of the Confederate army in Frederick had been well disciplined and, with the exception of a few instances where soldiers had been given alcoholic beverages, there were few breaches of good order and behavior. In order to prevent disorderliness and unruliness on the part of soldiers and also to encourage confidence among the local populace, all soldiers were prohibited from visiting the city without a proper pass. Enforcement of this order was given to the provost marshal, who effectively maintained the city's peace. Along with the occupation, certain restrictions were also by necessity placed on civilian travel in and out of Frederick, and all farmers had to have passes to pass through Jackson's picket lines.

With this determination to maintain order and prevent reprisals against local Union men, military authorities attempted to extend their protection to them as well. In keeping with this policy, the offices of the Frederick Examiner, a Union paper, were guarded by a small detachment stationed outside its offices. But later in the evening the building

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26 Steiner, Report of Lewis Steiner, 10-11.
27 Official Records, Series 1, XIX, Part 2, 603-604; Dowdey, Wartime Papers of Lee, 301-303.
28 "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of September 9, 1862.
was broken into by a group of Confederates who attempted to
destroy the paper. Destruction was only averted by the quick
action of a local lawyer who quickly sought the aid of the
military authorities. Order was immediately restored by the
provost marshal, and the rioters required to return every­
thing taken from the office and were then arrested and con­
fined in the guardhouse. Even though the intercession of the
provost marshal had prevented the Examiner's total destruc­
tion, the damage was sufficient to disrupt the newspaper's
routine and prevent publication of the next issue. 29

During the occupation, amicable relations were main­
tained between the army and citizens with both sides recipro­
cating kindnesses. 30 Churches remained open on Sunday for
services, and both civilians and many officers of the mili­
tary attended them. At the Evangelical Reformed church
General Jackson himself with several members of his staff
attended the service and heard Dr. Zacharias preach and pray
for the President of the United States. However, the prayer
fell on deaf ears, for Jackson slept through the service, but

29 Examiner, September 10, 1862; Steiner, Report of Lewis
Steiner, 11; and "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of
September 11, 1862.
30 "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of September 11,
1862.
as Henry Kyd Douglas, who attended the service with the
General, pointed out, Jackson would probably have joined in
the prayer with the minister.\textsuperscript{31}

While the Confederates were in the area surrounding
Frederick there were several attempts made to enlist men for
service in the Southern army. In line with this policy, on
September 8th, Colonel B. T. Johnson, a former resident of
the city, issued a proclamation in which he reiterated many
of the sentiments contained in Lee's statement, but indi-
cated that now Maryland must do her part too. He indicated
that he had been authorized to accept recruits for companies
which were to contain a hundred men each, but each recruit
was to provide himself with a good pair of shoes, blanket,
and a tin cup.\textsuperscript{32} Actually very few men accepted the offer
to enlist. Reports indicated that there were between fifty
and seventy men from Frederick and forty from the Middletown
area.\textsuperscript{33}

The re-entry of Union forces into Frederick was a day
of great excitement and jubilation to both citizens and the
\textsuperscript{31}Steiner, \textit{Report of Lewis Steiner}, 12; Moore, \textit{Rebellion
Record}, V, 607; Douglas, \textit{I Rode With Stonewall}, 151.
\textsuperscript{32}Steiner, \textit{Report of Lewis Steiner}, 14-17.
\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Times}, September 15, 1862; \textit{Valley Register}, September
19, 1862.
army itself. A reporter on the New York Times had observed that the Federal army's march from Washington to Frederick had been greeted with general coolness and apathy apparently emanating from the fear that the Confederate army might possibly return. But with the Union army's entry into the city there was a great public outburst of spontaneous joy and enthusiasm over its return. Business was suspended and McClellan was enthusiastically greeted by the people. With the return of the army there seem to be no indications that there were any reprisals taken against Southern sympathizers for any actions during the occupation.  

The high tide of the invasion was finally reached with the clash of the two opposing armies at Sharpsburg. Although the battle was neither a decisive victory nor defeat for either army, Lee withdrew across the Potomac river into Virginia. While the momentous battle raged between the two belligerents, five thousand spectators witnessed the proceedings at a discreet distance on the top of a hill. Those citizens who remained in the town itself sought shelter

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34 Times, September 16, 1862.
35 Steiner, Report of Lewis Steiner, 23-25.
36 Frank Moore, ed., Anecdotes, Poetry and Incidents of the War: North and South (New York, 1866), 485-486.
in their cellars to escape the bombardment of the town. Almost every building in Sharpsburg showed the scars of battle, while two houses and a barn were completely destroyed by fire.  

The country-side as well as the town gave further evidence of the bloody battle. Fences had been scattered and destroyed, while large acres of corn had been trampled by the movement of both armies. Local farmers were very concerned in plowing their fields for fear of hitting unexploded shells. Consequently, with the remaining confusion many farmers in the Middletown Valley cautiously delayed, sowing their winter wheat later than usual. 

Yet at the same time signs were quickly in evidence that the community was reviving from its ordeal. With the large numbers of Federal troops present in the area, the citizens of Sharpsburg found they had a convenient market for all types of foodstuffs. Local women were busy charging 50¢ a meal to soldiers, while others devoted their activities to baking bread for them at 25¢ a loaf, much to the chagrin of the sutlers, since the local women refused to sell them the

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37 Valley Register, September 26, 1862; National Intelligencer, September 22, 1862.
38 Sun, September 26, 1862.
39 Valley Register, October 3, 1862.
40 Sun, October 13, 1862.
bread but preferred to sell it directly to the soldiers.\footnote{\textit{Times}, October 4, 1862.} The presence of the Federal army in western Maryland also increased the quantity of legal tender notes in circulation, although with greater spending there was a marked tendency toward inflation in currency and prices in the area.\footnote{\textit{Hagerstown Bank of Hagerstown}, Maryland, 93-94.}

Visitors also flooded the area to visit the battle areas and brought in additional sources of income to the region. In Hagerstown every hotel and private home was filled to capacity to the point where it was impossible for persons to find accommodations. The additional demand for transportation from the city to Sharpsburg far exceeded the supply and consequently gave the conveyor the advantage of virtually naming his own price. Sharpsburg being an even smaller town, the problem of accommodations was even more acute than that in Hagerstown.\footnote{\textit{Times}, October 4, 1862.} By November much of the region had gradually returned to normal, and many of the scars of the battle were being obliterated. Fences were restored, while fields again showed signs of being ploughed.\footnote{John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes, \textit{War Letters 1862-1865} (Cambridge, 1927), 14-18.}
Immediately following the battle, the entire area surrounding Sharpsburg became a mass hospital for the wounded of both sides. The town itself had become one large hospital with every house, barn, and farm-house accommodating the wounded. Other communities such as Middletown converted all of their churches, public buildings and rooms, and some private homes into hospitals for an estimated twelve hundred soldiers. Later the Federal government awarded the Middletown Lutheran church $2,395 for the use of its facilities.45

Women were also active in organizing Ladies Union Relief Associations to help in the hospitals as well as in making appeals for donations to aid their work. Citizens willingly tore up sheets, table cloths, and clothes to provide bandages and dressings for the wounded and at times sacrificed much of their own good furniture for the comfort of the injured, whether they might be Union or Confederate.46 As in Middletown and Sharpsburg the women in Hagerstown busily tended to the wounded and constantly scurried through the city streets on errands of mercy.47

45 Valley Register, April 17, 1863.
46 Ibid., September 19 and 26, 1862; Steiner, Report of Lewis Steiner, 30.
47 Times, October 2, 1862.
Frederick, with the other communities, witnessed the influx of wounded, and the number of hospitals in the city grew to twenty-two. Churches and other public buildings such as the Frederick Female Seminary were temporarily converted to medical uses. Only one Protestant church remained open for services, with the various Protestant denominations taking turns in using it to hold services. The Episcopalians made use of it in the morning, while the Lutherans occupied it later in the afternoon and some of the other groups in the evening. The Roman Catholics also gave up their churches except one in which they continued to hold services. A correspondent of the New York Times estimated that the "floating population" had doubled the actual size of the town, and Frederick streets were frequently filled with cripples with missing limbs and other disfigurements.

Along with the growth of the large number of hospitals it also became necessary that some regulations be instituted governing visitors. As a consequence all visitors were required to have passes, and foodstuffs had to be deposited with a person designated for collecting such items. Guests

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48 Ibid., October 10, 1862.
49 "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of October 29, 1862.
were also prohibited from engaging in conversations and discussions which might provoke either controversy or excitement. 50

Another problem which had increased the destruction to Maryland property was the Federal army itself. Lacking discipline within its ranks, the army was the cause of much havoc to crops all along its route of march. Fruit trees were destroyed in attempts to secure the unripened fruit; corn was picked and acres of it were trampled by the soldiers; and sheep, hogs, and chickens became objects of plunder for the Federal forces. A correspondent for the New York Times observed that the indiscriminate plundering by soldiers had resulted in creating and increasing local support for the Confederates, even among many of the area's lukewarm Unionists. 51

Army stragglers roaming over the countryside also created a serious problem for the military as well as for the civilian populace upon whom they were making depre-

50 Examiner, October 8, 1862.
51 Times, September 15-16, 1862.
52 Official Records, Series I, XIX, Part 2, 335.
this to the attention of the various subordinate commanders and ordered that all plundering and pillaging should cease. In order to effect this, armed patrols acting in the capacity of military police were directed to arrest all soldiers and officers who were absent from their units without written permission. Nevertheless, the destruction continued, which made necessary additional orders and actions to curb the continuance of property depredations. Finally McClellan made his subordinate commanders responsible for the violation of the orders and reminded them that they were occupying a loyal state which expected order to be preserved and not to be subjected to lawless bands of men destroying its property. The directive was again reissued to all corps commanders to set up patrols to arrest all men absent without leave, and it provided that violators were to be sent to Harper's Ferry for confinement. Determined to put a stop to the plundering, McClellan ordered that all corps commanders within twenty-four hours give some evidence of their compliance.

Consequently, both armies left telltale effects on the countryside. The need for subsistence had exhausted the

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53 Ibid., Series 1, XIX, Part 2, 376.
54 Times, October 6, 1862.
supply of provisions in the Middletown Valley, and items such as salt, sugar, and coffee were virtually unobtainable.\(^5\) As the Confederate army retreated, there were also efforts made to destroy all public property which would be of use to the Federal government. Therefore considerable damage was done to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The bridge over the Monocacy River was destroyed and two weeks were required to restore it to use.\(^6\) The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was also another object of considerable destruction. The canal was tapped in numerous places; several flood gates were destroyed; and a number of large boulders were rolled into the bed to serve as obstructions. The damage done to it rendered between twenty and twenty-five miles useless to traffic,\(^7\) and caused a total loss estimated at $50,000.\(^8\) The destruction of both canal and railroad transportation also adversely affected communities like Cumberland where large numbers of coal miners were temporarily put out of work for the lack of facilities to haul the coal.\(^9\)

\(^{55}\) Valley Register, September 19, 1862.
\(^{56}\) Ibid., September 19, 1862; Times, September 22, 1862.
\(^{57}\) Valley Register, September 26, 1862.
\(^{58}\) Ibid., October 24, 1862; Times, October 21, 1862.
\(^{59}\) Sun, September 22, 1862.
Even with the return of the Federal army and the re­verse of the Confederate tide, considerable apprehension re­mained in Maryland over the possible return of the Southern army, and rumors and occasional raids sustained some of this fear. Such fears, in one instance, were the cause of the destruction of a considerable amount of property in Williams­port. On receiving a report that the Confederate army was approaching the town, the captain in charge of the unit stationed there proceeded to burn the bridge over the canal, twelve canal boats, five warehouses, a saw mill, a house, and a lumber yard with two thousand feet of lumber before he was finally stopped by the protests of local citizens, who feared he was going to burn the entire town. Despite occasional alarms and panics people soon returned to the normal patterns and routines of everyday life.

In 1863, Maryland was again subjected to a major Confederate invasion, and again suffered considerable damage and destruction to its crops and property. Citizens again prepared to witness the maneuvering of both armies and con­cealed many of their valuables against possible confiscations. As in 1862, many also fled to areas of safety before the

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60 Times, September 24, 1862.
advancing Southern army, while others merely waited for its approach. The town of Williamsport gave the appearance of being almost deserted as the Confederate army passed through it northward. Houses were shut up, and many had actually been abandoned by their owners. The few remaining inhabitants of the town viewed the movement of troops northward with indifference. 61

During the army's brief stay in the town both citizens and boatmen were arrested and paroled to prevent them from divulging troop movements to Union authorities. Canal boats at Williamsport and also at Hancock were destroyed to prevent their future use, while the horses used for towing were confiscated for use by the Confederates. 62 On the return of Lee's army in the confusion following the retreat from Gettysburg, the local populace was subjected to considerable harassment from hungry and starving soldiers for provisions of any kind. The town was virtually turned into a temporary hospital and the local citizenry was put to work cooking for the army. 63

61 Walter Lord, ed., The Fremantle Diary (Boston, 1954), 188.
62 Sun, June 20 and 26, 1863.
63 Times, July 10, 1863; Jacob Hoke, The Great Invasion of 1863 (New York, 1959), 487.
On entering Hagerstown, General Jenkins, in an attempt to allay some of the fears of the local populace, asked citizens to inform his staff immediately of any molestations of persons or property by his soldiers. Many of the more prominent Union men had fled before the approaching Confederate army as they had in 1862, but among those who remained there were no military arrests. And with the entry of the army into the town, soldiers were again eager to buy goods, and local stores were emptied by large purchases. And again Virginia and Confederate moneys were in large part used in buying local merchandise. Large quantities of the goods which were purchased by the Southerners, were intended for shipment back to the South, and there was also a sincere effort on the part of Confederate authorities to pay for all merchandise, but in the case of horses rarely was payment made for them. The army and soldiers carried with them a considerable quantity of Southern currency and were consequently willing to pay high prices for services and commodities. The dilemma of the local populace can readily be seen

64 Sun, June 18, 1863.
65 Official Records, Series 1, XXVII, Part 2, 545-561.
in that soldiers preferred to pay $5.00 in Confederate scrip rather than fifty cents in United States currency. 66

In the course of the invasion the Hagerstown area was cleaned out of provisions and very few horses were left by the army, while fields of trampled wheat and rye bore witness to the passage of the Southern army. 67 In the Middletown region many farms were almost totally divested of fences, and acres of wheat, corn, and oats were partially destroyed by the passing army, while the wheat, which had been already harvested, was taken and used for fodder by the army. 68

Frederick was again subjected to invasion, and as in 1862 when the alarm had been given of the approaching Confederate army, prominent Union citizens also fled the city. For fear that the Southerners would capture Union army supplies it was decided to destroy them, but approximately some three thousand boxes of crackers containing fifty pounds of crackers each were distributed to the town's people instead. 69

66 Ibid., Series 1, XXVII, Part 2, 65.
67 National Intelligencer, July 14, 1863; Times, July 14, 1863.
68 Valley Register, July 10, 1863.
69 "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht," entry of June 17, 1863.
For the first time during the war Cumberland experienced occupation by the Confederate army. After consultation with General Imboden who guaranteed that all private property would be respected and that all items taken would be paid for, the civil officials of the town surrendered the city. As in the case of other Maryland communities, soldiers made heavy purchases of boots, shoes, hats, and dry goods in Southern scrip, and the Civilian and Telegraph estimated that some $15,000 had been spent during the occupation. 70

The army maintained fairly strict restraint against destruction of property. Government buildings such as hospitals, warehouses, and the postoffice were not damaged, while Federal commissary supplies were not destroyed by the Confederates for fear that the ensuing conflagration would also destroy the town. 71 However, considerable damage was done to the local telegraph office as well as to canal and railroad property. Much damage to the railroad was averted by the company's precaution of having already moved all its movable machinery to areas of safety. 72 With the destruction of canal and railroad facilities and the resultant inability

70 Civilian and Telegraph, June 25, 1863.
71 National Intelligencer, June 25, 1863.
72 Sun, June 24, 1863.
to transport coal from the region, many coal mines were forced to suspend operations, which in turn was responsible for creating a depressed state of business in Cumberland.\textsuperscript{73} The destruction of canal facilities also aroused bitter resentment against the South in Cumberland.\textsuperscript{74}

News of the Confederate invasion again caused widespread alarm in Baltimore. The city council immediately appropriated $100,000 to be used in the defense of the city.\textsuperscript{75} Barricades were thrown up around the city and volunteers organized themselves into companies and received arms from General Schenck. With the news of the invasion General Schenck proclaimed martial law on June 30th in Baltimore and in the western shore counties. The use of martial law was not meant or designed to suspend the normal functions of civil government, but did mean increased restrictions upon the civilian populace for the duration of the threat. Persons were not allowed to leave the city without a properly signed pass by the provost marshal nor could anyone pass the barricades between 10:00 p.m. and 4:00 a.m. without the proper

\textsuperscript{73} National Intelligencer, June 24, 1863.
\textsuperscript{74} Lord, Fremantle Diary, 237.
\textsuperscript{75} Sun, June 22, 1863; Times, June 22, 1863.
\textsuperscript{76} Times, June 24, 1863.
countersign. Club houses were required to have permission to remain open, and all saloons and coffee houses were required to remain closed between 8:00 p.m. and 8:00 a.m. Other places of business, with the exception of apothecaries, were required to close at 5:00 p.m. in order to allow citizens time to drill and prepare themselves for the city's defense. The sale of arms and ammunition was allowed only with a proper permit.

The General followed this with another proclamation on the 2nd of July in which all citizens were prohibited from having arms in their possession unless they were enrolled in the various volunteer companies. The order was put into effect by groups of men in connection with the city's police, who searched houses for weapons. Those who were especially affected were persons suspected of disloyalty, while others who were not under suspicion were generally bypassed. In cases where residents refused to submit to a search, they were arrested and held for further investigation.

After the first wave of excitement Schenck did make several modifications in his proclamation and revoked the

77 Official Records, Series 1, XXVII, Part 3, 437-438; Moore, Rebellion Record, VII, 328-329; Sun, July 1, 1863.

78 American Annual Cyclopaedia for 1863, 614.
prohibition on passing through the barricades between 10:00 p.m. and 4:00 a.m. He also further exempted ice cream shops, soda fountains, and barber shops, whose owners could give proof of their loyalty, from the closing regulations. The following day saw the further relaxation of regulations, and markets, groceries, and provision stores were allowed to stay open until 11:00 p.m. Gradually with the threat of invasion diminishing, restrictions were removed, and finally on the 21st of July the restrictions on travel in and out of Baltimore without a pass were revoked too.

As in the case of 1862, the Confederate invasion had a marked depressing effect upon the city's business. The stock market became light and inactive in the closing weeks of June and into July, but by July 7th the market was again beginning to show an improved condition. Along with the effect on stocks, the fear of a scarcity of provisions caused such commodities as flour, foodstuffs, and coal to rise. Coal rose from $6.50 a ton in early June to $10.00 during the crisis, although it immediately declined after the threat was over. With the end of the 1863 crisis,

79Sun, July 3-4, 1863.
80Ibid., July 22, 1863.
81Ibid., June 19, July 8, 1863.
Maryland was never again seriously threatened with a full scale invasion from the South.

But as in the two preceding years, Maryland was again subjected to a Confederate invasion in the summer months of 1864. Unlike the previous invasions it assumed the character of a raid rather than a serious threat. In 1862 and 1863 Southern forces took great care not to harm property and persons, but in 1864 their actions took on more the aspects of a punitive and plundering expedition, less regard being paid to the idea that Maryland was a sister state, as had been the case in 1862. Consequently, supplies, money, and harassment became objects of the Confederates. Southern actions were also productive of much more bitterness between citizens of different persuasions than in former years. Union men who suffered depredations were especially caustic in their expressions toward Southern men.\(^{83}\)

With the approach of the Confederate army in the summer of 1864 many of Hagerstown's officials and merchants, with as much of their merchandise as possible, fled to areas of safety. When General McCausland finally entered the city, the only remaining city official was the treasurer, and on

\(^{83}\) American, July 20, 1864.
occupying the town the General presented him with a levy of $20,000 to be paid in cash along with a demand for fifteen hundred outfits of clothing, shoes, hats, caps, coats, and trousers under a threat of burning the town in the event of non-compliance. In consultations between the Hagerstown Bank president, the city treasurer, and McCausland it was agreed the money could be raised but to provide all the clothing requested would be impossible. The levy was divided among the three banks in the Hagerstown area; the Hagerstown Bank was to provide $10,000, while the remaining two, the First National Bank and the Williamsport Branch Bank, were to provide $5,000 each. A note was then drafted for $20,000 payable to the banks by the town and signed by the city treasurer and as many other prominent citizens as could be found to help validate it. Later the Maryland legislature authorized the town to issue bonds in order to redeem the note.  

A committee headed by the town's mayor, in estimating the damage done to the district in loss of property, money, and produce set the figure at $80,000.

From Hagerstown the Confederate army moved into the Frederick area and made similar demands on the communities

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84 History of the Hagerstown Bank, 100-104; Sun, July 21, 1864.
of Middletown and Frederick under a similar threat of destruction if the levy was not forthcoming. Middletown was required to pay the sum of $15,000, while Frederick was forced to pay $200,000 as ransom. It was indicated to Frederick officials that the sum could be paid in supplies at current market prices: $50,000 worth of medical supplies, an equal amount of commissary supplies, an equivalent value of ordnance supplies, and the same for the quartermaster department. In a meeting of city officials it was agreed to meet General Early's demands, and local authorities, with the promise that the banks would be reimbursed later, asked each bank to contribute in making up the required amount in ratio to its capital.

Confederate forces were far less disciplined in their actions in Frederick than they had been on former occasions. Those stores willing to sell merchandise sold much of their stock to eager Southern soldiers, while at least two stores were broken into and robbed of their stock. Soldiers also scoured the countryside for foodstuffs and for horses to be taken back into Virginia. Sometimes goods were paid for in

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86 David J. Lewis, *Frederick War Claim*, 5-16 passim.
Confederate scrip and other times they were not, much to the
despair of the local populace. Consequently, the raid had an
unsettling effect on the region and merchants kept their
stocks at low levels during the summer for fear of additional
raids.  

In the Towsontown area the house of Governor Bradford
was burnt after the family had been given short notice to re­
move any object of value before it was set afire. Middletown
too was hard hit by the invasion with soldiers scouring the
area for cattle and horses. The loss of horses in the region
caused considerable concern among farmers as to how they were
going to harvest their crops in the coming fall. Other
objects of attention were mills, railroad cars, engines, and
workshops, and other buildings which either suffered damage
or destruction in the wake of the raid. Many of the depre­
dations to property were the result of two factors: vin­
dictiveness and military necessity.

Baltimore again became excited and tense over the news
of a new Confederate invasion. Bells of the city were rung
and loyal citizens formed themselves into companies to man

87 *American*, July 13 and 19, 1864.

the city's fortifications. Military officials also ordered the streets barricaded to prevent cavalry dashes into the city. The city offered to supply the labor to construct the barricades, while the army quartermaster supplied the materials to build them. Restrictions were also placed on travel in and out of Baltimore, and all persons and ships were required to have military passes. With the passing of the crisis these restrictions on travel were considerably lessened, and persons were no longer required to have passes on entering or leaving the city. However, many of the previous travel regulations requiring passes were still retained and only those which had been put into effect to meet the emergency were revoked.

Confederate actions during the raid generated far more hostility than in previous years. Consequently as an aftermath much resentment remained, and the treatment of citizens for their cooperative activities during the presence of the Confederates was much harsher than formerly. In the Liberty, Maryland area twenty-five persons were assessed $1,296.20 for the damage done to a loyal man's property as

89 Official Records, Series 1, XXXVII, Part 2, 180 and 187.
90 Ibid., Series 1, XXXVII, Part 2, 324-325; American, July 15, 1864.
a consequence of the raid. Initially the military authorities adopted a very harsh policy toward active sympathizers in the Frederick area for their activities. It was ordered that all persons, who had pointed out property belonging to Union men, had given information to the Confederates, or had openly sympathized with the South, were to be arrested. In meting out punishment to these people, it was provided that all male persons would be sent to the military prison at Wheeling, West Virginia, while their families were to be sent beyond Federal lines in the South as punishment. Along with these actions their houses were also to be seized and were to be converted into hospitals, offices, and store houses. The furniture was to be sold at public auction with its proceeds going for the benefit of Union citizens who had suffered losses in the raid.

The severity of the order was considerably lessened by a subsequent order that merely required all male citizens in the Frederick area to appear before the local provost marshal between July 25th and the 30th to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. If a person did not appear

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91 James Pearre Collection, 1864.
to take the oath, then he was to be regarded as a "secessionist" and treated in accordance with the original order.\footnote{National Intelligencer, July 30, 1864.}

In the Cumberland region Major-General Hunter also was perturbed over the activities of Southern sympathizers, since some of the local citizens who had sons in the Confederate army were suspected of sending clothing, money and military information to the South. Therefore, Hunter felt that in the interest of public safety such families should be sent beyond Federal lines.\footnote{Official Records, Series 1, XXXVII, Part 2, 390.} The General's actions were not allowed to be put into effect, for Lincoln suspended the orders. But the families were, however, arrested by the provost marshal and then released on $300 bond with the requirement to report to the local military authorities every morning.\footnote{National Intelligencer, August 12, 1864.}
CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The sequence of events emanating from the election crisis of 1860 and the following secession movement in the South produced currents and crosscurrents which disrupted the normal patterns of economic and social life in Maryland. The bettering economic conditions which had been in evidence during the first part of 1860 were sharply reversed by the political movements in the summer and fall. Two major factors helped bring about a general business stagnation in the state; fear and the loss of Southern markets. Apprehension and anxieties as to the full ramifications of the crisis touched off a marked conservative reaction on the part of businessmen, financiers, and bankers, and consequently, in turn, brought about a contraction of the economy. For fear that there would be a run on specie, bankers temporarily suspended specie payments in the state. Bankers were also reluctant to increase loans or to grant new ones, while the discount rate on Southern currency rose. Financiers were equally cautious of investing in securities, and the stock
market reflected the temper of the times in its downward spiral, which was unrelated to the actual value of the stocks.

The loss of Southern markets accelerated the contracting movements in Baltimore and Maryland. Areas of trade such as dry goods stagnated as well as industries such as the shoe and boot and the paper and book trades, which declined an estimated third of their former activity, while trade in whiskey dropped an estimated 50 per cent and guano to a very bare minimum. The loss of Southern trade also meant the loss of many raw materials to Baltimore factors. In particular, the shortage of cotton seriously affected the textile industry in the city. For the remainder of the war this industry was plagued with fluctuating supplies and prices.

Consequently, the interaction of these two factors on Maryland's economy produced a markedly depressed state. With the depression, business failures in Baltimore increased, and the contraction of business forced many firms to reduce their staffs. In some industries only a skeleton crew was maintained, which was illustrative of the growth of unemployment, a factor that helped further to compound the state's economic difficulties.

However, in 1861 another factor which was to become increasingly prominent was beginning to manifest itself in
the state's economy. The role of the Federal government, both adverse and beneficial, began to assume increasing importance in Maryland. The growth of government regulations and restrictions in many instances hampered commerce on the major lines of communication, such as the Baltimore and Ohio and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and consequently was partially responsible for some of the loss in revenue to both lines. Also the need of the Federal government for transportation facilities and its preemption of these facilities to meet its demands also interfered with domestic traffic, causing revenues to drop from this source. Yet at the same time the Northern Central Railway increased its earnings $44\frac{1}{2}$ per cent over its 1860 total and began to profit from business related to the war.

But in other areas of the economy the role of the government was beginning to be felt and was responsible for relieving some of the effects of the business contraction. Federal needs in supplying the army made for purchases of Maryland grain and other provisions, and contracts with manufacturers to supply iron products and equipment were a welcome benefit. Consequently, the metal industry began to be oriented toward meeting government needs and became much more attuned to the war earlier than many of the other segments of the economy, which continued to languish.
The role of the government in the city's and state's economy continued to increase in 1862 and to have more pronounced effects than in the previous year. The dry goods, hardware, and provisions trade, although still in decline, began to readjust themselves and were supplying some of the requirements of the military. Wheat and corn inspections increased and more and more supplied the growing demands of the army. Wool, which had declined as an export commodity, benefited from the needs of the army and its price rose some 50 per cent. The manufacturing community was also similarly affected by the increased spending of the government, and the iron industry profited both from the higher protective tariff and from the change from wooden to iron ships, which created a greater demand for iron plates. The shipbuilding industry shifted to the construction of the more profitable medium and smaller class vessels, and in 1862 improved its construction totals slightly over the previous year's figure. It was also busily engaged in repairing government ships used in the blockade and profited from employment as a government transportation agency.

At the same time wartime conditions still remained an adverse factor and a deterrent to commerce. The blockade by Union authorities and control over the Main Stem of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in Virginia by the Confederacy
hampered commercial transactions in the early part of the war. Frequent raids and invasions, which were disruptive and de­structive to the lines of communication in their wake, also had an adverse effect on those communities which depended upon the railroad and canal.

The loss of Southern markets and suppliers also continued to affect certain segments of the economy. Cotton supplies fluctuated considerably and caused prices to remain unstable. Other commodities such as guano, whiskey, and rice still remained in a depressed condition. But despite the lag in these areas other segments were beginning to show signs of recovery in 1862 and had become much more attuned to the needs of the government and wartime conditions.

By 1863 the improving economic conditions were much more in evidence in contrast to the two previous years, and much of the financial inertia of the business community had given way to renewed activity. An indication of the bettering times could be seen in the rise in currency circulation from $3,794,000 for the former year to $6,650,000 in 1863. Also in evidence was the reversal of the downward trend in the value of imports recorded, although many of the city's imports came through more northerly ports and were then trans-shipped to Baltimore. Despite interruptions from
invasion and raids the major lines of transportation also showed increases in their revenues and stability. Even the tottering Chesapeake and Ohio Canal shared in this growth and increased its net earnings some $90,942.42 over the low of 1862. With the growth of business on the Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad the company began the construction of a second track to help facilitate some of the growing traffic between Washington and Baltimore.

The Federal government, as it was for the remainder of the war period, was an instrumental factor in the state's economy. The need for transportation and the demand for agricultural and industrial products brought increased Federal spending in the state and helped to buoy up the financial structure. Evidence of this can be seen in the decline in the city's export of grain and the subsequent rise in its domestic consumption. Federal needs for armaments and equipment also provided a lucrative source of profit for manufacturers. Even though the government was undoubtedly responsible for helping the state's economy, trade regulations continued to be a source of complaint from mercantile interests. Yet at the same time the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Main Stem of the Baltimore and Ohio, which was opened longer than in the previous year and was able to produce a
revenue greater than that of even 1860, benefited from the military's protection in 1863.

By 1864 and the early months of 1865 prosperity had returned to Maryland, and the depression had dissipated. Yet at the same time because of Baltimore's proximity to the theater of war she was unable to compete effectively with her more northerly neighbor Philadelphia. Both imports and exports had increased, while in the case of exports the downward trend from the 1861 totals was reversed and exports rose to a new high of $12,362,448.00, surpassing the previous five year's totals. Along with the return of prosperity many in Baltimore viewed the city's future with great optimism and looked forward to the time when her Southern markets would again be restored and would enhance her economic position.

With prosperity came a rising cost of living and inflation which in some cases was a heavy price to pay. Salaried persons such as some of the clergy complained about their lagging income, and consumers in general complained about the rising cost of living. Efforts by consumers to curb rising prices seemed to have been largely ineffective. At the same time, however, farmers certainly profited by the increasing prices for their commodities and received considerable benefits from the growing inflation.
Also indicative of the prosperous times were the lines of transportation as reflected in their increasing revenues. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad increased its tolls and much of the double track between Washington and Baltimore along with other improvements had been completed, although on many of the sections of the Main Stem the repairs were of a temporary nature because of Confederate raids. The Northern Central Railway had also become a financially sound road and had added considerably to its rolling stock to take care of its growth of traffic. Company officials were anxious to dispel the belief that the road's prosperity depended upon the continuance of the war and the Federal government. Along with the two railroads the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal enjoyed its most prosperous year since its completion, with revenues increasing $70,969.08 over the 1863 total.

The secession crisis was not only disruptive of the economic fabric of Maryland, but it also affected the social framework as well and produced effects which were to remain in evidence for the duration of the war period. The secession of the lower South divided Maryland thoughts as to its position in the crisis and its judgment of the South's actions. Those advocating moderate views disapproved of secession as a remedy for the aggrieved wrongs suffered by the South and maintained that they were not sufficient to justify such a
course of action. At the same time there was also a denial by many in this group of the legality of coercion, although paradoxically some asserted that the Federal government had the right to collect revenues in South Carolina and to repel attacks. Most expressed their loyalty to the Union and hoped for the redress of Southern grievances, especially those concerning the personal liberty laws of the North.

There were other views which were less moderate in nature and which demanded more positive action. The desire for action on the part of those who manifested Southern leanings demanded that Governor Hicks call the legislature into session to deal with the exigencies of the situation, and his subsequent refusal to do so provided additional grounds for controversy and criticism. Some openly took the more extreme position of advocating that steps should be taken in the formation of a Southern Confederacy which would include Maryland, while others tempered similar positions with statements in favor of this only if all efforts to preserve the Union failed. In line with this approach peaceable secession was acknowledged, while any form of coercion was opposed.

On the other side Union supporters refused to recognize secession as a legitimate remedy, and many regarded any attempts on the part of the South to obstruct the execution
of Federal laws as an act of treason and war. At the same time there was a feeling that the Crittenden proposals were a fair basis for compromise. Groups such as the laboring classes, while expressing sympathies for Southern grievances, opposed secession and felt that their material prosperity was tied to the maintenance of the Union more than to the Confederacy. While many in the working class supported the Union position, the upper class tended to support the Southern argument, although there were no strict divisional lines between classes, and supporters of all views were found in all classes.

Within this framework of discord and dissension the mounting tension in the early months of 1861, coupled with the growth of unemployment, created an explosive atmosphere in Baltimore, which erupted into rioting on April 19th against the Federal government when the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment attempted to pass through the city enroute to Washington. State and city officials tried to allay the mounting tension and preserve order, but with the appearance of the troops even they were fairly helpless to maintain order. In the resulting chaos Baltimore took on the appearance of a city prepared for a military siege. Rail lines of communication were cut; civilian and militia units paraded
in the streets; and restrictions and regulations were placed on the city's commerce. Gradually with the subsiding of tension brought about by the efforts and actions of city officials, and pressure from the commercial community, order was reestablished and many of the restrictions were removed. With the restoration of order much of the normal routine of life returned, and Union sentiments were again able to be safely expressed in the city.

But with the April crisis, events were set in motion which were to dominate the state for the remainder of the war. The forced detour of General Benjamin Butler and his troops to Annapolis and his subsequent march to Baltimore began a period of Federal intervention, which with the progress of the war increasingly expanded its surveillance of Maryland affairs. With the growth of military supervision of local affairs, Maryland lost any real ability to make a free choice as to her position in the crisis and became virtually an occupied state with limited civil liberties.

Disloyal sentiments and criticism of the Union and the Federal administration were regarded with suspicion and as grounds for possible action by military authorities. As a result military arrests began to be increasingly common in the state and civil liberties remained of a limited nature.
Arrests and imprisonment were not merely confined to the common citizenry but included state and city officials as well for obstructions or disloyal sentiments against the Union cause. The basic pattern of relationship between executive action and judicial position concerning military arrests was essentially established in the John Merryman case in which military authorities defied the issuance of a writ of *habeas corpus* on the grounds that the President of the United States had the authority to suspend the writ in the interest of public safety. In viewing the case Chief Justice Taney in the Federal circuit court decried the government's action as unconstitutional but also indicated he did not possess the power to combat the executive branch in this matter. Therefore he merely filed the court's protest with the President as its constitutional agent to enforce the decisions of the court.

Not only were persons such as legislators and police commissioners arrested, but newspapers which printed disloyal sentiments were suppressed and their editors imprisoned. And with the progress of the war governmental scrutiny continued to expand and to become more repressive in Maryland than in many of the other loyal states. At the same time Federal authorities were in varying degrees sensitive to public opinion, as in the case of General John A. Dix who was not
only desirous of suppressing disloyalty but also of building support in favor of the Union. With the replacement of Dix with General Wool in 1862 intervention became even more vigorous and repressive. Even Union supporters, such as the editor of the Baltimore American, were critical of the General and his policies. Consequently, there was much pressure for his removal, but his replacement with General Robert Schenck did not mean the abatement of military supervision but witnessed its continued growth and use of other obnoxious methods. Not only was Schenck instrumental in closing down social clubs, forcing individual religious congregations to display national colors, and suppressing Southern manifestations but also in the creation of public displays in favor of the Union. Finally, Federal control reached its furthest extent under General Lew Wallace. Not only did he attempt to supervise the financial responsibility of business firms, but he also attempted in 1864 to supervise Maryland's emancipation of her slaves. For fear that slavery might be continued under a different guise, Wallace extended military protection to the new freedmen and announced his determination to protect their rights with the creation of a freedman's bureau.
The atmosphere of controversy and discord even permeated the religious fabric of the state and caused considerable difficulty for various denominations and congregations. Not only were political considerations a source of dissension, but the issue of slavery and the church was an additional source of frustration to complicate Maryland's social life. Even before the eruption of the sectional crisis in the fall of 1860 the Methodist Episcopal Church was already in a state of agitation over slavery with the adoption of the "new chapter" by the General Conference in Buffalo.

The change in discipline brought forth vigorous attacks from Maryland Methodists and was responsible for initiating a series of demands by local conferences to rectify their grievances. Local leaders demanded that slavery should be removed from the authority of the General Conference and placed under local jurisdiction; that a fairer proportion of the church's periodicals should be controlled by the border conferences; and that local communities should be supplied with ministers who agreed with them in sentiment.

Along with these demands there was also a movement for more positive action. Methodists in the counties on the Eastern Shore asked to be separated from the Philadelphia
Conference and to be formed into a new one or joined with the Baltimore group. Reflecting the mounting resentment over the change in discipline and political controversy, the Baltimore Conference, which contained both Virginia and Maryland members, adopted the extreme position of severing its ties with the church. The remaining two conferences, the Philadelphia and East Baltimore, adopted a less radical approach and merely protested the "new chapter" without severing their ties with the church.

Much of the bewilderment and dissension continued to persist in the following years under the continuing strains and frustrations of war, but at the same time by 1862 currents had begun to move Maryland Methodists into directions which were to remain substantially unchanged for the duration of the war. Much of the former dissension remained, but much of the disunity began to be officially submerged with expressions of loyalty and approval of the actions of the Federal government.

Reflecting this movement, the remaining Maryland members of the Baltimore Conference in 1862 met and reversed their previous decision at Staunton, Virginia, although a small group continued to refuse to accept the church's jurisdiction and began an independent movement. Much of the
radicalism of the former year had been abated with a conservative reaction, and the convention officially proclaimed its loyalty to the Union and its approval of the Federal government's prosecution of the war. Eventually loyalty was made a prerequisite for election to ministerial orders, and applicants were required to submit to test questions. By 1865 the conference, which had originally denounced the "new chapter," reversed its former stand and now expressed its approval of emancipation and its desire for the total destruction of slavery in the United States.

Both the East Baltimore and Philadelphia conferences also strongly affirmed their loyalty to the Union and expressed their abhorrence to "rebellion." The East Baltimore group also resolved to refuse to accept members in the conference or elect persons to ministerial orders if they were known to be disloyal. The Philadelphia Conference, which had concurred with the East Baltimore group in condemning the "new chapter," withdrew its protest and warned its members that it considered a pro-slavery position an error.

Denominations such as the Roman Catholic and the Episcopal churches officially oriented themselves in support of the Union. The Roman Catholic diocese avoided politics, but at the same time instituted the use of a prayer framed
by John Carroll, which lent support for the government. The Episcopal church, on the other hand, under the leadership of Bishop W. R. Wittingham strongly and actively supported the Union cause, and Bishop Wittingham attempted to hold in check those members of his clergy who were sympathetic to the South. He was also instrumental in working to build support for the government among his parishioners.

Other groups such as the Methodist Protestant church avoided politics and controversy in taking the position that such matters were outside the pale of the church and were a detriment to its unity. Consequently, they strongly disapproved and discouraged the use of religion as a means of conveying political teachings. To preserve its unity the Lutheran church had originally postponed the meeting of the General Synod, but when it finally did meet it adopted a pro-Union position and approved of constitutional emancipation, which caused some criticism among Maryland Lutherans as being ill-timed. The Presbyterian church in its General Assembly also adopted resolutions in favor of the Union and endorsed the government's actions, but in the local Baltimore synod there was less enthusiasm for the sentiments contained in the Spring Resolutions. No meeting of the local synod was held in the first year of the war and prevented a serious
crisis from splitting the local group. When it did finally issue a statement as to its position on the war, it was equivocal and merely affirmed its adherence to the articles of religion on the allegiance of Presbyterians to governments. 

Even though officially many of the denominations adopted a pro-Union position, Union support was more apparent than real, for within the individual congregations much dissension and opposition to the government remained, and manifestations of Southern sympathies continued to create difficulties for local churches. In the case of the Episcopal church, Bishop Wittingham himself estimated that a heavy proportion of his parishioners and approximately 20 per cent of his clergy had Southern leanings.

The coming of the war also had its effects in varying degrees on educational institutions as well as religious ones. With the crisis large numbers of Southern students returned to their homes, and many schools suffered a serious decline in their enrollments. And with the drop in registrations many colleges were faced with growing financial indebtedness and difficulties. Some colleges, which were unable to surmount the loss of Southern students and the subsequent rise of indebtedness, closed; others, despite mounting financial difficulties, were able to survive the war heavily in debt;
while some not only weathered the war's impact but proceeded to grow during the period. Those schools which had depended heavily upon Southern patronage such as the Patapasco Female Institute and Mount Washington Female College, suspended operations, while colleges such as Mount Saint Mary's were left in a seriously weakened condition. Yet at the same time institutions like the University of Maryland were able effectively to surmount the difficulties of the times, while Loyola College and the Baltimore City College seemed little affected by the war. In the case of the Baltimore public school system the crisis and conflict had less effect on it than the panic of 1857 had.

The outbreak of hostilities between North and South had an unsettling effect upon slavery in Maryland, and the insecurity of the times led to the growth of fugitives fleeing from farms and plantations for free areas. Almost immediately with the intervention of the Federal government into Maryland affairs, military authorities also had to concern themselves with their relationship to slavery. At first there was no desire to interfere with it for fear of alienating Marylanders, and the government showed great concern for public sentiment. But in 1863 the Federal government, despite protests, began to take steps in the direction of
enlisting slaves into the army, and coupled with the problem of fleeing fugitives, the tottering edifice of slavery was seriously weakened in the state. Slave values, which had already been declining since the beginning of the war, began to fall rapidly. With their drop a serious loss of capital was incurred by many Marylanders, although for a while some compensation was awarded to loyal owners. The loss of slaves not only meant a loss of capital but, in many cases, more importantly a loss of labor. The scarcity of labor created serious difficulties in the Eastern portions of the state and also caused farm wages to rise to new levels.

With the adoption of the new constitution in 1864, which provided for uncompensated emancipation, slavery as a form of capital and labor was totally destroyed. With its destruction new problems were created which demanded new solutions in establishing economic and social relationships between the two groups. Consequently, following emancipation, there were attempts through meetings in some counties to provide guides and standards of employment and wages in hiring Negroes, but all such actions had to be cautious in nature, what with the military authorities under General Lew Wallace scrutinizing them closely, and much remained to be worked out in the future.
Maryland's geographical position relative to the theater of war had more disastrous consequences for her than most of the other loyal states. As a result of her location, she was subjected to invasions and raids from the South. In the early part of the war Maryland was regarded by the Confederacy as a sister state which had been subjected by Federal occupation, and it was in the spirit of a liberating army that Lee's forces first moved into the state in 1862. Consequently, the Confederate army maintained strict discipline and a respect for private property, although property which could be of military advantage to Federal forces, such as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, suffered considerable depredations. Nevertheless, with the maneuvering of the two opposing armies on her soil, Maryland suffered from the forces incidental to war itself, and considerable damage was done to crops, fences, and other private property.

Not only did Marylanders suffer depredations incidental to the conduct of a war but also loss from the depreciated currency with which Confederate soldiers purchased supplies and provisions. In both 1862 and 1863 Southern soldiers made heavy purchases with a variety of scrip, leaving merchants' stocks at low levels. And in turn, the heavy
purchases, which were made in the area by both armies, contributed to the section's rising inflation. In the early part of the war care was taken by the Southerners to pay for all items, but in the latter part of the war there was less concern given for the payment of articles, especially horses.

Towards the end of the conflict there was also a more pronounced deterioration of conduct and more bitter feelings than those manifested in the previous years. General Jubal Early's raid in the summer of 1864 took the form of a punitive and somewhat plundering expedition. The cities of Hagerstown, Middletown, and Frederick were all subjected to heavy levies under the threat of destruction. Private property was also subjected to vindictive actions, as in the case of the burning of Governor Bradford's home. Much of the ill-feeling between pro-Southern and Union groups was accentuated by the raid, and whereas in the earlier years there were few reprisals against Southern sympathizers, in 1864 Union and military sentiment had hardened against them, which resulted in penalties and restrictions being directed against those considered disloyal.

In final summation, the war created synthetic economic and social conditions in Maryland. With the dislocation of the state's economy, partially as a result of
the closing of many of her normal outlets of trade, much of
the revival of prosperity depended upon expenditures by the
Federal government and from other sources related to wartime
conditions rather than from normal economic developments.
Similarly, the presence of Federal troops on Maryland soil
made a fiction of that state's actual control over her own
affairs. Civil liberties and even the management of civil
authority were only allowed to operate and function within
the confines of Federal military scrutiny, and those actions
as well as public expressions which were regarded as
dangerous to the Union cause were not permitted, regardless
of their constitutional or legal basis.
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I, Richard Ray Duncan, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, August 30, 1931. I received my secondary education in the public schools of Winchester, Virginia, and my undergraduate training at Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Virginia and at Ohio University, which granted me the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1954. I also received a Master of Arts degree in 1955 from Ohio University. In January, 1957 I entered the Ohio State University and was later appointed a graduate assistant for the following academic year. I held this position for three years while working on the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History.

In 1961, I accepted an appointment as an instructor in History at Kent State University, which I hold at the present time.