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Cover: Late-summer Garden, Indian Village, St. Leonard, Maryland

In 2007, the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum created this Indian Village in commemoration of John Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries four hundred years earlier. The park offers a glimpse into life as it might have been when the Virginia settler first visited the native people who lived along the Patuxent River. There are currently four longhouses on the site, with a palisade border of tall poles to protect stores of corn from raiders. The working garden produces vegetables that were staple foods of the native people. For additonal information visit www.jefpat.org (Courtesy, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum.)

Maryland's Presidential Election of 1860

CHARLES W. MITCHELL

On Wednesday, April 18, 1860, the steamer *S. R. Spaulding* left Baltimore for Charleston, South Carolina. Those on board enjoyed music from Gilmore's band and loud cheering from those gathered to see them off. "For the alimentary comfort of those on board, she is supplied with 4,500 pounds of fresh meat and poultry, and has besides 23 tons of ice," noted the *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*.[1]

The national Democratic Party was gathering in Charleston to write its platform and nominate its candidate for president, and among the *Spaulding*'s passengers were Maryland delegates en route to what would be a momentous political convention, for in this steamy, southern city the issues would be defined and the battle lines drawn over one of the most momentous elections in American history.

Washington, D.C., was engulfed in turmoil. Incumbent Democrat James Buchanan, battered by sectional tensions and charges of corruption in his administration, could hardly wait to leave Washington for the bucolic peace of his Pennsylvania farm. The Congress was divided into camps of northern and southern men who were literally at each other's throats. On April 5, Congressmen John F. Potter of Wisconsin and Roger Pryor of Virginia came close to blows on the floor of the House. Four days later they agreed to a duel—Bowie knives being the weapon of choice—but when cooler heads prevailed, a duel was averted.

Delegate-laden trains and steamers arriving in Charleston were full of talk about Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the most powerful figure in the Democratic Party. In Charleston, wrote one historian, "the southern delegates were at home; the city was theirs, doors were open, tables were spread, many were spared the discomforts of hotel fare in the lavender-drenched guest rooms of these wide-porched mansions. The most charming spot . . . is the Battery. . . . In the pleasant evenings the people of leisure congregate here; hundreds of carriages and buggies, full of ladies and gentlemen, whirl along the drives."[2] The night before the convention opened, Murat Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial* wrote, "there has been a great deal more drunkenness here today than heretofore. Most of the violent spreeing is done by roughs from the Northern Atlantic cities who are at last making their appear-

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James Buchanan (1791–1868), fifteenth president of the United States. (Library of Congress.)

ance. There have been a number of specimens of drunken rowdyism and imbecility about the hotels. And I hear, as I write, a company of brawlers in the street making night hideous."[3]

As the convention opened on April 23, the steamy air at close to one hundred degrees made all, particularly the overdressed northerners, uncomfortable, but the heat was but one element of discomfiture. The disintegration of the Whig Party during the previous decade, largely over slavery, was a fate not lost on the 303 Democratic delegates from thirty-two states who filed into Institute Hall on Meeting Street for the opening ceremonies. These men were gathering to address problems that politics could no longer solve. Many realized that leaving Charleston without uniting behind a nominee would likely mean a Republican president, secession, and possibly war.

Many, however, were optimistic that they would unite behind Stephen Douglas, the "Little Giant" and former judge who stood barely five feet tall, United States Senator from Illinois, sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its doctrine of popular sovereignty.[4] He commanded support from at least half of the delegates at the start of the convention, mostly from the northwest and New England, but he had to muster two-thirds of the delegate votes to secure the nomination—and he had to do so in the face of imposing forces converging to stop him. These included President Buchanan and the U.S. Senator from Mississippi and former secretary of war Jefferson Davis. Douglas's highest hurdle, though, would be a former Alabama congressman, William Yancey, and other southern nationalists, who had pledged to fight his nomination to the bitter end.

Slavery was, of course, the divisive issue. Leading Republicans such as Senator

William Henry Seward from New York and lawyer and former Illinois congressman Abraham Lincoln were pledging not to interfere with slavery *where it existed*, but if elected they would not allow its spread into the territories likely to become new states. Few northern delegates had had firsthand contact with the peculiar institution, and for many their visit to Charleston afforded their first look at real slaves and real masters. Near the meeting site loomed the "Workhouse," a jail where obstreperous slaves were beaten, the double walls filled with sand to muffle their screams.

Douglas had cast himself as spokesman for the new Northwest, those territories of the American Midwest that in the middle of the nineteenth century lay on the frontier seeking entry into the Union. His doctrine of popular sovereignty—in which the territories themselves could choose to be free or slave—especially angered the South. The Little Giant's straddle over slavery in the territories had by this time become a painful stretch. Douglas's troubles had begun six years earlier in 1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and they worsened in Charleston when his managers agreed to finalize the party's platform before a nominee was chosen—a tactical misstep given the platform's failure to include a ban on federal interference with slavery in the territories. Douglas's relationships with the southerners were poor; he was detested by extremists and distrusted by moderates. In the month preceding the convention, several state Democratic parties had instructed their delegates to walk out if the party's platform lacked federal protection for slavery in the territories. An ugly tone was set the first day, when a Pennsylvania delegate attempting to speak was driven from the floor by cries of "God damn you, sit down!" and "What the hell do you want to talk for?"[5]

But frivolity was in the air as well. By Wednesday, the *Baltimore Sun* reported, "the gallery was crowded with ladies, and it being filled, several hundred who were crowding outside, unable to enter the gallery, were admitted to the floor of the convention, occasioning much good feeling." Delegate Charles Walker of New York informed the ladies that his fellow New York delegate, John Cochrane, was a bachelor, following which the latter "acknowledged his desperate condition and expressed his willingness to enter into the marriage relation. Walker said it was apparent that the reason why Cochrane had not married was because he could not. . . . the Chair tolerated this nonsense for a time, but at last interposed and summarily shut down upon it." The convention floor was packed, for "those who have tickets send them out after they get in, and others come in," complained one delegate. John S. Robinson, the chairman of the Vermont delegation, it was announced, died of apoplexy. And the credentials committee, adjudicating contested seats in four states, ruled in favor of the sitting delegates, allowing F. M. Landham and Robert J. Brent, of Maryland's Fourth Congressional district, to claim their seats.[6]

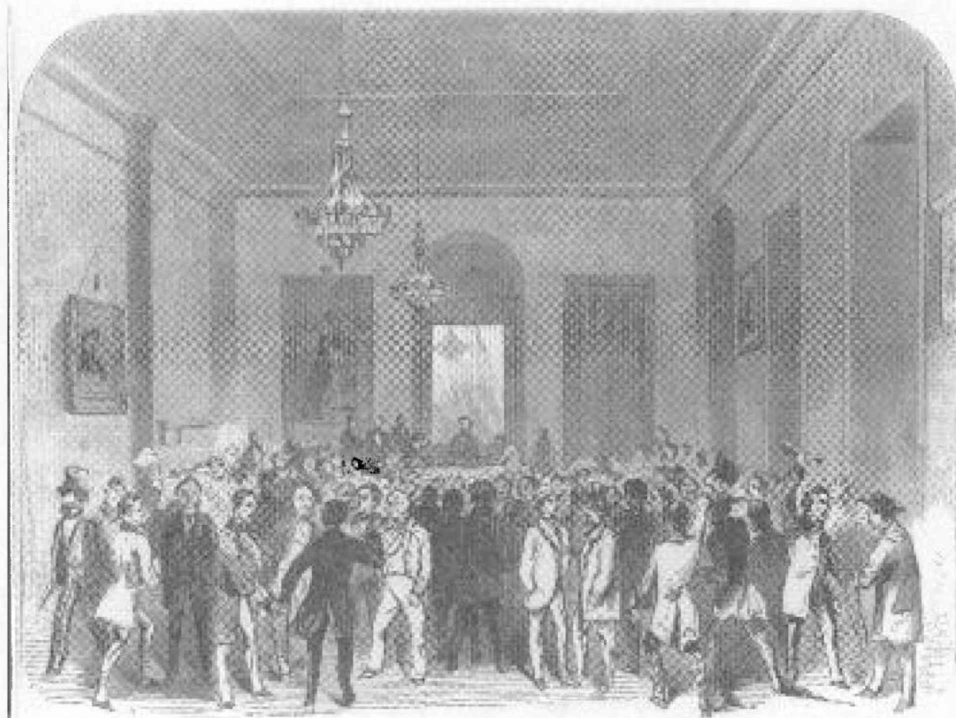
By Friday, the fifth day of the convention, wind and rain had dispelled the heat, and Charleston's bars, gamblers, and pickpockets were doing a bang-up business. The platform committee presented three reports: the majority report called for federal

A fierce opponent of Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, Alabama's William Lowndes Yancey (1814–1863), became a strong proponent of secession. (Library of Congress.)

protection of slavery on the high seas and in the states and territories, the acquisition of Cuba, and construction of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific. On Sunday, the Ohio and Kentucky delegations discovered that their private whiskey stocks, to which they attributed their good health, had run dry.[7]

On Monday, April 30, with Douglas's chances ever more perilous, Baltimoreans read of the Sunday goings-on in Charleston: "There have been three fights within 24 hours. Two of the Ohio delegates threw plates at each other at the Mills House, and one drew a pistol while the other clinched. Col. Craig, of Missouri, and a newspaper reporter also had a rough and tumble fight at the Mills House, and Captain Levy and Mr. White have also had a fight in a bar-room." One Pennsylvania delegate attacked another over his refusal to sign a document instructing the Pennsylvania delegates how to vote. Chaos on the convention floor rivaled that in the streets and taverns. As various points of order were being discussed, amid deafening noise,

> Mr. [William S.] Gittings of Md. attempted to address the chair but was called to order . . . (he) renewed the motion to lay on the table . . . a voice cried out, "Mr. President, it is a mistake—I didn't second that man's motion down there." Mr. Gittings rose to demand an explanation. He would like to know who it was who spoke so disrespectfully of him. . . . Mr. (Tom) Hooper arose. He did not say anything disrespectful to the gentleman from Maryland. . . . Mr. Gittings replied that if no insult was intended, "the gentleman will call at my room and take a drink.[8]



"Meeting of Southern Seceders," April 1860. A week into the Democratic convention, fifty southern Democrats walked out amid cheers from the galleries and reconvened at St. Andrew's Hall in Charleston. (Library of Congress.)

By April 30 most of the northern spectators in the gallery had left, their rooming contracts and patience having ended. Their departure made hotel hallways navigable, barrooms accessible and—most important—filled the Institute Hall gallery with Charlestonians, whose applause for the southern, anti-Douglas oratory was deafening. The gentlemen in the gallery were asked to refrain from using the heads of the men below them as spittoons. That same day the Douglas forces successfully rammed their platform through the convention by a slim margin, displacing the majority report.[9] There would be no Democratic Party commitment to federal protection for slavery. Fifty delegates from the lower South then walked out, to the cheering of much of Charleston's high society.[10] As they left, delegate Robert Brent of Maryland presciently warned them that their actions would lead to a Republican president opposed to slavery—presumably Seward—and a Congress of similar views.

Any remaining Douglas hopes were dashed by the balloting rule handed down by Chairman Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts: Two-thirds of the ballots of the total number of delegates accredited to the convention would be required for nomination, rather than merely two-thirds of those present.[11] Douglas would still need 202 votes—and he almost surely would not get them from the 250 delegates who remained.

The Boston Brass Band opened business on May 2 with "a dozen spirited airs." Maryland delegate William Gittings said he would move, after the thirty-fifth ballot, that the convention reassemble in Baltimore in June: "Mr. G. assured the convention that Baltimore was no longer a Plug Ugly town and promised the delegates a hospitable welcome," reported a local paper, referring to one of the city's most notorious political gangs known for terrorizing its streets on election days. By the morning of May 3, it was plain that the convention was hopelessly deadlocked. The noise levels from the galleries diminished considerably—"the ladies' gallery is very thin, and the poor creatures look down into the hall, vainly seeking objects of interest," wrote one reporter. The convention adjourned, its ten-day effort for naught, and agreed to reconvene in June in Baltimore. Disillusioned delegates boarded train cars, steamers, and carriages to depart Charleston for home.[12]

As the Democrats retreated, two other political parties were in states of great excitement. As the Republicans prepared to open their second nominating convention, in Chicago, the first such convention of the Constitutional Union Party opened in Baltimore at noon on May 9, 1860. The latter occasion was marked by a parade that packed the streets and showed off the city's new steam fire engines. The delegates represented twenty-two states and met in a federal courthouse formerly occupied by the First Presbyterian Church at the corner of Fayette and North Streets. The old church had an illustrious political history, for Andrew Jackson had been nominated there in 1828, and Martin Van Buren in 1836. There were galleries on three sides and "gas fixtures . . . in the event that the convention may sit at night." In attendance were approximately seven hundred aged white males, described by Murat Halstead as "of the eminently respectable class of gentlemen—and most of them are somewhat stale in politics. . . . The delegates seemed to be in high spirits, and to be confident of their ability to make at least a powerful diversion. The general foolishness of the two great parties has given the third unusual animation."[13] Many of these gentlemen were former Whigs and anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant American Party "Know Nothings" who hailed from the Border States. Distressed by the escalating rhetoric pushing the nation toward division and war, they sought a middle ground, proposing that North and South could remain together if slavery were off the table as a national issue, and all men merely pledged fealty to the constitution.

This effort toward a middle course was led by the venerable, seventy-three-year-old Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, who had assembled fifty members of Congress unaffiliated with Republicans and Democrats to lead the initiative.[14] The party's fundamental principles were "the removal of the slavery question from party politics, development of national resources, maintenance of honorable peace with all nations, strict enforcement of the laws and the powers of the Constitution, and respect for state rights and reverence for the Union."[15] Skeptics questioned the viability of a party with such moderate principles in a time when people were moving to the extremes of the political spectrum. The *New York Herald* described the

convention as a "Great Gathering of Fossil Know Nothings"—but these men were convinced they were on a path to save the Union.[16]

When Senator Crittenden opened the convention at noon on May 9, he "was received with applause from the galleries, and the ladies, who occupied the west gallery, waved their handkerchiefs."[17] Murat Halstead, who would cover all four major nominating conventions in this election year, reported:

> The Convention insisted on applauding nearly every sentence, and several times refused to let [the Chairman] finish a sentence. It was worse than the applause given by an Irish audience at an archbishop's lecture. . . . during the first hour and a half of the session, I presume at least one hundred rounds of applause were given, and the more the "spreads" applauded, the greater became their zeal. . . . The moment a speaker would say *Constitution* . . . *Union, American* . . . or anything of the sort, he had to pause for some time until the general rapture would discharge itself by stamping, clapping hands, rattling canes, etc.[18]

Though early signs pointed to a ticket of Sam Houston of Texas and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, John Bell of Tennessee won the nomination on the second ballot—a disappointment to the Baltimore ladies, who fancied the dashing Houston and showered the platform with bouquets from the galleries.[19] Bell was a safe choice, a bland and uninspiring lawyer of considerable wealth and owner of eighty slaves and an impressive resumé: state legislator, congressman, Speaker of the House, secretary of war, and U.S. Senator. Maryland awarded 7.5 votes to Bell and half a vote to Houston on both ballots.[20] Reflecting the party's stance on slavery, mere mention of it at the convention was prohibited, and when a Pennsylvania delegate did so, he was loudly hissed.[21]

This amiable gathering had little of the sectional bitterness that had earlier destroyed the Whig Party and was threatening the Democrats with the same fate. Baltimore lawyer Brantz Mayer proclaimed slavery a false issue, men's disagreements over it "as harmless and hollow as ghosts manufactured out of sheets and pumpkin."[22] These men believed their middle ground would attract enough votes to deprive the major parties of outright victory and send the election to the House of Representatives. But this party's fundamental principles—glorifying the Constitution and Union and enforcing its laws—were little more than platitudes, unlikely to animate an electorate aroused by the more passionate appeals of other parties.

On June 15 and 16, between six and eight thousand people—delegates, press and hangers-on, more than had been in Charleston—poured into Baltimore for the next round of the Democratic convention. The city had staged every national Democratic nominating assembly between 1832 and 1852. Many state delegations brought their own bands. "During Saturday Barnum's Hotel, the Eutaw House, and the other hotels, received their delegations and guests," reported the *Baltimore*

Brantz Mayer (1809–1879), was a prominent nineteenth-century Baltimore lawyer, writer, and historian. (Maryland Historical Society.)

American & Commercial Advertiser, "and in the afternoon the rotundas, halls and parlors, presented a scene seldom witnessed, blocked as they were with baggage, and filled with the strangers in their linen dusters, too busy aiding to swell the political hubbub and hum of voices, to change their travelling apparel." The paper engaged "two of the most accurate and expert Phonographers of Washington city, with a full corps of assistants, to furnish us with a *verbatim* report of the proceedings," and then endorsed the Constitutional Union Party: "We will fight on their side . . . and engage to confine Mr. Lincoln to his original occupation of mauling rails."[23]

On Sunday evening, bands attached to various delegations drew several thousand spectators to Monument Square, on Calvert Street, for what one newspaper called "airs in the square." While the early demeanor of the crowd seemed to favor Douglas, reactions to speeches that lasted until midnight revealed deeper anti-Douglas sentiment, a harbinger that this second effort might also fail to unite the party. The southerners, egged on by fire-eating orators such as Alabama's William Yancey, were determined to reargue the slave code, and many northern men remained just as determined to fight them on it.[24]

Though the southerners had met in Richmond the week before, they chose to take no action until the convention reconvened in Baltimore, where they planned to be as disruptive as they'd been in Charleston. Their delegations, other than Florida's, were intent on claiming the seats they had vacated in Charleston, and as most southern states had since chosen new delegates, refereeing the fight over those seats would be the first order of business.[25]

On Monday morning, June 18, 303 delegates and almost two hundred editors and reporters filed into the Front Street Theater at 10 A.M. to open the convention. The

Baltimore galleries were with Douglas all the way. Much work had been done to the theater, which, reported the *Baltimore Sun*, featured "a rich and beautiful scenery to relieve the heaviness of the unplastered walls." The dress circle had been designated as the gallery for the ladies, who were to be admitted free. Reports circulated that the free tickets distributed at Barnum's Hotel were being scalped for between two and five dollars. The delegates got down to business with a speech by Chairman Caleb Cushing reminding them that they were in Baltimore to decide the fate of the seats of delegates who had bolted in Charleston, finalize a platform and, choose a presidential nominee. At the outset tensions seemed to abate, per the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*:

> the prospect of a solution of the difficulties . . . appeared last evening to be a shade better. The prominent men of both sides were more inclined to talk calmly over the prospects of the party, and while the firmness of neither section appeared to be in the least shaken, there seemed to be a more lively appreciation of the madness of disunion on the question of candidates.[26]

As the credentials committee began sorting out the contested seats in the southern delegations, other pressing matters arose. Delegate Willard Salisbury Sr., of Delaware, addressed the chair on the matter of tickets, which had apparently been infected by counterfeits: "Some of my delegation are outside and cannot get into the hall," he complained. "They wish tickets; cannot get tickets, and do not know who issues tickets to this Convention. I would like the chair to indicate by what authority tickets are issued, and how delegates will gain admission to the floor of this Convention." The *Baltimore Sun* reported the humorous exchange when Salisbury was asked to speak up: "Mr. President, allow me to say to the gentleman from Delaware that he is now speaking from the stage of a theatre, and it is important that he should face those in the rear, and address them, and not the chair, if he desires to be heard." Salisbury responded, "I wish to say to the gentleman . . . that I am not a theatre man. I never attended a theatre ten times in my life." Came the reply: "Well, you are making your debut then, and we want to hear what you say!"[27]

Six hours of debate exhorted the delegates either to restore the seceders to their seats or reject their attempts to return and rally around the party's eventual nominee. Maryland delegate Bradley Johnson of Frederick objected to the behavior of the spectators: "As a delegate from Maryland I ask that representatives of this State may be cleared from the imputation cast upon them by the disorder in the gallery. Those joining in the disorder there are not the people of Baltimore. I ask of the Chair that the galleries may be cleared." Johnson was loudly shouted down. Three more hours of oratory entertained those on Monument Square that evening, as supporters of both Senator Douglas and William Yancey screamed at, and over, one another. The next day, as the delegates adjourned, they were greeted by heavy thunderstorms that

curtailed speeches and prompted brisk sales of pro- and anti-Douglas umbrellas.[28] But the political climate seemed more favorable to Douglas, with even hints of some southern support.

Convention business was conducted away from the theater floor. Baltimorean Reverdy Johnson, the former Maryland U.S. senator and attorney general who had diligently worked for Douglas in Charleston, hosted supporters in his home on Monument Square, whose balcony provided a platform for evening speeches throughout the week. At Gilmor House, just opposite the square, were the headquarters of the southern Democrats. Rival speakers, bands, and crowds thronged the square, which "packed fuel beneath the already boiling cauldron." On the evening of June 19, rockets were discharged from the windows of the Douglas men. The nighttime noise from the large crowds outside Douglas headquarters was exceeded only by that emanating from the southern headquarters across the square. Tempers rose with the heat of early summer, and fisticuffs erupted on the convention floor between two men from the rival Arkansas delegations. One slapped the other and drew a pistol from his pantaloons, "and a duel [was] only avoided after a series of notes were exchanged according to the custom of the times." Two Delaware delegates fought at five o'clock in the morning when one, a member of Congress, attacked the other in the hall of the Maltby House as he staggered sleepily to the washroom.[29]

This was the first political convention with telegraph wires in place for instant reporting, and rumors flew across the nation. One held that another southern walkout was imminent; another that Douglas was poised to withdraw.[30] Early on the fourth day, "a tremendous crash was heard in the centre of the building, occupied by the New York and Pennsylvania delegations. Delegates rushed in masses to the windows, and climbed, nimbly as monkeys, over the chairs of the reporters seeking, according to appearances, to place themselves under the protection of the president." A section of floor had collapsed, and though no one was injured and the damage was minor, the episode seemed ominous. A recess was called so the floor could be repaired, and despite the inevitable jokes about the party's weak platform, few gleaned much symbolism from its reconstruction.[31]

When the credentials committee presented its majority report, specifying which of the former and current delegations would be seated, events took a dark turn. The southerners were still demanding the federal protection for slavery denied them in Charleston, their credo in Baltimore being "rule or ruin," wrote Georgia congressman Alexander Stephens, soon to be vice president of the Confederacy. Their threat was not empty: If delegates from the upper South refused to join them, they would bolt and form a new party.[32]

The mood grew ugly. During an argument over tickets on the fourth day, delegate William Montgomery of Pennsylvania made a disparaging remark about his fellow delegate Josiah Randall, whose son then assaulted Montgomery, "inflicting several severe blows in the face, causing the blood to flow profusely." Montgomery knocked

young Randall down, after which spectators separated them. On Monument Square that night, bands drowned out opposing orators, and the *Sun* described how the "pro-Douglas Keystone Club band of Philadelphia came marching down the centre of the Square, through the mass of people, throwing rockets and bombs to open their way.... When nearly in front of the Gilmor House the cry of 'Put them back,' 'Take their instruments,' was raised, and in a moment a surging wave of humanity swept upon the band, knocking their instruments right and left, and blows were struck promiscuously. The police were in the midst of the melee, and struggled manfully to restore order and arrest the ringleaders of the disturbance, but the density of the crowd rendered their removal absolutely impossible."[33]

The next day, Friday, June 22, the Douglas majority report—lacking federal protection for slavery—passed by a wide margin. Delegate Charles Russell of Virginia announced his state's withdrawal from the convention. Ignoring pleas about the perils of another party split, the Virginians "rose in a body, and passing into the aisles, proceeded to leave the theatre, shaking hands and bidding personal friends good-by, as they retired," reported Murat Halstad. Next went most delegates from the upper South and a few proslavery men from the North.[34] Speeches predicting dire consequences were issued amid great disorder. One hundred and five men walked, more than a third of the total, including most of the delegates from the Deep South and North Carolina, California, Oregon, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, and a majority of the Massachusetts delegation, because, they said, so many others had withdrawn. Nine of the sixteen Maryland delegates joined them.

Ohio Governor David Tod was chosen to preside as chair over the remaining 198 delegates. He immediately recognized the call to vote before more delegates left, in "the din of an indescribable confusion. There were partial responses from some . . .which could hardly be heard, and the Convention seemed rapidly becoming a roaring mob." On the second ballot Douglas received 181.5 votes, with eighteen going to various others. At last the Little Giant had the prize, and the vote was then made unanimous. All decorum evaporated in the commotion that greeted his nomination. The convention recessed until the evening to choose the party's nominee for vice president, an honor awarded to a delegation from the South whose members had not walked out. Senator Benjamin Fitzpatrick from Alabama was chosen on the first ballot, though when he later declined, Georgia governor Herschel Johnson was selected.[35]

The bolting Maryland delegates had joined their anti-Douglas brethren at Market Hall on Baltimore Street, home of the Maryland Institute for Mechanical Arts, where the southern men were now calling themselves the National Democratic Convention. This venue accommodated 8,000 people, and its galleries were full when their convention opened at noon the next day. Marylanders E. F. Hardcastle and William P. Bowie were chosen as secretary and vice president, respectively. Tremendous applause greeted the arrival of convention chair Caleb Cushing. Wil-

liam Yancey "glowed with satisfaction," and "[Henry T.] Garnett, of Virginia, whose countenance is usually grave as Don Quixote's, seemed pleased as a schoolboy with new boots." One delegate thanked the Almighty for now being able to speak without being hissed and not having to listen to nauseating speeches.[36] Vice President John Breckinridge was quickly nominated for president, and Oregon's Senator Joseph Lane for vice president.[37] The original majority platform from Charleston, which included protection of slavery in the territories, was adopted. The affair, despite its theatrical antecedents, ended quietly after one day.

John Contee, a bolting Maryland delegate from Buena Vista, published an open letter on June 25, explaining that he had tried faithfully to honor his obligation as a delegate, and that Caleb Cushing's participation as chair had legitimized the southern meeting as the true National Democratic Convention. He urged his fellow citizens to support the Breckinridge and Lane ticket. The next day, the *Baltimore Sun* announced its support for Stephen Douglas as the legitimate nominee of the Democratic Party. A week later, Lt. Col. Robert Edward Lee, Acting Commander of the Department of Texas, United States Army, wrote to a friend: "The papers will give you news of the Baltimore convention. If Judge Douglas would now withdraw and join himself and party to aid in the election of Breckinridge, he might retrieve himself before the country and Lincoln be defeated. Politicians I fear are too selfish to become martyrs."[38]

After the South Carolina legislature had passed resolutions late in 1859 affirming their state's right to secede and suggesting that slave states meet to consider measures for "united action," Governor William Gist had sent the resolutions to Maryland governor Thomas Hicks, requesting he submit them to the Maryland legislature. Hicks had replied that he would "cheerfully comply" but suggested that Marylanders were not likely to join with South Carolina.[39] He then uttered one sentence that critics have used, unjustly, to tar him as disloyal: "We also respectfully, but earnestly, desire to assure our brethren of South Carolina, that should the hour ever arrive when the Union must be dissolved, Maryland will cast her lot with her sister states of the South"—a pledge the Maryland legislature would refuse to honor after the war broke out, and a statement inconsistent with Hicks's sustained and public support for the Union.[40]

DESPITE ITS YOUTH, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY was poised to capitalize on widespread fear and anxiety in the country, and in 1860 it was better organized and more unified than its rivals. Senator William Henry Seward seemed the front-runner for the nomination in the newly constructed Wigwam in Chicago, where the Republicans gathered on May 16 in the first convention site to have a press box for reporters. Abraham Lincoln's managers, however, believed that Seward's antislavery stance would cost him the key northern states and thus the election. Their strategy—to position Lincoln as the perfect antidote to the tension between the sections and the

widespread anger over the massive corruption in the Buchanan administration—worked beautifully, for Seward's support began to evaporate after the first ballot. Lincoln was nominated on the third—thanks to the skills of his managers, his standing as a former Whig from a vital industrial state, and because he had fewer enemies than his better-known rivals: Seward, Ohio governor Salmon P. Chase, and former congressman Edward Bates of Missouri—all of whom would serve in Lincoln's first cabinet. Murat Halstead described the cacophonous reaction in the Wigwam when Howard Judd nominated Lincoln: "The uproar was beyond description. Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together, a score of big steam whistles going, and you conceive something of the same nature."[41]

The pragmatic Lincoln articulated the rationale behind his nomination: "My name is new in the field; and I suppose I am not the *first* choice of a very great many," he wrote to Samuel Galloway in March. "Our policy, then, is to give no offense to others—leave them in a mood to come to us, if they shall be compelled to give up their first love." He was certainly not the first choice of an irate New England man, who complained that "you fellows at Chicago . . . knew that above everything else these times demanded a statesman, and you have gone and given us a *rail splitter*." Lincoln was further described in the *Charleston Mercury* as a "horrid-looking wretch . . .sooty and scoundrelly . . . a cross between the nutmeg dealer, the horse swapper, and the nightman." Even William Herndon, his law partner, volunteered that Lincoln's coarse black hair "lay floating where fingers or wind left it."[42]

The Republican convention in Chicago, though unable to compete with the fisticuffs of the Democrats, was not without its farcical elements. On the first day considerable discussion was devoted to an invitation from the Chicago Board of Trade for a delegates' boating excursion on Lake Michigan. Allegations of counterfeit tickets flew. Seward's handlers engaged a professional boxer to round up vocal supporters for him. The chair of the convention tried unsuccessfully to prevent Maryland's eleven delegates from voting, on grounds that the state had never had a Republican Party. More serious was the argument that erupted over the omission of the statement of equality ("that all men are created equal") from the 1856 party platform, though wise veterans of the antislavery wars, led by Ohio congressman Joshua Giddings, restored it.[43]

The Republican Party's "rail-splitter" image of Lincoln as a symbol of strength and American fortitude presented a sharp contrast with its portrait of southern aristocrats who grew rich off the backs of slaves. While adhering to the custom of the day by not campaigning publicly himself, Lincoln delved into campaign reports from journalists and party members in key states, wrote hundreds of letters to allies, and successfully refereed a fight between party leaders in Pennsylvania, a state essential to a Republican victory in November. He paid his respects to Senator Seward at the Springfield train station as Seward passed through en route to Chicago. State and county-wide meetings to "ratify" the ticket of Abraham Lincoln and

vice-presidential candidate Hannibal Hamlin of Maine became effective vehicles for recruiting eager supporters who organized parades, barbecues and clubs—the latter giving the Republicans a presence in new areas, especially in lower north and border states. The more ambitious clubs raised money for the party's local candidates as well as for themselves and exuded a quasi-military character, marching by torchlight in oilcloth caps and capes that glistened from the kerosene dripping from their torches. They became known as "Wide-Awakes," and they lent the Republican campaign an aura of intrigue. Democrats, scrambling to counter them, started clubs called "Chloroformers," whose goal was to put the "Wide-Awakes" to sleep, but their efforts gained little traction.[44]

The Republicans labored to position themselves as the party of reform, committed to honest government and a democratic capitalism wedded to free labor and economic growth. Under their leadership the growing nation would enjoy a vital infrastructure of new canals, navigable harbors, and railroads that would drive commerce. Farmers and working men—especially foreign-born—were promised easily available farmland, underscoring the Republican Party's interest in westward expansion. Perhaps most important, their antislavery vision—aimed particularly at Protestants who disliked slavery, including many newly arrived German immigrants—sprang from the words of the founding fathers and the egalitarian principles enumerated in the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln himself was portrayed as a conservative, a pious Christian, and the perfect candidate for Unionist voters—especially in the lower north—who disliked slavery but also strident abolitionism.

Republican campaigners worked especially hard to secure the four key states the party had lost in 1856—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. State and local Republican operatives took full advantage of their party's hundreds of newspapers; in Ohio alone the party had more than 120 of them. One historian estimated that Republicans made approximately 50,000 speeches during the campaign. In keeping with tradition, candidate biographies were quickly published and widely distributed, including eighteen of Lincoln. The Republicans clearly recognized the opportunity handed them by the Democratic Party's disarray. Political kingmaker Thurlow Weed of New York wrote Lincoln in June that "the madness which precedes destruction has come at last upon our opponents."[45]

Breckinridge's southern Democrats and Bell's Constitutional Unionists ran uninspiring campaigns. Neither challenged the Republican characterization of Lincoln as a pious Protestant, nor did they illuminate for voters the party's anti-Catholic sentiments, manifested by antipathy toward immigrants and the Roman Catholic Church.[46] The Breckinridge men devoted considerable resources to attacking Douglas, though the two joined forces to spread the scurrilous rumor that Lincoln's running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, had black ancestry. For their part, Republicans lampooned the Constitutional Unionists as "Bell Ringers" and "Do Nothings." Several key Bell allies in the South found themselves drawn into the turbulent waters of slavery and,

rather than hewing to the party line of neutrality on the issue, endorsed constitutional protection for it, thereby driving some northern supporters to switch to Lincoln.

Douglas's mercurial temperament generated much intrigue in his campaign. His brilliant political mind, fueled by copious amounts of alcohol, drove a self-portrayal as the only candidate whose election could prevent a southern secession. Douglas reverted to a tactic used against Lincoln in their 1858 U.S. Senate race, accusing the Republicans of seeking not only freedom but equality for blacks—a potentially damning accusation at a time when even many abolitionists did not accept racial equality. His campaign tried to portray Lincoln as a coarse man—a Douglas paper in Springfield, Illinois, noted that "his qualifications for side-splitting are quite as good as for rail-splitting . . . but neither vocation is supposed to be carried out extensively in the white house." In July, when Douglas broke with the tradition of the times to campaign publicly (becoming the first presidential candidate to do so nationally), he attempted to disguise the purpose of his speaking tour as wishing to visit his mother and the grave of his father, and to attend the Harvard graduation of his brother-in-law. The Republican response mocked Douglas's short stature by posting handbills seeking "A Boy Lost": "The lost boy is about 5 feet nothing in height and answers the same in diameter the other way."[47]

Douglas recognized that the impressive Republican triumphs in battleground state elections in pivotal states such as Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana in October meant that a Lincoln victory in November was likely. Douglas conceded the race, donned a statesman's mantle and announced that he would stump through the South to sound the alarm of an impending *coup d'état* by the southern states. "Mr. Lincoln is the next President," he said. "We must try to save the Union. I will go South." And so he did, attacking secession with his deft and inimitable elegance, before large crowds in North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, where he endured a hail of boos, eggs, and tomatoes. In the spring of 1861, just weeks before he died, Douglas would confess that he "had leaned too far to the Southern section of the Union," in his efforts at appeasement.[48]

Douglas's warnings of secession in the wake of a Lincoln victory, and his race-baiting of the Republicans, forced the latter party to establish a clear political identity for their candidate. Lincoln's history as a Whig and acolyte of U.S. Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky (whose long advocacy of internal improvements that would drive economic growth resonated especially well in the northern industrial states), and the Republican portrayal of the Democrats as corrupt were powerful campaign issues. But calibrating Lincoln's message on the explosive slavery issue required great care and nuance. Lincoln's conviction that he would neither interfere with slavery where it existed, nor allow it to expand, was well known; his task was to convince voters that he did not advocate black equality without alienating the party's vocal anti-slavery constituency. The solution was not attacking slavery as an institution but slaveholders themselves, portraying them as entitled aristocrats who sipped mint juleps on their

verandas while clinging to feudal agrarian ideals and professing disdain for industrial growth. This strategy took on the character of a class war, the message targeted at the "pro-slavery Democracy" and aimed at multiple Republican constituencies.

The Republican coalition of old-line Whigs, Protestants, nativists, and immigrants carried Abraham Lincoln to a resounding victory in November of 1860. He won the electoral vote decisively, taking every free state but New Jersey, where he still won some electoral votes—an impressive feat considering that voters in many southern states had no Republican/Lincoln ballots with which to vote (parties at that time printed and distributed their own ballots). He won every county in New England; with 152 electoral votes needed to win, he racked up a total of 180. Although Lincoln won only 39.8 percent of the popular vote nationally—still a record for the winner of a U.S. presidential election—he won 54 percent of votes cast in the north. Douglas placed second in the overall popular vote but won only New Jersey and Missouri, for a total of twelve electoral votes, finishing dead last by that all-important measure. Breckinridge finished third in the popular vote and second in the electoral vote, with 72.

The election reinforced the sectional polarization of the nation over slavery—58 percent of the national popular vote went for either Lincoln or John Breckinridge, who to many voters represented the two extremes on the issue. John Bell's Constitutional Union party failed to resonate with northern voters; in only three northern states did he garner more than 3 percent of the popular vote. Bell did carry the border states of Virginia, Kentucky, and his home state of Tennessee, and he ran a strong second in Maryland, where he won 39 electoral votes. But the election of 1860 meant far more than the end of the Constitutional Unionists; it set in motion the final cataclysmic series of events that would bring down slavery in the United States. The South had suffered through a terrible drought that summer, a harbinger of the horrors that secession and four years of civil war would inflict on its people, now that a divided nation had essentially decided the slavery issue in favor of the North.

The Republicans, knowing that Maryland would not be low-hanging fruit, quickly put in place damage-control measures. They tried unsuccessfully to mobilize German support and to prevent their opponents from forming tickets in the state. Maryland leaders such as Montgomery Blair—he of the distinguished Blair family and its estate, Silver Spring—attempted to reassure Marylanders that Republicans, true to Lincoln's promise, would not ban slavery in the state—choosing instead to stress topics sure to resonate with the business community, such as Baltimore's growing strength as a commercial center. But little came of the Lincoln campaign's efforts in Maryland. Parading Wide-Awakes were showered with eggs and bricks and endured the residue of burning cayenne sticks, that nineteenth-century version of tear gas. In late October, a parade of several hundred Baltimore Republicans led to a near riot, with the marchers pelted with eggs, stones, and garbage: "Wonderful to relate there was no one killed and no one badly beaten," reported one city newspaper.[49]

The Douglas Democrats could not shake the yoke of their nominee's popular sovereignty doctrine, and they were undermined by the better organized Breckinridge men, who got their men onto local political committees. Despite speeches in September by Douglas himself in Frederick—where he was feted by "roar of cannon"—and in Baltimore, his campaign's failure to forge an alliance with the Constitutional Unionists had doomed any chance of a strong Douglas showing in Maryland. The Constitutional Unionist message of fealty to Union and Constitution, all else be damned, resonated well in Maryland—despite its trite campaign slogan, "Our Bell rings to the sound of Union. Try it."[50]

Breckinridge pulled in more than 39,500 Maryland votes (45.7 percent), which gave him all eight of Maryland's electoral votes. Bell ran a close second with 38,750 votes (45.2 percent), while Douglas finished a distant third with 5,700 votes (6.5 percent). Lincoln, who finished fourth in Maryland, won 2,249 votes (2.5 percent) and in seven counties received no votes whatsoever. His election was poorly received in counties in southern Maryland and on the eastern shore, where slaves still worked plantation soil depleted of nutrients from two centuries of relentless tobacco cultivation. Men in the Charles County town of Beantown passed a resolution requesting that anyone who had voted for Lincoln leave the county by January 1. The *Baltimore Sun's* post-election editorial spoke volumes: "As we cannot offer to the readers of *The Sun* one word of congratulation on so inauspicious a result, we are disposed to do no more than announce the fact this morning." Even loyal Unionists were on edge in the spring following Lincoln's inauguration. In March 1861, Hester A. Davis, the wife of Montgomery County planter Allen Bowie Davis, wrote to her daughter, Rebecca: "To my mind we are living in the World's Saturday night, that you and perhaps I will witness most extraordinary and unlooked for changes in the aspect of things, perhaps the entire abolition of slavery . . . many in our state helpless, unarmed, and entirely surrounded by troops, at the risk of having Baltimore sacked and burned . . . I fear this secession element. It would be certain to ruin all *our hopes as a family* in this world."[51]

The results of the 1860 election in Maryland were striking nonetheless: A sound majority—54.2 percent—of Maryland ballots were cast for one of three Unionist candidates; Breckinridge's plurality of just under 46 percent endorsed neither disunion nor secession. Many Marylanders saw no contradiction in the simultaneous embrace of Unionism and slavery, and as would be the case throughout most of the Civil War years, many planters remained loyal as long as the constitution of their state sanctioned ownership of slaves and, in tandem with the federal Fugitive Slave Law, thereby offered protection for their business and property interests. The outcome of the election in Maryland, the antipathy of the state's voters for Abraham Lincoln notwithstanding, contradicts the traditional narrative of Maryland as a Confederate state-in-waiting. Marylanders remained faithful to the idea of Union, for more than half their ballots were cast for the three men who believed as they did.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Sun*, April 21, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 19, 1860. The latter spelled the band's name "Gilmor."
2. Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1948), 291; William B. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln: Murat Halstead Reports the Caucuses of 1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960), 40–41.
3. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 18. Charleston hotels and rooming houses were looking forward to a lucrative week. The price for a parlor and bedroom suite in a top hotel was approximately $75 per day, and a state delegation paid $100 per day to stay at St. Andrews Hall. Meals were extra: breakfast was $1.00, supper and dinner, $1.50 each (see *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860).
4. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 allowed residents of those territories to choose whether they would be free or slave. It became a rallying cry for the doctrine of popular sovereignty, whose chief proponent was Douglas. The act overrode the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had prohibited slavery in either territory.
5. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War 1859–1861* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 207; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860; Nichols, *Disruption*, 295; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 23.
6. *Baltimore Sun*, April 26, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 33–34, 37, 39; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 26, 1860. William D. Bowie was chosen vice president and Levin Wolford secretary of the Maryland delegation. The death of John S. Robinson, the Vermont delegate, is reported in *Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, convened at Charleston, S.C., April 23, 1860* (Washington: Thomas McGill, Printer, 1860), 14. Seats were contested in Massachusetts, Maryland, Illinois, and New York—see *Proceedings*, 12.
7. Nichols, *Disruption*, 302; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 67.
8. *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 1, 1860. Halstead reported the incident slightly differently, stating that when Gittings rose to renew the motion (to vote for a nominee), the Alabama delegate, whom Halstead called "Cooper," said, "I don't second *the motion of that man down yonder*" (italics added)—see Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 69–70. William S. Gittings was a delegate from Baltimore City. The *Baltimore Sun* on June 22, 1860, referred to Thomas B. Cooper as a delegate from Alabama, and its issue of June 23 referred to both Hooper and Cooper. The *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* gave the name as "Hooper" on May 1. The Douglas men were staying at the Mills House, and southern men at the Charleston Hotel. The reporter brawling at the Mills House was Langmore of the *St. Louis Republican*.
9. Maryland's delegates voted 3.5 yeas and 4.5 nays on the Douglas platform. Spittoons in Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 69.
10. James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 215. The delegations from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, and Texas left—see *Proceedings*, 35–46, for their withdrawal announcements. Halstead reports that they left the floor and took seats as spectators.
11. Bruce Catton, *The Coming Fury* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961), 36; William Lee Miller, *Arguing About Slavery: The Great Battle in the United States Congress* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 481. Miller explains that the two-thirds rule had been used in the

conventions of 1832 and 1836, but not the 1840 convention, and that its reinstatement at the 1844 convention—led by southern delegates—gave the South a regional veto over party decisions. Caleb Cushing was a brilliant orator and former Massachusetts congressman who had entered Harvard at age 13 and whose early abolitionist ardor had cooled by 1860.
12. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* May 3, 1860; *Baltimore Sun,* May 3, 1860.
13. *Baltimore Sun,* May 9, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln,* 121, 123.
14. Less than a year later Crittenden would author the great compromise named for him, one of several attempts early in 1861 to entice the seceded states back and keep the upper-South and border states from joining the Confederacy. The Crittenden Compromise was a series of constitutional amendments to protect slavery. It was opposed by Lincoln (yet to be inaugurated) and defeated on the Senate floor, 25–23, on January 16, 1861. All 25 votes were cast by Republicans. In another of the Civil War's many ironies, two of Crittenden's sons became generals—one on each side.
15. Donald W. Curl, "The Baltimore Convention of the Constitutional Union Party," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 67 (1972): 254; Joseph H. Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 349; *New York Herald,* May 9, 1860, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee,* 352.
16. *New York Herald,* May 9, 1860, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee,* 352.
17. *Baltimore Sun,* May 10, 1860.
18. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln,* 123, 127 (italics Halstead's). In his reporting, Halstead used several slang expressions of the time: "spreads" were important people, and "Plugs" referred to the rowdy gangs of the period. Other terms included "swells" for men dressed too well and "screws" for misers. See Hesseltine, 307.
19. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln,* 131–4 (balloting). Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee,* 353, gives the results of the second ballot as 138 for Bell and 69 for Houston.
20. Four Maryland delegates attended, and three were given key posts: Dennis Claude became vice president; S. C. Long, secretary; and U.S. Senator Anthony Kennedy was chosen a member of the party's Executive Union Committee. Kennedy was the brother of John P. Kennedy, a lawyer, novelist, member of the Maryland House of Delegates, and who from 1838 to 1846 was a Whig member of Congress from Maryland. J. P. Kennedy served as Millard Fillmore's secretary of the navy in 1852 and 1853 and became an ardent unionist after the Civil War began. See Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln,* 124, 138.
21. Bernard C. Steiner: *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1916), 162, 163, 169, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee,* 373. Davis, a Know-Nothing Congressman from Baltimore from 1858 to 1865 (not continuously) and one of the outstanding orators of his generation, was a strong unionist who opposed secession on both constitutional and economic grounds.
22. Brantz Mayer quoted in William J. Evitts: *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 146.
23. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* June 18, 1860. (Italics theirs.)
24. *Baltimore Sun,* June 18, 1860.
25. Betty D. Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860: Prelude to Secession," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 67 (1972): 243. Some accounts state erroneously that the southern seceders nominated a candidate at their Richmond meeting. They did not.
26. *Baltimore Sun,* June 18, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* June 18, 1860.

27. Nichols, *Disruption*, 313; *Baltimore Sun*, June 19, 1860 (italics theirs). Halstead spelled the name "Saulsbury," as did the *Sun* in its June 23 edition and the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* in its June 19 edition.
28. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 198, 207; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 19, 1860. Johnson later fought for the Confederacy and helped lead a cavalry raid in 1864 that terrorized Baltimore City.
29. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860, and June 20, 1860; Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 247; *Baltimore Sun*, June 21, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 21, 1860.
30. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860. By telegram and letter, Douglas authorized his forces to withdraw his name for the sake of party unity; they refused. Not until after his nomination was his offer to withdraw revealed to the convention. The full text of Douglas' letter appears in the *Sun* of June 25, 1860.
31. *Baltimore Sun*, June 22, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 211.
32. Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 249. Stephens quoted in George Fort Milton: *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), 468.
33. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 220–21; *Baltimore Sun*, June 22, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 22, 1860.
34. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 234 (the reports of the Credentials Committee are given verbatim on pages 211–19); McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 216.
35. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 244–45, 251, 255. Maryland awarded Douglas two and a half votes.
36. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 267–68; *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860. Institute Hall was also called Market Hall at that time. William C. Wright, *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1973), 24, writes that nine of sixteen Maryland delegates bolted; I have been unable to verify that claim elsewhere.
37. Breckinridge received 81 votes, to 20 for former senator and Buchanan ally Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, though after the first ballot the Dickinson votes switched to Breckinridge to make his nomination unanimous. Maryland cast 1.5 votes for Breckinridge and three for Dickinson. *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860. Many sources erroneously state that Breckinridge was nominated in Richmond, where the seceders first met, without acting, following Charleston.
38. *Baltimore Sun*, June 25 and June 26, 1860; Robert E. Lee to Major Earl Van Dorn, July 3, 1860, Lee Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 68.
39. William H. Gist to Thomas H. Hicks, December 30, 1859; "Resolutions in Relation to Federal Affairs," December 16, 1859, and Thomas H. Hicks to William H. Gist, January 26, 1860, all in *Maryland House and Senate Documents, 1859, Document F*. Hicks' original letter to Gist is in MS 1860, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society Library.
40. "We also respectfully" in both "Report of the Committee on Ways and Means" and "Report of the Select Committee on the Resolutions of the Legislature of South Carolina" (in Maryland General Assembly Documents, House Document KK and Senate Document CC, both dated March 8, 1860).
41. Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, 165 (hogs); Douglas R. Edgerton, *Year of Meteors: Stephen Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, and the Election that Brought on the Civil War* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010), 129–30 (press box).
42. Abraham Lincoln to Samuel Galloway, March 24, 1860, in Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:34; Edgerton,

Year of Meteors, 125 (hair); William E. Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1937), 313, in Richard Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 111 (rail-splitter); *New York Tribune*, June 11, 1860 (nutmeg dealer . . . nightman).

43. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 145; Horace Greeley, *Proceedings of the First Three Republican National Conventions of 1856, 1860, 1864* (C.W. Johnson, 1893), 91; Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 140 (counterfeit tickets and boxer) and 133 (Maryland delegates).

44. Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1944), 174, in Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power*, 116.

45. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 223 (speeches); Thurlow Weed to Abraham Lincoln, June 25, 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, in Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 174.

46. See Carwardine, *A Life of Purpose and Power*, 124–25, for an incisive analysis.

47. Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power*, 126–127 (side-splitting); Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 199–200 (speaking tour, "A Boy Lost").

48. David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 441, in Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 203 (Lincoln next president), 205 (tomatoes) and 2 ("leaned too far").

49. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1860, and *Baltimore Wecker*, November 1, 1860, in Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 36 (cayenne sticks).

50. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 15, 1860, quoted in Baker, *The Politics of Continuity*, 41.

51. *Baltimore Sun*, November 7 and December 3 (Beantown meeting), 1860; Hester Anne (Wilkins) Davis to Rebecca Davis, May 24, 1861, A. B. Davis Papers, MS 1511, Maryland Historical Society Library. More remarkable was a peaceful Baltimore election after years of election-day violence, this one marred only by the accidental wounding (as recounted in the *Baltimore Sun*) of a policeman by another member of the force who had unholstered his revolver after being struck by a spittoon hurled from Bell headquarters.