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"The Whirlwind Now Gathering": Baltimore's Pratt Street Riot and the End of Maryland Secession

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On April 19, 1861, troops from Massachusetts marching from Baltimore's President Street railroad station to the Camden station, en route to Washington, D.C., clashed with an angry mob that had assembled along the city's streets. This episode, known variously as the "Pratt Street Riot" or "Baltimore's Civil War Riot," left sixteen dead and scores wounded along the mile route between the stations, forever marking Baltimore as the site of the Civil War's first fatalities. Many Baltimoreans believed these and other soldiers passing through their city to be the vanguard of a northern assault on the southern states that had seceded from the Union, and for three days following the riot, smoldering anger against the federal government threatened to propel Maryland into the Confederacy. That the mission of these soldiers was to protect the nation's capital from what President Abraham Lincoln feared was an imminent attack by rebels massed across the Potomac River was lost in the volcanic emotions that flowed from the deaths of Baltimoreans at the hands of Bay State militiamen.[1]

The Massachusetts troops were responding to Lincoln's call of April 15 for 75,000 men from the northern states, following the U.S. surrender of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor three days earlier. By the early hours of April 20, Maryland leaders were devising a plan to keep troops moving toward Washington without re-igniting the Baltimore tinderbox—a difficult proposition given that all rail lines from the north passed through the city. Maryland Governor Thomas H. Hicks and Baltimore Mayor George W. Brown, sometimes unjustly portrayed as southern sympathizers, behaved during this crisis as responsible public officials determined to prevent a recurrence of bloodshed. Their success, combined with a pro-Union stance taken months before by a large majority of Baltimore businessmen and a state legislature out of session, slammed the door on Maryland's most opportune moment to leave the union.[2]

Secession badges and Confederate flags, printed on satin or pasteboard, suddenly were everywhere in Baltimore. Late on April 20, young men took a swivel gun to Federal Hill to fire fifteen shots saluting Virginia's decision to secede earlier

Charles W. Mitchell is writing a book on the effects of the Civil War on Maryland civilians.

that week, though after the second shot a group of workmen "drove them off, and capturing the swivel, tumbled it down the hill into the river." The Southern Volunteers raised a Confederate flag and fired a one-hundred-gun salute. The Unionist Minute Men quietly dropped the U.S. flag at their Baltimore Street headquarters and raised the Maryland flag in its place. The following day, writing to his brother, Jabez David Pratt expressed the resolve of his fellow Baltimoreans to keep troops out of the city:

> We, both Lucy and myself, are not disposed to run—much less into the arms of infernal abolitionism. We know there is danger. We have expected for thirty-six hours war to the knife. Possibly all may be slaughtered; but by the God in heaven, we are determined to die in the work, and not a man or woman I have seen or heard of but are so determined. Let any more Northern troops attempt passage of this city and not one will live to tell the story. . . . Thirty-six hours ago a majority of our people were for peaceable separation, and I may say for peace at all hazards, but now the man does not exist in these parts who is not for the defense of our city against the inroads or passage of troops from the North. We are not to be subjugated by Lincoln and his hordes.[3]

Mayor Brown dispatched three emissaries—Hugh Lennox Bond, judge of the Baltimore Criminal Court; Judge George W. Dobbin; and John C. Brune, president of the city Board of Trade and member of the House of Delegates—to the White House to discuss how best to keep Washington-bound troops as far from Baltimore as possible. Railroad officials in Philadelphia, ready to move more troops through Maryland, sought guidance from Secretary of War Simon Cameron: "We are informed here that the troops sent last night have been stopped at Baltimore, and that it is impracticable to send more through that city. Shall we send them by steamer to Annapolis?" Their eyes likely widened at the reply from the War Department. "Governor Hicks has neither right nor authority to stop troops coming to Washington. Send them on prepared to fight their way through, if necessary."[4]

The determination to keep troops out of Maryland was widespread. "Civil War is in our midst," declared the *Baltimore County American*. "A riot has occurred between soldiers from the North and the citizens of Baltimore, and unarmed men have fallen beneath the musket shots of soldiers from another State. We have stood long by the UNION FLAG . . . (but) Northern troops shall not pass unharmed through the State of Maryland for the purpose of subjugating the South," wrote one editor, mischaracterizing the reason for the troops' passage. "It is no longer a time to discuss, but to act," opined the *Baltimore Sun*. "We have through our constituted authorities declared that the Northern troops shall not be passed through our City, and that declaration must now be supported with determina-

Baltimore's mayor, George William Brown, standing second from the left, with fellow lawyers c.1859. During the crisis, Brown sent Judge George W. Dobbin, seated center, to Washington to negotiate alternative troop movement routes that would keep the Federal army out of the city. (Maryland Historical Society.)

tion, energy and unanimity. There must be preparation, organization and good counsel. . . . We must keep the war away from our homes."

Men everywhere were ready to fight. The *Sun* reported that "at five minutes before eleven o'clock the bell of the town clock sounded the call to arms, and instantly the people ran in every direction. Boys of fourteen years to hoary headed men of seventy to eighty years appeared on the streets on the way to join their respective companies." Daniel Thomas wrote to his sister that his Maryland Guards "have been under arms all day hot for a fight and most impatiently waiting orders to march. So far however there has been no fight." Southern rights and states' rights men convened. Baltimore County attorney Frederick W. Brune, brother of John C. Brune, saw things as Lincoln did: "if the Fed. Govt. only desires to protect and perfectly secure Washington and will do nothing to excite our people," he wrote to his wife in Boston, "there will be no collision between Maryland & the Government in Washington." Brune later elaborated on this sentiment, noting that "if the Prest. would proclaim that he did not desire *war* with the South & call

INCIDENTS.

Secession badges and flags of the Southern Confederacy have grown with the last 48 hours into universal demand, and their sale brings money to the pockets of scores of boys who cry them vociferously through the streets from morning till night and away into the night. The flags and badges are printed on satin or pasteboard. A great number of Confederate flags have been flung out.

On Saturday evening a crowd collected in front of the Museum as the band were about commencing their outside performance and demanded that "Dixie" and the Marseilles Hymn should be played by the band. The band acquiesced, and from that time the throng would listen to nothing else. Dixie has become the national air of the South already.

During Saturday afternoon and night all the public bars in the centre of the city were closed at the request of the Mayor. Consequently there were fewer intoxicated men in the streets than there would have been had it been otherwise.

Several artists were busily engaged on Saturday and yesterday, sketching the most prominent points along Pratt street, the scene of the terrific street battle on Friday.

Baltimore Sun, *April 22, 1861.*

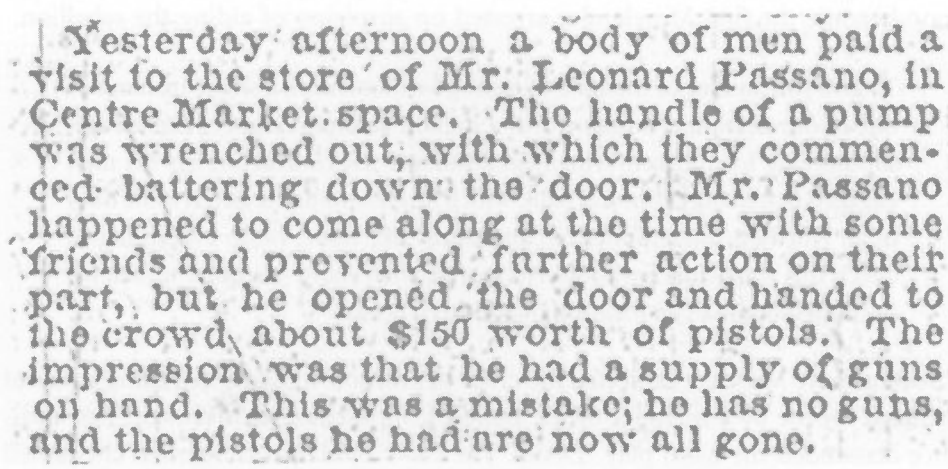
on the state of Md. to defend the capital until amicable adjustment could be had, I venture 50,000 men would march from Maryland alone to defend Washington."[5]

Emboldened by the chaos of April 19, Confederate sympathizers, secessionists, and those just looking for trouble took to the streets for three days of lawlessness. On April 20 they began looting local shops, searching for weapons. "There was a great rush on Saturday and yesterday for arms, muskets, pistols, Bowie knives, pitchforks, clubs and every other instrument of attack or defense," reported the *Baltimore Sun*. The establishment of J. C. J. Meyer at 14 West Pratt Street, "was broken into by an excited, unarmed crowd, who armed themselves, assuring the

proprietor that his guns would be returned to him, or full compensation made. Mr. Meyer, with tears in his eyes, said he was a poor man, but a Southerner." A crowd broke into the store of Pattison & Woolford, on Dugan's Wharf, and seized thousands of muskets, swords, belts, knapsacks, and cartridge boxes. On Sunday a mob demanded weapons from Merrill, Thomas & Co., where a committee oversaw the distribution of 250 arms. Men set upon F. P. Loney and Duer, Norris & Co., both on Hanover Street, and King & Hoffman's, on Baltimore Street, where a dozen muskets were hurled from an upper-story window. Another crowd barged into Edward Urlaub's establishment on German Street but found no arms. Newspapers reported that "the establishment of Mr. Leonard W. Passano importer and dealer in fancy goods and cutlery, No. 52 Marsh Market Space, was invaded by a mob who broke open the door with the handle of a pump and sacked the place of every weapon it possessed." The hapless Passano, arriving in the midst of the fracas, lost $150 worth of pistols. Cannon balls were stolen from Mohler & Graff's Wharf, near the lower end of Ann Street. "Patent rifles, fowling pieces and revolvers" were taken from the Poultney & Trimble gun warehouse. Cannon balls destined for the beleaguered federal force at Fort McHenry were taken from the foundry of Auton Weiskettel, on Alice Anna Street. The gun shops of J. N. McComas on Pratt Street and A. Jung on Gay Street were broken into, as was another on South Calvert Street. Joseph Boring & Sons pleaded for the police to protect their warehouse containing "some five hundred pieces, firearms, sundry hunting knives, powder flasks, percussion caps, and similar wares." Rifles were seized from the armory at St. Timothy's Hall in Catonsville.[6]

Those believed to harbor Union sentiments became particular targets. The German armory in Turner Hall was looted, thanks to rumors that the German "Turner Rifles" were volunteering men and arms for the Union cause: "The store-

Baltimore Sun, *April 22, 1861.*



Yesterday afternoon a body of men paid a visit to the store of Mr. Leonard Passano, in Centre Market space. The handle of a pump was wrenched out, with which they commenced battering down the door. Mr. Passano happened to come along at the time with some friends and prevented further action on their part, but he opened the door and handed to the crowd about $150 worth of pistols. The impression was that he had a supply of guns on hand. This was a mistake; he has no guns, and the pistols he had are now all gone.

room and cooking-room were sacked, and the dishes and furniture broken to pieces. The bar-room was also visited, the bottles smashed and the pictures thrown out of the windows." On Saturday night the office of the *Wecker*, an anti-slavery German paper, was attacked. William P. Wright's china shop at 41 North Eutaw was looted, ostensibly because of the "proprietor's political sentiments." Leopold Blumenberg, a German-born manufacturer who "answered Lincoln's call for volunteers by retiring from business and starting to recruit a Maryland regiment, was mobbed by Southern sympathizers, and saved from hanging only by the presence of a strong police guard at his house." Police were accused of arresting only unionists in the aftermath of the riot. The offices of *Sinai*, the abolitionist monthly that had called slavery "the cancer of the Union," were attacked on April 20, prompting its editor, Rabbi David Einhorn of the Har Sinai congregation, to flee Baltimore, never to return. The "ransacked china store of North Eutaw Street, the incinerated home of three workingmen on the corner of Sharp and German streets, and the 'threatened' attack on Mechanics Hall were all politically motivated, with the (potential) victims sharing a dedication to the Union," read an account of this partisan violence. "The general sentiment among those of us who have heretofore stood up for the Union, is that it is of no use to struggle for it any longer," wrote one Baltimorean in a tone of resignation.[7]

George N. Moale described the mood in Baltimore to his uncle, wishing "to convey to you a faint idea of the dreadful state of affairs in our midst."

> Public sentiment has taken a complete turn within the last few days, and every man in the community is determined not to allow troops to pass through our city or through the state if possible, to carry out the diabolical plan of this abomination. Men of all classes & ages were under arms yesterday, prepared to risk everything in defense of our city.

Moale mentioned Ross Winans, a wealthy inventor and state legislator who would soon become the first Marylander arrested on suspicion of aiding the rebellion.

> To give you an idea of the state of feeling I will mention a single instance of one of our first men, a man worth a million & almost eighty years of age, shouldering his musket. Winans, the Russian RR contractor, has his men engaged in making cannon & balls, which he *presents* to the city. It is the duty of all Northern men, under circumstances like these, to do everything to check this fratricidal invasion. No matter what name it's done under, it's nothing more than an invasion of Southern homes.

The Baltimore Museum exploited the crisis to promote a march including a pair of cymbals "borne by a member of the Band of Massachusetts Invaders." The audience demanded the band play "Dixie." The city's Episcopal clergymen christened

conditions sufficiently grave to warrant religious services every afternoon of the coming week.[8]

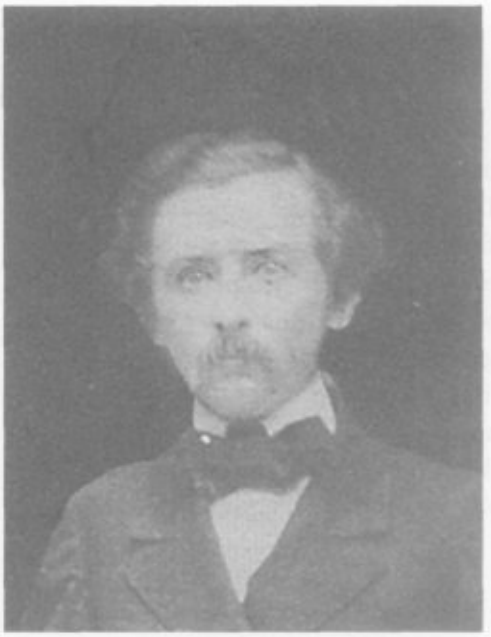
"The Old Seceders Are Cheering"

"Yesterday was one of the most turbulent Sundays ever experienced in Baltimore," wrote a newspaper of April 21. "It was a bright and beautiful day, and the war excitement drew to our thoroughfares an immense concourse of people." Another claimed that "such a Sabbath as yesterday, perhaps, never dawned upon Baltimore. The weather was fine and the sky clear . . . the ladies became accustomed to the sight of a volunteer rushing along with his musket, and the sight of a firearm caused no more remark than had it been an umbrella. . . . squads of volunteers, armed with muskets and weapons of every description, started out the Hookstown and York roads on horseback and in vehicles, for the purpose of waging a guerilla warfare on the troops." With rumors of Pennsylvania volunteers massed twelve miles to the north,

> the scene of excitement on Baltimore Street was one of extraordinary intensity . . . the news was received that New York and Pennsylvania troops were at Cockeysville, marching steadily towards the city. The number was originally stated at 2,000, but it rose rapidly in the mouth of rumor to five, eight, ten thousand. Instantly the street was in an uproar; the cry to arms rang out; men singly and in groups, with arms of every variety, from patent rifles to fowling pieces, passed hurriedly around to different rendezvous. . . . The unarmed clamored for weapons and rushed to the gun shops on Baltimore Street, which were quickly broken open, and what arms they contained passed out indiscriminately to any who were alert enough to get within reach of the supply. The bells of the church on Second Street rang out a startling alarm, communicating the excitement in every part of the city. . . . a general attack upon the city, a bombardment from Fort McHenry, with all the addenda of horrors that the fertile imagination could depict, presented themselves. Services were interrupted, ladies shrieked and fainted, congregations dismissed themselves, and terrified women hurried to their homes.

Troops at Pikesville were said to be marching toward the city along Reisterstown Road.[9]

"Anxiety, alarm, and rage have taken possession of the town," recorded novelist and former Maryland congressman John Pendleton Kennedy. Mayor Brown described April 20 as a day of "excitement and alarm. . . . The silence became unbearable. Were more troops to be forced through the city at any cost? If so, how were they to come, by land or water? Were the guns of Fort McHenry to be turned upon the inhabitants? . . . Union men and disunion men appeared on the streets



Maryland congressman Henry Winter Davis (1817–1865) wrote to Samuel F. Dupont about the post-riot chaos in Baltimore. (Maryland Historical Society.)

with arms in their hands. A time like that predicted in Scripture seemed to have come, when he who had no sword would sell his garment to buy one." William J. Steuart wrote to his father, Colonel George H. Steuart, that "I fear for the worst & bold dash on the part of Davis in the direction of Washington which will bring the war terribly near us." Congressman Henry Winter Davis reported that "on Sunday 21st Baltimore was veritably *crazy*." Railroad officials were on edge. "I think they [B&O officials] were afraid the Baltimore mob would burn them [the cars] and on Sunday only one train passed down and that was loaded with stock," a man wrote to his family. "On Monday nothing went either way. It began to be very lonesome for three or four days after the riot in Baltimore. The passenger trains were crowded with people going north from Baltimore to get out of the way of battle. They went by Frederick and Hagerstown to Chambersburg and then Harrisburg to Philadelphia, New York and Boston." Christopher Columbus Shriver of Carroll County was able to enjoy a respite at six o'clock on Sunday morning, when he wrote to his cousin: "thanks be to the Good Man, we all safe again this morning. The town now seems as quiet as ever, at least up here in Franklin St."[10]

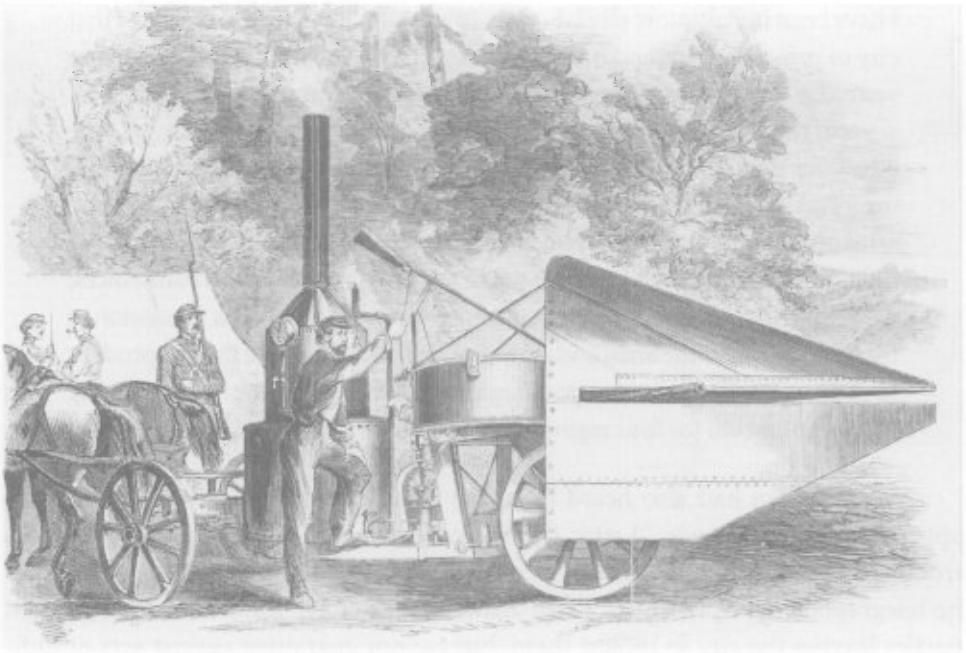
Maryland would never edge closer to the precipice of secession than during those few hours late in April 1861. "For some days it looked very much as if Baltimore had taken her stand decisively with the South; at all events, the outward expressions of Southern feeling were very emphatic, and the Union sentiment temporarily disappeared," recalled Mayor Brown. Henry M. Warfield, president of

the Corn and Flour Exchange, reported upon his return from Richmond that Virginians were "overjoyed at Baltimore's actions." A Virginian wrote to a Baltimore firm expressing his hope that "the greatest fear in your city is over with and I hope we will have enough Southern troops to protect your State from Lincoln's rule." Lawyer William Wilkins Glenn, owner of pro-southern *Baltimore Daily Exchange,* wrote that "Hundreds, I may say, of men who twelve months [ago] were most extreme Union men were now all Southern." One paper described heightened southern feeling: "The hitherto Union men are now crying out for immediate secession. Many are proposing to volunteer for the South. Cheers are given for Gov. Hicks for sending dispatches to President Lincoln to notify him that no more northern troops will be allowed to pass through the State. . . . The old seceders are cheering."[11]

Baltimore appealed for aid. "Streets red with Maryland blood; send expresses over the mountains of Maryland and Virginia for the riflemen to come without delay," read a telegram from Marshal Kane of the Baltimore police to newspaper editor Bradley T. Johnson in Frederick. "Fresh hordes will be down on us tomorrow. We will fight them and whip them, or die." Johnson, destined himself to terrorize Baltimore in 1864 as a Rebel cavalry leader, responded with five iron cannon and seventy "sturdy, active men." From Towsontown, in Baltimore County, came "a splendid and finely equipped horse company." The Forest Rangers of Pikesville arrived, their commander, Captain W. C. Nicholas, "himself a fine specimen of the ideal American Forest Ranger. Lithe, hardy and active in appearance, every expression of his countenance indicating courage." Two companies of the Easton Home Guard sailed into Baltimore's harbor aboard the steamer *Pioneer* and proclaimed their readiness to defend southern honor. Howard County sent three dozen dragoons. Anne Arundel County sent the Patapsco Dragoons, "some thirty young men, a sturdy-looking body of yeomanry, [who] rode straight to the City Hall and drew up, expecting to be received with a speech of welcome from the Mayor," related Brown. "I made them a very brief address, and informed them that dispatches received from Washington had postponed the necessity for their services, whereupon they started homeward amid cheers, their bugler striking up 'Dixie' . . . the first time I heard that tune." One paper wrote how "the war spirit raged throughout the city and among all classes during Saturday with an ardor which seemed to gather fresh force each hour. . . . it is evident that Baltimore is to be the battlefield of the Southern revolution"—noting that its citizens were "united in a determination" to keep northern troops out of Baltimore, but not to induce a Maryland secession. Ross Winans's Mount Clare iron foundry was "engaged in the making of pikes, and in casting balls of every description for cannon, the steam gun, rifles, muskets, etc., which they are turning out very rapidly." Alan Denmead's machine shop "hummed and clashed in the production of arms." Readying the southern slingshot for the northern Goliath, Dickinson's steam gun—reputed to

fire three hundred balls per minute—was tested on Holliday Street: "It is like a steam fire engine," wrote the *Baltimore Sun*. "Plant [it] at the head of the street up which the invading troops attempt to march . . . and sweep the ranks." And in a telling display of loyalty to their state, on April 22 "between 300 and 400 of our most respectable colored residents made a tender of their services to the city authorities. The mayor thanked them for their offer, and informed them that their services will be called for if they can be made in any way available."[12]

Baltimore was placed on emergency alert. The police commissioners ordered volunteers and militia units to assemble under Colonel George H. Steuart, who organized four thousand men into companies of about thirty each, "representatives of all classes and conditions—merchants, mechanics, professional men, gentlemen of leisure and loafers," who began drilling in the wards "with great energy and decision of purpose." (Steuart would later command the Confederate 1st Maryland Infantry and become a brigadier general.) The city council hastily appropriated a half-million dollars "for the purpose of putting the city in a complete state of defense against any description of danger arising or which might arise out of the present crisis." Arms were distributed at the old City Hall; Winans's version of Dickinson's steam gun was readied and fired. Colonel Isaac R. Trimble—a railroad engineer and prominent Baltimorean whose courage at Gettysburg would cost him a leg and a stint in a Union prison—reported more than fifteen thousand men enrolled in the city's militias under his command, "about three-fourths armed with muskets, shotguns and pistols. . . . By this means not only was the inadequate number of the police supplemented," wrote Mayor Brown, "but many who would otherwise have been the disturbers of the peace become its defenders." The Maryland Line took shape under Mexican War hero George W. Hughes, who mustered four hundred men armed with muskets, field pieces, two thousand of Winans's pikes, and "Minie guns [and] uniformed in Garibaldi shirts, black pants and glazed fatique cap." The Maryland Guards "were immediately under arms, and batteries of artillery, with horses in harness, paraded in the streets," while an un-uniformed volunteer company, including the "Bummer's Club, from Hook and Ladder Co., No. 1," appeared for duty. Companies rushed to establish defensive positions at various places around the city's perimeter. Volunteer surgeons were asked to convene at "Dr. A. C. Robinson's office, corner of Charles and Saratoga streets, with such instruments as they may be able to bring"; the good doctors, satin badges on their hats, established quarters in a vacant building across from the old city hall. Wagons with mattresses for the anticipated dead and wounded, bandages, and lint were readied for their ghastly purpose, and citizens arrived with "food and refreshments . . . excellent sugar-cured hams, bread and coffee . . . but no spirituous liquors." Rumors flew that "Pennsylvanians were advancing, skirmishing with the country people who were endeavoring to impede their progress by firing at them from behind hedges; they had cut across the country under the pilotage of a



The city council's defense plan included readying Ross Winans's version of the Dickinson steam gun. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Baltimore newsboy." Five hundred men left the city to meet the invaders, whose size and location were revealed by a Pennsylvania deserter arrested "near Texas, coming toward the city in a hack. . . . all that could be learned of him . . . was that he belonged in Baltimore county, enlisted in Pennsylvania, and deserted as soon as opportunity offered." Tempers cooled, however, when at the Pennsylvanians' camp the Baltimore men "were cordially received and entertained . . . one of the companies composing the force—a corps from Lancaster—were earnest in their inquiries after the Baltimore City Guard, with whom they have heretofore enjoyed relations of friendship and of pleasant social intercourse."[13]

This Consummate Folly

For forty-eight hours the fate of Maryland and the Union were inextricably linked, and much hinged on the frantic negotiations between the state's leaders and the administration in Washington. On Saturday, April 20, Governor Hicks's sudden announcement that Maryland would not supply troops to the U.S. government, following the president's April 15 request, sharpened Lincoln's worry over Maryland. Hicks deemed raising Marylanders for the Union cause unwise at this delicate moment. The timing of his decision was brilliant. "Since I saw you in Washington last," he wrote to Secretary of War Cameron,

> I have been in Baltimore city laboring, in conjunction with the mayor of that city to preserve peace and order, but I regret to say with little success. Up to yesterday there appeared promise, but the outbreak came; the turbulent passions of the riotous elements prevailed, fears for safety became reality. . . . the rebellious element had the control of things. We were arranging and organizing forces to protect the city and preserve order, but want of organization, and arms prevented success. They had arms, and the principal part of the organized military forces and for us to have made the effort, under the circumstances, would have had the effect to aid the disorderly element. They took possession of the armories, have the arms and ammunition, and I therefore think it prudent to decline (for the present) responding affirmatively to the requisition made by President Lincoln for four regiments of infantry.[14]

Mayor Brown had also heard from the president and quickly sought Hicks's approval of his response. "Letter from President and Gen. [Winfield] Scott. No troops to pass through Baltimore, if as a military force, they can march around," he telegraphed on April 20th. "I will answer every effort will be made to prevent parties leaving the city to molest them, but cannot guarantee against acts of individuals not organized. Do you approve?" Hicks answered that he "hoped they would send no more troops through Maryland, but as we have no right to demand that, I am glad no more are to be sent through Baltimore. I know you will do all in your power to preserve the peace." Brown told Lincoln that, were troops to avoid Baltimore, city authorities would endeavor to keep citizens from harassing them. He reminded the president that city officials "have no authority to speak for the people of Maryland, and no means of keeping any promise they might make. They do sincerely & earnestly trust that the government will be warned by the melancholy occurrences of yesterday, & avoid precipitating further disastrous results. Baltimore seeks only to protect herself." In Washington, John Hay noted that "the streets were full of the talk of Baltimore. It seems to be generally thought that a mere handful of men has raised this storm that now threatens the loyalty of a State."[15]

The president's response reached Brown and Hicks in the early hours of Sunday morning, April 21. He asked the Maryland leaders to "come immediately by special train" to Washington, to "consult with you . . . relative to preserving the peace of Maryland . . . ," though "without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to Gen. Scott." It is not clear when Hicks, having left Baltimore for Annapolis, received Lincoln's message, but Brown departed for Washington at 7:30 that morning, accompanied by George Dobbin, John Brune, and Baltimore lawyer Severn Teackle Wallis. At the White House the Baltimoreans pleaded in person that troops avoid their city. The mayor was forced to explain how it was that Baltimore militiamen were destroying railroad bridges spanning the rivers

north of the city. This, he told the president, "was a measure of protection on a sudden emergency, designed to prevent bloodshed in the city of Baltimore, and not an act of hostility towards the General Government; that the people of Maryland had always been deeply attached to the Union . . . but that they . . . regarded [Lincoln's] proclamation calling for 75,000 troops as an act of war on the South, and a violation of its constitutional rights." The president, Brown recalled, said he had been misunderstood; he

> was greatly moved, and, springing up from his chair, walked backward and forward through the apartment. He said, with great feeling, "Mr. Brown, I am not a learned man! I am not a learned man!" that his proclamation had not been correctly understood; that he had no intention of bringing on war, but that his purpose was to defend the capital, which was in danger of being bombarded from the heights across the Potomac.

Brown left the White House for home, only to be stopped in his tracks by a telegram from B&O president John W. Garrett: "Three thousand (3,000) No.[rthern] troops are reported to be at Cockeysville. Intense excitement prevails. Churches have been dismissed and the people are arming en masse. To prevent terrific bloodshed, the results of your interview and arrangements are awaited." Brown replied at 1:25 P.M.: "Be calm, and do nothing until you hear from me again." He returned to the White House for another audience with Lincoln, following which, at 3:15 P.M., he telegraphed Garrett: "We have again seen the President . . . *the troops are ordered to return forthwith to Harrisburg.*" Lincoln remained true to his word, and Brown for the moment had accomplished his mission.[16]

U.S. Senator from Maryland Anthony Kennedy and Representative J. Morrison Harris also called on the White House. Lincoln conceded more: Not only would troops avoid Baltimore; they would be on Maryland soil for as little time as possible. Starting by steamer from Perryville, on the Susquehanna River, they would sail down the Chesapeake Bay, south to Annapolis, then go by rail to Washington. Then the Maryland politicians played their ace, revealing a pledge from Garrett that his B&O would move the men on this last leg, despite the railroad's April 20 decree that it would cease moving soldiers into Maryland in the face of threats against its men and property. The day was a success for the embattled Maryland leaders: "I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed," wrote the president to Brown and Hicks. "Troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore. . . . By this, a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this." Maryland had dodged the bullet. More violence could have yanked the state out of the Union.[17]

Severn Teackle Wallis (1816–1894) accompanied Mayor Brown and his advisors to a meeting with President Lincoln in which they pleaded that Federal troops not pass through Baltimore. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Lincoln's decision to keep troops far from Baltimore likely spared the B&O great harm. The railroad's officials had already "put forth every effort to allay disorder and prevent bloodshed" during the troop passage through Baltimore earlier in the week. "They shared police responsibilities with city officers and only good fortune seems to have saved them from harm. Like the police they interposed themselves between the rioters and the soldiers . . . despite the fact that there was growing belief in the mob that the Baltimore and Ohio was in large measure responsible for the presence of the invaders." When the Massachusetts men came under siege on Friday afternoon, a crowd had attempted to storm the company's offices at Camden Station and "warned its officials that the building would be burned if they moved other Northern troops. This spirit was manifest far down the tracks toward Washington. From various points came disconcerting news that unfriendly groups of watchful men were stationed along the line ready to tear up the tracks." Threats hurled at the railroad included an ominous missive to Garrett himself:

> One Hundred of us, Firm, Respectable, Resolute men—have determined & Sworn to each other, to destroy "every" Bridge & tear up your Track on both lines of your Road . . . If you carry another Soldier over either line of your Road after Saturday April 20th. We trust Dear Sir that you will hearken unto the request of your Southern Fellow Citizens & save us this labour which we will very much regret to undertake. . . . Spare us Dear Sir this to us unpleasant

Baltimore & Ohio Railroad president John Work Garrett (1820–1884). After the April 19 riot, Garrett declared his railroad would no longer move Federal troops through Maryland. He later reversed that decision. (Maryland Historical Society.)

> duty. Many of our Committee know you personally, some intimately, but the nature of our Oaths prevent us from seeing you in person.... We have a large force ready to answer our calls.

The company did not survive the weekend unscathed, for Baltimore police seized four of its cars loaded with arms and provisions for Federal troops. A B&O official later described to a congressional committee damage to the company's track along the thirty-one miles between Relay House and Washington.[18]

From Boston, John C. Pratt replied indignantly to his Baltimore brother's letter of April 20.

> Would you have us surrender the National Capitol into the hands of that band of mercenary thieves and traitors who rule the "Confederate States?" Men who have stolen the public property? Who have violated their oaths? Shall we not defend the Capitol? Did not Gov. Hicks say in his proclamation on Friday last that he would furnish troops to do that. And was it not this simple mission and nothing more that our troops were engaged in? You speak of the South being subjugated by "Lincoln and his hordes." In the first place there is no attempt to subjugate the South, but simply to maintain the Government.... If Baltimore is a "yawning gulf" to bury Northern troops in, the same gulf will bury the last vestige of your beautiful city, for though it cost a hundred thousand lives and "not one stone shall remain upon another" in

> your city, before this contest ends a *full, safe* and unobstructed passage will be opened for our troops to the Capitol. We do not undervalue Southern prowess; neither can you sneer at Northern courage.[19]

Governor Hicks's April 22 message to Lincoln reveals that he still clung to the chimera that troops might avoid Maryland altogether:

> I feel it my duty most respectfully to advise that no more troops be ordered or allowed to pass through Maryland and that the troops now off Annapolis be sent elsewhere, and I most respectfully urge that a truce be offered by you, so that the effusion of blood may be prevented. I respectfully suggest that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties of our Country.

The response came from Secretary of State William Seward, who explained that the water route for trans-state troop transit had been devised "upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland." He chided Hicks: "The President cannot but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country, when a General of the American Union, with forces designed for the defense of its Capital, was not unwelcome anywhere in the State of Maryland, and certainly not at Annapolis." Seward declined to engage the services of Lord Lyons.[20]

On Sunday, April 21—the last of a hellish week that had begun with the surrender of Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor—President Lincoln was visited by a group from the Young Men's Christian Association of Baltimore, "a penitent and suppliant crowd of conditional Secessionists, who having sowed the wind seem to have no particular desire to reap the whirlwind," recorded John Hay. "They begged that no more Federal troops should be sent through Baltimore at present; that their mob was thoroughly unmanageable and that they would give the Government all possible assistance in transporting its troops safely across the State by any other route." Hay explained that Lincoln consented, disingenuously omitting that the president had the day before agreed to such a plan with Hicks and Brown. Though no formal record of their session with Lincoln is known to exist, the Baltimoreans' impressions of him were clear. "We were at once & cordially received," reported the Reverend Richard Fuller, pastor of the Seventh Baptist Church in Baltimore, president of the Southern and Southwestern Baptist Convention and a slaveowner. "I marked the President closely. Constitutionally genial & jovial, he is wholly inaccessible to Christian appeals—& his egotism will forever prevent him comprehending what patriotism means. . . . from President Lincoln nothing is to be hoped," he wrote to Treasury Secretary Salmon Chase, whom Fuller hoped would influence Lincoln to let the seceded states "go in peace." Another of the delegation exclaimed, "God have mercy on us, when the government is placed in the hands of such a man!"[21]

"The whining traitors from Baltimore were here again this morning," was how John Hay described the return of the Baltimoreans to the White House the next day. The president chastised them:

> You, gentlemen, come here to me and ask for peace on any terms, and yet have no word of condemnation for those who are making war on us. You express great horror of bloodshed, and yet would not lay a straw in the way of those who are organizing in Virginia and elsewhere to capture this city. The rebels attack Fort Sumter, and your citizens attack troops sent to the defense of the Government, and the lives and property in Washington, and yet you would have me break my oath and surrender the Government without a blow. There is no Washington in that—no Jackson in that—no manhood nor honor in that.

Lincoln again made clear that the northern troops were to protect Washington:

> I have no desire to invade the South; but I must have troops to defend this Capital. Geographically it lies surrounded by the soil of Maryland; and mathematically the necessity exists that they should come over her territory. Our men are not moles, and can't dig under the earth; they are not birds, and can't fly through the air. There is no way but to march across, and that they must do. But in doing this there is no need of collision. Keep your rowdies in Baltimore, and there will be no bloodshed. Go home and tell your people that if they will not attack us, we will not attack them; but if they do attack us, we will return it, and that severely.[22]

That day the president enjoyed a visit from Miss Pollock of Baltimore, who reported on conditions in the "plug-ugly city. She was very pretty and Southern in features and voice and wonderfully plucky and earnest in the enunciation of her devotion to the Stars and Stripes," recorded Hay. "She stated that the mails had been stopped at the Balto. P.O.—arms expected from Va.—Ft. McHenry to be attacked tonight." Some Marylanders understood Lincoln's objectives. "How anyone can compare the revolution down South with the glorious one in which our forefathers rebelled against a government whose very oppressions planted them in America, I am unable to conceive," wrote Frederick A. Shriver of Union Mills, in Carroll County, to his cousin, C.C. Shriver. "This tyrannical Lincoln, as you think, is only trying to save us and our nation from eternal ruin."[23]

Jabez Pratt sent brother John a news clipping describing his visit to the White House with the Baltimore delegation. John's sardonic response revealed the growing hostility between the brothers over the crisis in Maryland.

> Yours of the 24th with the extract from the Sun is received. I have read the

> account of your interview with the President and the result of your mission. . . . We shall now have the song of the six wise men of Baltimore who went all the way to Washington to ask the President to make an infernal fool of himself, and if his boorishness was equal to your consummate folly and impudence, he would deserve a place in Barnum's museum. What an astonishing piece of information it must have been to the President to be told by Dr. Fuller and then to be endorsed by yourself that peace would at once be restored if he would recognize the Independence of the Confederate States, give them up all the property they had stolen, and evacuate Washington. I wonder . . . that instead of smiling with ill concealed contempt he had not grasped your hands and said,— "Gentlemen, you have saved the country", and you should each of you have a monument of brass erected to your memory, that being the only material to perpetuate this great event. Pardon me, my dear brother, if I treat this matter with levity, but I am surprised that you should be a party to this consummate folly.[24]

Take Your Men Elsewhere

As the deal was being struck to keep troops away from Baltimore, civil unrest in the state continued to escalate. "There has been no arrival from the North. Some one or more bridges have been destroyed; where it is not known; telegraph interrupted," read a message to General Scott from an aide, who reassured his chief that he had sent someone "to find where the trouble is . . . this [rail]road must be under military control at once . . . so must the road between here and Washington. This is absolutely indispensable. Our rapid communication with the North is otherwise cut off." During the night of April 19 and into the early morning hours of the twentieth, raiders from Baltimore had indeed destroyed railroad bridges that spanned the rivers north and east of the city. Captain Boyd and Lieutenant Fisher led sixty policemen to destroy bridges over the Gunpowder and Bush Rivers, while the City Guards, under the command of Captain John G. Johannes, a Baltimore jeweler who would fight in the Union army, burned those of the Northern Central Railroad that connected Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore, including one at Cockeysville. The Melvale Bridge in Mt. Washington was doused with camphor and burned, and the Canton Bridge was destroyed. Daniel Thomas provided his sister with an eyewitness account of some weekend bridge burning:

> About half past two that night [April 19] I was aroused by a violent pulling at the street bell, and going to the window was hailed by one of our men with, "All our men are wanted at once at the armory—some more soldiers are coming through." This sounded like battle indeed, and by the time I got into

> the street I found our men were about, hurrying in from all sides. The scene at the armory was splendid—every man at his post and evidently resolved to do some desperate deed. A body of thirty men, of which I was fortunate enough to be one, was immediately detailed to do work which ought to make us famous. In face of the momentary expectation of the arrival of 1700 men from Philadelphia we were sent with about 30 of the police, out to Harris Creek to burn the bridge if possible before the cars got there, and to keep the enemy in play till the bridge was destroyed. After a slapping march of over two miles we reached the bridge, and in less than no time it was making night day with blaze. Before the destruction of it was complete we heard the whistle of the cars and in a moment up they came and halted. I doubt much if any men in our company counted on more than five minutes of life from that time, and yet granite rock could not have stood firmer than they did. . . . we took possession of the train which had just arrived and started off to burn the bridges on the road, *provided* we did not meet the enemy in the meantime. We went on very slowly, till we had passed the farthest bridge [at Bush River] and then we went to work and burnt that down, taking care to place ourselves on the side towards town, then we came down to the Gunpowder Bridge and burnt that and then we started for town thinking we had done a very smart thing. And I can tell you, would think the soldiers and citizens thought so too if you had heard them cheer us as we returned to the armory.[25]

Governor Hicks's role in the destruction of bridges would dog him for the rest of his life. He would stand accused by credible eyewitnesses, including Mayor Brown and former Mayor Enoch Lowe, of assenting to or ordering it. At least one apologist, William Seabrook, commissioner of the Maryland Land Office, defended the governor's methods to keep troops away from Baltimore and Maryland in the Union, claiming that "a lawless mob had followed him on the street threatening violence and crying 'Hang him, Hang him.'" Hicks would later deny publicly that he sanctioned bridge destruction.[26]

Jabez Pratt replied to his brother John, countering the impression that Baltimore was a city aflame and closing with an assurance of affection—a sentiment sorely tested since the nineteenth of April:

> I see the Northern papers filled with inflammable matter and dispatches as to Baltimore which are false. There is no city more peaceable and quiet and not the first particle of "reign of terror." We have in our city Black Republicans and Union men, the latter in large numbers, and who are not fearful in expressing their sentiments, and the B.R. are as safe as in Boston. . . . The excitement of our citizens caused by the shooting of our friends has entirely abated. The mob of Friday is deprecated now that reason has its sway. . . .

> Maryland is not going to be hasty and the feeling which before the trouble was prevalent is again shown, that of a peaceable solution of the dispute between North and South. The whole irritation has been caused by the foolish acts of the administration in declaring war and making enemies of those who were for peace and union for and with the Border States. We hope for peace and will do all we can for peace. Accept my kind regards and best wishes for yourself and be assured that I hold nothing in my heart of bitterness towards you.

Just after mailing that letter, Jabez received John's letter that had mocked his visit to the White House. He answered at once:

> My Dear Brother,
> You are fast driving me to consider that term inappropriate. I have received your letter of the 27th, and if you consider me a "fool and a boor" why so be it. The only answer I have to make is that you are crazy. I will only say further that you entirely misinterpret and misunderstand the mission to Washington and what was asked of Mr. Lincoln. We asked nothing of what you so glibly ridicule. If such is to be your correspondence it had better be stopped till you get your senses.[27]

The authorities attempted to maintain order in Baltimore through the weekend. Bands, flags, marching and parading were banned, and when saloons were ordered closed, the result was "but few persons intoxicated on the street"—though William Lloyd, proprietor of the Union Hotel at Pratt and Charles streets, was arrested when he opened his tavern there. Magistrates imposed fines "under the ordinance prohibiting the throwing of missiles in the streets." Charles Howard, president of the Police Board, instructed Colonel Trimble to "please direct the association under your command, to refrain at the present juncture from using martial music in the streets—the sound of a drum at once collects crowds, and gives rise to the circulation of all sorts of rumours, calculated to produce unnecessary, and mischievous excitement." On Sunday, Mayor Brown advised Trimble that "it is deemed necessary for the safety and protection of the City, that no Steamboat be permitted to leave the harbor without our express sanction." Out in force were the "City Hall Guards," consisting of approximately a hundred men formed early in April "for the defence of the City property of Baltimore, or for such other service as the emergency may hereafter require for the defence of the State of Maryland."[28]

"The (Police) Board are apprehensive that you may be annoyed by lawless and disorderly characters approaching the walls of the Fort to night," wrote Howard to the commander at Fort McHenry. Howard wished to offer him the services of

the Maryland Guard, commanded by Ben Huger, who had just resigned command of the Pikesville Armory. "We propose to send a guard of perhaps 200 men . . . entirely beyond the outer limits of the Fort, and within those of the City. Their orders will be to arrest and hand over to the Civil authorities any evil disposed and disorderly persons who may approach the Fort." Captain John C. Robinson declined the offer, "having made the acquaintance of some of the officers of that organization and heard them freely express their opinions." Testimony of a Maryland Guard member suggested that Robinson's decision had been wise: "The next excitement after April 19, was the determination of the citizens to capture Fort McHenry," recounted Baltimorean Augustus J. Albert, who marched to the Fort with two hundred volunteers, visions of its capture dancing in their heads. At sunrise, though, "we discovered we were there to prevent the mob of the city from doing what we wanted to do ourselves; the authorities wishing to prevent useless bloodshed." The Maryland Guard was shortly thereafter disbanded, explained Albert, who would fight in the Confederate 1st Maryland Artillery. "My brother Taylor and I got a wagon and went to the Armory where we loaded it with muskets and took them to my father's residence, then 81 Monument Street and carried them up to the top of the house and stowed them away in a space between the roof and the ceiling." When Union troops later searched house-to-house for arms, the boys buried theirs in the garden, "where the rusty remains possibly even now are resting undisturbed."[29]

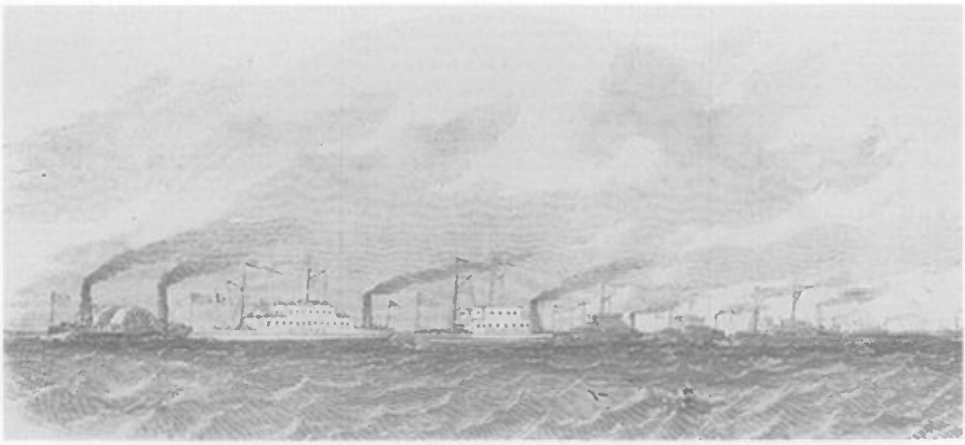
Intrigue stood at every corner. On Sunday night the steamer *Spaulding* anchored under the guns of Fort McHenry and, taking on coal from a lighter, generated rumors that she had delivered a force of eight hundred northern men into the city. Loiterers became suspects: "A number of spies are prowling about Howard county and Ellicott's Mills procuring information for the Lincoln government, and stiffening the backbone of its sympathizers," related the *Sun*. "One was seen near Roxbury Mills on Sunday last . . . whilst busily engaged with paper and pencil platting the Westminister road . . . the spy hastily put his sketching implements into his pocket, and then, Yankee like, began to ask questions of his discoverers as to how much flour was stored in Roxbury Mills, etc." Several were arrested and released. Over the weekend the police seized twenty-one cases of gun carriages, wheels and six-pounder cartridges from a warehouse at Locust Point, destined for Little Rock, Arkansas. Captain Robinson received a visitor to Fort McHenry who bore a letter for him from the Secretary of the Navy. As the man "did not know what might happen to him in Baltimore he had concealed it in a queer place. He then removed his hat, and lifting his wig, drew out the letter from between it and his bald crown. It was rather oily, but, nevertheless, a document I was glad to receive."[30]

By Sunday, April 21, troops were steaming down the Chesapeake for Annapolis, headed for Washington. Hicks, despite the deal with Lincoln, was not reassured by the prospect of thousands of northern soldiers flooding into Maryland's capi-

tal. He protested to their commander, General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts: "I would most earnestly advise you do not land your men at Annapolis. The excitement here is very great, and I think that you should take your men elsewhere. I have telegraphed to the Secretary of War, advising against your landing your men here." Butler, of course, refused: "I am not provisioned for a long voyage," he replied. "Finding the ordinary means of communication cut off by the burning of railroad bridges by a mob, I have been obliged to make this detour, and hope that your excellency will see . . . that there is no cause of excitement in the mind of any good citizen because of our being driven here." With the steamer *Maryland* set to disgorge eight hundred Massachusetts volunteers into Annapolis, alarm in Baltimore grew. There the day's church services were "slimly" attended. "Just as I started for church this morning early at 10 o'clock," wrote George Whitmarsh in his diary, "the alarm spread that 3,000 volunteers from the North were coming in city. All up in arms and with arms—people frightened from church. I went, but many of terrified congregation stood outside." At the First Lutheran Church, "several members of the congregation ascended the pulpit, and informed [Rev. Dr. McCron] that an immense army was about entering the city, and war had commenced. Service was then suspended, after a few remarks were made by the pastor, and the congregation, especially the ladies, hurried out of the edifice with all imaginable haste, and proceeded to their homes." At noon a "party of police in carriages proceeded out the Harford road and cut the telegraph poles for the distance of about a mile," which suspended all telegraph service from Baltimore, except to Washington, "done, as we understand, by direction of the city authorities."[31]

Some sought providential refuge. "The state of affairs is truly alarming," wrote Hester Davis to her daughter. "Our only hope now is in Almighty God, who holds in His hands the destinies of the children of men"; hostile troops from Pennsylvania were expected to "pass through here right past our own door." A hundred Baltimore clergymen declared April 24 a day of fast, humiliation and prayer in Baltimore. Mrs. Davis would no doubt have worried further at a report from General Scott to the President: "1. That there are three or four steamers, off Annapolis, with volunteers for Washington; 2. That their landing will be opposed by the citizens, reinforced from Baltimore; 3. That the landing may be effected, nevertheless, by good management, & 4. That the rails, on the Annapolis road (20 miles) have been taken up." Rumors of bridges destroyed south of the city put Baltimoreans further on edge.[32]

Nervous depositors put a run on the Savings Bank of Baltimore. Federal employees in Maryland—including Captain Chiffelle of the Navy, Captain Elzey and Surgeon Jones of the Army, and Captain Osborne Peters of U.S. Revenue Service—all resigned. Word was out about Virginia's plan to ship arms to the Baltimore men commanded by General George Steuart. And a disquieting letter from Baltimore arrived at the White House:



President Lincoln agreed to send troops to Washington via the Chesapeake, rather than risk another violent episode in the city. (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, *May 18, 1861.*)

> I learn from it [a letter from a friend in Mobile, Alabama] that it is the settled policy to attack the capital by the Southern Confederacy. It is to be done by foes within as well as without. He says there is not a department at Washington that is not well filled with friends of Jeff Davis. And they are ready to strike at any moment. He further states that a large number of the citizens of Washington will be prominent in the move, and that desperate men dressed in citizens garb will infest your city to take their part in the contest against you. This information comes from a high source. It is imparted in that manner that I cannot betray the name, or expose the letter. General Scott believed "the railroad from Harrisburg to Baltimore of no value to us here without a force of, perhaps, ten thousand men to hold Baltimore—to protect the rails and bridges near it."[33]

Lincoln's spirits were bolstered at dinner on April 23 by "old Gen. Spinner who was fierce and jubilant," according to John Hay. "No frenzied poet ever predicted the ruin of a hostile house with more energy and fervor than he, issuing the rescript of destiny against Baltimore. 'We've got 'em,' he said. 'It is *our* turn now.'" Hay described what must have been a colorful meal at the White House that evening. "A gaunt, tattered, uncombed and unshorn figure"—James Lane of Kansas, a friend of John Brown—"appeared at the door and marched solemnly up to the table . . . his neck was innocent of collar, guiltless of necktie. His thin hair stood fretful—porcupine-quill-wise upon his crown. He sat down and gloomily charged upon his dinner. A couple of young exquisites were eating and chatting opposite him. They were guessing when the road would be open through Baltimore. 'Thursday,' growled the grim apparition, 'or Baltimore will be laid in ashes.'"[34]

Support for the Union emerged quickly in Baltimore after the riots. These shopkeepers posed with the Union flag on April 21, 1861. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Life retained a degree of normality. Dr. J. R. Marchisi advertised his "Seaweed Tonic" and "Celebrated Catholicon for the Relief and Cure of Suffering Females [at] $2 per bottle, $6 for ten." For the cure of consumption, Dr. Schenck, "The Lung Doctor," pitched his "Pulmonic Syrup and the Respirometer, the only instrument that can to a certainty detect the slightest murmur of the respiratory

organs [keeping] the bronchial tubes free from the putrid matter which impedes their functions." A sailor named Charles Mitchell "under excitement, stabbed himself twice in the breast, and afterwards cut his throat, inflicting an ugly wound," in a suicide attempt. The city health commissioner, in a report showing "a healthful condition of the city," related that eighty-nine Baltimoreans died during the week ending April 21: forty-six male, forty-three female, and forty under the age of ten—twenty-one from consumption; five each from convulsions, catarrh fever, and gunshots; and six from causes unknown. And Daniel Thomas reveled in the achievement of the Baltimoreans: "By one of the most astonishing performances recorded in history, Maryland has fully redeemed her tarnished character, and old Baltimore may now hold up her head again," he wrote to his sister. "That which the united efforts of our statesmen were unable to do has been triumphantly accomplished by the *people* by a sort of spontaneous combustion."[35]

Amid rumors that mobs were preparing to descend on the Naval Academy in Annapolis, just outside whose walls lay the executive mansion, a Colonel Harrison arrived to escort Governor Hicks back to Baltimore on a special train, so that he might inspire law-abiding citizens and mobilize militiamen to maintain order. William Seabrook, with Hicks during the afternoon of April 20, convinced the governor not to go. "I reminded the governor that he was not then fully recovered from the effects of a surgical operation; that his health was by no means robust; that he had been under a great strain the previous day and night and that he might imperil his life by a repetition of that experience. . . . I urged the importance of his life to the Union cause." Seabrook feared that "the avowed secessionist" John B. Brooke, president of the state senate, might stage a palace coup were Hicks to leave the capital. No Colonel Harrison was identified, and Seabrook suggested years later that "Harrison" may have been the alias of a kidnapper sent to murder the governor.[36]

In Boston, John Pratt had written his brother of his joy at learning that Baltimore was calm:

> We are rejoiced to hear as we do this morning that there is a reaction in sentiment in Baltimore and that there is a prospect that our troops will be allowed to pass without a fight. I hope so, for it would be a terrible alternative to be obliged to apply the torch to your city and widen the streets with artillery, for there is no question that if Maryland is obstinate in this matter, she will have to be subjugated. Her secession will amount to nothing: she will not be permitted to go: we like your people too well to part company so easy. The North is just waking up like the "lion from his lair" as there is a force coming down through the South that will crush out, annihilate and sweep away all before it. Let the South look out for its cherished institution, let this war continue a few months, and the whirlwind now gathering will sweep within its vortex the South and slavery, and all will perish together.[37]

During the days following the Pratt Street riot, many feared Maryland lost to the Union cause, regardless of how—or even if—northern troops crossed her soil. Many of Baltimore's businessmen—who, citing a range of reasons, for months had publicly opposed secession—feared more rioting and even northern reprisals, and they plunged into defense of city and livelihood. Bypassing Baltimore by sending troops down the Chesapeake Bay to Washington proved a political masterstroke that deprived leaderless and unorganized Maryland secessionists of their only chance to act. "Without question the decision to send troops through Annapolis prevented Maryland from seceding," wrote William Evitts. "Another clash in Baltimore would have propelled Maryland out of the Union." Hicks would call the legislature into special session on April 26 in Frederick, where—with no federal or military interference—Maryland lawmakers would refuse even to consider an ordinance of secession. By then John P. Kennedy was noting the calm in Baltimore, and unionist Henry Winter Davis that the clash of April 19 "has greatly strengthened us and I feel now more confidence than ever in the resolute loyalty of Maryland." George Whitmarsh recorded in his diary how "the Union feeling is rising again," while Baltimore attorney William Schley reported that "there never was a moment when Maryland could have been forced into secession."[38] The quick restoration of order in Baltimore had precluded the prospect of four years of unimaginable carnage upon the soil of a Confederate Maryland.

NOTES

1. Vivid accounts of the Pratt Street riot include Matthew Page Andrews, "Passage of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Through Baltimore, April 19, 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 34 (1919): 60–76; George W. Brown: *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861: A Study of the War* (1887; repr. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Charles Branch Clark: "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 56 (1961): 39–71; Frank Towers: "'A Vociferous Army of Howling Wolves': Baltimore's Civil War Riot of April 19, 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 23 (1992): 1–27; eyewitness reports at the Maryland Historical Society; and the April 20–22, 1861, issues of newspapers such as the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser.*

2. Late in 1860 more than 6,000 Maryland businessmen signed two petitions endorsing Hicks's refusal to convene a special legislative session that might have resulted in a Maryland secession—the second, with 5,000 signatures, included nine-tenths of the businessmen in Baltimore—see *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* December 31, 1860, and January 1, 1861.

3. Swivel gun in *Baltimore Sun,* April 20, 1861, and *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* April 22, 1861; Southern Volunteers, Minute Men, Union club and badges/flags in *Baltimore American,* April 22, 1861; badges/flags also in *Sun,* April 22, 1861. Jabez David Pratt (Baltimore) to John C. Pratt (Boston), April 20, 1861, MS 1860, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society (hereinafter MHS). Quotations from this and subsequent letters between the Pratt brothers in this article are taken from transcribed originals.

4. George Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1901), 59; J. E. Thomson and S. M. Felton to Simon Cameron ("We are informed") and L. Thomas to S. M. Felton ("Governor Hicks has"), both April 19, 1861, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* I:1, 442 (henceforth *Official Records*).

5. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* April 20, 1861, quoted in John Fulton, *The "Southern Rights" and "Union" Parties in Maryland Contrasted* (Baltimore, 1863), 15; Daniel M. Thomas to "My Dear Sister," April 21, 1861, MS 1970, and Frederick W. Brune to Emily Brune, April 21 and May 1, 1861, Brune-Randall Papers, MS 2004, both in MHS; *Baltimore Sun,* April 22, 1861 ("it is no" and southern rights and state's rights). The Maryland Guard was formed in December 1859 by 226 Baltimoreans who paid an initiation fee of fifty cents and monthly dues of twenty-five cents—see "Maryland Guard Constitution and Membership Roster," MS 566, MHS, cited in Kevin Conley Ruffner, *Marylanders in Blue and Gray: A Border State's Union and Confederate Junior Officer Corps* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 53. The Guard uniform, modeled after the French Zouave, "made a very brilliant effect on street parade but was totally unsuitable for any active service. To fully adjust it, a man almost required the services of a valet—or a sister or sweetheart." See McHenry Howard, *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier and Staff Officer Under Johnston, Jackson and Lee,* (1914; repr., Dayton, Ohio: The Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1975), 9–10.

6. *Baltimore Sun,* April 22, 1861 ("there was a," Meyer, Pattison, other gun shops, Passano, cannon balls, McComas and Jung, St. Tim's); Meyer shop also in *Sun,* April 20, 1861; Passano and cannon balls also in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* April 22, 1861; Jos. Boring & Sons to Mayor G. W. Brown, April 22, 1861, Box 1, 2380, Provost Marshal "Letters Received" 1861, 8th Army Corps and Middle Department, Record Group 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C., cited in Matthew Ellenberger, "Whigs in the Streets? Baltimore Republicanism in the Spring of 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 86 (1991): 29.

7. German armory and Wecker offices in both *Baltimore Sun* and *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* April 22, 1861; Blumenberg in *Cyclopedia,* 477–78, in William B. Catton, "The Baltimore Business Community and the Civil War" (M.A. thesis, College Park, Maryland, 1952), 92; police in *Baltimore Clipper,* April 20, 26, 30, 1861, in Catton, 92–93; *Sinai* and Einhorn in *Baltimore Sun,* April 22, 1861; china store and workingmen in Ellenberger, "Baltimore Republicanism and Politics in 1861," 29; Smith and Chappell to L. Downer, April 29, 1861, Smith & Atkinson Papers, MHS, cited in Catton, 93.

8. George N. Moale to "My Dear Uncle," April 20, 1861, MS 2489, MHS; *Baltimore Sun,* April 20 and 22, 1861 (Baltimore Museum and "Dixie"); *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* April 22, 1861 (clergy meeting). Winans was arrested by federal soldiers on May 13 and held at Fort McHenry for two days before being released.

9. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser,* April 22, 1861; *Baltimore Sun,* April 22, 1861.

10. John P. Kennedy, Journal, April 20, 1861, Kennedy Papers, quoted in William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 181; Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April,* 60; Henry Winter Davis to Samuel F. DuPont, April 29, 1861, Dupont Papers (emphasis his), quoted in Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 182; Peter F. Shauck of Morgan's Switch to "Family," May 10, 1861, MS 1860, W. J. Steuart to Father [George H. Steuart], April 21, 1861, James Steuart Papers, MS 758, and C. C. Shriver to [Frederick] A. [Shriver], April 20–21, 1861, MS 2085, all in MHS.

11. Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April,* 63–64; Catton, "The Baltimore Business Community," 90–91 (Warfield and "hope the greatest"); *Baltimore American and Commercial*

Advertiser, April 22, 1861; Marks and Schatz, *Between North and South*, 30 ("hundreds, I may"); *Baltimore Sun*, April 20, 1861 ("the hitherto Union").

12. Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 70 ("streets red with"); in *Baltimore Sun*, April 22, 1861 (militia men and steam gun); *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 22 ("the war spirit"); *Sun*, April 23, 1861 ("engaged in the" and "between 300 and 400"); Denmead shop in Catton, "The Baltimore Business Community," 91, and Charles M. Howard, "Baltimore and the Crisis of 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 41 (1946): 279–80. Brown (p. 70) criticizes Kane's message to Johnson, believing that it increased the likelihood of further violence.

13. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 22, 1861 ("representatives of all," city council appropriation, "Minie guns," and "were cordially received"); Winans's gun , George Hughes, and doctors in vacant building in *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1861; Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 60–61 (city council); John C. Robinson: "Baltimore in 1861," *The Magazine of American History*, XIV, no. 3 (September 1885): 264 (Maryland Guards); "Bummer's Club," wagons and mattresses, volunteer surgeons, and deserter in *Sun*, April 22, 1861. The Maryland Line elected as chief surgeon Dr. Horace A. Brooks, professor of Natural Science at the Baltimore Female College. See the *Sun* of April 23, 1861, for a summary of military companies active in Baltimore during the weekend.

14. Thomas H. Hicks to Simon Cameron , April 20, 1861, Executive Letter Book, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md. Similar versions appear in *Official Records*, I:1, ix, 442, and David Mearns, *The Lincoln Papers* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1948), 2:573.

15. George W. Brown to Thomas H. Hicks and Thomas H. Hicks to George W. Brown, April 20, 1861, in Executive Letter Book, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis (also in *Official Records*, I:1, 442); George W. Brown to Abraham Lincoln, April 20, 1861, in Mearns, *The Lincoln Papers*, 2:574; Tyler Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1939), 4 (entry of April 20, 1861).

16. Abraham Lincoln to Thomas H. Hicks and George W. Brown, April 20, 1861, in Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:340–41; Garrett/Brown telegrams in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 22, 1861 (emphasis theirs), *Baltimore Sun*, April 22, 1861, and Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 74–75; Brown, 74 ("was a measure" and "was greatly moved"); Lincoln's telegraphed reply to Brown and Hicks was also in letter form. The troops at Cockeysville, said to number 3,000, were under the command of General George C. Wynkoop. See Festus P. Summers, *The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War* (1939; repr. Gettysburg, Pa.: Stan Clark Military Books, 1992), 56. Summers notes that the original Garrett telegram is in the Garrett Papers; see fn 36, p. 237.

17. *Official Records*, I:1, 442 (B&O refusal to move men); Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 63 (Kennedy and Harris); Abraham Lincoln to Thomas H. Hicks and George W. Brown, April 20, 1861, in Basler, *Collected Works*, 4:340. The *Baltimore Sun* of April 22, 1861, contains an account of the meeting between Lincoln and the Baltimore men. Other than Brown's comment that the latter two men composed a committee that "was sent to Washington" (Brown, 63), I have found nothing indicating coordination between Hicks-Brown and Kennedy-Harris regarding their separate visits to the White House.

18. *Report of Committees, 2nd Session, 37th Congress, Vol.* 2, 621, and *Baltimore Evening Patriot*, April 19, 1861 (crowd storming and anonymous letters), both in Summers, *The Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War*, 54; cars seized in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 22, 1861.

19. John C. Pratt (Boston) to Jabez David Pratt (Baltimore), April 24, 1861, MS 1860, MHS.

20. Thomas H. Hicks to Abraham Lincoln, April 22, 1861, in Executive Letter Book, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis (also in Mearns, *The Lincoln Papers*, 2:583, and *Official Records*, I: 2, IX, no. 4, 589); William H. Seward to Thomas H. Hicks, April 22, 1861, Executive Letter Book. Hicks wrote also the same day to General Scott, to advise him of his message to Lincoln—see Mearns, *Lincoln Papers*, 2:583.

21. Dennett, *Diaries and Letters of John Hay*, 6, April 21, 1861, entry ("a penitent and"); Fuller quotes in David Rankin Barbee, "Lincoln, Chase, and the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 46 (1951): 109, 111, "God have mercy" in Barbee, 116 (an account of this meeting appears in the *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1861). Barbee lists eighteen signatories to the letter requesting the meeting with Lincoln, including J. D. Pratt, and explains that Fuller was a southern slaveholder, noting the irony of such a man talking to an "abolition President." He cites the further conversation between the two from the *Sun* of April 27, 1861.

22. Dennett, *Diaries and Letters of John Hay*, 7, entry of April 22 ("the whining traitors"); "Reply to Baltimore Committee," in Emanuel Hertz, *Abraham Lincoln: A New Portrait* (New York: Horace Liveright, Inc., 1931), 2:830–31. Though Hertz gives the date of this reply as April 28, Basler includes the same passage and notes "although the source of Lincoln's remarks as printed by Hertz is probably a newspaper, the editors have been unable to locate it. Hertz dates the event April 28, 1861, but reports in the *Baltimore Daily Exchange* and *The South* of April 23, 1861, indicate conclusively that this reply was made on Monday, April 22. Reports in the Philadelphia and New York papers as well as the Baltimore papers give only fragments of Lincoln's remarks as printed by Hertz, and the editors have reproduced the Hertz text for want of a satisfactory contemporary source." See Basler, *Collected Works*, 4:341–42.

23. Dennett, *Diaries and Letters of John Hay*, 7, entry of April 22, 1861 (Miss Pollock); Frederick Austin Shriver to Christopher Columbus Shriver, June 30, 1861, in Frederic Shriver Klein, ed., *Just South of Gettysburg: Carroll County, Maryland, in the Civil War: Personal Accounts and Descriptions of a Maryland Border County, 1861–1865* (Westminster, Md.: Historical society of Carroll County, 1997), 20.

24. John C. Pratt (Boston) to Jabez David Pratt (Baltimore), April 27, 1861, MS 1860, MHS.

25. D. Wilmot to Winfield Scott, April 20, 1861, in *Official Records*, I:1, ix, 442; bridges in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 22, 1861; Daniel M. Thomas to "My Dear Sister," April 21, 1861, MS 1970, MHS (italics his). One source refers to a North Central Railroad bridge at Melvale—see Ruffner, *Maryland's Blue and Gray*, 56. In a colorful career in the Federal 8th Maryland Infantry, Johannes was convicted of striking an enlisted man with a stick, "nearly unhorsed but saved," and given a pension for eye disease caused by exploding ammunition on Maryland Heights, across the Potomac from Harpers Ferry (see Ruffner, 381–82).

26. Radcliffe, *Governor Hicks*, 56–58; E. Louis Lowe to John C. Brown, May 10, 1861, in *Official Records*, I:2, IX, no. 3, 14–15 (J. C. Brown and Lowe) and 11–12 (Brown statement that Hicks approved bridge burning); William L.W. Seabrook, *Maryland's Great Part in Saving the Union* (Baltimore, n.p., 1913), 18–19.

27. Jabez David Pratt (Baltimore) to John C. Pratt (Boston), April 29 and May 1, 1861, MS 1860, MHS.

28. *Baltimore Clipper*, April 23, 1861 (flags and bars), in Catton, "The Baltimore Business Community," 90; *Baltimore Sun*, April 22 (bar closures), April 23 (marching and parading, steamboat proscription), and April 20, 1861 ("under the ordinance"); Howard, "Baltimore and the Crisis of 1861," 260–61 (Brown and Howard to Trimble); "City Hall Guards," autograph list of members and charter ("for the defence,"), MS 1860, MHS (members included the comptroller and surveyor of Baltimore City).

29. Howard-Robinson exchanges in Robinson, "Baltimore in 1861," 265–66; Augustus J. Albert: *Civil War Experiences* (Baltimore, n.d.), 3–4, MS 1860, MHS. Albert noted that Ben Huger resigned command of the Pikesville Armory in the wake of the April 19 riot and commanded the Maryland Guard. The *Baltimore Sun* of April 22, 1861, notes also that Robinson refused the services of the Maryland Guard.
30. Robinson, "Baltimore in 1861," 265–67 (*Spaulding*); *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1861 (spies and police seizure). No record of the contents of the letter to Robinson is known to exist.
31. Thomas H. Hicks to Benjamin Butler, April 21, 1861, Executive Letter Book, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis (also in *Official Records* I:2, IX, no. 4, 587); Butler reply to Hicks in Benjamin Butler, *Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), 194; steamer *Maryland*, church services, and "party of police" in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 22, 1861; George Whitmarsh Diary, April 21, 1861, MS 896, MHS. The *Baltimore Sun* of April 22, 1861, reported that telegraph lines were cut north of the city and seized south of the city.
32. Hester A. Davis to "My Dear Child," April 23, 1861, Allan W. Davis Papers, MS 1511, MHS; *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1861 (this clergy meeting, the Rev. Thomas B. Sargent of the M.E. Church presiding, also appealed to Lincoln to avoid civil war); Winfield Scott to Abraham Lincoln, April 22, 1861, in Mearns, *Lincoln Papers*, 2:584; "rumors" in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 22, 1861.
33. *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1861 (federal employees and bank run); arms to Baltimore in *Official Records*, 1:1, 442 (April 22, 1861, 1,000 arms from Confederate seizure of Harpers Ferry; 5,000 from the Lexington, Va., arsenal); A. M. Hancock to Abraham Lincoln, April 28, 1861, in Mearns, *Lincoln Papers*, 2:589 (Hancock wrote from Coleman's Eutaw House Hotel in Baltimore).
34. Dennett, *Diaries and Letters of John Hay*, 9, entry of April 22, 1861 (Gen. Spinner and gaunt figure). Jim Lane was "the ally of Montgomery, the King of the Jayhawkers, and the friend of John Brown of Ossawatomie." Lane founded the "Frontier Guards," led the Free State movement in Kansas, and served as major general of the Kansas militia. A Senator from 1861–66, he supported Lincoln and emancipation and arming of slaves.
35. *Baltimore Sun*, April 22 (Marchisi and Schenck) and April 23, 1861 (Mitchell and health commissioner); Daniel M. Thomas to "My Dear Sister," April 21, 1861, MS 1970, MHS.
36. Seabrook, *Maryland's Great Part*, 21–22.
37. John C. Pratt (Boston) to Jabez David Pratt (Baltimore), April 27, 1861, MS 1860, MHS.
38. *Baltimore Exchange*, April 22, 24, 26, 1861, in Catton, "The Baltimore Business Community," 91–92; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 183; John P. Kennedy journal, April 26, 1861, Kennedy Papers, and Henry Winter Davis to Samuel F. DuPont, May 5, 1861, DuPont Papers, both in Evitts, 183; George Whitmarsh Diary, April 27, 1861, MS 896, MHS; Schley in *Official Records* 2:1, 610.