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Whose Cause Shall We Embrace?

Maryland and the Fort Sumter Crisis

CHARLES W. MITCHELL

Four federal forts ringed Charleston harbor in 1860. In keeping with the general state of the nation's military readiness, none was battle ready. Castle Pinckney, occupied by Sergeant Skillen and his wife and fifteen-year-old daughter Kate, lay less than a mile offshore from the city proper. The sergeant was charged with oiling the post equipment so it wouldn't rust. Fort Moultrie sat on Sullivan's Island, five miles due east, on the north side of the harbor, and housed a small contingent of soldiers, regimental musicians and workmen. Across the harbor from Moultrie, almost due south of Castle Pinckney, was Fort Johnson, a small, decrepit Revolutionary-era fort that had been abandoned. In the middle of the harbor loomed the behemoth Fort Sumter, unfinished despite construction that had begun in 1829.

South Carolina cared little for the idea of a network of U.S. forts surrounding its capital and controlling access to its harbor. For decades the state had long challenged federal power. In 1828, Palmetto men reacted strongly to the third in a rapid burst of federal tariffs on imported goods, levied by a national government needing to raise money in a pre-income tax era. (The first tariff had come in 1816, the second in 1824.) The 1828 levy of 50 percent became known as the Tariff of Abomination. South Carolinians had been outraged: Where in the U.S. Constitution, they demanded, lay the power to declare such taxes on the states? In Article One, Section Eight, parried federalists, wherein Congress had the right to "lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States." Indignant Carolinians, led by native son and vice president John C. Calhoun, retorted by appointing a state convention to nullify this malignant tariff before it could grow.

Their Nullification Doctrine, Calhoun and others theorized, would enable the minority to thwart the enactment of unfair laws. More important, it would prevent "some future northern majority from abolishing slavery by giving the southern minority power to veto Yankee fanaticism." Following four years of congressional debate, the abominable tariff became law in 1832, though at the lesser rate of 25 percent. In November of that year, South Carolina's convention voted to nullify it as unconstitutional. Radicals screamed for secession. The state's

Charles W. Mitchell is writing a history of Maryland in the Civil War, from which this is excerpted.

legislature began to raise a military force and arms to equip it. Calhoun resigned the vice presidency. On March 1, 1833, President Andrew Jackson received congressional approval for both the reduced tariff and the use of military force to collect tariff revenue from South Carolina. Later that month the Carolinians' Nullification Convention rescinded its original action and, as it did so, took smug satisfaction in nullifying Jackson's "Force Bill."¹

But a secession notion had taken life in South Carolina, and by the end of 1860 it had reached feisty adolescence. Carolinians had been chafing under the federal yoke for decades, and now an antislavery "Black Republican" had been elected to the White House. Some Charleston citizens even had cheered Abraham Lincoln's November election—"Lincoln was elected & our fate sealed," wrote Charleston socialite Mary Boykin Chesnut in her diary—for secession at last seemed within their grasp. The undermanned Fort Sumter, the noxious symbol of federal power so easily seen from Charleston's Battery promenade, had people of the Palmetto state gleefully rubbing their hands. Minute Men marched in Charleston and Columbia. On November 7, the day after Lincoln's victory, a Charleston grand jury announced its withdrawal from a federal court proceeding. The presiding federal judge removed his black robe and, tossing it aside, seceded from his federal job.² His state would follow suit on December 20.

In the autumn of 1860, Captain John Foster arrived in Charleston to oversee fortification of Forts Moultrie and Sumter. In short order he sent for a group of skilled workmen from Baltimore who had worked for him at Fort Carroll, at the entrance to Baltimore's harbor. There was plenty of work to do, despite the fact that more than \$1 million had already been spent on Sumter, built to accommodate 650 men and 146 guns. Foster, a West Pointer and Mexican War veteran, believed his Baltimore men to be good unionists, but wondered if they could be trusted to bear arms in defense of the forts.

Lincoln's election and close Carolina scrutiny of the U.S. arsenal in Charleston made the tension more palpable. (The new president would not be inaugurated until March.) Late in November, Major Robert Anderson assumed command of U.S. forces in Charleston Harbor. Anderson, a West Point graduate and thirty-five-year army officer, had served with distinction in the Mexican War. He counted Jefferson Davis among his friends and had sworn Abraham Lincoln into the army in 1832 to fight in the Black Hawk War. His father had fought the British from Fort Moultrie, and after Charleston fell, served nine months in prison for his trouble. On December 11 President James Buchanan's War Department instructed Anderson

to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression . . . but you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor, and if attacked you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The small-

ness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts, but an attack on or attempt to take possession of any one of them will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you deem most proper to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a decision to proceed to a hostile act.

It was left to the Major to figure out how to defend three forts—two of which were under construction, each separated from the others by at least a mile of water—with a total of sixty-five trained military men and their musicians and a ragtag bunch of day laborers, some of whose loyalty he suspected. Anderson had his doubts about the Baltimore workmen: “Some days ago the commanding officer at Fort Sumter inquired of the laborers lately brought from Baltimore if they would defend the place in case of attack? They answered unanimsly that they came to work, not to fight, and rather than oppose the South they would immediately return to Baltimore.” Just before Christmas Anderson received further orders from Secretary of War John Floyd:

You are directed to hold possession of the forts in the harbor of Charleston, and if attacked to defend yourself to the last extremity. Under these instructions, you might infer that you are required to make a vain and useless sacrifice of your own life and the lives of the men under your command upon a mere point of honor. This is far from the President’s intention. . . . It is neither expected nor desired that you should expose your own life or that of your men in a hopeless conflict in defence of these forts. If they are invested or attacked by a force so superior that resistance would in your judgment be a useless waste of life it will be your duty to yield to necessity and make the best terms in your power. This will be the conduct of an honorable brave and humane officer and you will be fully justified in such action.³

It was left to Anderson to determine exactly how to “hold possession” of three forts simultaneously while defending himself “to the last extremity” without making a “vain and useless sacrifice” of himself and his undermanned force.

Whose Cause Shall Maryland Embrace?

As the news of Lincoln’s election spread, South Carolinians began arming themselves, much to the benefit of Baltimore hardware firm Magruder, Taylor & Roberts. In November a resident of the town of Sumter sent a check for \$226

Mount Pleasant April 17/60
 Laurens Dist S C

Magruder Taylor & Roberts

You find check on
 N Y for \$100⁰⁰ Exchange cost 25 etc you can
 please to say to you will please send me a shot
 gun like the last one you sent us Double Loop 5/8"
 Bore 39 Long pr of 17 and Tell Egan's Paymaster
 same to fill bill ^{below} and send the gun with them
 and say to them I think I will be able to pay them
 some money before long Yours Respectfully
 A. H. Flowers

South Carolinians ordered weapons from Baltimore's MacGruder, Taylor, and Roberts hardware firm after receiving news of Lincoln's election. (Maryland Historical Society.)

for a package of pistols, flasks for "Colts Navy" pistols, and caps. Another ordered "a Dirk knife with six-inch blade & belt & scabbard" and requested prices of "good short guns" and "Colts Pistols," though he later cancelled his knife order: "Some time ago I ordered a Bowie knife with belt . . . please inform [Adams Express] that it has not been received and request them to pay for it. The gentleman for whom it was ordered was shot dead in the court house square the other day in a street fight." A third buyer beseeched the Baltimoreans to "please forward the above (four) Pistols in haste." A South Carolina firm ordered "three double barrel shot guns . . . for shooting birds," adding a postscript: "Send us six Colts Repeaters six shooters at as low figgers as you can." Other fortifications were also sought: "You will please send us one Pound *strong* essence Jamaica Rum by Adams Express Co. as we . . . can not get it in Charleston nor Columbia." Banking difficulties in the south reverberated in Baltimore: "We received your[s] this morning and are indeed quite sorry that things have run to the point they have," wrote a small firm to Magruder. "We had invested in cotton just ready to draw it and pay it, when the banks closed down and even could not get our own. In two weeks we will be able to remit."²⁴

Sympathetic Marylanders rushed to aid the Carolinians. "We desire to have some Palmetto flags made here. Please send us immediately a copy of one drawn in colors, or a small flag. We appreciate the pluck of the gallant little South Carolina. Send us her flag—we are ready to defend it!" pleaded Baltimoreans in mid-November. The Maryland supplicants were obliged when the *Charleston*

Courier announced that “a Palmetto tree, drawn in colors by Col. E. B. White, was sent to Baltimore on Thursday . . . this handsome token of amity and friendship . . . will be placed, as we understand, alongside the Colonial flag of Maryland.” South Carolina reciprocated with praise of Maryland footwear: “Baltimore made boots and shoes are noted in the Charleston papers as superceding similar Northern manufactures.” Marylander Washington Yellott, brother of southern-leaning state senator Coleman Yellott, resolved on November 23 that, though his organization, the National Volunteers, favored a complete Union, any southern state should be able “to absolve herself from all governmental association with the other members of the Federal union,” and that the Volunteers stood ready to send any aggrieved state at least a thousand soldiers. Philip Harry Lee, claiming descent from Light Horse Harry Lee of “*revolutionary memory*,” offered the governor of South Carolina 1,300 Light Horse National Volunteers from Baltimore: “We promise to show, like the old and famous *Maryland Line*, that our soil can produce a few more men whose metal will prove too hard for the digestion of a certain class of people.”⁵

On December 26, Anderson broke the stalemate in Charleston harbor. His men spiked Fort Moultrie’s guns and burned its gun carriages, then abandoned the unfinished fort and slipped into Sumter under the noses of South Carolina militiamen, whose vigilance was at low holiday ebb. According to a fanciful dispatch in the *Charleston Mercury*, Anderson had dined ashore that evening with Charleston dignitaries and “was duly carried back to Fort Moultrie by early moonlight, apparently very much overcome by the good things drinkable set before him. Those in charge of the steamer posted in the channel to watch his movements in the fort, therefore, thought it would be safe for them to relax their vigilance and themselves take a Christmas night frolic. . . . the apparent intoxication of Anderson was but a feint to have the very effect it did have.”⁶ The major, with little direction from an indecisive and inexperienced administration, had acted on his own, intoxicated or not, and for the moment controlled the harbor and its other forts.

Charlestonians fumed. Anderson’s move into Sumter violated a pledge they thought they had from President Buchanan not to alter the status quo in the forts around their city. And South Carolina’s commissioners were furious. Anderson’s action, they wrote to Buchanan, “was not a peaceful change from one fort to another; it was a hostile act in the highest sense . . . by your course you have probably rendered civil war inevitable. Be it so.”⁷

An uneasy quiet hung over Fort Sumter and the harbor. Both Anderson’s men and the Carolina militia encircling the fort sought target practice, in readiness for the day that the stalemate would turn to war. Bruce Catton described how the sides

maintained polite relations while they got ready to kill each other . . . Anderson's men mounted a ten-inch Columbiad as a mortar in the parade ground, pointing it at Charleston's fabled park The Battery; to see if the alignment was correct, they got Major Anderson's permission to fire one shot with a greatly reduced charge. The reduction in the charge was insufficient; the gun threw its projectile in a soaring parabola that almost landed it in downtown Charleston, and there was a flurry of intense excitement, with officers coming out under flag of truce to ask the major if he was really starting the war. Explanations and an apology followed, and the excitement died down.⁸

Throughout the autumn Marylanders had been closely watching events in South Carolina. "In the political world I regard the aspect of things very squally indeed," wrote Daniel M. Thomas in November. "I look upon a general break up, as pretty nearly inevitable and I cannot see what will be the end of it all. I can scarcely hope that it will be anything but disastrous, but we must trust to Providence and hope for the best." The *Frederick Herald* noted that "While (Marylanders) do not think that the election of Lincoln to the Presidency is sufficient cause for any Southern State to secede, they will oppose the use of measures to coerce a State into the Union . . . though Maryland should assume a position of neutrality, it should be one of *armed neutrality*." A Baltimorean expressed anger over the refusal of Maryland's governor, Thomas Hicks, to convene his legislature, then not in session. "The exciting news by telegraph has just reached here of the burning of Fort Moultrie by the U.S. troops to their occupation of Fort Sumpter . . . what this will lead to God only knows. . . . We have a wicked Know nothing Gov. in this state, who refuses all solicitations to call our legislature together."⁹

John D. Roberts of Magruder, Taylor & Roberts, travelling in the south, advised his colleagues not to expect the good business of the early autumn to continue. On December 9 he wrote from Marietta, Georgia, that "things look very gloomy out here selling goods is out of the question but I will do my very best and send you every dollar that can be had . . . as our banks have suspended I have thought it best to take notes. I am refusing orders for pistols except for cash." The next day he wrote that "business is almost entirely suspended nearly every man is for secession and a fight." Two weeks later he described the reaction in Atlanta to Anderson's move: "Men are forming around all seem anxious for a fight. I am sorry." The situation was not entirely bleak, however, for though "business is at a 'perfect stand still' no person wants goods except Colts and other pistols which I am [placing] orders for daily."¹⁰

Elizabeth Blair Lee was the daughter of prominent Maryland unionist and Lincoln confidante Francis Preston Blair, and sister of Lincoln's Postmaster Gen-

eral, Montgomery Blair. In a letter to her husband, naval officer Samuel Phillips Lee, she exalted in the union sentiment around her: "South Carolina ordained herself on the 20th out of the Union whereupon the stocks rise. Patriotism is now above par," she wrote on Christmas Day of 1860. "The Union Flag streams from nearly every house top—Father returned home from the [Washington] City last night singing & happier about politics than I've seen him since the election—Still he & all thinking men are sure that peaceable secession is a fallacy." In Baltimore Captain Thomas Bowers organized a Union Zouave company called the Law Grays, whose members "have been undergoing a severe drilling. . . . A gray uniform, pretty much after the style of the Zouave uniform, is being proposed, and the company expect to make their first parade in ten days or two weeks." Daniel Thomas had determined that Maryland should move in a southerly direction. "Matters are frightening here—at one time I thought we were sold to the North, but the feeling which has manifested itself here recently makes me hope everything is not lost yet," he wrote to his sister in February. "We are going on now to stir the matter in the wards by ward meetings & speeches and so forth. Nearly Everybody here has given up all hope of compromise, and the only question is, whose cause shall Maryland embrace, that of the North or that of the south. I am satisfied that not only our sympathies and honor but also our material interests require us to side with the south. If Maryland does go North I for one go south." Baltimorean William Welch entrusted matters to Providence. "I do not know what will become of us but hope and pray that God will bring all things wright," he wrote to Father John Hershey of the Jarrettsville Methodist Church, in Baltimore County. "There is a considerable commotion in our church at this time and how it will terminate the Lord only knows."¹¹

Marylanders were calling for Governor Hicks to convene the state legislature into special session. St. Mary's County citizens met on November 20 in Leonardtown, in southern Maryland, and petitioned him to summon the lawmakers "at an early day to consider what steps it is right, proper and necessary for Maryland to take in the present position of affairs." Hicks's reply, to a similar plea from state legislator John Contee of Prince George's County, called for the sanctity of southern rights and repeal of the Personal Liberty Laws enacted by northern states to counteract the Fugitive Slave Law. Just before Christmas Governor Hicks told five visitors that he would await action by the legislatures of Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia before convening Maryland's lawmakers. His action was endorsed by the "Friends of the Union."¹²

Hicks disapproved of secession in principle, and he opposed South Carolina's. "Should I be compelled to witness the downfall of that Government inherited from our fathers, established, as it were, by the special favor of God?" he wondered. "I will at least have the consolation, in my dying hour, that I neither by



Elizabeth Blair Lee, sister of Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair, rejoiced in Maryland's strong union stance. (Courtesy, J. Wayne Lee.)

word or deed assisted in hastening its disruption.” The governor’s strategy was endorsed by the Episcopal Bishop of Maryland, William Whittingham, who explained that he had recently met with leaders of ten Maryland counties and “without any exception, I have found convictions of the present duty and policy of Maryland, in the main agreeing with those expressed by your address. . . . may I be allowed to say that in my own opinion your forcible, frank, manly and true-hearted statement of your policy, and the grounds on which it has been adopted and will be maintained, cannot but be attended (under the Divine blessing) with the happiest results?” Hicks’s friend Anna Ella Carroll, a prominent Eastern Shore woman who would later advise Lincoln’s War Department, reminded him that “although you were opposed to the election of Mr. Lincoln, you are for maintaining this Union.” A newspaper correspondent applauded the governor’s “firmness in not consenting to call an extra session of the Legislature. To do so at this particular time . . . would not be in accordance with the wishes of the People . . . and, in all probability, [would] in the end bring ruin upon us all.”¹³

South Carolina governor Francis W. Pickens, who maintained pressure against Fort Sumter while delaying an attack against it, urged Maryland and Virginia to seize Washington. (From Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.)



Citizens of Maryland and South Carolina were not the only ones unnerved by Major Anderson's Sumter gambit. Buchanan had been negotiating with South Carolina representatives to avoid war, or at the least put it off until inauguration day on March 4, when the whole Charleston mess would slide into Lincoln's lap. The president considered ordering Anderson back to Fort Moultrie but stiffened when news came that Carolina militiamen had seized the empty federal forts in the harbor. Had South Carolina's Governor Francis W. Pickens left the forts alone, Buchanan likely would have so ordered Anderson, and the Carolinians could have sailed unmolested into Sumter. Now they would have to fight for it.¹⁴

Buchanan and Pickens both wished to postpone decisions that could trigger war. Old Buck, only weeks from the sanctity of his Pennsylvania farm, was not about to enter history as the man who started an American civil war. Daily he prayed for the congressional committees working feverishly for a rapprochement with the Deep South, and he gave thanks when he heard Virginia calling for a peace conference to convene in February. Pickens, who now fancied himself head of a sovereign state, was simultaneously being pushed to attack Sumter immediately and delay until the other seceded states could organize themselves sufficiently to negotiate with the U.S. government. The governor had another reason to play for time: South Carolina's fortifications around the harbor were incapable of mounting much challenge against Sumter; though engineers and slaves were working around the clock, time was needed to get them battle-ready. But the hopes of both men evaporated as the winter days passed, and reinforc-

ing or resupplying Anderson's Spartan crew became an increasingly difficult and dangerous proposition.¹⁵

In Washington, committees from the House and Senate were devising ways to keep the other Deep South and border states from going over the edge. An *ad hoc* group of fourteen border-state congressmen—including Maryland's J. Morrison Harris of Baltimore, a leading southern unionist who served as secretary and kept its notes—met three times, on December 28 and January 3 and 4. This "border-state" plan attempted to reassure the south on slavery by strengthening the Fugitive Slave Law and prohibiting Congress from interfering with slavery where it existed.¹⁶ Tempers of the times led to fisticuffs between a U.S. Senator and the nation's top military official. "Mr. [Robert] Tombs & Genl Scott had a *bout* at No. 4 (John R's)," recounted Elizabeth Blair Lee. "The first called the Old Hero a liar—whereupon the Genl rushed into him—but they were promptly parted—it was at a dinner party—Civil War seems inevitable—even at friendly dinner parties."¹⁷ It was no doubt fortunate for the good senator that the dispute went no further, for the aging General Scott tipped the scales at close to three hundred pounds.

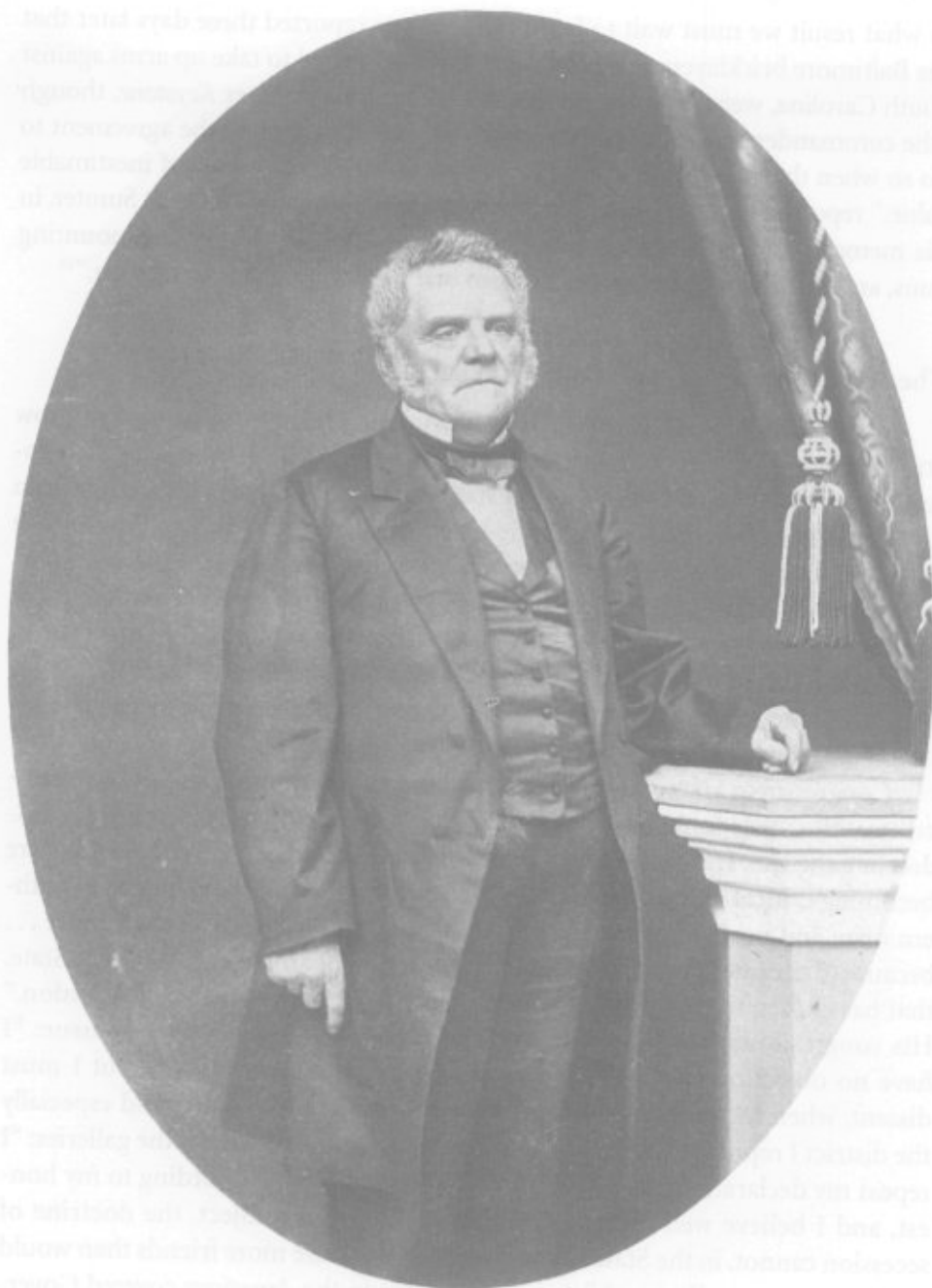
Major Anderson was becoming a hero of mythic stature in the north. "We must own that the news of the transaction in Charleston harbor was learned by us yesterday with a prouder beating of the heart. *We could not but feel once more that we had a country.* . . . It is a decisive act, calculated to rally the national heart," exalted the *Boston Courier* over the move to Sumter. "This rapid, unexpected manoeuvre has disconcerted treason, and received the highest military commendation in the country," waxed the *Boston Atlas and Bee* in late December. "Brave Major of Artillery, true servant of your country, soldier of penetrating and far-seeing genius, when right is endangered by fraud or force, at the proper time the needed man is always provided. The spirit of the age provides him . . . WASHINGTON, GARIBALDI, ANDERSON." Baltimore newspapers joined the chorus: "The announcement of the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and the occupation of Fort Sumter, was received with various expressions of opinion; but the predominant one was a feeling of admiration for the determined conduct and military skill of Col. Anderson in abandoning an indefensible position . . . which has reversed the whole position of affairs," praised the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*. The *Exchange* endorsed Anderson's move, knowing he could not defend both Sumter and Moultrie: "We can, as at present, say little. But whether he acted in pursuance of orders from head-quarters, or consulted merely his own judgment, the step he has taken must be conceded to have been a wise and prudent one." The *Sun* was more cautious: "The news from Charleston yesterday caused somewhat of a sensation even in Baltimore. It seems an initial movement, but of its necessity and propriety we cannot judge. That it will tend to excite the people of the South is very certain, but

to what result we must wait to learn.” The paper reported three days later that the Baltimore bricklayers and carpenters, having refused to take up arms against South Carolina, were departing Charleston aboard the steamer *Keystone*, though “the commander refused to pay their passage, notwithstanding the agreement to do so when they left home.” Some remained, however, and were “of inestimable value,” reported Captain Abner Doubleday, a company commander at Sumter, in his memoir. “They did an immense amount of labor in the way of mounting guns, and moving weighty materials from one part of the work to another.”¹⁸

The Stars and Stripes Ain’t Doing Their Duty

As calendars turned to 1861, signs of Maryland unionism seemed to grow stronger. From a meeting of all Maryland counties early in January came a resolution that “Maryland is this day, as she ever has been, true to the American Union; that she will exert all her influence for its peaceful preservation . . . the people of Maryland will accept the proposed constitutional and legislative guarantees known as the Crittenden compromise, as a fair and proper settlement of the fatal controversy which is now distracting the republic.” A meeting in Frederick resolved to prevent any effort “to commit ‘noble old Maryland’ to any sectional issue” that would expel the state from the “broad aegis of the Constitution and the laws.”¹⁹

Congressman Harris announced that “the movement in some of the southern States . . . has none of my sympathy, and no particle of my approval.” Addressing the U.S. House, he allied himself with the southern unionists who were becoming critical in the border states such as Maryland. “I stand here as a southern man; and my State, a southern State, hangs upon the brink of a precipice . . . because of the intemperate, the unnecessary action of an extreme southern State, that has chosen to realize her dream of thirty years in this matter of secession.” His congressional colleague, George W. Hughes of West River, took issue: “I have no objection to my colleague speaking for his own district; but I must dissent, when he undertakes to speak for the State of Maryland, and especially the district I represent.” Harris’s retort drew great applause from the galleries: “I repeat my declaration; and say now, that at this moment, according to my honest, and I believe well-informed judgment upon the subject, the doctrine of secession cannot, in the State of Maryland, to-day raise more friends than would make up a corporal’s guard.” A correspondent in the *American* covered Governor Hicks in reflected glory. “The determined stand taken by the Governor of Maryland, in his resistance of the pressure made on him to involve his state in the disunion programme, has coupled his name with that of the gallant Major Anderson.”²⁰ The reputation of the gallant Anderson grew when it became known that on January 11 he had refused a demand to surrender Sumter.



Maryland Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Men were hopeful as the Washington Peace Conference opened on February 4 in Washington. One hundred and thirty-two of them had made their way into Willard's Hall amid rumors of conspiracies to seize the capital. Former president John Tyler, a slaveholder, sat in the chair. Some of the seven Maryland delegates appointed by Governor Hicks—who collectively gave the state's presence a unionist mien—believed Maryland could mediate the crisis. Former senator and attorney general Reverdy Johnson of Baltimore opposed secession, but cautioned against “any effort by the Federal Government to coerce in any form the said States to reunion or submission, as tending to irreparable breach, and leading to incalculable ills.” John Crisfield, a moderate Eastern Shore congressman, announced that “we wish to stay the hand of the extremists on both sides. We wish to stand by the Union.” The conference proposed a thirteenth amendment to the constitution that would have permanently left slavery's future to the states, and the Maryland men voted unanimously for all seven sections. But this last struggle for compromise was crushed on the floor of the U.S. Senate in the early dawn of March 4, the day of Lincoln's inauguration.²¹

Scott is strengthening Washington by pouring in federal troops under circumstances of the deepest degradation of Maryland and Virginia. . . . I am sure the only way to secure fort McHenry and Fort Monroe is for Maryland and Virginia . . . to seize immediately Washington, and . . . to get possession of Fort Monroe and Fort McHenry in the convulsion. This would force Lincoln to seek another point for the inauguration, and thus throw the Northern states into apparent revolution. . . . I sincerely believe it would be the most certain mode of saving the country from a permanent, bloody and civil war.

Others pressed Maryland to collaborate with the rebels. “Can there not be found men bold and brave enough in Maryland to unite with Virginians in seizing the Capitol at Washington?” wondered the *Richmond Enquirer*. “The States of Virginia and Maryland having grown together in prosperity, they should cling together in adversity,” proclaimed a St. Mary's County speaker at a celebration of Washington's birthday. “Like the Siamese Twins to divide them, would be to kill them both.” A Bladensburg doctor opined that “Noble South Carolina has done her duty bravely. Now Virginia and Maryland must immediately raise an armed force sufficient to control the district, and never allow Abe Lincoln to set foot on its soil.”²²

But Lincoln was ready to put his foot down firmly on Washington soil. By refusing to receive South Carolina's commissioners, he thereby removed the legitimacy Buchanan had so graciously granted the Confederacy by seeing them. The new president had troubles at home, too. Secretary of State William Henry

Seward, a former governor and senator from New York, had decided he was better qualified than the prairie lawyer to run the nation's affairs. Seward began quietly assuring the Carolina commissioners that the Sumter garrison would be withdrawn, his claim bolstered by the assent of most of the Cabinet and General Scott himself. But Lincoln would not be pushed. He began to consider reinforcing Sumter as an alternative to evacuating it.²³

Public opinion fortified Lincoln's instinct to make a stand at Sumter. His inaugural address had, after all, promised to "hold, occupy and possess" the federal forts, and its original draft had been even stronger on this score, pledging also to "reclaim the public property and places which have fallen." The president received plenty of advice about what to do in Charleston harbor. Letters poured in to the White House. One suggested that Sumter be resupplied via a "submarine vessel"; another thought balloons the ideal vehicle for dropping supplies. A fellow Republican from New York advised Lincoln to hold firm: to "give up Sumpter, Sir, & you are as dead politically as John Brown is physically. You have got to fight." Another correspondent advised him to hold Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island in Pensacola Bay, and "if it be *possible* (no matter what the cost of money or life)—*Fort Sumpter* should be *supplied with provision . . . afterwards*, it could be re-enforced with troops. But it will be better, thousand times, that the Fort be attacked, *Captured*, and Anderson and his men be made prisoners of war, or all killed—than that it be *evacuated!*" A fellow Springfield citizen wrote of his

pain and regret that you are debating about Evacuating Sumter lowering our Glorious old Flag that Washington through so many trials and Privations unfurled and sustained to be trampled on by traitors and to be made the hiss and scoff of the World . . . say the word By the Eternal, Fort Sumter *shall* be reinforced and that glorious old Flag sustained and my word for it 100,000 good and true men with Jim Hill amongst them will at once respond to the call.²⁴

As Lincoln weighed his options in Charleston harbor, southern rights men made themselves known in Maryland. In late February, Captain John C. Robinson took command of Fort McHenry and recounted that "the officers at the post were on friendly and visiting terms with some of the leading families of Baltimore, but when secession became the harbinger of war, they found many of these acquaintances were intensely Southern in their feelings, and ready to unite with the seceding States in their efforts to destroy the Union." Texas senator Louis T. Wigfall abandoned his far-fetched idea of kidnapping Buchanan and began openly recruiting in Baltimore for the Confederacy. "The Union of the South for the sake of the South," intoned Captain Edwin J. Coad of the Clifton

Guards, at that St. Mary's County celebration of Washington's birthday. Attending the same event, Major John Milburn expressed the attitude of many a southern-rights Marylander: "Our rights in the Union, if we can, but our rights in or out of the Union." The National Rifles of Washington was made up largely of Maryland men itching to protect their state from Yankees passing through to fight the south. "*We Southerners* are settled in the belief that the North will do nothing and it is time for us to help ourselves. 'Self preservation is the first law of nature,'" wrote a member of the Shriver family of Union Mills. "The Stars and Stripes ain't doing their duty and we must disown them."²⁵

The times pushed one Maryland unionist into the abyss. On February 8, navy captain Edward G. Tilton retired to an upper floor of his home and shot himself in the head. His wife, Josephine, and their five children heard the shot one floor below. "I was grieved to the heart to learn by the city papers that Capt Tilton had committed suicide yesterday," Elizabeth Blair Lee confided to her husband. "The paper says it was owing to the Countrys troubles—forgetting that there is a 'better country' for which we ought to work. . . . oh the bitter pang to his wife . . . the amount of unhappiness to result in such a deed is fearful to think of[.] May God be more merciful to him than he has been to himself. . . . His State was still in the Union & all prospect of Md. seceding is given up by the frantic fire eaters."²⁶

In Washington Seward remained certain that Lincoln would order Fort Sumter evacuated, and he so advised the southerners. "I myself, my brothers and sisters, have been all secessionists," he proclaimed in late March. "We seceded from home when we were young, but we all went back to it sooner or later. These states will all come back in the same way." In Charleston, Mary Chesnut took the secretary at his word. "They say positively Fort Sumter is to be relieved. Too good to be true," she wrote on March 12. Chesnut would seem to know. Her husband James, who had resigned his U.S. Senate seat upon South Carolina's secession, knew all the important people. "There will be no war, it will all be arranged," he explained confidently. "I will drink all the blood shed in the war."²⁷

Lincoln continued to grapple with the dilemma at Sumter. On March 15 he posed a question to his Cabinet: "Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it?" He asked for written replies. Most advised withdrawal. Surrender was inevitable, said Seward, and a peaceful evacuation would stoke southern unionism and hold the upper south and border states while avoiding bloodshed. "Every one is tired of the long-banded assertions about the evacuation of Fort Sumter," opined the *Baltimore Sun* on April 4. "Now that the spring elections in the republican States are over, Fort Sumter will, no doubt, be evacuated." The *Philadelphia Bulletin* predicted in mid-March that "in a week's time . . . Fort Sumter is to be given up."

There were pockets of serenity in Baltimore. "We are very quiet here at present," wrote Daniel Thomas. "Business is pretty much as usual. Political excitements have died out. Mr. Dent and myself have exhausted that subject and are looking around for something new." Another man reported his distaste for politicians and that he would "cling to the hope, that all will be well when the *people* are allowed to speak instead of politicians. . . . I have never yet been hopeless of a settlement of the question on honorable terms. . . . A higher destiny awaits our country—when the fanatics are silenced—& the extremists of both sections are controlled." Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte, who had briefly been the wife of Emperor Napoleon's younger brother, Jerome, received a letter early in March from her property manager in Baltimore, venting frustration at collecting her rents. He had "never experienced such difficulty as at present. Our Country is in such a state that it is almost impossible to get money, owing to the fact that no business is doing. I have been compelled to take dribs on account . . . and in some instances to take Virginia money which is at 6 per cent discount, for fear I should get none if I refused, the discount being more than my commission."²⁸

Late in March President Lincoln received a letter that must have warmed his heart:

I take the liberty of writing to you & making the following request for my little daughter, now about seven years old, which is, that you will send her your likeness. She is a very strong supporter of yours & has been ever since your nomination. Although all her little playmates are Democrats & almost every inducement has been used to make her turn she holds firm. . . . one gentlemen offered her a pound of Candy if she would only hurra once for Bell & Everette or Douglas, it was a great temptation but it was of no use . . . [she] takes every occasion to defend you against all attacks from every source. A good many have tried to make her opposed to you but she sticks to you and tells them it will be all right now you are President. She has always been very anxious to have a Lincoln Medal but as I was unable to get her a good one here I have taken the liberty to make this request of you. . . . Enclosed I send you Two Dollars to defray the expense.²⁹

To the men trapped in Fort Sumter the silence from Washington was deafening. The garrison had been subsisting on a barren diet of salt pork and stale bread, leavened only by an occasional shipment of fresh vegetables and fruit from Charleston. Loud grumbling was heard when the tobacco supply ran out and the men had to chew spun yarn. Precious shirts and wool socks were being made into cartridge bags. As the men dismantled Sumter's wooden structures for fuel, they had no inkling that the administration in Washington was giving their plight great attention, nor that Anderson's southern roots were giving rise

to suspicions about his loyalty. The major continued dutifully sending his reports north to Colonel Samuel Cooper, the army's adjutant general—unaware that Cooper had gone south to join the Confederate army. Rumors of a federal departure from Sumter were given life by headlines in Charleston newspapers. On March 8 a Carolina cannon boomed, landing a shot close to the fort's wharf. "The garrison was immediately alive with excitement. The guns facing the point were readied, and the men itched to blaze away at the enemy responsible for their troubles." Their hopes sank, however, when a black-bearded major was rowed to the fort to apologize for the accidental firing.³⁰

The Carolinians were pressing Seward hard now on his promises of a Sumter evacuation. By All Fool's Day Lincoln had the secretary off-balance, and he now could offer little beyond a pledge that Governor Pickens would be notified of any plan to *resupply* Sumter. Neither side was budging, and it seemed that the dwindling supply of food in the fort would determine if there would be war, and when. Marylanders rushed to the ramparts. Steamships from Baltimore laden with Confederate recruits departed for Charleston in early spring. Sixty-four Baltimoreans arrived in Charleston on March 23, followed by twenty-eight more on April 5, aboard the *Thomas Swann*, and a third batch on April 11—though some failed their physical examinations and were sent home. Two New York papers sent the nation's first war correspondents to take Charleston's temperature, which they quickly found to be well above normal.³¹

Sustain Yourself

On April 8 Lincoln advised Governor Pickens that Fort Sumter would be reprovisioned. The president promised to send no troops or arms as long as Pickens did not resist, placing the burden squarely upon South Carolina to permit the supplies through or start a war by resisting a humanitarian effort to keep men from starving. And the new secretary of war, Simon Cameron, at last took a moment to introduce himself to his beleaguered commander in Charleston harbor:

Your letter of the 1st instant occasions some anxiety to the President. . . . he had supposed you could hold out till the 15th instant without any great inconvenience; and had prepared an expedition to relieve you before that period.

Hoping still that you will be able to sustain yourself till the 11th or 12th instant, the expedition will go forward; and, finding your flag flying, will attempt to provision you, and, in case the effort is resisted, will endeavor also to re-inforce you.

You will therefore hold out, if possible, till the arrival of the expedition.

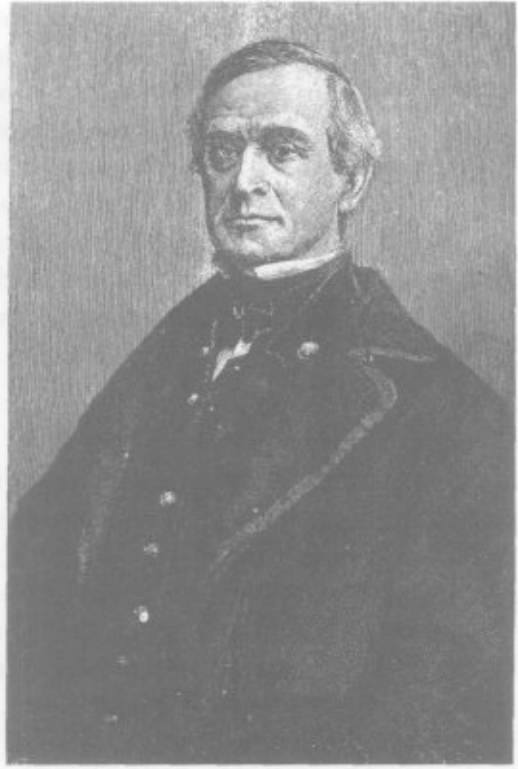
Lincoln did not wish Anderson and his men undue hardship, explained Cameron. “Whenever, if at all, in your judgment, to save yourself and command, a capitulation becomes a necessity, you are authorized to make it.” Anderson was stunned at this turn of events, given Seward’s very public assurances to the South Carolina commissioners that Sumter would be evacuated. “I fear that its result cannot fail to be disastrous to all concerned,” he replied the next day. “Even with his boat at our walls the loss of life . . . in unloading her will more than pay for the good to be accomplished by the expedition. . . . We have not oil enough to keep a light in the lantern for one night. The boats will have, therefore, to rely at night entirely upon other marks. . . . We shall strive to do our duty, though I frankly say that my heart is not in the war which I see is to be thus commenced.” This first correspondence from Anderson to Cameron landed on the desk of General Pierre G. T. Beauregard, commanding the shore batteries trained on Sumter, who—having stopped Anderson’s mail on April 8—intercepted the reply. On April 12 the *Baltimore Sun* took Anderson’s view of the situation, noting that the resupply effort was doomed to fail.³²

Conflict now appeared inevitable and imminent. Pickens countered Lincoln’s resupply notice by demanding that the fort be evacuated or surrendered outright. On April 11 the last of Sumter’s bread was eaten; only salt pork and a handful of broken crackers remained. Blankets and clothing were requisitioned for cartridge bags, though with but six needles in the fort, the going was slow. A February 22 cannon salute to George Washington had thrown glass fragments from broken windows into the rice stocks; the glass had been sifted out but the rice, lain out to dry, was moldy. “D [Doubleday?] found a potatoe today, and put it away,” noted a Sumter diarist. “He said somebody had tramped on it, but had not hurt it much.”³³

Lincoln had other worries. Threats that spring against him and the capital had been mounting. A man in the know wrote to him from Baltimore. “Dear Friend I take this method of informing you that you better prepair yourself for an asailing mob that is organizing in Baltimore as far as i can inform myself is about 12000 m. strong they intend to seize the Capitol and yourself and as they say that they will tar & put cotton on your head and ride you and Gen Scot on a rail this secret organization is about 70000 m members in Maryland and Virginia.” Governor Hicks was also being told of intrigues against Maryland:

I take the liberty of apprising you . . . that the Disunion leaders in this city intend to make Maryland the basis of their operations during the next two months. . . . they hope to bring Maryland into the line of the “seceding States” *before the 4th of March next*. To this end they will stimulate your people by every variety of appeal calculated to undermine their loyalty to the Constitution; will, if necessary, resort to threats

Major Robert Anderson, commander of the federal troops in Charleston Harbor. (From *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*.)



of violence . . . if they can succeed in bringing Maryland out of the Union, they will inaugurate the new “Southern Confederacy” in the present Capitol of the United States . . . [by] divesting the North of the seat of Government, and by retaining in their possession the public buildings and the public archives.

The writer urged him to stand firm, but the *Sun* continued to profess little faith in Lincoln. “We have very little to hope from the wisdom, sagacity or forbearance of the administration. In its hesitation and vacillation there is either the confession of weakness, or trickery.” The president did receive an obliging, if impractical, offer from New York: “In the present crisis, and distracted state of the country,” wrote Levin Tilman, “if your Honor wishes colored volunteers, you have only to signify by answering the above note at 70 E. 13 St. N.Y.C., with instructions, and the above will meet with prompt attention, whenever your honor wishes them.”³⁴

For Baltimorean John Pendleton Kennedy, a former Maryland congressman and secretary of the navy, the Sumter situation threatened his state’s Union ties. In March he wrote to a friend that Maryland “is as true to the Union today, as she was to the cause of the colonies in 1776. Three fourths of our people are

against secession in any event—nine tenths against it in the present state of the question.” Early in April he wrote to another that “we, of the Border States, are drifting southward, and it may soon be too late to arrest that movement.” He confided in his journal his worry over Lincoln’s Sumter strategy, which “strengthens the secession men and may end in driving us all out of the Union. I learn, however, that our Union majority in this state is still strong.” With conflict looming, men from seventeen Maryland counties gathered on April 9 at Barnum’s Hotel in Baltimore and agreed to send delegates to a Union meeting there on May 21—by which time circumstances would have gone far beyond anyone’s imagination.³⁵

If We Never Meet in This World Again

On April 11 General Beauregard sent two aides out to the fort to demand that Major Anderson vacate it immediately. (Anderson had taught the art of artillery to Beauregard at West Point, a delicious irony of many to come.) Beauregard offered his former teacher and his men surrender terms that included safe passage to any destination in the United States and permission to salute the U.S. flag as it was lowered. The major, under orders to hold the fort, refused. Courteous letters were exchanged, and Beauregard’s aides—not knowing how much food the Sumter men had and unwilling to risk a resupply by Yankee warships thought to be lurking outside the harbor—crossed the Rubicon. In the polite, chivalrous language of that time and place, they announced the start of the Civil War: “By authority of Brigadier General Beauregard, commanding the Provisional Forces of the Confederate States,” they intoned, “we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time.” Anderson, wrote one of the Beauregard aides, “seemed to realize the full import of the consequences, and the great responsibility of his position. Escorting us to the boat at the wharf, he cordially pressed our hands in farewell, remarking, ‘If we never meet in this world again, God grant that we may meet in the next.’” It was 3:20 on the morning of April 12, 1861.³⁶

“The republican press of the North is engaged in whetting the appetites of their party for blood and spoils,” blared the *Baltimore Sun* in editorial overstatement the next day. “No great difficulty do they seem to find in preparing the Northern mind for war . . . their enemy consists of quiet citizens, old men, as well as young, of women and school boys, clergymen and physicians, and faithful domestic slaves—for such is the character of the force which is engaged in the defense of Charleston, and against which the United States government send the boasted veterans of its army and navy.” For days Charleston had been abuzz over a surrender of or attack against Sumter. Anderson’s men anxiously studied their watches and awaited the 4:30 A.M. bombardment. At that moment a ten-

General Pierre Gustav Toutant Beauregard, commander of South Carolina troops in Charleston Harbor. (From Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.)



inch signal mortar was fired from Fort Johnson, and guns on all sides of the harbor opened fire on the old fort. Many of Charleston's finest took to the Battery, wharves, and rooftops to watch. Mary Chesnut clambered with friends onto the roof of the Mills House and, finding her dress on fire, discovered that she was sitting atop a chimney. Out in Sumter, Captain Doubleday "showed his contempt for the slave oligarchy by staying right in bed," despite a shell fragment that bore into the masonry barely a foot from his head.³⁷

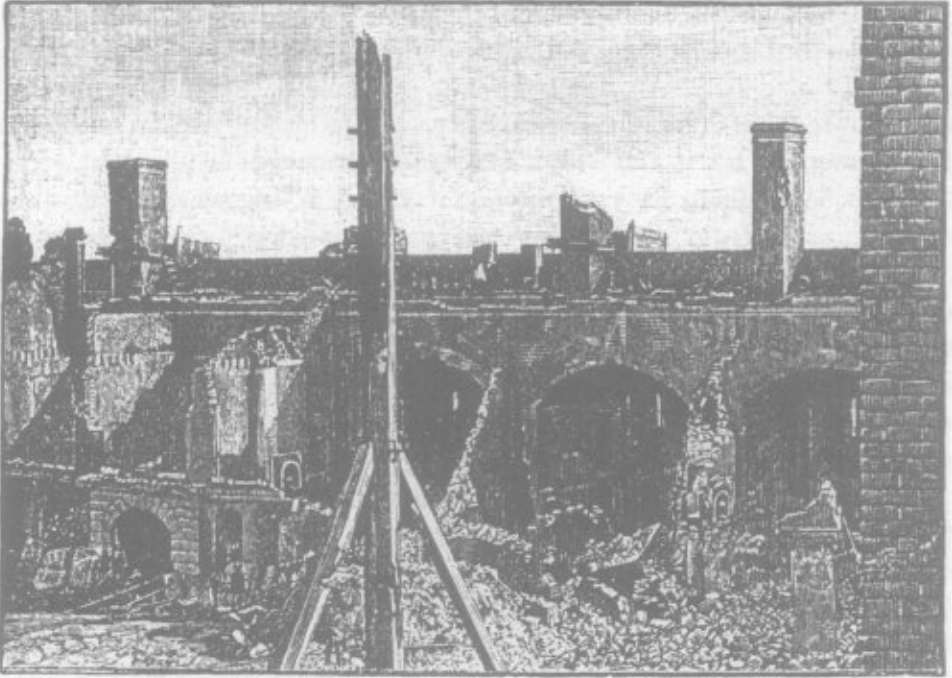
Anderson had but forty-eight guns (of 140) ready for use. He conserved ammunition by awaiting first light to return fire, by which time his men had been shelled for more than two hours. Early that afternoon excitement spread amongst the embattled federals when two U.S. warships were spotted in the mouth of the harbor—though as the mere vanguard of a seven-vessel expedition whose vital four never arrived, they did no good. The next morning, April 13, Confederate cannons set Sumter's barracks afire, and as the conflagration grew it threatened the magazine. The garrison frantically tried moving barrels of powder to higher ground, but the hail of burning debris grew so intense that the remaining powder was left to the mercies of Providence. Thick smoke at one point forced the Union men off their guns. The Confederates poured more fury into Sumter and cheered the mettle of men who would fire out of a burning fort. The workmen from Baltimore eased any doubts about their loyalty by leaping into the fray; they "had been watching our motions, and had thus learned the duties of a cannoner," related Doubleday, who was amazed to hear blasts from a battery ordered abandoned because of its exposure to withering Carolina fire. "They could not resist the fun of trying their hand at one of the guns. It

was already accurately pointed, and the ball struck the mark in the centre. The men attributed it to their own skill and when I entered they were fairly in convulsions of laughter . . . after this first attempt, each of them was desirous of trying his skill at aiming. The result was, that we soon had them organized into a firing party."³⁸

On the afternoon of April 13 the men of Fort Sumter surrendered. The thirty-four-hour bombardment ended on a comic note, as a Sumter cannoneer "going to the muzzle of his piece to reload, saw a strange fellow looking in the embrasure—a burly civilian with a swarthy, piratical face, red sash and sword belt incongruously belted about his middle, a naked sword with a white flag knotted about the blade gripped in one hand." It was Louis Wigfall, just returned from Baltimore, and he demanded to be hauled into the fort to see Major Anderson, to whom he offered terms. Anderson accepted them. Shortly thereafter Beauregard, seeing a hospital sheet flying from the remnants of Sumter's flagpole, dispatched three aides to the fort. The incredulous Southerners explained that Wigfall had no authority to offer terms, whereupon Anderson, considering his surrender invalid, announced "very well, gentlemen, you can return to your batteries." The stalwart federal commander was persuaded not to resume the battle. As the situation was being discussed, former Virginia congressman and Beauregard aide Roger Pryor gulped from a bottle and discovered that he had downed iodide of potassium in a likely fatal dose. Sumter's surgeon pumped his stomach—"Some of us questioned the doctor's right to interpose in a case of this kind," chortled Doubleday. "It was argued that if any rebel leader chose to come over to Fort Sumter and poison himself, the Medical Department had no business to interfere with such a laudable intention. The doctor, however, claimed, with some show of reason, that he himself was held responsible to the United States for the medicine in the hospital, and therefore he could not permit Pryor to carry any of it away."³⁹

We Declare War Against the War Spirit

The next day Major Anderson and his weary men sailed out of Charleston harbor, bound for New York, unaware that their valor had spurred passions in the north. "Their desperate battle for a doomed fortress had performed a mass miracle, unified overnight a formerly divided North, made Sumter a new Lexington, transformed Anderson's name into a rallying cry of fierce Union inspiration that blew down doubters and peacemakers in a surge of unanimity from 'Penobscot's waters to San Francisco's Bay' that meant one thing: War." Anderson's heroics also breathed life into Maryland unionism. Southern unionist William Wilkins Glenn of Baltimore related that "Fort Sumter fell, after nearly two days bombardment. There was great excitement in Baltimore. The general feeling



The interior of Fort Sumter after Anderson's surrender. (From Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.)

however was against the action of South Carolina." William T. Walters, a Baltimore liquor dealer who would flee to Europe to avoid arrest, marked the occasion by "collecting subscriptions for the purpose of firing a salute in honor of the occasion," reported Glenn. "No man in Maryland can lay his hand upon his heart and say that this Government of ours has ever done him wrong," wrote John P. Kennedy. "Maryland . . . must soon become a Free State, and she will then be found to be wholly ungenial to the principle upon which the Southern Confederacy is established."⁴⁰

The reaction to Sumter's fall also brought forth feelings of caution and resignation. "It is enough to say that we are on the Border, where all experience proves that the greatest aggravations of war's evils do congregate," warned the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*.

We are in favor of fighting to the death in defense of our rights and liberties. Life loses its value if we are in bondage, and no form of tyranny is more galling than a military despotism. This is precisely what we are drifting into, and here we should take our stand. We declare war against the war spirit . . . we will not fight in this senseless quarrel

except in defense of our firesides . . . the tone of public sentiment all over the Union, it is decidedly against bloodletting.⁴¹

Allen Bowie Davis of Montgomery County wrote to his son William to tell him that Sumter had fallen, and with it Maryland's chances of avoiding the inevitable war. "A Southern army will meet no resistance in Virginia as they have too many Sympathizers in Maryland—Washington would therefore be an easy pray . . . I think as Marylanders we should if possible keep out of the contest—but this may not be practicable." He closed with fatherly advice for young William to not let these events interfere with his studies. Bravado, however, ruled the day at the Maryland Club in Baltimore, where many members were said to be "elated at the news" of Sumter's fall. A visiting London newspaperman described an April 14 dinner at the club as a "secessionist evening."⁴²

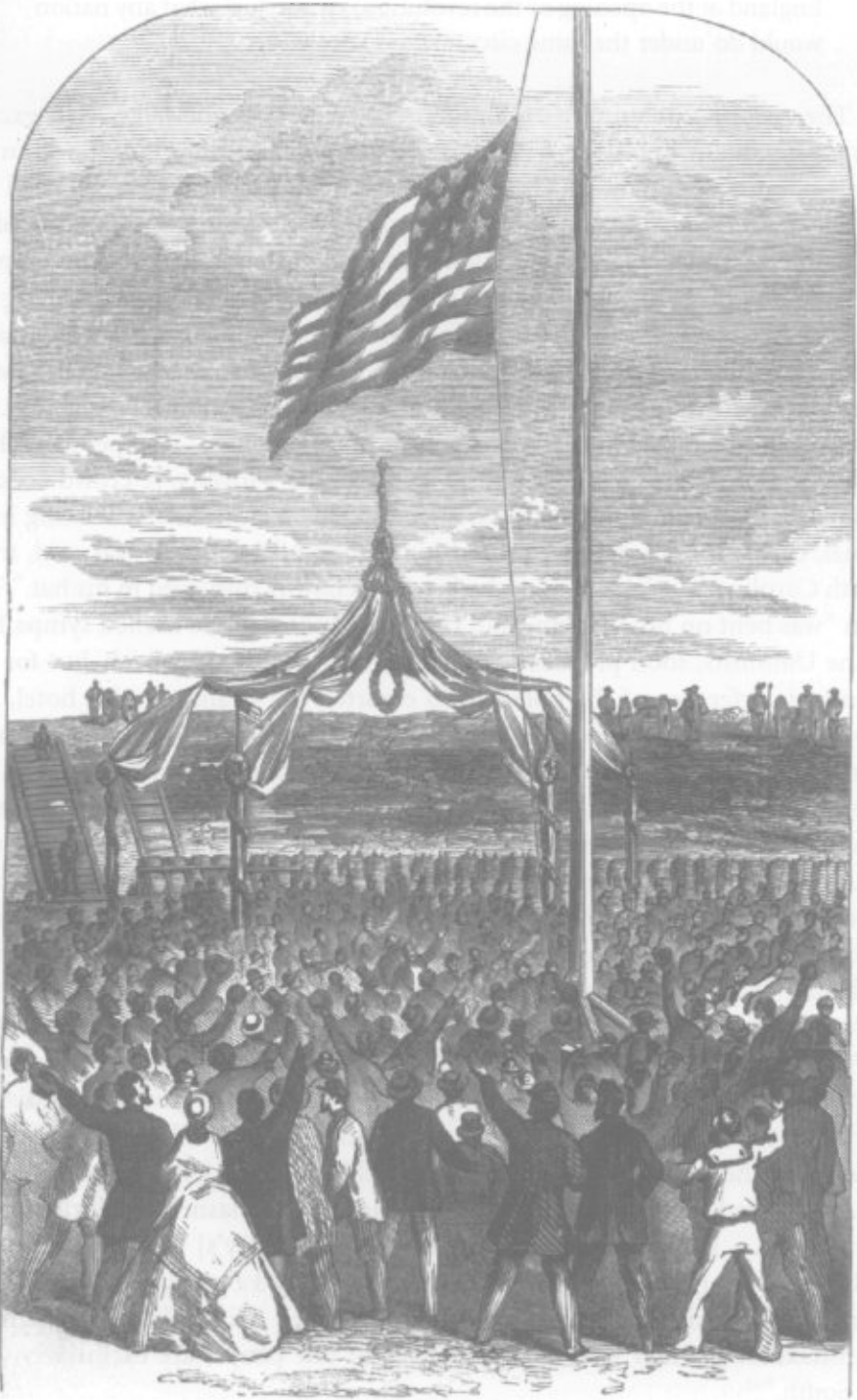
The battle for Sumter stirred some Southern feeling in the all-important border states. Kennedy wrote in his pamphlet, *The Great Drama*, that "the unnecessary bombardment of the starving garrison of Sumter was intended to stimulate the reluctant mind of Virginia to secession." The assault against the fort, he believed, was part of a campaign to sever the border states from the Union, with the seceded states actively "spreading panic . . . and thus stirring the population of the Border into sudden revolt against the Government." Kennedy saw this plan playing into the hands of Maryland secessionists, "an active, intelligent and ardent minority in the State who are bent upon forcing her into the Southern confederacy." He suggested the state legislature convene a convention to consider putting the question before Maryland's citizens. Baltimore hardware merchant Augustus J. Albert pronounced the Sumter campaign a success at stoking pro-southern sentiment. "Notwithstanding the John Brown raid, the people in both states [Maryland and Virginia], the best of them especially were enthusiastically in favor of the Union, and in Baltimore were parading the streets with Union flags . . . then came the first gun at Sumter, then the change." The *Baltimore Sun* went further, casting the aggrieved Palmetto State in the role of the American colonies at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War:

Now is the time for every good citizen to use all his influence to stay the onset, push back the advancing and furious contestants, and insist upon a peaceful adjustment of the cause of the strife . . . the war spirit of the North, that war spirit which it is so difficult to arouse against a foreign foe, is instantly inflamed versus the members of our national household. . . . And for what? . . . because they have captured a fortress within their own territory. . . . In the attack upon Sumter they have done just what the United States would have done with respect to

England at the opening of the revolutionary war, just what any nation would do under the same circumstances.⁴³

There was no unanimity on Baltimore's streets and sidewalks. "The excitement consequent upon the stirring news from Charleston Harbor was, until about noon of Saturday, much more intense than demonstrative," related the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, attributing the popularity of its April 15 edition to "sadness and gloomy apprehension . . . which the news of war, and of a probably bitter civil war, appears to have created even among the sober people of the north." The day following the surrender was "marked with alarming exhibitions of personal feeling or of partisan rancor. The predominant sentiment was, however, unmistakably one of devotion to the Union." A workman home from Sumter was "beset by eager listeners," who peppered him with questions about the fort and its commander's loyalty. A crowd seeking news at Baltimore and South streets encountered "a large, knatty looking individual, dressed in an orange colored jumpsuit, and hailing, it was said, from North Carolina . . . a secession cockade conspicuously displayed in his hat." The man "was bent on proselytism, and, running counter to the excited sympathies of the Unionists, soon provoked an ebullition of dislike . . . which, but for the prompt interference of the police, who escorted the stranger to his hotel, followed by a shouting throng, might have led to a serious collision." Similar incidents occurred during the day, but thanks to the police and afternoon hail the size of "well-formed peas," nothing "more serious than curses loud and deep" was heard. Crowds abated about midnight, when "earnest Union loving men returned to their [h]omes, many of whom doubtless vainly sought to 'draw around an aching breast the curtain of repose.'" A large American flag unfurled across a street in Havre-de-Grace proclaimed: "By the Eternal, the Union must and shall be preserved," while "fifteen guns were fired by the lovers of equal rights and the South at Funkstown, last night, in honor of the southern victory at Fort Sumter," reported the *Sun* on April 18. "The Sumter business is no sufficient cause for war. . . . We trust our readers will consider this subject dispassionately, even in the midst of great provocation. We are all doubtless for the Union, but the cry of Union is a barren, worthless thing." Citizens of St. Mary's County exalted at the fall of the fort. "The wildest enthusiasm broke forth among our people . . . the bells rang out a merry peal and [Riley's] 'Rifles' fired several volleys in honor of the event," related the *St. Mary's Beacon*. "We have never witnessed an excitement more general and intense . . . it indicates in the most unmistakable manner that the sympathies of our people are exclusively with the South."⁴⁴

Capt. Doubleday praised the loyalty and courage of the Baltimoreans in



Raising the Union flag once again over Fort Sumter in 1865. (From J. Clement French, The Trip of the Steamer Oceanus to Fort Sumter and Charleston, S.C. [Brooklyn, 1865.]

Fort Sumter. "The Baltimore workmen were, at first, rather reluctant to take hold. But before long they were, if anything, more determined than any of the garrison to fight for their flag," he told the *New York Commercial* aboard the steamer *Baltic*. "We had abandoned one of our guns owing to the close fire kept upon it. Hearing a gun fired from that direction, I hastened to the spot and found the abandoned gun in active service; a party of the Baltimore men were serving it with good effect."⁴⁵

Major Anderson returned to Sumter four years later to the day, on April 14, 1865, as the guest of honor at a ceremony in which the American flag was raised over the fort. He had not favored the militaristic tone of the event marking the defeat of the Confederacy and was present under order of the secretary of war. Lincoln had declined the invitation to attend. At dinner that evening Major Anderson offered a toast to the president:

I beg you, now, that you will join me in drinking the health . . . of the man who, when elected President of the United States, was compelled to reach the seat of government without an escort, but a man who now could travel all over our country with millions of hands and hearts to sustain him. I give you the good, the great, the honest man, Abraham Lincoln.⁴⁶

In Washington the President and Mrs. Lincoln were at that moment setting off for an evening at Ford's theater.

NOTES

1. The federal tariff had been 25 percent in 1816 and 33 percent in 1824. For the nullification crisis and its background, see William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816–1836* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), considered a standard work on the topic; William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776–1854* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 254–86 (quote on p. 259); and Irving H. Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1993), 177–201.
2. W. A. Swanberg, *First Blood: The Story of Fort Sumter* (New York: Scribner, 1957), 10 (Columbia Minute Men), 15 (cheering for Lincoln and Charleston Minute Men), 17 (grand jury and judge); C. Vann Woodward & Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, *The Private Mary Chesnut: The Unpublished Civil War Diaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 3–4.
3. D. C. Buell, assistant adjutant-general, to Anderson, December 11, 1860, and John B. Floyd to Anderson, December 21, 1860, in *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Congress, 1881–1901) [hereinafter OR], Series I, 1:89, 103. A facsimile of Floyd's letter is in Eba Anderson Lawton, *Major Robert Anderson and Fort Sumter 1861* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1911), 6–7. There are slight differences in punctuation between the actual letter and the version

given in OR (Lawton was Anderson's daughter). Anderson sent army adjutant-general Samuel Cooper a clipping about his visit from Buell from the December 13 *Charleston Mercury*, "to show you the almost impossibility of keeping anything secret." See OR, Series I, 1:92. Laborers in *Baltimore Sun*, December 19, 1860.

4. C. T. Mason, Sumter, South Carolina, November 3, 13, and 21; Thomas Steed (or Steen), Greenville, South Carolina, November 20 and December 27, 1860; Joel Smith, Brewerton, South Carolina, December 29, 1860; Steele & Co., Rock Hill, South Carolina, December 2, 1860; Moores & Major, Anderson Courthouse, South Carolina, October 4 (emphasis theirs) and December 4, 1860, all to Magruder, Taylor & Roberts, Magruder, Taylor & Roberts Papers, MS 553, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

5. *Baltimore Sun*, November 16, 19, 22, and 24 (Yellott resolution), 1860, and December 5, 1860 (P. H. Lee, emphases Lee's). Harry Lee served George Washington in the Revolutionary War and was father to Robert E. Lee. (P. H. Lee's employment of "mettle" would have assured a clever *jeu de mot*.)

6. Anderson feint credited to *Charleston Mercury* in *Baltimore Sun*, December 31, 1860.

7. Robert Barnwell, J. H. Adams, and James L. Orr to James Buchanan, January 1, 1861, in OR, Series I, 1:120–24.

8. Bruce Catton, *The Coming Fury* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1961) 304–5. Anderson was left to twist in the winds of Charleston harbor by a indecisive President Buchanan and an incompetent and corrupt secretary of war, John B. Floyd, who refused to give him detailed instructions. Anderson's move to Sumter and its far-reaching implications are thoroughly and engagingly examined in Swanberg, *First Blood*.

9. Daniel M. Thomas to Sister, November 25, 1860, Thomas Papers, MS 1970, and Thomas J. Hanson to John L. Manning, December 27, 1860, MS 1860, both in Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society; *Frederick Herald* in *Baltimore Sun*, November 28, 1860. The Maryland legislature met semi-annually and was not in session in 1860.

10. John D. Roberts, December 9, 10, 28, and 30, 1860, all to Magruder, Taylor & Roberts, Magruder Papers, Maryland Historical Society. Roberts also complained, in a letter from Newman, Georgia, on December 23 that "the currency of this country is so much disarranged that it is almost impossible to get exchange."

11. Virginia Jeans Laas, *Wartime Washington: The Civil War Letters of Elizabeth Blair Lee* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 19 ("no political event"); "Law Grays" in *Baltimore Sun*, November 13, 1860; Daniel M. Thomas to Sister, February 10, 1861, Thomas Papers, MS 1970, and William Welch to "Dear Brother" Hershey, January 26, 1861, Rev. Fletcher E. Marine Papers, MS 1016.3, both in Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society. Francis Preston Blair built Silver Spring, a home six miles north of the White House; Zouaves were French colonial troops who fought in Algeria, and some regiments in both Union and Confederate armies emulated their colorful dress and military drill.

12. St. Mary's citizens and Contee/Hicks in *Baltimore Sun*, November 24 and December 21, 1860; *Baltimore Sun*, December 27 (visitors) and December 28, 1860 (Friends of the Union). Article IV of the U.S. Constitution directed that slaves escaping to so-called free states be returned to their owners. Because the wording was vague, Congress enacted a number of fugitive-slave laws, beginning in 1793. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 (part of the Compromise of 1850) was the most expansive of those. Personal Liberty Laws, designed to counteract the Fugitive Slave Act, were enacted by ten northern states sanctioning the refusal of their citizens to return slaves to their owners, as required by the Act—a rare example of "states' rights" in the North.

13. Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events*, 12 vols. (repr. Arno

Press, 1977), volume I, Diary, 9, Documents, 17–18 (“should I be”), quoted in Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 194; Whittingham to Hicks, January 9, 1861, in William Francis Brand: *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham II* (New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1883), 10; John G. Stone in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, January 8, 1861 (“firmness in not”); A. E. Carroll to T. H. Hicks, November 1860, Carroll papers, quoted in Janet L. Coryell, *Neither Heroine Nor Fool: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990), 47.

14. *Official Records*, Series I, 1:115–18; Swanberg, *First Blood*, 123. On December 27 South Carolina occupied Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney, and Fort Johnson on January 2.

15. A half-hearted attempt to resupply and reinforce Anderson was made in early 1861, when Buchanan sent an unarmed merchant ship, the *Star of the West*, into Charleston harbor on January 9—“the opening ball of the Revolution,” said the *Charleston Mercury* the next day (quoted in Maury Klein, *Days of Defiance: Sumter, Secession, and the Coming of the Civil War* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1997], 202). The *Star of the West* was frightened away by Carolinian guns fired from Fort Moultrie and Morris Island, and Anderson—given his vague orders to act “defensively”—kept Sumter’s cannons quiet during the exchange. The first shots of the Civil War were thus fired by Citadel cadet George E. Haynesworth of Sumter, South Carolina, who despite his poor aim enjoyed a brief moment of fame. See *Charleston Courier*, January 23, 1861, cited in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 146. In July Elizabeth Blair Lee described Buchanan thus: “The people in Pa[.] treat [Buck] with great contempt,” and “Buchanan sat for four years in Washington like a large, white milk and bread poultice drawing rebellion to a head.” See Laas, *Wartime Washington*, 31 n17.

16. The Border State Plan also proposed amending the Missouri Compromise line by extending it through existing territories, and—in a nod to the popular sovereignty of Stephen A. Douglas—allowing people of the territories to choose how they would deal with slavery. A resolution offered by Roger A. Pryor of Virginia that preserving the union “by force, would be equally unconstitution[al], impolite and destructive of republican liberty” was not adopted. Harris’s notes also include—as far as this writer knows—the only list of delegates to this meeting of the border states. See J. Morrison Harris Papers, December 27, 1860, and January 3–4, 1861, MS 2739, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society, and appendix therein for his delegate list. See Daniel Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 195–214, for a succinct account of the Senate Crittenden Committee, the House Committee of 33, and the Border State Plan—all compromise efforts designed to defuse the crisis by coaxing back the seceded states or, failing that, forestalling further secessions by the upper-south states.

17. Laas, *Wartime Washington*, 23. “John R.” was John R. Thomson, Democratic senator from New Jersey. Laas notes on page 24 n3 that “Scott at this time was seventy-five years old and in such poor health that he could not mount a horse or even enter his carriage by himself,” so his weight may have actually offered no advantage over Toombs, who would briefly serve as the Confederacy’s secretary of state before joining its army, where he was badly wounded at Antietam.

18. *Boston Courier*, *Boston Atlas and Bee*, *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, and *Baltimore Exchange* all quoted in Moore, *Rebellion Record*, Vol. 1, Document 9, p. 9 (emphasis *Courier’s*); *Baltimore Sun*, December 28 and 31, 1860; Abner Doubleday, *Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860–’61* (New York, 1876, repr. Charleston: The Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1998), 97. Guiseppe Garibaldi, an Italian patriot and soldier who in the mid-nineteenth century fought for a united Italy, was a revered figure among American federalists at the time.

19. John Fulton, "The 'Southern Rights' and 'Union' Parties Contrasted" (Baltimore, 1863), 15–16; *Baltimore American*, January 10, 1861 (Frederick meeting).
20. *State of the Union*, Speech of Hon. J. Morrison Harris, of Maryland, U.S. House of Representatives, January 29, 1861, J. Morrison Harris Papers, MS 2739, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society; "F." in *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, January 7, 1861.
21. Lucius E. Chittenden, *A Report of the Debates and Proceedings in Secret Sessions of the Conference Convention, for Proposing Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, held at Washington, D.C., A.D., 1861* (New York, 1864), 449 (Johnson), 295 (Crisfield), 385–87. Maryland called its own peace conference, which met on February 18 and after a brief session adjourned until March 12, to meet earlier only if Virginia were to secede. The conference did reconvene on March 12 but achieved little—see George L. Radcliffe, Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XIX, nos. 11–12 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1902), 41–42, for details. See Robert Gray Gunderson, *Old Gentlemen's Convention: The Washington Peace Conference of 1861* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 105–6, for a complete discussion of the Washington Peace Conference and its list of delegates.
22. Francis Pickens to J. Thomson Mason, February 7, 1861, Francis Pickens Papers, New York Public Library, quoted in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 192–93; *Richmond Enquirer*, December 25, 1860, in James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States, 1850–1877* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910), 3:300; Thomas W. Gough in *St. Mary's Beacon*, March 7, 1861, cited in Edwin W. Beitzell, *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates* (Leonardtown, Md., 1983), 5; Bladensburg man in Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1866), 142.
23. Swanberg, *First Blood*, 234–35. Lincoln was impressed by a Sumter reinforcement plan prepared by his postmaster general, Montgomery Blair of Maryland, and Blair's brother-in-law, ex-navy captain Gustavus Vasa Fox of Massachusetts.
24. First Inaugural Address—Final Text and First Inaugural Address—First Edition and Revisions, both March 4, 1861, quoted in Roy P. Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 vols. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:266 and 254; submarine and balloons in *Charleston Courier*, March 18, 1861, cited in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 235; "A Republican" to Abraham Lincoln, April 3, 1861, and J. H. Jordan, Cincinnati, to Abraham Lincoln, April 4, 1861, both quoted in Harold Holzer, *Dear Mr. Lincoln: Letters to the President* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1993), 144–45 (underscores Jordan's), and David C. Mearns, *The Lincoln Papers*, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1948), 2:516 and 523; James L. Hill to "Dear Old Abe," March 14, 1861, quoted in Mearns, *Lincoln Papers*, 2:484.
25. John C. Robinson, "Baltimore in 1861," *The Magazine of American History*, 14 (September, 1885): 260 ("the officers at"); Buchanan plot in Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 427; Coad and Milburn in *St. Mary's Beacon*, March 7, 1861, in Beitzell, *Point Lookout Prison Camp*, 5; C.C. [Shriver] to F[rederick] A. Shriver, February 2, 1861, MS 2085, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society. Robinson cites as footnotes letters from Wigfall to General Beauregard and Confederate Secretary of War L. P. Walker concerning Wigfall's Baltimore recruiting activities.
26. Laas, *Wartime Washington*, 33, 35.
27. William H. Russell, *My Diary North and South* (London, 1863), 74–75, in Klein, *Days of Defiance*, 350; Woodward & Muhlenfeld, *The Private Mary Chesnut*, 34; A. Toomer Porter,

- Led On! Step By Step* (New York, 1898), 122, in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 134 (“there will be”).
28. Lincoln to Cabinet, March 15, 1861, in *OR*, Series I, 1:196; *Baltimore Sun*, April 4, 1860; *Philadelphia Bulletin* in *Charleston Courier*, March 18, 1861, cited in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 235. Daniel M. Thomas to “My Dear Sister,” March 25, 1861, Thomas Papers, MS 1970; “Howard,” West (or Nest) C. H., to Emily Barton Brune, March 25, 1861, Brune-Randall Papers, MS 2004 (“cling to the”); and [William] Mentzel to Madame [Elizabeth Patterson] Bonaparte, March 6, 1861, MS 142, all in Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society.
29. Joshua Whitney to Lincoln, March 23, 1861, in Holzer, *Dear Mr. Lincoln*, 77. Holzer notes that no copy exists of a reply, though noted on the letter is “Returned money & photograph May 23.” John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts ran as the Constitutional Union Party’s presidential and vice-presidential nominees in 1860.
30. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4 vols. (New York: Fairfax Press, 1979), 1:56 (yarn and cartridge bags); Swanberg, *First Blood*, 242–44 (Sumter evacuation headlines in *Charleston Courier* of March 13; “the garrison was”).
31. Henry G. Connor, *John Archibald Campbell* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920), 127–28 (Seward pledge re Sumter); Beauregard to Cooper, March 25, 1861, in *OR*, Series I, 1:281 (sixty-four Baltimoreans on March 23), 284 (recruits returned); *Baltimore Sun*, April 9 and 11, 1861 (Baltimoreans to Charleston); *Charleston Courier*, April 8, 1860. The New York correspondents were George Salter of the *Times* and F. G. Fontaine of the *Herald*. Campbell was an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1853 to 1861.
32. Reprovision notices, 289, 291; Cameron to Anderson, April 4, 1861, 235; Anderson to Thomas, April 8, 1861, 294, all in *OR*, Series I, Vol. 1. Lincoln’s terse message to Pickens was not addressed and unsigned; his emissary, Robert Chew, was not authorized to accept a reply—no doubt reflecting the president’s view that Pickens and his seceded state had no standing to negotiate with the U.S. government. See summary in Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1949–1959), 1:43–45. Anderson letter intercepted in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 282.
33. “Journal of Captain J. G. Foster,” October 1, 1861, in *OR*, Series I, 1:17–18 (bread, blankets, clothing and needles); Samuel W. Crawford, *The Genesis of the Civil War: The Story of Fort Sumter, 1860–1860* (New York: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1887), 399 (rice); S. W. Crawford Diary, April 11, 1861, quoted in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 290 (potato).
34. Baltimore correspondent “To Abem. Lincon Esqr,” April 11, 1861, in Mearns, *Lincoln Papers*, 2:538; Unsigned to Hicks, *Baltimore American Commercial Advertiser*, January 1, 1861; *Baltimore Sun*, April 8, 1861; Levin Tilman to Lincoln, April 8, 1861, in Holzer, *Dear Mr. Lincoln*, 241–42. Holzer notes that no reply is known. Two years would elapse before Lincoln recruited black soldiers.
35. John P. Kennedy to George S. Bryan, March 15, 1861, Kennedy, *Letter Book*, 222–23; John P. Kennedy to Sir Charles Wood, April 6, 1861, 237–41, Kennedy, *Letter Book*; John P. Kennedy, “Journal, 1859–61,” George Peabody Library, all quoted in William C. Wright, *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973), 50; Union meeting at Barnum’s in *Baltimore American Commercial Advertiser*, April 12, 1861.
36. James Chesnut and Stephen D. Lee to Anderson, April 11, 1861 (surrender demand and rejection), and April 12, 1861 (notice to open fire), both in *OR*, Series I, 1:13–14; *Battles and Leaders*, 1:76 (“seemed to realize”). The two aides were Colonel James Chesnut, a former U.S. senator from South Carolina, and Stephen D. Lee, a West Point graduate who had resigned from the U.S. Army and who would earn distinction as a Confederate officer (and

who is quoted here). Buchanan had removed Beauregard as commandant at West Point after five days, following Beauregard's vow to fight with Louisiana if it seceded. See Swanberg, *First Blood*, 166–67.

37. *Baltimore Sun*, April 13, 1861 (“the republican press”); Swanberg, *First Blood*, 299 (“showed his contempt”); Abner Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 144 (shell fragment); Isabella D. Martin & Myrta Lockett Avery, *Mary Boykin Chesnut, A Diary from Dixie* (New York: Peter Smith, 1905), 76, both cited in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 299. (A 1949 version of *A Diary from Dixie* relates on page 36 the tale of Mrs. Chesnut's dress.) Doubleday's account of the shell near his head is also in *Battles and Leaders*, 1:47. He is frequently and mistakenly credited with inventing the game of baseball. See Harold Seymour, *Baseball: Vol. 1, The Early Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 5–12, for a succinct discussion of this myth's origin and the authentic story of the game's beginning.

38. Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard* (New York, 1884), 1:46, cited in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 314–15 (Confederate cheering); Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 152–53. Mary Chesnut noted the South Carolinian tribute to the bravery of Anderson's men. See Woodward & Muhlenfeld, *The Private Mary Chesnut*, 60.

39. Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 24 (Wigfall at Sumter); *Battles & Leaders*, 1:73 (Anderson quote); Crawford, *Genesis of the Civil War*, 442, cited in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 321, and Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 170 (Pryor). The surrender had a note of tragedy when one of Anderson's gunners, firing a one-hundred-gun salute to the flag, was killed while loading a cartridge that exploded prematurely. The *Baltimore Sun* of April 16, 1861, states that three privates in Company E, 1st Regiment, U.S. Army, were killed by the exploding cartridge, and that three other privates from the same company were badly wounded in the incident. The paper identified two of the dead as Daniel Howe (given by some sources as “Hough”) and Edward Galway. See also Doubleday's account in *Reminiscences*, 171–72). One man was badly wounded during the bombardment, John Swearer, a mason from Baltimore. See *Battles and Leaders*, 1:52; Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 166 (who gives the name as “Schweirer”); and a note referencing Swearer as the only man seriously wounded at Sumter (F. Seymour to Commander Foote, June 17, 1861, MS 1860, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society). A letter from Edward Everett Warner to the *Baltimore Sun* dated May 12, 1890, refers to a wound sustained at Sumter by John Swearer, “a modest layer of bricks” who “rushed to the front” during the bombardment. Warner says he obtained a monthly pension of \$20 for Swearer, noting that there was “no pension provision by law for non-enlisted patriots, however daring.” (Warner letter in MS 1860, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society.)

40. Swanberg, *First Blood*, 330 (“their desperate battle”); Bayly Ellen Marks & Mark Norton Schatz, *Between North and South: A Maryland Journalist Views the Civil War* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1976), 27 (Walters); John P. Kennedy, *The Great Drama: An Appeal to Maryland*, Baltimore (May 9, 1861, n.p.), 7 (“no man in”).

41. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 13, 1861.

42. Allen Bowie Davis to William D. Davis, April 16, 1861, Allen W. Davis Papers, MS 1511, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society; William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South* (London, 1863), 1:114, in Robert J. Brugger, *The Maryland Club: A History of Food and Friendship in Baltimore, 1857–1997* (Baltimore: The Maryland Club, 1998), 17 (“elated at”), and Martin Crawford, *William Howard Russell's Civil War: Private Diary and Letters, 1861–1862* (Athens, Ga., 1992), in Brugger, 21 (“secessionist evening”).

43. Kennedy, *The Great Drama*, 4 (“the unnecessary bombardment . . .”) 5, 16 (call for convention); Augustus J. Albert, *Civil War Experiences*, (Baltimore, 1861), 1; *Baltimore Sun*, April 15, 1861 (“now is the time”).

44. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 15, 1861 (“the excitement consequent,” Sumter workman, “a large knatty,” and “well-formed peas”); *Baltimore Sun*, April 18, 1861 (Havre de Grace, Funkstown, “we say at once”); *St. Mary’s Beacon*, April 18, 1861, in Beitzell, *Point Lookout Prison Camp*, 5.
45. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 22, 1861 (Doubleday interview).
46. Anderson toast in E. D. Townsend, *Anecdotes of the Civil War* (New York, 1884), quoted in Swanberg, *First Blood*, 339.