

young ladies, assisted by forty others. The feeling is overwhelming in Benton, Henry, and St. Clair counties for secession. Meetings held daily.



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Apr#75)

April 27, 1861

The German Volunteers

(Staff Report)

Gen. Sigel has been invited to St. Louis to take command of the German volunteers.

General Sigel, formerly commander of the revolutionary army of Baden in 1818, has been invited to come from St. Louis to take command of the German volunteers of this city [New York City]. His countrymen are sanguine that with him as their commander they will be able to raise troops to any extent required for the present war. A brother of General Sigel is an artist in this city and gives us this information. Another brother is colonel of a regiment in Newark, New Jersey.

—N.Y. Evening Post



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Apr#76)

April 27, 1861

Quiet of the City

(Editorial)

The *Republican* is pleased that St. Louis has maintained a remarkable coolness in all the excitement of the times. It is probably the quietest and least agitated city in the union.

In all the excitements of the day, the people of St. Louis have thus far preserved a remarkable and no less praiseworthy coolness. They have been interested, but by no means violently aroused, spectators of the lamentable condition of affairs that exist throughout the country. We are happy to be able to express the belief that at this moment St. Louis is the quietest and least agitated city in the Union, notwithstanding the character of the reports spread

abroad by that abominable nuisance, the telegraph. Of course, in times like these, conversation universally tends in one direction, and many-tongued rumor does a full amount of mischief, by reason of uncounted misrepresentations and exaggerations; but making all allowances, we think our citizens have exhibited unusual serenity of mind, under circumstances of great trial.

We will be allowed to express a wish that this comparative placidity of temper may continue. Nothing is lost by patience, moderation, and good nature. Abstinence from heated discussions, a discountenance of hearsay gossip, and above all, an ever present, habitual skepticism in regard to the telegraphic dispatches, will do much toward the preservation of order, and the keeping of passions within due bounds.

5. MISSOURI REPUBLICAN ARTICLES

APRIL WEEK FIVE

April 29, 1861

(FLP: Ser 5MR-Apr#77)

April 29, 1861

The Sentiment in Missouri

(Editorial)

An article from the St. Louis *Evening News* is relieved that Gov. Jackson has come out opposed to secession, and in favor of the state occupying a position of neutrality. The rumor that he was an open and avowed secessionist is quashed. The feeling of the majority of Missourians is against secession but also in opposition to the present course of the administration.

The announcement on the street, and in business circles, yesterday, that Gov. Jackson had emphatically declared his opposition to the secession of Missouri and avowed himself in favor of this state occupying a position of neutrality, created a general feeling of relief in all quarters except among those

who think the course Missouri ought to pursue is the mad one of withdrawal from the confederacy.

Gov. Jackson has been regarded as an open and avowed secessionist, (though to do him justice, we must say we have never seen a positive declaration of secession views from him,) and when it was known that he had decided to lend his official influence in favor of the position which the duty and the interests of Missouri dictate, commercial and business men, and the friends of peace felt at once that the danger of local tumults in the city and dissensions in the state had been materially lessened; and that with a united and cordial effort, we may be able to drive back the tide of strife from our border, and save our homes and fields from the devastation that must inevitably follow hostile interruption from the North and South.

We are glad to know that the sentiment throughout the state, with the exception of two or three localities, is daily growing more healthful and stronger in favor of a neutral position. There is not now, as there never has been in Missouri, any considerable number of persons who desire to see the state withdraw from the Union.

The feeling in Missouri, and even in St. Louis, is in opposition to the present administration; but, even in their opposition to the administration, the people maintain their ancient love for the Union, and are determined to adhere to it.

Secession would place Missouri in hostility to the government, and to three free states upon her borders, and inevitably provoke an invasion by the Federal forces, and invite invasions from Illinois, Iowa and Kansas. We would be unable to reach the South, and the South would be unable, and, no doubt, unwilling to reach us. We would be surrounded by enemies and cut off by the conditions of our position from friends.

We would thus be compelled to fight, not *our* battle, but the battle of the South, unaided and alone, with finances disordered, with a commerce utterly annihilated and industry crippled, without guns to arm one-tenth of our troops, without powder, shot, cannon, or any of the necessary munitions of war.

The Confederate States would not come to our aid, since their forces would become concentrated on the Virginia frontier and on the Gulf, to defend those more important positions. Those states would hail the secession of Missouri with joy; but it would not be an honorable, neutral, and fraternal joy. It would be a

selfish exultation, not over the fact that Missouri had become their friend, but that she had become the enemy of the Union—that she had, in the maddest folly, voluntarily thrown herself as a bulwark before the Confederate States, to shield them by the inevitable sacrifice of her own existence.

This is the calm and deliberate view the people of Missouri are taking of the crisis. In deference to their natural sympathy for their late Southern brethren, they will not raise their arms against them; and in duty to their country, which is no less their country because it is governed for the time by the Republican party, they will not raise a foolish hand against it.

—St. Louis *Evening News*



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Apr#78)

April 29, 1861

Border States Should Work Together

(Editorial)

Gov. Magoffin of Kentucky has been making efforts to form a coalition of the border states to settle the difficulties between the north and south. The *Republican* believes Gov. Jackson will be on board and cooperate with this plan.

A letter which we publish this morning, addressed by Gov. MAGOFFIN of Kentucky, to the *Louisville Journal*, discloses some efforts which he has been making to bring about a mediation of the border states, with a view to the settlement of existing difficulties between the North and the South, and the restoration of peace and the Union. In this effort, we are pleased to find that he has been met in a frank and liberal spirit by the governors of Indiana and Ohio, and that he is exceedingly solicitous to bring about a favorable solution. It seems almost impossible, indeed, that states so closely allied to each other, by ties of blood and intimate social and business relations, should seriously contemplate soaking their hands in each other's blood, upon the issues so far presented to them. Gov. MORTON, in his message to the Indiana legislature, a day or two since, professes,

as he no doubt feels, the most sincere respect and admiration for the people of Kentucky—a feeling which will find a ready response in the heart of every true Kentuckian—and he deplores the occurrence of anything likely to interfere with these relations. So, too, the governor and people of Ohio have recently expressed great desire for the preservation of the most friendly relations with the people of Kentucky. We cannot see, indeed, how these relations of kindred and old associations can undergo such a change, under the invocation of the fell spirit of war, as to induce them deliberately to engage in the business of taking each other's lives and the destruction of each other's property. It must be a damnable spirit that can bring them to such a state of enmity. It would be just as extraordinary if the people of Illinois and those of Missouri, between whom the best feelings have always been maintained, should go to work to cut each other's throats, upon the provocations which now exist, and which are not likely to be increased by future occurrences. The more we think of it—the more we look at the causes which have produced the present unhappy state of things—the stronger is our belief, that it is in the power of Gov. JACKSON, Gov. MAGOFFIN, and the Governors of Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, to adopt some plan by which hostilities may be postponed; and time given for negotiations and an adjustment of all our difficulties.

Gov. MAGOFFIN says his attention has been directed to these two objects: "the arming of Kentucky, so that she may maintain any position she may finally assume, and cultivating friendly relations with the border free states, and maintaining peace between them and ourselves, in the hope that, by the favor of God, we may yet save the country from utter, irretrievable and hopeless ruin." In such a cause he will of course have the good wishes and prayers of every Christian and patriot in the land, and we hope, and we believe we are correct in saying, that his efforts have found favor with, and the warm approval of, Gov. JACKSON. He desires that Missouri should be put in a condition of defense from aggression, and so does every man who has the welfare or the character of the state at heart. This should be done, too, at the earliest possible day, and in so efficient a way as to enable her to command respect. This may be done without incurring the censure or the suspicions of any other state, North or South. And while this is going on,

it will be the part of duty and of patriotism, in Gov. JACKSON, to co-operate in any effort which Gov. MAGOFFIN may make, in connection with the Governors of other border states, to heal these divisions. It can be done. There is no probability now that a blow will be struck on either side—except, possibly, at a Fort Pickens—until after Congress meets on the 4th of July. The administration, in adopting the course which it has, feels that it has transcended its authority, as well as broken its pledges, and will be anxious to avoid hostilities until Congress meets and invests it with adequate power to carry on this war, if that should be determined on. Care will be taken, we have no doubt, to avoid a collision, and though it may produce dissatisfaction and murmuring in the camp of the volunteers, Mr. LINCOLN will not yield to their demands so far as to order them to invade the territory of the seceding states. Governor LETCHER, of Virginia—an independent state, not connected with the Confederate States, and not likely to be soon—has given instructions to his troops to act on the defensive, and not to invade the territory of other states for any purpose. This lessens the probability of an attack being made on Washington for some time to come, by the Confederate States, or from any quarter—and time is gained to make up and consider peace propositions. The preparations for the war, on either side, already of a most exhausting kind—the expenditure of a hundred million dollars in a three months' frenzy of excitement—the misery of the families and children of the volunteers, left at home to starve, or at best to subsist upon the contributions of those who decline to engage in the fight—the derangement of business everywhere—the bankruptcy which threatens states, and cities and countless individuals—to say nothing of the demoralization, the crime, the infamy, which a state of war always superinduces—are considerations which will prepare the public mind for any fair and reasonable plans for reconciliation and peace. We hope Governor JACKSON and Governor MAGOFFIN will act together in this great work—that they will yield to no entreaties of deluded and desperate men, who may seek to prevent peace, lest it should not result in their particular benefit. If successful, they will have earned for themselves an immortality of fame, and blessings will attend them wherever they go. Artful and reckless devils may attempt to divert them from the prosecution of any such purpose, by recounting

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the difficulties in the way; but they should not be influenced by anything they may say, and these difficulties will be diminished at every step.

We entrust this whole matter to their keeping. Negotiation is the true way—not secession, not aggression, not violence, not attempts at intimidation, nor acts of injustice to either the North or the South.



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Apr#79)

April 29, 1861

Are We Ready?

(Editorial)

Article from the *Fulton (Mo.) Telegraph* summarizes the status of Missouri in regard to monetary resources, crops, arms, forts, and exports. Asserts that the state has meager means to enter a war. Suggests an armed defense.

The slave states have common destiny. The institution which they have fostered and protected binds them together with hooks of steel. There can be no stroke at slave property in our state that does not influence, to a greater or less degree, every other of the fifteen.

Their end is the same, and the desolation or the destruction of one, will be the loss of others. But while we are thus situated, while we cannot be separated from each other, we wish calmly to consider our surroundings, take facts and events as they are transpiring—the prospect of war, the condition of the state, the defenses we have—and ask men calmly to ask themselves, are we ready to bring desolation upon our own households and destruction to our own families?

Let us see. The state of Missouri has issued bonds, not one of which has been redeemed, to the amount of twenty-three million, five hundred thousand dollars. The interest, amounting to five hundred thousand dollars, was to be paid by the banks of the state, due in July. The state is in debt, besides this, about seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, making an aggregate of twenty-four and a

quarter millions of dollars. Her bonds are now selling, in the best markets, at only thirty-eight cents on the dollar. Her commercial interests are suffering everywhere; her manufactures have ceased, and in every monied resource she is almost crushed.

The crops of last year are nearly, and, in many places, quite exhausted. The partial failure of the crops for the last few years has left our farmers in a condition of indebtedness that they cannot now meet. Money with them is so scarce that, now that everything is reduced to a cash basis, they can scarcely meet the demands of ordinary and daily transactions. The crop that now promises so fair, should war be begun in our borders, must be much neglected, and that probable resource would be cut off.

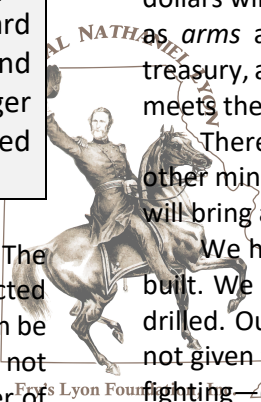
The state is unarmed. Not less than half a million dollars will put her in a state of defense merely so far as arms are concerned. There is no money in our treasury, and the revenue that comes in so slowly only meets the drafts that are continually made upon it.

There is no demand for our iron, coal, lead, or other minerals, abroad. We are shipping nothing that will bring a speedy return in gold.

We have no forts in our state, and they must be built. We have no drilled soldiery, and they must be drilled. Our old militia law, long since abolished, has not given to the young men—those who must do the fighting—even the meager instruction it afforded of military discipline. We are—and the fact need not and ought not to be concealed—in a more thoroughly defenseless condition than any other state in the Union.

In this condition of affairs—with a heavy debt hanging over us, interest to pay and nothing to pay it with, arms to buy and nothing to buy with—we are asked by those who go out of the Union, to throw open the bosom of Missouri and invite the desperadoes of the North to a banquet of blood and carnage and massacre. Men are madly rushing on to a certain and inevitable difficulty, from which there is no escape but through the bloody aorta of relentless war.

Come, let us reason together. If the statements made above are true—and they cannot be doubted—would it be better to precipitate ourselves into revolution and meet famine and pestilence and death, and all the hell's brood of accompanying evils which attend war? Or would it be better to husband



our resources, prepare for the conflict by prudent and careful means, and after having done so to feel a security that we do not and cannot now feel? Peace is preferable to war, but peace should never be purchased at the expense of honor and principle. No honorable man—no American—would yield to such a sacrifice. But, in just so far as peace is preferable to war, just so far is prudence preferable to precipitate counsel.

Now, if the state of Missouri will act prudently, every difficulty can and will be avoided. Let her arm her citizen soldiery with whatever means she may have at command, put the state in a condition to defend herself against the attacks of any invading foe, and having done so and collected her resources, if war must come, to remain where she now stands, the impassable barrier between two hostile factions. In this way, she may not only be able to protect herself, but to contribute in an immeasurable degree to a restoration of harmony.

April 30, 1861

(FLP: Ser 5MR-Apr#80)

April 30, 1861

Never Despair

(Editorial)

The *Republican* thinks it is witnessing a toning down of hostilities toward the south. There is still hope for a peaceful solution to the current difficulties. Believes the military arm of the general government will be held back at least until the meeting of Congress in July.

We think we already discover symptoms of a gradual toning down in public sentiment with reference to the prosecution of a war upon the South. The assurance—doubtless sincere—that the governor of Virginia will resist any hostile advance upon Washington by an army of the Confederate states, will naturally tend to quiet apprehensions as to the safety of the capital, which have been entertained at the North. It is a good sign of waning enthusiasm in that quarter, that designing men have felt it necessary to resort to all manner of Munchausen stories to keep it

up. The dispatches purporting to give accounts of regiments and brigades marching from South Carolina and elsewhere in the direction of the District of Columbia, are, as we interpret them, for the purpose of arousing the war spirit that is beginning to lag, or to awaken an indignation which shall dispossess from the Northern mind every sentiment of mercy or desire for peace. Those means will soon be exhausted, probably, and there yet may be a chance for sober and discriminating reflection by the thousands who have madly rushed to the destruction of their country, in the wild belief that they are to serve it. Time, and abstinence from rash measures on either side, may operate to open up some way to prevent the fratricidal strife which has seemed to be impending; for we are not ready to admit that there is no longer any spark of reason, any trace of judgement, in all this nation of *men*.

There appears no reason to doubt that the military arm of the government will at least be stayed until after the meeting of Congress, in July. We have passed too rapidly through events recently not to know that many changes can be wrought in the interval; and we will not have done our whole duty if, giving way to despair now, we shall not all continue to labor and plead for the best whilst preparing for the worst.

The supposition that it is not contemplated by the Administration to plunge the country immediately into the horrors of intestine war, is gathered partly from the assurance of Mr. LINCOLN to Mayor BROWN, of Baltimore, and from the reply of Secretary SEWARD to Governor HICKS, of Maryland. In that letter it was distinctly stated that the troops ordered to Washington are intended exclusively for the defense of the Capital, and the logical inference is that as soon as the security of Washington City is provided for the military arrangements will be suspended until further authorized by Congress. Perhaps it is seen that the president, in preparing his proclamation, has transcended the power with which he is invested, and that in reality, as the Constitution expressly says, Congress is the proper authority to declare war.

At any rate, we do not think that there is cause to relinquish all hope of a peaceful termination of our unhappy difficulties. *The policy of Missouri is to await events.*



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(FLP: Ser 5MR-Apr#81)

April 30, 1861

**Capt. Stokes Removes Arms from St.
Louis Arsenal**
(Editorial)

Summary and extracts of an article in the *Springfield (Ill.) Journal* about Capt. Stokes's removal of arms and munitions from the St. Louis Arsenal. The *Republican* treats Stokes's story with sarcasm and disbelief.

The Springfield [IL] *Journal* of yesterday gives an account, nearly two columns in length, of the late removal of arms and munitions from the St. Louis Arsenal. It possesses all the charming novelty and gorgeous imagery of an oriental romance. Capt. STOKES—it isn't the *Journal's* fault that the name is not more euphonious—is the hero of the story. STOKES, "formerly of the U.S.A.," lives in Chicago, and was suddenly called to Camp Yates, where he was, on account of his great sagacity, entrusted with the "strategic movement" on which our contemporary hangs his tale. The severe ordeal which STOKES had to go through is thus graphically and very truthfully (!) recounted:

No one but those engaged in the service can fully comprehend the difficulties attending it. Situated in a city boiling over with the elements of revolution; jealously watched by thousands of organized "minute men" who had sworn that the arms should not be removed; the authorities of the city covertly sympathizing with and abetting their schemes; commanded on all sides so that it could not have resisted an attack for five minutes—it will readily be seen that the attempt to carry off the arms was an enterprise of no ordinary difficulty and danger.

But hazardous and terrific as was the attempt, STOKES actually accomplished it. STOKES carried off the arms. STOKES circumvented the thousands of "minute

men." In fact, STOKES did more than he went to do, for while he only took an order for 10,000 muskets, he got 22,000, to say nothing of a number of field pieces and a variety of other accoutrements of death and destruction.

We have not space to follow STOKES through the whole of his exciting adventures, nor to fully tell how he eluded the vigilance of everybody—how he came down to Alton on a special train—how when in the arsenal he met a long-lost schoolmate in Capt. LYON—how the boat was stealthily loaded—how, after being loaded, she got stuck on a bar; but yes, we must give this last part complete. Here it is:

She then cast loose and attempted to start, but it was found that she was fast upon a rock, and immovable under the full power of her immense engines. For half an hour she labored with all her energies to extricate herself, but did not move a hair's breadth, and there was imminent danger that the puffing of her engines, which sounded tremendously on the still air of night, would bring the minute men down upon her. A number of troops were brought aboard with loaded arms to guard against, and resist to the death any attack. Capt. Stokes says this half hour was the most trying he ever spent in his life, as we can well imagine. Everything depended upon the boat's getting off before daylight, and after the sixty hours of intense mental anxiety and physical exertion attendant upon securing the arms, the prospect of being thus defeated in their grand object was indeed disheartening. A portion of the cargo was shifted from the bow to the stern, and finally the boat swung loose and proceed up the river, passing two batteries on her way up—one on the St. Louis levee and the other a short distance above the city—but which did not attempt to molest her passage, although the campfires were distinctly visible, showing that they were on the alert.

The *Journal* also treats us to STOKES' impressions of the city, as follows:



Capt. STOKES represents the state of feeling in St. Louis as indescribable. That city is sitting on a powder magazine, which may explode at any moment. She contains some of the worst mob elements of any city in the Union—as bad, if not worse, than Baltimore itself. He was “spotted” and followed by Minute Men during almost the whole of his stay in the city and has been accosted by them since his return to Springfield.

He describes the sixty hours of his stay in St. Louis as the most trying in his life—and he has seen active service against the Indians in Florida and elsewhere. He deserves great credit for the adroit and energetic manner in which he executed the duty confided to him.

That will do for STOKES. He has put the torch to the powder magazines aforesaid, and we accordingly “explode!” We are indebted to STOKES and his gullible friend of the *Journal*, for a hearty laugh.



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Apr#82)

April 30, 1861

Duties of the Hour

(Editorial)

Editorial declares obedience to the law the supreme duty of Missourians. If the law is trampled on by authorities, then it will be her duty to resist that authority. The safety of the people is her supreme law.

There is always a class of men, who, holding a particular idea, would drive it onward to all consequences, regardless of circumstances. In religion, these men are fanatics; in politics, radicals; in revolutions, destructive. In all, false to goodness and truth, because they follow their own wills and not truth. Men are not mere space, nor mere subjects of the laws of geometry, as they have feelings, senses, and passions. And thus, conclusions from premises will not always prove true with regard to men amid the ever-varying circumstances of life. Duty does not depend upon mere commands, the doing or not doing

of some abstraction, with no heed to actual things about us. Duty varies with the changing realities of life. The act which to one man is criminal may be a duty to another, and the duty of today may be the crime of tomorrow, because other duties are presented. In the charge of battle, Cromwell had no time to hear prayers, and rightly threatened to cut down the fanatic or coward who wished to do what he had not been commanded to do.

But good men find a time for every duty, and because they follow principles as applied to human living and acting. Today their duty is obedience to law and its constituted authorities, tomorrow their duty may be resistance to the powers that be, for the reason that these powers are trampling on law; for obedience to law is a principle unchanging and unchangeable, not obedience to law executors, who keep the form, but not the spirit.

At this time, we would most particularly commend this duty of obedience to law as the true part for us to tread amid the perils of the revolution in which we are. Missouri now holds the vantage ground. Admitted into the Union amid the perils of a revolution which threatened destruction, but brought it not, she has ever been true and loyal to the Constitution—has ever been faithful to the duties she assumed when she became a sovereign state. There is no bar on her shield, no reverse on her ensign. As she threw it to the breezes of Heaven but two score years ago, so she waves it today ever with the same motto: *the safety of the people is our supreme law*. As she came into the Union pledging herself to the Constitution which created that Union, and to the laws enacted in pursuance thereof, and to no others, so she stands by that pledge, asking only the fulfilment of the reciprocal duties imposed upon her sister states.

The Constitution, as our fathers made it, is the instrument to which she subscribed her name, and she will leave that name still inscribed, with no blot or erasure, while she may. To all her sister states she says today, as said the Parliament of Arragon to their king, “We swear to obey while you observe the laws; if you do not, we do not.” She says, the covenant we made we will keep, but, when broken, our motto is still unchanged—*the safety of the people is our supreme law*.

And now Missouri holds the vantage ground, with no blot on her shield, no word breathed against



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her honor, she can claim to offer her services as mediator in this strife of contending factions. She has offended neither the North nor the South, she has broken no covenant obligation to either, she has made no war upon the Union, and she can say with force, "Why make war upon one another? Why sacrifice the blessings you hold on the altar of passion and war?" The Constitution of our fathers provides for redress of wrongs by amendments to that instrument. Either through Congress or a convention of the states. Submit the questions in difference to the people of the states assembled in convention, and then, if reason has lost her power, if fraternal affection has no more influence, and mutual interest imposes no checks upon the fell spirit of party, then, and then only, make appeal to the god of battles, and God defend that right.

The citizens of St. Louis declared at one of the largest meetings ever held that there was no just cause why Missouri should at present withdraw from the Union. The people of Missouri ratified that declaration, and in Convention assembled re-asserted that, for past causes, Missouri ought not to secede—to dissolve her connection with a government which secured to her citizens perfect freedom of trade and intercourse throughout the length and breadth of the whole land; that Missouri, with her sister states of the South, had received both injuries and insults, was not denied, but revolution was not considered as the appropriate remedy, at that time, more especially revolution by force—for secession is revolution, and must be backed up by the armored hand of war, unless sanctioned by the other confederate sovereignties of the Union.

Has anything occurred which requires Missouri to change her policy, and to unite with either side in civil war; in this strife of brothers of the same blood and lineage, who have so often given proof of courage that all must know that such a war must be bloody and destructive, and that the only end can be peace by compromise and conciliation, when both parties are exhausted by the struggle? Siding with either, Missouri must be the sufferer. Her very position places her under bonds to keep peace. Siding with the Confederate States, she has a border of twelve hundred miles to protect from hostile invasion, and her importations of manufactured goods are cut off. She has no border on the great highway of nations, and the mouth of the Mississippi is under blockade.

Siding with the North, her great trade with the South along the channel of the great Father of Waters is stricken, and she must bleed at every pore. Freedom of trade with any and every part of the country is the necessity of her life, and she can consent to its surrender only at the cost of her existence. Now, the foremost of the slaveholding states, with the promise before her of being within a few generations the foremost state on the continent, she claims part and parcel of the whole broad land. No, she looks forward to the day when her people, with the people of her many sister states can say, "The whole boundless continent is *ours*."

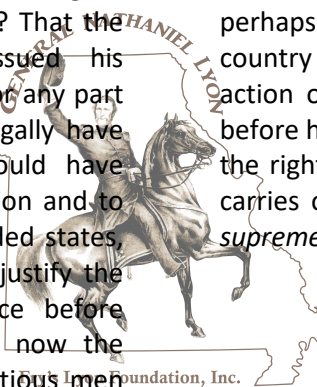
And now, why should Missouri unite her destinies with the Confederate States and join in war against the United States? Has she made an armed force drilled and equipped for the contest? Has she her rifled cannon stored in her armories ready to deal forth their iron messengers of death? Has she manufactories of arms and powder to supply all the demands of a campaign, or a war that may last for years, or can she procure them at demand? Has she a revenue that can maintain a standing force of ten thousand troops, at a cost of five million dollars a year? Has she lines of internal communication, lines of railroad by which she can instantly send forward troops to any point of attack? The mouth of the Ohio River is within her jurisdiction; can she send troops to protect it when Cairo is held by an armed force? Can she march an army to Arkansas, or can Arkansas or Kentucky give her assistance, with Illinois armed against her? With her unfinished railroads, she holds a strong defensive position, but a weak offensive one. With the railroads on her eastern border, large armies can be concentrated against her in a short space of time. Eight and forty hours could land fifty thousand troops at four different points on her eastern border, and she would be compelled to rely on her own strong hand alone to resist them, for she would be cut off from assistance from the Confederate States, by batteries controlling their advance—the Mississippi river. Single-handed she would be compelled to oppose the advancing hordes of the prairie states. If compelled to this, she would defend her soil to the last man, and would repel the enemy from her border, for her position is strong for defense, and her people would be strong to war.

But have the Confederate States right and justice on their side, that Missouri should cast her lot with

them and make war upon the United States? Did they seek revolution, to be released from the obligations imposed by the Constitution, in and through the forms of the Constitution? Did they exhaust all peaceable remedies before resorting to war? No, they passed ordinances of secession, united in a confederation, made a new government without the consent of their sister states, and threatened an attack upon Washington; threatened that if there should be war, it should not be upon their own soil, but upon the soil of the Northern states. Their secretary of war, in a public speech, declared that by May the flag of the Southern Republic would wave in Washington, and that fifty thousand soldiers would march there under it. Is it any object of wonder that with such a brag, the administration should see the bet and go twenty-five thousand better; and that the whole North should go its pile to defend Washington from attack and the North from invasion? That the president was a silly man, and issued his proclamation, not to defend the country or any part thereof from invasion, which he might legally have done, and in which all good men would have supported him, but to suppress insurrection and to retake the forts and arsenals in the seceded states, which he could not legally do, does not justify the Confederate States in resorting to force before exhausting all peaceable remedies. And now the whole country is suffering, because ambitious men could not patiently submit to seek the remedies afforded by the Constitution for the redress of grievances, but undertook to right themselves by force; and our American freedom is periled by the spirit of war now rife in our land, for laws are silent amid the clash of arms, and the Northern press is hounding on the dogs of war, to subjugate the South and to wipe its people from the face of the earth unless they submit, and military despotism may be upon us and a consolidated empire may be over us, if Missouri stand not in her lot, with counsels of moderation and wisdom, striving to appease the angry strife, and casting the oil of charity upon the stormy waters. The spirit of sedition and anarchy is abroad at the North, and the president is threatened with being *superseded* in his office, and some *representative leader* substituted in his place, if he run not with the mad current of war upon the South. The ark of our liberty is in danger. State life goes out if the spirit of the North prevails, and the nation's life

expires if every state may declare its independence of all the others. Missouri cannot afford to lose one or the other. She claims to be a sovereign state, a coordinate power of the government; she admits the full power of the general government within the sphere of its constitutional authority; beyond it, she submits not at all.

That Missouri may perform her duty with the calm consciousness of power sanctioned by right, it is necessary that she also be prepared with the full power of a sovereign state to defend herself from all invasion and to maintain the sovereignty of her laws over her own citizens. For this purpose, let her be fully armed with the most improved weapons of war, let her citizen soldiery be drilled and taught war, so that she shall present a firm front to all assailants, and yet be ready to stretch forth the hand of peace. Kentucky is with her, and will aid in this generous purpose, and perhaps the peace, happiness, and prosperity of this country for long years yet to come is poised upon the action of Missouri and Kentucky. Noble deeds are before her—nobly may she do them, and God defend the right. And may she nobly keep the promise she carries on her seal: *the safety of the people is our supreme law*.



Appendix A

Digital Images from the Missouri Republican

(FLP: Ser 5MR-Feb#4)

February 1, 1861

Speech of William Douglas, Esq. at Boonville

Speech of William Douglass, Esq., at Boonville.

MR. EDITOR: According to announcement, Mr. DOUGLASS, candidate for the State Convention on the Constitutional Union ticket, delivered a speech in this city on Monday last. If there was any previous doubt as to the Union sentiment that pervades the people of Cooper, the Belleair meeting of the 23d, and the assemblage that gathered together last Monday to hear the eloquent orator plead for his country, have entirely dispelled that doubt. The Court room was thickly crowded, large numbers having to stand up; and though the notice of the meeting was made public late last Saturday—two days previous—the country people were present in number. The ladies graced the occasion with their presence, and paid marked attention to the words of the speaker. He alluded to them most handsomely in his speech, and called them, in the words of PRENTISS, “the rainbow of hope that gilds the storm-cloud of politics.”

It would be impossible for me to give you even an outline of Mr. DOUGLASS's fine speech. It was the best speech he ever made, as I have heard many say; and its merit no doubt was created by the conscious justice and glory of his cause. I presume the substance of what he said will be published in our city papers. In regard to the stand Missouri shall take, he said her position entitled her to at least equal consideration in this crisis. Saving Virginia, she was the most populous of all the slave States. She should first labor

for the preservation of the Union, and never harbor one thought of secession, until all hopes of compromise had failed. She ought to co-operate with the slave States, on the plan that Virginia had proposed, and he was confident when the demand was made by the border States, as a unit, that the North would concede our rights, and the Union and Constitution be preserved. He proved from history how States, identical in interest, were prosperous as long as united, but when rent asunder, they soon crumbled to nothingness; and he held up these examples as a warning to his countrymen, some of whom seemed madly

determined on involving their country in irretrievable anarchy and ruin. He was especially severe on those who had stigmatized persons as “*sub-missionists*,” who would not cowardly leave the Union, before manfully contending for their rights in the Union. Mr. D. said, “if you justly

claim a right, you surely show more bravery by standing up for it, than by turning your back upon it.” Mr. D. most successfully defended the resolutions passed at the Belleair meeting, and proved that their spirit was not only sufficiently Union, but as Southern as any Southern patriot could demand. He was for a Constitutional Union, recognizing and securing the rights, the honor and the equality of the South; but “if,” said the speaker, “the Union *must* be divided; if compromises fail; then I am, come weal or come wo, forever with the South.” But he felt a strong hope that all would yet be well. His peroration was eloquent and thrilling. Said he: “I will cling to the old ship of State as long as the glorious flag kisses the breezes of Heaven; and if the ship survives the storm, if we are successful in preserving the Union, the distant future will see no such miserable device as “*Secession*” inscribed upon the folds of the national emblem, but these other words, of noble and perpetual significance, “*One country, one constitution and one destiny.*”

The orator was deeply eloquent throughout his speech, and was frequently interrupted with genuine applause. The people were interested; they love the Union, and the appeals of the orator aroused their patriotism to a fervent heat. God grant that our State Convention be filled with men of Mr. DOUGLASS's ability and sound patriotism. Missouri's destiny will be safe in such hands.

Yours, in the cause of the “Stars and Stripes,”
1776.



(FLP: Ser 5MR-Feb#6)

February 2, 1861

Coercion by South Carolina (Editorial)