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Research Aid

1861 Missouri Speaks

Rebooting History

Series 1 - *Missouri Democrat Newspaper Articles*

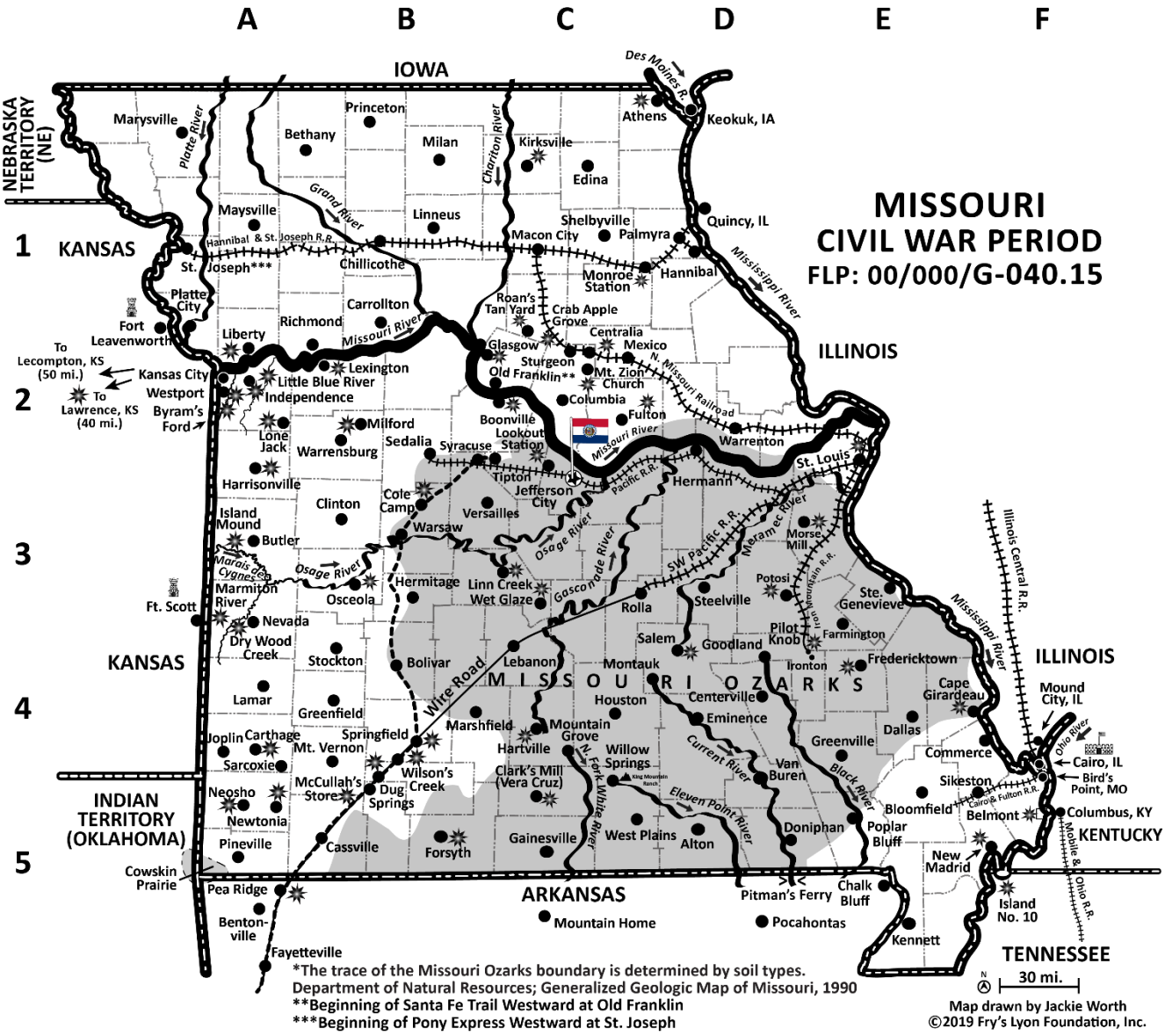
Volume 1: January - February 1861

Series Editor: Colonel Jerry R. Fry, United States Army, Retired
Series I Coordinator: Blanca Madani

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Bolivar-B3	Commerce-E4	Ft. Scott, KS- A3	Kansas City-A2	New Madrid-F5	Rolla-C3	Tipton-C2
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Cape Girardeau-F4	Doniphan-D5	Hermann-D2	Lamar-A4	Osceola-B3	Sikeston-F4	Warrensburg-B2
Cassville-B5	Fayetteville-A5	Ironton-D4	Lebanon-C3	Pea Ridge, AR-A5	Springfield-B4	Warsaw-B3
Clinton-B3	Forsyth-B5	Island No. 10-F5	Linneus-B1	Pilot Knob-D3	St. Joseph-A1	

Town/City [Current Name]
Jefferson City, Missouri's Capital
Wire Road
Political Boundary
Political Boundary
Railroad
River
Direction the water flows.

Fort
Island
Ferry/Ford
Battle site
Butterfield Stage Overland Mail Route
Cairo, IL*
Redoubt**

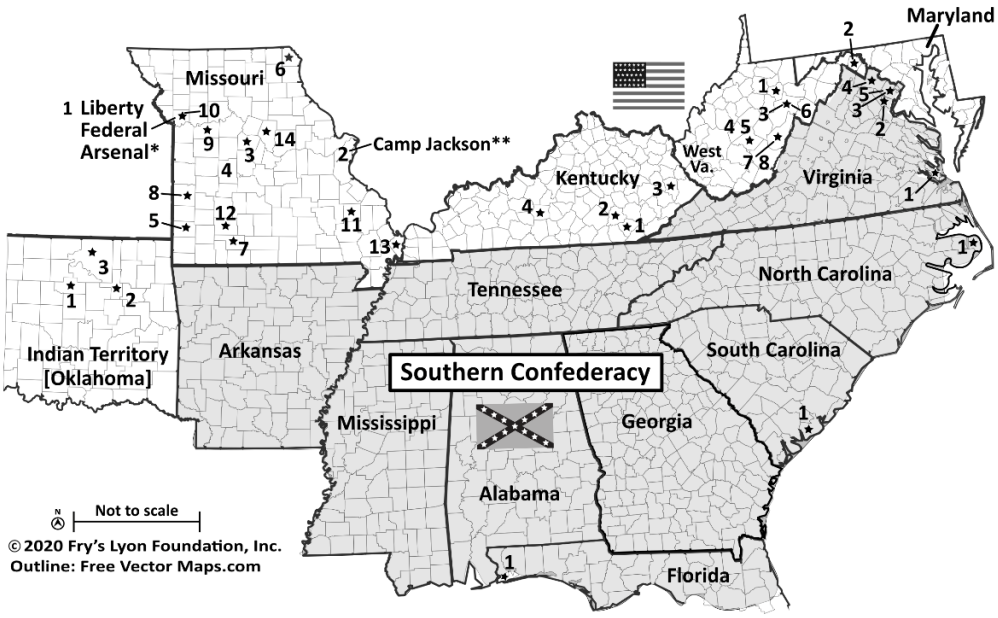
*Strongly fortified area.
**A temporary enclosed fortified position.

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1861 Land Battles & Significant Actions By State

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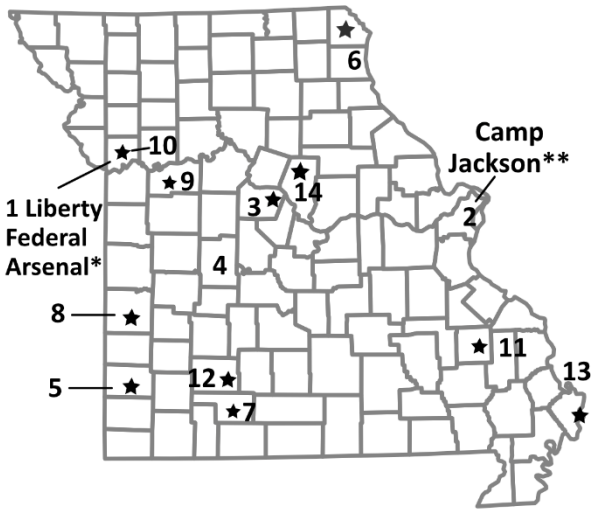
★ Designated Historically Significant by the National Park Service Site Advisory Commission.

Key	Battle	Date	Total Combatants[1]
Virginia			
1	Battle of Big Bethel	June 10, 1861	4,900
2	Battle of Blackburn's Ford	July 18, 1861	8,100
3	Battle of Bull Run	July 21, 1861	67,000
4	Battle of Ball's Bluff	Oct. 21, 1861	3,429
5	Battle of Dranesville	Dec. 20, 1861	9,000
Present-Day West Virginia[2]			
1	Battle of Philippi	June 3, 1861	3,800
2	Battle of Hoke's Run	July 2, 1861	12,000
3	Battle of Rich Mountain	July 11, 1861	8,300
4	Battle of Kessler's Cross Lanes	Aug. 26, 1861	3,000 (approx.)
5	Battle of Carnifex Ferry	Sept. 10, 1861	7,000 (approx.)
6	Battle of Cheat Mountain	Sept. 12-15, 1861	8,000
7	Battle of Greenbrier River	Oct. 3, 1861	6,800
8	Battle of Camp Allegheny	Dec. 13, 1861	3,200 (approx.)
Kentucky			
1	Battle of Barbourville	Sept. 19, 1861	1,100
2	Battle of Camp Wildcat	Oct. 21, 1861	12,400
3	Battle of Ivy Mountain	Nov. 8, 1861	4,000
4	Battle of Rowlett's Station	Dec. 17, 1861	1,850

[1] Wikipedia.

[2] After Virginia seceded from the Union on April 17, 1861, West Virginia seceded from Virginia and became the 35th state of the Union on June 20, 1863.

Indian Territory/Present-Day Oklahoma			
1	Battle of Round Mountain	Nov. 19, 1861	1,600 (approx.)
2	Battle of Chusto-Talasah	Dec. 9, 1861	3,800 (approx.)
3	Battle of Chustenahlah	Dec. 26, 1861	3,080
South Carolina			
1	Attack on Fort Sumter	April 12, 1861	6,085[3]
North Carolina			
1	Battle of Hatteras Inlet Batteries	Aug. 28, 1861	1,835
Florida			
1	Battle of Santa Rosa Island	Oct. 9, 1861	1,800
Missouri			



1861 Missouri

Key	Battle/Action	Date	Total Combatants[1]
1	Capture of Liberty Arsenal	Apr. 19	203
2	Capture of Camp Jackson	May 10	6,669
3	First Battle of Boonville	June 17	3,200
4	Battle of Cole Camp	June 19	950
5	Battle of Carthage	July 5	7,100
6	Battle of Athens	Aug. 5	2,300
7	Battle of Wilson's Creek	Aug. 10	17,500
8	Battle of Dry Wood Creek	Sept. 2	6,600[2]
9	First Battle of Lexington	Sept. 13	18,500
10	Battle of Liberty	Sept. 17	4,100
11	Battle of Fredericktown	Oct. 21	5,000
12	First Battle of Springfield	Oct. 25	1,800
13	Battle of Belmont	Nov. 7	21,000
14	Battle of Mt. Zion Church	Dec. 28	1,350

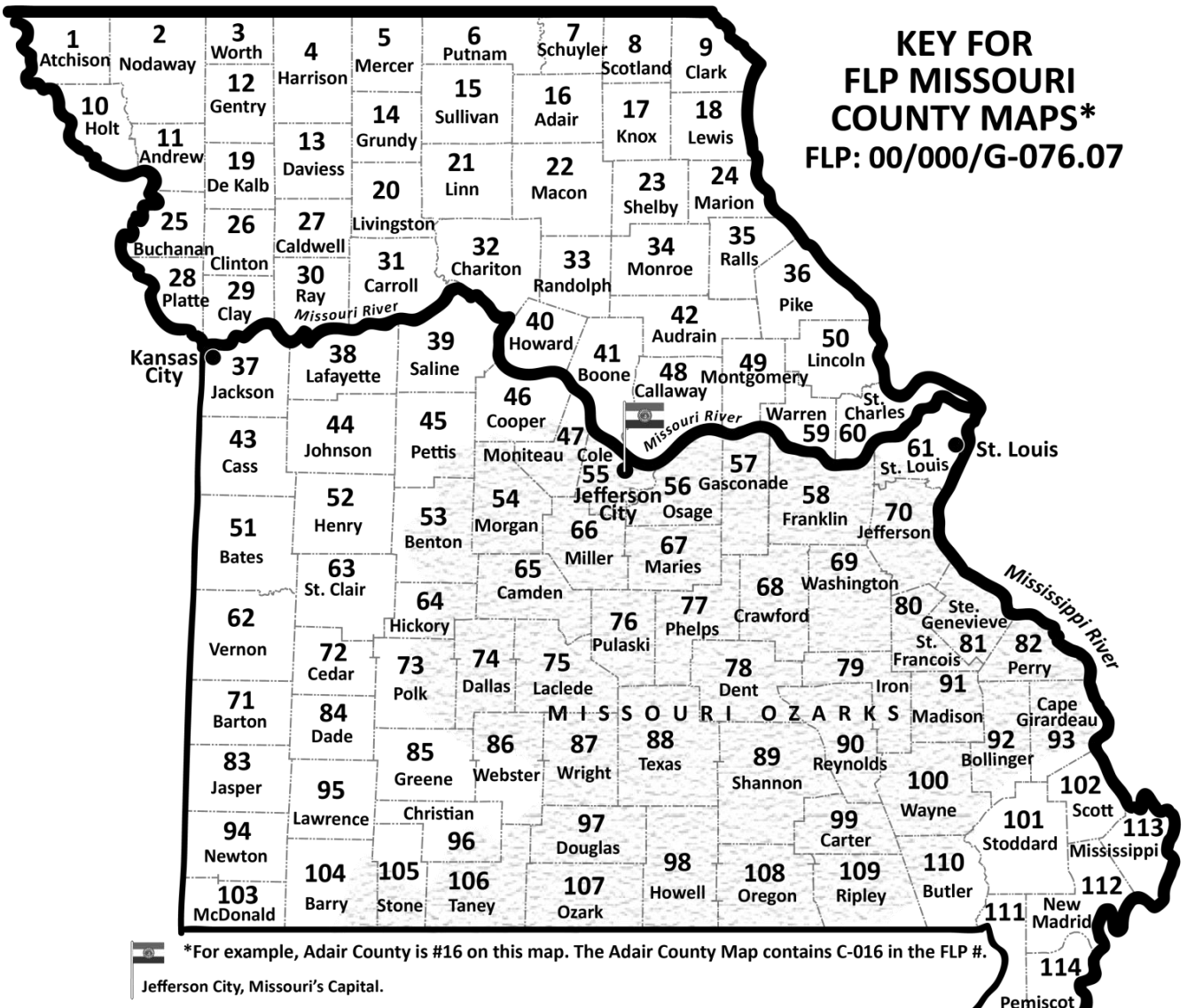
***Capture of Liberty Federal Arsenal. First secessionist action in Missouri.**

****Camp Jackson: First aggressive action by U.S. Army against secessionists, 669 prisoners taken.** (O.R., I,3: 163-164)



Missouri's Size Compared to the Eastern Theater

[3] National Park Service.



16	Adair	29	Clay	37	Jackson	54	Morgan	8	Scotland
11	Andrew	26	Clinton	83	Jasper	112	New Madrid	102	Scott
1	Atchison	55	Cole	70	Jefferson	94	Newton	89	Shannon
42	Audrain	46	Cooper	44	Johnson	2	Nodaway	23	Shelby
104	Barry	68	Crawford	17	Knox	108	Oregon	60	St. Charles
71	Barton	84	Dade	75	Laclede	56	Osage	63	St. Clair
51	Bates	74	Dallas	38	Lafayette	107	Ozark	80	St. Francois
53	Benton	13	Daviess	95	Lawrence	114	Pemiscot	61	St. Louis
92	Bollinger	19	DeKalb	18	Lewis	82	Perry	81	Ste. Genevieve
41	Boone	78	Dent	50	Lincoln	45	Pettis	101	Stoddard
25	Buchanan	97	Douglas	21	Linn	77	Phelps	105	Stone
110	Butler	111	Dunklin	20	Livingston	36	Pike	15	Sullivan
27	Caldwell	58	Franklin	22	Macon	28	Platte	106	Taney
48	Callaway	57	Gasconade	91	Madison	73	Polk	88	Texas
65	Camden	12	Gentry	67	Maries	76	Pulaski	62	Vernon
93	Cape Girardeau	85	Greene	24	Marion	6	Putnam	59	Warren
31	Carroll	14	Grundy	103	McDonald	35	Ralls	69	Washington
99	Carter	4	Harrison	5	Mercer	33	Randolph	100	Wayne
43	Cass	52	Henry	66	Miller	30	Ray	86	Webster
72	Cedar	64	Hickory	113	Mississippi	90	Reynolds	3	Worth
32	Chariton	10	Holt	47	Moniteau	109	Ripley	87	Wright
96	Christian	40	Howard	34	Monroe	39	Saline		
9	Clark	98	Howell	49	Montgomery	7	Schuyler		
		79	Iron						

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1861 MISSOURI SPEAKS: REBOOTING HISTORY
SERIES DESCRIPTIONS

Series Sampler & Introduction (1 Volume)

Samples from each series of the *Missouri Speaks Collection* volumes. The 60-plus volumes represented within this sampler contain transcribed copies of Civil War-era newspapers, primary source documents, and government reports presented in chronological order, with additional volumes arranged by subject or officer/official concerned.

Series 1 – Missouri Democrat Newspaper Articles Published in 1861 (11 Volumes)

The *Missouri Democrat* was a Republican Party, anti-slavery, unconditional unionist newspaper published in the slave state of Missouri. The articles cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues, which provide a window into the social condition of the period. Articles are transcribed, modernized, footnoted, and include explanatory notes to help contextualize the articles. Maps and pictures are added to help the reader visualize the information provided. A timeline keyed to the articles, a finding aid section, and an index are also provided.

Series 2 – Primary Source Documents (10 Volumes)

Transcribed copies of documents, letters, reports, proclamations, military orders, etc. All items are modernized and footnoted, with supporting maps and pictures. This series is a repository of primary source documents dealing with Missouri, culled from many separate repositories dealing with the Civil War period.

Series 3 – Rural Missouri Newspaper Articles Published in 1861 (2 Volumes)

Transcribed newspaper articles from all of Missouri's rural newspapers that were available on microfilm in the State Historical Society of Missouri newspaper collection in 2014.

Series 4 – New York Tribune Articles Concerning Missouri Published in 1861 (2 Volumes)

Volume 1 – New York Tribune (January-July 1861)
Volume 2 – New York Tribune (August-December 1861)

Series 5 – Missouri Elections 1860 (2 Volumes)

Transcribed newspaper articles from multiple sources published from July to December 1860 dealing with the gubernatorial and presidential elections in Missouri. These volumes cover the election campaigns, the results of the elections, and comments on election results. Volume 2 also contains reports on the attitudes of Missourians to the secession of South Carolina.

Volume 1 – Gubernatorial Election (August 1860)
Volume 2 – Presidential Election (November 1860)

Series 6 – Missouri Republican Newspaper Articles Published in 1861 (3 Volumes)

The *Missouri Republican* was a pro-slavery, conditional unionist, Democrat Party newspaper that favored compromise over coercion to keep the cotton states in the Union. The articles cover the slavery debate, secession crisis, and political and military issues concerning Missouri. Full copies of the Missouri Republican are available on the Internet. For these volumes, only the articles dealing with the political and military situation are presented. While some articles have been used in other parts of the *Missouri Speaks Collection* and have been transcribed and footnoted, most have not been but instead presented as they appear on the Internet. The *Missouri Republican* represented the Democratic Party in Missouri, and the *Missouri Democrat* represented the Republican Party; consequently, they presented the opposing sides of most issues. The maps and photos used in Series 1, *Missouri Democrat* Newspaper Articles Published in 1861, also support the articles found in the Series 6 volumes.

Series 7 – Vindication of Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont and His Service in Missouri (13 Volumes)

Transcribed copies of letters, reports, proclamations, military orders, and newspaper articles concerning the service of Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont's (MGen. Fremont) 100 days of service in Missouri as the commander of the Department of the West.

Volume 1 – Fremont's Service in Missouri

This volume documents that MGen. Fremont did a superb job during his service in Missouri. It also documents that his relief was the result of a self-serving clandestine campaign organized by Congressman Francis P. Blair Jr., his father and brother, Montgomery, Lincoln's postmaster general, along with a clique of West Point officers, with the support of President Lincoln.

Volume 1A – Consolidated Index

Finding aids for all documents and newspaper articles from the *Missouri Speaks Collection* reporting on events concerning MGen. Fremont.

Volume 2 - **Fremont as Reported by the Press – In Chronological Order**

Newspaper articles reporting and commenting on the service of MGen. Fremont. Among the many newspapers represented in this series are the *Missouri Republican; Missouri Democrat; New York Tribune; New York Times; New York Herald; Chicago Tribune; Cincinnati Press;* and the *Cincinnati Gazette.*

Part 1 – Missouri Newspapers
Part 2 – Non-Missouri Newspapers

Volume 2A - **Fremont as Reported by the Press – Arranged by Subject (4 Volumes/Parts)**

Volume 3 – Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War: Part III – Department of the West

A transcribed copy of the original report, published in 1862. Using this report in its original form is difficult because it contains random verbatim transcriptions of a wide range of questions.

Volume 3A – Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War: Part III – Department of the West – Arranged by Subject

The testimonies of witnesses are divided topically, so as to consolidate testimonies covering specific subjects in chronological order.

Volume 4 – Congressional Contract Investigations of the Department of the West (4 Parts)

Contains documents concerning a sham investigation into the contracts processed by the St. Louis Office of the Quartermaster General Department, in an effort to justify relieving MGen. Fremont.

Part 1 – Summary-type documents that put the contract investigation in context.
Part 2 – Congressional Investigation Summary Report and Testimonies
Part 3 – Testimonies from Committee Investigation (continued)
Part 4 – Testimonies from Committee Investigation (continued)

Volume 5 – Sabotaging Fremont

Part 1 – The Blairs
Part 2 – Other Individuals and Groups

Series 8 – Principal Officers and Officials (6 Volumes)

As it is difficult to keep track of the actions of any one individual within a chronological presentation of documents, this series consolidates the documents from Series 1 and 2 of the *Missouri Speaks Collection* associated with individual officers and officials. Articles and documents concerning President Lincoln are found in Series 11; those on MGen. Fremont are found in Series 7.

Volume 1 – Union – Arranged by Officer or Official Concerned

Part 1A – Gen. Lyon's Service in Missouri
Part 1B – Gen. Lyon's Service in Missouri (Continued)
Part 2 – Washington's War on Missouri
Part 3 – Missouri's Disloyal West Pointers
Part 4 – Governors of Missouri and Surrounding States
Part 5 – Brown Water Navy

Volume 2 – Confederate and Rebel – In Chronological Order
Volume 2A – Confederate and Rebel – Arranged by Officer or Official Concerned

Series 9 – *Missouri Speaks* Reference Volumes (4 Volumes)

Volume 1 – Missouri Speaks Biographies - Biographies of those mentioned in the *Missouri Speaks Collection* from multiple sources.

Volume 2 –Atlas - Collection of over 300 maps prepared for and unique to the *Missouri Speaks Collection.*

Volume 3 – Military Documents - Documents concerning military operations in Missouri, from the *Official Record, War of the Rebellion*, along with many documents not found in the *Official Record.*

Volume 4 – Significant and Turning Point Documents - Documents such as Missouri's 1820 Constitution; the 1858 Militia Act; summary and minutes of the three sessions of the 1861 State Convention, etc.

Series 10 – The Way it Was (6 Volumes)

Volume 1 – Vignettes - Short Stories - Book Reviews

Volume 2 – Samples of Fake History

Volume 3 – Personal Recollections (3 Parts)
Eighty-nine articles written by those who served in Missouri during the war years, taken from multiple sources, including *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States Magazine (MOLLUS), the 1885-1887 *Missouri Republican* series of articles entitled "Tales of the War," and the *Confederate Veteran Magazine.*

Series 11 – President Abraham Lincoln (3 Volumes/Parts)

This series demonstrates that the suffering experienced by Missourians during the Civil War period was, to a great extent, the result of President Lincoln's interference with Missouri's internal affairs.

Background: Missouri was unique among slave states in that after the elected governor organized a State Convention to justify secession, the Convention surprised him and other secessionists by voting 98 to 1 to remain in the Union. After that, the governor and other state officials attempted to carry Missouri out of the Union by force. However, citizen volunteers, led by a Regular Army captain, defanged the State Militia and drove the governor and his armed supporters to the far corner of the state, which allowed the State Convention to reconvene, depose the renegade governor, and appoint a provisional governor. Unfortunately, President Lincoln's unending interference in both civil and military affairs in Missouri prevented both civil and military leaders from ameliorating the civil disorder which plagued the state throughout the war and after. This interference caused Missouri's Provisional Governor Hamilton R. Gamble, in 1863, to tell Lincoln's Attorney General Bates that Lincoln was "a mere intriguing, pettifogging, politician.[4]"

Volume 1 - Lincoln and Missouri

Volume 2 – Lincoln and Missouri's Armed Forces

Part 1 - Union
Part 2 –Confederate and Rebel

Series 12 – Revised and Modernized Period Books

[4] William E. Parrish, *Turbulent Partnership: Missouri and the Union 1861 – 1865* (University of Missouri Press Columbia, Missouri, 1963) p. 160.

Volume 1 – Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861 & The Struggle for Missouri

Volume 2 – Life of General Nathaniel Lyon & The Political Writings of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, U.S.A.

Volume 3 – The Fight for Missouri

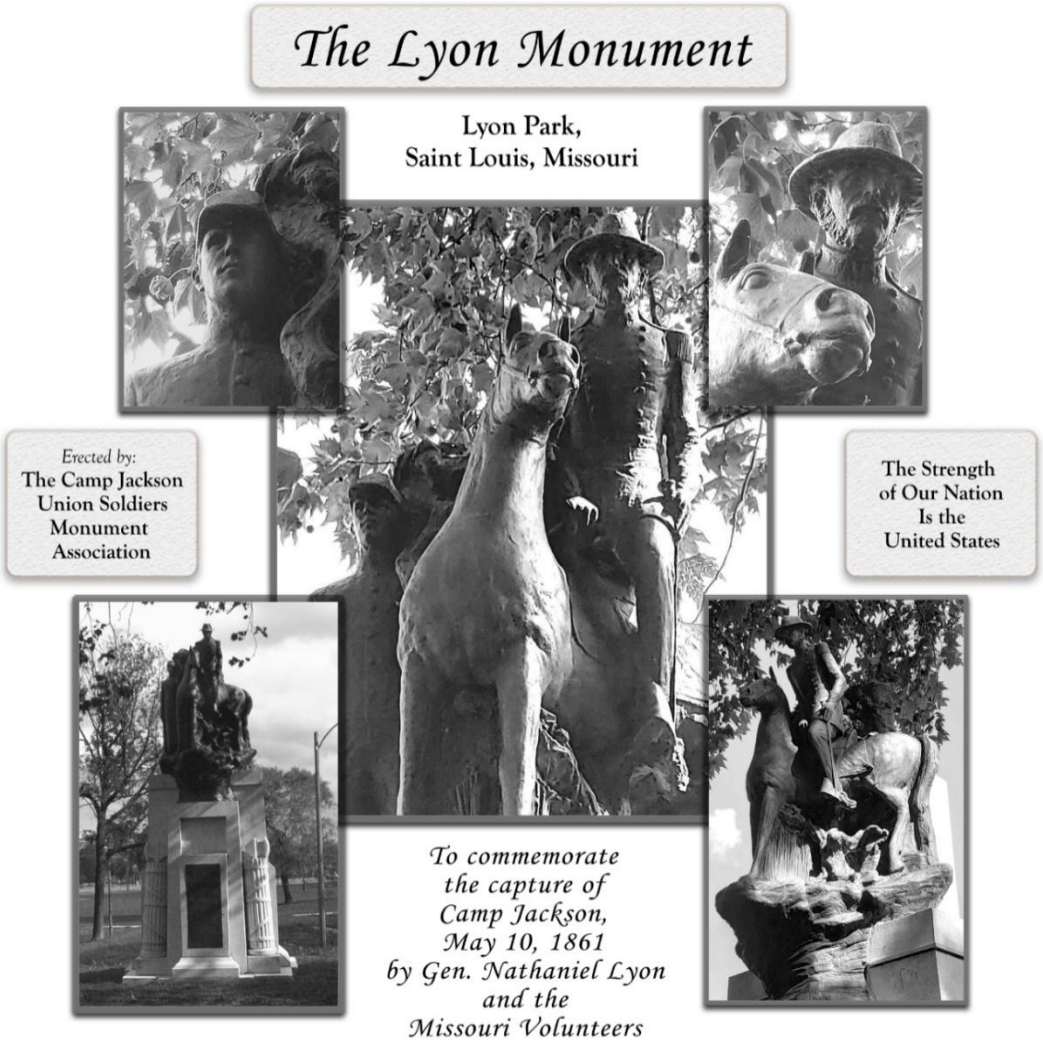
Volume 4 – Ten Years in the Ranks, U.S. Army

Volume 5 – Missouri: A Bone of Contention

Updated 11-28-23

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GENERAL NATHANIEL LYON DEDICATION

The *1861 Missouri Speaks Collection*/Repository of Missouri Civil War documents is dedicated to the memory of Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon, a Connecticut Yankee from Eastford, Connecticut. General Lyon was the first Union general killed in battle during the Civil War. A professional soldier who had previously served as an infantry company commander in both the Seminole and Mexican-American Wars. He was killed at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, executing his oath to defend the Constitution of the United States by leading a loyal Union force against a rebel force attempting to carry Missouri out of the Union. Colonel Thomas Snead, one of the Missouri rebel officers fighting in that battle wrote, "By wisely planning, by boldly doing, and bravely dying, Lyon had won the fight for Missouri."[5] That feeling was echoed by Congress in 1897 when it

[5] Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri: from the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1886, p. 303.

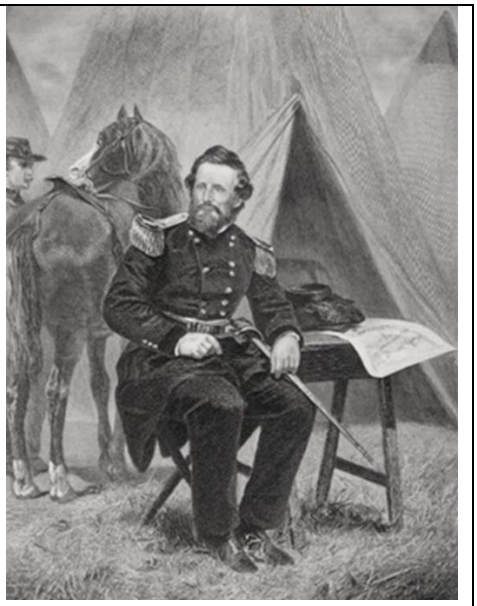
published a report stating:

> *The battle of Wilson's Creek, fought on the 10th day of August 1861, was one of the most important among the first battles of the Civil War. The brave and gallant General Lyon was killed on that battlefield while leading his brave command against overwhelming odds. So stubbornly did he and his devoted command contest the ground fought over that the victors were unable to pursue their advantage, and it is truthfully said that the result of that battle was to save the great state of Missouri to the Union.*

A few months after Lyon's death, one of Lyon's men wrote:

> *The present time is pregnant with vast events. Battles are imminent which will throw the story of Wilson's Creek into the shade. But whatever events shall happen, whatever triumphs or reverses to the nation after the sharp storm of calamity shall have spent itself and the blinding passions of this crisis shall have cleared away, there are some names which mankind will not willingly let die, and among them, among the martyrs of constitutional liberty, posterity will write the name of LYON.*[6]

Even though Lyon was a national hero in the North and a respected soldier and patriot in the South, post-war generations of neo-Confederates have besmirched his reputation while bypassing the truth of what happened in Missouri in the run-up to and the first year of the Civil War. As the genesis of this collection was a desire to recover General Lyon's reputation, it seems appropriate that his name should be attached to this collection.



Gen. Nathaniel Lyon
Painting By Alonzo Chappel

[6] (FLP: Ser 6MR-Dec#32)

General Lyon and His Ninety-Day Volunteers

When Missouri's secessionist Governor Jackson refused to provide troops for President Lincoln's call-up after the surrender of Fort Sumter, unionist volunteers stepped forward to fill Missouri's quota of 4,500 ninety-day volunteers. A few days later, under the leadership of their newly elected leader, Captain Nathaniel Lyon, the volunteers surrounded Camp Jackson, where the secessionist-minded militia were gathered, and took them prisoner without firing a shot. That action delivered a death blow to the governor's secession efforts; not only had he lost most of the state's weapons, but his only combat-ready units ceased to exist after the individual members signed a pledge "as gentlemen, not to take up arms or serve in any military capacity against the United States during the present civil war." Later, after the governor effectively declared war on the United States by calling for 50,000 volunteers to resist Federal authority on June 12, 1861, the Union volunteers, under the leadership of now General Lyon, moved up the Missouri River and defeated the governor's forces in the Battle of Boonville; then a second element engaged the governor at the Battle of Carthage, where they were so badly outnumbered, they were forced into a fighting retreat until they could break contact after dark. Finally, as the Union volunteers ninety-day commitment was drawing to a close, they effectively blunted a Confederate Army invasion of Missouri at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, where they fought a vastly superior force, with 1,317 of their comrades either killed, wounded, or missing, including General Lyon, making him the first Union general killed in battle during the Civil War.

In 1993, a National Park Service Civil War Sites Advisory Commission evaluated some 10,500 armed conflicts "to identify the nation's historically significant Civil War sites." That committee found 384 sites historically significant, including all three of the battles in which Lyon's ninety-day volunteers fought. Concerning their last battle, where General Lyon and so many of his men were killed, the U.S. Congress wrote the following in 1897:

> *The battle of Wilson's Creek, fought on the 10th day of August 1861, was one of the most important among the first battles of the civil war. The brave and gallant General Lyon was killed on that battlefield while leading his brave command against overwhelming odds. So stubbornly did he and his devoted command contest the ground fought over, that the victors were unable to pursue their advantage, and it is truthfully said that the result of that battle was to save the great state of Missouri to the Union.*

After the Civil War, the survivors of Missouri's ninety-day volunteer units created the Camp Jackson Union Soldiers Monument Association to arrange for a statue to honor General Lyon and memorialize their capture of Camp Jackson. They arranged to place their statue on the site of Camp Jackson to identify it as the spot where the nation's first effort was made to stop the slave powers from splitting the United States.

In 1961, the veteran-funded statue was moved from its place of honor at the site of Camp Jackson to an isolated site where it was hidden in a clump of trees behind the Budweiser Brewery in St. Louis. For the story on that movement *see the next page*.

Soldiers Banished—A Traitor Memorialized

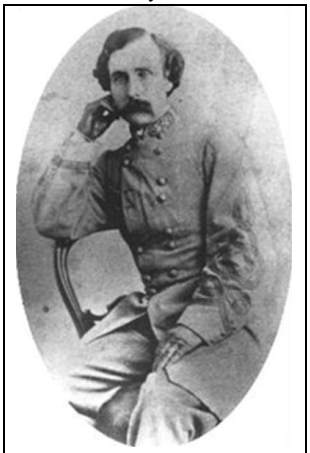
After the Union troops that funded the Camp Jackson Memorial Statue disarmed General Frost and his command at Camp Jackson, they paroled them after they pledged not to take up arms against the United States again. When General Frost was released from his parole, he was offered a commission as a brigadier general in the Confederate Army, even though he was a turn-coat Yankee from New York. However, after swearing allegiance to the Confederacy and accepting a commission, he later abandoned his command and fled to Canada, causing him to be dropped from the Confederate Army rolls as a deserter. After the war, when he was no longer in danger of being hung as a Confederate deserter, he was allowed to return to St. Louis after he again swore allegiance to the United States, as he did after graduating from West Point in 1844.

In 1961, Frost's daughter offered $1,050,000 to Saint Louis University to purchase the Camp Jackson property where the volunteers' statue stood, but the funds were contingent on the volunteers' statue being moved and the site being named after her father. Today, the Camp Jackson site is the Frost Campus of St. Louis University, and the monument to the Union soldiers who delivered the first blow to the nation's slave powers and prevented Gen. Frost from using the militia to carry Missouri out of the Union is in a clump of trees behind the Budweiser Brewery in St. Louis. According to a map on the St. Louis University website, a statue of the poet Robert Frost is now located on the former Camp Jackson site.



Poet Robert Frost Statue
Frost Campus, St. Louis U.

Many of those involved in the creation and funding of the statue suffered badly from wounds received during the Battle of Wilson's Creek, as 873 Union soldiers were wounded during the battle, and General Lyon and 444 more were killed or missing.



Daniel M. Frost

Considering the volunteers' attachment to the Wilson's Creek battlefield, it is felt that their statue should be moved from behind the Saint Louis Brewery to the Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. It is only fitting that a monument commissioned by Missouri's ninety-day volunteers to memorialize their service and the service of their f comrades should be moved to where they made their greatest sacrifices, and where the bodies of so many of their missing comrades remain. Yes, these men captured Camp Jackson and disarmed the governor's militia, but they fought, suffered, and left comrades behind at Wilson's Creek, a spot that has been set aside by a thankful nation to honor what they did there and where they will receive the recognition they deserve.

Putting this historically significant statue at the Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, where their comrades gave their lives, would demonstrate respect for their service and honor their sacrifice. Not only will their story resonate with visitors, it will stimulate interest in Missouri's Civil War history as visitors seek to learn more about their efforts to keep Missouri in the Union, and why all three battles they fought are considered nationally significant by the National Park Service.

Editor's Note: The pictures and articles above concern the capture of Camp Jackson by forces serving under then Captain Lyon, which was the first aggressive action of Union forces during the Civil War. The next four items all provide information about the capture.

1. Comments by Lt. General and President Ulysses S. Grant, who was a civilian in St. Louis at that time and spoke with Captain Lyon on the day Camp Jackson was captured.

2. An article that appeared in the Louisville (Kentucky) Daily Journal newspaper about the capture of Camp Jackson.

3. Shortly after the capture of Camp Jackson, a delegation representing St. Louis businessmen traveled to Washington to see the president and recommend changes to the military organizations in Missouri. Some historians have mischaracterized the goals of that delegation as an effort to remove now General Lyon from command. An unimpeachable description of the goals of that delegation is presented below.

4. An article written by a Union Army Colonel from Kentucky comparing General Lyon and Confederate General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. The article includes information about Camp Jackson.

(FLP: Ser 2PS-May-Annex-6)
June 23, 1863

James E. Yeatman *to* Governor Gamble

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis - Gamble Papers

St. Louis, June 23, 1863.

Gov. Gamble
Dear Sir,

Among the many charges which have been made against you, there is one which I feel it due to you should be corrected, and as there is no one so fully conversant with the facts as myself, I desire to put on paper a statement of the facts which you can use in any way that you desire.

I allude to the mission to Washington directly after the taking of Camp Jackson and the charges that you had gone on for the purpose of urging the removal of Genl. Lyon from the command of the troops in Missouri. After the Camp Jackson affair, a number of citizens met together for consultation and advice, all proposed to be friends of and loyal to the government. At this meeting, they determined to represent to the president what they considered injurious to the government, and to recommend a policy which they claimed calculated to strengthen the

government and our state and prevent her from following the lead of those states which have seceded.

I for one, in concurrence with many others at the time and under the circumstances, with such facts as I was in possession of, considered the taking of Camp Jackson as an unfortunate affair, but with the facts which subsequently came to my knowledge, I am satisfied not only of the necessity of such action at the time, but those who were engaged in it were entitled to the warmest thanks and lasting gratitude of every man who loved his country and desired its unity and perpetuity.

You were not present at the meeting of citizens referred to but were then absent in Pennsylvania and was telegraphed to meet me in Washington for the purpose of joining in a representation to the president. In the petition which you drew up, a statement[7] was made of the Camp Jackson affair, and the president urged to substitute other troops for the Home Guards, composed mostly of Germans against whom there was likely to be engendered a feeling of bitterness and hostility, which would result in injury to them and bring about a pride of nationalities which would last through long years to come. You did not desire the number of troops to be diminished, only that regular troops or volunteers from other states should be substituted for the Home Guards. Not one word was said in the paper drawn by you favoring the removal of Genl. Lyon. Your judgment and advice, which was adopted, was against any such recommendation and met the full sanction of those who we represented when reported to them. But why the question is raised at this late period and charges rising against you is difficult to conceive. Had you done all and more than is charged against you, the evidences which you have since given of an enlightened patriotism, and a loyalty which is above all reproach, the sacrifices which you have made and services rendered should satisfy the surest exacting. For one, I thank you, feeling that your weight of character and sound judgment, thrown on the side of our government at the time it was, aided materially in preserving to the union our own noble state.

Future generations will appreciate and thank you for what you have done.

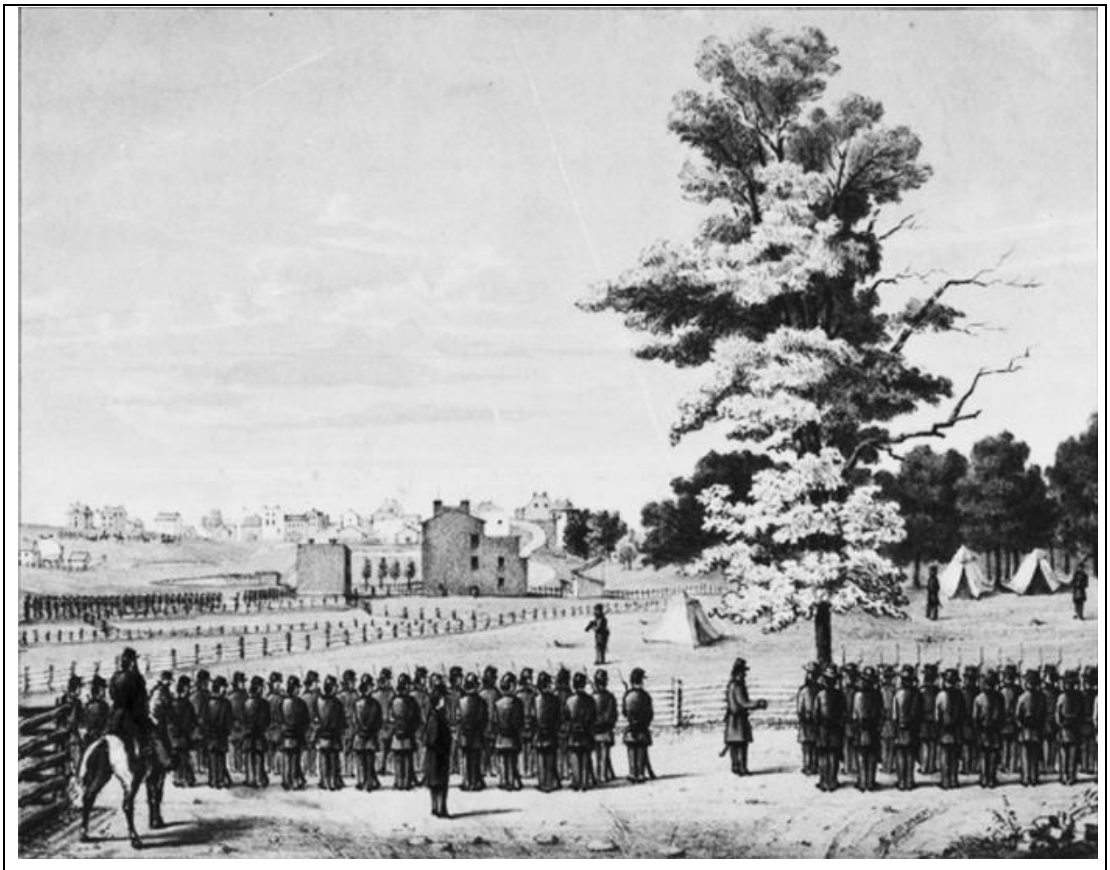
Very Respectfully,
& Truly Yours,
James E. Yeatman

[7] For the original letter delivered to President Lincoln, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#67).

President Ulysses S. Grant:

The breaking up of Camp Jackson had a good effect and a bad effect. It offended many Union Democrats, who saw in it an invasion of state rights, which it certainly was. It was used by the secessionists as a means of exciting discontent among the Southern sympathizing citizens and as an argument that the federal government was high-handed in its dealing with Missouri. Then the fact that Germans were used to coerce Americans—free Americans in their own camp, called out by the governor of the state—gave offense to the anti-German element across the state. I knew many good people with the North, at the out-set, whose opinions were set southward by this incident. But no really loyal man, to whom the Union was paramount, ever questioned the act. Those who went with the South over this would soon have gone on something else—emancipation or the use of troops for example. The taking of Camp Jackson saved St. Louis to our side and a long, terrible siege to retake it if Governor Jackson had prevailed, and was one of the best things in the whole war. I remember how rejoiced I was as I saw Blair and Lyon bring their prisoners into town.*

*Quoted comments by John Russel Young in his book *Around the World with General Grant, Volume II,* The American News Company, 1879; Pages 467-468.



Camp Jackson
Civil War Daily Gazette

Camp Jackson as Seen by the *Louisville Daily Journal* (KY),

Another Border Slave State Like Missouri

1861 Missouri Speaks, Series 1, Vol. 3,
(FLP: Ser 1MD-May#138)[8]



Missouri and the U.S. Government

Reprint published in *Missouri Democrat* May 23, 1861

[From the *Louisville (KY) Daily Journal* May 21, 1861]

We see that the government of the United States is very bitterly denounced for what has been done in Missouri [with the arrest of Missouri's militia force at Camp Jackson.] Whether the Administration at Washington has or has not pursued in all respects the best and most judicious course in regard to Missouri, we are not prepared to say; but certainly, there was an obvious necessity for the adoption of prompt and vigorous measures of some sort by the federal government.

No man of sense, who has the least knowledge of the facts, could doubt, even if he would, that the purpose of the disunionists in Missouri, who were so rapidly gathering at Camp Jackson, near St. Louis, with heavy artillery, mortars, bombs, etc., was to seize the U. S. Arsenal, munitions of war, and all other property, in imitation of the conduct of the other disunionists in the states that had already seceded [and captured the U.S. Arsenal at Liberty, Missouri]. They left no room whatever for doubt as to their object. Camp Jackson, as a contemporary says, was a camp of secessionists. All the secessionists in St. Louis knew it to be their camp. Its avenues were named for Southern disunionists. It had just received arms from the Confederate conspirators that had been taken from the U. S. Arsenal at Baton Rouge [Louisiana]. The boat bearing the arms to St. Louis had defiantly carried the secession flag. The arms had been taken to Camp Jackson amid the acclamations of the mob of secessionists. The governor of the state was a notorious secessionist. He was and is managing the military of the state with a view of crushing out the Union cause. His policy was to have a test oath prescribed by the General Assembly, which should commit all the enrolled militia of the state to obey his orders. The General Assembly was in secret session. The secession militia was to be concentrated at Camp Jackson under the disguise of drilling as usual. The secessionists of St. Louis boasted that three thousand Tennesseans were to come and join Gen. Frost, the militia commander at Camp Jackson, and the secessionist Home Guards, to capture the Arsenal.[9]

All these things were notorious. The secessionists, all of them, from the governor of the state down, flattered themselves that the United States government, which had shown itself inactive and even imbecile in similar cases in the seceding states, would be weak enough to let them make all their arrangements at their leisure and strike suddenly whenever they should find themselves fully prepared. They proved, however, to be woefully mistaken in their reckoning. The administration, though a slow learner, had learned some little wisdom from their mortifying and calamitous experience in the seceding states. The commander of the United States troops at St. Louis [Capt. Nathaniel Lyon], in the exercise of

[8] For an explanation of how to read the FLP identifiers, see page xxxvi.
[9] Militia Brigadier General Daniel M. Frost was a West Point graduate from New York that had married into a wealthy slave-owning family in Missouri.

the discretion confided to him as a U.S. Army officer, struck instead of waiting to be struck. Just as the secession troops thought they were about ready to capture all the United States property, Capt. Lyon captured them. And then the miserable secession leaders undertook to excite public sympathy by pretending that they had been assembling their forces with all their tremendous batteries of cannon and mortars at Camp Jackson solely for a little training exercise. Which is about the same thing South Carolina would have cried if U.S. Army Major Anderson had opened fire on the artillery batteries being erected for the attack on Fort Sumter, e.g., our only object in planting the cannons facing Fort Sumter was a little inoffensive target practice.

A good deal of complaint is made now on account of General Harney's proclamation,[10] calling the Military Bill an indirect ordinance of secession, and expressing a strong determination to protect all citizens against disunion oppression and persecution. Most assuredly such protection was strongly demanded. As soon as the disunion troops were made prisoners at Camp Jackson, the disunion legislature, passed an unconstitutional Military Bill which puts all the state forces under the command of the governor; commands the enlisted men to obey him alone, making it treason for an enlisted man to speak disrespectfully of the governor or legislature; and subjects every able-bodied man in Missouri to military duty for a term of seven years.

The afore mentioned Military Bill deprives the citizens of Missouri all of their constitutional, legal, and natural rights as citizens of the United States, **making it the solemn duty of the federal government to intervene to protect the citizens of Missouri. If it permitted all the rights of men, as United States citizens, to be crushed out, it would entitle itself to the scorn of all mankind.**

If we may judge from scores of statements we see daily, the Union men of Missouri should have far more protection from the United States than they are having even under the stringent proclamation of Gen. Harney. All the papers in Illinois, and all the papers in Missouri that dare to be loyal, proclaim that in Missouri, a frightful reign of terror prevails everywhere except in the immediate presence of the loyal Union troops. Hundreds and hundreds of loyal families and thousands of loyal individuals have been exiled from the state within the last few days. Sixty families have been driven out from Macon City [Macon County] alone, leaving the place half depopulated. Numerous others are driven out every day. Certainly, if the arm of the federal government can put a stop to these outrages, it should be stretched vigorously forth for that purpose. When all the citizens of a state are allowed to vote and act as they please without being subjected to the duress of torture or bodily fear, we would have the federal government interfere as little as possible; but when a despotic local government undertakes to make slaves or exiles of its own citizens, then let the federal government, if it was instituted for any purpose under heaven, show what that purpose is and protect its citizens and reestablish law and order.

[10] U.S. Army Brigadier General William S. Harney was the commander of the Army Department of the West, with his headquarters in St. Louis. After Gov. Jackson signed the new Military Bill, Harney published a proclamation to the citizens of Missouri, stating in part, "This [Military Bill] cannot be regarded in any other light than an indirect secession ordinance, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other states. Manifestly, its most material provisions are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. To this extent, it is a nullity and cannot and ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri. For the full proclamation, see *1861 Missouri Speaks*, Series 1, April-May volume, (FLP: Ser 1MD-May#90).

Generals Nathaniel Lyon and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson

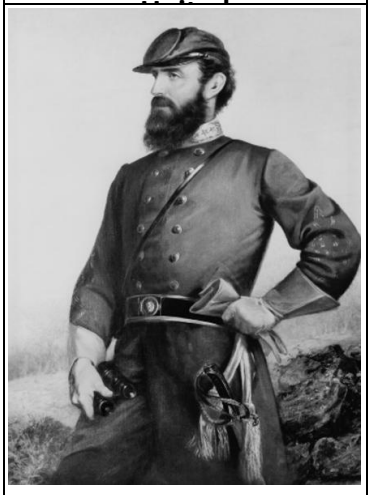
Col. John A. Joyce
24th Regt. Kentucky Vol. Inf., Union Army[11]

Preface of Jewels of Memory

These jewels from the casket of my personal memories, I flash over the ocean of literature, trusting that some sparkling rays may attract human hearts when the soul that divined these words and the hand that fashioned them has vanished like the dew of the morning.



Gen. Nathaniel Lyon United States Army



Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson

Nathaniel Lyon of Connecticut and Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson of Virginia were the Puritanical[12] soldiers of the late civil war. A deep religious conviction of patriotism motivated the hearts of these natural leaders, who never faltered in a plan once adopted, but struck the enemy with lightning force and rapidity, accomplishing by boldness what other generals failed in securing with more time and larger numbers.

Lyon was born in the year 1819, graduated in 1841 at West Point, and was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri, on the 10th of August 1861.

Jackson was born in the year 1824, graduated at West Point in 1846, and received his death wound at the battle of Chancellorsville, Virginia, in May 1863, dying on Sunday, the 10th of that month.

Lyon, in his first assignment out of West Point, served as an infantry company commander in the Second Seminole War, and both Lyon and Jackson served as lieutenants in the Mexican war and fought in the same battles for the Stars and Stripes, and both were promoted for marked gallantry. After the Mexican war, Jackson resigned his commission and took a professorship at the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), at Lexington, Virginia, where he taught until the first shot on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, aroused the nation to battle.

At the close of the Mexican war, Lyon went to California, where he served with great distinction, and afterwards in Kansas during the "Bleeding Kansas" period, playing a part in the bloody events that made Kansas a free state.

In February 1861, Lyon was sent to St. Louis with his company of Regular Army soldiers to protect the Saint Louis Arsenal from secessionists. While

[11] An excerpt from Col. Joyce's *Jewels of Memory*, Ch. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Gibson Brothers, Publishers, 1895), expanded for the benefit of readers, new to Missouri's Civil War history.

[12] Puritan: Very strict in moral or religious matters, often excessively so. Demanding simplification of doctrine and worship.

only a captain, he was soon promoted to brigadier general and took command of the 10,000 volunteers that Congressman Francis Blair, Jr., Colonel Franz Sigel, and other patriots had raised to counteract the secessionist efforts of Governor Claiborne "Fox" Jackson, after the governor refused to provide troops for President Lincoln's call for state militia after the capture of Fort Sumter by the Confederates.

Less than a month after the fall of Fort Sumter, on May 10, 1861, while national authorities in Washington were still haggling about policy and precedent and while Union forts and arsenals were being captured daily by secessionists across the South, Captain Lyon made the first aggressive move by a Union force against the secessionist slave powers. Knowing that captured Union weapons had been sent to a militia encampment in St. Louis by Confederate President Jefferson Davis for use in capturing the Arsenal, Lyon moved his forces by multiple routes to surround Camp Jackson and demanded the immediate surrender of future Confederate General Daniel M. Frost and his militia force. Having no options but to fight or lay down his arms, Frost wisely chose the part of discretion and surrendered his 700 men and their munitions of war. Without firing a shot, Lyon was able to retake the captured weapons, confiscate the militia's own weapons, and have each man sign a pledge of honor not to take up arms against the United States, which effectively defanged Missouri's secessionist governor as his best equipped, trained, and officered units ceased to exist as organized units.

The Southern sympathizing citizens of St. Louis were terribly excited over Lyon's actions, and while the prisoners were being marched back to the Arsenal, an unruly crowd gathered and began verbally abusing the German elements of Lyons force. Eventually, stones and other missiles started being thrown. When someone in the crowd shot a German officer off of his horse, his men opened fire, and before Lyon could regain control, nearly thirty had been shot, which included Union soldiers, prisoners, and even civilians, including women and children.

For forty-eight hours, the city was in a wild state of revolution, "Union Home Guards" and secessionist "Minute Men" watching each other from street corners, dark alleys, basements, cellars, and attic windows. This daring act of Lyon in capturing the secessionist-controlled State Militia saved Missouri to the Union and drew at once the lines between loyal and disloyal citizens. Lyon's brave spirit was the iron hand that spliced the timbers of a crumbling state and strengthened the breaking arches of a nation.[13]

A month after the capture of Camp Jackson, on June 11, 1861, Governor Jackson and his Missouri State Guard commander, Major General Sterling Price met with General Lyon and Congressman Francis Blair, Jr. at the Planter's House Hotel in St. Louis, to discuss the situation existing between the state and national authorities. Governor Jackson was insisting that Lyon must confine his military movements to the Saint Louis area and not bring troops into or across Missouri. Lyon replied that the troops of the United States had a right to march anywhere under the flag, and if any man or body of men attempted to interrupt their course,

[13] For additional information on Camp Jackson and Governor Jackson's efforts to carry Missouri out of the Union, see the article below reprinted from the (Kentucky) Louisville Journal of May 21, 1861.

destruction and death would be their fate.

After the meeting, Governor Jackson returned to the Capitol in Jefferson City by train, cutting telegraph wires and ordering bridges burned as he passed. The next day, the governor issued a proclamation, calling for 50,000 volunteers to resist federal authority, effectively declaring war on the United States.

While Governor Jackson was doing his best to drag Missouri into the whirlpool of secession, Governor Letcher of Virginia was not slow in organizing troops to sustain the Southern Confederacy and enlist the Old Dominion in the war against the Union.

Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson was the commander of the state militia at Harper's Ferry under Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise when that rugged fanatic of freedom, John Brown, was wounded, captured, and hung [after he attempted to capture the Harpers Ferry Arsenal]. Colonel Robert E. Lee was the commander of the regular army troops on that occasion. **The firing on the flag at Fort Sumter was but the echo of the scaffold thud at Harper's Ferry when John Brown was hung, and the toll paid by this country for the sin of human slavery.**[14] Jackson offered his heart and hand to his native state, was commissioned a colonel, and was soon after made a brigadier general of the Confederacy.

At the first battle of Bull Run,[15] when Union forces were attempting to break the Confederate lines at the celebrated "Stone Bridge," General Barnard E. Bee, a companion commander of Jackson, in cheering his men into the fight, called their attention to the front and exclaimed, "Look at Jackson and his men, he stands like a stone wall," and from that historic day to the present time the hero of a hundred battles has been known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

During Jackson's life he was the mainstay of General Lee. In 1862 and 1863, he had an independent command and swept up and down the Shenandoah Valley like an eagle, pouncing upon his prey when least expected. The swiftness of Jackson's movements over the passes of the Blue Ridge, through the luxuriant fields of the Shenandoah Valley, over the swollen streams and rolling hills of Maryland, bring to mind the active genius of the Great Napoleon.

It was a common belief with the soldiers of Stonewall Jackson that his constant prayer and solemn sincerity assured victory on every field, and the Almighty inspired and led their beloved commander. At Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and down to the fatal night at Chancellorsville, in May 1863, when he received his death wound from an accidental shot fired by his own men, Jackson never faltered in his duty nor doubted the issue while he had a soldier to command. The same inflexible fortitude that guided his heroic conduct in the Mexican War, actuated his soul in battling against the United States. None were inspired with

[14] John Brown was an abolitionist whose hatred of slavery led him to seize the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry in October 1859 to obtain arms for a slave rebellion. His raid on the arsenal failed; he was captured, tried for treason against Virginia's Commonwealth, and hung. While Brown was considered a villain in the South, many in the North regarded him as a hero for attempting to end slavery. By writing, "The firing on the flag at Fort Sumter was but the echo of the scaffold thud at Harpers Ferry when John Brown was hung," the author demonstrates that he felt there was a link between John Brown's efforts to end slavery, his hanging, and the Civil War.

[15] The First Battle of Bull Run was fought July 21, 1861.

more lofty courage or religious devotion to duty than Jackson showed on the blood-stained battlefields of the late war. When dying at Guinea's Station, his wife told him the end of life was near. He replied as his last words, "Very good; very good; all right," and thus as a child of destiny, he passed into the realms of the vast unknown.

The integrity and valor that characterized the life of Jackson belong to American heroism, and, although he fought for the destruction of the United States, his bravery and genius must be recognized in every land and climate where man battles with man and dies for what each deems the right.

When Jackson's wound was reported, Lee replied, "He is better off than I am. He lost his left arm, but I have lost my right." Were it not for Jackson being subordinate to Lee, I am convinced that Jackson would have outshone Lee. It is thus unfortunate for a great genius to be born under the shadow of another, for, while the subordinate exercises wonderful powers, his greatest deeds are obscured by the commanding general.

In Missouri, a short time after the fall of Camp Jackson, General Lyon took command of all Union troops, replacing General William S. Harney, whose age and inaction ill-suited him for controlling the desperate daily events occurring through Missouri.

After the governor's proclamation calling for 50,000 volunteers to resist federal authority, Lyon moved a force by steamboat up the Missouri River toward the Capitol. On the approach of Lyon, the governor and his secessionist supporters relocated to Boonville to join elements of the governor's secessionist State Guard force. After securing the Capitol, Lyon continued up the Missouri River and attacked the State Guard at Boonville on the 17th of June 1861, resulting in triumph for the Union troops.[16]

Lyon followed up his success, pushing the enemy toward the southwest corner of Missouri, where the Governor's forces linked up with Confederate forces from Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. Under the command of Confederate General Ben McCulloch, 10,125 rebels eventually assembled at Wilson's Creek, about 9 miles from Springfield, where Lyon only had a force of 5,400.[17] The combined Confederate army and the governor's secessionist Missouri State Guard had a cavalry force alone of 6,000, while Lyon had only 500. Realizing a successful retreat through the passes of the Ozarks in the face of such overwhelming odds would be impossible, Lyon decided to attack in an effort to bloody the invaders badly enough that they would not pursue his retreating army. Under the cover of darkness, Lyon maneuvered his forces nine miles from Springfield into positions for a sunrise attack on the unsuspecting enemy encampment. After nearly five hours of some of the bloodiest fighting of the entire war, Lyon's attacking force executed an orderly withdrawal back to Springfield and then continued on another 120 miles to their supply base at Rolla, totally unmolested by

[16] Some have called this the first land battle of the Civil War. See: John B. Barnes, "Boonville: The First Land Battle of the Civil War." Infantry Journal, No. 35 (Dec. 1929): 601-607

[17] The original figures by the author, Col. Joyce, were 24,000 for the rebels and 6,000 for Lyon. The figures used here and below are from *The Battle of Wilson's Creek* by National Park Service historian Edwin C. Bearss (Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Foundation, 4th Edition, 1992).

enemy forces. Unfortunately, General Lyon was killed in the battle; however, his boldness in attacking a force twice his number was a success, as rather than pursuing Lyon's men or advancing further into Missouri, the invading Confederates returned to Arkansas a short time after the battle. Had Lyon retreated and abandoned Springfield to the invaders, a big step would have been taken toward carrying Missouri into the Confederacy. However, by wisely planning, boldly doing and bravely dying, Lyon had given the Missouri State Convention time to reconvene and take the actions necessary to keep Missouri in the Union.

Attacking a force twice his number was an act worthy of the bravery of Alexander the Great and Napoleon Bonaparte. In fact, Napoleon would have approved of Lyon's action as one of his maxims was:

#13: A retreat, however skillful the maneuvers may be, will always produce an injurious moral effect on the army, since by losing the chances of success yourself, you throw them into the hands of the enemy. Besides, retreats cost far more, both in men and materiel, than the most bloody engagements; with this difference, that in a battle the enemy loses nearly as much as you, while in a retreat the loss is all on your side. [Casualties during the Battle of Wilson's Creek were: **Union 1,317; Confederate: 1,222]**

The death of Lyon at Wilson's Creek threw a cloud of sorrow over the Union. Lyon's remains were escorted from St. Louis by an honor guard to his native Connecticut on a special train draped in mourning black. Mourners by the hundreds crowded the tracks along the route, and thousand paid homage as his body laid in state in Cincinnati, New York, and Hartford, and upward to 20,000 attended his funeral in the small farming community of his birth in Connecticut. The Congress of the United States passed resolutions of respect and regret, while eloquent eulogies were delivered in honor of the fallen hero across the country.

Lyon and Jackson were deeply mourned by their friends, and in all human probability had these natural soldiers lived until the last shot at Appomattox, they would have been in supreme command of their respective armies. Jackson was mathematical, solemn, and a strict believer in predestination. Lyon might have been the right arm of the 17th century English military and political leader, Oliver Cromwell, and while gifted with the military genius of Jackson, he combined statecraft with his war-like talent and was thoroughly conversant with the political philosophy of the Republic. These warriors had many elements in common. The Puritan of Connecticut had the solemnity of the courtly gentleman from Virginia. Lyon was direct and positive in his work. So was Jackson. The Yankee was spare and angular, with piercing bluish gray eyes. The Southern soldier looked about the same. Lyon was studious. Jackson was contemplative. Lyon never doubted. Jackson was self-reliant. Lyon left West Point as Jackson entered. Each fought for the old flag in Mexico, but when the rebellion began, they separated on the ideal of duty, and fought as earnestly as when bleeding for the same flag. The genius and death of Lyon gave genuine promise of his greatness, while the death of Jackson, nearly two years after, found him the right arm of the Confederacy and at the peak of his glory. Lyon, with a regiment, would fight a division. Jackson, with a division, would fight a

corps, and each could command an army.

While C.S.A. Generals Robert E. Lee and James Longstreet, and U.S. Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman learned wisdom from the rugged road of experience, Lyon and Jackson divined at once the motives of men, planned the attack, struck the blow, and as a natural sequence, triumphed where defeat perched on the banners of those who doubt.

The brain of the natural soldier is his map of the battlefield. As the pawns, knights, and bishops are moved on a chess board, he organizes brigades, divisions, and armies to checkmate his foe at some central point, and wins the victory while his adversary hesitates on the field of slaughter.

The name and fame of Lyon and Jackson shall emblazon the military pages of this great Republic as long as honesty and valor are respected, and side by side through the coming ages, these self-possessed, ideal soldiers shall march in the van of the military heroes who have gone down to universal silence in the crash of battle.

Peace to Stonewall Jackson,
God bless brave Lyon, too;
Sighs and tears we'll mingle
For the Gray and for the Blue;
And coming ages yet shall weave
Fondly, fair and true—
Garlands bright above the mounds
Where sleep the Gray and Blue!

Makeshift Lyon Monument
"Rock Pile of Remembrance"

Visitors to the battlefield stacked signed stones on the spot where Gen. Lyon fell.
(Photo Credit: *Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, WICR#11347*)



After the Battle of Wilson's Creek, until the end of the war, troops on both sides passed the battlefield as armies flowed back and forth to Arkansas. Those who had fought there, and even the curious, made the pilgrimage up the hillside that was now an altar to freedom, consecrated by the blood of General Lyon and his men that willingly sacrificed their lives in the defense of this nation against the slave powers seeking to destroy it. Sometime after the battle, visitors started leaving stones with their names on them at the spot where Lyon fell, creating a de facto monument in his honor. As time passed, visitors started carrying those stones away as souvenirs; but as that hillside had already been consecrated by the blood of patriots, no monuments were needed.

Almost thirty years after the battle, a group of veterans from Kansas made a pilgrimage to visit the battlefield. One of those who was on that bloody hill with General Lyon wrote the following:

> *At the higher and upper end of the open space, there was a pile of loose stones; not a monument, but rather as if one had been piled there and then scattered about. On one stone, "Newsom," late of "Hughes's" regiment, Missouri (Confederate) troops, had carved his name. This is the spot where Gen. Nathaniel Lyon—who, had he lived, would have been the Stonewall Jackson of the Union army—sank from his horse, dead…The great figure of the battle was Gen. Lyon; his death sanctified the field. If every other event that occurred there were forgotten, it would still be remembered that Lyon died there. Kansas in her proud sorrow remembers that it was as he led the Second Kansas to one more desperate charge that he fell.*[1]

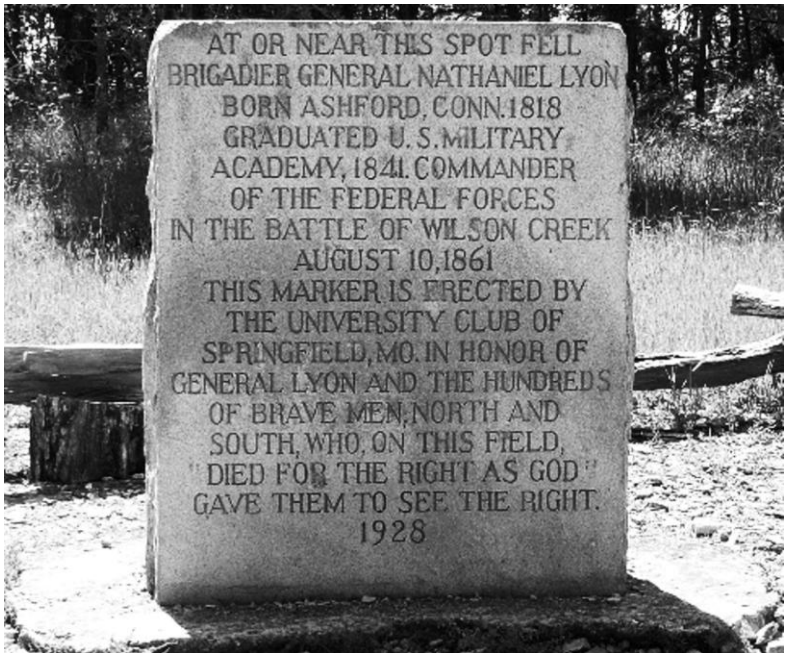
It is not surprising that a Confederate soldier would leave a tribute to Lyon, as Lyon was respected by both sides. President Jefferson Davis in his post-war book, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government Vol. 1*, wrote the following on the Battle of Wilson's Creek.

> *The battle was fiercely contested, but finally won by our troops. In this action, General Lyon was killed while gallantly endeavoring to rally his discomfited troops and lead them to the charge...We must accord to him the redeeming virtue of courage and recognize his ability as a soldier.*

1. Noble L. Prentis, *Kansas Miscellanies* (Kansas Publishing House, Topeka, 1889) pgs 64 and 66.

The Spot of General Lyon's Death

Located at Bloody Hill at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield (*National Park Service*)



The body of General Lyon was laid out in state at the camp, at the close of this bloody day, and not an officer or private but shed bitter tears as they gazed on their dead general, almost idolized by every man of them from the highest to the lowest. He was buried [by Mary Phelps] on the farm of Colonel John S. Phelps, a native of [Hartford] County, Connecticut and for many years a member of Congress from Missouri. He is a strong Union man, and is now raising a regiment for the United States army, while the rebels have seized his property. [*The Last Political Writings of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon* (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1861), p. 237]

BELOW IS A SOLDIER'S DIARY ENTRY AFTER OBSERVING GEN. LYON'S SMALL ARMY ARRIVING IN ROLLA SIX DAYS AFTER THE GENERAL WAS KILLED IN THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK.

Aug 16th—The somewhat depleted army...arrived, and the real heroes, including our own twenty-one men, marched across our parade ground, and now we had an opportunity for the first time of witnessing the steady march of a battle-stained army; and with us, many a heart almost stood still, and eyes were moist as the rider less war-horse of the lamented Lyon, draped in mourning black,[18] *was led at the head of the column.* [Regiment Committee; *Military History and Reminiscences of the Thirteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War in the United States, 1861-1865;* Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, 1892; p. 68.]



[18] The original entry was: "in full caparison."



The Obelisk at Lyon Park, St. Louis, Missouri

In March 1869, ten acres at the front of the Saint Louis Arsenal grounds were given to the city of St. Louis for the erection of a monument to the late Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon. The monument, dedicated on September 13, 1874, consists of a 28-foot obelisk of Missouri granite. That space, now Lyon Park, is located at the front of the St. Louis Arsenal, at the intersection of Arsenal and 2nd Street in Saint Louis.

There are monuments in Washington to many distinguished soldiers whose services were invaluable, but there is none to Lyon, among the bravest of the brave and whose deeds were such as to cause his memory to be kept forever green by his fellow countrymen. Yes, among all the statues of heroes that adorn the public places of this city there is but one in honor of a general killed in battle. This, it seems to me, is a reproach which should not rest upon us forever. [BGen. William A. Hammond, Civil War Surgeon General, Washington,. D.C., 1899].



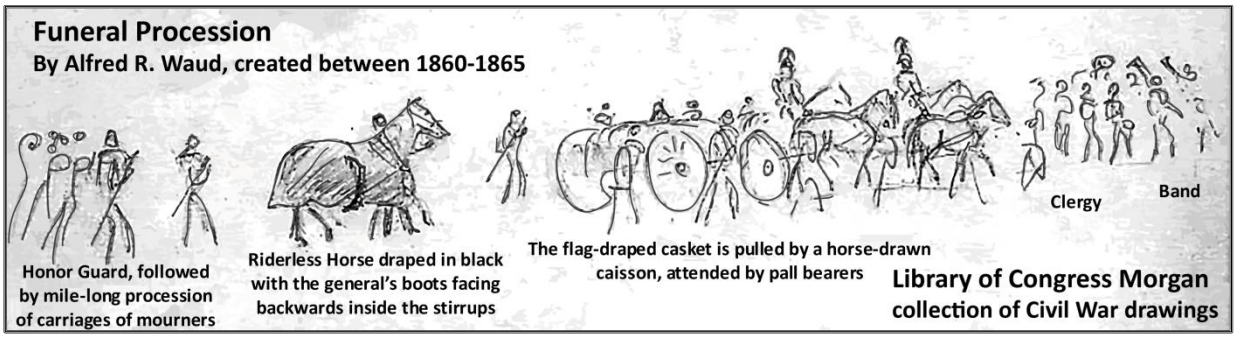
The General Lyon Monument

The City of Springfield purchased a monument to General Lyon that was dedicated during the first reunion of the veterans of the battle of Wilson's Creek in 1883. It was initially located on the square but was eventually relocated adjacent to Gen. Lyon Boulevard in the Springfield National Cemetery. The plaque carved into the western side of the monument reads:

ERECTED BY THE CITIZENS OF SPRINGFIELD TO THE MEMORY OF GENERAL NATH[L] LYON WHO FELL AT THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK WHILE COMMANDING THE UNION ARMY Aug. 10, 1861.

The east surface also has an inscription:

THOUGH HE DIED FOR HIS COUNTRY, YET HE LIVES IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN;
THOUGH HE FELL IN WAR, IN PEACE HE IS NOT FORGOTTEN. CHERISHING HIS VIRTUES, COMMENDING HIS PATRIOTISM, WE HONOR HIS MEMORY.



From the time the body left Hartford, to the hour when it was deposited in the Congregational Church in Eastford, all classes and conditions of people paid it, in sundry ways, some token of respect.

Gen. Lyon was literally buried with his fathers, in the family burial-ground in the town of Eastford, near the Ashford line. The funeral brought together more people than the town ever saw convened within its limits before, or will again for many years to come.


Obelisk and cannon located in the General Lyon Cemetery in Eastford, Connecticut.

The estimation in which Lyon was held by all patriotic people, amounting almost to idolization, was shown by the multitude who gathered to pay this last tribute of respect and affection to his remains. It is estimated that 15,000 were present, and when the last echoes of the musketry over Lyon's grave rattled through the ravines of Windham County, there was not one of all the throng who did not leave the sacred place with a sadder, even if not a better and more patriotic heart. ["Funeral of Gen. Lyon Buried at Eastford," *Hartford Daily Current* (Sept 6, 1861).]

No one can become familiar with the life of Nathaniel Lyon, without feeling that in his death, the Nation lost one of her noblest as well as bravest sons.
[Ashbel Woodward, *Life of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon (Hartford: Case*, Lockwood & Co., 1862)]

VOLUME INTRODUCTION

1861 CALENDAR

January

Su	M	T	W	Th	F	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
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27	28	29	30	31		

February

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March

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31						

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August

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September

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October

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November

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December

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1861 Missouri Speaks Collection Document Identifiers (FLPs)

1. At the top of every document[19] in the *1861 Missouri Speaks Collection* is a unique identifier inside parentheses, starting with the letters FLP.[20]

Example: (**FLP:** Ser 2PS-Jul#33.3)

2. The letters FLP are followed by a series of abbreviations and numbers. Below, "Ser 1MD" indicates the document is in Series 1, which is a collection of newspaper articles from the Missouri Democrat (MD). "Ser 2PS" refer to Series 2, primary source documents (PS).

Examples: (FLP: **Ser 1MD**-Sep#6) and (FLP: **Ser 2PS**-Jul#33.3)

3. Below are the series numbers and abbreviations used within the *Missouri Speaks Collection.*

Ser: 1MD = Missouri Democrat	**Ser: 7FR =** Vindication of Maj. Gen. Fremont
Ser: 2PS = Primary Sources	**Ser: 8PO** = Principal Officers/Officials
Ser: 3RN = Rural Newspapers	**Ser: 9RV** = Reference Volumes
Ser: 4NYT = New York Tribune	**Ser: 10WW** = The Way it Was
Ser: 5EL = 1860 Elections	**Ser: 11AL** = President Lincoln
Ser: 6MR = Missouri Republican	**Ser: 12PB** = Period Books

For a description of the contents of each series, see "1861 Missouri Speaks: Rebooting History Series Descriptions" on page vii.

4. Next is the month within the series where the document is located.

Example: (FLP: Ser 2PS-**Jul**#33.3)

5. The last number, preceded by the number symbol (#), is the position of the document within the volume containing documents from July.

Examples: (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul**#33.3**)

In the example above, the document is located in the volume containing the month of July within Series 2, in the chronological order position #33.3.[21]

6. Series 9, Reference Volumes (RV), Volume 2 is an atlas containing more than 300 maps, which bring the documents to life by providing geographic context to the locations and actions described. They also serve as an educational tool to showcase the unique geography of Missouri. Each map has a standard FLP, as well as a specific map identifier that indicates the covered region and map type. For an explanation of the map identifier elements, refer to the "Fry's Lyon Project Map Identifier Key" on page 406.

[19] The word "document" is used as a collective noun that includes letters, newspaper articles, reports, official government publications, editor's notes, and essential information comments.
[20] Abbreviation for Fry's Lyon Project.
[21] On a few occasions, an FLP has been removed. This is a result of discovering that the document that had been in that position was misdated, which resulted in it being moved to the correct position and receiving a new FLP.

TIMELINE

January 1, 1861* - February 28, 1861

*Some events from 1860 are provided as background.

1860

Aug 6. - Election of state officials. The Missouri Constitution requires that: after the first day of January, 1822, "all general elections shall commence on the first Monday in August and shall be held biennially." Claiborne Fox Jackson having campaigned as a Unionist, was elected governor (to take office on Jan 3, 1861). Thomas C. Reynolds, having also campaigned as a Unionist, was elected lieutenant governor.

Nov 6. - Presidential Election: Republican Abraham Lincoln is elected president; Missouri is the only state won by Democratic candidate Stephen A. Douglas.

Nov 23. - Responding to the call of the governor, a 600-man force of Missouri State Militia from St. Louis prepares to depart for the Kansas border region to defend the border and restore peace after an uptick in banditry raids into Missouri from Kansas after the election of Lincoln; they did not return until May 1861. For information on what was called the "Southwest Expedition" see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.2). For Gov. Stewart's address on the background of the "border difficulties" see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan-Annex-1). Additional comments are provided at (FLP: Ser 1MD-May#89).

Dec 20. - By a vote of 169 to 0, the South Carolina Secession Convention severs ties with the United States and secedes from the United States.

Dec 26. - On Christmas Eve 1860, US Army Major Anderson secretly moves federal forces from the undefendable Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#5)

Dec 29. - Alabama commissioner to Missouri, William Cooper, addressed Gov.-Elect Jackson and a joint session of the legislators gathering for the first session of the new legislature's opening on Dec. 31. Cooper explains why the cotton states seceded and encourages Missouri to join them. After returning to Alabama, Cooper reports to the governor that Missouri is in favor of cooperating with the slave states, and in the event of dissolution of the Union, Missouri will confederate with the South and not with the North. Article on speech (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6). Full text of speech (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-3). Cooper's letter/report to the governor of Alabama (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#7).

Editor's Note: A commissioner sent by the governor of Georgia also spoke to the Convention on March 2, 1861, explaining why Georgia seceded and urging Missouri to join the Confederacy. His speech is transcribed at (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar-Annex-10).

Dec 31. - Missouri's new legislature convenes for its first session. The governor and state legislators were all elected the first Monday of August 1860; the governor will be sworn into office on Jan. 3, 1861.

1861 - January

Jan 1. - Gov.-Elect Jackson writes a friend that all Southern states should hold a convention, and if the decision is to secede, to secede together. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#1)

Jan 1. - The *Boston Journal* supports the appointment of Judge Edward Bates of Missouri to President Lincoln's cabinet, noting this action as an indication of Lincoln's desire to represent of both the North and South. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#3)

Jan 1. - The *Canton [Illinois] Register* praises the appointment of Judge Edward Bates to a position in President Lincoln's cabinet. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.5)

Jan 1. - In a letter to the *Missouri Democrat,* "Constitution" argues that there is no constitutional power of Congress to wage war upon a seceding state, and any such act against federal authority by a person or a state is an act of treason. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#4)

Jan 1. - Alabama's Commissioner Cooper gives a speech in Jefferson City in an attempt to induce Missouri to join in secession, and confederate with the South. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6) Essential Information #2: "Extension of Slavery" at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6.1)

Jan 1. -The *Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) Gazette* reports that the War Department ordered a shipment of guns from the Arsenal for delivery to Texas, but they were actually being shipped to the secessionists. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#7)

Jan 1. - Letter to the *Missouri Democrat* outlines the economic dangers of Missouri going with the South. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#9)

Jan 1. - The *Louisville [Kentucky] Journal* reports the country is unwilling to recognize the independence of the South Carolina Republic, or submission to the insolence of her mobs, and demands that laws be enforced and the integrity of the Union maintained. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#17)

Jan 3.- In his final address, Missouri's outgoing Gov. Stewart states there is scarcely a disunionist, per se, to be found in Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan-Annex-1)

Editor's Note: Gov. Stewart's address is actually his annual "State of the State" address. As such, it gives a very clear picture of all aspects of pre-Civil War Missouri and all things involving the state government. It includes interesting information on the border difficulties with Kansas, the Pacific Railroad project, the state militia, and many other interesting subjects that are about to come crashing down under the leadership of Gov. Jackson.

Jan 3. - Incoming Gov. Claiborne Fox Jackson, who campaigned and was elected as a Unionist, shows his true colors during his inaugural address and states that Missouri should "stand with her sister slave states" and calls for a [secession] convention. He further states that if a constitutional amendment is created that protects slavery, and if slaves fleeing to the North are returned to their masters in the South, he is willing to stay in the Union. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan-Annex-2)

Jan 3. - A letter to the editors of the *Missouri Democrat* condemns Governor Jackson's inaugural address as a clear call for secession. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20) Essential Information #3: "Secession Convention" at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.1)

Convention Timeline:

Jan 3 - Gov. Jackson calls for a convention.

Jan 19 - Convention Bill passes legislature.
Jan 21 - The act calling for a state convention takes effect.
Feb 18 - Election of convention delegates.
Feb 28 - Convention opens.
Mar 19 - Convention votes to remain in the Union by a vote of 89-1.

Jan 3- Editorial in the *Missouri Democrat* reports that Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds are secessionists and intend to try and carry Missouri out of the Union. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10)

Jan 4. - Editorial in the *Missouri Democrat* rejects the notion of compromise with the South. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#11)

Jan 4. – Lt. Gov. Reynolds and secession-minded legislators meet to prepare a plan to create a Board of Police Commissioners to give the governor control of the St. Louis City and County police that would have the authority to call out the militia to maintain "law and order."

Editor's Note: On March 27, the "Metropolitan Police Bill" passes the Missouri legislature. The bill strips the St. Louis mayor of his authority over the city's police and the right to call out the militia to assist the police in case of civil disorder. See Essential Information #6: "Metropolitan Police Bill" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.1). The complete bill is at *1861 Missouri Speaks*, Series 2, Vol. 1, (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar-Annex-13).

Jan 4. - The *Missouri Democrat* reports that at the commencement of the State House of Representatives session, there was a determined effort on the part of the Breckinridge party to force a state secession convention. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#13)

Jan 5. - A "Military Bill" is introduced in the Missouri legislature which would give Gov. Jackson dictatorial powers to prepare Missouri to "defend" itself. [The legislature did not approve this submission.] The bill was later passed and took effect on May 14, 1861. The full text is at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-May-Annex-2); Critiques of the bill are at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2), (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2.1), (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#3) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16).

Jan 5. - Isaac Sturgeon, Assistant US Treasurer in St Louis, writes to President Buchanan suggesting that troops be sent to protect the St. Louis Arsenal and the $400,000 in Treasury funds in Saint Louis.(FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#4)

Jan 5. - Letter to the *Missouri Democrat* calls upon all Union men to watch the traitorous designs of Gov. Claiborne Fox Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds to place Missouri in a false position. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#15)

Jan 5. - The *Philadelphia Press* reports that the two sections of this Union are preparing for war, and the first drop of bloodshed in Charleston will color a bright crimson the whole ocean of American politics. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#16)

Jan 5. - The *Missouri Democrat* recommends the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#18)

Jan 5. - The Hon. Sample Orr, the Bell-Everett Constitutional Union Party candidate for governor in the last election, delivers an address in Jefferson City on the subject of "The Constitution, Union and the enforcement of the laws." He closes with, "I am for the Union as it is, and I will fight for it until I die before I will give it up." (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.3) Essential Information #4: "St. Louis Political Groups" at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.4)

Jan 5. - "Mechanic" asks the editors of the *Missouri Democrat* to answer questions about the effect secession would have on laboring citizens of this state. In response, the editor stated in part, "Missouri has no interest in common with the Southern states except slavery, and her share in that interest will be practically annihilated by secession." (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#23)

Jan 7. - Capt. Lyon and his 2nd Infantry Regiment company arrive in Fort Scott, Kansas Territory (KT) for "Bleeding Kansas" type peacekeeping duty along the Kansas/Missouri border. During this assignment, Lyon cooperates with the 600-man force of Missouri State Militia dispatched to the border region by the governor of Missouri o/a Nov. 23, 1860 (see Nov 30, 1860 above). (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#6)

Jan 7. - The *Missouri Democrat* reports that the General Assembly was hardly organized before being called upon to enact revolutionary measures following Gov. Jackson's treasonable and inflammatory inaugural message. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#19)

Jan 8. - St. Louis secessionists organize themselves into quasi-military companies of what they call Minute Men, intending to capture the St. Louis Federal Arsenal. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21) Essential Information #5: "Minute Men" at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1).

Jan 8. - "Citizen" warns *Missouri Democrat* readers that it is time for the conservative Union men of St. Louis, independent of party, to consult together, and take public measures tending to preserve peace and prosperity. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22)

Jan 8. - Conspirators who claim that secession is a peaceful remedy have not hesitated to threaten, bully and dragoon reluctant men into submission. Should the government stand by idly and permit these conspirators to drive out the quiet and peaceful citizens of a state, and establish a reign of terror throughout its limits? (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.2)

Jan 8. - The St. Louis *Bulletin* newspaper announced that it has passed into new hands and will have a new editor, Thomas L. Snead, and that it will be an advocate for the South. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.3)

Jan 8. - The First Brigade, Missouri State Militia, secessionist-minded Commander Gen. Frost issues an order for his subordinates to assemble when church bells sound. It has been speculated that the reason for such an alert system was to be able to quickly move to and capture the St. Louis Federal Arsenal under the guise of protecting it. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#7.1)

Jan 8. - The *Missouri Republican* publishes a report of an interview with President-elect Lincoln, where he gives his views on events of the day. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.4)

Jan 9. - Maj. Bell, the US Army commander of the St. Louis Arsenal, reports to Gen. Harney that the Arsenal was safe and that he has "not now the slightest apprehension of danger." He did not "feel the Arsenal was in any danger of being seized." He indicated he had inquiries of Militia Col. Knapp as to the manner in which assistance could be immediately obtained in case of any danger. (FLP: Ser 2PS-

Jan#9)

Editor's Note: See Jan 24 below. Maj. Bell agrees to turn the Arsenal over to the state militia, who, under the guise of protecting the Arsenal, will in fact seize it in the name of the state government. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20)

Jan 9. - The US steamer, *Star of the West*, is fired upon by South Carolina forces while trying to resupply Fort Sumter. The unarmed ship abandons the mission after being hit twice. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.2)

Jan 9. - Mississippi and Florida become the second and third states to secede.

Jan 9. - Louisiana state troops seize the Baton Rouge Federal Arsenal. A request from Gov. Jackson to CSA President Jefferson Davis results in some of the captured weapons being sent to St. Louis for use in capturing the St. Louis Federal Arsenal. The arms shipment is received by militia Gen. Frost at Camp Jackson.

Editor's Note: The seized war materials sent to St. Louis would be recovered by Capt. Lyon on May 10, 1861, when forces under his command surround Camp Jackson and force the surrender of the camp's occupants. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#84).

Jan 9. - The *Missouri Democrat* asks why the governor and Legislature is forcing a convention upon the people of Missouri, without consulting them as to their wishes. The interests of the state of Missouri are not with the South, as asserted by the dominant sessionists. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.4)

Jan 10. - The *Missouri Democrat* opposes the coercion of Missouri to secede from the Union and calls for individuals to cooperate against disunionists. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#24)

Jan 10. - Letter to the *Missouri Democrat* argues that if Missouri goes out of the union, there is no doubt of the establishment of a rival city on the Illinois side to become the depot of the grain and provision trade from the free states, and St. Louis would no longer be the grocery market of the West. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25)

Jan 10. - "Jefferson" sends to the *Missouri Democrat* an open letter to Gov. C. Fox Jackson, sarcastically questioning why he lied to him, and all the honest men in the state, by running on a Union ticket. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.2) In a second letter that day, he asks why the Governor is opposed to the slave trade when he proposes the spread of slavery. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.3)

Jan 10. - The Senate discussed the question of calling a state convention. After spresenting their arguments and proposed amendments, the senators ended their day without calling a vote. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.4)

Jan 11. - Letter to the *Missouri Democrat* accuses the Democratic Party of misrepresenting the Republican Party's stance on free government, referring to several resolutions of the Republican's platform. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#26)

Jan 11. - In response to Assistant US Treasurer Sturgeon's request (Jan 5 above), a detachment of 40 [+/-] US Army soldiers (recruits) from Jefferson Barracks, commanded by Lt. W. G. Robinson, 2nd Infantry, arrive in St. Louis to guard the public funds in possession of the assistant US treasurer. Secessionist

newspapers and state legislature express displeasure with their arrival. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.3) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#33.1)

Jan 11. - In response to the January 8 organization of the secessionist Minute Men, 1,200 Unionists meet in St Louis to discuss ways to protect the lives and property of Unionists and keep Missouri in the Union. The meeting eventually leads to the creation of a five-member Committee of Public Safety (Blair, Glover, Witzig, How, and Broadhead). (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28)

Jan 11. - The secessionist-minded Minute Men establish their headquarters in the Bartholomew Mansion in St. Louis, fly a secession flag, and start publicly drilling their members.

Jan 12. - Alabama becomes the fourth state to secede.

Jan 12. - The *Missouri Democrat* answers the question of where Missouri will go in case of a dissolution of the Union, noting she will have scarcely any choice at all. Geographically, she is in the free confederacy, but if there is dissolution of the Union and two confederacies formed, one of the slave and the other of the free states, Missouri belongs in this case politically to the slave confederacy. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan27)

Jan 12. - In response to the Jan. 8 organization of the secessionist Minute Men, the Unconditional Unionists in St. Louis organize themselves into a Central Union Club. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28)

Editor's Note: At this meeting, the "Wide Awakes," a quasi-military wing of the Republican Party is disbanded. However, the former members clandestinely organize themselves as Union Clubs and train in anticipation of needing to confront the Minute Men. The Union Club members will eventually make up the bulk of the volunteers that respond to President Lincoln's call for volunteers after the fall of Fort Sumter. The secessionist Minute Men will be among those captured and paroled by Capt. Lyon at Camp Jackson. See the second Jan 9 note above. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.1) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.2)

Jan 12. - The *Missouri Democrat* defends the presence of a military guard of forty soldiers and one officer commanding in the sub-treasury office to protect government buildings and property from traitors (Minute Men). FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan 28.3)

Jan 12. - The *Missouri Republican* newspaper sponsored a rally/meeting in front of the St Louis Court House. The well-attended event was billed as for "all citizens who believe that the right and prosperity of all sections [North and South] of the country can be better protected within the American Union than by destroying the government." The organizers of the meeting would be classified as Conditional Unionists because they wanted the North to make concessions to the South and not coerce the seceding states to return to the Union. See: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29.1)

Jan 14. - Missouri's US Senator Polk delivers a speech before the US Senate on "The Crisis and what it Demands." It is a long summary of secessionists' complaints. In it, he states that Missouri will stand with her sister slave states. For a transcription of his speech, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan-Annex-4).

_____ Timeline updated to the 14th only.

Jan 16. – Gov. Jackson writes the Ordnance Bureau in Washington requesting Missouri's annual quota of arms to support Missouri's militia, as authorized by the US Militia Act of 1792 (an act he will violate

when he refuses to provide troops for Lincoln's call for troops on Apr. 15, 1861). (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#14)

Jan 17. - New Orleans secessionists seized forty-five hundred kegs of powder being shipped from the East to St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34)

Jan 17. - Lt. Gen. Scott directs Gen. Harney, Commander, Department of the West, to keep Lt. Robinson and his 40 recruits at the St. Louis Federal Arsenal (rather than return them to Jefferson Barracks). (See Jan 11 above.) (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#15)

Jan 18. - Congressman Francis (Frank) Blair writes his brother Montgomery, who will become a member of Lincoln's Cabinet. He provides an update of the situation in Missouri and Gov. Jackson's effort to carry Missouri out of the Union and makes suggestions to counter the governor's efforts.
(FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#16)

Jan 19. - The Missouri legislature passes a bill authorizing a state (secession) convention. The election of delegates is set for Feb. 18, the delegates to meet in convention on Feb. 28 in Jefferson City. (None of the 99 representatives elected from across the state campaigned as secessionists.)
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.2)

Jan 19. - Capt. Lyon writes to the editor of the Western Kansas *Express*. He comments on the secession crisis and events on the Missouri/Kansas border which caused the governor of Missouri to dispatch militia to that region. He writes that the abolitionist Montgomery has no intentions of causing problems along the border at this time. "But in all seriousness, if we are to have civil war on this slavery matter, this abolition element will prove a powerful and effective one in the prosecution of it." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#17)

Jan 19. - Georgia becomes the fifth state to secede.

Jan 22. - A rumor that Gov. Jackson had given orders for the Minute Men to seize the St. Louis Arsenal ran like wildfire through the city. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#42) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#43)

Jan 24. - Missouri secession-minded Militia Commander Gen. Frost meets with Maj. Bell, the Southern-born commander of the St. Louis Arsenal. Frost then writes to Gov. Jackson that Bell will not resist state efforts to take control of the Arsenal. But to protect his reputation, Bell proposes a riot be staged outside the Arsenal, so the militia can claim to be protecting the Arsenal when they seize it. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20)

Editor's Note: Five days later, Maj. Bell reports to Gen. Harney that all the defenses of the Arsenal, for the protection of the public property, are now completed. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#25) Harney, in turn, forwards Bell's report to Lt. Gen. Scott, stating, "I beg leave to add that the zeal and ability Bell has exhibited in the measures adopted by him for the protection of the public property under his charge are worthy of the highest commendation." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20)

Jan 24. - After meeting with Lincoln in Springfield Ill., Congressman Frank Blair writes his brother Montgomery in Washington with a report on his meeting. He comments on what Lincoln intends to do in forming a cabinet, gives a detailed update on the situation in Missouri, and provides suggestions on actions the government should take in Missouri. Having just met with Lincoln, it is assumed Blair

passed the same information to Lincoln. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#19)

Jan 24. - Georgia state troops seize the federal arsenal in Augusta.

Jan 26. - Washington orders Capt. Peter V. Hagner, to report to St. Louis from Ft. Leavenworth to assume command of the Arsenal, as Maj. Bell is being relieved at the request of the Committee of Public Safety for questionable loyalty. Hagner is a Regular Army ordnance captain, junior to Capt. Lyon, but as the Arsenal commander, he assumes the temporary rank of brevet major. When Lyon is assigned to the Arsenal, by army regulations, he should become the Arsenal commander, but Gen. Harney blocks him from assuming command. Once Lincoln is inaugurated, orders are given for Lyon to assume command as required by regulations, allowing him the ability to take the steps necessary to protect the Arsenal.

Jan 26. – Lt. Gen Scott advises Gen. Harney to give particular attention to the safety of the St. Louis Arsenal and to call troops from under his command to defend it if necessary. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#21)

Editotor's Note: Harney does not take Scott's advice, but reports the Arsenal is in no danger. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#14)

Jan 26. - Louisiana becomes the sixth state to secede.

Jan 28. - State Secession Convention convenes in Jefferson City, and votes to adjourn and reconvene in St. Louis.

Jan 28. - A report of a very long anti-Republican speech delivered to the state senate by Lt. Gov. Reynolds appears in the *Missouri Republican*. In it he states America is two distinct nations, that a war has existed between them, "commenced in 1820," and the only way to end the war is a return to the "absence of slavery agitation" that existed prior to 1820. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#23)

Jan 28. - Lt. Gen. Scott orders Gen. Harney to move Capt. Lyon and his 2nd Infantry Regiment company from Fort Scott, Kansas Territory, to the St. Louis Arsenal to protect it. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#22). Lyon is moved at the request of Montgomery Blair, who will soon become a member of Lincoln's Cabinet. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#24)

Jan 29. - Maj. Bell reports to Gen. Harney that all the defenses of the Arsenal, for the protection of the public property, are now completed. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#25)

Jan 29. - Kansas Territory becomes the 34th state.

Jan 29. - The Missouri state legislature fails to reelect secessionist U.S. Senator Green for another term representing Missouri in Washington. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.2)

Jan 30. - Brevet Maj. Hagner assumes command of the St. Louis Arsenal, relieving Maj. Bell, who retires in the St. Louis area rather than accept a new assignment.

Updated 02/12/23

February

Feb 1. - Prior to the departure of the Southern contingent of congressman from Washington, a bill was

introduced to sell the land upon which the St. Louis Arsenal sits. The Army Chief of Ordnance writes a letter to the secretary of the army advising against the sale. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#1)

Feb 1. - The St. Louis City Council issues a resolution unalterably declaring "that the United States of America is a constitutional government, one and indivisible for all time, which we will uphold against all persons, at home or abroad, who oppose it." (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1)

Feb 1. - Capt. Lyon and his company depart Fort Scott, Kansas, with orders to move to and protect the St. Louis Federal Arsenal. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#24)

Feb. 1. - Lt. Gen. Scott orders Maj. S. Burbank, the Commander of Newport Barracks, KY, to immediately send 250 of his best-instructed recruits to Jefferson Barracks Missouri. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#2)

Feb 1. - Texas State Convention votes to secede, pending approval by the voters in a referendum scheduled for Feb. 23. [Note: On Mar. 14, Gov. Sam Houston was deposed by the convention for refusing to swear allegiance to the Confederate States of America. On Jul. 30, Gov. Jackson will be deposed by the Missouri State Convention.] (FLP: Ser 1MD-Aug#8.2)

Feb 2. - Louisiana state troops seize the US Branch Mint and Customs House in New Orleans.

Feb 4. - Delegates from 21 states (fourteen free and seven slave states), including Missouri, attend the Washington Peace Convention organized by Virginia. There were no delegates from the Cotton South or Arkansas. For general information on peace conferences and conventions, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.5.1), (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.11), (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.2) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.1).

Feb 4. - A convention of seceding [independent] states meets in Montgomery, Alabama, which was to become the first session of the Provisional Confederate Congress.

Feb 4. - The Electoral College votes for president, as approved by Congress, are read into the record, making Abraham the Lincoln the official president-elect.

Feb 5. - President Buchanan announces Fort Sumter will not be surrendered.

Feb 6. - Capt. Totten writes Washington from Little Rock Federal Arsenal, stating that the Arkansas governor demands the Arsenal and all its military supplies be turned over to the state. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.4)

Feb 6. - Capt. Lyon arrives in St. Louis with his infantry company (62 enlisted men) to protect the Arsenal. "When on February 6, 1861, a company of regulars, under the command of Captain Nathaniel Lyon, marched into the St. Louis Arsenal, the possibility of secession on the part of Missouri became naught." Confederate Colonel Thomas L. Snead, from a Paper Read Before the State Historical Society of Missouri, at its First Annual Meeting, Held at Columbia Missouri, Dec. 5, 1901.

Feb 7. - Some reports indicate Capt. Lyon and his company arrived at the St. Louis Arsenal on Feb. 7, 1861.

Feb 8. - Capt. Lyon meets with the Committee of Public Safety to discuss Bvt. Maj. Hagner's unwillingness to take the steps necessary to defend the Arsenal. The Committee agrees Hagner should be replaced as Arsenal commander. According to regulations, Capt. Lyon, as a combat arms officer (line officer),

should have assumed command when he arrived, but Gen. Harney (the Western Department commander) blocked the action, and it was illegally sustained by Lt. Gen. Scott. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#4) After Lincoln is inaugurated, the secretary of war issues an order giving Lyon command of the Arsenal. "Capt. Lyon, Second Infantry, the senior officer of the line present and on duty at St. Louis Arsenal, Mo, is assigned to the command of the troops and the defense at that post." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar#5)

Feb. 8. - The Convention of Seceded States, meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, adopts a provisional constitution, forming the Confederate States of America (CSA). Full text of the Constitution of the Provisional Government of Confederate States is at (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb-Annex-8).

Feb 9. - Capt. Totten surrenders the Federal Arsenal in Little Rock as demanded by the governor and heads to St. Louis with 78 enlisted men. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.3) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.4)

Feb 9. - The Convention of the Confederate States elect Jefferson Davis provisional president. The CSA presidential election is scheduled for Nov. 6, 1861 (Davis was elected).

Feb 12. – President Elect Lincoln gives speech in Indianapolis on the significant of "coercion and invasion" when the words are used by those professing to love the Union but resolved to "resist coercion and invasion."

Feb 12. - The *Missouri Democrat* publishes the names of the convention candidates on the "Unconditional Secessionist ticket." (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.3)

Feb 12. - Letters of acceptance from the Unconditional Unionist candidates supported by the *Missouri Democrat.* (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.4)

Feb 12. - Arkansas state troops seize the US ordnance stores at Napoleon, Arkansas.

Feb 13. - Lt. Gen. Scott asks Gen. Harney if he has enough men to defend the Arsenal and asks, "Ought you not to send up all the men from Jefferson Barracks?" (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#9) On Feb. 19, Gen. Harney replies the Arsenal is in no danger and that he has it on good authority that an "attempt [to capture the Arsenal] has not been at any time seriously contemplated." (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#14)

Feb 13. - Five companies of St. Louis's secessionist Minute Men are sworn into the Missouri State Militia by Militia Gen. Frost. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#25)

Feb 14. - Lt. Gen. Scott orders Gen. Harney to transfer US troops from Jefferson Barracks to the St. Louis Arsenal in response to the mounting requests from St. Louis Unionists to guard it against seizure. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#11)

Feb 14. - The Committee of Public Safety holds a meeting to raise money to buy arms. They contact Illinois Gov. Yates, and he sends 200 stands of arms in a secret shipment. [Note: A "stand of arms" is one weapon and the equipment required by the soldier to use that weapon, i.e., ram-rod, belt and cartridge-box, bayonet and scabbard.]

Feb 14. - In violation of the 2nd Amendment US Constitution, Gov. Jackson submits a revision to the proposed military bill that will give the state militia the power to disarm anyone not mustered into the state militia. This proposal will provide Jackson with the authority to disarm home guard members and,

in theory, US Army elements in Missouri. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2), (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16)

Feb 14. - "Minute Men Legalized; What Can it Mean?" Two companies of secessionist Minute Men are sworn in the service of the state by militia Gen. Frost. This makes a total of seven companies, or nearly four hundred Minute Men serving under Gov. Jackson in the State Militia. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#25)

Feb 14. - Editorial on the loyalty of the border slave states and the villainy of Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds is published in the *Missouri Democrat.* (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#21)

Feb 15. - Concern expressed that there may be riots during the election for convention delegates in St. Louis on Feb 18. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#24)

Feb. 15. - Gen. Frost, in preparation for the Feb. 18 secession convention's delegate elections, arranges for an inspection of all militia companies in their respective armories. It is felt that the militia is preparing to respond to an effort by Gov. Jackson to declare martial law in St. Louis. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.1), (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.2) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.1)

Feb 16. - Provisional CSA President Davis, in a speech, says: "…the time for compromise has now passed and the South is determined to maintain her position, and make all who oppose her smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel..."

Feb 16. - With no effort to resist, US Army MGen. David Twiggs of Georgia surrenders his US Army Department of Texas command to Texas secessionists. The surrendered force consisted of 2,500 plus men, representing 20 percent of the US Army, 34 companies, all of forts, arsenals, supplies, horses, wagons, mules, and munitions in Texas. Twiggs later accepted a commission as a major general in the C.S. Army.

Feb 16. - The Military Bill fails in the Missouri legislature by four votes. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.1)

Feb 16. - The St. Louis Unconditional Union Ticket for the upcoming convention's delegates elections is published along with the letters of acceptance by the respective nominees. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26)

Feb 18. - Election day for delegates to Missouri's (Secession) Convention to "consider Missouri's relationship with the federal government." (No avowed secessionist candidates were elected.) (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28)

Feb 18. - Jefferson Davis is inaugurated provisional president of the Confederate States of America in Montgomery, Alabama.

Feb 19. - The *Missouri Democrat* announces the Unconditional Unionists were victorious in the convention's delegates election, and that "St. Louis has thus declared emphatically her devotion to the Union." (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28)

Feb 19. - Gen. Harney writes Lt. Gen. Scott that his concern of an attack on the St. Louis Arsenal are unfounded, the Arsenal is not in danger. Furthermore, the secessionists in St. Louis are a small minority. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#14)

Feb 20. - The Constitution for the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America is

published in the *Missouri Republican*. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb-Annex-8.)

Feb 22. - Capt. Totten and his 78 artillery enlisted men arrive at the St. Louis Arsenal after turning over the Little Rock Arsenal to the Gov. of Arkansas. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.4), (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.3)

Feb 25. - In a letter, Capt. Lyon describes in detail the problems in defending the St. Louis Arsenal and what needs to be done to make it defensible and protect US interest in Missouri. He points out that the Arsenal commander Bvt. Maj. Hagner is preventing him from organizing a proper defense. He also comments on his ability to arm those loyal to the United States. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#19) Lyon also points out that an article published in the *Missouri Democrat* on Feb. 23, describes "what ought to be our state [of arsenal defense] but not what is, and that it was published to frighten the secessionists. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#32)

Feb 28. - The Missouri State Convention assembles in Jefferson City, then votes to move the Convention to St. Louis to reconvene on Mar. 4, 1861.

Feb 28. - North Carolina voters reject the necessity of a secession convention, opting to remain in the Union.

Updated 6-24-23

U.S. Military Command Structure in Missouri (FLP: 00/000/M-96B.04)[1]

Department of the West
October 31, 1853, to June 6, 1861

Nov 1860 to Apr 23, 1861: Gen. William S. Harney
(Relieved of Command by President Lincoln)

Apr 23 to May 11: Capt. Nathaniel Lyon

May 11 to May 31: Gen. W. S. Harney
(Reinstated and relieved again by the president)

May 31 to Jun 6: Gen. Nathaniel Lyon



Department of the Ohio
June 6 to July 3, 1861

Jun 6 to Jul 3: **MGen. George B. McClellan**
(Absentee commander)

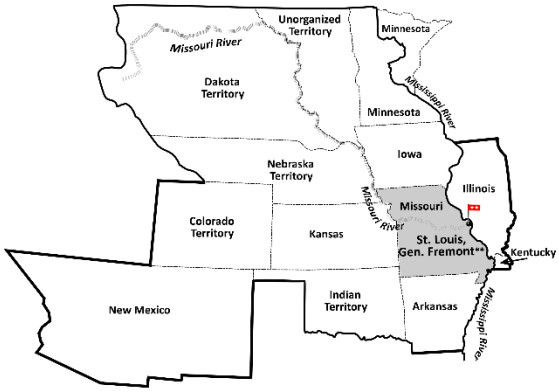


Department of the West
July 3 to November 9, 1861

Jul 3 to Jul 25: Gen. Nathaniel Lyon
(Acting Commander)

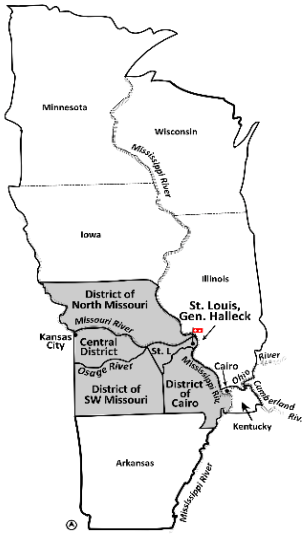
Jul 25 to Nov 2: MGen. John C. Fremont
(Fremont relieved by President Lincoln)

Nov 2 to Nov 9: MGen. David Hunter



Department of the Missouri

9 Nov 61 to 11 Mar 62: MGen. Henry W. Halleck



Mar 62 to Sep 62:
Gen. Schofield (Acting)

Sep 62 to May 63:
Gen. Samuel Curtis

May 63 to Jan 64:
Gen. John M. Schofield

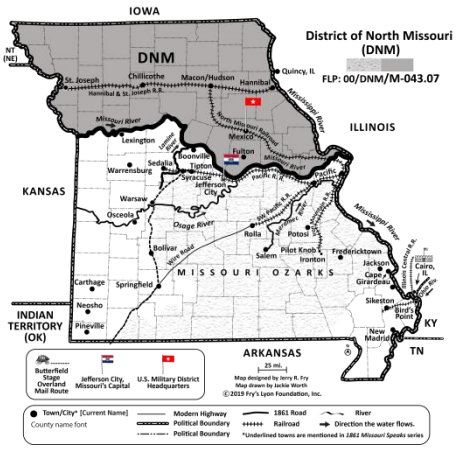
Jan 64 to Dec 64:
Gen. William S. Rosecrans

Dec 64 to Jun 65:
Gen. Grenville M. Dodge

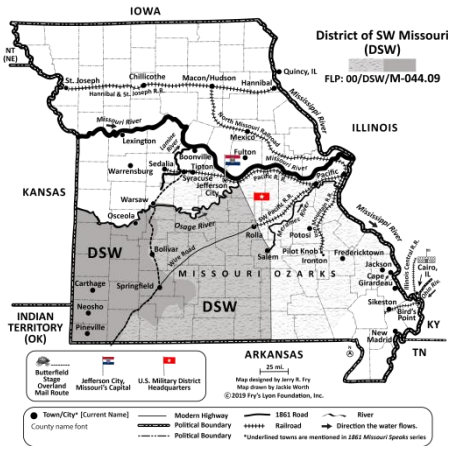
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a. The names and dates are not "officially" 100% accurate; they represent approximately what occurred on the ground.
b. Under President Lincoln, command and control in Missouri changed hands nine times in nine months.

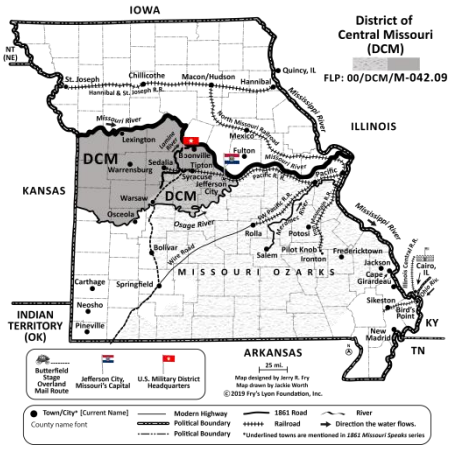
U.S. Army Districts Controlling Missouri on December 31 and the Missouri State Guard Divisions Created by the Military Bill



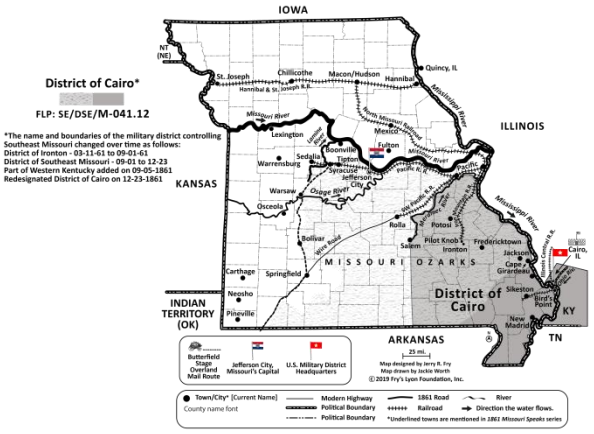
See Appendix B for an enlarged image and details.



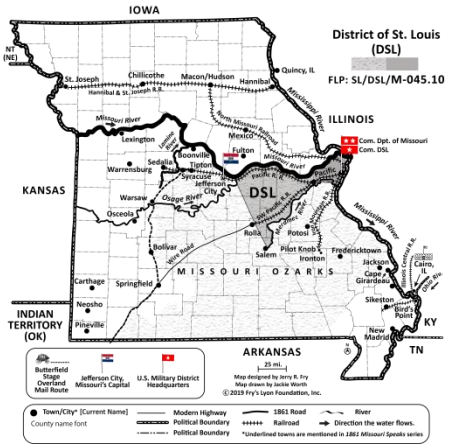
See Appendix B for an enlarged image and details.



See Appendix B for an enlarged image and details



See Appendix B for an enlarged image and details.



See Appendix B for an enlarged image and details.



See map GM-1 on page 411 for an enlarged image and description of the Military Bill that created the districts.

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES– Working Copy 2

Updated by Blanca on 11/01/23

In editing the articles and documents in the *1861 Missouri Speaks Collection*, we have used modern American English punctuation and spelling. We have also attempted to make the text easier to read so that a junior-high student could understand the text. Capitalization follows modern practices, and in rare occasions, a sentence that is too long and involved is broken into two sentences. If the sentence does not follow modern grammar, which makes it difficult to understand, we may rewrite it so the subject precedes the predicate, per modern American grammar style.

We have reduced the use of em-dashes, allowing them only where they are necessary. They are always eliminated when placed after a period or comma, which has no purpose, and where it is used in place of a comma, period, etc., it is replaced by the proper punctuation. Where punctuations are missing, we've added them.

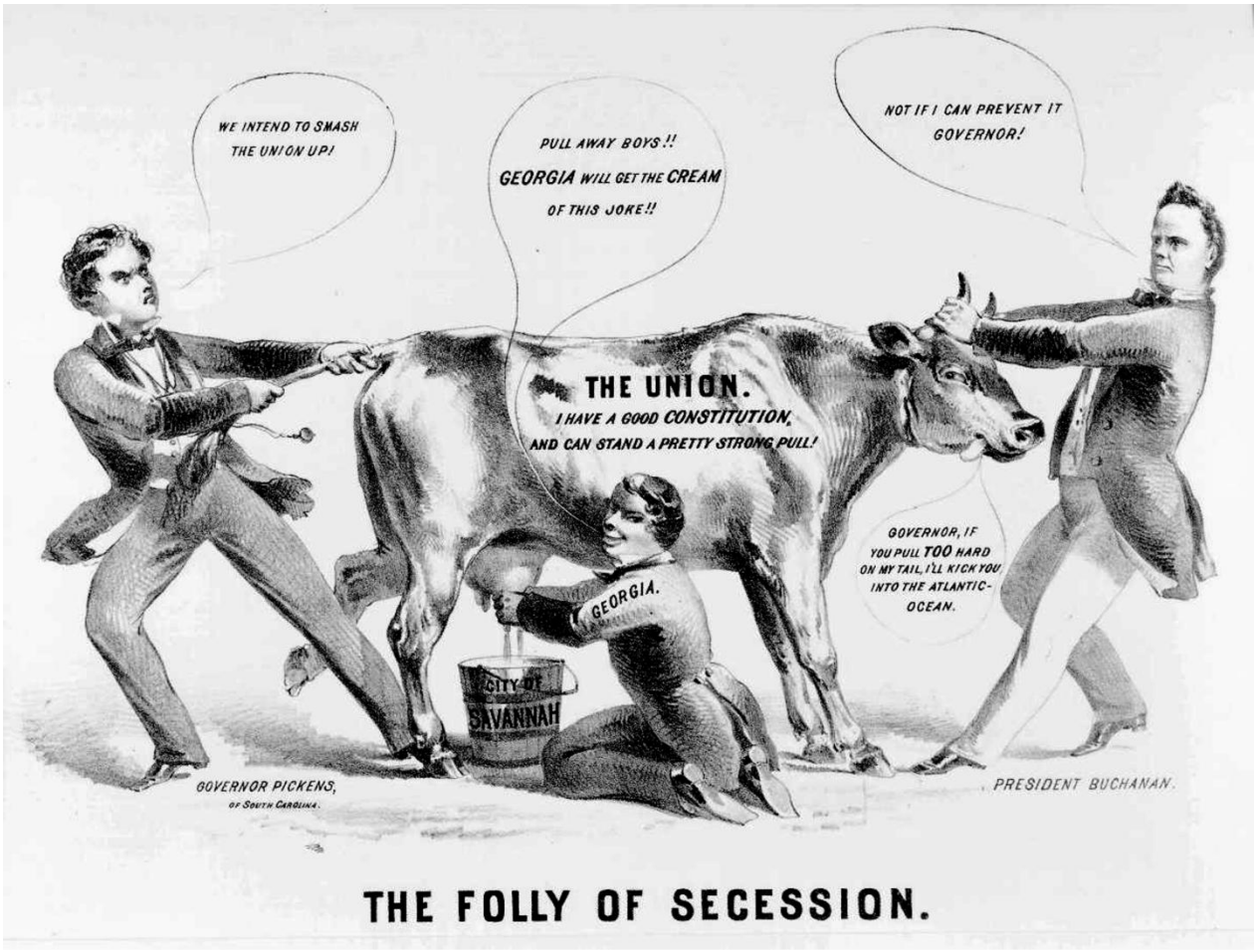
Where it is not clear that the individuals mentioned in an article are senators or congressmen, and are simply given the title of "Mr.," we replace that title the first time it appears with the correct title, placed within brackets. After that, "Mr." stands as originally written.

Rebel or Southern-sympathizing officers are identified (C.S.A., Missouri State Guard, Missouri Volunteer Militia (MVM), etc.), and on occasion, if a document mentions both rebel and Union officers, the Union officer will also be identified to clarify who is who.

We have spelled out the names of railroads where only initials are used and modernized spelling. We have also converted British-style spelling to American spelling.

We have attempted to be consistent in the spelling of people's names, the spelling based on what we find to be most commonly accepted. However, we have removed the accent in Fremont's name, Americanizing it.

We changed the titles of the newspaper articles in Series 1 (*Missouri Democrat* articles) and Series 4 (New York *Tribune*) if the titles were non-descriptive, giving the reader no idea of the content. For example, if an article was simply titled "From Jefferson City" or "From Springfield," we would change it to describe the information in the article. Articles with no original titles, of course, were also given one.



by Currier & Ives, 1861

The movement for the Southern states to pull away from the federal government is portrayed in this political cartoon.
The cow represents the Union. She says, "I have a good constitution and can stand a pretty strong pull!" And informs Governor Pickens of South Carolina, "Governor, if you pull too hard on my tail, I'll kick you into the Atlantic Ocean."
• Governor Pickens, pulling the cow's tail, says, "We intend to smash the Union up!"
• Georgia, milking the cow, says, "Pull away boys!! *Georgia* will get the *cream* of this joke!!"
• At the head of the cow is President Buchanan, who says, "Not if I can prevent it, Governor!"

JANUARY 1861 FINDING AIDS

Week #	Date	Article (FLP#)	Page
	Dec 18. 1860	**Missouri—Slavery and Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#1) Extract from the *N.Y. Tribune* discussing whether or not Missouri should have a state convention. "The legislature of this state convenes the last day of this month. The question will be: to have a [secession] convention or not to have a convention? My opinion is, among the Stephen Douglas-supporting Union men will be found the hottest pro-slavery men. I have no doubt they will call a convention." Also includes comments on the impact a civil war will have on Missouri and the institution of slavery.	16
Week 1	Jan 1.	**Open Letter from Germans Concerning St. Louis Arsenal** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#2) An open letter from a German citizens' group to the commander of the St. Louis Arsenal, Major Bell, pledges support to help protect the Arsenal in case of an attack by secessionists. It also declares an extremely hateful anti-German article, published in the *Missouri Republican* newspaper, "a positive falsehood."	18
	Jan 1.	**What They Say of Missouri's Edward Bates in New England** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#3) The *Boston Journal* supports the appointment of Judge Edward Bates of Missouri to President Lincoln's cabinet, citing his being a conservative from a slave state and his devotion to the Constitution. The *Detroit Free Press* reports that he is the most "conservative prominent Republican in the United States."	21
	Jan 1.	**Treason and State Authority** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#4) Letter provides a sarcastic counterpoint to a letter that appeared in the *Missouri Republican* newspaper, arguing that Congress does not have the power to wage war on a seceding state (often referred to as "coercion" of seceding states). This article argues that "any act of war against federal authority by a person or a state is an act of treason," and it provides evidence that such a finding was the specific intent of the framers of the Constitution. The letter closes with, "If Congress has not the power to punish treason, then the Constitution is *indeed* "a rope of sand."	22
	Jan 1.	**U.S. Forces Occupy Fort Sumter** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#5) Much to the chagrin of South Carolina, U.S. Army Major Anderson clandestinely moved his federal forces from the indefensible Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston after dark on Christmas Day 1860. This is 101 days prior to the attack on Fort Sumter, which was the "official" start of the Civil War.	23
	Jan 1.	**Commissioner from Alabama Speaks in Jefferson City** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6) Commissioner Cooper attempts to convince Missouri's governor and legislature to join the South and secede from the Union. He mentions the danger of a slave rebellion in the South if slavery is not allowed to spread. Editorial counters by questioning the South's desire to bring slavery to the new territories if slavery is "extremely dangerous."	24

Jan 1.	**Southern Sympathizers Ship Guns to the South** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#7) The Pittsburgh *Gazette* reports concerning the shipment of government weapons to the South for use by secessionists. It notes that it "is strange that those against sending soldiers south have no qualms about sending arms south."	25
Jan 3.	**No Secession in Crawford or Phelps Counties** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#8) A tongue-in-cheek letter to the editors advises that all sides of the political question in Crawford and Phelps counties are for remaining true to the Union. "To the praise of the citizens of Crawford and Phelps counties, let it be said that we now hear of no man therein who approves of disunion."	26
Jan 3.	**The Cost of Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#9) Letter to the editors argues that it is in the interest of Missouri to remain with the Union because going with the South would cut off trade with the North, and St. Louis would no longer be the gateway to the West or a business and trade center.	26
Jan 3.	**Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds Clearly for Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10) Article criticizes Jackson and Reynolds for trying to take Missouri out of the Union. It states Jackson was elected chief magistrate of Missouri as a Union-supporting candidate; however, it was announced soon after his election that he was about to betray his Union friends and go over, body and soul, to the fire-eating secessionists, a view that has gradually been confirmed. "The governor is now an open disunionist and employed in cultivating treasonable sentiments among our people."	28
Sidebar	**Committee of Thirteen** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10.1)	29
Jan 4.	**No Compromise with South on Slavery** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#11) Article rejects the notion of compromise with the South. "Every compromise that has been made has been violated by the South. There is an eternal antagonism [over slavery] that must be settled, and we may as well have it settled now as at any other time."	29
Jan 4.	**The Language of a Patriot** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#12) Sen. Preston King writes that unconstitutional laws and acts put forth by state governments are not valid, and citizens will be held accountable for treason. While he does not believe the conflict will escalate, he warns that if states do not prosecute traitors, the Army and Navy will intervene and do it, which would be disastrous for the entire nation. [This is what happened in Missouri; when Gov. Jackson refused to obey the law, and the Army was ordered to reestablish federal authority.]	29
Sidebar	**Adjutant General's Office to Commander, Dept. of the West** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#12.1)	31
Jan 4.	**Contentious Organizing of the State Legislature** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#13) Contains details of a contentious meeting of the House of Representatives, demonstrating that secessionists control the legislature.	31
Jan 5.	**The Sentiment Among the People Concerning Disunion** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#14) After touring Illinois and Missouri, the writer observes that: "Even the most ultra-pro-slavery men consider that South Carolina has acted detrimentally to the great interest of the country." He also writes: "Let the officers of the federal government only do their duty as it is clearly mapped out in the Constitution, and the people will not be slow in	33

responding to any call for aid to maintain the government in its integrity."

Jan 5. **Lt. Gov. Shows His Secessionist Colors** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#15) A letter to the editors states: "Now that we have [Gov.] Jackson and [Lt. Gov.] Reynolds upon the record for and in favor of secession, we call upon all Union men to watch their traitorous designs and be prepared to meet all their attempts to place Missouri in a false position." He continues with: "We are amazed, and so are thousands who voted for Lt. Gov. Reynolds, to hear him talking of throwing this state in opposition to the United States Government." 34

Jan 5. **The First Drop of Blood Means War** (FLP: Ser MD-Jan#16) The *Philadelphia Press* asserts that the "two sections of this Union, with rare exceptions, are preparing for" war. It notes that: "The state of the country and the temper of South Carolina, the signs of the times, all admonished us that in a moment, the blow may be struck, the alarm bell of civil war sounded." 35

Jan 5. **But One Course Left** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#17) The *Louisville Journal* declares that "the country is unwilling to recognize the independence of the South Carolina Republic or to submit to the insolence of her mobs." It says the people demand "that the laws shall be enforced, and the integrity of the Union maintained." 36

Jan 5. **The Solution: Return to the Missouri Compromise** (FLP: Ser MD-Jan#18) Editorial recommends the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, arguing that "all the current trouble has been caused by the abrogation of the old Missouri Compromises line." 36

Jan 7. **Disunion Conspiracy in Missouri** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#19) Editorial says that the "drama which was introduced at the capital by Gov. Jackson's treasonable, inflammatory inaugural message, as a prologue, is unfolding itself with startling rapidity," noting that bills "for transforming the governor into a military dictator, for arming the state, calling a secession convention, have been flung down like gauntlets on the table of the Senate." It states that Gov. Jackson, subjecting Missourians to his will, "has avowed his designs of plunging the suffering people who have elected him governor into civil war." 37

Jan 7. **Governor Jackson's Call for Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20) Letter to the editors condemns Jackson's Inaugural Address as a clear call for secession. It states that the governor will use all the power available to him to carry Missouri out of the Union with the help of a compliant Democratic Party-controlled legislature. It also reviews the trouble that will befall Missouri if it secedes. 39

Jan 7. **Disunionists in Control of Legislature Part I—Senate** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.2) Article reports on the secession activities of the Senate. Republicans and Germans are denounced bitterly. It states that unless the people speak out in unmistakable tones against the great folly of secession and state suicide, a gloomy prospect faces Missouri. 40

Jan 7. **Disunionist in Control of Legislature Part II—House of Representatives** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.2.1) Article reports that during the House's afternoon session, a Mr. Stevenson denounced the inaugural of the governor, saying, "he did not doubt that the people of Missouri 42

		would soon arise in their majesty and strength and condemn that inaugural and its disunion sentiments." Later, some Democratic members of the House "bitterly assaulted" the German community, while others of the same party defended the German constituents..	
	Jan 7.	**The Constitution, Union and the Enforcement of the Laws** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.3) Judge Sample Orr explains his strong pro-Union position, and advocates Missouri to remain in the Union despite Lincoln's election. "I am met by men every day who say they are Union men but not unconditionally. They are for the Union if they can get their way, but if they cannot, then they are for dissolution. Now, so you may not suffer any anxiety as to where I stand, I am for the Union as it is, and for the Constitution, without crossing a T or dotting an I."	43
Week 2	Jan 8.	**Minute Men Organize** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21) A meeting is convened to elect officers, appoint committees necessary to organize the Minute Men. C.S.A. Gen. Basil Duke later wrote: "'Minute Men' had a semi-political and military character. We made no secret of the organization or our purpose, but openly proclaimed both...The chief and primary objective of this organization was the capture of the [St. Louis] Arsenal."	45
	Jan 8.	**The One Question—Union or Disunion?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22) Letter, signed "Citizen," says: "...it will surprise the disunionists in St. Louis and Missouri how small numerically they are, how little they own here, by what slender ties they are connected with us**,** how most of them are thriftless, without mind or experience...It is time for the conservative men of St. Louis, independent or party, to consult together, and take public measures tending to preserve our peace and prosperity."	46
	Jan 8.	**Coercion and Dragooning** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.2) Editorial notes that those who cry out against coercing a state to stay in the Union are attacking and coercing those who do not agree with them. It asks if it can "be supposed that the government can stand idly by and permit a few conspirators to drive the quiet and peaceful citizens of a state into a rebellion and establish a reign of terror throughout its limits."	48
	Jan 8.	***The Bulletin* will Advocate for the South** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.3) Report announces the St. Louis *Bulletin* has a new publisher and editor. The new editor, Thomas L. Snead, makes it clear the*Bulletin* is a pro-South newspaper. "[On] all the questions which now disturb the peace of the country, it will insist that they shall be settled upon such terms as will guarantee the equality and the safety of slaveholding states within the Union, or their independence out of it."	49
	Jan 8.	**Interview with Lincoln** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.4) In the home of Mr. Lincoln, a correspondent watches the president-elect answer questions from several visitors, and he describes Lincoln's physique, style of speaking, and his knowledge and understanding of the current difficulties. For example, he was inquired of whether he intended to recommend the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, to which, Lincoln replied, "Upon my word, I have not given the subject a thought." A gentleman present said to him, "Well, Mr. Lincoln, suppose these difficulties should not be settled before you are inaugurated, what will you do?" He replied, with a smile, "Well, I suppose I will have to run the machine as I find it."	50

Jan 8.	**In Praise of Edward Bates, a Lincoln Cabinet Appointee** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.5) The Canton *Register* praises Edward Bates, of Missouri, who will eventually become President Lincoln's attorney general. The article closed with: "We hope each member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet may, like Mr. Bates, be taken fresh from the people, and be entirely free from the odor of office."	53
Jan 8.	**President-Elect Lincoln** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.6) John Hay[22] says Lincoln has given up his room at the State House, and his public receptions are at an end. His private secretary, Mr. Nicolay, has an office in Johnson's Building, where he receives all who wish to see Lincoln upon important business.	54
Jan 8.	**Election of Senator Trumbull** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.7) John Hay reports on a House meeting which elected Lyman Trumbull as senator for six more years. He describes President-elect Lincoln as a constant letter reader.	54
Jan 8.	**How Would Secession Affect St. Louis and Missouri?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#23) Letter to the editors from a "laboring citizen," asks six questions regarding the affect secession would have on Missouri, as a whole, and St. Louis, in particular. He requests answers so he and other citizens can act patriotically and intelligently when giving their decision on that important decision. His questions are then answered by the editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, stating in part: "Missouri has no interest in common with the Southern states except slavery, and her share in that interest will be practically annihilated by secession."	55
Jan 10.	**The Paramount Issue of the Time—Union or Disunion** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#24) Article opposes the coercion of Missouri to secede from the Union and calls for individuals to cooperate against disunionists. "We are willing to accept for our platform: the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws while any party, opposed to that platform, or any portion of it, continues to exist."	57
Jan 10.	**Shall St. Louis Become an Inland City?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25) Letter to the editors argues that St. Louis should ignore false arguments to go with the South in favor of trade benefits associated with staying in the Union. It warns that if Missouri goes with the South, "there is no doubt of the establishment of a rival city on the Illinois side to become the depot of the grain and provision trade from the free states. St. Louis would no longer be the grocery market of the West."	59
Sidebar	**Bloody Island Almost Ruined; The River Trade of St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.1)	60
Jan 10.	**Sarcastic Letter Attacks the Governor** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.2) "Jefferson" writes to Gov. Jackson, emphasizing, his middle name, Fox. "Jefferson" sarcastically questions Jackson why he lied and ran on a Union ticket and points out that despite Jackson's statement that President-elect Lincoln is "pledged to subvert constitutional rights" of the South, Jackson knows full well that Republicans opposed the expansion of slavery and not	61

[22] The authorship of this anonymous article, and others that also mention Hay, is attributed to John Hay by Michael Burlingame in his book, *Lincoln's Journalist* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1998).

the elimination of it where it presently exists.

Jan 10. **Sarcastic Letter #2 Attacking Governor** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.3) In a second letter, dripping with contempt, "Jefferson" asks why the governor is opposed to the slave trade when he promotes the spread of slavery. 62

Jan 11. **Should a State Convention be Called?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.4) Editorial asks why the governor and the legislature are forcing a convention upon the people of Missouri without consulting them as to their wishes in regard to the convention. It states the Democrats have betrayed the trust of the people, and now aspire to be the masters instead of the servants of the people. It argues that the legislature and the governor were not elected by the people for this purpose, as in the election campaign, the subject of a state convention was not even broached. 63

Jan 11. **Response to Alleged Misrepresentations of the Republican Party Principles** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#26) Article quotes from the Republican Party platform to combat misrepresentation of that party's stance on the important questions of the day, and stresses that the party sustains the principles of a free government. 64

Jan 12. **If Missouri Chooses the South** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#27) This editorial discusses the pros and cons of Missouri joining the southern confederacy vs. remaining with the Union, and concludes that Missouri cannot become an integral part of the South; she is too far North and too important to the North, which will never let her leave the Union, and the South will not come to her defense. Thus, the article concludes, "It is certain that without help, Missouri could never sustain herself as part of the southern confederacy, and it is equally certain that she would never get such help." 65

Jan 12. **Central Union Club Organized in St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28) Report describes the meeting of Republicans of the county and city of St. Louis. It reports on the resolutions of the Committee on Constitution, which says the city's Republican Party "deem it proper and in accordance with the dictates of patriotism, to merge all the political distinctions in the great movement for the preservation of the Union." It discusses Congressman-elect Frank P. Blair, Jr.'s speech, which affirmed that "only two parties were now before the country," that is, "one for the Union and the other for disunion." The report also stresses that "St. Louis was opposed to disunion. They could not be dragged along by South Carolina." 66

Jan 12. **Disbanding of the St. Louis Wide Awakes** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.1) Article announces that the organization of the St. Louis Wide Awakes was disbanded, and a new Central Union Club formed. Eligible for membership is "every Union man of good character," whatever his party affiliation. 69

Jan 12. **The Military Guard at the Sub-Treasury** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.3) Editorial defends the placement of a US Army force of one officer and forty soldiers at the US Sub-Treasury building to protect its contents. 69

Jan 12. **Missouri Senate Discusses Calling a State Convention** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.4) The matter of whether to hold a state convention was discussed but no final vote was taken. The reporter closes with, "until the question of the state convention is decided, no important measures of 70

		general interest will be passed" by the Senate.	
	Jan 14.	**A Significant Gift for President-Elect Lincoln** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.5) John Hay describes a unique walking cane given as a present to President-Elect Lincoln. He believes that these gifts show that the working people are with Lincoln, "and at the first note of real danger, the defenders of the Union will spring from the very soil, full-armed."	71
Week 3	Jan 15.	**First Conditional Unionist Meeting/Rally** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29) Letter to the editors condemns the results of a meeting billed as a Union meeting. He writes: "In a Union meeting, we expected a rally for the Union; it was, in fact, a step toward disunion." He also wrote the meetings' resolutions were unreasonable, dangerous, and could lead to civil war.	72
	Jan 15.	**Disunionist Take-Over Union Meeting** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29.1) Letter to the editors points out that the Union meeting held on the 12th, was a ruse by disunionists to lure unwary unionists to join the secession movement. But it notes that the "thousands of our people who went to the meeting, lured there by the Stars and Stripes and other outside shows of devotion to our city and county and state interests, will spurn the trick and will rally to the real Union party—the men who want to stay in the Union, whether we can procure a constitutional amendment to carry slaves into the territories, or not."	73
	Jan 15.	**Must Missouri Go with South Carolina?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31) Editorial asks why a prospering state like Missouri should sacrifice its future to join a southern confederacy. "Is this state to be carried by the cotton states like the tail of a kite, wherever they may go, even into civil war and rebellion?"	76
	Jan 15.	**Illinois Legislature—Mr. Cameron** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.1) John Hay says "it is thought, by those most entitled to speak, that Mr. Cameron will be appointed" to Lincoln's Cabinet.	77
	Jan 15.	**A Working Man's Response to Criticism of Frank Blair's Speech** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.2) The writer criticizes what he calls a deceptive argument defending South Carolina against comments in a speech by Congressman-elect Francis P. Blair, Jr. He uses South Carolina's constitution to prove his point. He argues that: "There never was a more barefaced falsehood palmed off upon community than the statement that '*universal suffrage* absolute, unconditional and unqualified' exists, or has ever existed, in South Carolina under her constitution."	77
	Jan 15.	**Slaveholder Argues in Favor of Union** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3) A letter to the editor argues in favor of remaining in the Union in order to secure the value of slave property. "Politicians cannot deceive us as to this"; can Gov. Jackson tell us how much the value of slave property will be diminished when the Union is actually broken? "Some of my neighbors think that slaves won't be worth the expense of keeping them."	78
	Sidebar	**James Montgomery** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.1).	79
	Sidebar	**Southwest Expedition** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.2)	80
	Jan 15.	**What they think of Secession in Southwest Missouri** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.4) This *Southwest Democrat* editorial, while opposed to abolitionism, asserts that the people's rights are already secured in the Constitution, and that abandoning the Union would mean the loss of those rights. "When	80

we abandon that Constitution by wildly rushing from beneath its wings, we also abandon all those precious rights and privileges which it now secures us."

Jan 16. **What Congress Might and Should Do to Save the Union** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.5) Article lists ten suggestions from the *New York Tribune* that would save the Union, including the following. 81
1. "Stop agitating the slavery question."
2. "Go in altogether for 'the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws.'"
10. "Adjourn and go home."

Jan 16. **The Democratic Convention—Rumors** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.6) John Hay talks about the upcoming Democratic convention. He quashes rumors that President-Elect Lincoln is entertaining a compromise with the South, supported by all the central politicians. He states that "Lincoln will be very slow to pledge himself to any policy which shall open the door to indefinite filibustering." 82

Jan 17. **The Union Must Be Preserved, Peaceably If We Can, Forcibly If We Must** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#32) Article argues that coercion is constitutional and the right of the government, and that the unity of the country must be preserved at all cost. It notes that "anti-coercion is practical secession," and that "there is no middle ground, no other alternative." 83

Jan 17. **State of Public Feeling in St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#33) Editorial accuses disunion Democrats of giving St. Louis a reputation for chaos, lawlessness, and the suppression of free speech. It refutes such accusations and states: "The laws are still in force, the legitimate authorities are still in power, and there is as little violence here as in any other city in the country. There can be no terrorism so long as the city and county are under a Republican government." 85

Jan 17. **Why the Sub-Treasury at St. Louis was Guarded by the U. S. Troops** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#33.1) The assigning of forty soldiers to protect the U.S. Sub-Treasury building in St. Louis, upsets many and has led to speculation on the purpose of such an act. This article is meant to set the record straight, and it concludes: "The precautionary step of the sub-treasurer, in seeking extraordinary protection for the property under his charge, was doubtless prompted by some real or apprehended danger, of which we have yet to learn the particulars." 86

Jan 17. **The Seizure of the St. Louis Powder by the New Orleans Secessionists** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34) The *Louisville Journal* warns Kentucky citizens of the dangers of joining in Southern secession. "Inaugurating secession is inaugurating a horrible condition, and God knows that if the treason is not arrested, the middle and the end, if the end shall ever come, will be far more horrible than the beginning." 86

Jan 17. **Pro-Secession Elements Driving Out Union Families from Holt County** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.1) A letter to the editors reports that a pro-Union minister and his invalid wife were driven out of the city by secessionists. 87

Jan 17. **Fort Sumter Resupply Prevented** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.2) The *New* 88

York Evening Post gives a minute-by-minute account of the experience of the steamship, *Star of the West*, when it was fired upon and forced away as it attempted to resupply Fort Sumter in the Charleston harbor.

Jan 17. **The Convention Passes the Senate** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.3) Report on the state legislature's discussions and vote on the (Secession) Convention Bill. The secessionist friends of the bill in the House are confident of their power to carry the bill. The opponents of the bill are fighting an attempt by the secessionists to prevent the voters of Missouri from having an opportunity to ratify or reject the findings of the Convention at the ballot box. Those for allowing voter involvement have advanced powerful and convincing arguments against this arbitrary assumption of power by the General Assembly. 91

Jan 18. **The Dire Consequences if Missouri Secedes** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.4) Editorial affirms that while "the disunionists in the General Assembly and state government are straining every nerve to plunge Missouri into civil war, we affirm that Missouri will not go out of the Union because we believe a majority of her citizens are neither idiots nor lunatics." 92

Jan 18. **What the Future Holds for a Slavery-Based Confederacy** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.5) Letter to the editor shows a bleak picture of what life would look like in a slavery-based government. "The dangers of a slave revolt, which will grow more and more in years to come, will control the whole machinery of government." It warns that the "middle class, essential to free government, will not exist," and "It will be therefore almost immediately an aristocracy of restless and bullying slave owners, whose only business is arbitrary governance, whose practical training is in bending laboring slaves to their will." 93

Jan 18. **The House Debates the Convention Bill** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.6) An amendment is adopted, stating that if the Convention were to vote for secession, ratification by the voters of the state would be required. 94

Jan 18. **The Convention Bill Passes the House** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.7) The Convention Bill passed the House with the ratification amendment, which states: The "Convention, when so assembled, shall have no power to alter or change the existing relations of the state of Missouri with the government of the United States, or any state thereof, until the act, ordinance, or resolution making such a change be submitted to the people of this state and approved by a majority of the qualified voters at said election." 94

Jan 19. **Is Missouri Out Just because South Carolina is Out?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35) Editorial disagrees with the secessionist argument that since South Carolina has seceded, there no longer is a Union. 95

Jan 19 **Disunion as Seen Abroad and Felt at Home** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.1) According to the editorial, foreign leaders oppose the secession of southern states from the Union more than the deluded citizens at home. "The greatest blessing that could befall the people of South Carolina today would be the occupation of Charleston by a federal army. The demon of terror would then be driven off; law and order would again prevail; the peaceful pursuits of commerce would be resumed, and security of life and property reestablished. 95

	Jan 19.	**The Convention Bill Passes** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.2) Article announces that the House passed the State Convention Bill. Thus, "the long agony may be said to be over, as the Senate will doubtless pass it this morning, and it will immediately become law."	96
	Jan 21.	**The State (Secession) Convention—Which Union Tickets Should Be Formed** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#36) Editorial urges all true Union men, whatever be his party associations, to utterly reject secession. "Union, for the sake of the Union, should be the motto of the patriot . . the principle of preventing the degradation of free soil into slave soil. That principle Republicans will never renounce, if for no other reason than because its renunciation would brand them with infamy to the last syllable of recorded time."	101
	Jan 21.	**Disunion Conspiracy in St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#37) Editorial notes that disunionist Minute Men received several boxes of muskets at their headquarters in St. Louis, and, according to rumor, there is an oath-bound secret society growing in the city. But the writer is confident that the local Republican-controlled government will keep peace and order, and he opposes the idea that Republicans should arm themselves at this time.	102
	Jan 21.	**Hon. Montgomery Blair** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#37.1) The *Cleveland Herald* praises Montgomery Blair, whom the editors feel for certain is next in line for a position in President-elect Lincoln's cabinet.	104
	Jan 21.	**John W. Noell on Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#37.2) Letter from U.S. Congressman John W. Noell of Missouri says: "It is well known that I do not concur in this doctrine of peaceable secession, as it is called." "The desperate politicians are working against time. They are afraid of the sober second thought of the people. Mark my prediction, the disunion politicians of Missouri will not allow the people to decide whether or not they are to have a convention. Oh, no. This would never do. It would give the people time to think for themselves. 'We must do the thinking for them. If we do not, the country will be saved, and we shall be lost,' is the idea now uppermost in the minds of the disunionists."	104
	Jan 21.	**Sen. Crittenden, President-Elect Lincoln, and a Peaceful Resolution** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#37.3) John Hay talks about the Crittenden Compromise. He states that, "Anyone who appreciates the calm and elevated attitude in which Mr. Lincoln stands in regard to the present complications, can never despair of the Republic when he controls its destinies."	106
Week 4	Jan 22.	**Why Are the Disunionists in Such Haste to Get Missouri and Other Slave States Out of the Union?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#38) Editorial claims that the disunionists want Missouri to secede before Lincoln's inaugural address because they fear he will assure the nation that slavery will be protected by the Union. It asks: "People of Missouri, are you crazy enough to follow the lead of such fanatics?"	107
	Jan 22.	**The Duty of the Border States** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#40) The *New York Times* calls for the border states to save themselves and the Union. "The great central states (Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri) can breast and break the wave of secession which sweeps upward from the cotton states of the Gulf, threatening to flood and	108

destroy the border states long before it reaches the free states, which provokes its rage. By tampering with treason and flirting with civil war, they may become the bloody scene of devastations, which will damage them far more than either of the contending sections."

Jan 22. **Republicans Should Not Submit to Pro-Slavery Demands Just to Prevent Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#40.1) Editorial refutes the argument of the St. Louis *Evening News* that those who refuse to give up the non-extension of slavery principle are Conditional Unionists. It says that "if the *Evening News* had been in the place of Solomon, when the two women claimed the child, it would doubtless have condemned the true mother, because she would not consent either to surrender the child or take the half of it." 110

Jan 22. **What will the Crittenden Compromise Accomplish** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#40.2) A letter to the editor poses a list of questions to those who support the Crittenden Compromise. "What guarantees have the Union men that other amendments or interpretations of the Constitution will not be forced upon them by the cry of disunion a few years hence?" 110

Jan 22. **Position of the Republicans in Hannibal** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#40.3) Sarcastic letter reports on the activities in Hannibal. "Active sympathy is expressed for the traitors of the South, for their deeds of chivalry, in the shape of denunciations, terrorism, and mob violence." One of the secessionist newspapers published the names of all who voted for Lincoln. A speech by "His Ignorance, the mayor is mentioned." 111

Jan 23. **A Matter of Life and Death** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#41) "W. R. H." asks the people of St. Louis and Missouri to put aside party differences and choose men who are unconditionally for the Union. "We must lay aside all questions of party, and all the promptings of party spirit, regard all party ties as broken, and all parties merged into two great armies—one of truth, the other of error; one having for its watchword 'union,' the other 'secession.'" 112

Jan 24. **A Reported Seizure of the Arsenal by the Minute Men** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#42) Editorial mentions a rumor that Governor Jackson gave orders to seize the Arsenal, and though it doesn't give credence to the rumor, notes that it is easy to believe because the "treasonable" Minute Men are "daily and nightly enlisting members, and drilling and arming." The editorial expresses concern "for the preservation of peace," and explains it does not fear the Minute Men "will revolutionize the city," but it is not sure they won't try to do so, "and thereby occasion the shedding of blood." 113

Jan 24. **Rumors of Attack on the St. Louis Arsenal** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#43) Major Bell, commanding the St. Louis Arsenal, warned the mayor and Militia Col. Thornton Grimsley of the possibility of an attack on the Arsenal by invaders from the South, as well as the Minute Men from the city. Mayor Filley sent reinforcement, but Bell declined the help. 115

Jan 24. **Union Meeting in Montgomery County** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#43.2) Letter to the editors describes a meeting that took place in Danville, Montgomery County, Mo. While secessionists attempted to take over the meeting, the Union men held strong. Article closed with: "Montgomery 115

County is sound to the core for the Union. I don't believe there are a hundred disunionists in the county."

Jan 24. **Frank Blair Meets with President-Elect Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#43.3) John Hay mentions that Frank Blair is in Springfield to talk to the president-elect. He speculates that it is about his brother as a possible member of Lincoln's Cabinet, but it is not expected that any final selection will be made until Lincoln's arrival at Washington. He quashes a rumor that Lincoln anonymously writes articles for newspapers, saying that "Mr. Lincoln has other matters to engage him besides 'writing for the *Ledger,'* or any other paper." 116

Jan 25. **Secession and the State Convention** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44) Letter to the editors warns of the hypocrisy of the secessionists and the disastrous consequences. "There are among us restless, disgruntled men, without family or fortune, who welcome the tempest and shipwreck, who are plotting and intriguing among us, but they conspire in secret against all of us. Men who preach love of the Union, and clamor in the same breath for a secession convention, for arming the state, for filling our peaceful city with the ugly munitions and weapons of war." 117

Jan 25. **Democratic Party Position** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44.1) The party resolves: "That the state of Missouri, while the general government is administered according to the Constitution of the United States, will not, because of the lawful election of any legally qualified citizen of the United States to the presidency, attempt to leave the Union." However, should it "become necessary for Missouri to defend her rights as a state in this Union . . . she will be found on the side of the Constitution of the Union, and the constitutional rights of all states in their sovereign capacity." 118

Jan 25. **Pro-Union Meeting in Iron County** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44.2) Letter to the editors describes the January 19 meeting in Ironton, which showed strong support for the Union. "Well, put Iron County down for the Union, and rest assured we will do our best to send to the state convention a firm, not-to-be-shaken, Union man." 119

Jan 25. **Clark County Interests Lie with the North** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44.3) Letter to the editors says, "We of Clark County are particularly alive to the importance of the Union, and will cling to it as to dear life; and should the politicians of Missouri succeed in carrying off the state in the secession move, Clark County will, in her turn, secede from the state and attach herself to Iowa." 120

Jan 25. **Union Meeting in Osage County Resolves to Send Only Strong Union Men to Convention** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44.4) A letter to the editors details the Union meeting held in Medora, Osage County, which unanimously adopted resolutions supporting the Union, including a resolution that no support would be given to any man for delegate to the State (Secession) Convention who "will not pledge himself to defend the Union." 121

Jan 25. **Democrats: "Preserve the Party and Let the Union Take Care of Itself"** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#45.1) Editorial charges that the headline reflects the attitude of the Democratic Party. It argues that party distinctions should be forgotten, that all Union men of all parties should 122

vote for only true Union candidates. "In this terrible crisis of the nation's fate, partisan distinctions should be forgotten."

Jan 25. **Missouri's Interests Lay with the North** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#46) Letter to the editors asks: "Is it true that the honor and interests of Missouri lead her to join the Southern Republic?" It responds that the "only interest Missouri has in common with the South is her slave interests; and, if it be impossible for her to obtain protection for this as a part of the North, it is unquestionably true, that as a part of the South, she has and can have no protection." 123

Jan 26. **The Grand Jury and the Minute Men** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#47) Editorial suggests the grand jury investigate the condition and purposes of the Minute Men and other threatening organizations of St. Louis, in view of the necessity for the presence of the United States troops at the U.S. Treasury building. 124

Jan 26. **What Are the Views of the Suggested Delegates to the Convention?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#48) A letter to the editors states, "Although opposed to the calling of a convention, it is now all-important that only the right kind of men be sent to represent us there.…but as yet, no steps have been taken to ascertain what their views are upon this all-important question. I will vote for any good man, be his politics what they may, who will declare himself opposed to the secession of Missouri and in favor of the perpetuation of our glorious confederacy." 124

Jan 28. **Union Feeling in the State** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#49) Extracts from sixteen interior Missouri newspapers in reference to the question of union or disunion. The extracts show great Union support. It also notes that the very question of secession has brought down land and slave prices. It concludes that Missouri's interests are best served by remaining in the Union. 125

Jan 28. **Disunionists in the Missouri Senate and Other False Unionists** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#49.1) Editorial says, "The Senate is a temple of disunion. A cursory examination of the debates in the General Assembly is sufficient to show the determination of the disunionists. There must be a return to sanity and sincerity, or peace is impossible." 128

Jan 28. **U.S. Congressman-Elect Blair Addresses the *Republican* Newspaper's Concern About His Candidacy for the Convention** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#50) Addressing the *Missouri Republican* newspaper, which has shown concern about Frank P. Blair, Jr. being a candidate for the State Convention. Blair writes: "It will be very difficult to make the people believe that the *Republican* is for the Union if it refuses to unite on fair and honorable ground with all who are for it." He also states: "I do not care to be a candidate, and will not be if a ticket can be formed of men from all the different parties who are" unconditionally for the Union. 130

Jan 28. **An Account of a Disunionist Caucus** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#51) Letter to the editors states that the so called Union meeting/rally, held in front of the Court House on January 12, was actually a disunion meeting, as the men who organized it are "a tribe of Union tadpoles who have only to drop their tails to become active disunion toad frogs." 131

Week 5 Jan 29. **Conditional Unionist Meeting** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#52) Editorial 133

rehashes the previous day's article concerning a meeting of those who organized the 12 January meeting/rally in front of the Court House. As the attendees support the Crittenden Compromise, the *Missouri Democrat* considers them secessionists and states: "Of course, resolutions emanating from such a source (a gathering in which absolute and qualified disunionists dominated) could give no true expression to the Union feeling of the people."

Jan 29 **Cabinet Matters—The Presidential Progress** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#52.1) John Hay states that President-Elect "Lincoln will not only make no further announcement of his intentions in regard to the selection and disposition of his ministry but will not even *decide* as to his appointments until he arrives at Washington." He also confirms that Lincoln will not state his opinion on matters until after his inauguration. 133

Jan 29. **Admission of Kansas Consummated** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#53) The president signed the bill, admitting the state of Kansas as the 34th state in the Union.. 135

Jan 29. **What is Our Country? A Look at Our Constitution** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#54) An excellent tutorial on the Constitution. It delves into the history of the U.S. Constitution and its relationship between the people, the states, and the federal government, covering the rights and obligations of each. The author closes with: "It is from a disregard of the obvious principle on which our system of government is based that the heresy of secession has arisen." 136

Jan 29. **What Will Secession Cost** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#55) The *Columbia Statesman* points out the cost of secession and how much will be lost if Missouri secedes. He mentions the cost of defending the state's borders and the loss of the postal service now provided by the federal government. He asks: "Are the taxpayers ready to secede from the Union and foot this bill themselves out of their own pockets? Or are they ready to have no postal system by abolishing the mails?" 138

Jan 29. **Lt. Gov. Reynolds as a Strategist** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56) Editorial mocks Reynolds's speech, arguing his military defense strategy is unrealistic, and that secession would isolate the state and destroy commerce. It states that the choice facing the state is "between development and prosperity on one side, and utter impotence and ruin on the other." 138

Jan 30. **Democrats Play the Union Card—President-Elect Lincoln Meets with Tennessee Senator** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.1) John Hay, states that a recent interview between Tennessee State Sen. Samuel R. Rodgers and Lincoln reveals "Lincoln is earnestly devoted to the preservation of the Union with all its constitutional guaranties." He also reports that an effort has been made by members of the Democratic Party in the Senate "to put themselves upon the record as furious Union men, and to take the cause of the Union under their peculiar charge and tutelage." 139

Jan 30. **Border State Convention Propositions (a.k.a. Virginia Peace Convention)** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.1.1) A list of seven suggestions it was felt would solve the secession crisis, one being to reestablish the old Missouri Compromise. 141

Jan 30.	**Secessionists Fail to Reelect U.S. Sen. Green** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.2) An attempt by secessionists to manipulate affairs to slip the reelection of Senator Green past the Unionists fails.	142
Jan 30.	**Colony on the African Coast** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.3) Letter to editors suggests a plan for reimbursing slave owners for freeing their slaves to establish colonies on the African coast.	143
Jan 30.	**Only Two Choices: Union or Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.4) Letter to the editors criticizes the *Missouri Republican* newspaper for refusing to support any candidate from the Republican Party for the Convention, stressing that in dealing with the issue of secession, there is only the "question of union or disunion." There is no middle ground; "he who is not for us is against us."	143
Jan 31.	**Honorable Edward Bates** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.5) John Hay praises Edward Bates, whom he reports had arrived the previous evening for a lengthy interview with President-Elect Lincoln. Hay describes Bates as having a "rare and winning courtesy," "brilliant conversational talents, and the permeating flavor of honor and sincerity that pervades his manners." He states that Bates has the "deep confidence of the public in his integrity, statesmanship, and patriotism."	144
Jan 31.	**Missouri's Ten-Year Growth** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#57) Using figures showing Missouri's growth in the last ten years, the editorial argues that it is to the benefit of the slave owners to remain in the Union, and in so doing, the state will continue to grow and prosper.	144

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JANUARY

1. *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* ARTICLES
JANUARY WEEK ONE



Rather than starting with a January 1, 1861 article from the *Missouri Democrat* newspaper, the first article will be one that puts what follows in context. This first prophetic article was written before South Carolina seceded. The author predicts that Missouri's southern-sympathizing "politicians" will arrange a SECESSION CONVENTION and that secessionist firebrands will propagandize a gullible population into the suicide of secession. He argues that Missouri has more to lose than any other state if it follows the cotton states into secession. Not only will secession prevent Missouri from reaching its potential but it will ruin her. He ends by predicting: that if the Union is dissolved, war will follow and the institution of slavery will die a violent death. "If war is avoided, the institution of slavery will die a slow natural death anyway, but Missouri will be saved from the destructive results of an unwinnable civil war."

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#1)
December 18, 1860

Missouri—Slavery and Secession

Extract

New York Tribune, published December 26, 1860, under the headline, "From Western Missouri"

Correspondent of The N.Y. *Tribune*.

ST. JOSEPH, MO., Friday, Dec. 18, 1860.

. . . .The legislature of this state convenes the last day of this month.[23] The question will be: to have a [secession] convention or not to have a convention? My opinion is the legislature will call one. The Union men and Douglas men, united, will be largely in the majority,[24] even without the Republicans of the St. Louis delegation. But among the Stephen Douglas-supporting Union men will be found the hottest pro-slavery men.[25] I have no doubt they will call a convention. The danger then is that the people will be fed and

[23] The governor and state legislators were all elected the first Monday of August 1860. The legislature will convene for its first session on December 31, 1860; the governor will be sworn into office on January 3, 1861. At that time, even though the new governor was elected as a Unionist, he will call for a secession convention and state: "Our interests and sympathies are identical with those of the slaveholding states, and necessarily unite our destiny with theirs…."

[24] "Union men and Douglas men" refers to those who voted for non-Republican Unionist presidential candidates in the November 1860 presidential election. The Northern Democrat candidate was Stephen A. Douglas; the Unionist Constitutional Union Party candidate was John Bell. The Unionist candidates, Bell and Douglas, received over 70% of the vote, Republican Lincoln 10%. The de facto secessionist candidate, Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge received only 18% of the vote, which demonstrates the vast majority of Missouri's voters were not even considering secession.

[25] While the majority were for remaining in the Union, many were strongly anti-Republican because they considered Republicans, like Lincoln, to be radical northern abolitionists, interfering with the constitutional rights of the slave states. As

ensnared with such catchwords as: "Are you for the North or the South?" "Are you willing to cooperate with the damned abolitionists [or damned Germans]?" Hotheaded [secessionists] and radical men are always active and wide-awake. Conservatives [Unionists] are apt to be slow and sleepy. If we have a convention, secret or avowed disunionists will be run [as convention candidates] in every county; and under the influence of such taunting questions, catchwords and arguments as I have alluded to above, taken with the natural activity of one class and the sluggishness of the other, it is impossible to tell the result. Conservative Union men will be elected in the counties bordering on the Iowa line and in St. Joseph, St. Louis and Kansas City. But loyalty to slavery is so universal and so potent that, even in this commonwealth, with a low percentage of slaves, I should look to the result with apprehension.[26] Universal experience confirms the statement that men, or committees of men, will not long continue to act directly against the dictates of self-interest. If the rule holds good in our case, we shall have little trouble. There is no state in the Union that would lose as much by dissolution of the Union as Missouri. This state will in time be the great central empire of the United States. Her resources and her position leave no room for doubt on this point. By acceding to secession, we give up this position and render our resources almost fruitless. Then there is the Pacific Railroad, which we feel certain will eventually be built where it ought to be, on the Central route through Missouri, and which will be better for us than much fine gold.



See map GM-27 on page 440 for an enlarged image.

We hope the time is not distant when St. Joseph will become the great distributing point for the wealth that will flow into this country from the eastern U.S., Europe, and the islands of the world. Silks, and spices, and teas will roll over the road from San Francisco to St. Joseph, and counter freights from Europe and the eastern states roll back from St. Joseph to San Francisco. We shall get money; we shall grow rich. But if we go out of the Union, we give up the Pacific Railroad and the projects based on it, on which we have gloated at the prospect for years. Our people should think of these things while they are voting for delegates to a state secession convention. If they do, all will be well.

Concerning the question of slavery in Missouri as connected with the question of union or disunion, I cannot do better than quote a resolution passed at a Union meeting held in this city some days since. It is very much to the point.

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most Germans were Republicans, they, as a group, were actually hated by many Unionists, not only because they were Republicans but also because they were foreigners. Loathing for Republicans and Germans was used by Gov. Jackson to create unrest in the state, and then he made no effort to maintain law and order, even though he was the state's chief magistrate, responsible for maintaining law and order. As neither the federal government nor the Convention-appointed provisional governor (Hamilton Gamble) were able to reestablish law and order everywhere, parts of Missouri remained in a state of anarchy throughout the Civil War.

[26] When the Secession Convention met from February 28 through March 22, 1861, they voted 98 to 1 that: "At present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the federal Union."



"Resolved, by the people of Buchanan County in Convention assembled, irrespective of party, that Missouri, in addition to the great national considerations, which attach her with unflinching fidelity to the Union, has a peculiar and local interest in the preservation of the Union, which is not felt by the southern cotton states that are situated with the Gulf of Mexico on one side of them and a tier of [border] slave states upon the other. Missouri, occupying a central position in the United States, is shut out from intercourse with the world except through the surrounding states. She is, therefore, dependent upon the Union for imports and exports, and being exposed for more than seven hundred miles to a free state border, she is dependent upon the Union for security in the possession of her slaves and for the protection of her people from civil war. That, in our opinion, the permanent continuance of slavery in Missouri, depends upon the continuance of the Union; and the ultimate peaceful and profitable existence of slavery in the southern states depends upon the continuance of the barrier which the border slave states now afford them against northern aggression. In view of these great interests, Missouri is compelled to maintain the Union, and she appeals to the South as brave and chivalrous people to stand by the Union as the only hope for the preservation of our great national prosperity and the preservation in peace of slavery."

The plain truth of this is, that slavery cannot sustain itself if left alone. The resolution was drawn by the best men in this portion of the state. Being interpreted, it reads: "If the Union is dissolved, the institution of slavery will explode and pass away." I do not desire to furnish any of your readers with disunion arguments by saying that this must be the result of dissolution, but such, as anyone may see, is the fact that Missouri must, in a few years, become a free state at all events. Secession will only hasten the day. In the one case, the institution will die a slow natural death, in the other, a speedy and perhaps a violent death, brought on by secession and war.

The Republican party is only one of the instruments; the public sentiment of the world is against slavery. History, science, philosophy, religion—these are co-conspirators; and these must in time conquer the curse of slavery. The historian, the novel writer, and the statistician, all argue in favor of free labor. Slavery must yield. It is only a question of time. Its defenders may kindle the blaze of war, which will destroy it in a day, or they may nurture it for years. We may have a war, but if we do, no one can doubt the end of slavery.

This leads me to the conclusion that the present Union can never be permanently disrupted. If the storm blows over this time, well and good; the institution of slavery will continue for a time. If the Union is dissolved, especially if the tide is strong enough to carry away the border slave states (into war), slavery will pass away in the flames of war and self-interest will eventually reunite the different sections. Which will it be? Now with war, or later with time? We cannot fathom Providence.

January 1, 1861





(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#2)[27]

January 1, 1861[28]

Open Letter from Germans Concerning St. Louis Arsenal

(Letter to the Editors)

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 29, 1860

[27] For an explanation of how to read the FLP identifiers, see page xxxvi.

[28] See calendar on page xxxv.

Major Bell,[29]
Commanding U.S. Arsenal:

Sir: At a meeting of the German citizens of the First Ward, city of St. Louis, on Saturday night, December 29th, it was unanimously

Resolved, that the German citizens of the First Ward declare that the article[30] reflecting upon them, published in the *Missouri Republican*, is a positive falsehood, and that there is not a citizen living in the Ward who would give his assistance or countenance to such a traitor-like proceeding as that referred to by the *Missouri Republican*, and that on the contrary, Major Bell can rely upon every German citizen in the First Ward, should he require their aid, in case of an attack upon the Arsenal, or the property, authority and honor of the United States.

H. Almstedt, Frederick Schaeffer,
Committee

Essential Information #1:
Newspapers in St. Louis
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#2.1)

The majority of the newspapers in St. Louis during the pre-Civil War period were closely tied to political parties, and viciously attacked and denounced one another as they advocated for the party they supported. On the other hand, except when they were attacking the positions of another paper, they rarely reported on the positions of the other political parties. In St. Louis, there were five politically significant newspapers that are often mentioned in *1861 Missouri Speaks*.

1. *Missouri Democrat* – Republican Party
2. *Missouri Republican* – Democratic Party
3. *Evening News* – Constitutional Union Party[31]
4. *St. Louis Bulletin* – Advocated for the South[32]
5. *State Journal* – Secessionist[33]

Numbers 1 and 2 above are misnomers, as their names do not reflect the political parties for which they advocate. This is a result of the political upheavals of the 1850s. The national Whig Party collapsed, the Missouri Democratic Party split, and the anti-slavery Republican party was founded. The *Missouri Republican* switched from the slavery wing of the Whig Party to the slavery wing of the Democratic Party, and the anti-slavery *Missouri Democrat* switched its support to the anti-slavery Republican Party. Below are descriptions of each of the papers mentioned above.



St. Louis, Mo.

The *Missouri Democrat* was an anti-slavery newspaper that was fanatically opposed to any compromise over slavery. They advocated for using force to maintain law and order, and to prevent secession. The editors of the *Missouri Republican* accused the *Missouri Democrat* of inciting civil war by opposing compromise and supporting the use of force. The editor of the secessionist *State Journal* called it, "a monstrous cancer on the body politic."[34] President Lincoln reportedly said its support "was worth more to the North than ten regiments of soldiers."[35]

[29] On January 24, 1861, Missouri Volunteer Militia (MVM) Gen. Frost sent a letter to Governor Jackson advising that Maj. William H. Bell, the commander of the St. Louis Federal Arsenal, was willing to cooperate with state officials and allow them to take over the Arsenal. A week later, on January 30, Bell was relieved of his command by order of the War Department at the request of the St. Louis Union Safety Committee because they questioned his loyalty to the United States. Bell elected to retire rather than be reassigned away from St. Louis. For Frost's letter to the governor, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20).

[30] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-1).

[31] A middle-of-the-road "third-party" created in 1860 in an attempt to maintain the status quo. In 1860, its candidates in Missouri were Sample Orr for governor and John Bell for president.

[32] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.3).

[33] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#33.1) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#49).

[34] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#34).

[35] Jim Allee Hart, *A History of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1961), p. 1.



St. Louis, Mo.

The *Missouri Republican* blamed the Republican Party for the slavery crisis, pressed hard for the North to compromise with the South, and was against the federal government using military force to keep the seceding states in the Union. Having previously supported the Whig Party, the *Missouri Republican* was considered "the mouth-piece of the rich and the merchant class."[36] As Missouri was a slave state, it is not surprising the *Missouri Republican* and its supporters were pro-slavery, or that it supported the extension of slavery. But it was also critical of South Carolina for seceding rather than seeking a solution under the Constitution, and felt that secession was not in the best interest of Missouri. During the presidential election of 1860, it supported the Northern Democratic candidate Stephen A. Douglas, as he supported "popular sovereignty," which allowed settlers to choose for or against slavery during their statehood application process. It opposed the Southern Democratic candidate, who received less than 20% of Missouri's votes.

The *Missouri Democrat* called the *Missouri Republican* a "conditional secessionist" newspaper, saying that it was only for the Union if it got its way. The secessionist editor of the *Missouri State Journal* described the *Missouri Republican* as follows.

> This was a respectable paper and of great influence, but malignant and venomous against the institutions of the state. It was always singing the song of the "Union," a silly and senseless song, always in the mouths of [Northern] tyrants. Who is not for the Union as it once existed; but we are all for disunion if we can't get our rights. The *Missouri Republican* was careful always to publish everything denunciatory of the South, but nothing in their favor.[37]

Franklin A. Dick, who worked with the Union Safety Committee, served on General Lyon's staff, and carried messages to Lincoln, wrote the following about The *Missouri Republican* in a letter to the historian Benson J. Lossing in 1865.

> The *Missouri Republican* daily denounced us as outlaws, incendiaries for continuing to make war on the state; which consisted in arming to protect ourselves against the aggressions of Gov. Jackson. You ought to paint this wicked newspaper which has done us private injury in the West in its true colors.[38]



St. Louis, Mo.

The *Evening News* supported the moderate third-party Constitutional Union Party candidate, John Bell, of Tennessee, for president in 1860. That party was basically for the status quo and ignored the political sensitive questions of the day. Bell was less than one-percentage away from winning in Missouri.

The *Evening News* was closely watched by all sides of the political spectrum, as it was an evening newspaper that was often first to report news arriving overnight from the South and East, and it often provided a more detailed report of events that had transpired the previous day across Missouri. While it was a pro-slavery newspaper and initially supported compromise, when it became clear that the cotton state secessionists were only paying lip-service to compromise and that Missouri could actually be drawn into a civil war by them, it switched its support to the Unconditional Unionist Ticket of

[36] Thomas L. Snead, *The Fight for Missouri: from the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon* (New York, Scribner's Sons, 1886), p. 45.

[37] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#34).

[38] Editor's personal files.

the *Missouri Democrat.* This switch can be seen in the quote below from a February 10, 1861 article in the *Missouri Republican*.

> It is always with a sad heart that one discovers treachery and falsehood in a quarter where one expected to find good faith and cooperation in a good cause. Therefore it is with feelings of profound regret that we now witness the desertion of the *Evening News* into the ranks of the Black Republicans. See (FLP: Ser 1MR-Feb#46).

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The following two newspapers were eventually shut down on the orders of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon for "continually giving aid and comfort to those who are in active rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States."

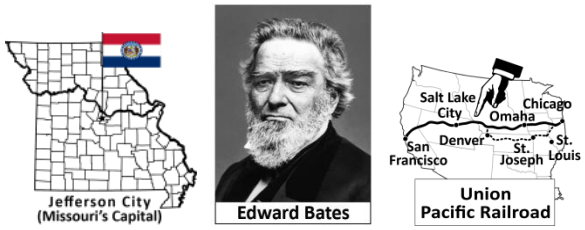

St. Louis, Mo.

The *St. Louis Bulletin* "earnestly and zealously advocated for the South."[39] It openly supported the secessionist Minute Men,[40] who were openly preparing for war, and flew a secessionist flag over their headquarters in St. Louis. Its editor eventually served in the Confederate Army. In 1864, he resigned his army commission and became a member of the Confederate Congress.


St. Louis, Mo.

The *State Journal's* editor, J. W. Tucker, was the editor of a South Carolina newspaper before moving to Missouri in 1859 and becoming the editor of the openly secessionist *State Journal.* His paper was shut down on July 12, 1861, on the order of General Lyon, as a seditious newspaper. Tucker was eventually charged with treason, but while his trial was in progress, he fled St. Louis and joined Gov. Jackson's secessionist forces in the field. Afterward he became one of the editors of Jackson's state guard newspaper, the *Argus*. The order that shut the *State Journal* down stated the following.

> The *Missouri State Journal,* a newspaper printed and published in the city of St. Louis, has given and is continually giving, aid and comfort to those who are in active rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States. It has not only encouraged them by its persistent appeals to the people to take up arms against that authority, but by its constant and continual publication of intelligence known to be false, respecting the troops of the United States, it has indirectly incited disaffected citizens to the commission of overt acts of treason. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#49).



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#3)

January 1, 1861

What They Say of Missouri's Edward Bates in New England

(Reprint)

"Those who have permitted themselves to doubt of the desire of Mr. Lincoln to represent the interest of both the North and South, will now see their error."

[From the *Boston Journal*]

It appears to be conceded that Mr. Lincoln has

[39] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.3).

[40] For information on the Minute Men, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1).

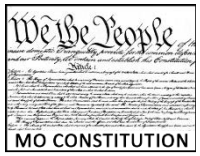
tendered a place in his cabinet to Edward Bates[41] of Missouri and David Wilmot of Pennsylvania. [Wilmot did not accept.] This would be a good beginning, and we trust the announcement will be confirmed. There is probably, however, no doubt of the selection and acceptance of Judge Bates; and that the choice is peculiarly auspicious.

Those who have permitted themselves to doubt of the desire of Mr. Lincoln to represent the interest of both the North and South, will now see their error. They will see that in making his very first appointment he resorts to a slave state, and chooses a man whose personal integrity, sound conservatism, and firm devotion to every right which the South can claim under the Constitution, are beyond all question.

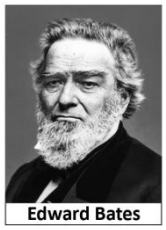
As a representative also of the growing West, and of a determined sentiment in favor of a Pacific Railroad, Mr. Bates enjoys a commanding position at the present time—*Boston Journal.*

The *Detroit Free Press* (Stephen Douglas) says that Mr. Bates is the most conservative prominent Republican in the United States.

Editor's Note: In the article below, a writer provides a sarcastic counter-point to a letter that was earlier published in the *Missouri Republican*, concerning the definition of treason, and if a citizen who is following the orders of state authorities could be charged with treason against the United States.



MO CONSTITUTION


Edward Bates


Secession

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#4)

January 1, 1861

Treason and State Authority

(Letter to the Editors)

[41] Edward Bates, a Missourian and a Republican nominee for president in 1860, was appointed U.S. Attorney General by Abraham Lincoln.

"Any act of war against federal authority by a person or a state is an act of treason."

Sir: I observed in the Sunday *Missouri Republican* a letter[42] addressed by you to Honorable Edward Bates.

As a specimen of your logic and fairness, I take the following extract from your letter:

> In deducing the constitutional power of Congress thus to wage war upon any seceding state, will you ask Mr. Bates to designate the clause or clauses in the Constitution which authorizes the exercise of such a monstrous power?
>
> But I can anticipate your answer. Instead of giving a categorical reply, you will repeat the rant about this government being "*a rope of sand*."[43]

Sir: Take, I pray you, a quiet look at yourself in the logic of your foregoing quote. You first assume for Mr. Bates an opinion that you have offered no proof that he holds; and you call for the constitutional authority by which he supports that assumed opinion. Anticipating his answer, you put in his mouth a reply which is simply absurd. Having thus erected your man of straw, and breathed into it the breath of life as you fondly imagine, you will hurl at it questions that support your position and the work is done.

But, Sir, this problem of the power of Congress to coerce a state, which has so aroused your Christian spirit and upset your logic, demands a little further consideration. Since history seems to be a favorite study with you, let me refer you to a page of history which will, I think, set this matter in its proper light, and place it beyond controversy.

The Constitution, under which we have been so signally prosperous, was formed by the Convention of 1787. That body labored several

[42] For the *Missouri Republican* letter on which the writer comments, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-2).

[43] A "rope of sand" represents something useless.

months in elaborating and perfecting that instrument. It was passed under review section by section, sentence by sentence, and word by word. That August body did not intend there should be any misconception of the force and meaning of the Constitution. Unhappily, however, language is not a perfect medium of communicating a thought, and wise and patriotic men may and do differ on some constitutional constructions. But when the language of the Constitution is clear and intelligible, and when, in addition, we have the unquestionable construction placed upon it by the framers of it, we can then have no reasonable doubt of the force and meaning.



Luther Martin
Etching by Albert Rosenthal
http://id.lib.harvard.edu

Luther Martin[44] was a member of the Constitutional Convention from Maryland. On his return home, he was called upon to give an account of the proceedings of that convention to the legislature of his state. When section three of article three, in which treason was defined to consist in levying war against the United States, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid or comfort, was under consideration, Mr. Martin uses the following language, in which it will be seen that his own opinion and that of the convention was clear as to the power of the general government concerning treason.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-47)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#5)

January 1, 1861

U.S. Forces Occupy Fort Sumter

(Reprint)

> "Both himself and men have been stationed at Fort Moultrie for a good while, and have enjoyed the hospitality of the people, and would, therefore, be particularly loath to fire on Charleston."

[Special Dispatch from the *Cincinnati Gazette*]

Washington, December 29, 1860

Major Anderson,[45] I hear, dined formally, on Christmas day with the authorities in Charleston [South Carolina], and returned, apparently pretty well provided with good things, early in the evening. This induced the watchers upon Major Anderson, stationed in the harbor by state authorities, to relax their vigilance, and in this way, Maj. Anderson was able to spike[46] his guns and retreat to Fort Sumter.

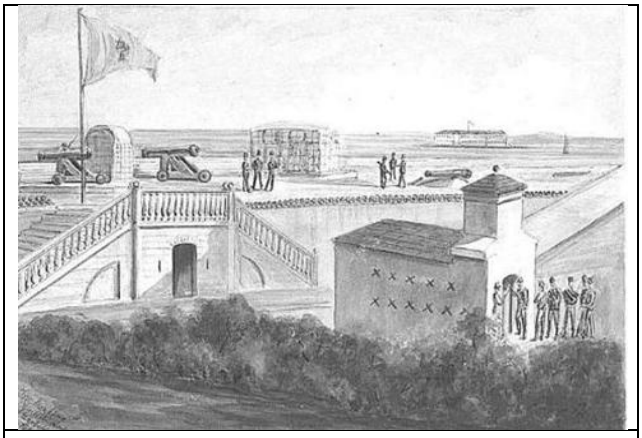
He evidently feels, however, the disagree-ableness of his position, and nothing but the sense of duty keeps him where he is. Both himself and men have been stationed at Fort Moultrie for a good while, and have enjoyed the hospitality of the

[44] Luther Martin, a slaveholder and former attorney general of Maryland, opposed a strong central government.

[45] Maj. Robert Anderson, a former slave-owner from Kentucky, remained loyal to the Union. He was commander of Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor.

[46] Spike: to close the fuse vent of a cannon with a nail, forcibly driven in, so as to render the cannon temporarily useless.

people, and would, therefore, be particularly loath to fire on Charleston.[47]



State Militia Occupying Fort Moultrie
The design of the coastal fort anticipated a shoreline attack; in consequence, it was stalwartly fortified on the oceanside but remained vulnerable from the land. Maj. Anderson moved covertly with his command to Fort Sumter, an island fortress seen in the distance.
Artist: A. Vizitelly, 1861 / *Library of Congress*



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6)
January 1, 1861

Commissioner from Alabama Speaks in Jefferson City

(Editorial)

"Under the policy of the Republican Party, the time would arrive when the scenes of San Domingo and Haiti, with all their attendant horrors, would be re-enacted in the slaveholding states."

The *Missouri Republican* of Sunday published a letter from Jefferson City giving an account of a speech made by Mr. Cooper, the commissioner from Alabama, sent to induce Missouri to join in her treason and secession. The chief argument of this gentleman is reported in the following words:[48]

> The Republican Party proposes to confine slavery to the Southern states, and this would have the effect of causing an increase of slaves in the Southern states which would prove extremely dangerous. Under the policy of the Republican Party, the time would arrive when the scenes of San Domingo and Haiti,[49] with all their attendant horrors, would be re-enacted in the slaveholding states.

Is this so? Is slavery such a malignant institution that its increase will prove "extremely dangerous?" Will it make a Haiti & San Domingo of the South?



[47] After dark on Christmas Day 1860, Maj. Anderson abandoned his indefensible position at Fort Moultrie, in Charleston, for the under-construction but defensible Fort Sumter in the Charleston Harbor. On April 12, 1861, Confederate forces fired the first shots of the Civil War when they opened fire on Fort Sumter. Two days later, Anderson surrendered his command and was allowed to leave the fort unmolested.

[48] For the *Missouri Republican* article mentioned above, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#7).

[49] In 1791, a bloody slave revolt began in Saint-Domingue against French authority. By 1793, slavery was abolished in the colony, and in 1804, Saint-Domingue declared its independence, as Haiti.

Haiti and Santo Domingo in Relation to the Entire Caribbean and Southern Florida
See map AM-1 on page 441 for an enlarged image.

Is it a reproach to the Republican Party that it resists the extension of this "extremely dangerous" institution and the consequent multiplication of Haiti's on this continent? If Mr. Cooper's statement is true, why do not the Southern states seek some means of relieving themselves of a thing so dangerous by colonization[50] as proposed by the anti-slavery Republicans, rather than by imposing this "dangerous" thing upon the new territories?

Is the refusal to permit this infliction upon the territories a cause of this disunion and civil war? Is it a reason for insisting on the re-opening of the African slave trade and landing cargoes of African slaves in South Carolina and Georgia, which has been done with impunity in the last year? And that it may continue to be done with impunity is suspected to be the moving cause of secession, and perhaps the only cause.[51]

Essential Information #2:
Extension of Slavery
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6.1)

The concept of the "extension of slavery" has to do with allowing slavery into the territories of the west that had not yet become states. Lincoln won the election on the platform of slavery remaining where it already existed (in Missouri and the South), but against it being allowed to extend into areas where it did not currently exist (in the new territories). Most in the South, on the other hand, felt it should be able to take their slaves anywhere, not just the territories. Senator Jefferson Davis,[52] during the Senate Committee of Thirteen debate,[53] demanded the right "to introduce slavery into all the territories as fully as it exists in the slave states, coupled with a guaranteed right for slave owners to travel with their slaves in free states, as desired." (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6.1)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#7)

January 1, 1861

Southern Sympathizers Ship Government Guns South

(Reprint/Editorial)

"It is strange that those against sending soldiers south have no qualms about sending arms south."

Reprint from the *Pittsburgh [Pa] Gazette*

We understand that the shipment of the guns from the arsenal was commenced yesterday afternoon, in compliance with the order from the War Department.[54] It is strange that those against sending soldiers south have no qualms about sending arms south.

The allegation made by the authorities at Washington that the guns were required for Texas, turns out to be a mere ruse. "Ian," the Washington correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun,* who warmly supports the Buchanan Administration, thus spoils the story:

> As to the report from Pittsburgh [Pennsylvania] concerning the shipment of guns for forts in Texas, and the excitement

[50] This is assumed to refer to the practice of freeing slaves and sending them back to Africa or to the islands of the Caribbean.

[51] For Commissioner Cooper's official report to the governor of Alabama on his mission to Missouri, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#7). In his report, Cooper states, "In the event of dissolution, Missouri will confederate with the South and not with the North."

[52] Senator Jefferson Davis would be elected president of the Confederate States of America.

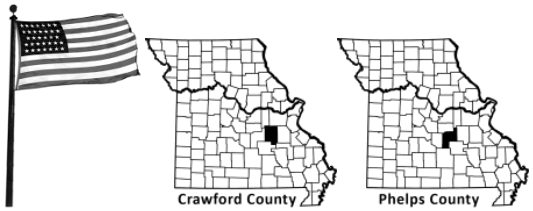
[53] For Committee of Thirteen Information, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10.1).

[54] Secretary of War Floyd, who later became a Confederate general, was said to have issued orders sending war materials to the South, as he knew war was coming.

> created therefrom; I find that there are no forts between Pensacola [Florida] and Brownsville [Texas]. But a site was purchased at Ship Island, in Mississippi, for a fort some years ago, and some money has been expended, but there are no works there ready to receive armaments. At Galveston [Texas], an island sand bar has been purchased for the erection of a fort, but there is no fort there yet.

From other sources, we learn that these fortifications are in an unfinished condition, and of course, are in no need of the guns. The fact is these guns are designed by the traitors at Washington for the use of the secessionists, who will use them against the government.

January 3, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#8)
January 3, 1861

No Secession in Crawford or Phelps Counties

(Letter to the Editors)

"Here, people inform themselves as to the true aims of all political parties, consequently, they are not scared by John Brown's ghosts, like those are who never look to but one side."

Big Mills, December 28.

To the praise of the citizens of Crawford and Phelps counties, let it be said that we now hear of no man therein who approves of disunion. Breckinridge men say they are satisfied, just so the [Northern Democrat] Douglas is defeated. Douglas men say they are satisfied, just so the [Southern Democrat] Breckinridge is defeated.[55]

Bell's Constitutional Union Party men say that they are pleased just so that the two National Democratic Party men are defeated, which has brought the country down to its present condition. Here, we have no quasi-military organizations disturbing the peace and causing alarm, where there should be none. Here, people inform themselves as to the true aims of all political parties, consequently, they are not scared by [anti-slavery] John Brown's ghosts,[56] like those are who never look to but one side.

—K.G.E.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#9)
January 3, 1861

The Cost of Secession

(Letter to the Editors)

"…Missouri must remain in the Union or lose the trade of the free states, and that in the Union she can retain the trade of the South."

Alton, Ill., January 1, 1861

Editors *Missouri Democrat*:

[55] The conflict over slavery led to the split in the Democratic Party at the 1860 presidential (nomination) Convention. Pro-slavery Southern Democrats rejected Stephen A. Douglas, the mainstream Democratic candidate, supported by Northern Democrats. The Southern Democrats nominated Vice Pres. John C. Breckinridge, who was a strong states' rights person, who in the North and in the border states, was considered someone that would not object to splitting the country over the slavery issue.

[56] Refers to John Brown, who led what he hoped would be a slave rebellion, when he attempted to capture the Harpers Ferry Arsenal in Virginia. His effort failed; he was captured, tried, and hung on December 2, 1859.

Some weeks ago, I noticed the proceedings of a meeting of the St. Louis merchants at the Exchange, in which a Mr. Crow[57] (not quite as wise as the bird of that name) stated that it was the interest of St. Louis and Missouri to go with the South if the Union was dissolved.

I was surprised that so little notice was taken by the papers of St. Louis of this statement, so palpably erroneous, until I reflected that the obvious absurdity of this statement was, of itself, sufficient to save it from censure. On a recent visit to St. Louis, I heard the same thing asserted in commercial circles by persons who I supposed know better, and who did, in fact, know the contrary, but who were willing to see disunion accomplished and Missouri carried off to the South, regardless of the fatal consequences to her interests. For when I asked the same parties whether they supposed a southern confederacy would ever build a Pacific Railroad to promote the interests of Missouri, they frankly answered that they did not, and that they knew that the interests of the great central cities of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania were on the same line of latitude with St. Louis and Missouri, and that the government which embraced those states was the only one which ever would or could construct a Pacific Railroad to benefit St. Louis and Missouri. When asked if this great enterprise was not a vital consequence to St. Louis, they said yes; but still, they were in favor of going South.

I then asked of them, "Who buys your goods, wares and merchandise, and who supplies your market with grain and provisions?" The answer was that, excluding Missouri (which I presume would continue to trade with St. Louis, in or out of the Union), nine-tenths of the business of St. Louis was supplied by the free states; they furnish all the grain and provisions sent through St. Louis to the South (and which the South must continue to buy under any circumstances), and they purchase from St. Louis all the groceries and other articles which are not purchased by the people of Missouri. But Mr. Crow stated that the free states would be compelled to trade with St. Louis, even if she went with the South; and he wished it to be understood that it was necessary to go South in order to retain the Southern trade.



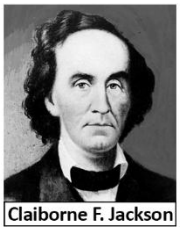
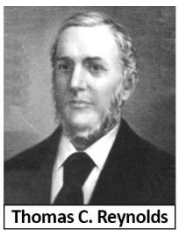
See map AM-2 on page 442 for an enlarged image.

I undertake to say that the reverse of this statement is true, and that Missouri must remain in the Union or lose the trade of the free states, and that in the Union she can retain the trade of the South. If the South continues to make cotton, she must buy bagging and rope; she must eat and feed her slaves, and she cannot buy food or bagging and rope cheaper than she can in St. Louis; nor will the free trade South ask whether the provisions or the necessarily manufactured articles are from a free or slave state, but only whether they are cheap and good. But will the free states continue to trade with St. Louis if she joins the Cotton Confederacy?

I answer, no. If the position of St. Louis is the most convenient now for their trade, it will not command it because it will only be necessary to make a port of entry opposite to St. Louis, or in the neighborhood (say at Alton [Illinois]), and it will be equally convenient and more agreeable and profitable for those free states that now trade with St. Louis, to do their business with this new port of entry in a free state.

[57] Wayman Crow, a businessman and two-term Missouri state senator, was responsible for securing the charters for the St. Louis Mercantile Library and Washington University. He also helped obtain the charters for the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad and the Missouri Pacific Railroad.




Claiborne F. Jackson

Thomas C. Reynolds

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10)

January 3, 1861

Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds Clearly for Secession

> "The governor is now an open disunionist and employed in cultivating treasonable sentiments among our people. His special business is by all appearances to provoke hostility to the peaceful state of things now existing in Missouri."

Governor Jackson[58] was elected chief magistrate of Missouri as a Union-supporting friend of Northern Democratic presidential candidate Stephen A. Douglas, who has ever opposed the extension of slavery into the new territories by Congress.[59] It was announced soon after his election to governor that he was about to betray his Union friends, and go over, body and soul, to the fire-eating[60] secessionists. Gradually this impression has been confirmed. The governor is now an open disunionist and employed in cultivating treasonable sentiments among our people. His special business is by all appearances to provoke hostility to the peaceful state of things now existing in Missouri. Lieutenant Governor Reynolds follows the lead of his chief most handsomely. He is out in a letter, published in the *Missouri Republican* of yesterday, which entitles him to the distinction of the very first fire-eating secessionist in this state. [In his letter], Mr. Reynolds advises the people of Missouri that if Mr. Lincoln attempts to enforce the laws of the United States in Missouri, that is the same as waging civil war upon her people![61]

He proposes to organize "an anti-civil war party" in our state, whose duty it shall be to overthrow the government of the Union and the state by the peaceful instrumentality of "armed neutralities!" After so much meaningless bombast, this sworn and the faithful public officer and exemplary citizen remarks that "he has no time now to give his reasons." No, nor will he ever find "time" or "reasons" to render so much folly and wickedness acceptable to men of sense.

Disunion, nullification, and secession all being the same thing, and all being only other names for incipient treason, are never presented to the people with anything like deliberation. Storm and fury accompany every such movement. Facts, reasons, arguments must be, and always are ignored.

What laws does Mr. Lincoln propose to execute? The same laws that Mr. Reynolds's party has made. Now, had Judge Stephen Douglas been elected, Mr. Reynolds would have hardly deemed it "*civil war*" for Douglas to execute the laws.

But Mr. Lincoln was elected, and that which would have been proper in Mr. Douglas is civil war in Mr. Lincoln!

When men have a bad cause to promote, it is impossible for them to be consistent. The real motives in such cases must be hidden, and false ones assigned. This truth is impressed upon every line of the bombastic tirade in question. The truth is this. A scheme has existed for many years among certain men in the South, from motives of personal

[58] Democratic Governor-elect Claiborne Fox Jackson campaigned for governor as a Unionist Douglas Democrat on an anti-secession platform. In his January 3, 1861 inaugural address, he made it clear he was a secessionist and would use the power of his office to carry Missouri out of the Union, to the chagrin of Unionists that voted him into office.

[59] See Essential Information #2: "Extension of Slavery" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6.1).

[60] Fire-eaters: group of pro-slavery Southerners in the Antebellum South who urged separation of the southern states into a new nation.

[61] In order to get elected, both Reynolds and Jackson ran as pro-Union Democrats. Once elected, they came out of the closet as fire-eating secessionists. For letters from Governor-elect Claiborne Fox Jackson and Lt. Governor-elect Thomas C. Reynolds, respectively, which express their pro-South loyalties, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-24) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-4).

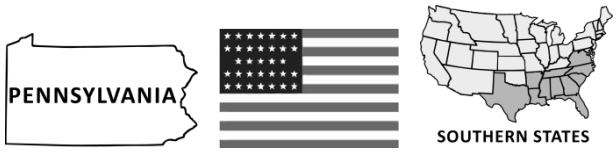
ambition, to destroy the federal Union. They have had their supporters in Missouri. Gov. Claiborne Fox Jackson has long been branded as one of these traitors. He has bitterly denied it, and at times has been able to emerge slightly from the cloud of suspicion which enveloped him—soon to sink back into its murky folds. The loyal people of Missouri will never entertain another doubt of his real character. Others are not so fully known but are as well marked, and shall be dragged into the light. Eyes are upon them, and their scheming is closely watched. Disunion is intended by these men, and *nothing else*.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-56)

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10.1)
***Committee of Thirteen:**

On December 18, 1860, a committee of the U.S. Senate was formed to develop a "plan of adjustment" that might solve the secession crisis. Called the Committee of Thirteen because of the number of its members, it failed to agree on a proposal. On December 31, 1860, the Committee reported it was unable to agree on any measure and retired, admitting defeat.

January 4, 1861

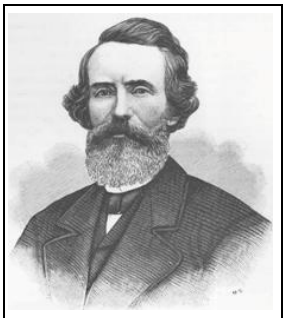


(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#11)
January 4, 1861
No Compromise with South on Slavery
(Editorial)

"*Every compromise that has been made has been violated by the South.* There is an eternal antagonism that must be settled, and we may as well have it settled now as at any other time."

U.S. Congressman John Hickman[62] recently made a brief speech at Philadelphia [Pennsylvania], as follows:

I was never a compromise man, nor am I now. [Applause.] It is no use for the North to compromise, it is not safe. There is an eternal antagonism between freedom and slavery, and it must be met now, and the interest of the white man should not be forgotten, so far as his vote is concerned.


John Hickman
Engraving by "M.C."

I want to know if the government is worth anything. I do not think my people want me to compromise their interests, and if they do, I will not do it. [Cries of "good."] *Every compromise that has been made has been violated by the South.* There is an eternal antagonism that must be settled, and we may as well have it settled now as at any other time. [Applause.]



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#12)
January 4, 1861
The Language of a Patriot
Editorial/**Extract**

[62]U.S. Rep. John Hickman, from Pennsylvania, was well known for a speech of his, published in the Philadelphia *Inquirer* on December 29, 1860, in which he called for war after South Carolina declared secession from the Union.

"The president is unquestionably under the influence of the traitors; but neither he nor they, be they many or be they few, can destroy this free government or divide the Union."

Preston King,[63] a U.S. senator from New York, has written a letter to Dr. S. N. Sherman, of Ogdensburg [New York], from which we make the following extracts:

Washington, Dec. 17, 1860

The president [James Buchanan] is unquestionably under the influence of the traitors; but neither he nor they, be they many or be they few, can destroy this free government or divide the Union. They are attempting to interpose the state as a shield to treason. The state cannot commit treason or fire a gun. A state Legislature may pass an unconstitutional law, and the State Convention may make constitutions and pass ordinances and resolutions, in conflict with the United States Constitution, to secede or anything else. Such laws, constitutions, ordinances, resolutions are paper acts of secession, and being unconstitutional, are without any validity—null and void, and thus furnish no defense to the citizen who steals an ox, shoots a man, or commits treason against the United States. So much for constitution and law, and so much for the federal government and the state government.

I do not consider it absolutely certain that even South Carolina will do anything more than to pass laws, ordinances, and resolutions of secession. These will not move the state out of its geographical or political position, though the South Carolinians swear it does. If its citizens do not resist the execution of federal laws or levy war, there is no breach of the law, and no treason. But it is possible that the South Carolinians and others may be so mad as to resist the law and attack the United States forts and commit treason. For them, and for the whole country, this would be a great calamity because vindication of the law by the whole power of the country, and the legal punishment of treason, must at once be entered upon by this government, and if the civil officers are inadequate to the task, the Constitution and laws direct the Army[64] and the Navy, and the militia of the states, to be called upon and to aid the enforcement of the law.[65]

I hope we may not have collisions, especially do I hope not in mercy to the slaveholding states. But what Providence sends, war permits we must meet, and if we cannot save our countrymen from their own madness, we must save our country and its thrice excellent form of government. Though it is the general opinion here that we shall have open rebellion and the collision of force, I do not yet believe we shall.

The imbecility and foolishness of President Buchanan's administration, however, makes it impossible to calculate the future upon any basis of reason or common sense.

We must drift to the 4th of March [when Lincoln is sworn in], and then meet what comes when and as it comes. You see the debates in the two Houses of Congress and their proceedings, and get the news of events as they occur before an account of them in a letter would reach you, and you are quite as well prepared on the distant frontier where you are, to see the future before it comes, as anybody here who is not in the councils of the secessionists, and thus able to know what their strengths and real designs are. But whatever comes, I have faith that wisdom, patience, forbearance, courage, and the blessing of Providence will carry our country safely through all the trials in store for us, and when we get through

[63] Sen. Preston King was considered for the Republican Party ticket for vice president in 1860.

[64] Four months after this letter was written, President Lincoln used his constitutional authority to give Capt. Lyon the authority he needed to capture the secession-minded Missouri state militia at Camp Jackson, move on Jefferson City to confront the governor, and attack Gov. Jackson's Missouri State Guard at Boonville. See the president's order at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#12).

[65] Article 1, Section 8, Clause 15 of the U.S. Constitution says, "[The Congress shall have power] to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." This law is further detailed in "An Act to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions...," passed by the 3rd Congress on February 28, 1795 (Statute II, Ch. 36).

them, our national boundaries will be unchanged, and constitutional liberty and the Union of the states will be more firmly established than they were in the beginning, and upon the same foundation that our good old founding fathers laid when they framed our government and put its constitutional machinery in motion under the direction of George Washington.

Preston King

The article above states, "…if the civil officers are inadequate to the task, the Constitution and laws direct the Army and the Navy, and the militia of the states, to be called upon and to aid the enforcement of the law." When Lincoln called out the militia of the separate states to enforce the law after the fall of Fort Sumter, he was fulfilling his constitutional obligation.

In the letter below, the president directs Gen. Lyon to do the necessary to "maintain the authority of the United States in Missouri." This letter was Lyon's authority to capture Camp Jackson, force the governor to flee the Capitol, and engage the State Guard.

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#12.1)

Adjutant General's Office *to* Commander, Dept. of the West

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE
WASHINGTON, May 27, 1861

Commander, Dept. of West,
St. Louis, Mo.:

Sir: The president observes with concern that, notwithstanding the pledge of the state authorities to cooperate in preserving peace in Missouri, loyal citizens in great numbers continue to be driven from their homes.

It is immaterial whether those outrages continue from inactivity or indisposition on the part of the state authorities to prevent them. It is enough that they continue to devolve on you the duty of putting a stop to them summarily by the force under your command, to be aided by such troops as you may require from Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois. The professions of loyalty to the Union by the state authorities of Missouri are not to be relied upon. They have already falsified their professions too often, and are too far committed to secession to be submitted to your confidence, and you can only be sure of their desisting from their wicked purposes when it is out of their power to prosecute them.

You will, therefore, be unceasingly watchful of their movements and not permit the clamors of their partisans, and opponents of the wise measures already taken, to prevent you from checking every movement against the government, however disguised under the pretended state authority. The authority of the United States is paramount, and whenever it is apparent that a movement, whether by the color of state authority or not, is hostile, you will not hesitate to put it down.

Your obedient servant,

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant General



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#13)

January 4, 1861

Contentious Organizing of the State Legislature

Extract

"Though there appeared in the commencement of the session to be a determined effort on the part of the Breckinridge party to force a state convention on the state, and thus draw it into the ruinous vortex of secession and

disunion, the Union-loving, conservative feeling of all patriotic men is fast on the increase, and the probability is that this great folly of a state convention will be prevented, and that the great border state of Missouri will stand firmly in her loyalty to the Union and devotion to the Constitution."

Jefferson City, Jan. 4, 1861.

After a long and laborious series of caucuses on the part of the Democratic members of the Missouri House of Representatives, a fusion was finally effected on Tuesday, and the two factions of the Democratic party, the Douglas Northern Democrats and Breckinridge Southern Democrats, which have so long and bitterly wrangled and abused each other, are now merged together in what is styled the Reunited Democratic Party. But the union of the two is far from perfect, and many of the Unionist Douglas wing still hold out against it.[66]

Whether the reunion was made merely for the purpose of effecting an organization of the House, or whether it will be permanent, remains to be seen. There are many causes and undercurrents yet, which may soon scatter it to the winds.

At the meeting of the House this morning, there was no difficulty in the election of officers, as in the caucus of the evening previous, enough of both divisions had been secured to render the election of all the Democratic candidates on the first ballot.

The successful candidate for the speakership, John McAfee, Esq.,[67] of Shelby [County], is a strong Southern Democrat Breckinridge man. His intellectual appearance denotes great firmness and good ability as an administrative officer, and he has a dignified manner. Should he carry out his pledge, to do no injustice to any party or interest, he will make a popular Speaker.

Before proceeding to the election, an ineffectual attempt was made to obtain from the Democratic candidate his views and standing on the main questions of the day—state and national [Union or Disunion]. No declaration of principles could be got from him or his friends. Gen. Thomas L. Price[68] [no relation to Gen. Sterling Price], in a few forcible remarks, said that before proceeding to an election of so important an officer as Speaker, he thought it highly proper that the candidates should define their positions on the leading questions which would come up before the legislature this session. Mr. Welch, of Johnson [County], contended that the candidates should respond to these questions. The people were deeply interested in the action of the legislature, and should be informed of the political opinions of the Speaker, who could have an important influence on all questions before the House.

[66] The Douglas side of the Democratic Party (Northern Democrats) was against secession. The Breckinridge wing of Missouri's Democratic Party was for secession.

[67] Missouri State Rep. John McAfee was Speaker of the House and a leader of the pro-slavery element. In August 1861, he was arrested on the charge of aiding and abetting guerrillas.

[68] State Rep. Thomas L. Price, a former Missouri lieutenant governor and a major figure in the development of the state's railroads, was elected to the state legislature in 1860 and strongly supported the movement to keep Missouri in the Union. He accepted a commission as a brigadier general of Union volunteers in July 1861.



Thomas L. Price
Oil painting by George C. Bingham

N. C. Claiborne, of Jackson [County], stated that he could not see any positive necessity why candidates should define their position and make speeches on matters outside of their sphere of duties as speaker. It was more important to ascertain their competency and qualifications.

[Reporter's closing comment:] Though there appeared in the commencement of the session to be a determined effort on the part of the Breckinridge party to force a state [secession] convention on the state, and thus draw it into the ruinous vortex of secession and disunion, the Union-loving, conservative feeling of all patriotic men is fast on the increase, and the probability is that this great folly of a state [secession] convention will be prevented, and that the great border state of Missouri will stand firmly in her loyalty to the Union and devotion to the Constitution.

—K.

January 5, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#14)
January 5, 1861

The Sentiment Among the People Concerning Disunion

(Letter to the Editors)

"The *Missouri Democrat* has a mission of great importance and extreme delicacy to perform for the country, now passing through a fearful ordeal, standing, as it were, like the prophet of old, for Union and the enforcement of the laws."

WATERLOO, ILL., December 29, 1860

Having spent the last two weeks traveling in Missouri and this state, and having kept my eyes and ears open, I propose giving you the results of my observation as regards the feeling of the people on the great issue of disunion, now distracting the country. In the first place, the precipitate action of South Carolina[69] is almost universally condemned. Even the most ultra-pro-slavery men consider that South Carolina has acted detrimentally to the great interest of which she deems herself the heaven-commissioned champion. The Union and Douglas men, the conservatives during the past campaign, endorse the position that the federal union must be preserved. And as this feeling becomes general, the leaden hand of fear is removed from the public heart. This sentiment of loyalty to the Constitution was put very forcibly the other evening by an intelligent and patriotic Green-Islander in a mixed company, where the subject of secession was under discussion: "South Carolina," said he, "is a rebel in the face of the government. But the 'American Eagle' has got her in his claws." The declaration was received with genuine approval. Such you will find

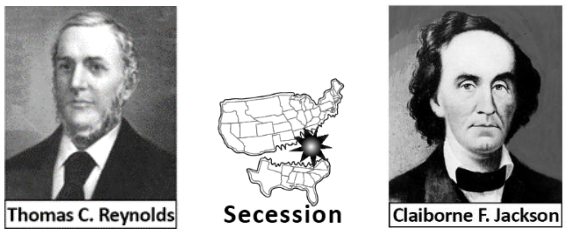
[69] South Carolina seceded on December 20, 1860, the first of the slave states to declare its independence from the United States.

to be the prevalent feeling in the Northwest, now in the ascendant, and daily strengthening.

The *Missouri Democrat* has a mission of great importance and extreme delicacy to perform for the country, now passing through a fearful ordeal, standing, as it were, like the prophet of old, for Union and the enforcement of the laws.

Let the officers of the federal government only do their duty[70] as it is clearly mapped out in the Constitution, and the people will not be slow in responding to any call for aid to maintain the government in its integrity.

—C.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#15)

January 5, 1861

Lt. Gov. Shows His Secessionist Colors

(Letter to the Editors)

> "Now that we have Jackson and Reynolds upon the record for and in favor of secession, we call upon all Union men to watch their traitorous designs and be prepared to meet all their attempts to place Missouri in a false position."

Lt. Gov. Reynolds is so marvelously impressed with the grave responsibilities of his temporary position as lieut. governor of Missouri that he rushes with *hot haste* to put himself on the record by the side of Gov. C. Fox Jackson for disunion. We are glad of this, for the sooner we know how and where our state officials stand in regard to secession, the better.

These men were elected by the Unionist friends of Judge Douglas, and Douglas men are men opposed to disunion. They have cheated the men who voted for them and thus verified what the Breckinridge men said of them before the election.

Now that we have Jackson and Reynolds upon the record for and in favor of secession,[71] we call upon all Union men to watch their traitorous designs and be prepared to meet all their attempts to place Missouri in a false position.

He says the census "shows Missouri to be the first of all the slaveholding states[72] in the white population." And why is this the fact? Is he so blind as not to see the cause of this, and thus take warning not to tread on dangerous ground? And does he suppose the majority of this large white population have been Calhounized,[73] like himself, in their interpretation of the Constitution?

Let Lt. Gov. T. C. Reynolds beware how he strives to commit Missouri to South Carolina doctrine. South Carolina is today the victim of traitors far more censurable than Benedict Arnold. She has resolved herself out of the Union without just cause; and when the general government releases her citizens from the tyranny of her traitorous leaders, they will find their state erect within the Union, though much "tattered and torn" by the conspiracy of her public men.

Missouri will have enough to do to pay her own debts; carry on her public works. We are amazed, and so are thousands who voted for Lt. Gov. Reynolds, to hear him talking of throwing this

[70] The writer is referring to the president ensuring the governor of Missouri maintains law and order and enforces the Constitution, as the Missouri Constitution also requires him to do. If the governor will not enforce the law, the president must use the forces under his control to maintain law and order. This happened when President Lincoln directed the department commander to maintain law and order. The letter containing the president's order is at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#12.1).

[71] For letters from Governor-elect Jackson and Lt. Governor-elect Reynolds, which express their pro-South loyalties, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-24) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-4).

[72] For the letter with the above quote, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-4). For maps showing the white/slavery population of Missouri, see AM-6a, AM6b, & AM-6c on pages 446 -448.

[73] "Calhounized" refers to the attitude of John C. Calhoun, seventh U.S. vice president, well-known for his strong defense of slavery. He defended the Southern traditional values against Northern threats.

state in opposition to the United States Government if "she exercises any act whatever of sovereignty (such as collecting revenue and maintaining garrisons) within any seceding state!" This is the doctrine we see so shamefully exemplified in downtrodden, weak, and almost despised Mexico. It will not work here.

Mr. Reynolds speaks endlessly about relieving our heavily burdened citizens from over taxation, while the policy he marks out for the state would relieve her people with a perfect vengeance. Conventions, and military organizations, and civil war within our own borders would, no doubt, greatly relieve our burthen of debt and taxation!

[You] can tell Lt. Gov. T. C. Reynolds, in very good earnest, that Missouri will never, in our day, belong to a southern slave confederacy or find herself out of the present Union.

Nor will her people ever commit the insane folly of opposing by force the general government in any attempt she may make to hold all the forts and collect the public revenues at Charleston, South Carolina. The legislature will have enough to do on behalf of the material interests of Missouri, within the Union, without stirring up the blood of her citizens and inaugurating civil war within her borders.

You, Mr. Editor, may think me too warm on this subject, but my blood boils to think there are not more Scotts, Wools, and Andersons at the head of the government, to speak out for the Union in this crisis.

—X.X.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#16)

January 5, 1861

The First Drop of Blood Means War

(Editorial)

"The first drop of bloodshed in Charleston, on either side, may color a bright crimson the whole ocean of American politics."

The *Philadelphia Press* of Friday, after expressing the conviction that the "two sections of this Union, with rare exceptions, are preparing for" war, and referring to the political crisis of 1820, 1832, 1847 and 1850,[74] says:

In every one of these disputes, the causes of quarrel were slight, but not as slight as they are today. They were adjusted in every instance, as we conceive, and have said, to the advantage of the Southern people, the strong yielding to the weak, and the basis of a settlement being that those who enjoy so many blessings in common could not afford to separate and that this Union was too rare a jewel to be thrown away upon mere abstractions.

In every one of the cases referred to, the Northern people were excited, not so much because of hostility to the Southern people (for we believe that beyond a few madmen in both sections, there is in every American heart a sentiment of affectionate attachment to every other American), as because they conceived that any attempt to destroy the Union of these states ought to be resisted and punished, even to the death.

Our people do not hate the South. They simply love, adore, worship, and are ready to die for the Union; and hence, whenever a voice or hand is raised against it, all their recollections and all their gratitude to God for the unnumbered blessings we enjoy are revived and put into instant and irresistible action. Mr. Wigfall,[75] the indiscreet senator from Texas and Mr. Iverson,[76] the still more indiscreet senator from Georgia, never made a greater mistake in their lives than when they

[74] For a short comment on each political crisis mentioned, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-21).

[75] Sen. Louis T. Wigfall would serve as a deputy to the C.S.A. Provisional Congress from February 4, 1861, and would be expelled from the U.S. Senate in July for his support of the South.

[76] Sen. Alfred Iverson, Sr. withdrew from his seat in the U.S. Senate on January 28, 1861, shortly after the state of Georgia seceded.

declared that there was a personal hostility between men North and South. There is alienation, but no hatred. It is nothing more than may exist between old friends who have for a long time misunderstood each other, but while denouncing each other, are anxious to be restored to their former relations. This is the exact condition of the two sections, free and slave, North and South.

But still, these sections may be precipitated into a contest that will endure for generations of time. The first drop of bloodshed in Charleston [South Carolina], on either side, may color a bright crimson the whole ocean of American politics. That there is imminent danger of the shedding of this blood, all men know. The state of the country and the temper of South Carolina, the signs of the times, all admonished us that in a moment, the blow may be struck, the alarm bell of civil war sounded.

It is better in such a crisis, where so much is to be lost by hasty action, and so much to be gained by wise and statesmanlike deliberation, that the two sections should understand each other, and that the South should be taught that in any contest that may ensue, the North will unquestionably take care of her own interests and the Union of these states at the same time. We forbear reopening the volume of the causes which have led to this unhappy state of things. We disdained to remind our brethren of the wrongs we suppose they have committed, because when we do so, we stand ready to confess to that which we ourselves may have been guilty of; but from the very fact that the people of the free states are ready to protect what they conceive to be their rights, and to discharge what they know to be their duties, and that the Southern people on their part are equally resolved to stand by what they believe to be their rights and their duties—in other words, from this common danger, we may yet pluck the flower safely. There is no time when a free people can so safely communicate in regard to their common interests as at the forefront of civil war.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-55)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#17)

January 5, 1861

But One Course Left

(Reprint)

"The country is unwilling to recognize the independence of the South Carolina Republic or to submit to the insolence of her mobs."

Louisville [Kentucky] Journal

Washington, Jan. 1, 1861

There is only one course now to be pursued. The body of the people of the whole Union has, at last, in this desperate emergency, come to the platform of the Union party, "The Union and the Constitution, and *the Enforcement of the Laws*." The country is unwilling to recognize the independence of the South Carolina Republic or to submit to the insolence of her mobs. It demands, with almost a unanimous voice, that the spirit of [President Andrew] Jackson[77] shall be invoked, and that the laws shall be enforced, and the integrity of the Union maintained. There is no possible step backward. The Buchanan Administration is at last reluctantly and under the fear of impeachment driven to do its duty, and the issue will be presented at once, whether the turbulent little state of South Carolina shall rule the thirty-three millions of the American people, or whether they will continue to carry on their own government.

[77] In 1832, President Andrew Jackson sent the Army to South Carolina to end the Nullification Crisis, caused by South Carolina refusing to comply with federal tariff laws.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#18)
January 5, 1861

The Solution: Return to the Missouri Compromise

(Editorial)

> "The theory that slavery is entitled to protection throughout the entire public domain will never be tolerated by the great body of the American people."

By recommending, through constitutional amendments, the restoration of the Missouri Compromise[78] line, we simply recommend the restoration of a tried historical position, as all the current trouble has been caused by the abrogation of the old Missouri Compromises line.[79] We are now face to face with the same difficulties which the men of 1820 and 1850 met and overcame with compromises. The conditions of the problem are substantially the same as they were on previous occasions. The earlier Missouri Compromise line received the sanction of the nation. It was ratified at the polls by every state except South Carolina. Its reacceptance would consequently involve no sacrifice of feeling or principle by either side. Their effect would be to give the South, with its population of ten or twelve million, a territory larger than that of Great Britain, France, Austria, Turkey, Spain, and Prussia united.



PROPOSED 1861 MISSOURI
COMPROMISE LINE

The proposed concession would not, in our judgment, affect the constituency of the Republican Party. That partly recognizes slavery as the creature of local law, and is only committed to the protection of free soil.

Republicanism, which is but another name for true conservatism, will respect the status quo, however much it may dislike it. Not being responsible for the past, the Republican Party will accept things as it shall find them on its accession to power when Lincoln takes office. Its mission is not to rectify existing boundaries, but to put an end to the extension of slavery.

We venture to say that we have defined the maximum of concession. The theory that slavery is entitled to protection throughout the entire public domain will never be tolerated by the great body of the American people. If the Union can only be preserved by the acceptance of that dogma, no power on earth or in heaven can save it, for neither gods nor men would consent to save it on such terms.

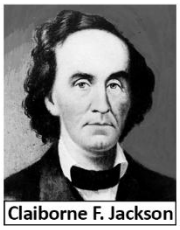
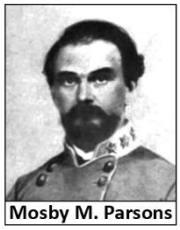
If slavery cannot content itself with the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law and eleven or twelve hundred thousand square miles of the finest soil on the surface of the globe, then let slavery do its worst. The catastrophe which it so glibly threatens will, at least, be its own ruin.

[78] The Missouri Compromise of 1820 restricted slavery to states below the southern border of Missouri. In 1854, Congress annulled the compromise by passing the Kansas-Nebraska Act that gave residents of territories applying for statehood, the right to determine by popular vote if they wanted to be slave or free. In 1857, the Supreme Court ruled, in the Dred Scott decision, that Blacks cannot be citizens and that Congress has no power to outlaw slavery in any territory.

[79] Both the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and the 1857 Supreme Court Dred Scott decision voided the 1820 Missouri Compromise line.

January 7, 1861




Claiborne F. Jackson

Mosby M. Parsons

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#19)
January 7, 1861

Disunion Conspiracy in Missouri

(Editorial)

> "The citizens of St. Louis, and we suppose of every other city in the state, are to be subjected to the will of the dictator, who has avowed his designs of plunging the suffering people who have elected him governor, into civil war."

The drama which was introduced at the capital by Gov. Jackson's treasonable, inflammatory inaugural message,[80] as a prologue, is unfolding itself with startling rapidity. The General Assembly is hardly organized when it is called upon to enact revolutionary measures. War projects are already the order of the day. Bills for transforming the governor into a military dictator, for arming the state, calling a secession convention, have been flung down like gauntlets on the table of the Senate.

The disunionists seem to have adopted Denton's motto—"Audacity, Audacity, Audacity!" The first step, it appears, is to rob all the local authorities of the powers which they have ever exercised, and centralize these powers in the governor. Mayors, sheriffs, judges, etc., are to be deprived of all power to preserve the peace. An autocratic governor is to be substituted for the various municipal magistrates and local conservators of the peace. The solitary throne of a despotic governor is to be erected on the ruins of self-government.[81]

The citizens of St. Louis, and we suppose of every other city in the state, are to be subjected to the will of the dictator who has avowed his designs of plunging the suffering people who have elected him governor into civil war. The bill which proposes to do all this, to establish a military dictatorship, is also a bill to authorize riot and disorder. It is a bill to give the secessionist blue cockade gentry[82] unmeasured license to commit all manner of outrage with impunity. It is a bill to suppress every loyal demonstration, every Union meeting; and its contents being thus tyrannical and vicious, it was appropriately introduced by one of the fraudulently elected senators from this county, Johnson by name. A companion bill, calling for a secession convention, was introduced by that other pillar of the state from St. Louis—Churchill. A military bill by [State Sen.] Monroe Parsons[83] was also thrust upon the General Assembly the first week of the session, and it is saying but little to call it the most nefarious bill which the people of Missouri and their representatives have been ever called to act upon. Every part of it converges to the center of disunion. One of its earliest efforts will be the rupture of that ancient civility subsisting between Missouri and the adjacent free states.[84]

[80] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12).

[81] One of the early bills passed by the legislature was the Metropolitan Police Bill. It took the authority to control the police in St. Louis and gave it to the governor. See Essential Information #6: "Metropolitan Police Bill" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.1).

[82] The "blue cockade gentry" here refers to the secessionist Minute Men in St. Louis. They wore blue cockades; Union loyalists wore red, white and blue cockades.

[83] State Sen. Monroe M. Parsons was the unsuccessful Southern Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor in 1860. He was later appointed a brigadier general by Gov. Jackson and given command of the 6th Division (central Missouri) of the Missouri State Guard. He eventually joined the C.S. Army, with the rank of brigadier general.

[84] The first effort at passing a military bill was unsuccessful; however, it was later passed on May 11, 1861, and became effective on the 14th of that month. For the full text of the bill that passed, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-May-Annex 2).



Blue Cockade of the Missouri Minute Men

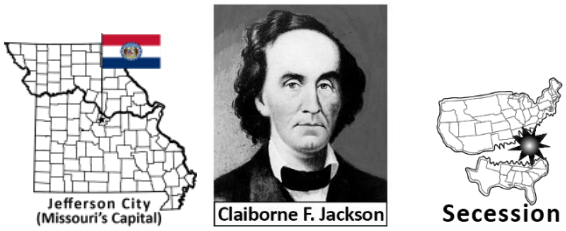


Confederate Blue Cockades

Nothing is more probable than that the governors and legislatures of Illinois and Iowa will probably respond to the hostile attitude which Missouri threatens to assume. Kansas will do the same thing, and thus before the winter is over and gone, we shall experience, we fear, a new and exceedingly unpleasant state of affairs. We shall see the people of Missouri and of the neighboring free states watching each other's movements with rifles in their hands, but with no stronger cause of quarrel on either side than the mutual suspicions engendered by the deadly counsels of Gov. Jackson.

This scheme initiated in the legislature must entail bankruptcy and ruin on the city and state unless these designs are frustrated.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-57)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20)
January 7, 1861

Governor Jackson's Call for Secession

(Letter to the Editors)

Jefferson City, Jan. 3, 1861

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

Today the first palpable public act in the drama of a state convention and secession was fully opened in the capital by the inauguration of Gov. Jackson, whose position on disunion, however doubtful before, and however deceitfully covered up with words in his inaugural,[85] cannot now be mistaken by anyone.

The broad, glaring fact stares us in the face that we have now at the head of our state government a governor who will use his utmost power, aided by a compliant Democratic Party in both Houses, to draw the great and prosperous state of Missouri into the hailstorm of Southern disunion. The only hope of preventing a state convention being called is that the unnatural coalition in the House may fall to pieces, and thus destroy their balance of power. The triumph of the Breckinridge Party is complete,[86] and their superior generalship is clearly shown in all their combinations since the commencement of the presidential campaign in this state.

The Stephen A. Douglas Unionist Democratic

[85] For the full text of Jackson's inaugural address, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12).

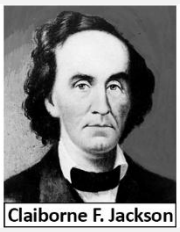
[86] The Breckinridge Party, considered the secession party, received only 7.20% of the votes in the gubernatorial election of 1860, and only 18.94% of the vote in the presidential election. Unionist candidates received 92.8% in the gubernatorial and 81.06% in the presidential elections, but enough closet secessionists were elected, that Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds were able to manipulate affairs to gain control of the legislature.

Party has, by their vote, elected the present governor, and now find that he stands precisely where the most anti-Union of the John C. Breckinridge Southern Democratic Party stand on the questions of national policy, also of state policy. The Douglas members, on their arrival at the capital, are forced into a coalition with their most bitter enemies and are made to play a scandalous part in all offices, questions of policy and important measures. Truly they have sold their birthright for a mess of stew, and where they might have held the control, they are now compelled to take back seats, behind the secessionists, on all occasions.

The governor, in his address, focused on the value of slave property and the increase of the slave population as shown by the last census, but forgets altogether the immense commercial interests of the state, which are now lying prostrate by the effects of the disunion panic, and is willing, for the sake of keeping up that panic, by drawing the state into the vortex of disunion, to totally ruin them. He speaks of our trade and manufactures as dependent alone on the South. Where is the trade of the great commercial metropolis of St. Louis derived from? Is it alone from the South? Has St. Louis not gotten the lion's share of the trade of Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska, and does not that great trade add as materially to the wealth of the city and state as that of the South?

He is opposed to all congressional compromises as mischievous and tending to open still wider the breach between the North and South, and advocates not only a state convention but a general convention of the slave states. He would take the power of compromise out of Congress altogether, where both North and South are represented on a fair basis, and place the power in a Southern convention, to dictate to the North what terms the South would be pleased to accept, without giving the North a voice or representation. He knows that delays are dangerous to the preservation of the Union, and that before the general slave state convention can assemble, that the secessionists of the South will precipitate more of the slave states into secession. His eulogy on South Carolina, though he censures her hasty action, clearly shows his sympathies and proclivities.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-58)


Claiborne F. Jackson

From Gov. Jackson's Inaugural Address

Let us consider our union with the South. They are not the aggressors; they only ask to be let alone... If some have regarded their action as hasty, has not the occasion been extraordinary? I do not stand here to justify or condemn the action of South Carolina, who has already withdrawn her allegiance to the federal government. She is a gallant state and will not forfeit that renown, which a long list of distinguished statesmen have conferred upon her. . . .If South Carolina has acted in advance, let not her error lead to the more fatal one of an attempted coercion [by the federal government]. The destiny of all slave-holding states of the Union is one and the same.

January 3, 1861
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12)


Missouri State Convention

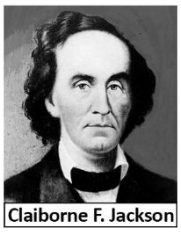
Essential Information #3:
Secession Convention
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.1)

States that seceded used the mechanism of state conventions to give their secession a legalistic foundation. Historically, the convention system had been used to write or amend

constitutions. It was used for the U.S. Constitution and every state constitution. With the secession conventions, the governors would propose a convention; if the legislature approved the proposal, they would determine the scope of what could be considered special requirements, such as the voters approving convention decisions. The legislature also had the option of requiring the voters to approve even holding a convention. Finally, the legislature would set a date for the election of convention delegates, and the date and place where the convention would convene. For information on Missouri's convention see Essential Information #11: Missouri's Secession Convention (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.3).

For an article on conventions in general and reviews of several state secession conventions, including Missouri, see: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-23).




Claiborne F. Jackson


Secession

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.2)

January 7, 1861

Disunionists in Control of Legislature
Part I—Senate
Extract

"The reunited Democratic Party, with Gov. Jackson at its head, is determined, if possible, to force a state secession convention on the people, and the usual Southern machinery necessary to render the movement successful, is being rapidly put into motion."

Jefferson City, Jan. 6, 1861.

Both Houses have now fairly got into working operation, and we should expect the business of the session to be pushed forward with vigor.

The proceedings of today have brought out the opinions of senators and members on the important question of Union and disunion.

The reunited Democratic Party,[87] with Gov. Jackson at its head, is determined, if possible, to force a state secession convention[88] on the people, and the usual Southern machinery necessary to render the movement successful, is being rapidly put into motion. Ultra-disunion sentiments are boldly expressed and the passions and prejudices of the people are to be appealed to instead of their sound judgment and deliberation.

Violent and inflammatory speeches will undoubtedly be the order of the session, and the really pressing claims of great matters of state legislation which are vital to the interests of the commonwealth will be made to stand back and languish. As will be seen by the action of the Senate today, a bill was introduced appropriating $250,000 for the arming of the State. Also, a motion to call a State Convention.

_____

Senate—Morning Session

When senators arrived for the morning session, a copy of the following note was found on all of their desks:

> All senators, who in the present emergency of public affairs, desire to preserve an equal constitutional union of these states, and who are prepared to have Missouri take a firm stand in defiance of her constitutional rights against the policy of the Republican Party, resist fanatical aggression and save the

[87] The Democratic Party was split between Northern and Southern Democrats during the election, but there were enough closet secessionists running as Unionists that even though the Unionists won the elections, the secessionists were able to control the legislature.

[88] The Missouri State (Secession) Convention convened on February 28, 1861, and eventually voted against secession by a vote of 89-1. For the resolutions adopted by the Convention, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar#13).

country from the horrors of civil war or federal oppression, are respectfully requested by the lieutenant governor to meet, irrespective of party associations, at his room (Mr. Corwin's house), at seven o'clock this evening, for consultation in reference to the appointment of the Senate committees.

Jefferson City, Mo., January 5th, 1861

With B. J. Brown, Speaker pro tem in the Chair, the Senate was opened with prayer.

The motions on printing a certain number of Gov. Stewart's[89] message and Gov. Jackson's inaugural address,[90] were brought up and the debate took a wide range among the senators. An amendment was offered that only five hundred of Gov. Stewart's message be published, and that five thousand of Gov. Jackson's inaugural be published.

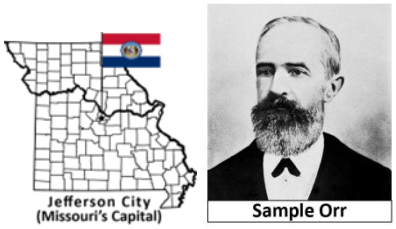
Senator Jones of Franklin [County] made a strong argument in favor of printing a part of the message in German, and in his argument proved conclusively that the German population were good law-abiding citizens, who contributed in a great degree to the prosperity and growth of the state, and that it was the duty of the legislature to furnish them the message in the German language.[91]

The senator was replied to by several of the ultra-Democrats, who denounced the German population bitterly, because they had as a body voted the Republican ticket, and the terms Red and Black Republicans[92] were freely applied to them. This wholesale abuse of German citizens which has become an epidemic among the disunionist members of both Houses, will show to the world the discriminatory attitude of the Democratic party.

Senator Johnson, of St. Louis, [a secessionist], gave his views on the governor's message and secession. He admitted that the message was well written, but contended that it did not cover sufficient grounds on the question of the dissolution of the Union; that it did not suit the demands of the times, and was calculated to lull the people into a sense of false security. He said the governor had greatly magnified the supposed evils of secession.

There was a good deal of humbug used in depicting these evils. He could see no such results likely to flow from a peaceable separation of the Southern and Northern states, and the formation of a southern confederacy. If men, when their honor was assailed, would always stop to count the cost before vindicating it, all would be cowards and submissionists.[93]

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-59)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.2.1)
January 7, 1861

[89] Outgoing Gov. Robert M. Stewart, on January 3, 1861, issued his annual State of the State message for 1860. It is often implied that he gave a farewell address just before incoming Gov. Jackson gave his inaugural address, but it was actually a combination farewell message and annual State of the State message that was read to the legislature. This is an important document because it is a detailed description of the impressive condition of Missouri and the bright future it appeared to have at the start of 1861. Of course, all of that changed after Gov. Jackson was inaugurated. A copy of Gov. Stewart's State of the State message is at (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan-Annex-1).

[90] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12).

[91] The 1860 Census reported Germans made up 7.5 percent of the state's population (approx. 90,000). Slaves were 9.7% of the population (approx. 115,000).

[92] Black Republican: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings. "Since the slavery agitation came up, every man who has had the courage to run against the Democratic Party has been denounced as an abolitionist, a Free-Soiler, and a Black Republican." See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.3).

[93] Submissionists: A derogatory term used by secessionists to describe those that "submitted" to the dictates of the U.S. Constitution and the federal government, and opposed secession.

Disunionist in Control of Legislature
Part II — House of Representatives
Extract

> [Mr. Stevenson] denounced the inaugural of the governor, and he did not doubt that the people of Missouri would soon arise in their majesty and strength and condemn that inaugural and its disunion sentiments.

House—Morning Session

Speaker McAfee,[94] Chair.

Announcement that the Hon. Sample Orr[95] [the Bell-Everett Constitutional Union Party candidate for governor last August] would deliver an address in the Court House in the evening; subject, "The Constitution, Union and the enforcement of the laws."

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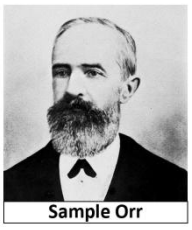
House—Afternoon Session

Mr. Stevenson, of St. Louis, moved to add to the printing of Governor Jackson's inaugural, the printing of 10,000 copies of President [Andrew] Jackson's proclamation of 1832,[96] and demanded the ayes and noes on the amendment. He denounced the inaugural of the governor, and he did not doubt that the people of Missouri would soon arise in their majesty and strength and condemn that inaugural and its disunion sentiments. After debating by others, the vote on the amendment was taken, and failed.

An amendment was offered to print 8,000 of each in English and 2,000 of each in German. A division of the question was called for, and 8,000 of each was ordered by the House to be printed in English. The question then came upon the printing of 2,000 each in German, and a long debate ensued, in which the Germans were bitterly assaulted by certain of the Democratic members. To their credit, several of the Democrats stood up manfully in defense of the German constituents, and the results of the petty and malicious attacks of their enemies have only recoiled on themselves. The motion was put and carried that 2,000 of Gov. Stewart's message, and 2,000 of Gov. Jackson's inaugural be printed in the German.

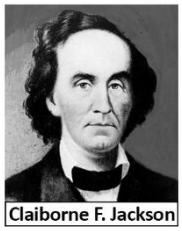
Both Houses adjourned over until Monday.

—K.


Sample Orr



U.S. CONSTITUTION


Claiborne F. Jackson

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.3)

January 7, 1861

The Constitution, Union and the Enforcement of the Laws
Speech by Sample Orr,[97] Delivered in the Hall of Representatives, January 5, 1861

Missouri Democrat, published January 9, 1861

Extract

> "The most effectual way for a man to destroy any institution he is opposed to is to go into it as a friend and then tear it to pieces from inside."

[94] Missouri State Rep. John McAfee, of Shelby County, was a strong secessionist Democrat.

[95] Judge Sample Orr ran unsuccessfully against Claiborne Fox Jackson for governor on the Constitutional Union Party ticket, losing by five percent of the vote. During his remarks that evening, Orr defended the Constitution of the United States, and in a withering manner, chastised the traitorous designs of those trying to carry Missouri out of the Union.

[96] In response to South Carolina declaring that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were not binding on South Carolina, as they violated the Constitution, President Andrew Jackson issued a proclamation to the people of South Carolina, disputing the state's right to nullify a federal law. He later sent the U.S. Army to South Carolina to enforce the law, ending the crisis.

[97] Sample Orr, opposed to secession, ran on the Constitutional Union Party ticket in the gubernatorial election of 1860, against Claiborne Fox Jackson. He received 41.99% of the votes to Jackson's 46.95%. See chart of gubernatorial election results, after this article.

January 5, 1861

Ladies and Gentlemen—I appear before you tonight to make some remarks on behalf of the Union of the States, the Constitution of my country, and the enforcement of the laws. I was asked to make some remarks here, not because of any distinguished ability I was supposed to possess, but because of the distinguished position I occupied last summer, in running for governor as the candidate of the Bell-Everett[98] Constitutional Union Party.

I appear before you tonight, not with any disposition to ever be a candidate again for any office, and if I should be, I have little expectations I should ever be elected. I expect to belong forever to a party that is in favor of our country. I expect to live and die under this government, although it is said that the government is approaching its grave, that the time has arrived when this government is to be numbered with those that have passed off the stage of action like the Roman Empire.

If this government should ever fall to pieces, I hope, in looking upon its ruins, to say in truth that I never contributed to its downfall. I am met by men every day who say they are Union men but not unconditionally. They are for the Union if they can get their way, but if they cannot, then they are for dissolution. Now, so you may not suffer any anxiety as to where I stand. I am for the Union as it is, and for the Constitution, without crossing a T or dotting an I; and for the enforcement of the law, as it ought to be done if President Buchanan would do his job and enforce the law. (Applause)

Now, what has brought us to this difficulty? I ask the Missouri legislature to hear me and to recognize the fact that there is a great responsibility devolving upon them, and that they should act according to the dictates of duty. You are here as legislators, with the authority vested in you by the people. The people have the power in their own hands. During the several weeks I traveled through the state last summer, I saw many people who had never interested themselves in politics before, but who rushed out to hear what could be done, and how it could be done, and what part they should act in order to save the country. When I saw this, I felt the government was safe, and I believe there is no shadow of danger unless you allow the politicians, the demagogues, and the office-holders to take you out of the Union. Nineteen-twentieths of the people in Missouri are opposed to disunion, and if we go out, it will be because the will of the people is smothered up.

Since the slavery agitation came up, every man who has had the courage to run against the Democratic Party has been denounced as an abolitionist, a Free Soiler[99] and a Black Republican. Northern men come here, and if they are independent, and have been brought up to think slavery is an evil, they dare not express it here. What is the result? If he, like an honest man, wishes to settle, and says he is opposed to slavery, they force him out on a rail. The result is that the Northern man who comes here becomes the strongest pro-slavery man you can find anywhere. [Laughter.] He is a Northern man with Southern principles, and he denounces the Northern states in the strongest pro-slavery speeches. I once belonged to a party called the Know-Nothing Party, and the great National Democratic Party rushed to join it until they tore it all to pieces. The most effectual way for a man to destroy any institution he is opposed to is to go into it as a friend and then tear it to pieces from inside.[100]

I am a politician not twelve months old yet. Why was it I became a candidate for governor? Because I felt I was more qualified than anybody else? Not at all. I became a candidate because I

[98] John Bell, a former U.S. representative from Tennessee, was the new Constitutional Union Party candidate for president in the 1860 presidential election. Edward Everett, a former U.S. Sec. of State and U.S. senator from Massachusetts, was Bell's running mate. After the attack on Fort Sumter (April 12-13, 1861), Bell would call for Tennessee to join the Confederacy. Everett, however, would remain faithful to the Union.

[99] Free-Soiler: one who opposes the spread of slavery into the new territories of the United States.

[100] "The most effectual way for a man to destroy any institution he is opposed to is to go into it as a friend and then tear it to pieces from inside." Which is exactly what Gov. Jackson did. He ran for governor as a Unionist, but once he was in office, he worked clandestinely to carry Missouri out of the Union against the wishes of those who elected him.

believe there was a man running for governor for the purpose of carrying Missouri out of the Union—Claiborne F. Jackson, the man who introduced the Jackson resolutions, in which I think rebellion, secession, and treason occupy a conspicuous position. I ran because nobody else had nerve enough to do it; not because I was better qualified—and I received thousands of votes by telling the people that if Jackson was elected, it would be for the purpose of helping forward the secession movement of the South. The result will be, of course, different from what it would if I had been elected.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-10)

Essential Information #4:
St. Louis Political Groups
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.4)

Less than a week after Gov. Jackson declared, in his inaugural address, that "it was both the interest and the duty of Missouri to make common cause with the other slave-holding states in the impending conflict," a large group of St. Louis secession extremists, calling themselves Minute Men, publicly organized and eventually started arming themselves. As a result, two Union supporting groups also organized; one group was Unconditional Unionists, the other Conditional Unionists.

The Unconditional Unionists were extremists that were against compromise or concession and supported using federal forces, if necessary, to enforce the law and keep Missouri and other slave states in the Union. The Conditional Unionists wanted to maintain the Union, but advocated for compromise on the slavery issue. They held that the Republican Party was solely responsible for the slavery crisis, demanded the North compromise on the slavery question, and were against using the military to force the seceding states to remain in the Union.

2. *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* ARTICLES JANUARY WEEK TWO

January 8, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21)
January 8, 1861

Minute Men Organize (Extract)

"We are not inaugurating strife; we are not beginning warfare; we are simply standing for our rights, and will fight for them just as our forefathers did seventy-five years ago."

The Minute Men held a meeting last evening at Washington Hall. The blue cockade [representing secession supporters] was visible everywhere; some half dozen wore it upon their hats but mostly it was pinned upon the vest or upon the lapel of the coat.[101] The current of talk was decidedly warlike, though there was some difference of opinion among the talkers. One group got up quite a lively discussion upon the right of St. Louis to secede from the state in case the state seceded from the Union, upon the theory that one was as legal as the other.

Mr. James George, president of the Minute Men's organization, then mounted a table and called the meeting to order. He said the meeting had been convened for the double purpose of completing the organization, electing permanent officers, and appointing various committees necessary to organize the Minute Men, the gallant citizens now embroidering upon their banners, "Independence;" that in their struggle, the people of Missouri will be with them, heart and hand. [Applause.] He thought that in all the clouds and darkness now prevalent, hope appeared. We desire to let it be known that when South Carolina and Louisiana desire to go out, we will stand by them. We are not inaugurating strife; we are not beginning warfare; we are simply standing for our rights, and will fight for them just as our forefathers did seventy-five years ago. We desire to prevent any bloodshed, and will stand to the doctrine of "hands off"[102] when South Carolina and her sisters shall feel aggrieved, and will say that they alone shall be the arbiters of their own destiny.

Mr. Cullen then proceeded in a rambling way. He advocated the Union as it had been, but not as traitors [from the North] would have it. He believed that it was impossible to remain quiet and submit to [Northern] oppression, and was certain that secession would take place unless the North was made to keep within the lines of the Constitution. He said that the [Unionist] fanatics in this town would be taught a lesson, that upon the first act of treason, they would be hung to the nearest tree. He was for the Union as long as it protected the Southern man, but spurned it when it was used as an instrument of oppression. He urged those present to sacrifice party differences and come forward as one and defend the rights of the South.

Essential Information #5
Minute Men
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1)

Three period quotes and an editor's note will be used to explain who the Minute Men were and what they accomplished.

Quote #1:
C.S.A. General Basil Duke, Minute Men Organizer (from his memoirs).

This organization was designated the

[101] For a picture of a blue cockade, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#19).

[102] The idea of hands-off would become a major issue in the run-up to the war in the border states, normally discussed in the context of the North "coercing the South" back into the Union by force. In the North, it was called enforcing the law or the requirements of the Constitution.

"Minute Men" and was a semi-political and military character. We made no secret of the organization or our purpose, but openly proclaimed both…the chief and primary objective of this organization was the capture of the [St. Louis Federal] Arsenal.[103]

Quote #2:

From a Jan. 13 letter, from a Minute Man to the editors of the *Missouri Republican,* explaining the character and objects of the Minute Men.

> The only difference which I can perceive between the "Minute Men" and the mass of our friends who are not members of that organization, is that the "Minute Men" believe that when war seems almost inevitable, they should await a settlement with arms in their hands; the others are averse to making any preparation for war. . . We are not.

Quote #3

St. Louis During the War, by James Broadhead.

> The Minute Men were organized according to Missouri State law and five companies mustered into the state service by Gen. Frost on the 13th of February, formed into a battalion under the command of Capt. Slater and assigned to Frost's Brigade.

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Editor's Note:

While the Minute Men "openly proclaimed" their organization and purpose, the only thing they accomplished was to awaken within the St. Louis Unionist community the need to organize if they were going to keep Missouri in the Union. The Minute Men were directly responsible for the organization of the St. Louis Central Union Club and the St. Louis Union Safety Committee. That committee, by using spies to monitor secessionist activities, was able to check many of the governor's secessionist moves, thereby playing a major role in preventing him from carrying Missouri out of the Union. Seven companies of nearly four hundred Minute Men were eventually inducted into the state militia under Gov. Jackson.

However, the Minute Men ceased to exist as an organization when they were captured and paroled as a part of the Camp Jackson surrender of Missouri's secessionist-led militia to U.S. Army Captain Nathaniel Lyon on May 10, 1861.

For a discussion of both the Minute Men and the *St. Louis Bulletin*, a newspaper that supported the Minute Men, see: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#42).

[103] Basil W. Duke, *The Civil War Reminiscences of General Basil W. Duke, C.S.A.* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911), p. 38.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22)

January 8, 1861

The One Question—Union or Disunion?

(Editorial)

"Every interest of this community, and it includes the man with the small house in which reside his family and self, as well as the man of moderate, medium and large income, will have to pass upon this question of peace and union, exclusive and beyond all other political considerations."

There is but one question now of the hour or of the day, and that is the question of Union or Disunion of the United States; all other questions are swallowed up herein, and all political and social subjects must necessarily arrange themselves just now and for some time to come, under this heading.

The plan of community, police regulations, municipal elections, county, district, and even state

representation must henceforth be arranged under this category, and to be decided by the virtue and strength thereof. Union and disunion men must range themselves accordingly, and decide all social and political differences by this test.

We can test the strength of our community in a peaceful manner by letting the ballot box determine the merits of the great measure of union or disunion. Separate the voters of this great city by a dividing line on the question of union, and you will see a mighty host of our Union people on one side of the line; that by its moral force alone, will give us peace.

Every interest of this community, and it includes the man with the small house in which reside his family and self, as well as the man of moderate, medium and large income, will have to pass upon this question of peace and union, exclusive and beyond all other political considerations. When citizens of this city are called to arrange themselves accordingly, it will surprise the disunionists in St. Louis and Missouri how few of them there are, how little they own here, by what slender ties they are connected with us, how most of them are thriftless, without mind or experience, while they thoughtlessly handle the dangerous tools that always hurt the unwary, and occasionally they throw their missiles into the crowd, doing damage even without intent.

It is time for the conservative Union men of St. Louis, independent of party, to consult together, and take public measures tending to preserve our peace and prosperity. Millions of property, the product of labor, intellect and the gift of the good God, independent of other considerations equally valuable to our citizens, depend upon the calm and firm stand now taken against secession by the true men of the city.

—CITIZEN.

Essential Information #6:
Metropolitan Police Bill
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.1)

On March 27, 1861, Missouri's secessionist-controlled legislature passed a Metropolitan Police Bill which took control of the police force from the Republican mayor in St. Louis and created a four-member Board of Police Commissioners appointed by the governor, with the mayor an ex-officio member. The board had absolute control of all conservators of peace in both the city and county, and the authority to call out lawfully organized military forces to prevent disorder. Once the bill passed, the governor appointed all Southern sympathizers to the board, including Basil Duke, one of the Minute Men organizers. Duke later wrote, "the Police Bill was in reality a war measure, adopted to enable our people to control St. Louis…I knew the meaning of the measure,…and tried to carry it into action."[104]

"In brief, the Board is to have command both of the purse and the sword, and to be responsible only to the General Assembly. In speaking of such a nefarious scheme for robbing the people of St. Louis of the right of self-government, and putting them under the thrall of an irresponsible band of despotic [secessionist] commissioners." See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-60). The full text of the bill is at: (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar#14).

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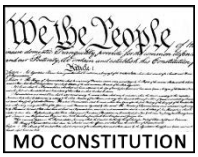
Editor's Note:

August 28, 2013
St. Louis Gains Control Of Its Police Force

St. Louis is about to get something it hasn't had in 152 years: control of its own police force. Thanks to a statewide ballot measure approved last fall, the state hands over control to the city on Sunday.

"It's only right for the city, which spends $180 million annually on cops, to take command," says Maggie Crane, director of communications for Mayor Francis Slay. "This is really just an antiquated system that needed to be changed." It all dates back to the Civil War. Claiborne Jackson, Missouri's segregationist governor, didn't want the Unionist city controlling its own arsenal. (History buffs will recall that Missouri, while a slave state, never seceded.) NPR

[104] James N. Primm, *Lion of the Valley—St. Louis, Missouri* (Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder Colorado, 1981), page 247.




Secession


SLAVE STATES

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.2)

January 8, 1861

Coercion and Dragooning

(Editorial)

> "Can it be supposed that the government can stand idly by and permit a few conspirators to drive the quiet and peaceful citizens of a state into a rebellion and establish a reign of terror throughout its limits?"

The disunionists in this state, and throughout the South, cry out against the doctrine of coercion and claim that secession is a constitutional right, and that they can break up the government by withdrawing state after state, without stirring any risk or danger, and that the government of the United States has no right to prevent secession. At the very moment that the disunionists are proclaiming this doctrine so absurd and false, they are everywhere throughout the slave states attempting to establish a reign of terror, to prevent the Union men of the South from resisting their extreme and violent measures.

It will be seen that those who cry out so bitterly against coercing a rebellious state have not hesitated to coerce others into rebellion.

In the slave states along the Gulf of Mexico, a Union man is denounced as a traitor, and threatened with lynch law, and even those who desire to act with deliberation, and upon consultation with other slave states, are scarcely permitted to speak to their fellow citizens.

The fact is, that the secessionists seized the first moment after the result of the presidential election was made known, and while nearly all in the South were suffering from the bitterness and mortification of Lincoln's victory, to urge forward and precipitate their schemes of treason, which they had cherished for years. These old disunionists hurried matters along and established a reign of terror to prevent conservative men from interfering to turn back the tide. Even the citizens o**f** South Carolina were driven to their present position by violence and terror.

The conspirators who claim that secession is a peaceful remedy, have not hesitated to threaten, bully and dragoon reluctant men into submission. Thus, it will be seen that those who cry out so bitterly against coercing a rebellious state, have not hesitated to coerce others into rebellion.

Now, the timid and naive have thus been forced by a danger which is present and immediate, to rush into that danger which will be found much greater; and the revolutionists have by their own acts, overthrown their arguments against the use of force by the general government.

Can it be supposed that the government can stand idly by and permit a few conspirators to drive the quiet and peaceful citizens of a state into a rebellion and establish a reign of terror throughout its limits?

The Metropolitan Police Bill[105]

The idea of this bill is preposterous. In this state and the other border slave states, the same policy which has been so successful in producing secession in the deep South, will be attempted. Already we hear threats made of driving the Republicans out of the state; vigilante committees, and armed patrols have been established, thus overthrowing the authority of our own state government, to which the governor makes no effort to put a stop. A Metropolitan Police bill has been introduced and passed in one branch of the legislature to legalize mobs and riots by depriving the mayors of all cities, and the county officers of all counties, of the power to call out the militia to suppress a riot, and lodging that power in the hands of the governor, who even if disposed to suppress them, cannot be present at the scene of such tumults in one case out of a thousand. The object of the bill is, however, to legalize and not suppress such outbreaks, to replace the county and municipal officers, who were wisely clothed with this authority by earlier legislators who did desire to put down mobs, and for that reason gave the power

[105] See Essential Information #6, "Metropolitan Police Bill," (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.1).

to men who had the confidence of the people of the different localities and a common interest with those who must pay for all damages committed by the mobs and riots.

These threats on the part of the vindictive disunionists, coupled with the lawless appointments in various localities of vigilante committees and armed patrols, and the bill in the legislature to legalize the mobs and riots, are all part of a system of dragooning Missouri out of the Union, and the conspirators in these brazen and illegal proceedings hold up their hands in holy horror at the idea of coercion on the part of the federal government against them for their contemplated treason. They must be allowed to bully, browbeat, threaten and even employ violence against the Republicans, (and be it remembered that when they say Republicans, they include all who are in favor of the Union), but nobody must talk of coercion against the secessionists, and according to the logic of treason, that is unconstitutional.

Nobody pretends to say that the people of St. Louis are in favor of secession, and yet the secessionists do not hesitate to say that St. Louis will be coerced by the state to leave the Union, whilst denying the right of the federal government to coerce the state. We undertake to say that neither the State of Missouri, nor the county of St. Louis can be compelled to violate the Constitution, but will remain in the Union and be sustained by the power of the federal government, and by all the Union men of this state and every other state.



St. Louis, Mo.


Secession



SLAVE STATES

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.3)

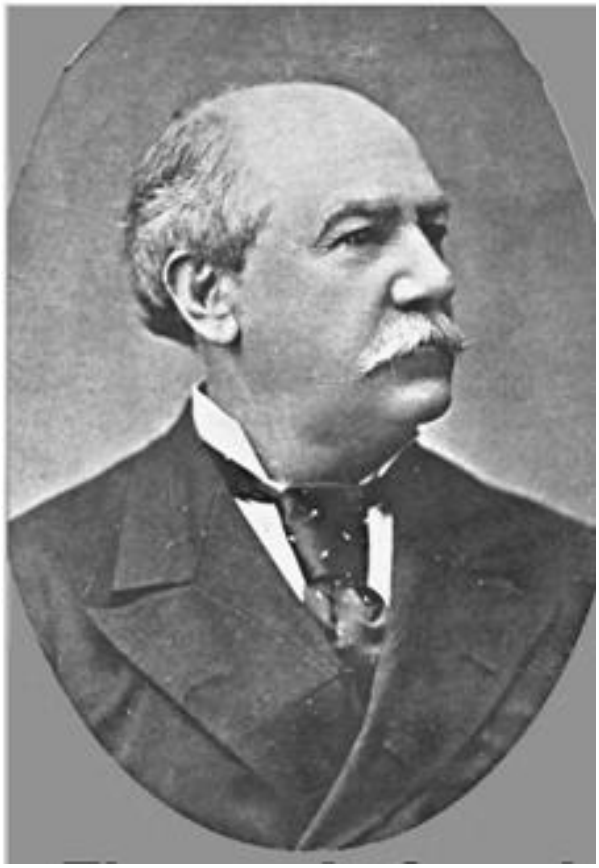
January 8, 1861

The Bulletin Will Advocate for the South

Staff Report

"*The Bulletin* would doubtless succeed if, instead of trying to adopt the destructive theories of South Carolina and the cotton states here in Missouri, it labored for the welfare of the city and state. Considering the cause to which it is wedded, its success, or even existence for any length of time, is certainly problematic."

The *Bulletin* appeared yesterday morning with an announcement that it has passed into new hands. Mr. Niedner is now the publisher. The new editor, Thomas L. Snead, thus presents himself to the public:



Thomas L. Snead

The Bulletin will, while under my control, advocate, earnestly and zealously, a full and final settlement, before [Lincoln is inaugurated on] the fourth of March, of all the questions which now disturb the peace of the country, and it will insist that they shall be settled upon such terms as will guarantee the equality and the safety of slaveholding states within the Union, or

their independence out of it.

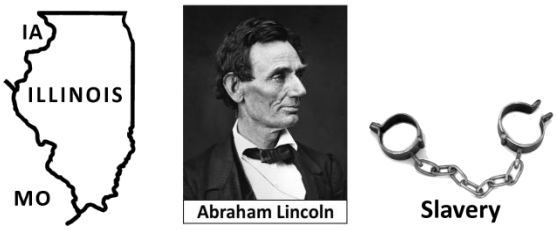
It shall be my chief and constant endeavor to make the Bulletin a perfectly truthful and trustworthy newspaper. Nothing immodest or indelicate shall appear, with my knowledge, in its advertising or other columns. I shall carefully avoid personal controversies with everyone and particularly with the editors of the press in St. Louis, between all of whom and myself the most friendly relations exist.

I once more invoke the patient forbearance and kind indulgence of the readers of the Bulletin, until I have become somewhat used to my new position.

Thomas L. Snead.

However cheerfully we may reciprocate the pledge of editorial courtesy with which Mr. Snead gracefully makes his, we cannot but regret that he should choose to devote his talents to the unholy task of propagating treason and recommending revolution. *The Bulletin* would doubtless succeed if, instead of trying to adopt the destructive theories of South Carolina and the cotton states here in Missouri, it labored for the welfare of the city and state. Considering the cause to which it is wedded, its success, or even existence for any length of time, is certainly problematic. It is but fair, though, to remark that it will be edited by at least as much vigor as it was under the late editor, and that, politics apart, it is a very good paper. Mr. Snead had been one of its regular editorial writers for a year at least; so the task which he has assumed is all too familiar to him.

Editor's Note: The *St. Louis Bulletin* was eventually shut down as a seditious newspaper. After the passing of the Military Bill, Thomas L. Snead, the *Bulletin*'s editor, would be commissioned an officer in the Missouri State Guard and serve as aide to Gov. Jackson. He also served as a Missouri representative to the Confederate Congress. After the Guard was merged in the C.S. Army (1862), he served as chief-of-staff to Maj. Gen. Price.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.4)

January 8, 1861

Interview with Lincoln

His Views on the Questions of the Day as Expressed in Conversations at Home

"A gentleman present said to him, 'Well, Mr. Lincoln, suppose, these difficulties should not be settled before you are inaugurated, what will you do?' He replied with a smile, 'Well, I suppose I will have to run the machine as I find it.'"

Editors Missouri Democrat:

Passing through Springfield, Illinois while returning from a business trip, a traveling companion and I determined to "stop over" and see the new president.

We found Mr. Lincoln in his parlor, surrounded by some six or eight gentlemen, who all proved to be temporary visitors like ourselves. Mr. Lincoln met us, and at once by his words and his manner, making us feel that our call was no intrusion, and on his invitation, we were soon seated with the circle of gentlemen who occupied his parlor. A conversation, in which it seemed he was engaged with an ex-governor of Illinois at the moment of our entrance, was soon resumed. The subject of the conversation was a letter Mr. Lincoln had written to some Southern gentleman, in which it seemed Lincoln had given his views at some length upon political topics, but not for publication, with his reasons why it ought not to appear in print. The ex-governor, a tall venerable and fine-looking old gentleman, soon withdrew, and other gentlemen engaged Mr. Lincoln in conversation. We were in Mr. Lincoln's company perhaps three-quarters of an

hour, during which time a number of the gentlemen, whom I found there, withdrew, and as many others perhaps came in. The subject of conversation was politics, and Mr. Lincoln expressed himself upon every topic which was brought up with entire freedom. He said, at one period in the conversation, "He hoped the gentlemen would bear in mind that he was not speaking as president, or for the president, but only exercising the privilege of talking which belonged to him, in common with private citizens."

I chose rather to be a listener than a talker and paid careful attention both to Lincoln's matter and manner, and although he seemed to talk without regard to the fact of his being the president-elect, yet it was that he chose his words and framed his sentences with deliberation, and with a discretion becoming his high position.

He was asked, "Do you think the Missouri Compromise line ought to be restored?" He replied that although the recent presidential election was a verdict of the people in favor of freedom upon all the territories, yet personally he would be willing, for the sake of the Union, to divide the territory we now own by that line, if in the judgment of the nation, it would save the Union and restore harmony.



PROPOSED 1861 MISSOURI COMPROMISE LINE

But whether the acquisition of territory hereafter would not reopen the question and renew the strife, was a question to be thought of and in some way provided against.

He had been inquired of whether he intended to recommend the repeal of the anti-fugitive slave laws of the Northern states. He replied that he had never read one of them, but that if they were of the character ascribed to them by Southern men, they certainly ought to be repealed. Whether as president of the United States he ought to interfere with state legislation by presidential recommendation, required more thought than he had yet given the subject. He had also been asked if he intended to interfere or recommend interference with slavery or the right of holding slaves in the dockyards and arsenals of the United States. His reply was, "Indeed sir, the subject has not entered my mind." He was inquired of whether he intended to recommend the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, to which he replied, "Upon my word I have not given the subject a thought."

A gentleman present said to him, "Well, Mr. Lincoln, suppose, these difficulties should not be settled before you are inaugurated, what will you do?" He replied with a smile, "Well, I suppose I will have to run the machine as I find it."

In speaking on the subject of a compromise, he said "It was sometimes better for a man to pay a debt he did not owe, or to lose a demand which was a just one, than to go to law about it.

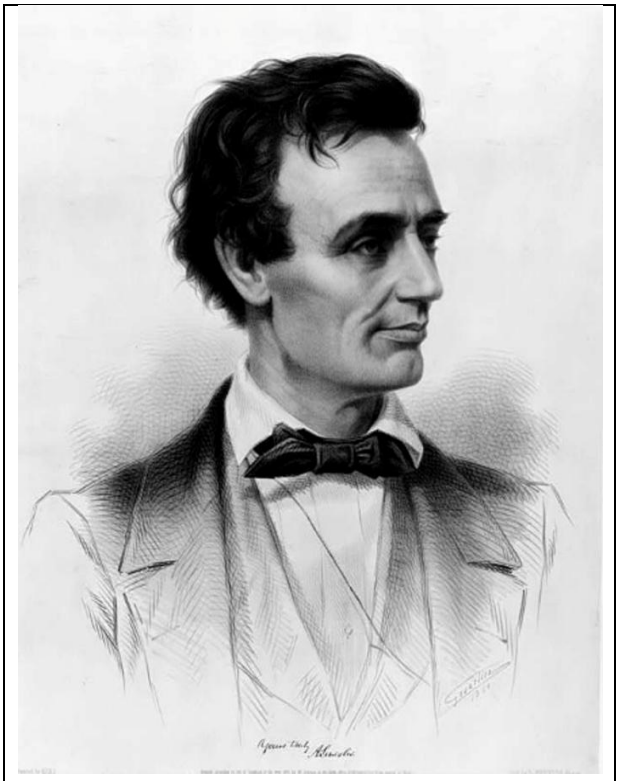
But then, in compromising our difficulties, he would regret to see the victors put in the attitude of the vanquished, and the vanquished in the place of the victors."[106]

He would not contribute to any such compromise as that.

I was very favorably impressed with Mr. Lincoln. His unsophisticated frankness, his directness, the clear good senses which pervades what he says, are ready passports to the confidence of anyone who is honest himself. The basis of his moral character is his strong sense of justice and his invincible firmness in adhering to what he believes to be right and just. His intellectual strength manifestly lies in his clear and undeceivable good sense, rather than in what are termed brilliant talents, whilst his intellectual power no doubt lies in a capacity of stating his propositions and maintaining them in language remarkable for its intelligibility and unclouded clearness. No one could

[106] Editor's Note: It is assumed Lincoln is referring to the Crittenden Compromise, which was an unsuccessful effort to permanently enshrine slavery in the Constitution, and thereby make it unconstitutional for future congresses to end slavery. The compromise was popular in Missouri and the South but unacceptable to the Republicans. Lincoln opposed it as he opposed anything that permitted the expansion of slavery. It is worthy of note that earlier in this reported discussion, Lincoln said he was not opposed to reestablishing the old Missouri Compromise line to California, but that was only a small part of the full Crittenden Compromise to which he objected. See Essential Information #10, "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30).

be long with Mr. Lincoln, while engaged in earnest conversation upon important topics, as he was during the writer's presence with him, without being well satisfied that in the great qualities of moderation, wisdom, and firmness, he is well endowed, and that the country may safely rely upon her chosen executive for their due exercise in the midst of whatever perils may avail her. It was discernible in the course of Mr. Lincoln's conversation that he duly appreciates the difficulties which threaten his in-coming administration; also, that he regarded himself as grossly misrepresented and misunderstood at the South; nor did he conceal what was manifestly an invincible conviction of his honest and intelligent mind, that if the South would only give him a fair trial, they would find their constitutional rights as safe under his administration as they had ever been under the administration of any president.



1860 Abraham Lincoln Campaign
Lithograph by Thomas Hicks
Boston University

If the reader has seen the lithographs of Mr. Lincoln, which were scattered over the country during the Presidential canvass, he has a pretty fair idea "of what for looking man" he is. I think it would puzzle him to pass himself for a handsome man, anywhere. In person, I should think him a little over six feet high; thin, a little stooping; long in his lower limbs, but with a well-rounded thigh. While standing and conversing, he occasionally straightens himself up to his full height, when his eye kindles and his face lights up with intellect and intelligence, and proclaims him, in the unmistakable expressions of the human face divine, no mere ordinary man. His perceptive organs are large, giving to his forehead in a profile view, a receding cast. His complexion is dark. His eye is rapid in its glances, and he is no doubt a quick and accurate discerner of character. He possesses the faculty of checking and turning conversation, when it seems to be taking a direction not likely to suit him, and of barring by his mere manner rising inquiries which ought not to be put. A Kentuckian by birth, a Southern man would not be long in suspecting his Southern nativity in the unstudied and easy freedom of his whole manner. He appears to be about forty-eight or fifty years of age, but is fifty-one, and enjoys the reputation of being one of the best and most upright lawyers in Illinois.

I will close by saying what I have undoubted authority for, that Mr. Lincoln has no newspaper organ in Springfield, and that he is no more responsible for what those papers have said in regard to his purposes or plans than he is for the outgivings of other journals.

—H.

Editor's Note: In the last statement of this article, the author indicates Lincoln made it clear that nothing that has appeared in print since his election concerning his intentions once he takes office should be considered his "official" views. In this writer's opinion, not making his intentions clear was a mistake, based on Mr. Lincoln's own words as quoted below, assuming the article accurately reported his comments.

1. On the question of "the repeal of the anti-fugitive slave laws of the northern states, he replied that he had never read one of them, but that if they were of the character

ascribed to them by Southern men, they certainly ought to be repealed."

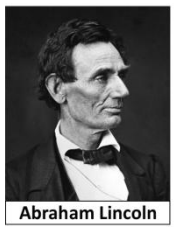
2. "…he regarded himself as grossly misrepresented and misunderstood at the South…"

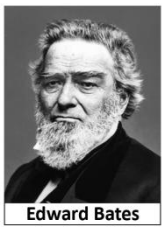
3. …"if the South would only give him a fair trial, they would find their constitutional rights as safe under his administration as they had ever been under the administration of any president."

By the time Lincoln took office two months later, seven states had already seceded, and the Confederate States of America had already declared itself a sovereign nation. The fire-eaters of the South, who were able to cause all of this to happen, used fear of what Lincoln might do to justify their actions. By Lincoln not clarifying his feelings and intentions before his inauguration, loyal Southern Unionists and even moderates were unable to use Lincoln's post-election words to hold off secession; therefore, the die had already been cast when Lincoln made his position known in his inaugural address two months later, as quoted below.

> *Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern states that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies.*


Washington D.C.


Abraham Lincoln


Edward Bates

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.5)

January 8, 1861

In Praise of Edward Bates, a Lincoln Cabinet Appointee

(Reprint)

"We hope each member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet may, like Mr. Bates, be taken fresh from the people, and be entirely free from the odor of office. Then, we believe, we shall have one of the most judicious and popular administrations with which our country has been graced."

(From the *Canton* (Illinois) *Register*, Jan. 1st.)

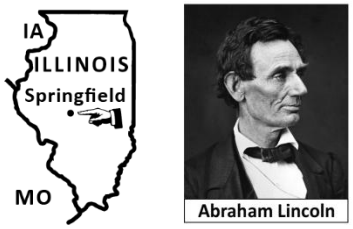
This distinguished gentleman was, next to Hon. Abraham Lincoln, the choice of the Republicans of Fulton County [Illinois] for the nomination to the presidency by the Chicago Convention. Hence, it is a matter of no small satisfaction to us to learn from the *St. Louis Democrat* that he has been invited to take a seat in the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, as Secretary of the Interior, and has accepted**.** [Editor's Note: Edward Bates became Lincoln's attorney general, *not* his Secretary of the Interior.]

Mr. Lincoln, in calling Mr. Bates into his Cabinet, has shown a discretion which will meet with the entire approval of the Republican Party. He thus virtually declares that while he will not surrender one principle ingrained in the Chicago

platform,[107] his administration shall be free from all sectional bias and will pursue a policy acceptable to the wise and patriotic men of the whole country.

Mr. Bates has ever been faithful to the Constitution and the Union. His position in this respect is beyond trivialities, and his connection with Mr. Lincoln is confirmation that the new administration will be as true to the landmarks of the founders of the Republic as the needle in a compass to the North Pole. Only disorganizers and traitors will have reason to complain of either Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Bates.

We hope each member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet may, like Mr. Bates, be taken fresh from the people, and be entirely free from the odor of office. Then, we believe, we shall have one of the most judicious and popular administrations with which our country has been graced.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.6)
January 8, 1861

President-Elect Lincoln
Extract

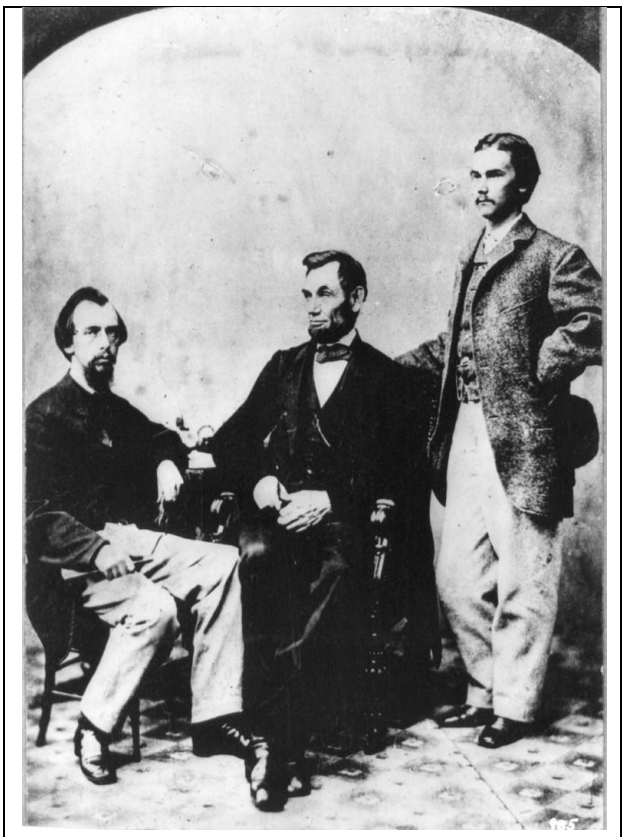
Mr. Lincoln has given up his room at the State House, and his public receptions are at an end. His private secretary, Mr. Nicolay, has an office in Johnson's Building, where he receives all who wish to see Mr. Lincoln upon important business.

The president's whiskers continue to flourish vigorously. Some assume to say that he is putting on airs, and the following is a frantic couplet that I rescued today on its way to the stove:

Election news Abe's hairy warrant,
Apparent hair becomes the heir apparent.

[107] Refers to the Republican Platform of 1860. For the text of the platform, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-9).

[John Hay][108, 109]



Abraham Lincoln and His Secretaries, John Nicolay (left) and John Hay (right)
Photographer Alexander Gardner, Library of Congress



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.7)
January 8, 1861

[108] The authorship of this anonymous article, and others that also mention Hay, is attributed to John Hay by Michael Burlingame in his book, *Lincoln's Journalist* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1998).

[109] John Hay, a supporter of Abraham Lincoln, made speeches and wrote newspaper articles in favor of Lincoln's candidacy. After Lincoln took office, he would serve as his personal secretary, along with John Nicolay. Much later, he would serve as U.S. Sec of State under Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt.

Election of Senator Trumbull
Extract

"Six years ago there was something of heartburn in this victory that started Lyman Trumbull on his glorious course. Two years ago, when all seemed lost but honor, there was little to cheer. Now is the perfected work, to which these ungracious episodes were wholly necessary."

At an early hour the hall of the House was densely packed by an eager audience. Nearly every public man in the state was present. Norman B. Judd, the judges of the Supreme Court, Hoffman, Koerner, and others as distingished, were inside of the bar. The galleries were black with humanity with a slight flush of color in the southern end, which deepened as the hour went on. The Senate came in at the moment appointed, led by the urbane and dignified president.

Hardly were they seated when there was a slight sensation observable by the door, and the crowd parted to make room for Abraham Lincoln. He cordially saluted the supreme judges and quietly took his seat near them. He glanced up at the crowded galleries. Perhaps he thought of the times when his friends had filled them, twice before, and gone away heavy hearted. He did not think of it long, certainly, for he soon dived into his capacious coat pocket, and bringing up a handful of letters began to look over them. He reads letters constantly at home, in the street, among his friends. I believe he is strongly tempted in church.

The balloting began and ended. It was a foregone conclusion. Applause tried to follow the announcement of Mr. Callom that Lyman Trumbull was our senator for six more years, but was instantly checked by the speaker. An adjournment was moved and carried, amid shouts of "No" from the lobbies, who felt too good to go home. Mr. Lincoln rose from his chair and was straightway overwhelmed. He began to shake hands. Mr. Judd stood near, holding that inevitable unlighted cigar between his lips, surveying the mature climax of a work that has been greatly his. All Lincoln's old-time friends were gathered around him. Six years ago there was something of heartburn in this victory that started Lyman Trumbull on his glorious course. Two years ago, when all seemed lost but honor, there was little to cheer. Now is the perfected work, to which these ungracious episodes were wholly necessary.

Mark how the whirling of time brings around its revenges!

[John Hay]



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#23)

January 8, 1861

How Would Secession Affect St. Louis and Missouri?

(Letter to the Editors)

"The present and past administrations have done hardly anything but labor in the interest of the disunionists and the slavery extensionists, and the present crisis is the consequence of that policy."

St. Louis, Jan. 5, 1861.

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

Dear Sirs:

As I am a laboring man, as all my fathers were, and have to earn my daily bread by my daily toil, I have not the time to investigate, even if I had the requisite at my command, and therefore, hope that you will, at your earliest convenience, and through the columns of your excellent paper, for the benefit of the Union-loving and laboring portion of the citizens of this city, give me answers to the following questions:

1st, Have either of the states that already have seceded or intend to secede from the federal Union through their representatives in their legislatures assembled, or in any other official manner, declared the cause which impelled them to separation?

2nd, Does the Constitution of the United States guarantee to the citizens of each state the right of petition to the general government for the redress of their grievances, and if so, have either of the seceding states been denied this right or petitioned the government in vain for the redress of any actual or imaginary grievances?

3rd, Are the grievances and wrongs alleged by their newspapers and reportedly inflicted upon the seceding states of so recent an existence as not to have allowed them time to present their petitions and protests to the government before the late presidential election, and "where prayer could be made, and mercy sent" at the hands of a purely Southern administration?

4th, In case of the establishment of a southern confederacy, is the financial interest of Missouri as identical with that of the seceded states as to require her to unite with them in preference to remaining in the present Union?

5th, Should Missouri unite with a southern confederacy, formed upon the principle of free trade and the encouragement and extension of African slavery; will her secession cause an increase or decrease in the population of the state, an increase or diminution of the market value of property in the state at large, and particularly in St. Louis?

6th, Should Missouri unite with a southern confederacy, will her secession increase or lessen the demand for mechanics or the wages of laborers in the state, and particularly in St. Louis?

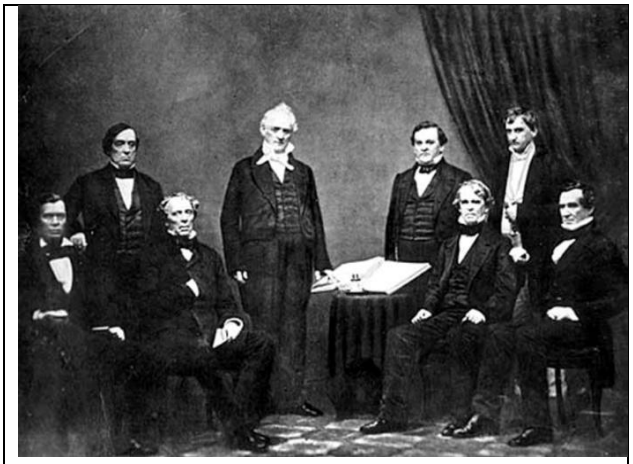
I submit these questions in all candor, seeking only information upon the several points they refer to, and trust you will give me a candid answer, for us, the laboring citizens, are vitally interested, and the good of the people, the interest of the whole people, should be consulted, and not the party prejudices or sinister ends of designing and ambitious politicians, in the determination of so important a question as the one which may at no distant day be submitted to the citizens of Missouri, and therefore we wish to act patriotically and, yet, intelligently in giving our decision.

Mechanic.

(Editor's Reply)

First, we beg to reply that South Carolina has put forward a statement of the causes which have moved her to secede; but this she has done since her secession, so to speak. The ordinance purporting to dissolve her association with other states was passed before her "declaration of independence" was made.

Second. The Constitution guarantees the right of petition, which is a vital active right, not a mere latent one like that which secures the common rights of the Constitution to every citizen. It is remarkable that the movement which has culminated at last in disunion, commenced in fierce warfare under the leadership of John C. Calhoun on this right of petition. None of the seceding states have ever asked Congress for a redress of their alleged grievances, which, as "Mechanic" surmises, are purely imaginary.



President Buchanan and his Cabinet
(Left to right) **Jacob Thompson, Lewis Cass, John B. Floyd, James Buchanan, Howell Cobb, Isaac Toucey, Joseph Holt, and Jeremiah S. Black**
Mathew Brady, photographer

The present [Buchanan Administration] and past administrations have done hardly anything but labor in the interest of the disunionists and the slavery extensionists, and the present crisis is the consequence of that policy. Of course, the wrong being all committed against freedom and in favor of slavery, "petitions and remonstrations" could only come from the free states. Petitions and remonstrations without number came from free states in 1854, when the South laid immoral hands on the Missouri Compromise, causing them to be treated with insolent disdain. For further information on this point, we refer our

correspondent to the three thousand clergymen who remonstrated against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill,[110] or to Stephen A. Douglas, who abused the clergy for petitioning against the passage of his "Squatters Sovereign Bill"[111] to remedy the agitation over slavery.

The fourth, fifth and sixth of the above may be answered under one head.

Missouri has no interest in common with the Southern states except slavery, and her share in that interest will be practically annihilated by secession.

The cotton states buy Missouri Negroes now, paying a right good price for them; but one of the projects of the cotton states, indeed their great project, is to prohibit the importation of slaves from the border slave states, and to reopen the slave trade with Africa. They would thus, they imagine, obtain Negroes dog cheap, and at the same time keep a barrier between themselves and the North. But slavery in Missouri cannot endure civil war, nor even survive peaceable secession, as former Gov. Stewart shows in his recent message.[112]

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-48)

Essential Information #7:
Central Union Club &
Union Safety Committee
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#23.1)

In an earlier editor's note, it was stated: "The Minute Men were directly responsible for the organization of the St. Louis Central Union Club and the St. Louis Union Safety Committee. That committee, by using spies to monitor secessionist activities, was able to check many of the governor's secessionist moves, thereby playing a major role in preventing him from carrying Missouri out of the Union."

In the article below, the Central Union Club, sponsored by the Republican Party and the *Missouri Democrat*, starts to take form as a call is made for an organizational meeting, stating: "Now when bad men combine, good men should unite. The action of the local disunionists demand the formation of a great Union party here, all the more essential."

January 10, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#24)
January 10, 1861

The Paramount Issue of the Time—Union or Disunion

(Editorial)

"Now when bad men combine, good men should unite. The action of the local disunionists renders the formation of a great Union party here, all the more essential."

The secession of one state, and the threatened secession of several others, forces the question of the preservation or dissolution of the Union into overshadowing prominence. It is now clear that no measure can be so much as considered in Congress, or by the nation, unless in its relations to that most vital and absorbing question of union and disunion.

[110] The Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed on May 30, 1854, repealing the Missouri Compromise, which, concerning Louisiana Purchase land, allowed slavery in Missouri but nowhere else north of Missouri's southern border. After passage, the Kansas-Nebraska Act allowed residents of territories to choose whether to become a free or slave state.

[111] "Squatter's sovereignty" was the term used to describe the ability of voters to determine if a new state would enter the Union as a free or slave state.

[112] On January 3, the outgoing governor's State of the State message was presented just before Gov. Jackson gave his anti-Union Inaugural Address. For the full text of the outgoing governor's message, which paints a good picture of what Missouri was like before things fell apart in 1861, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan-Annex-1).

The governor, in his inaugural address,[113] assumed such a position and recommended such a course of legislation, as betrayed but too plainly his design to identify the state with the treasonable, suicidal disunion projects of the cotton states [of the deep South].


COTTON STATES (DEEP SOUTH)

The part which he is playing was cast for him, behind the scenes in Washington, when Lt. Gov. Reynolds, who is himself a South Carolinian, was dispatched to learn all the ins and outs of the plot. On his return, Mr. Reynolds published a letter[114] which foreshadowed Jackson's message. Then came the inaugural, followed fast by bills to call a convention, to arm the state, to strip St. Louis, the great fortress of the Union cause in the state, of the means of self-protection with the Metropolitan Police Bill.[115]

In further prosecution of this scheme, a secessionist "Minute Men" meeting[116] was held in this city on Tuesday evening last, and thus the question of union or disunion has been forced on St. Louis. Take the following Minute Men's resolution as an example:

> *Resolved*, that we pledge Missouri to be a hearty cooperation with our sister Southern states in such measures as shall be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism and the coercion of the federal government.

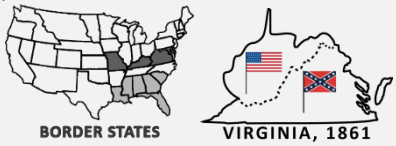

Louisville Journal
Louisville, Ky.

What the Minute Men pledge of cooperation with the South means, we will quote from the *Louisville* [Kentucky] *Journal*:

> The time for cooperating with the cotton states, on behalf at once of the maintenance of our rights and the preservation of the Union, has gone by; the cotton states themselves have put much cooperation out of the question, by acting independently of us and against the integrity of the Union. They have chosen disunion for their remedy, and, in disregard of our earnest and fraternal protest, are carrying the remedy into practice.
>
> If we [of the border states] hereafter cooperate with the cotton states, we must, of course, cooperate with them in the line of action they have seen fit to adopt. If we cooperate with them, we must follow them. They have refused to cooperate with us in defending our rights and preserving the Union, and, now, if we act together at all, we must cooperate with them in abandoning our rights and destroying the Union. This is the only sort of cooperation with the extreme South that is left to the border states.
>
> Are [we border slave states] prepared to yield our consent to such cooperation as this? Is Kentucky, the point of American patriotism, and as proud and chivalrous as she is patriotic, willing to be coerced into this disloyal and ruinous and miserable path? No, no, no, a thousand times no! The very thought is an insult to the lofty and spotless character of our noble commonwealth. Proudly we believe that Kentucky has not a son at home or abroad to whose cheek the thought would not bring a crimson blush of indignation at the thought of secession. Nor can she have but a few. Kentucky will never be coerced out of the Union. Never! And on this point, Virginia and Maryland and Tennessee and Missouri are, if less unanimous, surely not less steadfast. Cooperation with the extreme South, therefore, is not to be thought of longer by the states of the border. It is a dead and discarded policy. Let it be buried and forgotten.

[113] A copy of his inaugural address is at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12).
[114] The lieutenant governor's letter is at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-4).
[115] See Essential Information #6, "Metropolitan Police Bill," (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.1) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-60).
[116] Meeting information at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21).

Editor's Note: The term "border states" refers to the line of slave states below the slave-free states of the North. On April 17, 1861, Virginia seceded, making it the only formerly "border state" to secede, but then, what is now West Virginia, seceded from Virginia and entered the Union as a state on June 20, 1863.

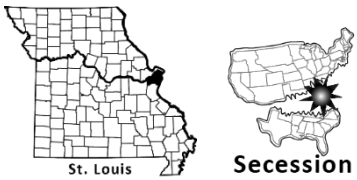


The cooperation to which the disunionists of St. Louis pledge Missouri, is cooperation to dissolve the Union, as well as to resist the enforcement of the laws. Is St. Louis prepared to sanction such designs, to redeem such pledges? Let the Union meeting on Saturday next answer. Let the basis of a Union party be laid that day on the principles of loyalty to the Constitution and obedience to the laws. All mere party organizations composed of Union men should be forthwith dissolved. All mere party dogmas should be laid aside until the disunion cause is overthrown. Since there is but one question, there should be, and there will be, but two parties. For ourselves, we declare our willingness to overlook all party distractions while this controversy lasts, and apply no test but the Union test.

We are willing to accept for our platform: the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws while any party, opposed to that platform, or any portion of it, continues to exist. We also undertake to say, that the entire Republican Party of St. Louis will cordially take the same position if the Union men of other parties accept these overtures and accept the same platform.

Now when bad men combine, good men should unite. The action of the local disunionists renders the formation of a great Union party here, all the more essential.

In short, if the Union men of other parties are as sincere as the Republicans, the great majority of the people of St. Louis will be solidified into an immense Union party, against which the traitors of this state will not be able to prevail, much less the feeble Minute Men.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25)

January 10, 1861

Shall St. Louis Become an Inland City?

(Letter to the Editors)

"If Missouri goes out of the Union, there is no doubt of the establishment of a rival city on the Illinois side to become the depot of the grain and provision trade from the free states. St. Louis would no longer be the grocery market of the West."

Editors *Missouri Democrat*:

I observed in your paper last week, a communication[117] on the subject of the probable results of secession upon the destiny of the city of St. Louis, in case the city and state should go with the southern confederacy if treason is permitted to accomplish its full purpose. There is now no doubt that such an attempt is to be made, and has already been inaugurated at Jefferson City, and preparation must be made to meet it. Therefore, I want to add my comments to what you have previously printed.

The trade and commerce of St. Louis, with the exception of what is drawn from the state of Missouri itself, comes from the free states, the grain and provisions of every kind, the dry goods, and everything except what is manufactured here. The customers of St. Louis for all those articles, with the exception of those from Missouri, are nine out of ten from the free states.

If Missouri goes out of the Union, there is no doubt of the establishment of a rival city on the Illinois side to become the depot of the grain and provision trade from the free states. St. Louis would

[117] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#9).

no longer be the grocery market of the West.

I observe that Mr. Johnson, one of the secessionist senators from this country, said, if correctly reported, that St. Louis would be benefited by secession because the people of the South who now buy largely of manufactured articles from Cincinnati [Ohio] and Pittsburgh [Pennsylvania] would transfer their business to St. Louis, and thus add greatly to her business.

This may look plausible at first view, but this honorable secessionist had apparently forgotten that the policy of the seceding states will be free trade, so they can make more from their cotton, forcing St. Louis to compete with the manufacturers of all Europe, instead of just those of Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. Is Johnson a fool, or is he only trying to fool others?

St. Louis vs. Illinois

The point, however, to which I most desire to direct attention, is the ability of Illinois to close the St. Louis steamboat landing by allowing the Mississippi River channel to shift away from St. Louis to the Illinois side, as the natural flow of the river is attempting to do. There is no man in the city of St. Louis who doubts that can be done. Mr. Editor, permit me to say that it was not the goodwill of the state of Illinois which permitted the city of St. Louis to protect and defend its harbor, when in the opinion of all our people, the harbor was on the point of being destroyed; but it was the power of the American Union, exerted through its courts, by which an injunction was laid upon the citizens of Illinois, who were actually engaged in tearing away the revetments and dikes in order to give free course to the waters of the Mississippi River, then steadily wearing away a new channel on the other side of Bloody Island.[118]

Bloody Island Almost Ruined
The River Trade of St. Louis
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.1)

It was just another island formed by the ever-changing Mississippi River. Rising as a sand bar in about 1800, it soon grew to nearly one mile in length.

Separated from both riverbanks and thus of uncertain legal jurisdiction, it was a convenient place to indulge in early America's foolhardy taste for duels of honor. Thus its grim name.

As a landform, Bloody Island nearly wrecked St. Louis as a river town.

By the 1820s, the channel between the island and the Illinois bank was widening. To its west, the river was getting shallower. Left to itself, the entire Mississippi might shift to the east and away from the city's busy steamboat landing.

In 1838, Capt. Robert E. Lee, an Army engineer, supervised construction of a rock-and-timber barrier between the head of Bloody Island and the Illinois riverbank. It shifted the main current to the west, deepening the channel in front of the city.

Bloody Island eventually fused with Illinois, its flat expanse becoming home to rail yards and industries in and near East St. Louis. Known later simply as the Island, the area was devastated by a massive tornado in 1896.

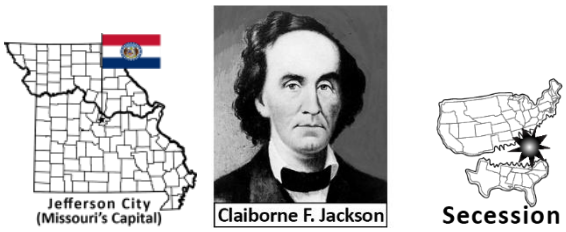
Tim O'Neil, "Looking back: In St. Louis, political debates sometimes ended in blood," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (September 27, 2022)

The United States courts held that St. Louis, as one of the riparian owners,[119] had a first-come, first-served right to force the main shipping channel to remain on the St. Louis side of the river even though the natural flow of the river was attempting to move the channel to the Illinois side; therefore, it may be justly said, the great river is held in its present channel by the power of the American Union, and that there is no other earthly power

[118] Bloody Island was a sandbar (river island) in the Mississippi River, opposite St. Louis, and was named "Bloody Island" for the dueling that occurred there. The island was in neutral territory, not under Missouri or Illinois jurisdiction. See insert, (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.1).

[119] Riparian owners: those who own land on the bank of a natural watercourse or body of water.

strong enough to confine it. If Missouri should assent to break up that Union, and go with the South, how long will the injunction stand in the courts of the Union under which we have been permitted to defend and protect our harbor. The Union in this and in all things is our greatest bulwark and defense; we owe to it that countless blessings which we enjoy today, and in this particular instance, we owe to its power and strength the value of every piece of property in the city. Then let us defend it and maintain it, and close our ears to the traitors among us.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.2)

January 10, 1861

Sarcastic Letter Attacks the Governor
(Open Letter to Gov. C. Fox Jackson, Part I)

"And, dear Governor, the first thought that came into my mind, on laying it down, was, why did you not proclaim, when you were a candidate, that it was your purpose to betray and deceive me and all the honest men in the state who voted for you?"

Dear Governor:

I had heard a bad account of your inaugural,[120] that you had turned traitor and came out against your country. I have made a point for a long time now to judge for myself, as far as possible, and I waited to read the document. This I have done. And, dear Governor, the first thought that came into my mind, on laying it down, was, why did you not proclaim, when you were a candidate, that it was your purpose to betray and deceive me and all the honest men in the state who voted for you?

For you know, dear Governor, that thousands and thousands of the loyal people of Missouri who voted for you, would have seen you as the devil, long before they would have made you governor with the knowledge of your motives.

The next thought that came into my mind was to get the state constitution, and see what kind of an oath you took just before you delivered that inaugural. I found on page 71, revised code 1855, the following provision:

> *All officers, both civil and military, under the authority of the state, shall, before entering on the duties of their respective offices, take an oath of affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States and of this state, and demean themselves faithfully in office.*

Now Claiborne Fox, dear Claiborne Fox, did you take this oath? If you did, did you deliver the inaugural? Which horn, noble Governor, on which horn are you hung up? Both? Great God! My hair stands on end to think of it. You took the oath! You delivered the inaugural. You say, dear Governor, that South Carolina has seceded, has broken her own Constitution, and also the Constitution of the United States. You also say: "I do not stand here to justify or condemn the action of South Carolina." My very dear Governor, why could you not justify? It would have been gratifying to South Carolina had you justified her. I am sorry you did not. She has only committed treason, and you are ready, you say, to do the same. Why, then, did you not justify South Carolina?

Speaking of the incoming administration of Mr. Lincoln, you ask: "Is there nothing alarming in the fact that the whole power of the Federal Executive is pledged in advance for the subversion of the constitutional rights of nearly one-half of the republic?" No, dear Claiborne Fox, there is nothing alarming in the fact, but seriously much that is alarming in the falsehood. Most affectionately, now, I say to you that you did not tell the truth just there. I am sorry to say, I think you knew better. Dear Claiborne, don't you know that the Republicans stand ready to guarantee that the

[120] For the text of the governor's inaugural address, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12).

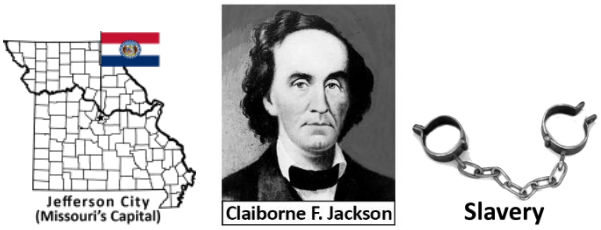
Fugitive Slave Law[121] shall not be repealed; that it shall be executed; that Congress shall not abolish slavery in the District while it exists in Maryland or Virginia; that it will not abolish the slave trade between states; that it shall not interfere with slavery in the states; that the liberty bills being unconstitutional and void, shall be repealed; in a word, that all the constitutional rights of the states shall be secured to them?[122] Don't you all know this noble Fox Jackson? Yes, you do, and you did, when you wrote the lines quoted. Dear Fox Jackson, I would not object to your misrepresenting the facts of the case, in order to promote your party purposes, except for the good of your soul. But lying is sinful, and dear Fox, you and many others are in imminent danger of being essentially and eternally damned, for lying to the Republicans. So, my advice is, stop at once. Dear Governor, why did you not tell the people the truth? Dear Governor, are you constitutionally as well as habitually opposed to the truth? Did you not positively know that the Republicans had at all times, and in all ways and shapes, offered to guarantee the peace and security of slave property, in every state where it now exists by law, and had offered your friends, the fire-eaters,[123] to fix these things in their own way?

Oh, yes, you knew it; know it all; know that the sole question of controversy made by the Free Soilers[124] is not the security of slavery where it is, from interference by Congress, but whether they shall propagate and extend slavery, the greatest evil which afflicts the country.

Dear Claiborne Fox, I am glad to find you read books; I heard you did not. I am mistaken. No doubt you have read of the good old days of 1776; of Washington; of Henry; of Jefferson. Then the battle cry of statesmen was "liberty." Then, said Jefferson, "let us deal discreetly with existing institutions, even though founded on error; peace enjoins, and social order enforces the policy." But now, dear Claiborne Fox Jackson, the battle cry is "slavery," slavery for the sake of slavery, and slavery forever. Give us now lands on which to spread it; give us new countries on which to rear an empire to human bondage; and give us Negroes to fill these countries with, or "give us death." You are opposed to the slave trade with Africa, my dear Claiborne. South Carolina is not; and your tender heart forbids you to condemn South Carolina. Dear Governor, when you prepare your next state paper, please mention the principle in your politics, or the trait in your character, which forbids you to engage in the slave trade.

For the present, affectionately yours,

Jefferson



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.3)

January 10, 1861

Sarcastic Letter #2 Attacking Governor

(Open Letter to Gov. C. Fox Jackson, Part II)

> "Answer me, thou man of deception and nonsense, who speaks with as much horror of the proceedings of the Crown, while thou art thyself doing the self-same thing. Oh, Claiborne Fox, thou hast forgotten thy consistency in thy zeal."

My Dear Governor:

I did not, in one letter, finish up the inaugural. Most patriotic Governor! Why are you opposed to the slave trade? Do you dislike slavery? Do you wish to check its progress? If you do not, noble Governor, then you are right in opposing the slave trade! But oh, thou rational, and not insane

[121] Passed on September 18, 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law required that slaves be returned to their owners, even if they had made it to a free state.

[122] From the Republican platform. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-9).

[123] Fire-eaters: group of pro-slavery Southerners in the antebellum South who urged separation of the southern states into a new nation.

[124] The Free-Soilers: a single-issue political party, active during the pre-Civil War presidential elections of 1848-1852 and some state elections, opposed to expanding slavery into the western territories.

functionary, if you would promote the spread and prosperity of slavery, thou should not, and would not, oppose the said trade. Most intelligent Governor! You tell us, in the inaugural which you delivered immediately after taking the oath to support the Constitution, alluding to the Fire Eaters, that "with them the alternative is the maintenance of that institution which the crown of Great Britain forced upon their ancestors, or the conversion of their home into desert wastes." Dearly beloved, do you mean to say that these ancestors were opposed to the divine institution; that they thought slavery an injury to them? Yes, Claiborne Fox, that is what you mean! Now, tell me, philanthropic and bloodthirsty Fire Eater. Were the "ancestors" right or wrong? Was the Crown right or wrong in forcing on them this great religious establishment? Dear Fox, why dost thou undertake now this same forcing process upon the territories? Why hast thou put thy sentimental nose upon the ground like all the rest of thy pack, and why are thou hounding on the back of a Negro extension? Answer me, thou man of deception and nonsense, who speaks with as much horror of the proceedings of the Crown, while thou art thyself doing the self-same thing. Oh, Claiborne Fox, thou hast forgotten thy consistency in thy zeal.

Dear Governor, you say slave owners have the right to take slaves into the territories, that it is a constitutional right; they have no equality without, and they must have this granted or dissolve the Union. Yes, and you are valorous, speak of armies, forts, and guns! Dear Governor, can you remember ten years back? Do you remember one James J. Lindley, a man of wit, of logic and of eloquence? Oh, yes, you "never can forget" those castigations and condemnations. When Lindley ran with you for Congress, you denied that Congress could legislate on slavery in the territories; you insisted the thing was plain; no room to doubt; no man was sound who disagreed with you. Were you a traitor then or now? You would dissolve the Union then, because Congress had no power to legislate; now, because they do not legislate, you want to secede. Then you swore the beast was white, and now you swear he's black. Dear, immortal Claiborne, remember thou Tom Benton? Dear Governor, I know thou dost. He was thy friend, "faithful and just to thee," and him thou didst betray. Old Bullion did not say of thee, thou was an ass, whose ears were longer than thy legs. No, that was not the speech, 'twas this: that thou was a sly and cunning fox, whose tail did brush out all the tracks thy feet did make.

Accept, dear Claiborne Excellency Fox, the assurance of my most distinguished contempt.

Jefferson

January 11, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.4)

January 11, 1861

Should a State Convention be Called?

(Excerpt)

Editorial

"Unwilling Douglas Democrats, and even Union men from strong slaveholding districts, must yield their calm and sound judgments to the clamor of the slave power, lest they are classed as submissionists or as men having Republican tendencies. The epithets *Black Republican, submissionist* and *abolitionist* strike so much terror into the hearts of many, that they are persuaded to relinquish all the better impulses of patriotic sentiments and cool deliberation."

Jefferson City, Jan. 9, 1861.

The calling of a state convention is the absorbing topic of the day, and until it is settled, all other measures must play a secondary part in the halls of legislation.

Why the governor and the legislature should

force this convention upon the people of Missouri without consulting them as to their wishes in regard to it, is only to be explained by the fact that a party of bold and desperate politicians, unfortunately, elected by the people in the full confidence that they would not transcend the powers delegated to them, have betrayed their trust, and now aspire to be the masters instead of the servants of the people.

A measure more unauthorized, more revolutionary in its tendencies, more destructive of the peace, good feeling, prosperity, present and future welfare of the commonwealth, was never before attempted to be forced on a state. The present members of the legislature and the governor were not elected by the people for this purpose, and in the elections of the last campaign, the subject of a state convention was not broached, though the political signs of the times inevitably pointed to the Republican candidate for the presidency. Unfortunately, the same system of terrorism adopted in the deep South states is adopted here, and the slave power is able to drive even conservative men to the background, in regard to the calling of that convention.

Unwilling Douglas Democrats, and even Union men from strong slaveholding districts, must yield their calm and sound judgments to the clamor of the slave power, lest they are classed as submissionists or as men having Republican tendencies. The epithets *Black Republican, submissionist* and *abolitionist* strike so much terror into the hearts of many, that they are persuaded to relinquish all the better impulses of patriotic sentiments and cool deliberation.

The interests of the state of Missouri are not with the South, as asserted by the dominant secessionists. They are with the whole Union, as the great gateway of both the North and the South to the vast territories west of her, and the terminals of the Pacific Railroad. She has all to lose by secession, and nothing to gain.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-49)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#26)

January 11, 1861

Response to Alleged Misrepresentations of the Republican Party Principles

(Letter to the Editors)

The old sore heads of the Democratic Party still continue to misrepresent the great principles of the Republican Party.

For their special benefit, I wish you to publish the 4th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th resolutions of the Republican platform,[125] which have particular reference to the great contending questions now agitating the country, viz:



Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin Election Poster

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of

[125] For the full text of the Republican platform, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-9).

crimes.

12. That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires the adjustment of those imports so as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture fair prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skills, labor and enterprise, and to the national commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. The appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

Now, I wish every Republican to look them over, and see if there is a single feature in them which he is willing to back down from.

I say the Republican Party is on the right basis to sustain the principles of a free government. *There let it stand*.

—K.

January 12, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#27)

January 12, 1861

If Missouri Chooses the South

(Editorial)

"It is certain that without help, Missouri could never sustain herself as part of the southern confederacy, and it is equally certain that she would never get such help."

The question is continually asked where will Missouri go in case of a dissolution of the Union? The question seems generally to suppose that Missouri may do just as she pleases and unite herself to the North or South as a matter of choice. The best reflection I can give to the subject is that she will have scarcely any choice at all. I do not mean to diminish the position of the state. She is a noble commonwealth, great in her area of surface, great in her rich lands, great in agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources, great in her already developed and accumulated wealth, great in her people, numerically, intellectually and morally. Honor to our proud and powerful young commonwealth, say I, and no man shall or can sing more in her favor than I will. But is she all-powerful? No, she is not. She is only one of a number of great and growing states like herself. Any two or three of them, united against her, would overpower and control her. Any policy she might adopt would have to meet with approval and support outside of herself, or she would never maintain it.

Let us suppose first, that on the dissolution of the Union, two confederacies should be formed, one of the slave, the other of the free states.

Missouri belongs in this case to the slave confederacy politically, while geographically she is in the free confederacy. No one supposes that Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska or Kansas will be impregnated with slavery. No, they will remain free. They will most probably absorb by sponge-like operation our colored population. The Fugitive Slave law[126] will have ceased to exist, and slavery will rapidly evaporate in that direction. Governor Jackson will have his army at work, of course, but he will not be able to carry on war very successfully with so many and so large surrounding states.

But let me concede that the plan of our able governor to perpetuate slavery in Missouri, by an army, is successful, and Missouri under this regime will remain and flourish as a slave state in the southern confederacy. There are yet other difficulties in her path as such, the northern confederacy must have a right of way into the Western territory; she will not be willing to travel around Missouri for that purpose; the free states out of the West must have a right of way over Missouri towards the East, and they will demand it; the northern confederacy must have a right of way to the Pacific; she will not be willing to allow Missouri to cut her off. The northern confederacy may wish her people to ascend the Missouri River; she will not be willing to pay tolls for that privilege. Should she look at these things in this manner, she will either treat for and purchase our state, or what is more probable, she will overrun and conquer us almost immediately; that she could do this, if she would, is too plain for controversy. The question then is not whether Missouri will wish to go South, but whether she will have the power to do it.

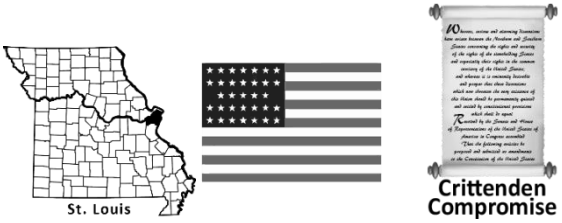
The only remaining inquiry is, will the southern confederacy undertake to defend so distant and feeble an outpost of her empire as Missouri? I believe not. It is certain that without help, Missouri could never sustain herself as part of the southern confederacy, and it is equally certain that she would never get such help.

The last and controlling question is: could the South, by all the power she possesses, hold Missouri as a Southern province? The Southern people are some seven or eight millions of free whites and four millions of slaves. The Northern people are some eighteen millions of free whites. The South would never undertake an offensive war under such circumstances, and if she did, she would be beaten. Missouri, therefore, could not, if she wished, become an integral part of the South; she is too far north and too important to the North.

—Linn.

[126] The Fugitive Slave Act, part of the Compromise of 1850, required that slaves be returned to their owners, even if they were in a free state. The act also made the federal government responsible for finding, returning, and trying escaped slaves. Free state reaction against the act was strong, and many states enacted laws that nullified its effect.

Editor's Note: The article below describes a first meeting of the Republican Unconditional Unionists, held in response to the January 8 organization meeting of the secessionist Minute Men. Besides discussing their desire to defend the Union and the Constitution at all costs, they resolved to cooperate with all loyal Unionists regardless of previous party loyalties.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28)

January 12, 1861

Central Union Club Organized in St. Louis

[Blair's Unconditional Unionist]

Staff Report

"St. Louis could neither be coaxed nor driven out of the Union. The game was a desperate one, and the legislature was trying hard to force the city into it; but it was his belief, as it was his hope, that even if the legislature should declare the state outside of the Union, that St. Louis

will remain loyal to the Union."

A large and enthusiastic meeting of Republicans of the city and county of St. Louis was held last evening at Washington Hall. The Hall was densely crowded, and not less than twelve hundred persons were present. In comparison with the meeting[127] of Minute Men on Monday evening, there were at least seven to one present on this occasion.

Before that meeting was organized, the general interchange of sentiments upon the floor indicated the warmest sympathy for the Union, and for the strict enforcement of the federal laws, North and South.

The current conversation ran directly upon the present situation of officers in South Carolina, and the conduct of Major Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter, was heartily commended.[128]

About 8 o'clock Dr. F. G. Porter[129] took the chair and called the meeting to order. Mr. C. P. E. Johnson[130] was elected secretary.

The reading of the report of the Committee on Constitution was called, whereupon the secretary read the following:

> *Resolved, That the Republican Party of the city and county of St. Louis, in the present crisis deem it proper and in accordance with the dictates of patriotism, to merge all the political distinctions in the great movement for the preservation of the Union; and to this end we do solemnly pledge our purpose, our sacred honor, and if need be, our lives, to the maintenance of the Union, the federal Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws.*
>
> *Resolved, That we cordially, and in the spirit of true patriots, invite all who love their country—who are willing to uphold and defend our glorious old flag, who believe that there can't be secession except in revolution, and who are willing to strike hands with us in aiding the general government of this land to co-operate with us in our efforts to restore peace and harmony, and in putting down the dangerous and revolutionary doctrine which now threatens the existence of the best government the world has ever known.*
>
> *Resolved, That so long as the present laws, forced upon us by the contemptible and disloyal conduct of the seceding states remains, it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to disregard all minor political differences, and resolved to unite with all which are in favor of the union of states, recognizing the fact that there are but two parties in the country, one for the Union, and the other against it; and holding the friends of the Union to be their friends, and its foes their foes.*

It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which these resolutions were resolved. When the first paragraph, pledging the Republican Party to maintain the laws intact, at all hazards, was read, the audience cheered tremendously for several minutes. Every allusion to the Union was applauded, and the pledge to ignore all party differences and rally under the Stars and Stripes was cheered loudly. The resolutions were adopted without a dissenting voice amid cheers.

Three cheers were then given for Major Anderson, the Union commander at Fort Sumter, with the heartiness seldom surpassed in this city.

The Committee on Constitution further submitted a draft of constitution and by-laws by the operation of which the St. Louis Wide Awake organization is disbanded,[131] and instead, the

[127] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21).

[128] Maj. Robert Anderson was the U.S. commander of troops at Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. For information on his abandoning Fort Moultrie on Christmas Day and moving to Fort Sumter, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#5).

[129] Dr. Frank G. Porter would serve as a volunteer surgeon at the start of the war, then be placed in charge of the U.S. Marine Hospital.

[130] Chauncey P. E. Johnson became paymaster for the 3rd and 4th regiments, 1st Brigade Missouri Volunteers, with the rank of major. S*ee* (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#42).

[131] See Essential Information #8: "Wide Awakes," (FLP:

"Central Union Club" is established, with the motto—"The Union: It Must and Shall Be Preserved."

We will publish the document entirely on Monday. The Constitution was adopted unanimously.

U.S. Congressman F. P. Blair, Jr.,[132] was called for, and when he appeared, three tremendous cheers were given.

Mr. Blair said it was evident to everybody that the condition of public affairs was such that only two parties were now before the country—one for the Union and the other for disunion. Every man who loves his country should yield all minor differences, and strike hands with all those who were in favor of the perpetuation of this Union. It became the Republican Party especially to come forward, and as patriots resolved to lay aside all party differences to save the country from impending dangers.



Marble Statue of Francis Preston Blair, Jr.
Artist: Alexander Doyle (1899)
National Statuary Hall, U.S. Capitol

There were men in St. Louis who would rather see this country go to ruin than fail to carry the April election. Some of them desecrated the 8th of January,[133] by meeting in this hall and declaring Andrew Jackson a patron saint of secession. They said not a word about his prompt treatment of the disunion business in 1832.[134] These men who met there were disunionists, and the Republican Party was willing to unite with any man and any set of men who will put them down. St. Louis was opposed to disunion. They could not be dragged along by South Carolina. [Voices—never, never.] They will not be hitched on to the South Carolina cart on any terms. This Union was dearly bought, and must be preserved at all hazards. The idea upon which the new southern confederacy was based, was intense hatred of Republican and Democratic institutions. Why, in South Carolina they have a property qualification to vote, and don't allow the people to elect either their governor or vote for presidential electors.

Mr. Blair proceeded to argue the disadvantage of disunion to Missouri, alleging that she was the most important slaveholding state among them all, containing the largest element of the free white population, which constitutes the true greatness of a State. He refuted the idea that if the Union should be dissolved, this state should go with the South. These men who hold this idea say that they are not disunionists *per se*, but in fact, if South Carolina goes out, the Union is dissolved, and they must go with the South. When this idea prevails, that is the time to work the harder to preserve the Union and bring back those who have assumed to leave it.

This excuse is not friendship for the Union at all, but hostility to it. He believed that the incoming Lincoln administration would restore the government to its

Ser 1MD-Jan#28.2).

[132] Congressman-elect Frank P. Blair, Jr. was one of the first to realize the inevitability of war between the North and South. He was also one of the organizers of the St. Louis Union Safety Committee. In the House, he was chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and at the start of the war, he served as colonel of the 1st Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry under Gen. Lyon. He reached the rank of major general by late 1862. In 1899, the state of Missouri donated a marble statue of Blair to the U.S. Capitol's National Statuary Hall Collection, where it stands today (2023). The other Missouri statue is that of Senator Thomas Hart Benton. See the marble statue of Francis Preston Blair, Jr. above.

[133] Refers to the organizational meeting of the pro-secession Minute Men. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21).

[134] As president, Andrew Jackson faced a threat of secession by South Carolina in 1832-33, over the high tariffs on imports of common manufactured goods made in Europe, which that state argued benefited Northern industrialists at the expense of Southern farmers. Jackson denied the right of a state to secede from the Union or to nullify federal law, and he sent the Army to South Carolina to enforce the law, causing S.C. to comply with the law.

pristine purity, and that when Mr. Lincoln's legal term expires, he will go out of office without losing a single star from the American flag.

St. Louis could neither be coaxed nor driven out of the Union. The game was a desperate one, and the legislature was trying hard to force the city into it; but it was his belief, as it was his hope, that even if the legislature should declare the state outside of the Union, that St. Louis will remain loyal to the Union. [Continued applause.]

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-50)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.1)
January 12, 1861

Disbanding of the St. Louis Wide Awakes

The disbanding of the Wide Awakes last night in Washington Hall was one of the largest interior meetings ever held in St. Louis. Animated by a sentiment of patriotism, and imbued by a true conception of the existing crisis, the Wide Awake organization formally disbanded and proceeded to form a Union club. Every Union man of good character, whether he be a Democrat, a Bell-Everett Constitutional Union party member, or a Republican, is eligible for membership in this new organization, which will certainly be a great success.[135]

Essential Information #8
Wide Awakes
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.2)

The St. Louis version of the Wide Awakes was the Union equivalent of the Minute Men, a quasi-military group, originally organized in Missouri by Frank Blair Jr. to provide security against hooligan interference at Republican campaign rallies. When Blair attempted to pull all Union-supporting political parties together under one banner, it was necessary to downplay the Republican Party. Part of that effort was to disband the Republican Party's Wide Awakes. In reality, they only changed their name and clandestinely started planning for war under the umbrella of what were called "Central Union Clubs." Eventually, they organized and trained sixteen companies, totaling 14,000. Many of them answered Lincoln's call for volunteers and enlisted in the Union Army after the attack on Fort Sumter. They eventually became the 90-day volunteers that made up the majority of Captain Lyon's force used to capture the secessionist-led state militia at Camp Jackson on May 10, 1861, the first aggressive action by Union forces against secessionists. They also served under General Lyon all the way to the Battle of Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861.[136]



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.3)
January 12, 1861

The Military Guard at the Sub-Treasury

(Editorial)

The presence of a military guard of forty soldiers and one officer commanding in the sub-treasury office yesterday was the cause of attracting crowds around the Custom House all day, who manifested a great deal more curiosity and excitement than the circumstance warranted. The Custom House is the property of the general government, and it has a perfect right to occupy it with troops. True there is no apparent necessity for

[135] The report on the meeting is at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28).

[136] See: "General Lyon and His 90-Day Volunteers," Roman numeral page xvii.

placing a guard over the sub-treasury at this time, but when every hour brings tidings of the seizure of government buildings and property by traitors, and with an organization in this city pledged to cooperate with those traitors (Minute Men), is it any wonder that the military authorities should adopt some precaution even here? If they erred in this instance, they erred on the right side, and are entitled to the thanks rather than criticisms of the public. [Additional reporting at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#33.1).]

Editor's Note: The U.S. troops arrive to secure the St. Louis Sub-Treasury after Mr. Isaac H. Sturgeon, Assistant US Treasurer, appointed by President Buchanan, wrote to the president that "he was greatly concerned for the safety, not only of the public funds in his hands, but also the munitions of war at the Arsenal, and would therefore venture to suggest to the president that if it was the purpose of the government to protect the public funds in his hands, and the munitions of war in the arsenal, action could not be taken too soon."

After the troops arrive, Sturgeon wrote the following to the president the next day:

"The secession paper of this city, and those who follow its lead, seem to think it highly improper that the government should send troops here to guard its public property from seizure. All Union men, however, are gratified that the government has taken this precautionary measure; I wish it was 200 instead of 40 men."

Sturgeon's letters are at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-5) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-6).



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.4)

January 12, 1861

Missouri Senate Discusses Calling a State Convention

Extract

"Until the question of the state convention is decided, no important measures of general interest will be passed."

Jefferson City, January 10, 1861.

The question of calling a state convention was made the special order of the day in the Senate.

Senator Johnson, of St. Louis, occupied the morning in a labored argument in favor of a (secession) convention.

Senator Gullett offered an amendment to the effect that, on the day of election for delegates for the convention, two tickets, "Convention" and "No Convention," should be voted for, and in case the ticket "No Convention" should have the majority, then the election of delegates should be declared null and void.

He supported his amendment by many forcible and excellent arguments in favor of submitting so important a measure as this to the people first, and ascertaining their will as to whether they were in favor of or opposed to calling a state convention. His amendment was finally ruled out of order.

Senator Churchill, of St. Louis, spoke at great length on the subject in the afternoon session and quoted largely from the Bible in favor of the institution of slavery, and endeavored to prove that it was sanctioned and approved by divine authority. The act will doubtless pass the Senate in its original form, probably tomorrow.

Reporter's Comment: Strong hopes are entertained that this unjust bill will be defeated in the House. Our delegation, aided by many of the conservative members of the House, will use every effort to defeat it, and will expose its mischievous designs and tendencies.

Until the question of the state convention is decided, no important measures of general interest will be passed.

—K.

Essential Information #9:
Conditional Unionist
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.4.1)

On Saturday, January 12, 1861, a well-attended organizational rally was held in front of the St. Louis Court House. The attendees will fall into a category called, among other things, Conditional Unionists.* The rally organizers were advocating compromise between the North and the South over the slavery issue and against coercion by the federal government to keep the seceding states in the Union. Generally speaking, the attendees were average citizens, businessmen, and the professional class of St. Louis that were for remaining in the Union, and wanted to avoid war. The organizers had no interest in supporting either the Minute Men or the Unconditional Unionists, as they consider both groups extremists that considered a North-South war a possibility and were preparing for such an outcome.

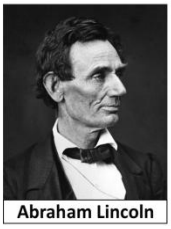

Hamilton R. Gamble

One of the speakers at this rally was Judge Hamilton R. Gamble, who would become provisional governor of Missouri after Governor Jackson was deposed during the second meeting of the (Secession) Convention in late July.

*1. The *Missouri Republican*, which supported this group, called them "Constitutional Unionist."
2. The *Missouri Democrat*, which eventually opposed this group, called them "Conditional Secessionist."

Editor's Note: Some diehard secessionists call themselves Conditional Unionists, as being an avowed secessionist was not a popular position in most of Missouri, as seen by the fact that no avowed secessionists were elected as representatives to the State (Secession) Convention.




Abraham Lincoln

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.5)
January 14, 1861

A Significant Gift for President-Elect Lincoln

Extract

"These gifts and testimonials possess more meaning than one would idly suppose. They spring from that devotion to principle and that deep underlying current of regard for our institutions as they are, that the working people of no land but ours possess."

An elegant and significant gift was today received by Mr. Lincoln, which shows the deep hold he possesses on the popular heart. It is an exquisitely executed cane, the staff made of South American wool, and the carved head of solid gold, a perfectly polished specimen of the Nevada quartz being set in unimpeachable taste. It is the gift of a California mechanic, who did not even care to have his name connected with the princely present. It was brought from the Pacific shore to this town by Mr. Churchman, a friend of Lincoln's earlier days.

These gifts and testimonials possess more meaning than one would idly suppose. They spring from that devotion to principle and that deep underlying current of regard for our institutions as

they are, that the working people of no land but ours possess. They indicate that the hour has found its man, and at the first note of real danger, the defenders of the Union will spring from the very soil, full-armed, like the human harvest of Cadmus.

[John Hay]

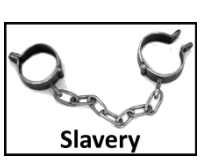
3. *Missouri Democrat* Articles, January Week Three

January 15, 1861

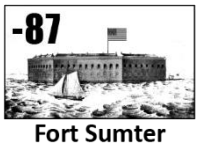
As week three of the year opens, we see below the first of many confrontational articles in the *Missouri Democrat*, criticizing the *Missouri Republican*. In this case, the *Missouri Democrat* publishes a letter to the editors, criticizing the *Missouri Republican* for supporting the Conditional Unionist organizational rally, mentioned in the description of Conditional Unionist: Essential Information #9, (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.4.1).



St. Louis, Mo. St. Louis, Mo.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29)

January 15, 1861

First Conditional Unionist Meeting/Rally

(Letter to the Editors)

"The language that called us to this meeting was the language of the Republican Party, and that of every staunch patriot—'We will remain in the Union *because* in the Union, our rights will be best maintained.'"

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

The occasion which called us together last Saturday, January 12, was momentous beyond a parallel in the history of the state. The call, which appeared at the head of our various journals, gave promise of a response every way adequate to the emergency. The [*Missouri Republican*] editorial which appeared as the announcement was manly, stirring and eloquent. No faltering allegiance, crippled with restrictions and stipulations was to be given. It was to be an out gush of unsuspecting, honest, whole-hearted devotion to the Union. And the masses from every street, alley, and by-way thronged together to hear the great heart of the community speak. And what was the language of the meeting? Was it "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable?" Was it the fearless language of Kentucky, "The *Union* at all hazards?" Did it again reiterate the spirit of the call that the rights of the country "can be better protected in the American Union than by destroying the government?" A single glance at the resolutions approved by this gathering provides an answer. The first three resolutions declare the benefit growing out of our Union. The fourth resolution argues as a proven corollary that dissolution would be "eminently disastrous." The fifth, sixth and seventh give a "solemn warning" that the Union cannot continue unless all constitutional rights are secured.

They declare that if the federal government shall fail to secure the right of slave property [with a constitutional amendment], the Southern states will be found united in its defense [of slavery], in which event Missouri will share the common duties and common dangers of the South.

Here we have an entirely new issue introduced; an issue, we believe, never hinted at in the original call for the meeting. The language that called us to this meeting was the language of the Republican Party, and that of every staunch patriot—"We will remain in the Union *because* in the Union, our rights will be best maintained." The language of the resolutions was:

"Union, *if we can have our rights*."

Of course, we must have our rights. The demand is just and reasonable. But the implication that we have not our constitutional rights already is false, and the remedy proposed in case of failure is secession.

The oracles of the South have told us, and we believe it, that Northern sentiment, and not Northern enactments, has been the cause of

disruption, but with a strange want of logic, have failed to show the produced effectiveness of secession as a cure. It is beyond the power of logic to show its effectiveness. Of course, we must have our rights. The demand is reasonable, but the spirit that prompts it is cringing and contemptible. The surf and peasant throng here from every despotic shore, as to a Utopia for the oppressed. But we American citizens who are obsessed and drunk with privileges cannot raise one hearty banner cry for the old confederacy in the hour of her extremist peril.



The South Carolina State Flag
Adopted January 1861

We condemn these so-called Union meetings' resolutions, because we think them dangerous. In a Union meeting, we expected a rally for the Union. It was, in fact—and no glosses, no pretenses could disguise it—a step toward disunion.[137] Not until the rebellion of South Carolina did Missouri dream of wrongs so enormous as to break down the Constitution and to plunge the country into civil war. Until this apocalypse, we lived in happy unconsciousness and unconcern. Not till the arming of Charleston Harbor, till the plundering of the United States arsenals and seizing her custom houses; not until our resupply ship was fired on at Fort Sumter, did we learn what wrongs we have suffered. Gentleman of South Carolina, take courage, Missouri, in the line of free states, remote from you in position and interests, feels the rocking of the Palmetto[138] earthquake.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-51)

Editor's Note: The article below is critical of the *Missouri Republican* and the Conditional Unionist rally of Saturday, January 12, held in front of the Court House discussed above.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29.1)
January 15, 1861

Disunionist Take-Over Union Meeting

(Letter to the Editors)

"The thousands of our people who went to the meeting, lured there by the Stars and Stripes and other outside shows of devotion to our city and county and state interests, will spurn the trick and will rally to the real Union party—the men who want to stay in the Union, whether we can procure a constitutional amendment to carry slaves into the territories, or not."

To the Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

It was surmised as early as last Tuesday morning that the position taken by the *Evening News* and *Missouri Republican* newspapers in favor of the Union, was a ruse, and that a covert disunion movement was really intended. I did not believe it, and discouraged, as far as able, the inculcation of such an idea. I knew the sentiment of St. Louis to be thoroughly Union, and did not deem it possible that

[137] For another article critical of this meeting and the secessionist leanings of its organizers, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#51).

[138] Refers to South Carolina's flag, which pictures a palmetto under a crescent moon.

men would dare to put the people of this city or county on any disunion path whereon to *run them into secession*. The meeting, however, has been held, and the secession purpose sticks out everywhere. The most palpable sign of this intention on Saturday morning, the 12th, was the denunciation of the Republicans[139] for taking Unconditional Union grounds at their meeting on Friday night, the 11th. The open, out-and-out disunionists pulled this cord very hard, and declarations were made freely that the Unconditional Union men, the Republicans, should not participate in the meeting. Understanding that the thing was a "sell," and disunion and not Union sentiments were to be put forth, the Republicans washed their hands of it. But let us look at the facts, and see if there is any mistake as to the character of the meeting.

All understand that the bone of contention now leading to secession in the South is the recognition or non-recognition, by Congress, of the holding of slaves in our territories.[140]

What ground did the meeting take on that subject? Here it is:

> *The possession of slave property is a constitutional right, and as such ought to be ever recognized by the federal government. But if the federal government shall fail and refuse to secure this right, the Southern states should be found united in its defense; in which event Missouri will share the common duties and common dangers of the South.*

That is, Missouri will secede. But where is the possession of slave property to be secured? In the states where slavery exists? In the territories? Nothing is said to qualify the breadth of language than slavery; the possession of slaves is to be secured generally everywhere, and this is a constitutional right in every place, and if not so secured, *then Missouri will secede*!

The same idea is prominent in Paschall's[141] *Missouri Republican* newspaper headline of Sunday morning; he says "if the North will take Crittenden's Compromise as a full and final settlement, Missouri will stand by them and conform to them, but if they will not, it is no less incumbent on Missouri to take her position and stand by it." What position? Why, secession, of course, there is no other. Again, in the same paper, in which the proceedings of the meeting are published, is found an article signed "Cooperation." This article proceeds to show the concurrence of sentiments between the "Minute Men" and the Conditional Secessionists.[142,143] I admit now there is no difference. The Minute Men are off in a minute, and the Conditional Unionists are pledged to go in a little while, so soon as Union men are duped and roped in. Again, the same paper contains [Vice-Pres.] John C. Breckinridge's[144] recent declaration that Crittenden's Compromise[145] "is the least the South can accept." He further says: "I fear

[139] When a speaker at the rally criticized the Republicans, it was understood he was also criticizing the *Missouri Democrat*, the mouthpiece of the Republican Party.

[140] For an explanation of what "holding of slaves in our territories" means, see: Essential Information #2: "Extension of Slavery" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6.1).

[141] Nathaniel Paschall was the editor of the *Missouri Republican*.

[142] The following was in the article referred to, which was written by one of the Minute Men. "The only difference which I can perceive between the 'Minute Men' and the mass of our friends who are not members of that organization, is that the 'Minute Men' believe that when war seems almost inevitable, they should await a settlement with arms in their hands; the others are averse to making any preparation for war. . . .We are not, as many seem to suppose, an independent organization gotten up to control the city elections, but we are volunteer companies, ready to enlist in the service of the state when she stands in need of us."

[143] The writer is sarcastically calling the Conditional Unionists, "Conditional Secessionists."

[144] Vice-Pres. John C. Breckinridge was the 1860 Southern Democratic candidate for president that only received 18.94% of the total vote in Missouri. Pro-slavery and a secessionist, he would join the C.S. Army and be commissioned brigadier general in November 1861, commanding the 1st Kentucky Brigade (a.k.a., Orphan Brigade).

[145] For information on the Compromise, see Essential Information #10: "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

the Republicans will never accept it." Mr. Breckinridge then proposes as the only basis of adjustment what he believes is impossible. Why not say at once he is with the seceders?

Again, the fifth resolution declares that "the Union cannot continue unless all constitutional rights are secured." What is meant by this? The possession of slaves in the territories? Will this ever be secured? No. Was ever such a right recognized during the existence of the government? No. Has Mr. Breckinridge any hopes of getting it? No, he declares he has not. What then is the effect of the position taken at the meeting? Substantially that Missouri must secede. Look at it as you will, that is the program laid down. The organizers of this meeting knew that out-and-out secession would be shouted down by our people. They must, therefore, get up conditions for remaining in the Union, the result which is to be against the Union (Conditional Unionism). This is the secession game all over the country. Former Congressman Yancey[146] of South Carolina, the Apostle of Disunion, is a Union man with his conditions, as is Senator Toombs[147] of Georgia, and Former U.S. Senator Rhett[148] of South Carolina. What is the difference between the Mississippi seceders and ours? Only this: the Mississippians have seceded because they could not fix slavery in the territory; ours are pledged to follow unless they can procure slavery in the territories. But will the people of St. Louis city and county approve this "sell?" Never. Disunion, *per se,* or union, on impossible conditions, stand with the people alike. The thousands of our people who went to the meeting, lured there by the Stars and Stripes and other outside shows of devotion to our city and county and state interests, will spurn the trick and will rally to the real Union party—the men who want to stay in the Union, whether we can procure a constitutional amendment to carry slaves into the territories, or not.

Main Street.

[146] William L. Yancey drafted Alabama's ordinance of secession and would go to England and France in March 1861 as a commissioner from the Confederate States.

[147] Senator Robert Toombs was one of the founding fathers of the Confederate States of America, serving as its first Secretary of State.

[148] Robert Rhett wrote South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession and would serve as a delegate to the C.S.A. Provisional Congress from February 4, 1861.

Essential Information #10:
Crittenden Compromise
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30)

The Crittenden Compromise, introduced by Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky on December 18, 1860, consisted of six constitutional amendments and four resolutions. While its aim was to resolve the secession crisis by addressing the grievances of the Southern pro-slavery factions, if successful, it would have permanently secured slavery in the U.S. Constitution, making it unconstitutional for future congresses to end slavery. The main points were:

1) Slavery would be prohibited in any U.S. territory, present or future, north of the 36° 30′ line, and recognized below the line. This was a return of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, repealed in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and declared unconstitutional in 1857 by the Supreme Court, which ruled that Congress did not have the authority to prohibit slavery in the territories.



2) Congress could not abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction within a slave state (example: a military post).
3) Congress could not abolish slavery in the District of Columbia as long as it existed in the adjoining states of Virginia and Maryland, nor without the consent of the District's residents.
4) Congress could not interfere with the interstate slave trade.
5) Owners of rescued fugitive slaves would receive full compensation.
6) The amendments contained in this compromise could never be changed by a future amendment, and Congress could not be authorized to interfere with slavery within any slave state.

_____

Editor's Note: While the Crittenden Compromise received extensive press coverage and was supported by many in Missouri and the South, it was rejected by Republicans and President-elect Lincoln as it gave the South many of the things Lincoln had campaigned against.

In an early January interview given by President-elect Lincoln, attended by a *Missouri Democrat* reporter, Lincoln was reported to have said the following about what was assumed to be the Crittenden Compromise.

> It was sometimes better for a man to pay a debt he did not owe, or to lose a demand which was a just one, than to go to law about it; but then, in compromising our difficulties, he would regret to see the victors put in the attitude of the vanquished, and the vanquished in the place of the victors. He would not contribute to any such compromise as that. (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.4)

For the full text of the Crittenden Compromise, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31)

January 15, 1861

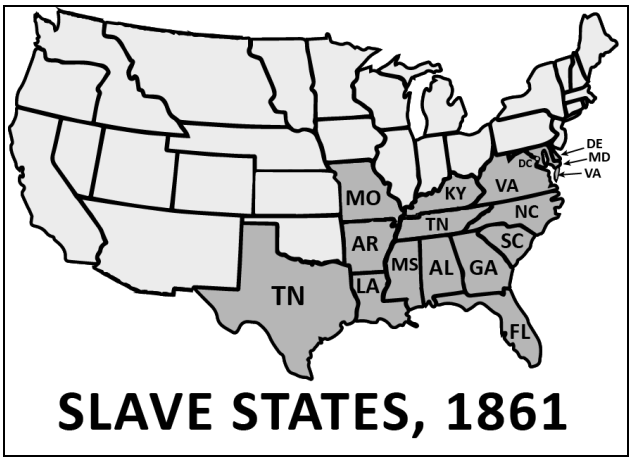
Must Missouri go with South Carolina?

(Editorial)

"Is this state to be carried by the cotton states like the tail of a kite, wherever they may go, even into civil war and rebellion?"

Missouri is the greatest and most prosperous of the slave states. She gave the largest popular vote at the last presidential election. She has more elements of wealth than any other. She is already a manufacturing state to a large extent. She has coal fields, which would supply the world's iron ore, unsurpassed in richness and amount. She is soon to be a great wool-growing country, and is contiguous to the great sheep walks, which will extend to the base, even to the tops of the Rocky Mountains; cotton near at hand, provisions to any amount either within or near her borders; and will, at no very distant day, be capable of manufacturing for the whole continent.

Joining a southern confederacy will not only cripple her present factories, but destroy her future prospects by imposing the insupportable barriers of direct taxation and [permitting] European goods free of duty. This, however, is what South Carolina and the cotton states propose to establish. They will, unquestionably, also demand the reopening of the African slave trade, which would not only fill a southern confederacy with slaves, but reduce the price of slaves in Missouri to $50 or $100 per head.



Is that what we want? The secessionists admit that they have seldom lost a slave by him or her escaping to a free state. What then is there in which any portion of the people of Missouri can sympathize or agree with South Carolina or the other cotton states? Is this state to be carried by the cotton states like the tail of a kite, wherever they may go, even into civil war and rebellion?



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.1)

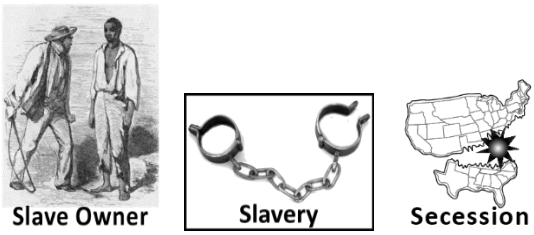
January 15, 1861

Illinois Legislature—Mr. Cameron

Extract

Mr. Cowan, the new senator from Pennsylvania, and Mr. Sanderson, from the same commonwealth, have been here since Saturday night very earnest and importunate for the nomination of Mr. Cameron. It is thought, by those most entitled to speak, that Mr. Cameron will be appointed. The claim of so powerful a state which concentrated upon one man, cannot be disregarded.

[John Hay]



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.2)

January 15, 1861

A Working Man's Response to Criticism of Frank Blair's Speech

(Letter to the Editors)

Comments on a *Missouri Republican* letter-to-the-editors signed "St. Louis"[149]

> "Shall we put the Union aside for this cabbage-tree state of South Carolina, *where no man can vote unless he owns slaves!"*

To the Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

I am not "Senator-Elect Francis P. Blair,"[150] nor is that gentleman responsible for what I say. I am proud to be a plain citizen of the United States and of the state of Missouri, claiming to have some little common sense, and sufficient knowledge of men and things in this country not to be deceived or bamboozled by such stuff as is addressed to Mr. Blair by the *Missouri Republican*'s correspondent, "St. Louis," but really intended to influence those who are not knowledgeable of the facts involved to be able to see through the deceptive arguments and misstatements intended to mislead them.

Thank God, we live in a reading community, and every man, unless willfully ignorant. Therefore, I appeal to the working men of St. Louis, whom the *Republican*'s correspondent, "St. Louis," would seduce into the trap of secession, or what amounts to the same thing, support of the policies of the Democratic Party.

What Mr. Blair really said on the evening referred to by "St. Louis," at Washington Hall, January 11th,[151] I have no means of knowing (not having been present) but from the reports of his speech in the *Republican* and the *Democrat* [newspapers].

Even though these reports do not agree as to what was said, I shall take it for granted that the report least favorable to Mr. Blair appeared in the *Republican,*[152] from which "St. Louis" takes the extract to which he objects.

In that report, Mr. Blair simply gives his opinion why South Carolina wishes to dissolve the Union, and he closes by asking the question—

[149] For the letter discussed, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-19)

[150] Congressman-elect Frank P. Blair, Jr., was one of the first to realize the inevitability of war between the North and South; he was one of the organizers of the St. Louis Union Safety Committee. He became chairman of the U.S. House Committee on Military Affairs in 1861. He served as colonel of the 1st Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry under Gen. Lyon, and as a major general corps commander under William T. Sherman. In 1899, the state of Missouri donated a marble statue of Blair to the U.S. Capitol's National Statuary Hall Collection, where it stands today (2023). The other Missouri statue is that of Senator Thomas Hart Benton. See the marble statue of Francis Preston Blair, Jr. inside of (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28).

[151] For an overview of the meeting, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28).

[152] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-13).

> *Shall we put the Union aside for this cabbage-tree state of South Carolina, where no man can vote unless he owns slaves!*

The clause in italics in the above is the one which "St. Louis" would defend the patriots of South Carolina from, and for the utterance of which he declares that Mr. Blair "has perpetrated before a public audience in St. Louis a willful and deliberate misrepresentation."

Now, I know Mr. Blair is perfectly competent to defend himself, and I neither speak for him, or defend him. But I undertake to say, what "St. Louis" was very careful to omit, that such a thing as "universal suffrage" in the proper sense of that term, *does not exist in South Carolina*. No man can hold any office of trust or profit in that state unless he is a property holder, be he ever so "honest or capable," and the higher the office, the greater the amount of property in slaves and land he is obliged to own to make him eligible. (See South Carolina Constitution.) So, you see that to all material intents, the non-property holder is disfranchised, and though he may vote, he must vote for the governing class, the slaveholders, or he cannot vote at all. This is precisely the kind of voting the people of France were allowed to do after the *coup d'etat* of Louis Napoleon in 1851-52. "Vote? Certainly, if you vote for me," said the usurper and murderer of republican liberty, and vote they did, with the bayonets of the tyrant pointing at their hearts; and then the audacious usurper proclaimed himself emperor by universal suffrage.

The constitution of the state of South Carolina is as irrevocably despotic towards the poor white people of that state as ever the edicts of the French emperor were towards his people; and this is that model state which "St. Louis" declares "has been universally democratic in her politics and government for more than half a century." Beautiful democracy, that which the poor working man of Missouri is invited to adopt. "Universal suffrage, absolute, unconditional and unqualified, has been the constitutional law of South Carolina for more than fifty years," says "St. Louis." Now, if he is really ignorant of the "unconstitutional law" of that state, why should he "assume to make positive statements in relation to important facts?" If he is not ignorant of the subject, then is he not guilty of a more willful and mean "misrepresentation" than that charged upon Mr. Blair? There never was a more barefaced falsehood palmed off upon community than the statement that "*universal suffrage* absolute, unconditional and unqualified" exists, or has ever existed, in South Carolina under her constitution.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-26)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3)

January 15, 1861

Slaveholder Argues in Favor of Union

(Letter to the Editor of the *Glasgow Times*)

"The truth is, the only security for our slave property is to stick to the 'old flag.' We have tried this, and every year our slaves have risen in value, but the moment there is any danger of our getting out of the Union, slave property goes down one-fourth of its value."

Mr. Editor: Gov. Jackson, in his inaugural address, estimates the value of our slaves at a hundred million dollars, and in your last issue, you told us of a falling off in the price of slaves of one-fourth, and in their hire of one-fifth. The fear of disunion has, then, diminished the value of our slave property twenty-five millions of dollars. So much we know and feel to be true. Politicians cannot deceive us as to this. Now can you or Gov. Jackson tell us how much more this property will be diminished when the Union is actually broken? Some of my neighbors think that his slaves won't be worth the expense of keeping them, if, indeed, we could keep them at all, surrounded, as we will be,

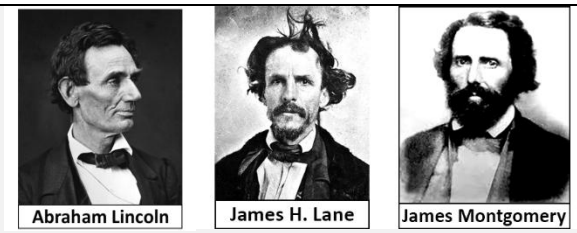
by the fierce abolitionists of the North, restrained by no law, and awed by no fear of the general government. The truth is, the only security for our slave property is to stick to the "old flag." We have tried this, and every year our slaves have risen in value, but the moment there is any danger of our getting out of the Union, slave property goes down one-fourth of its value. Every slaveholder in the county knows this, of his own knowledge, to be true. Some suppose that we can protect our slave property by keeping a guard all along our free state frontier: perhaps so, but let us see. We have at least eight hundred miles of such frontier that can be readily crossed at any point, and surrounding us there is now a free population in Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois of more than two and a half million against our own population of a million and a quarter. This view of the matter ought to satisfy us that this cannot be done. Indeed, we have a little experience in the subject. Gen. Frost's[153] recent expedition[154] to the southwest, with an element of the St. Louis militia, cost it is said, near two hundred thousand dollars, and all this was to protect Bates and Vernon counties from the fear of Montgomery and his little band of freebooters, with the *fear* of the general government staring the marauders in the face. Mr. Editor, *Missouri must remain in the Union, let other states go where they may; we cannot follow any of them out, without giving up our slaves, and the sooner we come to this conclusion and resolve to act upon it, the better.* Why talk of breaking up the Union while Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee are for remaining in it?[155]

Howard County.

[153] BGen. Daniel M. Frost was commander of the Missouri Volunteer Militia (MVM), hereafter referred to as Missouri State Militia, State Militia, or militia.

[154] See "Southwest Expedition," (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.2) below.

[155] Though Maryland and Kentucky never seceded, Virginia seceded on April 17, 1861, and Tennessee seceded on June 8, 1861. The state of Virginia, however, was split politically, with the western region remaining loyal to the Union. This Unionist region was admitted as the state of West Virginia on June 20, 1863.



James Montgomery

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.1)

James Montgomery was a notorious antislavery zealot and bandit. During the Bleeding Kansas period and right up to 1861, his band of outlaws forced pro-slavery settlers out of Kansas and conducted plundering raids into Missouri.* After the war started, Montgomery became a U.S. Army colonel in the notorious Gen. James Lane's Kansas Brigade of Jayhawkers. With the blessing of President Lincoln, Gen. Lane and his subordinate commanders, Montgomery and Jennison, continued to raid and abuse residents of Missouri, the Sacking of Osceola being a high visibility example. In one report to Washington, MGen. Halleck wrote: "The conduct of the forces under Lane and Jennison [plus Montgomery] has done more for the enemy in this state than could have been accomplished by 20,000 of his own army. I receive almost daily complaints of outrages committed by these men in the name of the United States, and the evidence is so conclusive as to leave no doubt of their correctness."

Even with such reports, Lincoln seemed to have no interest in putting a stop to the plundering of Missouri. His comment on the above report was:

December 27, 1861.
An excellent letter, though I am sorry General Halleck is so unfavorably impressed with General Lane.
*A.L. [Abraham Lincoln]***

Eventually, Montgomery was ordered

out of Missouri and sent South where he raise a regiment of African-American infantry (2nd South Carolina). In the South, he continued his criminal ways under the guise of making Southerners understand this was a real war. In 1863, he told Col. Robert Gould Shaw, commander of the Negro 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, "We are outlawed, and therefore not bound by the rules of regular warfare."

* See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-25) and the Southwest Expedition comments, next under (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.2).
** See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Dec#229).
For information on Gen. Lane and his relationship with Lincoln, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Sep#1), with editor's note.

Southwest Expedition

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.2)

The election of Lincoln caused an uptick in abolitionist and banditry raids into Missouri from Kansas. The western Missouri residents not only needed protection from the Kansans, but they also feared that abolitionists would incite a racial warfare in Missouri. This caused Missouri's governor, in late November 1860, to dispatch a 600-man militia force from St. Louis to the western frontier to defend the border and restore peace. This force, called the "Southwest Expedition," remained until May of 1861, when it was recalled to participate in the training at Camp Jackson. In the words of one pro-Southerner: "The Southwest Expedition during the winter of 1860 gave our troops a discipline in military matters which they could never otherwise have attained, and will leave them superior to many, and inferior to no brigade in the country." However, after U.S. Army Captain Nathaniel Lyon captured Camp Jackson and paroled his prisoners on their honor not to take up arms against the United States, the units that made up the Southwest Expedition disbanded. For more information on the Southwest Expedition, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-14).
Source: Phillip T. Tucker, *The Forgotten Stonewall of the West* (Mercer University Press, 1997), pp. 53-55.

For Gov. Stewart's address on the background of the "border difficulties," see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan-Annex-1).



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.4)
January 15, 1861

What they think of Secession in Southwest Missouri

(Editorial from the *Southwest Democrat)*

"But is secession the proper remedy for these evils? Shall we secure our rights by blotting out, as it regards us, the very instrument under which we receive our rights? Shall we, through fear that a vile attempt is about to be made to wrest from us our rights, madly rush from all possibility of maintaining them? Or, in other words, shall we, in a moment of exasperated frenzy, extinguish those rights ourselves?"

The *Southwest Democrat*, the leading Democratic paper of southwest Missouri, published at Warsaw [Benton County], gives its views of secession as follows:

It appears strange to us that this political heresy should find advocates among men making any pretension to knowledge of the true spirit of

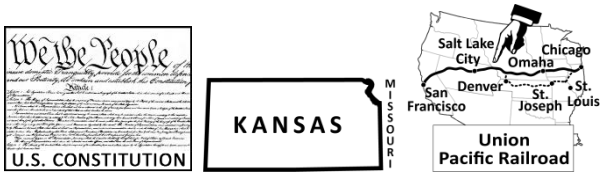
our government. It appears stranger still that it should be resorted to as a means of securing rights which are already secured by the government, or as a mode of redressing grievances which the laws of the land stand waiting to redress whenever they are invoked. It seems strange that brave men and states professing the highest admiration of our confederacy, and of its Constitution, and of its laws, and avowing their devotion to the Union if maintained upon the principle of that Constitution and those laws, should talk of flying, and actually fly like frightened foes or wretched cowards out of the government, merely because a miserable pack of thieving abolitionists shake an insolent fist at the Constitution! Where is the bravery, where is the gallantry, where is the consistency in such a course? It is said these unmitigated wretches are hotly opposed to giving us our rights; so we believe them to be. It is said that they have already violated our rights, and now live in open violation of the Constitution; so they do.

But is secession the proper remedy for these evils? Shall we secure our rights by blotting out, as it regards us, the very instrument under which we receive our rights? Shall we, through fear that a vile attempt is about to be made to wrest from us our rights, madly rush from all possibility of maintaining them? Or, in other words, shall we, in a moment of exasperated frenzy, extinguish those rights ourselves?

This is, beyond all doubt, the legitimate effect of secession. We hold the rights we now enjoy under the federal Constitution. If we did not, we would have but little cause to complain. When we abandon that Constitution by wildly rushing from beneath its wings, we also abandon all those precious rights and privileges which it now secures us. Would it be brave thus to act? Is it the part of a freeman to skulk, as whipped mongrels, from the presence of oppressors? We say we have rights in the Union; we have interests here that are dearer than life—let us defend them!

It is argued that it is better to break up the Union than to sacrifice principle; and that is the best argument in favor of secession that has yet been given, for we do not remember that a real, tangible injury has been complained of being suffered by any state, sufficient to warrant an abandonment of the Union. But we say that that principle is at best but an abstraction, while the Union is not an abstraction but a "real, substantial thing, embracing many essential and vital political rights and properties." It has lands, treasure, an organized navy and army with all their equipment, and above all, it has nationality. Now shall we rashly and dastardly abandon all these real and substantial rights merely because we fear abolitionists will deny our rights in the future? Why, to whom does the Union, with all its manifold blessings, logically and properly belong? Is it not theirs "who have kept the covenant" and not theirs who have broken it? Therefore, we say it is madness, it is unpatriotic; nay, it is cowardice to abandon the Union while yet its Constitution and laws guarantee us our rights, and while they are sought to be desecrated and violated by enemies. Should we not rather, as lovers of the institutions which our fathers gave us, stand by them and defend them to the death against the atrocious villainy that would desecrate them? No! We should never desert them, nor should we sit in listless calmness and see them violated; that would be equally criminal; but when the powers which administer the government shall obstinately withhold our constitutional rights, then, and only then, should the sword awake in defense of a violated government, and take vengeance upon its enemies.

January 16, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.5)

January 16, 1861

What Congress Might and Should Do to Save the Union

(From the *New York Tribune*)

"Admit Kansas into the Union, 'better late than never.'"

1. "Stop agitating the slavery question."
2. Go in altogether for "the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws."
3. Pass the homestead bill, and set half the unemployed poor at work for themselves instead of vainly begging work from others.[156]
4. Pass the Morrill tariff bill,[157] and thereby set the other half of the unemployed at work opening mines, building factories and furnaces, making cloth, iron, steel, etc., at the same time restoring solvency and credit to the government.
5. Pass a judicious, carefully guarded Pacific Railroad bill,[158] thereby binding the Pacific to the Atlantic states by bands of iron, and giving still more to labor, while opening a new market for the vast food supplies of the West.
6. Admit Kansas into the Union, "better late than never."[159]
7. Make the needful appropriations for the support of the government, with an eye to all possible contingencies.
8. Let those who are so anxious to submit something or other to the people, submit it in the ensuing elections for members of Congress, etc.
9. Abolish the franking privilege,[160] and establish a daily overland mail to California.
10. Adjourn and go home.

Editor's Note: After Southern U.S. congressmen walked out, Northerners were able to pass many bills that had previously been held up by Southern politicians for years (Kansas Statehood, Pacific Railroad Act, Homestead Act, the creation of Land-Grant Colleges, for example). See the footnotes attached to the above article, dealing with the above examples.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.6)
January 16, 1861

The Democratic Convention—Rumors

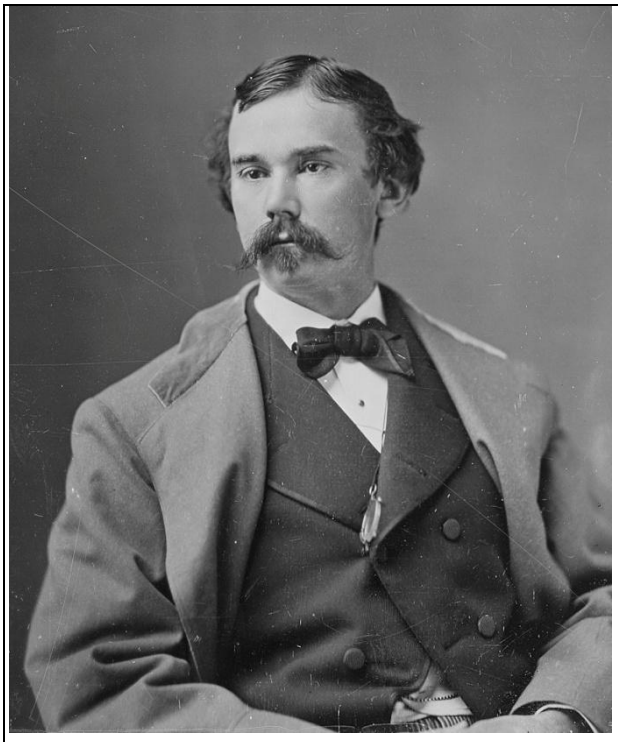
Extract

"Had the people been interested in this matter sufficiently to take it into their own hands, they would have a unanimous convention here tomorrow for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws, but the area underlings of the Springfield factionists have done their duty too well to leave any hope from the action of the Democratic State Convention."

The Democratic Convention meets here tomorrow, and the legislature have granted them the use of the Hall of Representatives. Judging from the few who have straggled into the city thus far, it will utterly disappoint the expectations of its best friends. Seedy, small potato politicians seem the material which will largely predominate in its composition. The heart of the great northwest is inflexibly true to Union and to liberty, as they understand it. Had the people been interested in this matter sufficiently to take it into their own hands, they would have a unanimous convention here tomorrow for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws, but the area underlings of the Springfield factionists have done

[156] The Homestead Act would grant families 160 acres of surveyed public land for a minimal filing fee, if they resided on the land for 5 continuous years; it passed on May 20, 1862.
[157] The Morrill Tariff Act would increase import tariffs as a way to foster industrial growth. It was adopted on March 2, 1861. Also, the Morrill Land-Grant Act donated public land to states and territories for funding colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts. It passed on July 12, 1861.
[158] The Pacific Railroad Act would authorize government bonds and grants of land to railroad companies for the construction of a transcontinental railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean; it was passed into law on July 1, 1862.
[159] Kansas was admitted on January 29, 1861.
[160] The franking privilege allows members of Congress to send mail by their signature instead of postage.

their duty too well to leave any hope from the action of the Democratic State Convention. They will probably adopt the Higbee[161] resolutions, which are almost manly, with the Higbee preamble, which in its iniquity of distortion and falsehood would do credit to Machiavelli.



John Milton Hay
Mathew B. Brady, c. 1860
U.S. National Archives and Records Administration

Rumors are busily circulating in regard to a supposed compromise, originated by the veteran Joseph Gillespie,[162] and supported by all the central politicians, to which some unauthorized correspondents have already pledged Mr. Lincoln in advance. The report is wholly without foundation. Mr. Lincoln will be very slow to pledge himself to any policy which shall open the door to indefinite filibustering, and a man of the deep sagacity and sterling integrity of Joseph Gillespie would be the last to recommend it. The present troubles are the subject of earnest consultations among the Republican leaders collected here, but as yet no conclusion has been reached as to measured remedial.

[John Hay]

[161] Illinois State Sen. Chauncey L. Higbee was a strong Union supporter.

[162] Joseph Gillespie, a former Illinois state senator, was a founder of the Illinois Republican Party. He served on the Illinois circuit courts, elected in 1861, and serving for 12 years, until his retirement. He worked with other judges to create the Illinois Appellate Court.

January 17, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#32)

January 17, 1861

The Union Must Be Preserved, Peaceably If We Can, Forcibly If We Must

> "The Union and Constitution were created by the people of all the states, and nothing less than the power which created can dissolve them."

This is the sentiment of every true patriot. Anti-coercion is practical secession. There is no middle ground, no other alternatives. A government without the power of coercion is like a law without a penalty, and the doctrine which denies the constitutional right of secession, and also the power of coercion, is, to the most ordinary common sense, a palpable absurdity. If there is no constitutional right of secession, then it follows that secession is wrong, and upon the doctrine asserted, a wrong without a remedy. If there is a constitutional right of secession, our bond of Union is but a rope of sand, a miserable delusion, and the sooner it falls to pieces, the better. But we do not so regard it. The Union and Constitution were created by the people of all the states, and nothing less than the power which created can dissolve them. Some who admit the constitutional right of coercion are opposed to its exercise because coercion will lead to civil war and destroy the Union.

Is not this practically a denial of the constitutional power of coercion? What is the

power of coercion good for, if the exercise of the power breaks in pieces the Union which it seeks to preserve? What does such a power amount to, but the power to commit suicide? What is this, but asserting that a law to punish crime is repealed by the act of enforcing it?

I freely grant that civil war and bloodshed are dreadful calamities, and to be avoided if possible; but there is a still greater calamity, proclaiming impunity to treason, saying to unprincipled demagogues, who by artful appeals may deceive and inflame the passions of the people of a state, and then attempt to break up the Union.

What is this but a bribe to treason, and placing the existence of the Union, and the prosperity and happiness of thirty millions of people, in the hands of every ambitious and unprincipled man who has the talent to inflame the passion of the multitude? What is the present attitude of South Carolina? She is in open rebellion against the government, has taken forcible possession of the government property and fired on an unarmed vessel of the United States.[163] Does anyone pretend she is justified in her conduct? Her commissioner, Mr. Rhett,[164] says: "It is not a thing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election, or by the non-execution of the fugitive slave law, but it has been gathering steam for thirty years."

There is, then, no present grievance, no encroachment on their rights or liberties, but it is only the ripened conspiracy of thirty years' growth to break up the Union for the purpose of creating a southern confederacy or monarchy.

South Carolina, followed by other states, is in open rebellion. What shall we do with her? Shall we fold our arms while she robs us of our property? Shall we hold up our hands in horror of bloodshed and civil war, while she fires into our unarmed vessels?

Shall we leave the gallant Major Anderson[165] and his heroic little band, defending Fort Sumter, to be starved, or overpowered and shot down by the South Carolina traitors? Because, if we send them relief, the same traitors will shoot their deliverers also?

Shall this once proud government go on bended knees as suppliants to those who avow themselves as rebels, and humbly say to them, "We shall not fight for our Union or our property, for we have a horror of bloodshed and civil war; please inform us what concessions we must make, and how much dirt we must eat to appease your wrath, and be again received into favor."

Is there a drop of revolutionary blood still left in the veins of any man that does not boil with patriotic fire at such object and dastardly humiliations? Would it not sink us beneath the contempt of poor Mexico? These rebels are not as chicken-hearted as we are. Civil war and bloodshed have no horrors for them. They do not hesitate to take our property by force, and drive out our soldiers and fire upon them; and I suppose, if they should fulfill their threat of an armed assault upon the city of Washington, the same craven spirit would spike our cannon and forbid any defense, because we have such a horror of bloodshed and civil war.

Away with such a craven spirit. We are not worthy of liberty if we have not the courage and the resolution to defend it at whatever cost, from traitors within as well as foes without.

Nor can we yield anything in the way of compromise or concession to or hold intercourse with traitors who stand with arms in their hands. Mr. Rhett of South Carolina tells us this treason "has been gathering steam for thirty years."[166] If without concession or compromise, treason had been put down in South Carolina thirty years ago, we should

[163] On January 9, 1861, a Union merchant ship, the *Star of the West*, was fired upon, and forced away as it tried to deliver supplies to Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina.

[164] Robert B. Rhett, a former South Carolina senator, wrote the state's Ordinance of Secession and would serve as a delegate to the C.S.A. Provisional Congress in 1861.

[165] Refers to U.S. Army Maj. Robert Anderson, who was in command of the U.S. forts at Charleston Harbor (including Sumter), in South Carolina, which had seceded on December 20, 1860.

[166] Nullification Crisis: In 1832, South Carolina resisted federal authority and refused to comply with federal laws concerning tariffs. At that time, President Jackson sent the Army to South Carolina, and a compromise defused the situation.

have heard nothing of it now; and we are reaping the legitimate fruit now of mistakes, concession to treason then. If we have a government strong enough to withstand the assaults of treason, let it now be proved and vindicated; if we have not, let us go to pieces and enter upon the career of the Mexican states.

JACKSONIAN.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#33)
January 17, 1861

State of Public Feeling in St. Louis

(Editorial)

"The stain which has been thus fixed on the character of St. Louis is the work of corrupt, unscrupulous Democratic politicians, who have organized revolutionary bands and strained every nerve to arm those bands in secret."

The conduct of certain Democratic disunion politicians in this city is producing its natural effect abroad. St. Louis is getting a bad name. Strangers shun it as if it were plague-stricken. The idea prevails that we are under a reign of terror, that free speech is suppressed, that rowdyism is unrestrained, and property liable to be confiscated. All this is erroneous. The laws are still in force, the legitimate authorities are still in power, and there is as little violence here as in any other city in the country.

There can be no terrorism so long as the city and county are under a Republican government. What may be heard in the private meetings of the Minute Men[167] and in the drinking saloons is mere sound and fancy, signifying nothing. We venture to give assurance that no reign of terror will be inaugurated in St. Louis while the duly elected officers hold the power conferred upon them by their fellow citizens.

If indeed, the authority to preserve the peace was taken away from those in whose hands it is lodged by the passage of the proposed Metropolitan Police Bill,[168] and given to those in whom the community has no confidence, riot and ruffianism might be anticipated. These are seen connected with the semi-military Democratic organization, the Minute Men.

The stain which has been thus fixed on the character of St. Louis is the work of corrupt, unscrupulous Democratic politicians, who have organized revolutionary bands and strained every nerve to arm those bands in secret. While the *Missouri Republican*,[169] *Herald,* and *Bulletin* newspapers, by publishing the treasonable, menacing proceedings of the illegal anti-constitutional Minute Men have made them conspicuous throughout the whole country.[170] The sum of the matter is that Democratic politicians are blasting the reputation of the city in order to promote their own partisan ends. These contemptible politicians would establish a reign of terror if they dared, but fortunately, their threats are laughed at with scorn here in St. Louis, and it is but justice to add, by the great body of every party.

[167] Minute Men, a semi-political and military organization, mainly from the Southern political and social elite of Saint Louis, organized at a meeting on January 7, 1861 [see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21)], to advance the secessionist efforts in Saint Louis. They eventually became companies within Missouri's secessionist-minded militia and were taken prisoners and effectively disbanded with the capture of Camp Jackson by Capt. Nathaniel Lyon on May 10, 1861.

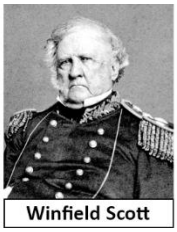
[168] See Essential Information #6, "Metropolitan Police Bill" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.1) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-60).

[169] The name of the *Republican* newspaper is a misnomer as it is a Democratic Party newspaper. It is for expanding slavery and not coercing the seceded states to return to the Union.

[170] This is all part of the ongoing war of words between the *Missouri Republican* and the *Missouri Democrat*. The latter, which sponsors the Unconditional Unionists, is being critical of the Conditional Unionists, sponsored by the *Missouri Republican*, and the Minute Men, sponsored by the *Bulletin*.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#33.1)

January 17, 1861

Why the Sub-Treasury at St. Louis was Guarded by the U. S. Troops[171]

(From the *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 14, 1861)

"The sub-treasurer at St. Louis, having in his custody all the public money in that great and populous city, and naturally anxious for the safety of his important trust, from abundant, or perhaps superabundant caution, conceived that in this time of trouble and tumult, his duty required of him at present some security for his treasury beyond the ordinary one of locks and bolts."

The public is becoming indignant at the perversions of fact and the fabrications transmitted through the electric telegraph, by careless or conniving persons, for mischievous purposes. One instance of this was later made the subject of complaint and comment in the Senate, and another became the subject of a formal motion of inquiry in the House of Representatives on Saturday last. On that morning there appeared in the papers of this city, and doubtless at the same time in the papers of the whole country, the following dispatch:

> *St. Louis, Jan. 11—By order of Gen. Winfield Scott,*[172] *a detachment of United States troops took possession of the Sub-Treasury, Post Office and Custom House buildings.*

The inaccurate statement not only gave rise to Mr. Clark's motion in the House of Representatives, but promoted strong comments in a communication which a gentleman from Missouri handed to us for insertion in this morning's *Intelligencer*, but which we have withheld from the press on learning accidentally, but from an authentic source, what was the real fact to which the dispatch gave such exaggerated proportions. It was, we learn simply this:

The sub-treasurer at St. Louis, having in his custody all the public money in that great and populous city, and naturally anxious for the safety of his important trust, from abundant, or perhaps superabundant caution, conceived that in this time of trouble and tumult, his duty required of him at present some security for his treasury beyond the ordinary one of locks and bolts. He, therefore, requested of the government the presence of a small guard of soldiers from the neighboring barracks, where they were unemployed; and in compliance with this application, the Secretary of War directed that such a guard should be furnished. The other government offices occupying rooms in the same building, the telegrapher placed custom house, post office, and sub-treasury all under guard, "by order of Gen. Scott." We know but little of military routine, but we presume that all orders from the War Department go through the senior general when he is at the seat of government.

The precautionary step of the sub-treasurer, in seeking extraordinary protection for the property under his charge, was doubtless prompted by some real or apprehended danger, of which we have yet to learn the particulars.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34)

January 17, 1861

The Seizure of the St. Louis Powder by

[171] For Asst. U.S. Treasurer Sturgeon's letters on this subject, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-5) & (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-6).

[172] LGen. Winfield Scott was the commanding general of the U.S. Army.

the New Orleans Secessionists[173]

(Reprint)

[From the *Louisville Journal*, Jan. 18, 1861]

> "In as much as the people of Kentucky are invited and urged to go precipitately off with these fiery and unscrupulous secessionists, it is certainly prudent and well to consider the character of the acts, which these people, even in the initial stage of their movement against the Union, are perpetrating in the face of earth and of high heaven."

We do not know whether our Kentucky readers were or were not surprised by the intelligence published in our paper of yesterday, that the New Orleans secessionists have seized forty-five hundred kegs of powder shipped from the East for St. Louis, and appropriated it to their own use. Midnight or midday robbery seems to be adopted as an important part of the secession program wherever and whenever such a proceeding seems calculated to promote the ends of the revolutionists.



Two kegs of gunpowder

These New Orleans robbers have not even the excuse or pretext that the powder seized by them either belonged to the general government or was on its way to a non-slaveholding state. Boldly and audaciously setting all law and all morality at defiance, and without even pretending that their state is out of the Union, they established a wild reign of anarchy and terror, breathing threats of blood and slaughter against all who may oppose them or dare to gainsay their traitorous edicts.

In as much as the people of Kentucky are invited and urged to go precipitately off with these fiery and unscrupulous secessionists, it is certainly prudent and well to consider the character of the acts, which these people, even in the initial stage of their movement against the Union, are perpetrating in the face of earth and of high heaven. We have not the least assurance, indeed, we have not the slightest reason to believe, that the high secession functionaries in New Orleans, who have seized and appropriated to the use of their party between four and five thousand kegs of powder, the private property of a St. Louis firm, will not at the very first opportunity seize anything belonging to private citizens of Kentucky, which they think can be used for feeding their troops and otherwise prosecuting the war which they contemplate. Inaugurating secession is inaugurating a horrible condition, and God knows that, if the treason is not arrested, the middle and the end, if the end shall ever come, will be far more horrible than the beginning.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.1)

January 17, 1861

Pro-Secession Elements Driving Out Union Families from Holt County

(Letter to the Editors)

Oregon [Holt County], Mo., Jan. 15, 1861.

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

The most Rev. Steven Blanchard, of this city, was driven out of our community by the bloody threats of the secessionists. He has been insulted on the streets by ruffians, threatened through the

[173] James Peckham, in his 1865 book, *General Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861*, on page 52, writes that the powder seized had been purchased in New York by secessionists stockpiling war materials.

newspapers and post office until he has been compelled, more for the sake of his invalid wife than for any other reason, to leave. And why? Merely because he is a non-resisting professor of Republicanism, a harmless man, who [pursued] the even tenor of his way unquestioning, but not unquestioned.

Yours, etc., —Q.

Editor's Note: Below is an interesting report on the U.S. Navy's January 9, 1861 effort to resupply Fort Sumter with the steamship *Star of the West*[174] and the South Carolinian artillery attack that prevented the resupply.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.2)

January 17, 1861

Fort Sumter Resupply Prevented

[Reported for the *New York Evening Post*]

"I learned that we arrived in the vicinity of Charleston bar about midnight; that all the coast lights had been extinguished, and that thus far it had been impossible to find the main channel. It is evident from the indication that the hospitable South Carolinians do not mean that we should go in with a salute."

I awoke at three o'clock this morning and went immediately to the upper deck, where I found the captain, mate, pilot and two military officers. I learned that we arrived in the vicinity of Charleston [South Carolina] bar about midnight; that all the coast lights had been extinguished, and that thus far it had been impossible to find the main channel. It is evident from the indication that the hospitable South Carolinians do not mean that we should go in with a salute.

A light was seen off the coast, but we could not make out what it was. A little after three o'clock, we discovered the light on Fort Sumter, and with these exceptions, everything was dark. It was, of course, impossible to get over the bar without the lighthouse, and so we awaited the break of day.

I have never seen a finer morning than the one which dawned upon us. The sky was clear, and the moon, a faint crescent of silver, had just arisen, and the low coast looked like a dense forest of evergreen. The spires of Charleston became visible in the approaching daylight, and on the walls of Sumter, we beheld the American flag floating in the breeze.

Now, about 6:30 o'clock, we see the lighthouse; and now, too, we discover that the mysterious light just mentioned was that of a steamer at our right. Now the situation of the channel is ascertained, and we are underway; and now the steamer at our right is burning red and blue lights; and now she sends up rockets. There is no mistaking her movement; she is giving the alarm signal to Fort Moultrie.

On we go; the soldiers are below with loaded muskets, and the officers are ready to give the word if there is anything to do. Now it is broad daylight, and we are making directly into the guns of Fort Moultrie, whose black walls are distinctly visible. The little steamer at our right is burning signal light at our left on Morris Island, at a little village called Cummings Point, and apparently but little more than a mile from Fort Sumter.

"Is it possible that those fellows have got an artillery battery off here?" asks one.

"No," answers another; "there is no battery there."

But there is. It is now quarter past seven, and we are about two miles from Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie, which are equal distance from us, and, suddenly, whizz! comes a ricochet shot from a

[174] *Star of the West*, an American civilian steamship, was hired in January 1861, by the government, to transport military supplies to the U.S. military garrison of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, South Carolina. Forced away by South Carolinian artillery, it was unable to resupply Fort Sumter. In 1863, it was destroyed by C.S.A. forces.

Morris Island artillery battery. It plunges into the water and skips along, but falls short of our steamer. The line was forward of our bow, and was, of course, an invitation to stop and not proceed any further toward the fort. But we are not ready to accept the proffered hospitality, and the captain pays no attention to it, except to run up the Stars and Stripes at the masthead. A moment of anxious suspense, and bang goes a heavy cannon from the same masked battery. The shot falls short of me a hundred yards or more, and bounds clean over our vessel aft, nearly on a line with the head of a sailor, but, luckily, a little above it.

On we go, and—whiz! again goes the smaller gun first fired, and another ricochet shot skips along the water, and falls short of us.

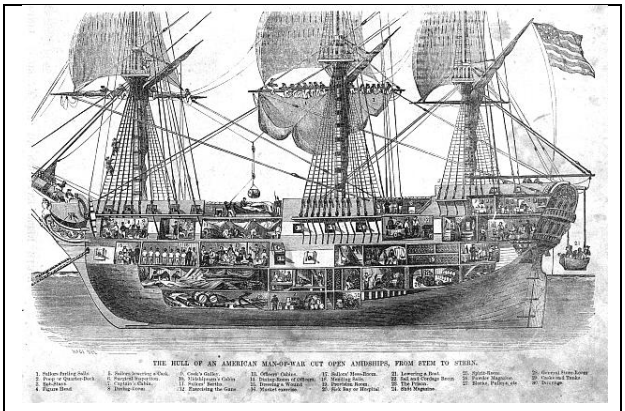
"Bosh!" exclaims the captain, "you must give us bigger guns than that, boys, or you cannot hurt us."

On we go, without heeding the compliments of our Charleston friends. Another moment and bang! Again goes the heavy gun. The ball now strikes our ship in the fore chains, about two feet above the water. A seaman at the front of the vessel was holding the lead weight used to take the "soundings" to determine the depth of the water, when a cannon ball struck directly under his feet. It is not surprising that, under the circumstances, he was strongly inclined to take to his heels, and he begins to scramble up, when the captain assures him that there is no danger, one ball having struck so near him, on the principle, I suppose, that lightning never strikes twice in the same place. The man reassured, patiently takes his place and drops the lead weight into the water again.

The ball, fortunately, was too far spent to go through the side of our vessel, although it left an honorable scar.

The battery continues to play upon us, and a huge ball comes clean over it near the wheelhouse. We are not yet within range of the guns of Fort Moultrie, and yonder is a cutter in tow of a steamboat, preparing to open fire upon us. A moment longer and we shall be in range of these three batteries. The gunners on Morris Island are growing confident; if they get the right range they will send a shot through our side, scattering death and destruction. Fort Moultrie, directly in front, will bring her heavy guns to bear and will drive their deadly missiles into our bow, while the cutter will open upon our right.

Why does not Major Anderson open fire upon that battery and save us? We look in vain for help; the American flag flies from Fort Sumter, and the American flag at our bow and stern is fired upon; yet there is not the slightest recognition of our presence from the fort to which we look for protection. The unexpected battery on Morris Island has cut off all hope of escape by running the vessel aground near Sumter, and taking to the boats. Is it possible that Fort Sumter has been taken by the South Carolinians? If it has not, why does not Major Anderson show that he will protect it, or at least recognize us in some way? To go within range of the guns of Fort Moultrie is to expose vessels, men, and stores to almost instant destruction, or to capture by the enemy.



THE HULL OF AN AMERICAN MAN-O'WAR CUT OPEN AMIDSHIPS, FROM STEM TO STERN.

Man-of-War

(Usually a ship armed with cannon and propelled primarily by sails)

"Helm out of port!" shouted the captain, and the *Star of the West* is turned about without any great loss of time, as you may imagine. We turn without incident and steam away, with the Stars and Stripes still floating, and the battery still playing upon us by way of a parting salute.

As we steam away, the steamer near Moultrie, having the hostile cutter in tow, steams away into Swash Channel, evidently with the intention of cutting off our retreat; but she soon abandons the chase, and we sail out without a man killed or wounded, with our stores unharmed, and proceed unmolested, probably on our homeward journey.

After the brief but exciting experience of the morning, I am prepared, without hesitation, to

concur with the captain in the opinion that it is very unpleasant to be fired at with hard cannonballs without any chance to fire back. I wish to say, however, that no one on board displayed any symptoms of fear.

Captain McGowan and the pilot, Mr. Brewer, guiding us through the channel to the fort, were probably the targets for the Morris Island artillery battery, since a good shot through the wheel-house would have been most disastrous. The soldiers, although two-thirds of them are recruits, appeared to be quite indifferent to the music, while the officers agreed that it was scandalous that they could not fight back.

Soon after crossing the bar of the Charleston harbor, on our homeward course, we met a fine sailing vessel, the *Emily St. Pierre*, of Charleston. Captain McGowan stopped and hailed her.

"Where do you hail from?" said he.

"From Liverpool." Was the reply.

"Whither bound?"

"To Charleston."

"What flag do you sail under?"

"So far under the American flag."

"Then you can't go into Charleston," said our captain. "They will not let the American flag go into that port. I was just driven out of there. They fired upon me when I was sailing under the American flag."

"Then I suppose I must go in under the palmetto flag," said he of the *Emily St. Pierre*.



South Carolina

"Then I ought to take you," shouted our captain, with energy.

"War has been declared; they have fired upon me, and you are my lawful prize."

"You can do what you like," replied the other captain, with a voice which seemed to be nervous from one cause or another; "you are the stronger party."

Captain McGowan concluded that inasmuch as he had not at present a commission from government, he would let the *Emily St. Pierre* go her way, but declaring, if he had his commission, it would be delightful to bring her off after the treatment he had received this morning from Charleston.

The military men on board highly complimented the South Carolinians on their shooting in the first attempt. They say it was well done; that all which was needed was a little better range, which they probably could have obtained in a few minutes. Their line was perfect, and the opinion is expressed that someone had charge of the guns who understood his business.

"It was a very good sport for them," remarked one of our officers, "to shoot at us, and there was nothing to trouble them. They had it all their own way. But when Uncle Sam gets a man-of-war in the channel, throwing shells into that sandhill, they will learn the differences."

Two guns were employed; the smaller, it is believed, a twelve-pounder, and the larger a thirty-two pounder. This, however, is only conjecture. Whatever their size, they were well-manned. They were fired rapidly, and with a will.

One of the officers hazarded a joke soon after we left the Charleston harbor. "The people of Charleston," he remarked, "pride themselves upon their hospitality; but it exceeds my expectation. They gave us several balls before we landed."

It is believed that if the South Carolinians had not made a mistake, we should have partaken of their hospitality, whatever it may be, as prisoners. If the battery on Morris Island had waited ten minutes longer before firing, we should have been completely at their mercy. It was only necessary for them to wait until we were within range of the guns of Fort Moultrie, and escape would have been impossible. So that, had it not been for this new and unexpected battery on Morris Island and it's premature firing, we should inevitably have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if we had escaped sinking and drowning.

Although we had a surgeon on board, he had no instruments or medical stores.

It is believed that the cutter which was in tow of the steamboat was the *William Aiken*, which was treacherously surrendered to the South Carolinians by its commander.

Fort Sumter

Anyone who is familiar with the Charleston Harbor cannot fail to appreciate the importance of Fort Sumter. From the deck of our vessel, it had the

appearance of a new red brick building. It completely commands the channel, Fort Moultrie and Morris Island. Our officers, however, are in doubt whether it commands the masked battery on that island, which fired on us. The battery is, apparently, simply an earthwork[175] constructed among sandhills. The port-holes of Fort Sumter overlooking Morris Island were closed, and it is possible that the guns on that side of the fortress have not been mounted.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.3)

January 17, 1861

The Convention Passes the Senate

"The friends of the bill in the House, confident of their power to carry it eventually, have made no really elaborate arguments in its favor, but have confined themselves to speechmaking and appeals to the prejudices of the slaveholding interest."

Jefferson City, January 15, 1861.

The debate on the Secession Convention Bill occupied the whole of the morning and afternoon sessions of the state legislature yesterday. The importance of the bill, and its probable future effects on the relations between the state and the federal government, has induced a wide range of debate. Every member almost has felt it incumbent of him to define his views and to set himself in a decided position before his constituents, many of them by repeated reiteration of their comments. Hence the debate has become somewhat tedious, irksome, and monotonous.

The (secessionist) friends of the bill in the House, confident of their power to carry it eventually, have made no really elaborate arguments in its favor, but have confined themselves to speechmaking and appeals to the prejudices of the slaveholding interest. The opponents of the bill in its original shape, which makes the action of that convention obligatory on the people of the state without any reference to their opinions or the final decision, have advanced powerful and convincing arguments against this arbitrary assumption of power by the General Assembly.

The debate in the House yesterday, came upon the amendment of Mr. Roberts, of Schuyler [County], which proposes that in case the convention shall pass an ordinance of secession, or any act affecting the relations between the state and federal government, or the Constitution and the laws of the state, that it shall be referred to the people for ratification.

The conservative portion of the House favors this amendment, but it will be rejected doubtless.

Mr. Welch of Johnson [County], offered an amendment, that, if a majority of the votes cast at the election for delegates, be in favor of submitting the action of the convention to the people, then no ordinance of secession, or any act affecting the relations between the state and federal government, shall be valid until approved by a vote of the people.

Mr. Vest,[176] Chairman of Committee on Federal Relations, expressed his willingness to adopt this amendment.

An evening session was held, and Senator Morris, of St. Louis, made a powerful argument to oppose the calling of a convention. The bill was not

[175] Earthwork: embankment made of earth, used as a defensive fortification.

[176] In 1860, George G. Vest, of Boonville, was elected to the Missouri House as a Douglas Northern Democrat, and he was also elected as a Unionist representative to the [Secession] Convention, where he was the one member of 99 failing to vote to remain in the Union. One biography indicates he fought on the Confederate side at the Battle of Wilson's Creek. During the gathering of the rump legislature in Neosho, in October 1861, he was elected a representative to the Confederate Congress and served in Richmond until the end of the war. After the war, when former secessionists returned to power in Missouri, Vest was elected to the U.S. Senate and served from 1879 to 1904.

called for by the people of Missouri. He depicted in a forcible manner the evils which would accrue to the state by secession. He advocated mutual compromise and concession by the North and South.

On the conclusion of his remarks, the vote was taken, and the result was 27 ayes to 2 nays for calling a convention. Senator Morris and Gullett voting in the negative.

Senator Johnson, from the Committee on Federal Relations, introduced a bill authorizing the governor to appoint commissioners to meet a Southern convention at Nashville, and three Commissioners to meet at Wheeling, Va.; also, one Commissioner to the state of Illinois, which was read twice, when the Senate adjourned.

—K.

January 18, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.4)
January 18, 1861

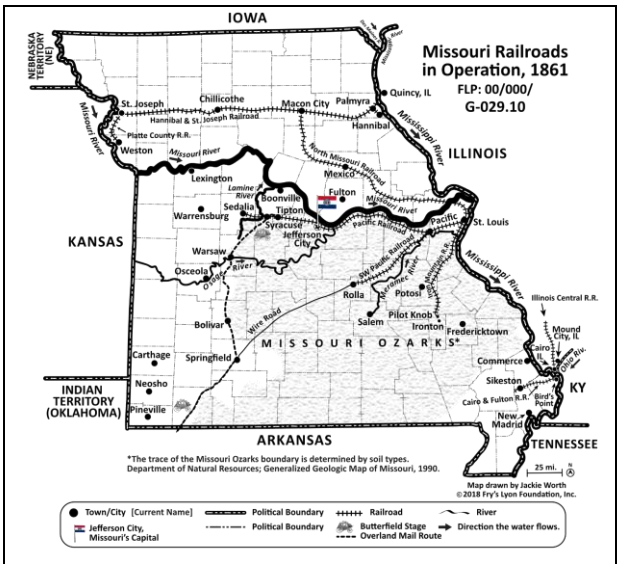
The Dire Consequences if Missouri Secedes

(Editorial)

"What situation would be ours in the event of a civil war? Missouri would be nothing but a prison for all her citizens, while her commerce would be literally annihilated."

Without dwelling on the certainty of invasion from the free states around us (Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas), let us inquire what would be the effect of secession on our commerce. None will deny that a blockade of the Mississippi could be established with the greatest ease. From one or two points on the Illinois side, Illinois would command the whole river, suffering no boat to pass, going up or down. Missouri has no railroad connection on our own soil with the South or the lower Mississippi; we have no lines of communication with the eastern seaboard, except the railroads that commence on the other bank of the Mississippi and that run through Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

What situation would be ours in the event of a civil war? Missouri would be nothing but a prison for all her citizens, while her commerce would be literally annihilated. The farmer would find no market but in Missouri for his products; and as all the great avenues leading to and from the seaports would be rendered inaccessible, our imports would come from New Orleans by boat to the Missouri-Arkansas line, then by wagons up to St. Louis [see map]. Can Missouri afford to dispense with the Mississippi? Can Missouri afford to resign the right of way and privilege of travel to the east coast on the several railroads that terminate in Illinois opposite Missouri?



See map GM-10 on page 423 for an enlarged image.

We tell our disunionist legislature and governor that they dare not, even if they had the power to carry Missouri out of the Union, and start a civil war. They may plot, but their conspiracy will fail, bringing ruin to only them. Those wretched plagiarists of treason in our state government will only be saved from the vengeance of Missouri by the defeat of their plans. If Missouri ever abandons the Union, which has given her uninterrupted peace and noble development, she will afford the most

striking illustration in history of ignorance, stupidity, and crime.

We affirm that Missouri will not go out of the Union because we believe a majority of her citizens are neither idiots nor lunatics.


Slave Owner


CONFEDERATE STATES



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.5)

January 18, 1861

What the Future Holds for a Slavery-Based Confederacy

(Letter to Editors)

> "It is true that slavery was here when our government was made; but slavery did not form the government. The government was made to perpetuate freedom."

Editors Missouri Democrat:

Omitting all considerations for the present as to whether Missouri, after dissolution, will fall into a Northern or a southern confederacy, it seems proper now to endeavor to realize, if we can, the quality of that outgrowth of secession, a slavery-based confederacy. What is it to be? What must it be when it is formed? The great fundamental idea of the government under which we have lived so long, was "liberty." It grew out of a struggle against oppression; it was born amid the most fearful throes of the aspiring energies of the people of 1776 upon the broadest bases of human rights, and above all, popular suffrage, the right to vote, sustaining the people's hold firmly upon every portion of the government.

It is true that slavery was here when our government was made; but slavery did not form the government. The government was made to perpetuate freedom.

What must be the nature of that government which is made to perpetuate slavery? Whose greatest interest is supposed to rest in slavery? And all whose energies are to be bent in that direction? It will put on the garb of despotism from the start. Its spirit being a slaveocracy, it can wear no other garb.

Look round you and observe their actions. They must have perfect freedom of speech, but not so their neighbors. The press publishes sentiments they do not approve; the press must be put down. The ordinary course of law is too slow for them; Minute Men and mobs suit them better. They must hold their public meetings, but nobody else shall unless they approve. Freedom of speech and of the press, and trial by jury and the right of property, are controlled by the slavocracy. They are not content to have slavery subject to the vote of the people; no, it must be put beyond the popular control. Now let those people form their confederacy, and they will, they must strike out every feature of the present existing forms which guard the liberty of the citizens. The dangers of a slave revolt, which will grow more and more in years to come, will control the whole machinery of government. Day by day, week by week, and year by year, the awful fear of a slave revolt will work itself into the constitution of such a government; its ghostly features will be stamped upon every department of its laws, and upon every form of its administration; a police force will grow up to look into every man's private affairs, a standing army in time of peace (an idea abhorrent to a really free people) will be indispensable to keep the slaves in subjugation; this



Slaves Waiting for Sale in Richmond, Virginia

Painted upon the sketch of 1853

army must be a cruel burden on the state; this very army will dominate and terrify the people and the government.

The foreign slave trade will probably be reopened and legalized; the difference between the whites and blacks will continually increase, poor whites will go away, for none can participate in government except slave owners; no white immigrants will come in, for the slavocracy's prejudices will see in such newcomers only insurrections; many will be driven out for the same suspicions; the mechanic arts will cease to be pursued in that confederacy except by slaves; the people will purchase from abroad; in a short time, everything but slavery-produced raw material will come from abroad.

Such a nation, feeble and trembling for its existence at home, will be contemptible to foreign powers. It can never produce seamen, therefore never have a navy; it cannot make war by land or sea for its internal foes, the slaves, will keep its energies confined at home for self-defense; everybody will kick it, and it may bluster but it must pocket the insult. Education will be then, in greater degree than now, the privilege of the few; there will be no general popular knowledge; two classes will distinguish the people; the rich and the poor. The middle class just rising out of extreme poverty and sympathizing with the root from which they sprang, and holding in check the overbearing power of the rich, a middle class, essential to free government, will not exist. It will be therefore almost immediately an aristocracy of restless and bullying slave owners, whose only business is arbitrary governance, whose practical training is in bending laboring slaves to their will. Those lordly barons will wrangle among themselves. They will need, and they will take before long, a master in the shape of a single tyrant, a dictator to relieve themselves from money tyrants.

—LINN.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.6)

January 18, 1861

The House Debates the Convention Bill

Extract

> "The voice of the people, expressed by the members, opposing a convention, which may plunge Missouri into secession, have caused many of the friends of the original bill to pause and retrace their steps and take a new position."

Jefferson City, Jan. 17, 1861.

The debate on the Convention Bill, in the House, still drags slowly over the issue of submitting the action of the convention to the people for ratification.

The voice of the people, expressed by the members, opposing a convention, which may plunge Missouri into secession, have caused many of the [secessionist] friends of the original bill to pause and retrace their steps and take a new position.

They justly fear the retributive indignation of their constituents.

In the afternoon, Mr. Sexton, of St. Louis, explained his reasons for voting for the amendment.

He was willing to vote for a convention bill, provided that it contained a provision; that in case the convention passed an ordinance of secession, that it should be first submitted to the vote of the people of the state, and if disapproved by them, should be null and void.

The amendment was then voted on and adopted by a vote of 81 to 40.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.7)

January 18, 1861

The Convention Bill Passes the House

Extract

Jefferson City, January 17, 1861

House—Afternoon Session

The State Convention Bill with the ratification amendment was voted on and passed by a vote of 105 to 17.

The amendment reads as follows:

Amend by Adding Section 10

But said Convention, when so assembled, shall have no power to alter or change the existing relations of the state of Missouri with the government of the United States, or any state thereof, until the act, ordinance, or resolution making such a change be submitted to the people of this state and approved by a majority of the qualified voters at said election.

All of the St. Louis delegation voting in the negative except Mr. Sexton, who voted for the bill.

The House Adjourned.

January 19, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35)

Is Missouri Out Just Because South Carolina is Out?

(Editorial)

The secessionists of this state, including our precious pair of senators[177] in Washington, tell us that, inasmuch as South Carolina has withdrawn from the Union, no Union exists, and consequently that Missouri is virtually out of the Union, too, that there are no United States, and that the only question is, "when shall we go?"

Let us treat this absurdity gravely. The ordinance of South Carolina, being in violation of the Constitution of the United States, is null, void, and of no legal force or effect. That state is therefore out only on paper. But suppose South Carolina be out? The Constitution of the United States provides that nine states should be sufficient to form a Union, to establish the federal government. At least nine states still remain. When nine states ratified the Constitution, the government went into operation, and the Union was formed. Suppose the tenth state had come in, and the next day went out again; would that have broken up the Union of the nine states, already formed under the express provision of the Constitution? Such silly stuff would hardly pass current among boys ten years old! Your nullifier is always a student of the theoretical, but his logic is frequently, as in this case, as incomprehensible to plain men as the logic of the educated of the middle ages, who proved that ten thousand angels could dance on the point of a needle, and without jostling one another.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.1)

January 19, 1861

Disunion as Seen Abroad

[177] U.S. Sen. Trusten Polk was expelled from the Senate in January 1862, for supporting the rebellion, then was appointed a colonel in the Confederate army. U.S. Sen. James S. Green served until the end of his term, March 4, 1861; he was not re-elected due to his Southern sympathies.

and Felt at Home

(Editorial)

> "The disunionists of Missouri have set out on the path which is marked with the footprints of South Carolina, and unless their career is cut short, they will certainly arrive at the same destination."

The telegraph this morning communicates two very important and suggestive facts to the public. The representatives in Washington of foreign governments are all opposed to the rebellious movements in the South. That voice is heard loud and clear condemning the disunion cause. The press of France and England have exposed secession's hideous features and reflects the grizzly image back upon the startled eyes of America.

Among the phenomena of the nineteenth century which will most attract the gaze and elicit the surprise of the future philosopher, is this frantic disunion movement, contrasting as it does with the grand achievements and developments of the age. Its authors will fill the lowest circle in the inferno of infamy; the opinion of the civilized world has already pronounced their doom.

But while they are thus looked upon in that light abroad, they are not yet correctly estimated at home, and are, therefore, able to plunder the wealthy and oppress the poor. The work of confiscation is progressing rapidly in South Carolina.

The greatest blessing that could befall the people of South Carolina today would be the occupation of Charleston by a federal army. The demon of terror would then be driven off; law and order would again prevail; the peaceful pursuits of commerce would be resumed, and security of life and property reestablished. The disunionists of Missouri have set out on the path which is marked with the footprints of South Carolina, and unless their career is cut short, they will certainly arrive at the same destination.

Are the rich men in Missouri content to remain passive until the fire of war envelopes them in its flames? The vampires of disunion will bleed them to absolute exhaustion. Where the effect of plunder revolutions is understood, property takes arms and protects itself. In St. Louis in this crisis, with this qualification, that moral instead of physical force is the sole agency requisite here. The ballot still rules in Missouri. Public opinion, in great emergencies, is fate. Let all who have anything to gain by the preservation of peace, and anything to lose by civil war, come forward in time and prepare to meet the danger which hangs a black cloud above their heads. Some little exertion on their part now may be to the means of saving the entire fold from the wolves and tigers which are fast approaching it.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.2)

January 19, 1861

The Convention Bill Passes

Extract

> "This convention proposition, so far from effecting good, is clothed with great powers of evil, at war with the best interests of Missouri. The fact is not to be disguised at all, that there has been for a long time a party in this country organized for the purpose of tearing down this government."

Jefferson City, Jan. 15, 1861.

The House has passed the State Convention Bill yesterday afternoon, the long agony may be said to be over, as the Senate will doubtless pass it this morning, and it will immediately become law. The time allowed for the day of election is so short that the governor's proclamation will scarcely have time to reach all portions of the state before the appointed time.

The opponents of the bill have, by deferring its passage by the prolonging of debate, forced the Convention Bill supporters to submit the details of

any acts passed by the Convention, affecting the relations of the state with the federal government, to the vote of the people. A great point has been gained, as now the Convention cannot force the people into secession without their consent.

This convention proposition, so far from effecting good, is clothed with great powers of evil, at war with the best interests of Missouri. The fact is not to be disguised at all, that there has been for a long time a party in this country organized for the purpose of tearing down this government.

This convention, if got up, will be controlled by men who have no love for the government but are controlled by high-toned notions and personal ambition. He alluded in strong terms to the disunion sentiments the governor expressed in his inaugural.[178]

The great effort of Governor Jackson during the recent election campaign was to clear himself of the charge of disunionism, fastened on him by the immortal Thomas Hart Benton;[179] yet he has, now that he is governor, fully proved that charge to be correct by his actions.

His inaugural address was the first hint of secession ever presented to the people of Missouri. The policy expressed in his inaugural places the state of Missouri in antagonism to the general government.

The legislature, now that the convention bill is settled, can return to its legitimate business.

—K.

Editor's Note: The correspondent ended this article with information on the members of the legislature (age, state of birth, occupation). That information is presented at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-52).

Essential Information #11:

Missouri State Convention
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.3)

Convention Time Line

Jan 03 Gov. Jackson calls for Convention
Jan 19 Convention Bill Passes Legislature
Jan 21 An act calling for a State Convention takes effect.
Feb 18 Election of Convention Delegates*
* Three delegates were elected from each of Missouri's state senate districts (99 delegates total).
Feb 28 Convention Opens in Jefferson City
Feb 29 Convention moves to St. Louis.
Mar 1 Convention reconvenes in St. Louis.
Mar 19 Convention votes to remain in the Union, by a vote of 89-1, stating:
At present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Union.
Mar 22 Convention adjourned to meet again the third Monday in December, unless called to reconvene.
Jul 22 to Mar 22 An emergency second meeting of Convention.
Oct 10 to Oct 18 An emergency third meeting of Convention.

Selected Highlights of Each Secession

- Feb 28 to Mar 22:
  1. Voted to remain in the Union
  2. Voted to reconvene the convention on third Monday in December 1861.
  3. Created a committee with the authority to call the convention together early if they felt a need existed.
- Jul 22 to Jul 31:
  1. Vacated the offices of Gov., Lt. Gov., Sec. of State, and the General Assembly. [Passed on Day 8 / 56 to 25.]
  2. Call for elections on the first Monday of Nov. 1861, to replace all of the above, and approve or reject the actions of the Convention.
  3. Repealed and abrogated certain laws passed by the General Assembly in

[178] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12).
[179] Thomas H. Benton (d. 1855), a former U.S. senator and then congressman from Missouri, strongly supported westward expansion (Manifest Destiny) but opposed slavery, and thus refused to support the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which allowed the people in these territories to decide for themselves whether to enter the Union as free or slave states.

secret session, contrary to the known wishes of their constituents, in violation of the Constitution.

4. Abrogated the Military Bill, declaring it had no effect or validity whatever, and stating: "The bill was unconstitutional; it merely puts guns into the hands of the governor for the purpose of forcing this state out of the Union."
5. Ordered the State Guard to disband and return home.
6. Elected provisional officers to serve in the executive branch until the Nov. election.

- Oct 10 to Oct 18:

1. Postponed Nov. state elections until Aug. 1862.
2. Abolished selected state offices and reduced some salaries.
3. Required civil officers to take a loyalty oath.
4. Authorized the issuance of warrants to pay state debts when funds become available.
5. Reorganized the state militia.

For a discussion of the concept of secession conventions and a review of the details of several state secession conventions, including Missouri, see: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-23).



Missouri State Convention

Essential Information #12:
Secession Convention
and St. Louis Newspapers
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.4)

In 1861, newspapers placed the names of candidates they were supporting at the top of their front page. The list of those supported by each paper was referred to as their "ticket."

For the Feb. 18, 1861, election for representatives to the Secession Convention, St. Louis was authorized 15 delegates. Many of the articles from here to Feb. 18 will deal with the "tickets" of candidates proposed by the *Missouri Democrat*, which supports the Republican Party, and the *Missouri Republican,* which supports the Democratic Party.

Conditional Secession or Conditional Unionist?

The *Missouri Republican* ticket is a Conditional Union ticket; they are for the Union under certain conditions; they call their ticket the Constitutional Union Ticket. The *Missouri Democrat* calls the *Missouri Republican* Ticket a Conditional Secession Ticket.

The *Missouri Democrat* Ticket is the Unconditional Union Ticket. The *Missouri Republican* calls it a Coercion Ticket, inciting civil war by supporting the use of federal forces to prevent secession.

The battle between these two newspapers is a no-holds-barred war of words. Below are the positions of each newspaper.



St. Louis, Mo.

On December 31, 1860, the *Missouri Republican* presented their position on the secession crisis in an article titled, "The Legislature—The Crisis." That article is summarized below. That article is at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-18).

1. The *Missouri Republican* is against secession, and feels compromise is the only way to prevent war. The U.S. Congress must do the compromising.

2. The Northern states have greatly wronged the slave states, and those wrongs must be redressed before there can be any settlement of the secession crisis.

3. The slave states should hold a convention to identify and clearly express their grievances and the aggressions of the North, to which they will no longer submit, and present them to the U.S. Congress to remedy.

4. If Congress fails to take positive steps to remedy the slave state grievances by the time Lincoln is inaugurated, all 15 slave states should declare their separation from the Union in unison.



St. Louis, Mo.

The *Missouri Democrat* published an article making the case that the *Missouri Republican* is a secessionist newspaper.

1. We [*Missouri Democrat*] have struggled from the moment of the introduction of the Convention Bill, to unite in one body all the men, and throw on one ticket all the votes which could be procured for the absolute maintenance of the Union. The *Missouri Republican* has constantly denounced this course, refusing to count the votes of ten thousand Republican Party members unreservedly for the Union.

2. We have insisted on an organization based on the preservation of the Union as the greatest present attainable good. The *Missouri Republican* has labored for an organization formed for carrying the city election in April—thus ignoring and passing by default on the greater question of the Union.

3. The *Republican* has constantly united with nullifiers and seceders, received them in private consultation, joined them in making a platform, met them in public convention, and pledged themselves in contingency to "share the common duties and common dangers of the South."

5. The *Republican* has more recently declared that they "will not submit" to any attempt by the general government to coerce seceding states—that is, they will not submit, but will resist the execution of the laws in such states—and this declaration is made without restriction or qualification.

6. The *Republican* has made a ticket and asked for it the support of the people of this city, on which ticket are "notorious nullifiers" and seceders, and every nullifier accepts and supports the ticket.

7. In no instance has the *Republican* put forth any resolution or sentiment censuring or protesting secession. But they have pledged themselves to protect and defend it. In no instance have they uttered a word of approval for the course of Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, whose heroic valor and patriotism are the pride of every loyal citizen.

Editor's Note: The majority of the next 130-some articles revolve around the campaigning surrounding the election of delegates for the convention to determine if Missouri should secede or not. While those articles paint a good picture of the attitude of those for and against secession, I feel a quick summary of the post-election comments, as published in the *Missouri Democrat*, may be helpful in putting the campaign bickering that follows into context.

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#35.5) and
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#33)
February 26, 1861

What Is Said of Our Election



Olney, Ill.

The election in Missouri last Monday resulted in the triumph of the Union party. In spite of all the wrangling of the *Missouri Republican*, the greatest lying disunion paper

in the state, St. Louis rolled up a majority of nearly 5,000 for the Union candidates.



Philadelphia, Pa.

The secessionists have been overwhelmingly defeated in Missouri by the national men of that state, many of the prominent leaders of public opinion declaring that the institutions of the country must be upheld under all circumstances and that all political reforms be secured by legitimate and honest means. Differences in politics are not adequate grounds for the dismemberment of a government and the consequent ramification of inconclusive evils upon these now living and their prosperity. Missouri has done nobly. It is almost a matter of wonder that any of her people were so politically demoralized as to seek remedies for political complaints in the total subversion of the liberties of the people.



Dubuque, Iowa

The reaction against secession in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee[180] resulted in a glorious climax in Missouri on Monday last.

The disunionists disguised their candidates in the garb of Conditional Union or anti-coercion men, and warred upon all Unionists as Black Republican abolitionists. The *St. Louis Republican* announced in advance that if the Unconditional Unionists should win, it would be nothing but a Republican triumph.

The fight was therefore not a square one, and the traitors were overwhelmed. It would seem that if Missouri, a slave state, could thus pronounce in favor of absolute unqualified submission to the Constitution and laws of the confederacy, while seven slave states profess to have grievances, enough to push them into an attitude of rebellion, that inhabitants of the free states might be expected to unanimously stand by the Union.



New York, N.Y.

The intelligence received from those states must be cheering to every friend of the Union. In the former, secession has been so completely exposed that it will never again be heard of in the great pivotal state. The city of St. Louis gives a clear majority of four thousand for the Union, and it is supposed that hardly ten members in favor of separation have been elected to the Convention. If any state has grounds for complaint, it is Missouri, surrounded, as shown, by free communities on three sides, but her loyalty is too great to be even shaken by trivial matters.



More than this, Missouri has awoken to the consciousness of the magnificent future which awaits her, carrying, as she does in her girdle, the keys of the Pacific, as well as, the

[180] Up to the time this article was published, all three of the states mentioned had rejected the idea of secession.

Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio valleys. If her soil is not fully equal to that of Illinois, her climate will more than compensate for this defect, while her mineral wealth is literally immeasurable. Her principal city, St. Louis, is destined to be the commercial center of the great valley, standing like a halfway house between New York and San Francisco, the three cities being likely to become the largest and most influential in their respective sections of the country. We are far mistaken if St. Louis does not distance Cincinnati [Ohio] in the race, as she has already beaten Chicago by the close of the decade on which we have entered. And what St. Louis is becoming, Missouri will yet be among the states of the Mississippi valley.

Editor's Note: On January 19, 1861, the state legislature passed the bill calling for a convention to determine the relationship between Missouri and the federal government. Such a convention was used by the states that had already seceded to give their secession what they considered a legal foundation. Once a state governor and the legislature approve a convention, the next step is to elect delegates to represent the citizens of the state. Starting with the next article, the majority of the articles between this point and the election on February 18, will deal with the campaign for the election of delegates to represent the voters at the convention. The election of convention delegates is the third election held in Missouri in the last seven months.

January 21, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#36)
January 21, 1861

The State (Secession) Convention—Which Union Tickets Should Be Formed

(Editorial)

"The question is union or disunion; union first, last and all the time, or disunion in the guise of union with conditions annexed. It will be for the citizens of Missouri to choose between the two."

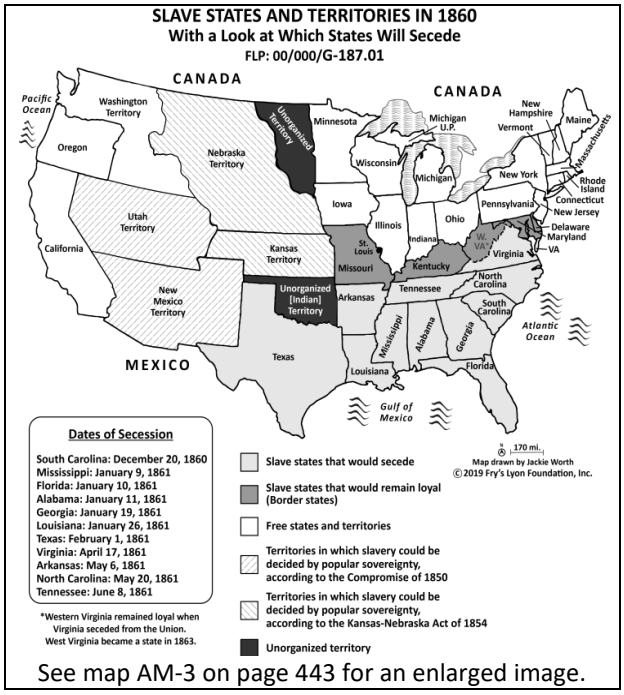
The election on the 18th of February will be the most important that has ever taken place in Missouri. On that day, the people will either declare for plunging the state into anarchy and civil war, or for holding fast to the Constitution and the Union. An unknown and fearfully perilous future is to be braved, or the cause of a noble conservatism placed on a securer basis. There is but one thing to be decided by the election, and that is the federal relations of the state. The question is union or disunion; union first, last and all the time, or disunion in the guise of union with conditions annexed. It will be for the citizens of Missouri to choose between the two.

It is for the directors of opinion on both sides to simplify the issue and render it clear to the humblest understanding. The true Union man, whatever be his party associations, utterly rejects secession.

It is not embraced in any program which he can devise, because his position is that for every political evil, there is a remedy within the Union. It is said that no woman can be liberal of her honor; neither can a faithful citizen falter with his allegiance to the Constitution. Of all public obligations, allegiance to the Constitution is the paramount, transcendent one. But the question is

put, Are you opposed to all compromise? Certainly not. We do not believe there is a Republican in Missouri opposed to a compromise on any basis that shall not involve a sacrifice of Republican principles; not the principles, mark you, which our enemies attribute to us; we are all as ready to sacrifice as we are to disclaim those principles ascribed to us, but the principle of preventing the degradation of free soil into slave soil. That principle Republicans will never renounce, if for no other reason than because its renunciation would brand them with infamy to the last syllable of recorded time.

Republicans give every pledge and every assurance that the Constitutional provision requiring the rendition of fugitive slaves shall be faithfully executed. They will also abstain from any congressional interference with slavery wherever it exists by virtue of local law. They do not contemplate any retroactive application of the dogma which distinguishes them as a party. We**,** therefore, take the ground that the recognition by the Republican Party of the state of things in the territories, which that party shall find existing on its accession to power, will fulfill the rational expectations of all pro-slavery and anti-slavery Union men.



See map AM-3 on page 443 for an enlarged image.

We know it will satisfy neither abolitionists nor secessionists, but that is an unimportant circumstance.

The real question in Congress seems to be the mode in which this principle shall be carried out.

The Fugitive Slave Law can be amended by Congress, and there is no doubt that the incoming administration will execute it to the letter. No difficulty whatever will be experienced in procuring an amendment to the Constitution directly affirming that Congress has no power to interfere with slavery in the states. The report of the Crisis Committee[181] of the House, it will be noticed, embraces these propositions, and there is no real obstacle in the way of carrying them out.

But the preservation or destruction of the Union must not be contingent on the adoption or rejection of any compromise. The Union must not be staked in any party game. It must not be put into the balance against any party platform, or any plan of readjustment. Hence, in the formation of the Union tickets for the convention, the eligibility of candidates must not be tested by their party associations hitherto. We are ourselves very willing to accept some of the names on the ticket published in the *Republican*. There are others on that ticket for whom no Union man can vote. Above all things, it is essential that the Union vote in this city and county should not be frittered away on two tickets. Union for the sake of the Union should be the motto of the patriot. We are ready to support any Unconditional Union ticket on which Union men of all parties shall be fairly represented. The consolidation of the Union vote is the great objective, and that can only be reached by making a ticket composed of Union men of all parties, nay six Republicans, five Democrats, and four Bell-Everett[182] men. This proposition is so liberal and patriotic as to require no argument to enforce it.[183]

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[181] On December 18, 1860, a committee of the U.S. Senate was formed to develop a "plan of adjustment" that might solve the secession crisis. Called the Committee of Thirteen because of the number of its members, it failed to agree on a proposal. On December 31, 1860, the Committee reported it was unable to agree on any measure and retired, admitting defeat.

[182] Constitutional Union Party.

[183] Of the 99 convention delegates elected across Missouri, not one that campaigned as a secessionist was







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#37)

January 21, 1861

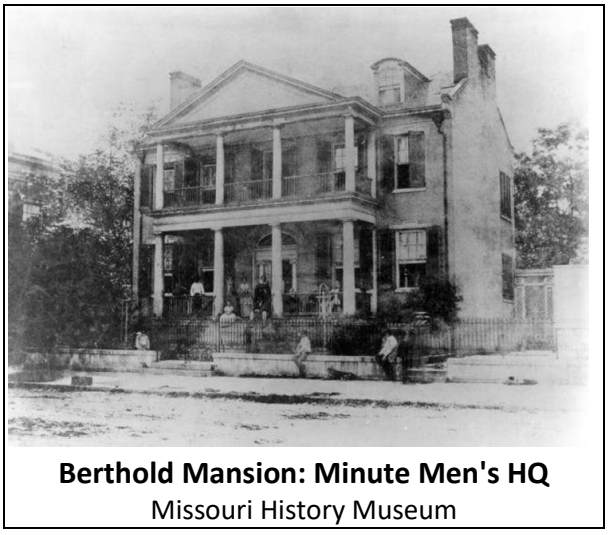
Disunion Conspiracy in St. Louis

(Editorial)

"Until the local authorities shall be deprived of the peace-preserving power by a Metropolitan Police Bill or some such contrivance, until it shall be demonstrated that the laws are powerless for protection, we will not recommend the arming of the Minute Men as a fit example to Republicans."

The terrorists [Minute Men] are hard at work. They are arming with all possible dispatch. Last week they received at their headquarters several boxes of muskets. We also learn, on good authority, that young men are nightly joining the Minute Men's oath-bound secret society. There may be some excuse for secret political societies in countries where the people are permitted to exercise no political rights, but here there is no excuse, while it is notorious that such societies ultimately prove to be nothing but receptacles for the very dregs of society. Good men may be deluded into them, but they soon evaporate, leaving nothing behind but the mud of mankind.

elected.



Berthold Mansion: Minute Men's HQ
Missouri History Museum

But because the Minute Men[184] are smuggling boxes of muskets into their headquarters, peaceable citizens must not be alarmed. Because there are terrorists, it does not follow that there shall be a reign of terror. Because there is yet no sufficient reason for concluding that the legally constituted authorities will be overthrown and that ruffianism will assume power. The disunion conspiracy was doubtless known to the sub-treasurer when he solicited a military guard to protect the public money. We invite Major Bell,[185] at the Arsenal, to take cognizance of the fact. We call on the Grand Jury to investigate the whole subject, and the state and federal judiciaries to give precise and pointed direction to the law and the executors of the law.

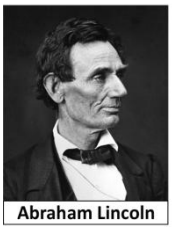
Some, perhaps, will say that instead of crying out at once and pointing out the paths of peace, we should urge Republicans to arm. We think not. We have still a local government. The law is not yet proved to be inoperative. The grand jury has not, as far as we know, refused to investigate the illegal proceedings of the Minute Men. Until the local authorities shall be deprived of the peace-

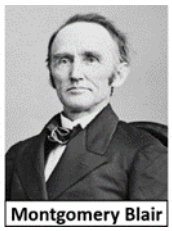
[184] For information on the Minute Men, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21).

[185] Maj. William H. Bell would be relieved as commander of the St. Louis Arsenal on January 24, due to Bell's suspected disloyalty, at the request of the Union Safety Committee. It was later discovered he had agreed to assist state officials in taking control of the Arsenal. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20).

preserving power by a Metropolitan Police Bill[186] or some such contrivance, until it shall be demonstrated that the laws are powerless for protection, we will not recommend the arming of the Minute Men as a fit example to Republicans.[187] We desire to keep the enemy where he is deeply in the wrong in the attitude of rebellion, and traitor in the position of undisguised hostility to the welfare and quiet of the public, the terror of the rich, and the barrier that separates honest workingmen from their work. Let him stay there. There is no terror in his threats, at least for the present.


Washington D.C.


Abraham Lincoln


Montgomery Blair

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#37.1)
January 21, 1861

Hon. Montgomery Blair

(Reprint)

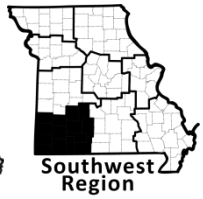
"Mr. Blair has proved himself a true and courageous man."

(From the *Cleveland Herald*)

Should Henry Winter Davis not agree to accept a position in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, it is confidently believed that a tender of a place will be made to the Hon. Montgomery Blair,[188] now also a resident of Maryland, the son of Hon. Francis P. Blair, Sr., and brother of Hon. Frank Blair, Jr.,[189] the member-elect to the new Congress from the St. Louis (Missouri) district—*Phila. Press.*

We have seen the name of Mr. Montgomery Blair spoken of before, in connection with a Cabinet place, and we feel confident nothing would give greater satisfaction to the Republicans of the North than such appointment. Mr. Blair has proved himself a true and courageous man. He battled, as a Democrat, against the iniquities of that party until all hope of staying its downward course ceased, and he then bravely followed in the footsteps of his "illustrious predecessor," his venerable father, into the Republican ranks, whereby the side of the two "Franks," father and son, he deals his blows like a giant upon secessionists and dough-faced Democrats.[190]


Washington County


Southwest Region


Secession

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#37.2)
January 21, 1861

John W. Noell on Secession

A Dash of Cold Water upon the Secession Movement from a Democratic US Congressman

"It is for the border states to determine what part they will play in this great tragedy, for such I must call it. That determination should not be reached by the power of passion but by cool deliberation and sober judgment."

[186] The Metropolitan Police Bill passed on March 27, 1861. It took control of the St. Louis police away from the St. Louis mayor and put it under a four-man Board of Police Commissioners. See Essential Information #6: "Metropolitan Police Bill" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.1) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-60). Full bill is at: (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar-Annex-13).

[187] In fact, the Republicans were already clandestinely arming and training. See: Essential Information #8: "Wide Awakes" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.2).

[188] Montgomery Blair would be appointed to Lincoln's Cabinet as postmaster general.

[189] Francis P. Blair Sr. was editor of the *Washington Globe* newspaper, an influential advisor to Pres. Andrew Jackson and several later presidents, including Lincoln. He was the second owner of what is today the Blair House, next to the White House in Washington, D.C.

[190] Dough-faced Democrats referred to Northern politicians who sided with the South, and the term intimated these men were weak, cowardly, and only went with the South for the political advantages accrued from it. Up until the election of Lincoln, a Northern Democrat could not be elected president unless he had the support of the South.

The following letter from John W. Noell, we take from the *Washington County Miner*, published in Potosi [Washington County], Mo. Mr. Noell represents southwest Missouri in Congress. He surprises us, and no doubt will disappoint and chagrin many of his Democratic friends at the very reasonable and forcible manner in which he takes ground against secession:

Washington City, Jan. 14, 1861.

N. B. Beck, Esq.:

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 10th of this month, in which you say it would be a source of satisfaction to my constituents to hear my views upon national affairs at this juncture, is received. My silence up to this time has not been from want of interest in the subject, but rather because I saw no practical good I could accomplish by writing or speaking upon it. When you attribute to me, as you do in your letter, sentiments of devotion to the union of these states, as also to the South and her institutions, you do me no more than justice.

It is well known that I do not concur in this doctrine of peaceable secession, as it is called; that I do not believe that the Constitution of the United States recognizes the right of individuals or states to destroy it at pleasure, with or without cause. Yet it is now too late to argue that question. We have now to deal with facts, not abstractions. Secession now is no longer a question. Revolution with its black, tempestuous countenance and bloody hands, stands before us. The extreme southern states have already cut loose from their moorings. It is for the border states to determine what part they will play in this great tragedy, for such I must call it. That determination should not be reached by the power of passion but by cool deliberation and sober judgment. This disunion movement in the South has hitherto been of extreme excitement. It is not the result of calm judgment, conscious of intolerable wrongs for which no redress is attainable. Like all passionate movements, the means of success are left to chance. No system of finance or regular military organization has been devised. In fact, in the fury of the movement, they have been almost forgotten. What must be the inevitable result? I say disaster after disaster until we get into civil strife among one another in the South. The revolution, as now organized, is a failure in advance. A failure because its fruits turn to ashes on our lips. We seek security and protection, but we find on the very morning of our revolutionary existence, confiscation, and destruction.



If Missouri and the other border states stimulated by like passion and excitement rush heading blindfolded into this revolution, they increase the magnitude of the calamity and close the door forever against the last hope of preserving the Constitution and the Union.

And what is to follow the revolution? The North cannot conquer us if she were to attempt it. This is not the danger ahead. Did you ever examine critically the material of which these revolutions were composed?

If you have, you cannot have failed to discover that they have been with a single exception in the hands of the turbulent and reckless; not the prudent and wise. Men of wisdom, men of peace, and men of property are always backward in these revolutionary times. Those who have nothing to lose are ever foremost in the work of destruction. From this cause, the leadership of the Southern disunion movement will soon pass into the hands of reckless political and military adventurers.

They will require immense sums of money for the cause, and still greater sums for themselves. A system of exaction upon the substantial men of the country will begin. They will lay their hands on money, Negroes, lands, everything. Murmurs against these actions will be followed by confiscation and, shall I say it—death!

Aye, horrid as may be the idea. I say death! Then will begin to go up to heaven, as in the days of the "reign of terror," the wails of the widow and the fatherless. Then, when too late, alas! Too late, shall we be able to estimate the blessings of this government of law and order, under whose protecting influence none dare make us afraid. When we have reached the climax of horrors, torn to pieces by factions, involved in all the quarrels and strife between military rivals, with no country, no nationality, no peace, no safety, we will fly from the

bloody scenes of endless anarchy to absolute despotism. Thus, it will be that this most wonderful government shall die in the same century that gave it birth.

Surely, if the border states hold the power to avert these calamities, it should be done. They do hold this power, in my opinion. What, then, should they do? My judgment is that they should act cautiously, deliberately. Revolution, well prepared for, is as achievable as is rushing without preparation. If we can get time, all our wrongs will be redressed.

The desperate politicians are working against time. They are afraid of the sober second thought of the people. Mark my prediction, the disunion politicians of Missouri will not allow the people to decide whether or not they are to have a convention. Oh, no. This would never do. It would give the people time to think for themselves. "We must do the thinking for them. If we do not, the country will be saved, and we shall be lost," is the idea now uppermost in the minds of the disunionists.

My own judgment is that the border states should make wise and timely arrangements to promote their financial strength; to perfect their military organization and assume the attitude of peacemakers, with arms in hand to defend their own rights, when all peaceful means have failed. If Missouri, at last, is forced to assent to a dissolution of the Union, she must have guarantees that her rights and interests will be secure in a southern confederacy.

The Gulf states are dictatorial in their manner and aristocratic in their tendencies. They will insist upon having the right to vote on property. The yeomanry of Missouri will never yield this point.

Free trade is to be a ruling element. The iron, lead, copper, and manufacturers of Missouri, as well as the agricultural interests dependent on them, would go down under the operation of such a system. A system of exorbitant direct taxation is abhorrent to our people. We could not submit to it.

If we cannot live in peace under our present government, then I am not willing to risk any new confederation without knowing how and where we are to stand in it.

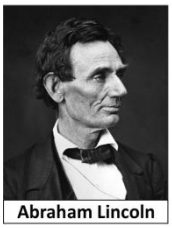
For these reasons let Missouri prepare well for contingencies, but stand cool and firm to act at her own honor, dignity, and the happiness of her people's demands. Above all, let us cling to the Union as long as one ray of hope remains that it may be saved. In giving utterance to these sentiments, I know that I am braving the epidemic that has seized the public mind in my own state, but I am ready to meet the consequences. I have no political ambition that could be gratified by place and power in a miserable little sectional confederacy, or military despotism. My political existence is of no consequences whatever. I can only know now that the country is in imminent peril, and I shall do all I can to save it without regard to consequences personal to myself. I know no political distinctions now but one, "for or against my country." Democrats, Whigs, Americans, Know Nothings are names that I now [wipe] out from my memory. I shall strive to forget them all until we get through this dark and stormy night.

Very truly, yours,

John W. Noell.[191]




Washington D.C.


Abraham Lincoln

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#37.3)

January 21, 1861

Sen. Crittenden, President-Elect Lincoln, and a Peaceful Resolution

Extract

"He [Lincoln] holds the principles of truth and justice as dear as ever; he holds as dear the peace of the country."

The dispatch in regard to the recent patriotic stand taken by Senator Crittenden in the United States Senate reached here at noon and was received with deep gratification. The opinion is surely and slowly gaining ground that a peaceful solution of the present difficulties will be reached.

[191] Missouri State Rep. John W. Noell served as a major in the state militia, then as captain in the U.S. Army.

Anyone who appreciates the calm and elevated attitude in which Mr. Lincoln stands in regard to the present complications, can never despair of the Republic when he controls its destinies. I have reason to believe that he coincides with Gov. Seward in favoring a convention of the people to suggest amendments to the Constitution. Conscious of nothing in his acts or sentiments which should justly excite alarm, he will insist upon his quiet inauguration without further assurances on his part; but when once at the head of the nation, those who are laboring for peace with singleness of heart will never find their plans stopped by any factious opposition from him. He holds the principles of truth and justice as dear as ever; he holds as dear the peace of the country. It would be a good thing for the world if the month of February could be for once abolished, and the charge of the nation pass at once into hands so firm and so generous.

The anti-Cameron and pro-Judd delegation went back to Chicago today. The politicians come and go, and always find that the president lives in Springfield, and that no clique or party has a bill of sale of him.

[John Hay]

4. *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* ARTICLES, JANUARY WEEK FOUR

January 22, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#38)
January 22, 1861

Why Are the Disunionists in Such Haste to Get Missouri and Other Slave States Out of the Union?

(Editorial)

"They [disunionists] also know that, although the leaders of the Republican Party claim the right to reserve the territories for free white men and their children rather than for Negroes and slaves, yet that they (including Mr. Seward) do not contemplate passing any law to interfere with slavery wherever it is established by local law, as in the Indian Territory and New Mexico."

The answer to the above question is easy and plain. The disunionists know that if they wait until the 4th of March next, Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address is almost certain indeed, we may say, is absolutely certain to give positive assurances that the fugitive slave law is to be enforced; that Mr. Lincoln will not disturb slavery in the District of Columbia or in the slave states; and that there will be no interruption of the internal slave trade between the states;[192] thirdly, that he will recommend such modifications of the fugitive slave law as will, if adopted, make it more efficient, but at the same time, prevent it's being used to kidnap free slaves;[193] and that he will also recommend the repeal of the liberty bills of the several states.[194]



Abraham Lincoln
Lithograph by J. H. Bufford & Sons
Library of Congress

The disunionists know that Mr. Lincoln's avowed sentiments are to this effect. They furthermore know that Mr. Lincoln will not oppose the admission of any slave state where the people shall have a fair chance to determine, and shall have determined, to have a slave state.

They also know that such is, substantially, the platform of the Republican Party. They also know that, although the leaders of the Republican Party

[192] Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861. In his inaugural address, Lincoln promised not to interfere with the institution of slavery where it existed. For Lincoln's entire speech, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar-Annex-11).

[193] Passed on September 18, 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law required that slaves be returned to their owners, even if they were in a free state.

[194] Liberty bills refer to laws passed in some Northern states that allowed jury trials before those accused of being escaped slaves could be returned. In his inaugural address, Lincoln addressed the Fugitive Slave Law, indicating his intent to make it more efficient, but at the same time, prevent its being used to kidnap free Blacks.

claim the right to reserve the territories for free white men and their children rather than for Negroes and slaves, yet that they (including Mr. Seward)[195] do not contemplate passing any law to interfere with slavery wherever it is established by local law, as in the Indian Territory and New Mexico. They also know it to be certain that Mr. Lincoln will recommend, in the most energetic manner, the building of the great Pacific Railroad, to commence at Kansas City, in this state, and will push it forward energetically; that he will recommend and carry on energetically the improvement of all our great national rivers, more particularly the Missouri and Mississippi; that his administration is likely to be eminently popular, especially in Missouri. If they wait until the 4th of March, his inaugural address will be a wet blanket, if not a perfect extinguisher to the fire they are kindling in the country. Hence the haste. They cannot wait to hear what he will say, or see what he will do. People of Missouri, are you crazy enough to follow the lead of such fanatics?



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#40)
January 22, 1861

The Duty of the Border States

(Editorial from the *New York Times*)

> "The great central states (Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri) can breast and break the wave of secession which sweeps upward from the cotton states of the Gulf, threatening to flood and destroy the border states long before it reaches the free states, which provokes its rage."

When we call upon the borders states, therefore, to support the Union, we ask them only to save themselves. It is their own fate which trembles in the balance. It is their own welfare, their own salvation which depends on their decision. The great central states (Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri) can breast and break the wave of secession which sweeps upward from the cotton states of the Gulf, threatening to flood and destroy the border states long before it reaches the free states, which provokes its rage. By tampering with treason and flirting with civil war, they may become the bloody scene of devastations, which will damage them far more than either of the contending sections.[196]

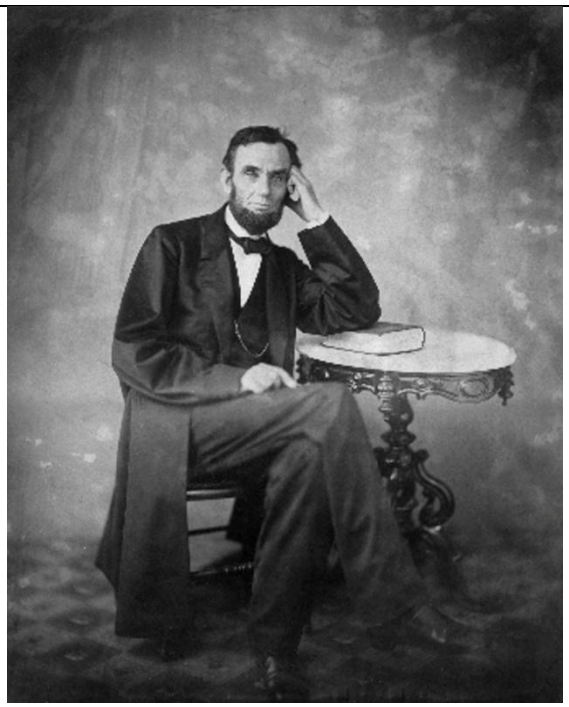
It is then the duty of the border states to stand firm, to stand by the Union, to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution—not as they would have it, but as it is, not on conditions, nor as the price of concessions or of compromises on either side, but as itself, the only condition of any compromise, the only hope and security for the continued existence of Southern society. They must recognize the absolute necessity of taking this position and of holding it against all clamor and all hostility at home and abroad. Gov. Hicks,[197] of Maryland, has given every public man in every border state a splendid example of the firm determination which they should exhibit in this passing crisis of their affairs. Against the torrent of clamor, the threats of the discontented, the intrigues and the machinations of the agents of secession to drag Maryland into their ranks and compel her to fight their battles, he has opposed the clear convictions of his own judgment, and in spite of predictions on every side, it is now clear that he will be triumphantly sustained by the

[195] U.S. Sen. William H. Seward, from New York, would join Lincoln's cabinet after his inauguration, as secretary of state.

[196] In 1990, the National Park Service Civil War Battle Site Advisory Commission determined that the three states that had the most battles fought within them were the border states of Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri. This confirms the statement that the border states would suffer more than either of the contending sections.

[197] Maryland Governor Thomas H. Hicks, a slaveholder, opposed to abolitionists, was nevertheless anti-secession and fought to keep Maryland in the Union. After the Baltimore riot of April 19, which resulted in the death of four soldiers and twelve civilians, Hicks wrote President Lincoln and refused passage of any more military troops through Maryland.

people of that noble state. Maryland has thus far shown more courage and a wiser understanding of her own interest and duty in this emergency than any of the other states.



Abraham Lincoln

We would not discourage any wise and proper effort to secure the border states to the Union cause by convincing them that the North will do them justice. But we distrust the wisdom and utility of the efforts on which hitherto reliance has been mainly placed.

We fear secessionists are creating a false and unsafe feeling among the people of those states—that the salvation of the Union depends not upon them, but upon the North, that it is not by resolute loyalty on their part, but by concessions and compromises from the Northern states that this result must be brought about. They act too much as if they wished to be bribed to save the Union. We desire them to understand that the Union is infinitely more important to them than it is to us, that their interest in its preservation is far more direct and immediate than ours and that they must take their fate into their own hands and decide for themselves, and with paramount regard for their own interests, what course they will pursue. It is they themselves who are threatened with destruction by the rising storm. They must strike boldly out and confront the angry waves instead of waiting for the North to throw them planks and rafts, on which perchance they may float ashore. We believe that today the decided majority of the people in every border state are in favor of the Union and hostile to the insane disloyalty of the seceding cotton states. But they lack courageous and determined leaders. They lack the energy, the bold resolution, the indomitable purpose of their opponents. They labor under disadvantages, doubtless, but this is no reason for inaction.

The election of Lincoln has roused the hostility of the whole South to the highest pitch, and it is no easy matter to face with unwelcome truths, however clear and important they may be, an angry and inpatient community. But it must be done, none the less, and in time it would certainly produce the desired effect. We have faith in the sound sense, the enlightened self-interest, the patriotism of the great body of the Southern people. We believe that all they need is better knowledge of themselves and greater confidence in the intentions and the honesty of the great body of the American people. They will learn all this in due time but the lesson may cost them dearly. It is for their trusted leaders to decide what shall be its price.

The border states must have faith in the Constitution and in the American people. They must stand by the Union first, in full confidence that under that, they can secure every right, indemnity for every wrong, and security against every danger. They must sustain the government, not conditionally, but frankly and fully, against every attempt to destroy or disgrace it. They must stand firm in their loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, no matter whose may be the hand commissioned by the people to carry that glorious flag, the witness and the emblem of our glory and our freedom, in front of the host that will rally to its rescue. They must conquer their fears and their distrust, and recognize existing facts as prescribing limits and law to their public action. Loyalty like this will bring its own reward. It will secure all the concessions essential to its vindication and will lay a foundation for peace and prosperity far more enduring than any which conditional support of the Union could

possibly secure.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#40.1)

January 22, 1861

Republicans Should Not Submit to Pro-Slavery Demands Just to Prevent Secession

(Editorial)

The [St. Louis *Evening*] *News* seems to say that those who refuse to give up the non-extension of slavery [into the territories] principle are but Conditional Unionists. Not so. If slavery is extended in spite of their efforts to the contrary, they will adhere to the Union as faithfully as they do now.

That is a very different thing from assenting to every command, however outrageous, the avowed enemies of the Union may make. Now their demand is the extension of slavery over the territories, hereafter it may be an extension of slavery over the free states. The logic of the *News* is that the Republicans should submit to every demand and every humiliation rather than provoke the disunionists South to secede—that if Republicans do not so submit, they are only Conditional Union men after all. The dignity of such a position would be on a par with its logic, precisely. If the *Evening News* had been in the place of Solomon, when the two women claimed the child, it would doubtless have condemned the true mother, because she would not consent either to surrender the child or take the half of it.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#40.2)

January 22, 1861

What Will the Crittenden Compromise Accomplish?

(Letter to the Editors)

"Will the proposed amendments forever stop the agitation of this distasteful subject, slavery in the territories, or will it only defer it until the question of more territory arises?"

St. Louis, January 21, 1861

Editors Missouri Democrat:

We hear much in these days of the Crittenden Compromise.[198] We have had a monster meeting[199] to endorse these propositions; we have a petition signed by several thousand persons urging Congress to adopt them; and doubtless, those who have signed and who pray for the passage of these amendments, are actuated by patriotic motives. They desire that these troubles that now agitate our country and threaten it with revolution shall be forever quieted; that this discussion of the slavery question shall be forever stopped; and they believe the Crittenden Compromise, if adopted and made part of our Constitution, will bring about the desired result. I wish to ask a few questions of those who thus believe:

Will the Constitution with the proposed amendments be any more powerful to prevent secession than the present one?

Will those persons who advocate the adoption of these amendments favor the enforcement of the

[198] Essential Information #10: "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text of the Crittenden Compromise, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

[199] This is referring to the *Missouri Republican*'s Conditional Unionist meeting/rally of January 12, in front of the Court House. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29).

laws in every state north and south, under the amended Constitution?

Will the proposed amendments forever stop the agitation of this distasteful subject, slavery in the territories, or will it only defer it until the question of more territory arises?

And lastly, but not least, what guarantees have the Union men that other amendments or interpretations of the Constitution will not be forced upon them by the cry of disunion a few years hence?

If Mr. Crittenden or any of his friends can answer these questions satisfactorily to the people of the North, I doubt not he will have the pleasure of seeing these amendments to the Constitution adopted.

INQUIRER.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#40.3)

January 22, 1861

Position of the Republicans in Hannibal

(Letter to the Editors)

"This belligerent editor, finding the Republicans rather hard to frighten, determined to try a new move and intimidate them, if possible, by publishing the names of all who voted for Lincoln."

Hannibal [Marion County], January 19, 1861

Editors Missouri Democrat:

The waves of political excitement are breaking around us here in this usually quiet spot. The madness of the hour has infected many in our midst. The principles of disunion and secession are openly proclaimed and justified. Active sympathy is expressed for the traitors of the South, for their deeds of chivalry in the shape of denunciations, terrorism, and mob violence,

Conservatism hangs its head, and utters not a word to try to stay the tide of incipient rebellion that is rising among us. If you urge a conservative man to speak out in opposition to the inflammatory sentiments which are scattered around, he will say hush! Hush! You had better be quiet, it will all blow over, by and by.

The Republicans cannot be heard, either by a public meeting, or through the local press. They are for the Constitution as it is and the enforcement of the laws.

They are opposed to any tinkering of the Constitution to suit the madness of the hour. We have lived under it and prospered, and can live under it still, say they; and will stand by it unaltered. Such is the opinion of the majority.

A few there are, who are willing to give up all they fought for and gained in the election of Lincoln, and accept the Crittenden compromise for the sake of peace.

The Newspapers Here and Their Editors

We have two newspapers published here, one in defense of the Constitution and Union. Buchanan-like, it seems to think that the support of the friends of the Union would provoke more extreme opposition. It is so meek that if you slap it on one cheek, it will turn the other and almost ask you to slap that too. Instead of taking the lead and trying to infuse into the people noble thoughts and patriotic resolves, true to the policy of its party, it ignores the disease now preying on the nation's vitals and seeks safety in timid silence.

The other paper is a low, vulgar sheet, edited by a man who is always in the market ready to sell himself to the highest bidder. There is one virtue however in this sheet, which the other lacks—mean and contemptible though it is, it will speak out, though its utterances are ever so vile.

It is very mad at the Republicans, constantly publishing articles of a villainously personal character to provoke a collision between the Republicans and their political opponents; denouncing them as abolitionists, cut-throats and Negro thieves, and call upon the good citizens of the place and dwellers in the country round to come and expel them from the city. But nobody has attempted to do that yet, for the reason that they are in mortal fear of being hurt if they attempt it.

This belligerent editor, finding the Republicans

rather hard to frighten, determined to try a new move and intimidate them, if possible, by publishing the names of all who voted for Lincoln.

He did so; his guilty conscience all the time picturing Republican vengeance. Some jokester, in the evening of the day of publication, spread the report that the Republicans were going in force to seize his press and throw it into the river. The report was brought to him while he was in a meeting of Minute Men; when he heard it, his face turned deathly pale; his legs trembled under him; he rushed out of the meeting into a neighboring saloon to revive his drooping courage with a drink; much he needed it, for on his face were unmistakable signs of abject fear.

The Minute Men of Hannibal

There has been a great effort put forth to raise a company of [secessionist] Minute Men. But the thing did not take. Minute Men were associated in the minds of the people with treason and rebellion. In vain the leaders called, appealing to the sectional prejudice of the people, but it would not do, so they have had to try a new tack. They called another meeting and passed a resolution to call the company the Hannibal Blues; and a second resolution, that after it was armed and equipped, it should offer its services to the governor of the state. No longer Minute Men (the very name smelt of disunion) but Hannibal Blues, to be placed at the disposal of the governor to maintain peace in the impending civil war. Very patriotic! Very! But they could not hide their devil-like cloven feet.

Speech of His Ignorance, the Mayor

His Ignorance, the mayor, made a speech. He urged the audience to join the Hannibal Blues, so that the city officers might have wherewith to put down a riot and resist, on the part of the state, the aggressive policy of the United States. He had got it into his head that the federal government was tyrannizing over the states, assuming powers it did not possess, and finished his luminous speech by inquiring "what right the United States had to hold property in Missouri."

HANNIBAL.

January 23, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#41)

January 23, 1861

A Matter of Life and Death

(Editorial)

"Let us pause before we decide this momentous question of the destiny of our state; let us consider well the cost of our liberty and the cost of secession; and having duly weighed the matter, let us act, and act for the right, knowing the truth will prevail."

Never since Missouri was admitted as a state has she been called upon to act in relation to a matter of such vital importance as that which is about to be submitted to her people for a decision. Never has she been placed in a situation so critical and fraught with such dangers as those with which she is now surrounded, by men who would plunge her into an unfathomable abyss of ruin. It is not like other questions which have arisen, a mere matter of dispute between party leaders; it is not a struggle in which one political faction is striving for the supremacy over another; it is not a contest between rival partisans; it is to her a matter of life and death, a question which will decide the fate of a mighty people. She has been brought to an edge of a fearful precipice, from whose giddy heights no eye can penetrate the thick veil of darkness which enshrouds and obscures the depths at its base; no prophetic mind foretell the dangers which lurk beneath the lowering clouds, and it is now for her to say whether she will take the fatal step, trusting in the futile hope that below the dark clouds there is a golden sunlight of prosperity, in whose rays she may bask and flourish, with no obstacle to her

advancement. Let us beware of any such hopes for none can predict the true states of misery into which this siren voice of secession would allure us. Let no one dare to attempt to fathom the dim and shadowy future into which it will plunge us, for language must fail in any endeavor to convey to our minds any adequate image of what will then be a sad reality.

Let us not deceive ourselves. Shall we not find in South Carolina a more stubborn, self-willed sister than even in Massachusetts?

Let us pause before we decide this momentous question of the destiny of our state; let us consider well the cost of our liberty and the cost of secession; and having duly weighed the matter, let us act, and act for the right, knowing the truth will prevail, and we shall have "a peace above all earthly dignities, and a still and quiet conscience."[200]

It is a question that affects every individual, not as a politician, but as a citizen, and we must, therefore, act, not as for politicians, but as citizens, as men whose welfare is endangered; as patriots, who would rescue their country from impending calamity. We must lay aside all questions of party, and all the promptings of party spirit, regard all party ties as broken, and all parties merged into two great armies—one of truth, the other of error; one having for its watchword "union," the other "secession."

We must send to our convention men who represent the wealth, the manufactures, the commerce of St. Louis; men who have interests at stake, who have something to lose in the event of secession; men who are for the Union, not if they can have what they choose to call their rights, but men who are for our Union unconditionally, regarding the Union as the only hope of securing our rights.

Whether we be Democrats, Republicans, or Bell-Everett [Constitutional Union] men, we should be willing to extend the hand of courtesy and friendship to any who will rally to the support of our national flag, the defense of our Stars and Stripes, the enforcement of our laws, and the preservation of the Union. It becomes us not to inquire into the political position of candidates to any party, but it is our duty to inform ourselves to an absolute certainty as to whether they, individually, are for the Union, under all circumstances, without exception; that they are willing to take their oaths, that they will disapprove of, by their influence as well as their vote, disunion or secession in every form, whatever garb it may assume to cloak its true nature, and that "the Union must and shall be preserved." If each man will do his duty in this respect, we need have no fears for our future safety, for our noble ship of state shall ride out of the storm unharmed, and the political atmosphere be rendered more pure by the tempest's fury, which shall destroy the obnoxious pestilence of secession, with its thousand corruptive poisons, so destructive to our political safety.

W. R. H.

[200] Quoted from William Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*.

The list of delegates to the Missouri State Convention is at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-11).

January 24, 1861





(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#42)

January 24, 1861

A Reported Seizure of the Arsenal by the Minute Men

(Editorial)

"It is notorious that a large number of muskets have been conveyed thither urgently. Now, the question is, are the Minute Men acting legally or illegally? If they are acting illegally, we again call on judges, juries, and law officers to assert and enforce the laws. If the Minute Men are acting legally, then it is competent for other citizens to organize themselves into military societies, and arm and drill also."

An evening or two ago, a rumor that Gov. Jackson had given orders for the seizure of the Arsenal ran like wildfire through the city. We have reason to think that Major Bell,[201] the officer in command of the Arsenal, took measures to resist the anticipated onset. The story, like so many others of the same kind which the public have heard of late, was doubtless untrue, but can we wonder that it should have obtained extensive circulation and no inconsiderable credence, when it is well known that a treasonable society is daily and nightly enlisting members, and drilling and arming? This treasonable society, known as the Minute Men, ostentatiously displays its proceedings. Its publicly avowed purpose is to make war on the United States whenever invited to do so by the governor of the state.

The mouthpiece of the Minute Men, the *Bulletin*, has the nerve to state that enlisting and drilling [are] constantly practiced at the headquarters of the society, corner of Fifth and Pine.

It is notorious that a large number of muskets have been conveyed thither urgently. Now, the question is, are the Minute Men acting legally or illegally? If they are acting illegally, we again call on judges, juries, and law officers to assert and enforce the laws. If the Minute Men are acting legally, then it is competent for other citizens to organize themselves into military societies, and arm and drill also.

It will be remembered that the [Republican] Wide Awakes disbanded in deference to the general feeling for not merely the preservation of public tranquility, but for the removal of every cause of excitement and apprehension.[202]

Yet we find a branch of the organization which has written its history to treasonable overt acts of war throughout the cotton states, carrying on its war-like operations in the midst of this community, defying public opinion, as is always the way with men who take to the cartridge box rather than the ballot box.

Are these musket-armed, so-called Minute Men to present themselves during the 18th of February elections for Convention representatives, and overawe the Union loyalists who shall throng to the polls? Must the city be kept in a perpetual state of agitation by their formidable movements? Not one word of rebuke is addressed to them by the *Missouri Republican* and other Democratic organs that raised such an outcry about the Wide Awakes. On the contrary, they are encouraged by the leaders of the Democratic and Bell-Everett factions. Because this newspaper has invoked legal remedies against dangerous proceedings, the *Bulletin* tells us we are frightened. That journal is undoubtedly indifferent whether the issue is peace or war; whether the music of industry or the sound of cannon and musketry be heard in our streets; whether the total termination of the controversy is a battle or an election. We profess no such indifferences.

We are not ashamed to confess that we are deeply concerned for the preservation of peace. It is under the influence of this sentiment that we declare the Minute Men as a treasonable organization, and call upon the laws and public opinion to put it down.

We are not afraid that they will revolutionize the city, but we are not sure (who is?) that they will not try, and thereby occasion the shedding of blood.

[201] Maj. William H. Bell, the Southern commander of the St. Louis Arsenal, would be relieved soon, at the request of the Committee of Public Safety, due to Bell's questionable loyalty to the United States. The same day this article was published, Bell agreed “that he would not attempt any defense against state authorities.” See: (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20).

[202] The Wide Awakes, in St. Louis, were the muscles of the Republican Party to protect attendees at Republican rallies during the elections of 1860. At that time, they were not an armed force. Above, it states they had disbanded for the "removal of every cause of excitement and apprehension." But in reality, they only dropped the name “Wide Awakes,” and instead, started clandestinely arming themselves and drilling in preparation for war. See: Essential Information #8: "Wide Awakes" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.2).



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#43)
January 24, 1861

Rumors of Attack on the St. Louis Arsenal

(Editorial)

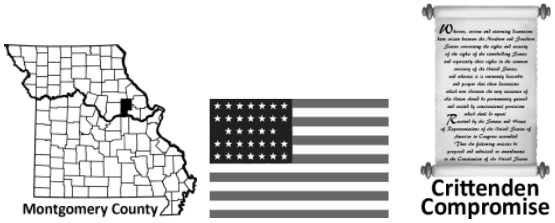
"Mayor Filley, being always prepared, promptly responded that order should be maintained, and the Constitutionals gallantly mustered a corps of picked volunteers and proceeded to the Arsenal to reinforce Major Bell."

Major Bell of the Arsenal, appears to have been slightly apprehensive of foreign invasion from the Southern nations, and of insurrections from the Minute Men in St. Louis. On Tuesday evening, he prudently communicated with Mayor Filley[203] and with Thornton Grimsley, Esq.,[204] the latter the distinguished chieftain of the Constitutional Guards, apprising them of the possibility that an attack would be made on the Arsenal that night, in which event they should be prepared to maintain order.

Mayor Filley, being always prepared, promptly responded that order should be maintained, and the Constitutionals gallantly mustered a corps of picked volunteers and proceeded to the Arsenal to reinforce Major Bell. On their arrival, they were, we are informed, most courteously received, although that the honor of their presence within the walls was respectfully declined. The "impending crisis," however, did not fall. The night wore uneventfully away. But at early dawn rumor sped fleetly through the city, maintaining that the Arsenal had been captured by Col. Grimsley's Minute Men! So accurate is a rumor!



Oliver Dwight Filley
Missouri Historical Society



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#43.2)
January 24, 1861

Union Meeting in Montgomery County

(Letter to the Editors)

"The resolutions passed were for the Union. They asked for the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise, not as a threat, but as a just division of territory (for be it known they were Southern men that formed the meeting) as a means of reconciliation between the North and the South."

[203] St. Louis Mayor Oliver D. Filley was a staunch Unionist, a Republican, and a member of the St. Louis (Union) Safety Committee.

[204] Missouri Militia Col. Thornton Grimsley, an anti-abolitionist, sent a letter to Gov. Claiborne Fox Jackson, in which he urged Jackson to allow him to capture the Arsenal, which he said he could safely do, as he had over 1,000 men, drilled, armed, and ready. Maj. Bell earlier in the day suggested a phony riot be arranged so the militia could take over the Arsenal under the guise of protecting it. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20).

Danville [Montgomery County], Mo., Jan. 20.
Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

Gents: I see in your paper the proceedings of several Union meetings that have been held recently in Missouri. I, therefore, take occasion to send you the proceedings of one held in Danville last Saturday, the most remarkable meeting, perhaps, ever held in Montgomery County. But I shall forbear all comments and simply give the proceedings as they transpired.

The meeting was organized by calling Peter Davante to the chair and appointing J. D. Macfarlane secretary. A motion was then made for the Chair to appoint a committee of five to draft resolutions (and here let me state that the secessionists did not have the president, and they were afraid of the motion).

The result of this was that two reports were presented to the meeting. The majority (secession) report was haggled over by Mr. Terrill.

Benjamin Sharp, Esq., then proceeded to read the minority report. When he had progressed about halfway through with his reading, the leader of the secessionists called him to order. Mr. Sharp stopped and inquired the occasion. "Why," replied the disunionist, "I don't want you to make a speech." Mr. Sharp told him he was not making a speech, and continued the reading. Before his voice died away upon the last sentence of his report, the disunionist aforesaid sprang to his feet and moved the adoption of the majority report. Mr. Sharp, not having taken his seat at all, offered the minority report as a substitute.

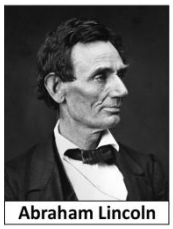
The motion to table the minority report (the Union resolutions) was put and lost almost unanimously. The secessionists then proposed to withdraw, but before they left, Mr. Sharp took the stand and gave his opinion on the subject of treason very fully. It was the bitterest speech against secessionism I ever listened to, yet it was well-received by the multitude, who frequently interrupted him with applause. As he was about closing, the disunionists made a rush for the door, and we understand they went to the "Granville House" and organized a meeting of their own.

The resolutions passed were for the Union. They asked for the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise,[205] not as a threat, but as a just division of territory (for be it known they were Southern men that formed the meeting) as a means of reconciliation between the North and the South.

Montgomery County is sound to the core for the Union. I don't believe there are a hundred disunionists in the county.

MONTGOMERY.




Abraham Lincoln


Frank P. Blair, Jr.

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#43.3)

January 24, 1861

Frank Blair Meets with President-Elect Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois

The Legislature

Extract

"Whatever may be the course taken by Mr. Lincoln in regard to the remaining number of his conscienced keepers, it is the impression that no authoritative indication of his selection will be made until his arrival at Washington."

Frank Blair, (whose very name always sounds to earnest Republicans like the blast of a trumpet) is in town today. He has had a somewhat protracted interview with the president-elect, the report of which has not transpired. There are, of course, rumors of the connection of a member of that sterling family with the incoming Cabinet, whose

[205] The Crittenden Compromise called for six constitutional amendments and four congressional resolutions to mollify secessionists. It was popular among Southern members of the Senate but unacceptable to those who opposed the expansion of slavery beyond the states where it already existed. See Essential Information #10: "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). The full text is at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

truth will soon be determined.[206] Whatever may be the course taken by Mr. Lincoln in regard to the remaining number of his conscienced keepers, it is the impression that no authoritative indication of his selection will be made until his arrival at Washington.

It is good for weak knees to notice the quiet determination and calm courage of a man like Frank P. Blair.

A strong artricle appeared in the *Journal* yesterday morning denying that secession was a legal right, and that the enforcement of the laws was coercion. Its unusual closeness and compactness of logic excited the suspicions of the *Register*, which reviews it poorly and inconsequentially this morning, attributing it to Mr. Lincoln. If Mr. Lincoln had written it, the *Register* man would have shown great courage, though little discretion, in attacking it. Mr. Lincoln has other matters to engage him besides "writing for the *Ledger*," or any other paper, however respectable.

The legislators adjourned until Monday. The rest of the week is to be spent in a colossal "howl." Them is gone on a bender.

[John] H[ay]

January 25, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44)

January 25, 1861

Secession and the State Convention

(Letter to the Editors)

Extract

"There are, doubtless, among us, restless, disgruntled men, without family or fortune, who welcome the tempest and shipwreck, who are plotting and intriguing among us, but they conspire in secret against all of us."

Editors of the *Missouri Democrat*:

The secession champions of our State Convention are careful to disguise their true intent under a deceptive pretense. They tell us that its object is not secession, but the maintenance of the rights, if possible, under the Constitution. The whole secession class claim to have the same loyalty, the same love of country with the best of us, and differ only in having a keener discrimination of true interests and a firmer devotion to the principles of the South.

To this plea, we shall not, in all cases, deny the merit of candor, but it shows beyond doubt one of two things, a strange blindness, or hypocrisy. It can be used as a mask for conspiracy and treason. Traitors cloak their schemes under a "neutral" design because they dare not publicly avow secession. The project that would cast the state headlong, bound hand and foot, into this revolution, only need be known by the schemers themselves.

There are, doubtless, among us, restless, disgruntled men, without family or fortunes, who welcome the tempest and shipwreck, who are plotting and intriguing among us, but they conspire in secret against all of us. The public knows them only as plausible, fair-spoken men, exquisitely sensitive about Southern grievance, unaccountably thick-skinned about Southern outrages; men who preach love of the Union, and clamor in the same breath for a secession convention, for arming the state, for filling our peaceful city with the ugly munitions and weapons of war. Such men are the enemies of every good citizen, the more dangerous because in disguise. From these men, may the Lord deliver us.

It is high time the people of St. Louis were getting thoroughly awake to the danger, the opportunity and temptation to treason which attaches to the coming convention. At this time, such a gathering in its best estate can mean only

[206] This refers to Montgomery Blair, elder brother of U.S. Congressman-Elect, Frank Blair, Jr. Lincoln would appoint Montgomery Blair postmaster general, and he would serve during President Lincoln's first term of office.

opposition and menace toward the United States Government. We are told that the action of the convention must determine its character. We answer, the call itself announces the design and character of the convention; the circumstances of this call declare, in language unmistakable, its temper and design. In South Carolina, it meant treason. In Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, it meant treason.

In Jefferson City today, the watchword is disaffection and rebellion. The edict has already gone forth in tones loud and distinct by secessionist legislators; Missouri gives her sympathies to secessionists and traitors.

One thing is certain, it amounts to conditional secession. "Do this and we will stand by you." But fail to do this and we abandon you. So extraordinary a gathering, in a crisis so momentous, could never stop with counsel or a harmless protest.

The practical question which demands settlement is, "For the Union, or against it." This, the all-absorbing and only issue. Any convention which fails to meet it, fails to accomplish its mission. A vague sense of wrong may be a subordinate motive; but the master spirit and master passion of the scheme is sympathy with lawlessness and outrage. Is a movement of which treason is the presiding genius, likely to be managed with a spirit of impartiality and kindness? The action of the Convention will not be a fair and unbiased deliberation. Its duty will be to find grievances against the United States. All other matters will be foreign to the purpose. Radicals and extremists who will seem to represent most fully and freely the claims of the state, will in all likelihood carry the day. For moderate men will follow or fear to oppose, where lukewarmness will be called timidity and treachery.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-53)

Editor's Note: In South Carolina, the election of the Republican Lincoln alone motivated its ruling class to secede. In Missouri, the majority of Democrats, its slave owners, and those making a living off of the production of slaves, were not so concerned about the election of Lincoln; they were concerned about the enforcement of existing federal laws that protected the rights of slave owners. The resolutions below, being introduced into the legislature, demonstrates this attitude. They spell out the laws that slave owners are concerned about being enforced and close with a warning that if the laws and Constitution are not enforced, Missouri will revert to arms to defend the rights of her slave owners. It is worthy of note that while most of the citizens of Missouri felt that all laws should be enforced, the vast majority had no interest in secession. It was only a handful of the Democratic Party political elite that were clamoring for secession, and the people would make their attitude clear by not electing a single avowed secessionist to represent them at the upcoming Convention.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44.1)
January 25, 1861

Democratic Party Position

"*Resolved*, That if in the course of human events it should become necessary for Missouri to defend her rights as a state in this Union, to revert to arms as much as she deplores the consequences of drenching her beloved country in fraternal blood, she will be found on the side of the Constitution of the Union, and the constitutional rights of all states in their sovereign capacity."

Jefferson City, Jan. 24, 1861.
Gen. Riley, of Wright [County], a Democrat,

introduced the following resolutions yesterday afternoon. They prove that there is yet Union sentiment in the Democratic Party.

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein, that this General Assembly, in cherishing for the Constitution and the Union of the United States a cordial and immovable attachment, they do more than reflect the feelings of their constituency.

Resolved, That the state of Missouri, while the general government is administered according to the Constitution of the United States, will not, because of the lawful election of any legally qualified citizen of the United States to the presidency, attempt to leave the Union, but, on the contrary, will always be found in hearty cooperation with the friends of the Union, the equality of the states under the Constitution as it was bequeathed to us by Washington and his compatriots, and as to fulfill the duty of a patriotic state in handing down our glorious Union, honored and cherished, to our children.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every state in this Union to faithfully execute the fugitive slave law in order to give a full enjoyment of constitutional rights to the citizens of each state; and in order to more effectually avert threatened national calamities, it is the bounden duty of all the states of the Union, within whose statutes there is a law or laws to prevent the constitutional and faithful execution of the fugitive slave law, to repeal, by legislative enactment, all such laws at the earliest possible opportunities.

Resolved, That all the signs of the times indicate too certainly that the further success and perpetuity of this glorious Union depends upon sound and constitutional conservative principles and just political action and legislation by all the states of this Union touching the equal rights of the citizens of each state to the possession of slave property; and the preservation of the Constitution and the Union; that all states who persist in unfriendly legislation against the constitutional rights of citizens of other states, or of the United States, to the constitutional enjoyment of their property in slaves, are guilty of a type of treason against the American government, and an act not only calculated to, but which will in its tendency, weaken the bonds which bind the states together, and such legislation being revolutionary in its character, we will regard in a moral, legal, and constitutional point, out of the Union.

Resolved, that Missouri regards the Constitution of the United States, with all its sacred properties, guaranteed checks and balances, to be the pillar of defense, broad enough and firm enough to uphold every interest in the country, and while we are entrusted with a responsibility in the administration of the Constitution, we intend to act in its spirit and in the spirit of those who framed it, and in the spirit of those who bequeathed it to us.

Resolved, That if in the course of human events it should become necessary for Missouri to defend her rights as a state in this Union, to revert to arms as much as she deplores the consequences of drenching her beloved country in fraternal blood, she will be found on the side of the Constitution of the Union, and the constitutional rights of all states in their sovereign capacity.

—K.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44.2)

January 25, 1861

Pro-Union Meeting in Iron County

(Letter to Editors)

"The speakers all held that there was no good reason for breaking the links of this mighty and glorious republic, and counseled all to stand by the Constitution and fight for the 'star-spangled banner.'"

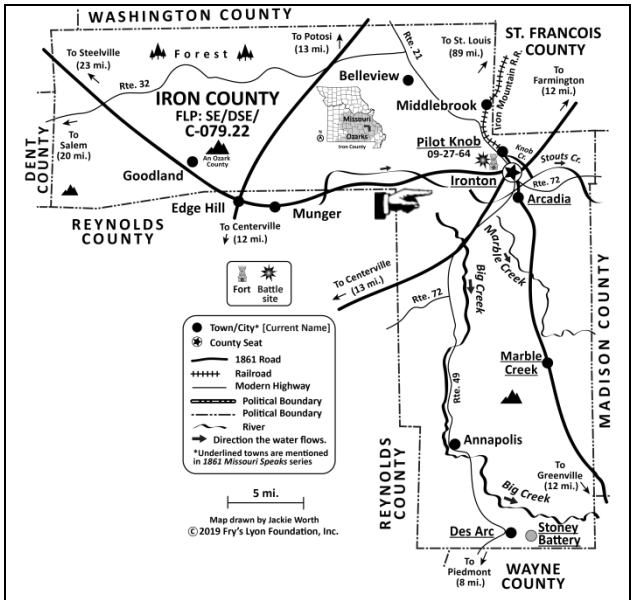
Ironton [Iron County], Mo., Jan. [24], 1861.

Editors Missouri Democrat:

Before this, doubtless, you have been furnished with a copy of the proceedings of a Union meeting which was held in our new and spacious

Court House on Saturday evening, January 19.

Only a few hours' previous, notice of the meeting was given, but at 7 o'clock, the Circuit Courtroom was well-filled with citizens of every class and party. Hiram W. Long was called to the chair, and E. A. Ford, secretary. What the remarks of the secretary will be, I know not, but it should be distinctly understood that the resolutions (some of them copied from St. Louis papers), which were adopted, do not reflect the sentiments of our community. I know this, as I have since heard many complaints of the manner in which those resolutions were brought before the meeting. As soon as they were read by the secretary, the Chairman said: "As many as are in favor of these resolutions will say 'aye'; opposed, 'nay.'" This was bringing the matter before the people prematurely, as they were not prepared to adopt any resolutions without hearing them read twice and having time to consider them. True, more responded "aye" than "nay," but at least one-half were not ready to respond at all. The resolutions do not favor enough of the Union spirit that is in Iron County.



See map AM-4 on page 444 for an enlarged image.

The meeting was enthusiastically and politically for the Union as it is, and speeches were made by Messrs. Smizer, Delano, and Fontaine, which sunk deep into the heart of every law-abiding and Union man.

The speakers all held that there was no good reason for breaking the links of this mighty and glorious republic, and counseled all to stand by the Constitution and fight for the "star-spangled banner."

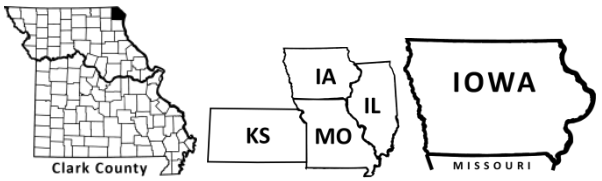
The people were aroused by the eloquence of the speakers, and as the band contributed its patriotic music, every heart was aroused to the utmost enthusiasm, and cheer after cheer went up for "The Union, one and inseparable."

Bill Huff, a worthless fellow, notorious for making a fool of himself whenever an opportunity presents itself, was last week circulating a paper throughout the country, soliciting aid to drive off the Rev. Mr. Mudge, a gentleman of the Methodist persuasion. Mr. Mudge is an innocent and harmless man, and if he is an abolitionist, nobody here knows it!!, and Mr. Huff soon found out that his project was a "no go." He approached one of our Union men with his obnoxious paper, who so effectually "snubbed" him that he immediately "simmered down." On being asked, on Saturday night, why he was circulating such a paper, he replied: "I just wanted to see how far I could lead some of them there fellers, down there." Poor soul! "It were better for that man had he never been born!" or, for the country, at least.

Well, put Iron County down for the Union, and rest assured we will do our best to send to the state convention a firm, not-to-be-shaken, Union man.

Yours, Citizen.

P.S. The *Ironton Furnace* [newspaper] is now issued semi-weekly and has a good share of public patronage. The *Arcadia Prospect* talks of issuing a daily. "No time for trifling here."



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44.3)

January 25, 1861

Clark County Interests Lie With the North

(Letter to the Editors)

"Should the politicians of Missouri succeed in carrying off the state in the secession move, Clark County will, in her

turn, *secede from the state and attach herself to Iowa*."

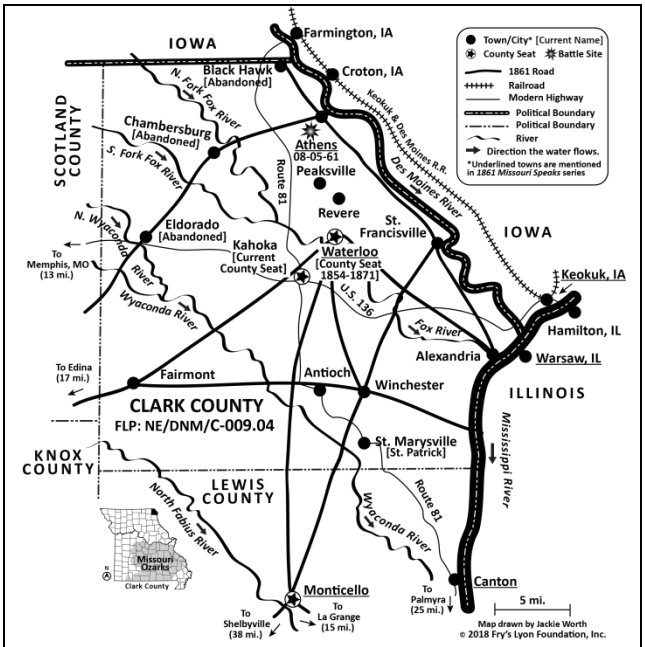
Clark County, Jan. [19], 1861.

To the Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

The people of north Missouri are true to the Union and to the ties of humanity, and will ever be found faithful to both. Whatever may be the mandate of south Missouri, *north Missouri will never transfer her allegiance* from the federal Union. On that is staked her all, and to her, *"it must and shall be preserved."*

The considerations which move her to this firm resolve are too apparent to scarcely need reference. Surrounded on three sides by free Union States, with which she has immediate social and commercial relations, and identical political and industrial interests, she has every reason to desire the continuation of the existing terms of communication and reciprocity with them. Remote from a Southern connection, and with aims and interests widely diverse from those of the Southern states, she can have no earthly motive to attach herself to their fortunes. Besides, north Missouri will never consent to be laid under contribution to aid an enterprise for the success of which she has no sympathy. It is the extreme of folly to talk of making her a frontier country, exposed to every hazard of insecurity from an enemy's hands, violence and plunder, or either of making her a military station, to be lorded over by a vagabond soldiery. Never! Never! The people of North Missouri have looked these things square in the face, and their answer is ready. Scouting the monstrous heresy of secession, they hurl from them in amazement its horrid plans—insults to the name and honor of him who would fight with his life to protect his home, his hearthstone, and the grave of his father, and whose heart would break at the sight of his country desolated and in ruin.

We of Clark County are particularly alive to the importance of the Union, and will cling to it as to dear life; and should the politicians of Missouri succeed in carrying off the state in the secession move, Clark County will, in her turn, *secede from the state and attach herself to Iowa*.



See map AM-5 on page 445 for an enlarged image.

She will never suffer herself to be dragged in the train of the secession faction, and certainly they will not be so ungenerous as to deny her the use of their favorite dogma against secession, in case her secession is resisted. A word to our representatives, and especially Clark County's. I warn them to beware how they abet the cause of secession, or, some of these eventful mornings, they may awake to find themselves without a constituency, and politically dead.

Yours, for the Union,

ORTHO.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44.4)

January 25, 1861

Union Meeting in Osage County Resolves to Send Only Strong Union Men to Convention

(Letter to Editors)

"Resolved, That we will support no man

for delegate to the convention to meet on the 28th of February next who will not pledge himself to defend the Union of all these states."

Medora, Osage County, Mo.,
Jan. 22, 1861.

Editors, Missouri Democrat:

A large Union meeting was held at this place today. Mr. H. L. Elsworth was called to the chair, and Cecilius Willing appointed secretary.

On motion, a committee of five was appointed to draft resolutions, to wit: S. G. L. Morrow, C. Glover, James McLaughlin, John R. Pfenninger, and James W. Shackelford.

The committee retired, and in a short time made the following report:

WHEREAS, the Union of these states is seriously endangered, and whereas a state convention has been called by the present general assembly to take some action in regard to the troubles which threaten to involve the whole American people in a civil war, and to destroy the best government ever enjoyed by any people. Therefore,

Be it *Resolved*, That the history of our country teaches us that this government was formed by men who fought for and won the independence of the country, that the Tree of Liberty which they planted amid the storm of the Revolution, was nourished in its early growth by their sighs and their blood. And that we are not prepared on account of any alleged grievances, charged by either section of the Union against the other, to lend any assistance to the destruction of the fair fabric of liberty, reared by the hands of our fathers.

Resolved, That the Union flag which we have hoisted today in the town of Medora, with the scales of justice attached, was hoisted as a testimonial of our devotion to the Union of all the thirty-three States.

Resolved, That a remedy for whatever grievances are alleged against either section of the Union by the other, ought to be sought for in the mode and manner prescribed by our present Constitution.

Resolved, That we will support no man for delegate to the convention to meet on the 28th of February next who will not pledge himself to defend the Union of all these states.

The report was unanimously adopted.

On motion of C. Willing,

Resolved, That the chairman and secretary sign the proceedings of this meeting, and that copies of the same be forwarded to the *Enquirer* and *Examiner* of Jefferson City, and the *Republican, Democrat,* and *Bulletin*, of St. Louis.

On motion, the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

H. L. ELSWORTH,
Chairman.
C. WILLING,
Secretary.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#45.1)

January 25, 1861

Democrats: "Preserve the Party and Let the Union Take Care of Itself"

(Editorial)

"But we take occasion to repeat that the true Union ticket is a ticket on which Union men of all parties shall be adequately represented. In this contest, partisan distinctions should be forgotten."

Such is the maxim of the Democratic Party factions here, and we notice the *Missouri Republican* newspaper has put itself in a tight place by adopting that philosophy. That paper demands a Union party from which Republican Party members must be excluded, a convention ticket without a single Republican Party member's name. No matter if the next Administration and both branches of the next Congress (if the seceding states stay away from the Capitol) will be Republican, the work of ostracizing Republicans here in Missouri must go on through the Union perish. We are not for the

discrimination made against the Republican Party by the *Missouri Republican* newspaper, for we are sure the election returns will atone for the injustice.

But we take occasion to repeat that the true Union ticket is a ticket on which Union men of all parties shall be adequately represented. In this contest, partisan distinctions should be forgotten. What, must we be jealous of our differences and distinctions in this terrible crisis of the nation's fate?

For our part, we scorn any such narrow, paltry dogma. We are resolved to apply but one test in the forthcoming election—the Union test, the Union without condition or qualification. Every form of conditional or qualified Union we hold to be disunion more or less disguised, and it will be our sacred duty to oppose every candidate who deems secession as remedy for any evil. But we shall make no distinction between Republicans and anti-Republicans, provided the latter be as free from the odor of disloyalty as the others. We are desirous of seeing the real Union ticket, the ticket which shall be without spot or blemish, composed of representatives of all parties. For the sake of consolidating the entire Union vote, and removing every obstacle in the way of that imperative, we are willing that nine of the fifteen candidates should be anti-Republican Union men. The moral force of this position is unconquerable, and it will unquestionably govern the issue of the election.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#46)

January 25, 1861

Missouri's Interests Lay with the North

(Letter to the Editors)

"Then, too, Mr. Editor, is the honor of Missouri to be maintained by the severance of the bonds that bind her to the federal government? Is it not rather to be preserved by a stern refusal to disrupt this confederacy? By a strong determination and a vigorous effort to keep intact this glorious Union? Is slavery, if it is so good an institution as its advocates would have us believe, paramount to everything else?"

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

Is it true that the honor and interests of Missouri lead her to join the Southern Republic? It is so frequently asserted that, if the South does go in a body and form a southern confederacy, Missouri should go also, and that I propose to look into the matter a little, and see what is the true policy of our state. Those who profess to be conservative in the matter, say that unless the whole South goes, they do not wish to see Missouri go, but if all the Southern states go out of the present Union, Missouri will have no protection with the Northern states, and all her interests are with the South. Now, the direct reverse of this is true.

The only interest Missouri has in common with the South is her slave interests; and, if it be impossible for her to obtain protection for this as a part of the North, it is unquestionably true, that as a part of the South, surrounded on three sides by free states of the North, at war with her, or at best unfriendly to her institution, which she so much desires to preserve, she has and can have no protection. But it is beyond trivial objections that so long as Missouri remains under the protection of the United States Government, she is bound to receive the protection of that power over all her interests.

Leaving out of mind the immense interests in manufactures and the opening up of her mineral resources yet to be developed, which can alone be accomplished by white labor, we propose to look into the agricultural interests of Missouri which alone be the state, slave labor can be made to observe. Of all products of this hemp forms the staple, and its production is said to rest upon slave labor.


Hemp Rope

The number of bales received at this port for

the year 1860 was 68,900, which gives about 11,482 tons, worth about $1,148,300 in money. This was manufactured here, or shipped from here to Kentucky, and New Orleans, to be manufactured. The amount worked up here was about 9,233 tons, employing a capital of $1,200,000, at the very lowest calculation. Besides this, there were received here 42,300 coils of bale rope, manufactured in Missouri, worth about, say $300,000, giving employment to a large amount of capital in the manufacture. And all of this affording a means of livelihood to a large number of persons.

This will give some idea of the hemp interest of Missouri, which the present tariff protects.

The Southern policy is to take off the tariff. What, then, will become of the hemp interests of Missouri? When that goes, how will you find employment for slave labor? The cultivation of tobaccos is then the only employment which will be left for the blacks; for they cannot compete with white labor in raising grain, in cultivating vineyards, opening up the rich veins of minerals, and working the great factories which are to be the vitality of Missouri. Do the people in the country look at these things? Do the farmers who raise hemp, whose interest it is, and must be, to protect and uphold the manufacturers of their article, realize these things? I apprehend not when they advocate secession.

Then, too, Mr. Editor, is the honor of Missouri to be maintained by the severance of the bonds that bind her to the federal government? Is it not rather to be preserved by a stern refusal to disrupt this confederacy? By a strong determination and a vigorous effort to keep intact this glorious Union? Is slavery, if it is so good an institution as its advocates would have us believe, paramount to everything else?

Have we no honor involved in the preservation of the history of the past and the hopes of the future? In the cause of humanity and the march of civilization? Do we take no pride in the glorious flag that has been the ensign of liberty throughout the civilized world?

I submit these thoughts to the people of Missouri, and I ask their earnest consideration, hoping they may be well-timed.

FOR THE UNION.

January 26, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#47)
January 26, 1861

The Grand Jury and the Minute Men

(Editorial)

The grand jury, we believe, is about to adjourn. A correspondent suggests that the jurors shall investigate the condition and purposes of the Minute Men and other threatening organizations of this city. In view of the necessity for the presence of the United States troops at the Custom House, communicated to the government by the Assistant U. S. Treasurer of this city, would it not be well to call upon Mr. Sturgeon for the specific reasons of his apprehensions in this particular.[207]



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#48)
January 26, 1861

What Are the Views of the Suggested Delegates to the Convention?

[Letter to the Editors]

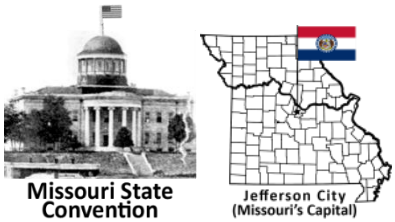
Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

[207] At the request of Assistant U. S. Treasurer Isaac H. Sturgeon, forty US Army soldiers and one officer were sent to St. Louis to protect government funds and property. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.3). Sturgeon's request and comments are at: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-5) & (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-6).

Although opposed to the calling of a convention, it is now all-important that only the right kind of men be sent to represent us there. A number of names of prominent citizens have been suggested as suitable persons for delegates, but as yet no steps have been taken to ascertain what their views are upon this all-important question. Are we to vote in the dark? Or will such of these gentlemen as may be willing to serve, to enlighten us as to their position in this matter? For myself, I am free to declare that I am for the Union, and will vote for no man who does not entertain the same views. On the other hand, I will vote for any good man, be his politics what they may, who will declare himself opposed to the secession of Missouri and in favor of the perpetuation of our glorious confederacy.

—ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

January 28, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#49)

January 28, 1861

Union Feeling in the State

(Editorial)

"There is a danger that Missouri may be torn from the Union by the madness which rules the hour; nothing but the greatest coolness and firmness, aye, patriotism on the part of her people, can save her."

We have taken pains to scan very closely the expression of the interior *Missouri Press* in reference to the question of union or disunion. It will be seen from the appended extracts that the hearts of the people are true and loyal to the Union, and the secessionists in this city and elsewhere may as well prepare themselves for a most complete and mortifying overthrow in the results of the State Convention election on the 18th of February. The citizens of Missouri, it seems, are just waking up to the value of this great confederacy of states. There won't be a single secession member returned to that Convention, while the Union men who are for the Union without condition, will undoubtedly largely dominate in that body.[208]



The *Huntsville Citizen* [Randolph County], in speaking of the Convention, says:

"The all-absorbing question, the soul and heart of the whole movement, is to decide whether Missouri shall remain in or go out of the Union. We maintain this point is already decided—irrevocably settled in the hearts and consciences of our people. They are for the Union."



The *Louisiana Journal* (Pike County) says:

"There now remains no doubt that not one man in fifty, in the county of Pike, is in favor of secession or dissolution, and our friends, who have the interests of Missouri at heart, should see to it at once, that no secessionist or disunionist at heart should be elected as a delegate.

"Already we have heard it said by those who are suspected of secession proclivities, that the question must be put to any man who offers himself as a candidate for delegate, "Are you for or against the South?" That is not the question, we are

[208] This prediction, made almost three weeks before the election of delegates to the Secession Convention, was accurate. No avowed secessionist candidates were elected, even though some of those elected were closet secessionists.

all Southern men. But the true question is, for or against the preservation of the Union."



The *Missouri Statesman* [Boon County] says:

For ourselves, our position is taken; we are for the rights of the South in the Union. If we are to fight for those rights, we prefer to fight in the Union."



The Daily *Weston Argus* [Platte County] says:

"Devoted to that Union, which has been the harbinger of so many blessings, to us, to our millions of freemen, and to the whole civilized world, we could not be guilty of removing one stone from the glorious arch our fathers built at the cost of so much blood and treasure."



The *Georgetown Press* [Pettis County] says:

"When the facts are properly considered, it is enough to make one heartily sick to mediate upon the precipitate rashness of some of our people, of those who have taken it upon themselves to destroy this great temple of liberty, reared by our forefathers and sealed to us by their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors, who have taken it upon themselves to drag us into a fruitless and, alas, uncalled for breach with the general government."



The *Princeton Reporter* [Mercer County] has a call unanimously signed by leading citizens, which reads as follows:

The undersigned respectfully request all citizens of Mercer County, irrespective of party, who love their country and the union of the states, and are willing, at all hazards, to maintain the Constitution and to enforce the laws, are requested, etc."



The *Union Press*, published at Linneus [Linn County], utters the following words of warning:

"There is a danger that Missouri may be torn from the Union by the madness which rules the hour; nothing but the greatest coolness and firmness, aye, patriotism on the part of her people, can save her."



The *Chillicothe Constitution [Livingston County]* "talks out in meeting" in the following style:

We want no legislation by that Convention for the benefit of South Carolina, or any other states, which shall take precedence over the interests of Missouri. The question is what shall Missouri do to secure and protect her own rights, and not what shall be done for South Carolina, or any other state. When we thus act, we do South Carolina no harm. Our prosperity certainly cannot prove her downfall. The theory is false that Missouri has any interests that can be maintained out of the Union, that cannot be rendered doubly secure in it."



The *Pioneer Gazette*, published at Montgomery City [Montgomery County], says:

"The prevailing opinion among all classes of Missourians appears to be decidedly in favor of conciliation, a wish to bury past differences, to renew the bonds of the Union, cement them together, shake hands, unfurl the national flag, and behold it once again at the masthead, floating proudly over land and sea, as the emblem of harmony, Union and strength."



The *Neosho Herald* [Newton County], away down in the southwest, warns its readers against these disunion men, as follows:

"We call on all who feel and know the value of living under a government containing the elements of greatness, which that of the United States now does, in comparison with what their condition may and probably will be should an alteration in its present status be carried out, to hold themselves in readiness, and at the first sound of preparation, to select their candidates from among the number known to be sound Union men, and elect them. There can be no doubt as to the true sentiment of the people of Missouri, and secessionism can never gain a triumph but by the apathy of those who would oppose it."



The *Warrenton Nonpareil* [Warren County] says:

"Our Rights in the Union."

We have inscribed the above upon our banner and unfurled it to the breeze. We have no notion, for the present, to go out of the Union to seek our rights. We are not disposed to give the North such an undue advantage over us; we will stay in the Union and demand our rights with the Constitution and the Supreme Court for a protection.



The *Washington Weekly Advertiser* [Franklin County] says:

The candidate for the Convention must be "a good, sound, square-toed Union man," in favor of "the Constitution and enforcement of the laws," without any ifs, ands, or buts, unless, except, provided, because, or other "disjunctive" conjunctions. Let not party lines divide us on a question of this kind, where our homes and our firesides, the prosperity of Missouri, and our national existence, is at stake!"



The *Danville Herald* [Montgomery County]

"This is no time to inquire whether a man was a Bell man or a Douglas man in the presidential election last November. "Is he a Union man?" should be the question. Will he stand by the Constitution and hold fast to the government given us by our forefathers?"



The *Glasgow Times* [Howard County] comes out flat-footed and firm, saying:

"The simple question is, "union or disunion?" It may as well be met now as at any time. All Union men should unite and vote for Union candidates—

candidates who will stand by the Union to the last extremity."



The *Western Mail* [Platte County] says, with fine spirit:

"For ourselves, personally, and for the *Mail*, in its humble sphere of influence, we here take occasion to say that we are no Conditional Unionist, that we shall stand by the Union as the greatest and best government in the world, as long as it has a flag and a friend left to uphold it."



The *Fulton Telegraph* [Callaway County] says:

In whatever light we look at the subject, it seems to us that it is the part of wisdom to remain as we now stand in relation to the federal government. We can see no one single object to be affected by a separation, that may not be more easily, and cheaply, and permanently affected by a continuance of the Union. We can see no good that can possibly arise from secession, on the contrary, we can see much evil.

The state of Missouri, by the mere agitation of the secession question, has lost, in the depreciation of the price of property, more than double the value of all the slaves in the state. Lands that four months ago would have readily sold for $10 and $15 per acre, will not today bring more than from $3 to $7 per acre. We are not, therefore, contending for the value of slaves, but for a principle. We demand that we shall be left like the inhabitants of the free states, to the peaceable enjoyment of our property, of every description. The question is, can we secure that better in the Union than out of it?

Whether we look at the subject in a monetary, political, moral, religious, or educational sense, as a matter of principle, we believe our whole interests will be more and better advanced by an adherence to, than by a separation from, the federal Union.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#49.1)

January 28, 1861

Disunionists in the Missouri Senate and Other False Unionists

(Editorial)

"He who would maintain his partisanship in such an emergency, is utterly destitute of the spirit of patriotism. It is not our points of difference but our points of identity that we should all dwell upon now. It is not a time for dividing and subdividing but for combining and consolidating. Yet it is but too apparent that exclusiveness is the order of the day among those for whom the *Missouri Republican* newspaper speaks."

A cursory examination of the debates in the General Assembly is sufficient to show the determination of the disunionists. The Senate is a temple of disunion. That body, instead of acting on bills, devotes itself to the discussion of abstract propositions that affirm expressly or by implication the right of secession. As the Senate of the United States last spring undertook to shape the event of the Democratic Convention, so the Senate of Missouri is striving to prejudice the people of the state on behalf of secession.

The disunionists are resorting to every means in their reach to elect a majority of delegates to the Convention, and they will hesitate at nothing, from

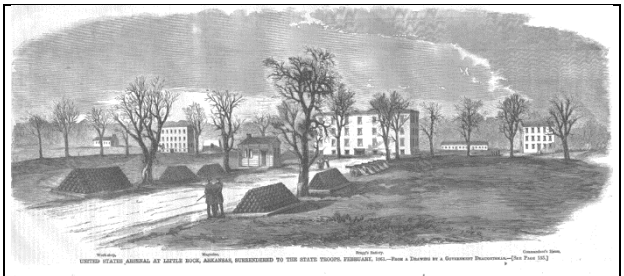
duplicity to intimidation, which is calculated to promote their ends. In view of these facts, the union of all Union men, it will be admitted, becomes the chief duty of the hour. He who would maintain his partisanship in such an emergency, is utterly destitute of the spirit of patriotism. It is not our points of difference but our points of identity that we should all dwell upon now. It is not a time for dividing and subdividing but for combining and consolidating. Yet it is but too apparent that exclusiveness is the order of the day among those for whom the *Missouri Republican* newspaper speaks. The salvation of the Union with them is subordinate to the winning of the city election. They are ready to abide by the Constitution with amendments. What fundamental difference is there between the tactics of the avowed secessionists, as disclosed in the *Bulletin* newspaper,[209] and the tactics of the Conditional Unionist *Missouri Republican*? Both discriminate against Union men, the one against all of that class, and the other against the large majority. The difference is one of quantity, not one of quality. On this, as on all other trying occasions, the lofty patriotism of members of the Republican Party shames the factious spirit of their opponents. Republicans offer and invite cordial fraternity on behalf of the Union, which, like the sky above us, rains down its blessings on all. They stop not to calculate what will be the effect of new and strange associations upon their subsequent fortunes. When the country is in danger they scorn the comparatively trivial aims of party ambition. Hence, their readiness to cooperate with men of all parties for the preservation of the state from the dire calamity of civil war.

We appeal to those whose love of country is in the ascendant, to compare the position of Republicans in this matter with the position of other parties. How can those who discriminate against the free states by discriminating against Republicans, pretend to be in favor of Union or conciliation? Do not those who declare against Republicans in St. Louis throw down the gauntlet to the whole Northern people? Here among ourselves, let the test be applied. Let all who are for the Union act as one man. Let them be as strictly in accord as the secessionists. What state in the Union has so deep an interest in its perpetuation as Missouri? Some seem to think that the people of this state, by deciding against secession, will be conferring a boon upon the people of the free states. Excessively absurd as this notion is, it possesses the minds of the whole tribe who have adopted the Crittenden Compromise[210] as their latest confession of faith. They consent to stay in the Union, as a husband consents to refrain from drowning himself as long as his wife concedes to his demands.

But we repeat that the test which the opponents of the Republican Party apply to candidates for the Convention, shows a feeling hostile to conciliation and readjustment. How can they expect that the Republican Party will make concessions as long as they themselves act the part of stupid bigots and dim-sighted partisans? They miscalculate largely, we beg to inform them, if they hope to extort anything by threats.

They know that the disruption of the Democratic Party Convention last summer and the nomination of Breckinridge were all part of a disunion scheme. They know that a secession plot was matured before the presidential campaign opened, and yet they pretend to hold Republicans responsible for the existing commotion over secession!

Their falsehood of assertion and fallacy of argument help the disunion movement. The drama, scene after scene, has been acted before the eyes of the nation since the memorable secession from the Charleston Convention. Senators and Cabinet ministers have played their parts in it; arms were sent from the



U.S. Arsenal in Little Rock, Arkansas
Harper's Weekly, published March 9, 1861

[209] The St. Louis *Bulletin* was a secessionist newspaper and the mouthpiece of the Minute Men.

[210] For a summary of the Compromise, see Essential Information #10: "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30).. For the full text, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

Northern to the Southern arsenals week after week. Military reinforcements, intended for the Southern forts, were dispatched elsewhere. At length came open rebellion—the seizure of forts, arsenals, and revenue cutters; the pulling down of the common flag of the country, and a multitude of individual outrages on citizens of the free states traveling through the slave states.

Gloom and apprehension, the effect of this widespread diabolical conspiracy—a conspiracy which contemplated, and perhaps still contemplates, the occupation of Washington and the seizure of the public archives by a rebel army—gloom and apprehension, we say, are spread over the land, and yet the whole blame is laid on a party which has never held executive or judicial power,[211] and which is pledged in the most solemn terms to respect all rights, both of states and individuals; and as far as slavery is concerned, to have nothing whatever to do with it, except to resist its extension into free soil.

The agitation is compounded of madness and deception, but never was such frantic madness or such great deception. There must be a return to sanity and sincerity, or peace is impossible. Missouri can exercise profound influence by not only demonstrating, but by renewing her loyalty to the Constitution and rejecting the destructive heresy of secession. That sublime service can best be accomplished by the union and cooperation of all true Union men.



St. Louis, Mo.


Frank P. Blair, Jr.


Missouri State Convention

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#50)

January 28, 1861

U.S. Congressman-Elect Blair Addresses the *Republican* Newspaper's Concern About His Candidacy for the Convention

(Letter to the Editors)

> "I am for the Union all over. I not only won't go out of it myself, but, if I can help it, I won't let anybody else go out of it. I go for the Union so strongly that I will vote for any political opponent I have on earth for the Convention if he is for the Union unconditionally, and I will vote for no man who is not for the Union without conditions or mental reservations."

Editors, Missouri Democrat:

I observe that the *Missouri Republican* gives itself concern about my being a candidate for the Convention. It would seem that its concern upon this point gives that newspaper far more trouble than the grave and critical affairs of the country. I ask your indulgence to say a few words, not only to the *Republican* but to the people of this city and county. If the *Republican* newspaper is honestly in favor of the Union, as it professes to be, it would have no trouble or concern as to my being a candidate for the Convention.

What I desire most is that the county of St. Louis shall give an emphatic declaration in favor of the Union of these states, and the only way in which that can be done is to make a ticket of Unconditional Union men, without regard to party, composed of men from all parties who are in favor of the Union and against secession. I am in favor of such a ticket, and if those who, like the *Missouri Republican*, have been defeated and humiliated by me in former political contests cannot, in this perilous crisis, forget or forego their spite, I, for one, will not be an obstacle to the formation of such a ticket. I do not care to be a candidate, and will not be if a ticket can be formed of men from all the different parties who are for the Union. But it appears that the *Missouri Republican* will not support a secessionist nor what it calls a Black Republican,[212] and especially Frank Blair.[213] It will

[211] The Republican Party ran its first candidate for the presidency (unsuccessfully) in 1856. Lincoln was the first president elected from the Republican Party.

[212] Black Republican: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings. "Since the slavery agitation came up, every man who has had the courage to run against the Democratic Party has

not support a secessionist because a secessionist is against the Union, and it will not support a Republican because all the Republicans are for the Union. It must be on middle ground, therefore, between those who are for the Union and those who are against the Union; about halfway for it and halfway against it. I am for the Union all over. I not only won't go out of it myself, but, if I can help it, I won't let anybody else go out of it. I go for the Union so strongly that I will vote for any political opponent I have on earth for the Convention if he is for the Union unconditionally, and I will vote for no man who is not for the Union without conditions or mental reservations.

It will be very difficult to make the people believe that the *Missouri Republican* is for the Union if it refuses to unite on fair and honorable ground with all who are for it. If it would prefer to see the Union dissolved rather than have it saved by the vote of a Black Republican delegate to the convention, its devotion to the Union is not skin deep. If its desire to preserve the Union cannot overcome its political prejudices, then its devotion is only from the teeth outward.

The Republican Party in St. Louis County comprises nearly one-half of its legal voters. If there are any secessionists at all in the county, it is very certain that Republicans are more than one-half of the Union men. But it is proposed to them by you that they should all vote for a ticket upon which no Republican name is allowed to appear. They may vote for a ticket of Union men made up from their late Bell-Everett[214] or Douglas[215] opponents, but none of them are fit to be voted for on such a ticket. Can the parties who make such a proposition pretend that they are true Union men, when they take such means to uphold themselves instead of the cause they pretend to sustain?

I repeat again, that I shall not be in the way of any honest effort to unite the strength of the Union men against the worst enemies of the welfare of our state and country, but shall be ready to put on the harness to aid all earnest and Unconditional Union men to defeat, as I have often before defeated, the open and the secret enemies of the country.

Yours,

FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

Editor's Note: The article below is a biased description of a follow-on meeting by the organizers of the first Conditional Unionists meeting/rally, held in front of the Court House on January 12. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29), "First Conditional Unionist Meeting/Rally."



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#51)

January 28, 1861

An Account of a Disunionist Caucus

[Conditional Unionist]

(Letter to the Editors)

been denounced as an abolitionist, a Free-Soiler, and a Black Republican." See: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.3).

[213] Congressman-elect Frank P. Blair, Jr. was one of the first to realize the inevitability of war between the North and South; he was one of the organizers of the St. Louis Union Safety Committee. He became chairman of the U.S. House Committee on Military Affairs in 1861. He served as colonel of the 1st Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry under Gen. Lyon, and as a two-star major general, corps commander under William T. Sherman. In 1899, the state of Missouri donated a marble statue of Blair to the U.S. Capitol's National Statuary Hall Collection, where it stands today (2023). See the Marble Statue of Francis Preston Blair, Jr. at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28).

[214] John Bell and Edward Everett ran on the new Constitutional Union Party ticket in the 1860 presidential election. Their party platform, avoiding the issue of slavery, recognized only "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, and the enforcement of the Laws."

[215] Stephen A. Douglas, the Northern Democratic presidential candidate in 1860, was a proponent of popular sovereignty, whereby the people of a territory could vote for or against slavery.

"It was agreed, as it was a Union meeting, that the Union should be praised. The trouble was to lay a ground of grievance sufficient to justify the destruction of such a glorious Union. The resolutions pointed at the existence of sectional parties, and denounced them."

Editors *Missouri Democrat*:

A great change is observed in the bearing of certain parties and newspapers in this city towards each other since the January 12 disunionist meeting billed as a Union meeting by the *Missouri Republican*. [The Conditional Unionist meeting/rally in front of the Court House.] About the time of that meeting and a short time before and after it, the leaders of the *quasi* Union men; those who profess to be Union men but are disunion men at heart; men who are for the Union upon impossible conditions (Conditional Unionists); the tribe of Union tadpoles who have only to drop their tails to become active disunion toad frogs, these and the avowed secessionists, regular rattlesnakes and palmettos,[216] and a very few honest men, who have been deceived by secessionists claiming to be Unionists, were to be seen every day in close and friendly conversation. These consultations grew out of the call for the meeting, which had been published in all the newspapers, addressed to those who believed that the interests of all could be much better preserved in the Union than out of the Union. It was the object of the tadpoles already mentioned to take possession of this meeting, called in good faith by Union men to renew their vows to the Union, and convert it into a disunion and secession affair, give aid and comfort to traitors, who have already seceded from the Union and raised the flag of rebellion and treason. This, it will be admitted, was a task of some difficulty, and required grave deliberation and skillful preparation. The first thing done was to notify the public through the *Missouri Republican*, that nobody was expected to come to the meeting who was in favor of the Constitution and Union as it is, but only such as were in favor of changing the Constitution by the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise,[217] which it now appears was drawn by John C. Breckinridge,[218] and amounts to nothing more or less than the party platform of the Breckinridge Southern Democratic Party faction, which was repudiated in the last election by four-fifths of the United States.

This notification has gone forth that the real Union men were not expected to attend the Union meeting, the leaders and managers of the Union men with disunion tails, the old chronic secessionists and nullifiers, and a few others who were honestly in favor of the Union, and who were used to cover up the real design, were then called together in solemn conclave to consult upon the best way of saving the Union by dissolving it.

I shall not give the names of all those who were present at this caucus, nor the place in which it was held. I shall content myself with stating the principal occurrences.

After some general conversation, the business was broached, resolutions were read and commented upon. It was agreed, as it was a Union meeting, that the Union should be praised. The trouble was to lay a ground of grievance sufficient to justify the destruction of such a glorious Union. The resolutions pointed at the existence of sectional parties, and denounced them.

Mr. Gamble rather faintly discouraged the adoption of such a resolution, and did not care to make any ultimatums, but finally acquiesced.[219]

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Jan-Annex-54)

[216] Rattlesnakes and palmettos: One South Carolina flag depicted a palmetto tree with a coiled rattlesnake wrapped about the trunk.

[217] For a summary of the Compromise, see Essential Information #10: "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

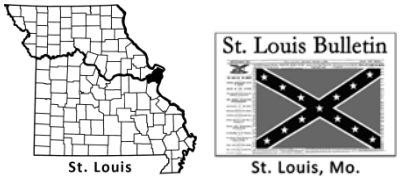
[218] Vice Pres. John C. Breckinridge was the Southern Democratic Party candidate in the 1860 presidential election. He campaigned for state's rights and the expansion of slavery into the territories. He only received 18.94% of the votes in Missouri. The avowed Unionists received the remainder.

[219] Hamilton R. Gamble was appointed provisional governor of Missouri on July 31, after the State Convention reconvened and removed Gov. Jackson from office (July 22-31).

5. *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* ARTICLES, JANUARY WEEK FIVE

January 29, 1861

Editor's Note: The article below comments on the meeting described in the article above, "An Account of a Disunionists Caucus" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#51). In both the article below and the earlier article, Mr. Snead is mentioned. Snead was the editor of the pro-secession *Bulletin* newspaper in St. Louis, which was considered the mouth-piece of the Minute Men. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.3).



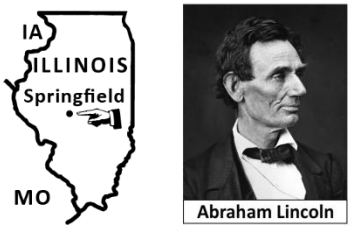
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#52)
January 29, 1861

Conditional Unionist Meeting

(Editorial)

"Of course, resolutions emanating from such a source (a gathering in which absolute and qualified disunionists dominated) could give no true expression to the Union feeling of the people."

We published a letter to the editors yesterday[220] which disclosed the true origin of the resolution adopted at the great meeting held in front of the Court House, two or three weeks ago.[221] In the caucus, the proceedings of which our correspondent describes, disunionists were prominent actors.[222] The resolutions were revised by a disunionist, the editor of the *Bulletin*, who officiated as a censor on the occasion. Special care was taken to stigmatize the truest Union men, the Republicans, as a sectional party, while the disunionists were complimented, "Shall we say anything disagreeable of the party which includes our friend, Mr. Snead, who is here as operating with us?," exclaimed that disinterested patriot and prudent statesman, Albert Todd.[223] The question was answered with a universal and most emphatic "No!" Of course, resolutions emanating from such a source (a gathering in which absolute and qualified disunionists dominated) could give no true expression to the Union feeling of the people. Hence it was that the public speeches delivered on that memorable Saturday, three weeks ago, were so little in accord with the conclusions at which this caucus arrived. The earlier speeches had the ring of the true metal, while the more deliberate expressions at this meeting sounded false, hollow and unharmonious.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#52.1)
January 29, 1861

Cabinet Matters—
The Presidential Progress

Extract

"Mr. Lincoln will not only make no further announcement of his intentions in regard to the selection and disposition of his ministry but will not even *decide* as to his appointments until he arrives at Washington and has the benefit and

[220] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#51).
[221] The "Great Meeting" referred to was the first meeting of the Conditional Unionists held on January 12. See "First Conditional Unionist Meeting/Rally" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29).
[222] (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#51).
[223] Albert Todd, born in Kentucky in 1825, was a St. Louis lawyer that unsuccessfully ran for Congress on the Bell-Everett Constitutional Union ticket in 1860. He received 17.5% of the vote. Frank Blair, Jr., the winner, received 44.11%.

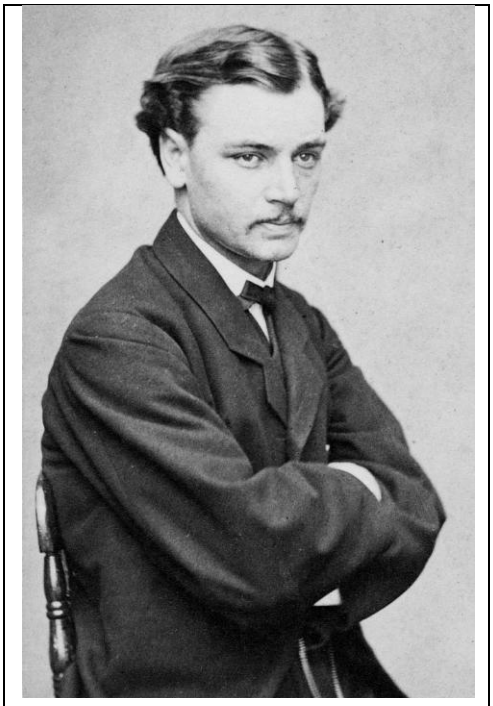
advantages of the fuller information, which is accessible there, in regard to the subject."

CABINET MATTERS

The item hunters have recently been ignoring Pennsylvania and keeping a vigilant eye upon the proceedings of the Hoosier pilgrims, who still stray out in large and respectable delegations to this political Mecca, to kiss the sacred Kaaba and hint to Abraham that Caleb, called Smith, would make a most capital postmaster general; and Uncle Sam's mail, equally interested in such matters, groans under the weight of letters innumerable, all to the tenor and effect that if *you* want a good, energetic, progressive, trustworthy, honest, young American postmaster general, Schuyler Colfax is your man. Indiana seems to prefer Caleb, while the general public calls for Schuyler. Mr. Judd's friends hope to win the day by a dexterous flank movement, which will leave the distinguished Hoosiers out in the cold. It is lucky that we have such men. The Post Office Department will certainly not suffer, whatever befalls.

Mr. Lincoln will not only make no further announcement of his intentions in regard to the selection and disposition of his ministry but will not even *decide* as to his appointments until he arrives at Washington and has the benefit and advantages of the fuller information, which is accessible there, in regard to the subject.

There is another point, whose publication may set at rest the anxiety of the holy army of self-appointed Union savers and relieve Mr. Lincoln from an immense amount of daily pestering. Mr. Lincoln will not be scared or coaxed into any expression of what everybody knows are his opinions until the will of the people and the established institutions of the government are vindicated by his inauguration. Then if anybody doubts his integrity, his liberality, his large-hearted patience and his conservatism, their doubts will be removed. Until then let them possess their souls in patience.



Robert Todd Lincoln
Mathew B. Brady, c. 1865
Library of Congress (ID: ppmsca.19229)

THE PRESIDENTIAL PROGRESS

It is now definitely settled that Mr. Lincoln will leave Springfield on the 11th day of the coming February. He will be accompanied by his family, Major Hunter, and Colonel Sumner, of the United States army, and a few distinguished Illinoisans. His route will be through Indianapolis, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Albany, New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Baltimore. The program is liable to further modification but will not differ essentially from that.

From the legislatures of Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and from the citizens of the respective capitals of those states, Mr. Lincoln has received the most cordial invitations to honor them with a passing visit. Such invitations cannot decorously be disregarded. The progress of the president-elect cannot but be fortunate in its influence upon the tone of public feeling in the Union. The devotion which men in general feel for their government is a rather vague and shadowy emotion. This will be intensified, and will receive form and coloring, by personal interviews of the people themselves with their constitutional head.

Mrs. Lincoln and her eldest son, Robert T. Lincoln,[224] the

[224] Robert T. Lincoln joined the U.S. Army shortly before the Civil War's end, serving as assistant adjutant to Gen. Grant's staff, with a captain's rank. His late entry into the war was due to his mother, Mary Todd Lincoln, who prevented him from going early until she finally gave in, in early 1865. Lincoln would later serve as U.S. Sec. of War under President Garfield (1881-1885).

Prince of Rails, have returned from the east and are now at home.

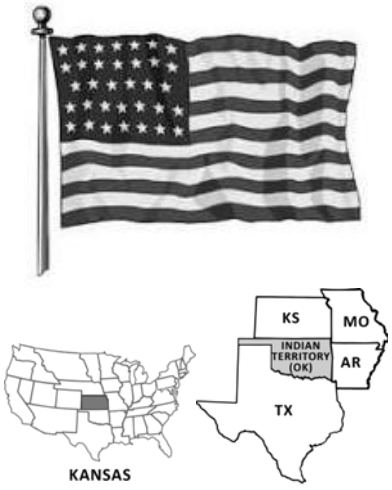
IMPORTANT RUMOR

It is said that Gov. Yates has received communications from the governors of several states, requesting him to join in sending commissioners to Washington, to cooperate in the deliberations of the Virginia commissioners, who will be there on the 4th of February next. It is believed that he very promptly and decidedly refused to agree to any such proposition. He unquestionably has the sympathy of the entire community here in this matter. The sentiment of the people here is: we have done no wrong; we will do no wrong; we will suffer no wrong. By that they will stand.

AN OPPORTUNITY OF REMOVING MISAPPREHENSIONS

An opportunity of removing misapprehensions is presented by an article in the *Journal* this morning. The papers who have been holding Mr. Lincoln responsible for the uncompromising editorials of the *Journal* had better print the leader of today, which, while it is for the principles of the Republican party, tells what those principles are, and hates the misrepresentation to which they have been subjected.

[John Hay]



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#53)

January 29, 1861

Admission of Kansas Consummated

President Buchanan signed the bill, admitting the State of Kansas on January 29, 1861. This was the consummation of the act of admission, and today Kansas is at liberty to exercise the same power in the government as any other state.[225]

Editor's Note: In 1855, Kansas became qualified to apply for statehood. In 1857, the first state constitution, allowing slavery, was rejected by Northern U.S. senators. In 1958, a second was submitted, without slavery being authorized; it was rejected by Southern U.S. senators. In October 1859, a third (none slavery) constitution was approved in a state referendum and then submitted to Congress for ratification. Following numerous long debates in both the U.S. House and Senate, again Southerners blocked the admission of Kansas. However, when Southern congressmen started to resign as a result of the secession of their states, Northern senators were able to approve the third constitution, allowing President James Buchanan to sign the bill, authorizing Kansas to become the 34th state of the Union, on January 29, 1861.

[225] A 34-star flag, with one representing Kansas, became the official U.S. flag on July 4, 1861.



Kansas Historical Society (13159)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#54)

January 29, 1861

What is Our Country?
A Look at Our Constitution

(Letter to Editors)

"…our allegiance is first due to the whole country, because its fundamental law is the supreme law, and we are bound by an obligation to that law higher than that which binds us to any other human law or constitution, and our rights are co-extensive with this obligation, for 'the citizens of each state are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.'"

Editors *Missouri Democrat*:

We are for our country, say the secessionists and we are for our country, say the Union men; for there are now really but two parties, and the virtue of patriotism so common to all men, is claimed by each.

What is our country? This question could never arise except under a system so complicated as ours; and yet to one who will pay the slightest attention to the nature of our government, it is one of the easy solutions. The articles of "Confederation and perpetual Union," as they were styled, were adopted on the 9th of July 1778. By the 3d article, it was declared that the states, the original thirteen, entered into a league with each other. This was our form of government for nine years. It proved inefficient to secure the purposes intended, and on the 17th of September 1787, a convention of delegates from most of the states, with George Washington as its president, framed the Constitution under which we in Missouri yet live, which was afterwards adopted and ratified by all the states.

The preamble to this Constitution declares as follows:

> *We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution.*

Here is a government established for all the people of the United States. Missouri was afterwards admitted into this Union, "upon an equal footing with the original states."

The 2nd section of this article declares:

> *This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land.*

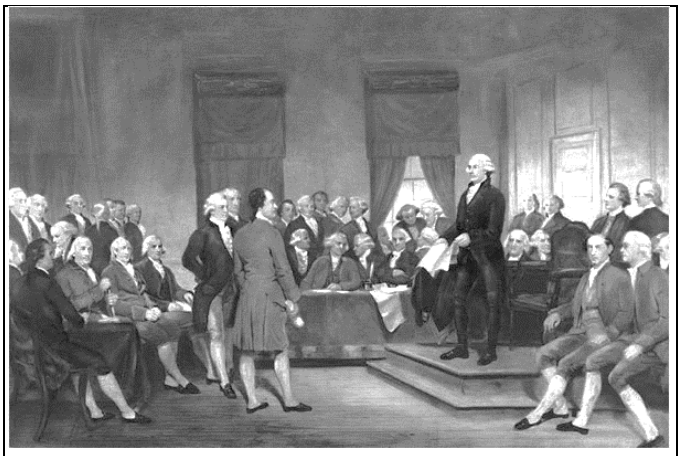
This Constitution or fundamental law, made by the people of the United States for all the people of the United States, is declared to be the supreme law, operating so far as it can operate at all upon

every citizen of every state with a power and authority, inferior and subordinate to no other authority because it is supreme, and so far as that Constitution and its authority is concerned, it acts upon them as one people united for the noble purposes set forth in the preamble to the Constitution.

This Constitution then is framed for the people of the country, not of Missouri alone, nor of South Carolina, nor of Massachusetts, but for the people of the United States, and the United States is our country, and our allegiance is first due to the whole country, because its fundamental law is the supreme law, and we are bound by an obligation to that law higher than that which binds us to any other human law or constitution, and our rights are co-extensive with this obligation, for "the citizens of each state are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." Art. 4, sec. 2.

But independently of the obligation imposed by the Constitution itself upon every citizen of Missouri, we have expressly recognized that authority in our own state constitution, which declares in the 32d section of the third article that "all officers, both civil and military, under the authority of this state, shall, before entering on the duties of their respective office take an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States and of this state. The state as a body politic, acts only through its officers, and they are all required to swear to support the Constitution of the United States, which declares itself to be the supreme law of the land. What a strange political heresy, what wicked folly then is it for men to declare that their primary allegiance is due to the state of Missouri. We owe an allegiance to Missouri, it is true, because the federal government does not affect us in all our relations as citizens, it is a government of limited powers, but within the sphere of those powers is supreme over all state constitutions and state laws.

"The federal government may lay and collect duties on imports and collect excise taxes; it may regulate commerce; it may establish a uniform rule of naturalization; it may coin money and regulate the value thereof, and fix the standard of weights and measure; it may establish post offices and post roads; it may raise and support armies; it may provide for calling for the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; it may provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia." These are some of its powers, and in reference to all these matters, the American citizen, whether native or naturalized, must obey the laws of the Union rather than his own state. This allegiance makes him an American citizen, and as such, the federal government owes him protection, not only in his own country, but throughout the world, wherever his country's flag is respected or her power feared. What could Missouri have done for Martin Kosta when he was in the clutches of Austrian despotism?[226]



George Washington Addressing the Continental Congress
Unknown artist

In all matters not delegated to the federal government, the state authority intervenes because these powers are reserved to the states respectively, and to the people. Such are the laws regulating the domestic relations of husband and wife, of parent and child,

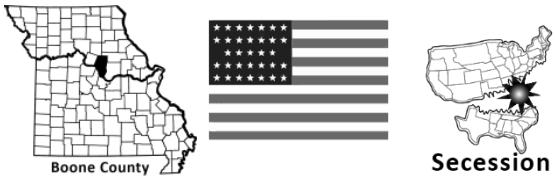
[226] Martin Kosta, a Hungarian refugee, not yet a U.S. citizen at the time, was taken captive by Austrian officials in 1853. A U.S. Naval commander, Capt. Duncan N. Ingraham, boarded the Austrian brig of war, *Hussar*, in the harbor of Smyrna (Turkey), and demanded his release. The diplomatic situation confirmed the right of the U.S. to protect its nationals, even if the naturalization process was not yet complete. [Source: Henry Howe, *Adventures and Achievements of Americans* (New York: George F. Tuttle, 1859), pp. 568-570.]

of master and servant, and most of the rights of person and property. The two systems were designed to work harmoniously together; all "are but part of one stupendous whole."

It is from a disregard of the obvious principle on which our system of government is based that the heresy of secession has arisen, but as you request that all communications should be short, I shall, with your permission, take another opportunity to conclude what I have to say on this subject.*

MISSOURI.

*A second letter on this subject, by this writer, was not found.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#55)
January 29, 1861

What Will Secession Cost?

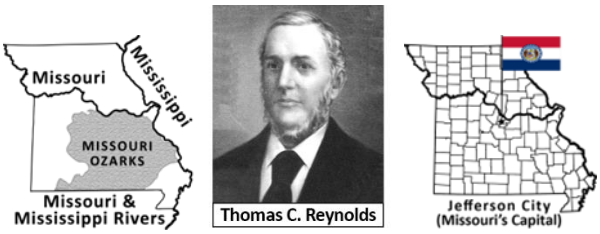
(Reprint)

"Are the taxpayers ready to secede from the Union and foot this bill themselves out of their own pockets? Or are they ready to have no postal system by abolishing the mails? If they are, let them stand with their arms folded and permit the secessionists to go to the February convention, and with rude and parricidal hands, cut the ligament that binds us to the Union."

(*Columbia Statesman* editorial, January 23, 1861)

Secession completely abrogates the Fugitive Slave law[227] so far as we are concerned, and imposes upon us the necessity of defending a thousand miles of the free state frontier, extending from the mouth of the Ohio to the mouth of the Des Moines, and from there to the southwest corner of the state. Are the taxpayers of Missouri, already burdened with about as much as they can bear, and with not an unappropriated dollar in the treasury, and a present debt of near thirty million, prepared to increase their taxes at least one million a year for military defense? Are they prepared for this inauguration of force loans and confiscation of property to sustain standing armies and a cordon of forts on a thousand miles of frontier, to say nothing of the garrisons and armies for the interior? If so, let them in this great crisis permit rash and revolutionary men to plunge Missouri into the vortex of secession.

There too, is our postal system. What will become of it? At present it covers the entire state, carrying the mail to every populous neighborhood, and affording the people invaluable means of social and business intercommunication. This system annually costs the general government $425,000 more than the people pay in postages. Are the taxpayers ready to secede from the Union and foot this bill themselves out of their own pockets? Or are they ready to have no postal system by abolishing the mails? If they are, let them stand with their arms folded and permit the secessionists to go to the February convention, and with rude and parricidal hands,[228] cut the ligament that binds us to the Union.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56)
January 29, 1861

Lt. Gov. Reynolds as a Strategist

(Editorial)

[227] Passed on September 18, 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law required that slaves be returned to their owners, even if they were found in a free state.

[228] Parricidal: the act of killing one's father, mother, or other close relatives.

"Missouri cannot afford to withdraw from the Union. It is simply a choice with her between development and prosperity on one side, and utter impotence and ruin on the other."

The lieutenant governor of the state of Missouri is a warrior bold, as everyone knows. The art of war he acquired by zealous practice in pistol galleries, while his profound knowledge of the science can only be explained by the Dogberry philosophy.[229]

We find that a portion of a speech[230] published in yesterday's *Missouri Republican*, purporting to have been delivered to the Senate by Mr. Reynolds, is devoted to military strategy. What he considers the national defense of Missouri is pointed out for the [illegible] in this discourse. These are the Missouri River on the north, and the Ozark Mountains on the South. By glancing at the map, it will be seen that one-third of the state lies north of the Missouri River, and another third east and west of the Ozark Mountains. So our profound strategist mostly abandons two-thirds of the state to the enemy, with the flippant assurance that northern Missouri, which is separated by nothing but an air line from Iowa, is a very defensible country. Does not Mr. Reynolds know that northern Missouri could be ravaged with impunity from the Iowa frontier? Does he not know that southwest Missouri, the Indian Territory and the adjacent parts of Arkansas, are commanded in a military point of view by southern Kansas?

The great natural fortress of which the [illegible] is no fortress at all, for it is open to invasion in the rear—invitingly open to the predatory raid of the Kansas abolitionists. But unfortunately, the ruin of Missouri would be achieved without battle or invasion. Let a single battery be erected on the Illinois shore at any point between this and Cairo [Illinois], like those recently erected at Vicksburg and Memphis, and the right of way through the free states be cut off at the same time from the people of this state, and what, we ask, would be the consequence? Not an ounce of freight could go down, or come up the river, nor be exported or imported by railroad. In fact, there would be access neither to or from Missouri. Commerce would be literally annihilated, and the state would be nothing but the vast prisonhouse of its citizens as long as the stockade was maintained. We submit this consideration, and contend that unless reason is that of brutish beasts, it must overrule all secession tendencies. Missouri cannot afford to withdraw from the Union.

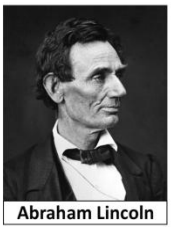
It is simply a choice with her between development and prosperity on one side, and utter impotence and ruin on the other.

Missouri has infinite prospects of advancement in the Union, while the opposite vista looks visibly downward to destruction. Let us make another correction of that absurd exaggeration of statement to which Mr. Reynolds is so addicted. The governor of Illinois has not threatened to invade Missouri; nor has he used any language that admits by fair interpretation of any such construction. The foundation for the charge, we presume, is his declaration that the people of the northwest will not forego their right to the free navigation of the Mississippi. The perversion of this into a threat of invasion against Missouri, is unworthy of any man, much less of one holding the position of lieutenant governor of this state.

Editor's Note: For a letter from Lt. Governor Reynolds stating his opinion about secession and what Missouri should do, see: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan Annex-4).

January 30, 1861




Abraham Lincoln

[229] Dogberry is a Shakespearian character, from *Much Ado About Nothing*, whose philosophy includes to "let sleeping drunks lie, don't meddle with thieves, offend no one," etc..

[230] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-7).

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.1)
January 30, 1861

Democrats Play the Union Card—President-Elect Lincoln Meets with Tennessee Senator

Extract

"He [Sen. Rodgers] appreciates also the dignified reticence which Mr. Lincoln preserves, as concessions at this time would be a confession that the minority may at any election rebel against the constitutionally expressed decision of the majority."

SENATE

An effort has been, on several occasions, energetically initiated and indifferently pursued, by members of the Democratic Party in the Senate, to put themselves upon the record as furious Union men, and to take the cause of the Union under their peculiar charge and tutelage. Senator Underwood has been particularly prominent in the manifestation of this amiable weakness. He scared the "special correspondents" out of their propriety, by proposing to send liars to Joliet. He frightened a "Negro out of the fence" with his kidnapping bill, and he broke ground for a new enterprise in the Union-saving line by the following resolution:

> *Resolved, by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring therein, That five commissioners ought to be appointed, at the earliest practicable period, by this General Assembly, to meet the commissioners selected by Virginia and other states, to confer together on the 4th day of February, 1861, at the city of Washington, D. C., in relation to the imminent perils that threaten our national government, with the earnest hope that some mode may be adopted peaceably to adjust the questions that now distract the states and our national counsels, without the spilling of fraternal blood.*

No effort is required to observe the object of this movement. It is an attempt to impale the Republicans upon the horns of a very elegant dilemma. Either they must vote for the resolutions and insult Mr. Lincoln, and hinder their own course, or they must vote against them, and show a cannibalistic fondness for "fraternal blood."

That cock will not fight, Monsieurs Democrats.

A PLEASANT INTERVIEW

Mr. Rodgers,[231] a prominent conservative politician of Nashville, Tennessee, has been here for a few days, bearing with him letters from the leading conservatives of that state, endeavoring to arrange some terms of compromise by which they could make some successful resistance to the tide of secession in Tennessee. His interviews with the president were strictly private, but those who have enjoyed his confidence, inform me that he will return to his home with the assurance that Mr. Lincoln is earnestly devoted to the preservation of the Union with all its constitutional guaranties, and that everything consistent with honor and with principle will be done by him to keep them intact. He appreciates also the dignified reticence which Mr. Lincoln preserves, as concessions at this time would be a confession that the minority may at any election rebel against the constitutionally expressed decision of the majority.

[John Hay]

Essential Information #13:
Peace Conventions
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.1)

The article below refers to "the Border States Convention" at Washington. However, the generally accepted name for that convention in Washington was: the Virginia Peace Convention.

The Virginia Peace Convention, referred to

[231] Tennessee State Sen. Samuel R. Rodgers was the Speaker of the Senate. He remained loyal to the Union during the war.

above, opened in Washington D.C. on February 4, 1861, thirty days before the inauguration of Lincoln, and on the same day the Confederate States declared themselves a separate nation. Twenty-one states sent a total of 131 delegates; none of the new Confederate states sent delegates. Almost a month later, the conference submitted a proposal to Congress that was similar to the Crittenden Compromise,[232] but it was rejected, so this peace convention accomplished nothing.

On April 3, 1861, the Kentucky legislature passed a bill to convene a border slave states convention "to consult on the critical condition of the country, and agree upon some plan of peaceable adjustment." This "Border Slave States Convention" convened at Frankfort, Kentucky on May 27, 1861. On June 8, 1861, the convention issued an address containing its findings and recommendations.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

The delegates to a convention of the border slave states, assembled in the city of Frankfort, desire to address you in relation to the present condition of the country.

None of us have ever expected to live to see the spectacle, now exhibited in our divided land. The cry to arms resounds throughout our borders, and in a few short weeks, we have seen all over the land the marshaling of troops ready for the conflict. The pursuits of peace are neglected and abandoned, and the spirit of war has seized almost every heart until even gentle and tender woman yields to the fierce impulse and encourages the strife, and the maternal eye scarce gathers a tear as the son seizes his arms and rushes towards the field of carnage and of death.

If this warlike spirit—this terrible energy—were displayed in preparing to meet the legions of an invading enemy, our hearts would exult in the exhibition of the martial spirit of our countrymen; but, alas!

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-20).



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.1.1)

January 30, 1861

Border State Convention Propositions (a.k.a. Virginia Peace Convention)

The border state convention propositions are substantially as follows:

1. Recommending a repeal of the [Northern states'] personal liberty bills.

Editor's Note: In reaction to the Fugitive Slave Act contained in the Compromise of 1850, some Northern states passed what were called "personal liberty laws," restricting the capture and return of fugitive slaves in their state, to include requiring jury trial before alleged fugitives slaves could be returned.

2. That the Fugitive Slave law[233] is amended for the preventing of kidnapping and so as to provide for the equalization of the commissioners' fees, etc.
3. That the Constitution be so amended as to prohibit any interference with slavery in any of the states where it now exists.
4. That Congress shall not abolish slavery in the Southern dockyards, arsenals, etc., nor the District of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland and the consent of the inhabitants of the District, nor without compensation.
5. That Congress shall not interfere with the

[232] Essential Information #10: Crittenden Compromise (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text of the Crittenden Compromise, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

[233] Passed on September 18, 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law required that slaves be returned to their owners, even if they were in a free state.



interstate slave trade.
6. That there shall be a perpetual prohibition of the African slave trade.
7. That the old Missouri Compromise line of 36˚ 30' shall be reestablished, and that it shall be run through all the existing territory of the United States; that in all areas north of that line, slavery shall be prohibited, and that south of that line neither Congress nor the territorial legislature shall hereafter pass any law abolishing, prohibiting, or in any way interfering with African slavery,[234] and that when any territory containing a sufficient population for one member of Congress in an area of 60,000 square miles shall apply for admission as a state, it shall be admitted with or without slavery, as its constitution may determine.

Editor's Note: In 1861, U.S. senators were elected by state legislatures rather than the electorate. U.S. Senator James S. Green was considered a secessionist; therefore he was not acceptable to Unionists and was not reelected. The article below deals with an effort by secessionist to reelect him.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.2)
January 30, 1861

Secessionists Fail to Reelect U.S. Sen. Green

"The decided and unmistakable tone of the people throughout the state in favor of the Union as it now is, is working a remarkable change here in the sentiments of even the most violent of the secessionists. They find that they are digging their political graves by advocating disunion."

Jefferson City, Jan. 29, 1861.

The friends of Missouri's U.S. Senator Green met with a bitter disappointment yesterday by the action of the Senate, which defeated the joint session proposed. Their policy was to proceed to an election, when some thirty or forty members were absent from the House, and could they have succeeded in effecting a joint session, would probably have elected Mr. Green. Although the House agreed, yet when the measure came before the Senate, an effective opposition was made to all by the opponents of Green and those opposed to such hasty action. Their plan was to occupy the floor in debate until the hour set had passed, and they did it effectually.

The postponement, as in thought, effectually kills the re-election of Mr. Green. The Unionist Douglas Northern Democrat wing has resolved on a separate course of action from the secessionist Breckinridge Southern Democrat wing, and the split is now considered irreconcilable on this question. The Stephen Douglas wing will seek the cooperation of the Union members, and will allow them to select the candidate that pleases them best. The Union members will, it is thought, go into this arrangement, and the effect will be that a sound, conservative friend of the Union will be elected.

The decided and unmistakable tone of the people throughout the state in favor of the Union as it now is, is working a remarkable change here in the sentiments of even the most violent of the secessionists. They find that they are digging their political graves by advocating disunion. This change of sentiment will, if it has not already, defeat the secessionists *per se*. The policy of the Douglas wing will be to vote against any joint session for election of U.S. Senator for some days yet, until their plans are perfected.

An important question now arises in regard to the election of the public printer.[235] The law

[234] This suggests a return to the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which was repealed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court as part of the Dred Scott Decision of 1857.

[235] The question of a "public printer" was important because the public printer received all government

expressly provides that the election of that office shall take place in a joint session on the fourth Monday of January. The Senate failing to go into joint session yesterday, is equivalent, in the opinion of some of the best lawyers, to giving the office for the next term to the present incumbent. Unless the law is amended by the present Assembly, such will probably be the result. Thus, by over anxiety and haste, both candidates of the secessionist senatorial coalition had themselves suddenly placed far in the background, so far that they cannot possibly regain their former position.

The convention question, the proceedings of the Committee on Federal Relations, and the senatorial caucuses have kept back the important business almost entirely. It is to be hoped that members will soon end these interminable debates, and proceed to action which will have some beneficial effects on the suffering condition of the state at the present time.

—K.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.3)

January 30, 1861

Colony on the African Coast

(Letter to Editors)

"Let there be a generous competition among all the states of the Union as to which can plant the most successful colony on the African coast, each state naming the colony for itself."

Editors Missouri Democrat:

Would not some such plan as this be a solution to our national difficulties:

I. Let Congress pass a law holding in reserve from the action of the Homestead bill, every alternate section of the public lands, so as to be able to make an offer of this kind to each of the states where slavery now exists, to wit: On the day when a general emancipation law shall take effect in any given state, the treasurer of said state shall be authorized to draw on the Treasury of the United States for two hundred dollars for each one who had been held in slavery, to be subject to the order of the voters of said state, and for fifty dollars more for each one so emancipated, the honor of the state being pledged to expend this additional appropriation in establishing a colony on the African coast.

II. Let there be a generous competition among all the states of the Union as to which can plant the most successful colony on the African coast, each state naming the colony for itself.

1. This would at once transfer the controversy from the halls of Congress to the states where it belongs.

2. This would immeasurably increase the influence for good of this nation the world over.

3. This would, in the end, be no pecuniary loss to the nation from the trade with the United States of Africa.

4. This would transform the whole colored population into firm friends, and might, in the end, republicanize and Christianize the African continent.

5. This would avert all the inconceivable horrors of civil war, and bring down the blessing of God upon our land.

EAST TENNESSEE.

printing contracts. Consequently, the contract was a way of rewarding a supporter that controlled a newspaper advocating for the majority party. In this case, Gov. Jackson was able to direct the contract to a secessionist supporting printer/newspaper.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.4)

January 30, 1861

Only Two Choices: Union or Secession

(Letter to the Editors)

"Those, then, who are not for the Union unconditionally, are not for the Union at

all, and must be classed among our worst enemies since they approach us in disguise."

Editors, Missouri Democrat:

I had hoped that in the present crisis, all party feeling was to be laid aside, and that the issue would be made to depend not on political opinions or on party relations, but on the all-absorbing question of union or disunion, but the refusal of the *Missouri Republican* to support any candidate for the Convention connected with the Republican Party, under any circumstances, seems to dispel any such hope, at least so far as it is concerned. Such a course is evidently pre-empted by no other than a party spirit, a party motive, for surely no one will pretend to deny that a Republican may be an Unconditional Union man, yet these are the kind of men which that paper pretends to support. Now, this is not a question between North and South, it is the mere question of union or disunion, of remaining just where we are, or of fastening ourselves to South Carolina's apron strings, which, by the way, are only cotton, and consequently not very strong; it is, therefore, evident that a man, whether he be a native of Maine or Georgia, so long as he is a Union man in the true sense of the word, is a fit candidate for a seat in our Convention, and that it is unjust to require any such party test.

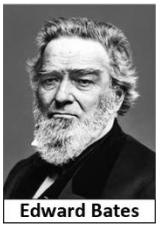
"He who is not for us is against us, and he who sows not with us, scatters abroad." So far as the convention is concerned, there can be no conditional requisite; it is absurd to talk of being for the Union if we can have our rights, for certainly no one expects that the question as to whether we had or are going to have these rights will be settled before or at the Convention any more definitely than it is now.

How, then, will these conditional men satisfy their minds in respect to this matter of doubt? Every man has already decided whether according to his views, we have these rights, and if we have, then he is a Union man; if we have not, he must be a secessionist. Those, then, who are not for the Union unconditionally, are not for the Union at all, and must be classed among our worst enemies since they approach us in disguise. We must, therefore, satisfy ourselves, personally, of the views of every candidate before we endorse them by our vote, lest we are found, through negligence, to have signed our own death warrant.

—W.R.H.

January 31




Edward Bates

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.5)

January 31, 1861

Honorable Edward Bates

Extract

Hon. Edward Bates arrived here last evening, and had a long interview with Mr. Lincoln, who left the city this morning on a visit to an aged relative in Coles County. He will return in two or three days.

No measure of any elected president ever gave such instantaneous and universal satisfaction as has the selection of Mr. Bates for a place in the Cabinet. The deep confidence of the public in his integrity, statesmanship, and patriotism is a guaranty of the popular administration. A nearer acquaintenance always deepens the impressions formed by a study of his public life. His rare and winning courtesy, his brilliant conversational talents, and the permeating flavor of honor and sincerity that pervades his manners inevitably warm admiration into affection. It is a red-letter day on which one is introduced to Edward Bates.

[John Hay]



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#57)

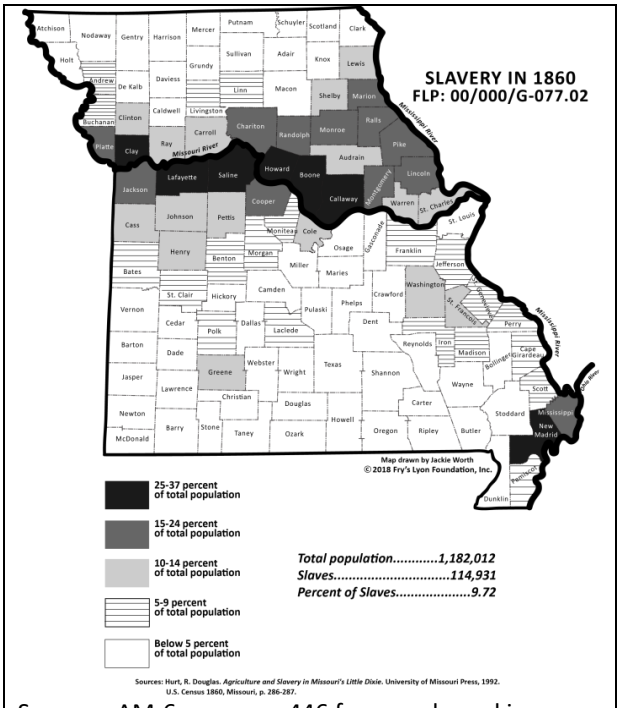
January 31, 1861

Missouri's Ten-Year Growth

(Editorial)

In 1850, the white population of Missouri, according to the federal census of that year, was 492,000, the number of slaves 87,000, and of the free person of color 3,000.

Returns from the several counties in the state, published in yesterday's *Republican*, show the present population to be whites 1,056,838; slaves, 112,388, and free persons of color 3,962. The growth of the state, as attested by these figures, is unprecedented in the history of the slave states.[236] The same ratio of increase for the next ten years would give us a population of 2,000,000 in 1870.



See map AM-6a on page 446 for an enlarged image.

How ridiculous are all arguments for secession by the side of this stupendous fact? Missouri has miraculously prospered in the Union. There is not a farm or a lot in the state that will not be worth twice as much money in 1870 as it was last summer, when the United States census was taken, unless, in the meantime, the irretrievable calamities of dissolution and civil war shall come on the country.

The Union has, indeed, been a fostering mother to Missouri; but what if our position should be changed from the center of the Union to the outer edge of the Confederacy, from the midst of all the states to a frontier state surrounded by hostile states? Now we are embosomed in friendly communities as a Confederate state, and we would find ourselves surrounded and imprisoned by impenetrable ranks of enemies [Kansas, Iowa, Illinois].

> "The Constitution is the only sure guarantee for holding fast to that which we have, as well as, for securing the gifts that shine in the extended land of the future."

The conflict which would precede this, our fixed condition, in the new order of things, would annihilate our commerce, devastate our farms, seal the mouths of our mines, and hurl us down into hopeless poverty and ruin. Why do not the conspirators, who are charged with the safety of the commonwealth, calculate the value of the Union to Missouri? The Union has nearly doubled our population and more than quadrupled our wealth in the short period of ten years. What losses has it entailed upon us? None whatever.

Therefore, in the account of this state with the Union, there are no losses to be entered. The partnership, if we may so speak, has been one of interpreted gain to Missouri, but the whole would be forfeited if a separation should take place.

The Constitution is the only sure guarantee for holding fast to that which we have, as well as, for securing the gifts that shine in the extended land of the future. As the case presents itself to sober reflection, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that Missouri will temporarily reject secession. We know the governor, lieutenant governor, and the majority of the Democratic leaders in the legislature are destitute of every sentiment of patriotism, but they have a keen sense of their individual interests in it, and on that, we chiefly rely on.

The cash value of the slave property of the state was not less than $84,200,000 before the

[236] One of the arguments against the extension of slavery was that both U.S. and foreign immigrants avoid states that allow slavery. This stunts population growth and restricts development potential where slavery is allowed.

crisis set in, and as all that would be sacrificed by secession, we have but little doubt that the pro-slavery party will quietly exercise its influence in behalf of the Union cause on the 18th of February.[237]



The bond of affection between the slave owners of Missouri and the slave owners dwelling in the Cotton States is not so great as to drag Missouri, a border state, over the precipice of disunion, at the base of which safely sit the states of the deep South.



History.com

But even if the slaveholders of Missouri have caught from their brethren down south that madness which precedes destruction, we cannot permit ourselves to imagine that Missouri will cut herself off from the Union in the flower of her youth by the suicidal catastrophe of secession.

[237] 18th of February is the date of the election of delegates to the (Secession) Convention.

FEBRUARY 1861 FINDING AIDS

Week		Article (FLP#)	Page
Week 1	Feb 1.	**Loyalty of the St. Louis City Council** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1) Editorial quotes the resolution passed by the City Council in support of remaining in the Union, arguing the nation must remain intact to resolve its differences. The *Missouri Democrat* interprets this action to mean St. Louis will not be coerced out of the Union under any circumstances.	161
	Feb 1.	**Washington Peace Conference & Militia's Southwest Expedition** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.1) Among other business discussed, passed or tabled, a joint resolution appointed five commissioners to attend the convention at Washington on February 4. Funds are allocated to pay the militia members of the Southwest Expedition.	162
	Feb 1.	**House Determined to Send Unionists to Washington Peace Conference** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.2) Correspondent discusses the question of appointing commissioners to the February 4 Washington Conference, most of the Senate candidates not being sound Union men, while pro-Union men in the House desire delegates who are Union men and will use all their efforts to preserve the Union.	164
	Feb 1.	**The Effect of Secession on Workingmen** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.3) Letter to Editors points out the dire consequences of secession to the workingman. "Population and manufactures are what we now need in Missouri, and secession is the very way not to get them . . . Secede from the Union, and population will fly from us as from an approaching pestilence. Commerce will die. Manufacturing...will breathe its last. And the very fountains of wealth and improvement will dry up."	164
	Feb 1.	**Taxing the Poor and Exempting the Rich** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.4) Editorial argues that the two bills pending in the General Assembly (the repeal of the school mill tax and the establishment of bank paper as the legal currency of the state in place of gold and silver coin) are a swindle that favors the rich and oppresses the poor.	165
	Feb 2.	**Atrocious Provisions of The Military Bill** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2) Letter to the editors denounces the Military Bill in the legislature, arguing that it is a "reckless scheme to place the state under absolute military despotism." He contends it would allow the military to create a draft, collect funds from citizens, and prohibit the forming of companies or clubs with arms not authorized by the state government..	166
	Feb 2.	**Disunion Plot Progresses—Military Bill Proposed** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#3) Editorial expounds on the Military Bill and accuses the disunionists of wanting to turn Missouri into a military despotism: "The disunionists here are unswervingly faithful to the precedents set by their brethren of the cotton states. They are striving not merely to shatter the federal system, but to transform the Republic of Missouri into an absolute military despotism," and notes that "the governor is to be transformed into a military dictator, and his fellow citizens into his subjects. Death is to be one of the penalties, which courts-martial inflict on those who shall dare to criticize the conduct of the governor or of his subordinates. The new systems is to be placed	169

under the sanction of contemptible, treasonable oaths, which it would be damnable to take and more damnable to keep."

Feb 2. **Officeholders Among Worse Disunionists** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#4) 169
Editorial accuses many government officers of being disunionists, with the exception of the U.S. assistant treasurer in St. Louis (Isaac Sturgeon). "The officeholders in this state are among the most malignant disunionists... The gentleman who fills the office of assistant treasurer is the only one who has the decency to regard the spirit of the oath by which their fidelity is pledged to the government which employs and feeds them. "

Feb 2. **Tricks of the Disunionists** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#5) Disunionists are 170
attempting to infiltrate the Convention in order to gain control of the meetings, by professing in a noncommittal manner to be pro-Union. An example given is a meeting at Hillsboro, where the secessionists attempted to gag those who had voted for President Lincoln. This letter to the editors warns the people to "look to it and put no confidence in the professions of Union feelings by men who attempt to stifle the voice of a true friend of the Union, no matter to what party he may belong."

Feb 2. **Peace Convention Representatives Secessionist** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#6) 170
Editorial claims that the commissioners selected to attend the Washington Peace Conference are secessionists or weak Union men that will eventually join the secessionists. It predicts that the commissioners will purposefully propose policies that will be rejected to avoid a peaceful resolution, placing the blame on the Republicans, who will be forced to reject their suggestions, thus promoting the secessionist agenda.

Feb 2 **John Hay on Mr. Lincoln, from Springfield, Illinois** (FLP: Ser 1MD- 171
Feb#7) Article, written by Lincoln's future secretary, states that Lincoln is refreshed by walks in the woods or even by fatiguing speeches. "An earth-giant, like autumnus, he always gains strength by contact with his mother earth."

Feb 2. **Compromise—The Border States and the Union** (FLP: Ser 1MD- 172
Feb#8) This *New York Times* editorial says compromise is being demanded of the North to save the border states, but it would be worth the compromise only if the Union could be preserved as it was, not in name only. It asserts that the border states have "the power to save the Union from the fearful peril which threatens its destruction." It asserts that "if the border states would plant themselves firmly and immovably upon the Constitution and in support of the Union, they would secure easily from the North whatever concessions their own safety, and the utmost stretch of right and of justice in their favor, might require."

Feb 2. **Union Man Driven from Arkansas** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#8.1) Editorial 173
relates the story of a Mr. White, from Massachusetts, who was ordered to leave Arkansas without his belongings because he claimed loyalty to the Union and Massachusetts, turning over his property to his partners.

Feb 4. **Blaming the Republicans for the Crisis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9) 173
Editorial accuses the *Missouri Republican* of continuously blaming the Republican Party as the "cause of all our woes," and argues that the seeds of rebellion were sown long before the Republican candidate for president was elected, and that it was President Buchanan's Cabinet which encouraged the

disunionists.

Feb 4. **The Military Bill & The School Mill Tax** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.2) Article discusses bills before the House, two of which are the school mill tax and the military bill. It believes the school mill tax will be defeated in the House and same for the military bill. It explains that Governor Jackson does "not have the prestige or power in the Assembly that he dreamed he had when inaugurated," and his attempts to force U.S. Senator Green on the people for another term in Washington proves he cannot control both Houses in any secession movement. 175

Feb 4. **Platform of the Central Union Club** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.3) The Central Union Club adopts a resolution to only support Unconditional Unionists, of any party affiliation, for the State Convention. It says, "we, the representatives of the Unconditional Union voters of the ward, will support no ticket for the State Convention which is not individually pledged to the maintenance of the Union without conditions, and that in considering candidates, we will ignore all party distinctions and denominations." 176

Feb 4. **Young Men's Union Club** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.4) Letter suggests starting a Young Men's Union club, organizing and ensuring that only Unconditional Union men from St. Louis go to the Convention: "Let us organize, and see that no man goes from St. Louis County to the Convention who is not unconditionally for the Union—no ifs nor ands; no man who does not fully agree to our motto—In the Union all, out of the Union nothing." 177

Feb 4. **The Conditional Secession Ticket** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.5) Editorial describes the "Constitutional Ticket," sponsored by the *Republican* as a "Conditional Secession Ticket," as many on its ticket are Southern sympathizers and secessionists. It warns that: "Treason ever works by deceit, and ambiguity, until the moment comes for throwing off all disguise. Let those who were misled by the *Republican* during the last gubernatorial election be on their guard now." 178

Feb 4. **Union Meeting in Florissant** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.6) Editorial includes the resolutions passed at a township meeting in Florissant, which favor Union men for the State Convention. One of the resolutions stated in part: "we pointedly condemn their act of secession as hasty in the extreme; as without foundation in right or expediency; as unkind and unjust to the slave states north of them; as detrimental to the slave interest, and disastrous to the whole country." 178

Feb 5. **"The Constitutional Ticket"** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.7) Letter to the editors questions the secrecy of the meeting held at the Mercantile Library a couple of days before, which created an alleged Constitutional ticket for the State Convention delegates election. The letter asks the *Missouri Republican*, which had published the information, "for the sake of the uninitiated, tell us all you know" about the secret meeting, from its inception to its birth. 180

Feb 5. **The Unconditional Secession Ticket** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.8) Editorial notes that secessionists met and nominated a full ticket, which included five disunionists. It warns that the Union men who were nominated cannot remain silent, otherwise "the confidence with which the great body of Union voters but recently regarded them will be completely alienated." 180

Feb 5. **Unconditional Union Meeting in St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.9) The chairman of the Committee of Twenty reports on a meeting of Unconditional Unionists, held the previous day. The Committee notes that "Party organizations should cease with the presidential campaign that gave them birth. The public needs repose, and its welfare is best promoted by mutual forbearance, discretion, and conciliation." 181

Feb 5. **Another Assault on St. Louis—Bill to Give Governor Power to Appoint Tax Assessors** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.10) Editorial opposes bill to give the governor the power to appoint tax assessors in St. Louis city and county, which it describes as a move to raise taxes unfairly. 182

Feb 5. **The Virginia Peace Convention Equals Extortion and Submission** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.11) Editorial argues that the so-called peace convention is actually an act of coercion. "Any covenant like that which it is said the Virginia commissioners in Washington will propose to the representatives of the free states, and the ratification of which is to be held an indispensable condition to actual negotiation, would, if observed, be the coercion of Congress and the Executive into base submission. Properly understood, the Virginia proposition means nothing less than the granting of unlimited license to rebellion. No assembly is competent to impose restraints on a legislature or executive which derives all its powers from the Constitution." 183

Feb 5. **Facts for the Western Secessionists** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.12) Editorial reports that Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas will benefit from the new apportionment, with an increase in representatives in Congress, while South Carolina's ratio of representation will decrease. It notes the absurdity of Missouri following South Carolina when Missouri is growing, and "South Carolina has stopped growing and begun to wither." 184

Feb 6. **Great Union Mass Meeting in Hermann, Mo.** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.13) At an Unconditional Union meeting, held to nominate candidates for the State Convention from the district composed of Franklin, Gasconade, and Osage counties, those nominated "pledged themselves, if elected, to vote against secession in all its forms, and unconditionally in favor of the Union, and they believed all our interests, financially and politically are with the Union and under the protection of the 'Stars and Stripes.'" 185

Feb 6. **The Banking and Secession Crisis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.14) Article explains the Bank Bill, which has now come before the Senate for discussion, and recommends a return to a gold and silver coin basis, stating that, "The real method of relief to the community would be to have the banks return to a gold and silver coin basis at the earliest possible period, consistent with their safety." It also states: "The present crisis, as all will acknowledge, is caused by political troubles. It is a panic over disunion, not a crisis in monetary affairs." 186

Feb 6. **Union Sentiment in St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.15) Letter to the editors says that nineteen out of twenty Missourians are on the Unconditional Union side, and calls to Union men to "work unitedly for the Union, without deceit, conditions or qualifications, until the evening of 187

the election on the 18th of this month." And thus, the letter concludes, "And on the morning of the nineteenth, we can send the glorious tidings through the land upon the wings of the lightning bird.—UNION IS SAFE, THE CONSTITUTION IS SUSTAINED, MISSOURI IS REDEEMED."

Feb 6. **Coercion—Coercion—Coercion** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.16) Editorial criticizes the *Missouri Republican* for equating loyalty to the Union with coercion, and concludes that, according to that definition, "the coercionists are in the immense majority in this county, and henceforth, very few of the citizens of St. Louis will consider themselves offended at being called submissionists and coercionists." 187

Feb 6. **True and False Chivalry** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.17) Editorial says that the Young South thinks honor dwells in rebel tents, but explains that American chivalry is for the Constitution and the Stars and Stripes. It explains that it acquits "the Young South of all knowledge of the real design of their politicians," but warns them "they are soldiers in a vile cause; that if they fight for that cause, they will be vulgar rebels; and that all the poetry and sentiment of politics and war, generalized under the term chivalry, will be on the side of the Constitution, the laws, and the federal authorities." 188

Feb 7. **The Military Bill** (FLP: Ser 1 MD-Feb#10) Letter to the editors condemns the Military Bill, stating, "The bill in question has for its object the suppression, by military force, of all Union sentiment in the state of Missouri, and especially the suppression of Republicanism in the city of St. Louis," and it warns Missourians that "in surrendering the lives, liberties, and fortunes of their fellow citizens into the hands of a clique of despots, they unhappily find in the end, that they have irrecoverably surrendered their own also." 189

Feb 7. **School Funding** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10.1) Correspondent reports that Senator Johnson's request that the school mill tax bill be sent back to Senate for reconsideration was denied. At a meeting of the Special Committee, Senator Churchill denounced the Board of Public Schools as an abolition board, and the teachers as Yankee abolitionists, receiving exorbitant salaries only to further and sustain Black Republican principles. The article also reports that Gov. Jackson "refused to commission Capt. George L. Andrews, of the National Guards of St. Louis, on the ground that the captain insists that his allegiance is first due to the United States, and therefore he is not sound on the secession question in the estimation of the governor." 190

Feb 7. **Unconditional Union Meeting in St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10.2) Article is a detailed report on the meeting held February 6 at Verandah Hall, which agreed on the ticket of non-partisan, unconditional Union candidates to be supported at the election for delegates to the State Convention."They had selected, in every instance, those in favor of the Union without an if or a but." 191

Feb 7. **The Unconditional Union Ticket** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#11) Editorial says the fifteen candidates selected to attend the state convention on behalf of St. Louis are Unconditional Unionists, representative of the diverse interests of the city. In order to ensure no error has been made, the men will be required to pledge themselves in writing. 193

Week 2	Feb 8.	**The Constitutional Ticket and Coercion** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#12) Letter to the editors discusses why the Constitutional ticket is neither for the U.S. Constitution or the Union, but rather a devious plan to push forward the secessionist agenda, as evidenced by their demand that the federal government allow the secession of states without force. It concludes, "It is not, then, a love for the Constitution which prompts this but a sympathy with the seceding states, which they attempt to conceal under the disguise of a 'Constitutional ticket.'"	195
	Feb 8.	**The Union in Missouri** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#14) Letter to the editor argues that Missouri must stay in the Union, which offers prosperity and protection, while secession would geographically isolate the state, ensuring its destruction. It declares that even though war with the seceding states is unavoidable, it will strengthen the Union in the end. It also suggests that "War is not to be dreaded. It will hasten the solution of the slavery question a hundred years. It will destroy the pro-slavery party in the North. It will bring permanent and solid peace, and by firmly establishing the pillars of the Union, add a thousand years of glory to our nation's history."	196
	Feb 8.	**Missouri Geologically Considered** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#14.2) Letter to the editors delves into the geological considerations of whether Missouri should join the South or the North, noting the natural wealth of the state. The article states, "this must be the age of treason and imbecility in high public functionaries," specifically mentioning Governor Jackson.	197
	Feb 8.	**The Open Secret of the Disunion Movement** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#14.3) Editorial traces the history of the disunion movement and argues that it will lead to the loss of freedom. "The rebellion is an inevitable development of the philosophy of slavery. It is a rebellion against citizen suffrage, the right of the majority to rule, and freedom of expression—in a word, a rebellion against American Democracy."	197
	Feb 9.	**Giving Aid and Comfort to the Enemy** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#15) Editorial affirms that resolving to aid the Southern states against the federal government, the "complicity of the mixed secession ticket is the work of treason," and it notes that the secession ticket "is sustained by no newspaper."	200
	Feb 9.	**The Tyrannical Military Bill** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16) Editorial describes the Military Bill as treasonous and the "crudest, most dangerous, disgusting and contemptible essay at legislation which has ever been submitted to the General Assembly of Missouri." It explains various features of the bill and states that it will lead the state into war by giving Governor Jackson the powers of a dictator. It states: "you idiotic conspirators, you dare not pass that bill! The wrath of the people would consume you like stubble."	200
	Feb 9.	**Meeting of the Carondelet Union Club** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16.1) A resolution was passed, supporting the *Missouri Democrat* Unconditional Union ticket for the State Convention. The club president stated: "In conclusion, one word about 'coercion.' I never took a human life and have no taste for blood, but if I were president of the United States, as I am of this club, I would sink every ship in the navy; I would sacrifice the life of every man in the militias before I would give up Fort Sumter to South Carolina."	202

Feb 9. **Kansas Admitted to the Union** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16.2) Letter gives some details on actions required to organize the newly created state. Author mentions: "with few exceptions, the Constitution of Kansas gives general satisfaction to the people." He also states: "The passage of the Pacific Railroad bill through the Senate, making the mouth of the Kansas River for the starting point of the main trunk line, has given a new impulse to speculation among us. But still, with all our wild fancies, we never fail to acknowledge that St. Louis must of necessity be the great distributing city of the continent, and as such, will vie with New York and San Francisco in wealth and importance." 204

Feb 11. **Conditional Secessionists Succumbing to Union Sentiment** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#17) Editorial warns St. Louis that it must nominate Unconditional Unionists to attend the State Convention in order to extinguish treason and preserve peace. "An Unconditional Union delegation is the only guarantee attainable for maintaining the safety of the commonwealth...The defeat of the Unconditional Union ticket here would give the disunionists control of the Convention and turn the scale in favor of civil war. The defeat of the conditional secession ticket will, on the other hand, have the solitary effect of extinguishing treason and preserving peace." 205

Feb 11. **Speech of Major Uriel Wright Before the Carondelet Union Club, February 7, 1861** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#18) Wright delivers a lengthy speech against secession and affirms, "I have no notion of being dragged out of the Union by South Carolina. I have lived in the United States until I am quite an old man, and...I am determined to die in the Union." 206

Feb 11. **The Conditional Secessionists in Council** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19) Editorial gives a detailed account of a mass meeting at Verandah Hall, which included men of different views, but most were strongly opposed to the Unconditional Union men. "Minute Men wearing blue cockades abounded, while a few staunch Union men, attracted by the announcement that Major Wright was to speak, were present." 208

Feb 12. **Our Secession Governor** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.2) Article reports that Governor Jackson refused to commission Capt. Andrews because the captain "insisted that his first allegiance was for the government of the United States, and next that of the state of Missouri." 209

Feb 12. **The Secession Ticket** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.3) Editorial lists the names of those endorsed by the "Unconditional Secessionists" as delegates to the Convention, and it notes that four-fifths of those names are published in the *Missouri Republican* as being on the "Constitutional Union" ticket. 210

Feb 12. **Letters of Acceptance of the Unconditional Union Candidates** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.4) Each of the candidates (John How, M. L. Linton, Ferdinand Meyer, Hamilton R. Gamble, and Uriel Wright) present a letter stating their loyalty to the Union and acceptance of their nomination to the Convention. 211

Feb 12. **Missouri House Refuses to Push Crittenden Compromise** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.5) The Missouri House of Representatives votes down a resolution instructing the commissioners from Missouri to the Virginia Peace Conference in Washington to urge the Crittenden Compromise as a 213

basis of settling matters between the North and South.

Feb 13. **A Note from Major Uriel Wright** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.6) Wright corrects an article on his speech, published in the *Missouri Democrat*, which called him a "coercionist." "I see the reporter has misunderstood me on one point. I am not a 'coercionist,' in the sense of favoring the invasion of a seceding state and the subjugation of her people by federal arms. However much opposed to the doctrine and the fact of secession, I cannot favor a policy which would inaugurate a carnival of blood." 213

Feb 13. **Major Shackelford Accepts Nomination to Convention** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.7) Major Shackelford accepts his nomination to represent the Unconditional Unionists at the convention. He also vows that "should the Convention adopt any measure changing the relations of Missouri to the federal Union, I will vote to submit the same to the people for their ratification or rejection.". 214

Feb 13. **Republican Party Misrepresented** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.8) Editorial attempts to correct the misrepresentation of the principles and purposes of the Republican Party, which it blames as one of the chief reasons behind the rebellion. "Misrepresentation of the principles and purposes of the Republican Party is undoubtedly the chief, if not the only cause, of the Southern rebellion." 215

Feb 13. **Unconditional Union Ticket Perfected** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.9) The article announces that the Unconditional Union ticket has been finalized with all of its nominees having agreed to stand for election. The article goes on a tirade, attacking the so-called "Constitutional" Unionists. It asks the question: How can he who has the shameless audacity to demand a price for staying in the Union pretend to be a true Union man? 216

Feb 14. **Unconditional Union Meeting at Soulard Market** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#20) Report of large Union meeting includes speeches by distinguished Unionists like Capt. James B. Eads, who asks, "In exchange for all these blessings which the Union has given to us, what does South Carolina and her rebellious peers offer us if we will join them?" Also mentioned are the speeches of James O. Broadhead, Francis Minor, and Isidor Bush. 217

Feb 14. **Politicians Hijack Workingmen's Meeting** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#20.1) At a workingman's meeting, with the exception of the first speaker, the workingmen were unable to speak, the meeting hijacked by the secessionist "Douglas Civil Guard" and politicians. However, "we have every reason to believe the mechanics and working men of St. Louis, with prejudicial exceptions, were 'for the Union first, last, and always.'" The speeches that were made provide good insight into what is important to each side. 218

Feb 14. **Fidelity of the Border States** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#21) Editorial attacks Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds, who "were elected as Union men, along with three-fourths of the General Assembly. Jackson was not only elected as a Union man, but as antagonist to an honest man, who was supposed to have secession tendencies." The editorial also favors relieving the Southern sympathizing U.S. Senator James S. Green of his office, along with the governor and lieutenant governor, arguing that "a legitimate revolution of that kind would recover the dimmed luster of the state, and re-establish its tottering credit on a secured basis." 220

	Feb 14.	**The Military Bill** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#21.1) Letter to the editors states that the Military Bill is an "unmistakable disunion document" and is intended as preparation for war upon the United States**.** It discusses several points in the Bill that infringe on the rights of Missouri's citizens. The writer concludes that he does "not believe a single open secessionist can be elected in any district of the state. If any get into the Convention, it will be as Jackson and Reynolds were elected, by the grossest cheating of the people. If these gentlemen had avowed their present treasonable doctrines before the election, they could not have commanded ten thousand votes."	221
Week 3	Feb 15.	**Speech of Samuel T. Glover At Magnira's Market** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#22) Glover's speech addresses the subject of Conditional Secessionists parading as Unionists. "When treason was becoming more repugnant, and patriotism more respectable day by day, we found, likewise, that seceders and nullifiers gradually grew, like so many chameleons, into Union men."	223
	Feb 15.	**The *Missouri Republican*'s Conditional Secession Ticket** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#23) Editorial claims that the Conditional Union ticket is actually a disunion ticket: "Making war on true Union men and denouncing them in violent language, is an unerring test of disunion."	225
	Feb 15.	**Results of the Secession Policy** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#23.1) Editorial claims citizens may be too involved in the present issues to realize the full consequences of secession on the world at large. With the dissolution of this Union, "the reign of slavery and oppression in the South and abroad, would be solemnly and formally legitimatized."	227
	Feb 15.	**The Secession Ticket** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#23.2) Editorial warns "the so-called Constitutional Union ticket is a secession ticket. The secessionists were consulted in its formation, and twelve of them are out-and-out secessionists."	228
	Feb 15.	**The State Convention, Union Sentiment, Bank Bill, and School Tax** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#23.3) Correspondent reports that the delegates sent to the Convention will be Union men or presented as Union men. He warns the people to "be on their guard that they do not elect traitors to the Union" because "the unmistakable indications now are that they will send an overwhelming majority of Union men [to the State Convention], providing that secessionists are not elected who profess to be Unionists until they get the power, and when that is obtained, then will come out in their true colors." He also notes that the Bank Bill will probably pass the Senate "today," and that there has not yet been a report from the committee sent to visit the St. Louis school systems.	228
	Feb 15.	**The *Republican* Newspaper Inciting to Riot** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#24) Editorial accuses the *Missouri Republican* of planning to cause a riot during the election, noting that the paper has a history of protecting disunionists and supporting armed groups such as the Minute Men. The "trained bands of disunionists with which the *Republican* is identified, will discover that any attempt on their part to create a disturbance on Monday will have the effect of bringing them into the hands of the police and before the court."	229
	Feb 15.	**Minute Men Legalized; What Can It Mean?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#25) Editorial reports that to the dismay of many, two more companies of the secessionist Minute Men have been sworn in the service of the state.	230

Feb 16. **The Unconditional Union Ticket** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26) Article provides the Union-supporting position of each of the 15 candidates on the Unconditional Union ticket. 231

Feb 16. **Appeal for Peaceful Election** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.2) Editorial asks both the Unionists and the disunionists to refrain from demonstrations that can lead to a riot, and for all citizens to work towards a legal and orderly election. 233

Feb 16. **An Earnest Appeal to the Workingmen of St. Louis by One of their Number** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.3) Letter to the editors appeals to the workingmen to vote for the Unconditional Union ticket, explaining that secession has already closed workshops and sunk the credit of the state. "Our beloved country is in danger; how shall we act? This is no time for trifling. A fire has been kindled that threatens to devour us." 234

Feb 16. **Coercion as Understood by Lincoln** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.4) Editorial quotes two newspapers, the Springfield (Ill.) *Journal* and the New York *Tribune,* which say that any state that goes out of the Union will not be forced to send representatives to Congress, nor be forced to keep a post office, or any other federal office, but they cannot rob the United States or disobey or evade the revenue laws, and the national troops will only march through these states to recover or protect federal property within those states. 235

Feb 16. **Secessionists Attempt to End Funding for St. Louis Schools**(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.5) Editorial questions the validity of the petitions presented by Conrow and allegedly signed by 15,000-20,000 residents of St. Louis, which favors the repeal of the mill school support tax. Such efforts are evidently designed "to punish what they call the Black Republicanism of St. Louis, and to force, by unjust legislation, the people of the city back into the ranks of the Democratic Party." 236

Feb 18. **Only Two Tickets: Union and Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27) Editorial clarifies the difference between the Unconditional Union ticket and the deceivingly named Constitutional Union ticket. It explains that a vote for the Constitutional ticket, despite its name, is a vote for secession. 237

Feb 18. **The Military Bill Rejected, the House Being Unconditional Union** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.1) Editorial reports enthusiastically that the House of Representatives refused to put St. Louis under martial law and under the control of Gen. Frost, in command of the secessionist state militia, thus proving their sympathy with the Unconditional Union ticket. The representatives "know that a delegation composed of Conditional Unionists would be an intolerable pest in the Convention." 237

Feb 18. **Working Men, Vote for Our Country** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.2) Editorial calls out to working men and says, "this day is to decide the future of Missouri. Let us stand firm for our rights. Let every man of us who regards his own position under free institutions as worth preserving, vote for the Citizens' Unconditional Union ticket, or the workingman will lose all his rights as equal citizens." 238

Feb 18. **The State Looking to St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.3) Editorial claims: "Secession is done for in this state if the Unconditional Union ticket 239

here is elected by a 6,000 majority. All the true Union men in the interior are looking with strained eyes to St. Louis for the signals and assurance which shall tell them of the ascendancy of the Union cause in the empire city of the West."

Feb 18. **Different Appeals to Working Men** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.4) Letter to the editors stresses that Missouri must speak for the Union in the election for the delegates to the State Convention. It warns that the one to support is the "Unconditional Union" ticket**,** not to be confused with the secessionist "Constitutional Union" ticket. 239

Feb 18. **The Irish and Secession** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.5) Letter to the editors from an Irishman, insists that **"**not one Irishman in this city will cast his vote for any candidate to the Convention who is not for the preservation of this Union." 240

Feb 18 **Judge Gamble Vouched for by His Own Record** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.6) A letter to the editors, from a Republican Party member, vouches for Hamilton R. Gamble, who has been criticized by the *Missouri Republican* for "duplicity and insincerity" as he is a candidate on both tickets in the upcoming election. Letter gives interesting background on Gamble. 241

Feb 19. **The Unconditional Union Ticket A Glorious Triumph** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28) Editorial cheers the result of the vote for delegates to the State Convention, in which the Unconditional Union ticket won by a large majority, demonstrating the loyalty of the citizens of St. Louis and Missouri to the Union. It adds that "such an example must encourage the other border states and terminate the idle hopes of those who have been for years practicing their vile machinations for the overthrow of our popular government." 242

Feb 19. **The Election Yesterday** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.1) Editorial describes the election as "one of the most orderly and quiet that we have ever witnessed, thus setting at rest forever the infamous libel heaped upon our people by the governor when he attempted to declare the city under martial law for fear of a riot." 243

Feb 19. **The Secondary Morals of the Victory** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.2) Editorial stresses that the resulting peaceful manifestation of the election on the day before indicate that those in the state government who wanted to place St. Louis under martial law allegedly out of fear of riots, was unfounded. The article is highly critical of Gov. Jackson, Lt. Gov. Reynolds, and certain members of the state legislature. 244

Feb 19. **Military Bill and Malicious Men** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.3) Letter to the editors asks, "Who is the author of the notorious Military Bill, which is at present absorbing the time, talents and conversational powers of some of our elected 'honorable' representatives at Jefferson City?" It expresses joy that the bill was "nipped in the bud" and that "there are some of the members of that venerable body who do not misrepresent their constituency," referring to the Missouri State House of Representatives. 245

Feb 20. **Disunionist Desperation and Revenge** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29) Editorial says: "Instead of accepting the almost unanimous verdict rendered on Monday in this county, the defeated disunionists are now seeking revenge. Throwing off every vestige of disguise, it calls upon the General 246

		Assembly to coerce and punish St. Louis for loyalty, and make her an example to all communities that shall dare to manifest an irrepressible love for the Union."	
	Feb 20.	**The *Missouri Republican* and Revenge** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.1) Article strongly criticizes the *Missouri Republican* newspaper, which it says has fought for years to disfranchise St. Louis, and he warns the people that they must prevent the state legislature from taking the power away from the people. The question is gravely presented: "Shall St. Louis have a free charter government of her own, like other cities, governed by her own people, or shall the legislature of Missouri control the local interests of the city, appoint city officers, etc.?"	247
	Feb 20.	**Disunion Game Nearly Played Out** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.2) Editorial asserts that the "simple truth is the disunion game is very nearly played out, and however the more prominent speculators may continue to bully and abuse, the people whom they have blindfolded and betrayed are growing sick of them and their disunion cause."	247
	Feb 20.	**U.S. Arms Stolen at Little Rock** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.3) Article reports that marauders took the arsenal at Little Rock by surprise and uses this as an example of the secessionists being "better at stealing than fighting" since Capt. Totten, in charge of the arsenal, had no defensive force and had no alternative but to surrender.	248
	Feb 20.	**Little Rock Federal Arsenal Surrendered** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.4) The Little Rock *Democrat* describes Capt. Totten's surrender of the U.S. Arsenal in that city.	249
	Feb 21.	**Convention will be a Pro-Slavery and Anti-Secession Assembly** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#30) Editorial says that the Convention will show Missouri's loyalty to the Union, as many citizens believe the slavery question can be resolved within the Union. It condemns the *Missouri Republican* for slandering the delegates of the Convention, accusing them of being "Black Republicans" though many delegates are neither Republican or abolitionist.	250
	Feb 21.	**State Legislature and the Convention Election** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#30.1) Article says: "The back of the monster secession was completely broken in the Assembly by the action of the people in the election of Monday last. The people have crushed both secession and its aiders and abettors so completely that only the howls of despair, the shrieks and gnashing of teeth can be plainly heard. in all the dark corners of the Capitol to which they have fled, to grind out the little political life that they yet retain." Article also includes a discussion on the status of the Military Bill.	250
	Feb 21.	**Northeast Missouri Votes for Union** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#30.2) Letter to the editors, from a Republican, proudly announces that northeast Missouri voted Union by a majority of at least 4,000.	252
Week 4	Feb 22.	**South Carolina vis-à-vis Missouri and the Death of Slavery** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31) Editorial argues that Missouri does not belong with the South. "There is no more preposterous fallacy than that which is just now urged with such persistence by the adherents of two opposing political factions, that the fortunes of the whole of the Southern states are irrevocably linked together for the support and propagations of slavery; or that, because that institution is recognized in them all, therefore their aims,	253

interests, and destiny are identical." To prove its point, the article offers statistics on white/black population.

Feb 22. **Hon. Montgomery Blair** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31.2) Article praises Blair and suggests his high-standing character qualifies him for a position in any president's Cabinet. 255

Feb 22. **Missouri For the Union—Rejoice the Vile Reptile Secession is Slain** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31.3) Article cheers the Union win of the election of delegates to the State Convention, but warns the workingmen that they must "follow up the good work, and take care that this same disunion serpent does not appear to you in another shape." 256

Feb 23. **The St. Louis Arsenal** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#32) In an effort to mislead the secessionists and deter an attack against the St. Louis Arsenal, Capt. Lyon releases a detailed report on the Arsenal's supposed present condition, its means of defense, preparations to repel assaults, names of the officers in command, the discipline of the troops, and the health of the men. 257

Feb 23. **The Bank Bills in the House** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#32.1) Editorial explains that the House and Senate have an understanding—the Bank bill will go through easily if the Senate approves the House's stay laws; otherwise, it is unlikely the House will approve the Bank bill anytime soon. 260

Feb 25. **Union Feeling—An Incident** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#32.3) The Kansas City *Journal of Commerce* describes a scene of patriotic enthusiasm at a Saturday evening meeting where a pro-Union speech was given. The band played "Hail Columbia" outside the doors of the Court House, and displayed the U.S. flag. 261

Feb 26. **What Is Said of Our Election** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#33) Quotes from various newspapers around the nation demonstrate Missouri's majority decision to remain in the Union a huge defeat for the secessionists, who cloaked themselves under the guise of the Conditional Union ticket. 261

Feb 26. **Secessionist J. W. Tucker's Opinion of St. Louis** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#34) Rabid Secessionist Joseph w. Tucker, in a Jefferson City speech that was not well received, criticizes almost everything except the South and pro-South newspapers. He warns Missouri: "The Southern states were looking to Missouri with feelings of affection he could not express. A vacillating policy was ruinous and would disaffect and disgust the South. Now they are waiting, and anxious to receive us, but if we hesitate, they may say to us: 'I would that thou were either hot or cold; but because ye are lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth!'" 263

Feb 26. **Secessionist Minute Men Called Out?** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#34.1) Editorial suggests the Minute Men are being secretly called to meet, and suggests that it might be a reaction to the drilling of the German Black Jaeger regiment. 266

Feb 27. **Voice From Missouri** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#35) A letter to the editors states that Missouri's citizens are devoted to protecting the Union, the Constitution and enforcing the laws, and prays that "God grant that necessity may never arise and that the extremism North and extremism South will rally once more in joy, in peace, in harmony under the old flag. However, it adds that "if every other means is exhausted" to maintain the rights of the people "but by combat," then they should "rally to the cause." 266

Feb 27. **The Hidden Cost of the Convention** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#35.1) Article points out that the secessionists may regret that they forced a convention on the people, as they "have called into existence a power that can easily turn on them and crush them out of political existence. The Convention has the power to throw out the whole state legislature, the governor, and to completely reorganize and remodel the constitution of the state." 267

Feb 28. **To the Members of the Convention** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#36) A citizen asks the delegates to the State Convention to remain loyal to the best interests of the state, and to consider the financial cost of secession. "Please decide whether you should sacrifice the millions of people among your constituents [who do not own slaves] to the advantage of the thirty thousand that own slaves." 267

Feb 28. **Memo to the Convention (Replace the Governor)** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#37) An editorial states that the Convention cannot legally secede, but does have the power to replace Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds with provisional officials and to call for a new election. 268

Feb 28. **The State Convention** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#37.1) Correspondent reports the Convention delegates are arriving in Jefferson City for the opening of the Convention. He states the delegates "are not politicians, and probably the people of the state have never been so ably and truly represented as they will be in this assembly." 269

FEBRUARY ARTICLES

1. *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* ARTICLES, FEBRUARY WEEK ONE

February 1, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1)[238]
February 1, 1861[239]

Loyalty of the St. Louis City Council

(Editorial)

"St. Louis will not suffer herself to be placed in a false position, to be dragged out of the Union, either by internal or external traitors, or be coerced into a violation of the federal Constitution."

The action of the City Council on Mr. Nelson's resolution was so conformable to the general sentiment as to be accepted as an ordinary proceeding. Yet it may be justly regarded as one of the most significant and gratifying Union demonstrations which has been witnessed in the state. We quote the resolution in order that its intent and meaning may be fully understood:

That it is the solemn judgment of this Council that all differences as to the constitutional rights of states, on the subject of slavery, can be reconciled and adjusted only within the Union, and that a violent rupture of, or even a peaceable separation from the Union, can afford no remedy for such differences and, on the contrary, will widen and perpetuate them to the relative detriment of the citizens at large and of the several states, and that, with inflexible determinations on the part of this council, that impartial justice should be rendered to every constitutional right of the country, we hereby resolve and unalterably declare that the United States of America is a constitutional government, one and indivisible for all time, which we will uphold against all persons, at home or abroad, who oppose it.



1854 Ripon, Wisconsin

We take this to mean that St. Louis will not suffer herself to be placed in a false position, to be dragged out of the Union, either by internal or external traitors, or be coerced into a violation of the federal Constitution.

That is the true position, and it is extremely gratifying to know that every Republican in the Council voted in the affirmative. The members of the opposition, we regret to say, all voted in the negative, thereby placing themselves in an obvious position, and doubtless misrepresenting their constituents.

It is as well the fact should go abroad, that St. Louis will not be seduced or dragged out of the Union, and that she will treat any ordinance of secession as null and void. She will perish rather than waver in her supreme allegiance to the Constitution of the United States.

Essential Information #14:
The Four Political Parties
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.05)

Douglas - Bell - Breckinridge - Lincoln

There were four political parties active in Missouri

[238] For an explanation of how to read the FLP identifiers, see page xxxvi.
[239] See calendar on page xxxv.

in 1861. Three of the parties were normally identified in the press by using the name of their November 1860 presidential election candidate (Douglas men, Bell men, and Breckinridge men). For the Republican Party (Lincoln's party), they often just referred to them as Republicans, or Black Republicans. The main reason for this was that there were two wings of the Democratic Party during the presidential election, and one newly created Constitutional Union Party.

The 1860 Presidential Candidates

1. Douglas (Union): The Northern Democratic Party presidential candidate was Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. Douglas won in Missouri, receiving 35.52% of the vote. Governor Jackson campaigned as a Unionist under the banner of Douglas, knowing that was the only way he could be elected, as the voters in Missouri would not elect anyone that campaigned as a secessionist.

2. Bell: (3rd Party Union Candidate)
The Constitutional Union Party presidential candidate was John Bell, of Tennessee. Bell received 35.26% of Missouri's votes; Douglas received 35.52%, a difference of 429 votes out of 165,653. The race was surprisingly close, considering Bell's party was a newly created 3rd party, focused on maintaining the status quo and ignoring the slavery issue. The party was formed to give voters a choice between what were considered two radical candidates, Lincoln on the Northern side and Breckinridge on the Southern side. It was felt by some that the election of either Lincoln or Breckinridge would bring about civil war.

3. Breckinridge:
The Southern Democratic Party presidential candidate was John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. Breckinridge received only 18.94% of the votes in Missouri; his supporters were the members of the Missouri legislature, attempting to carry Missouri out of the Union, but like the governor, many of them ran for office as Unionists.

4. Lincoln:
The Republican Party presidential candidate was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Lincoln only received 10.28% of the Missouri vote, with most of his votes coming from St. Louis and rural German communities. Most Missourians outside of St. Louis were strongly anti-Republican. Except for the *Missouri Democrat* newspaper, the media in Missouri villainized Republicans and not only blamed them for the North-South crisis, but accused them of seeking war to free the slaves. It was a combination of the hatred of Republicans in the lightly populated Ozarks Mountain region, with very few slaves, and the closet secessionists that ran as Unionists across Missouri, that allowed Breckinridge-supporting candidates to gain a slight voting majority in the legislature, even though over 80% of Missouri's votes went to Unionist candidates in the election. Missouri voters resoundingly reaffirmed their Union preference when not a single candidate that campaigned as a secessionist was elected as a representative to the Missouri Secession Convention on February 17, 1861.

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Editor's Note: *1861 Missouri Speaks,* Series 5, Volumes 1 and 2 cover the 1860 election in Missouri in detail, both the pre- and post-election periods. Volume 1 focuses on the gubernatorial election (August 6, 1860). Volume 2 focuses on the presidential election (November 6, 1860).



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.1)
February 1, 1861

Washington Peace Conference & Militia's Southwest Expedition

"The House resolution embraces the amendment directing the commissioners to use all efforts for the preservation of

the Union and the settlement of difficulties between the North and South."

Jefferson City, Jan. 31.

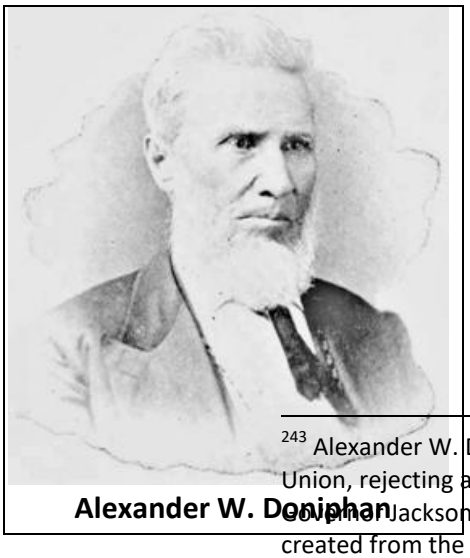
House—Morning Session

Representative Claiborne offered a joint resolution appointing five commissioners to the Virginia Peace Convention at Washington on the 4th of February.[240]

Representative Parcells offered a substitute, authorizing the governor to appoint three commissioners, one from the Breckinridge [Southern Democratic] Party, one from the Douglas [Northern Democratic] Party, and one from the [Bell Constitutional] Union Party.[241]

Representative Burris offered a substitute that both Houses meet in joint session today at 2 o'clock p.m. to elect five commissioners to attend the convention at Washington.

Representative Cavender, of St. Louis, voted aye. He was opposed to giving the governor the appointing power of the commissioners.



Alexander W. Doniphan

The following are the names of commissioners appointed [by the House]: John D. Coalter,[242] A. W. Doniphan,[243] Harrison Hough,[244] Judge A. H. Buckner[245] and Waldo P. Johnson.[246]

The House resolution embraces the amendment directing the commissioners to use all efforts for the preservation of the Union and the settlement of difficulties between the North and South.

Senate—Morning Session

The Senate took up joint resolutions of House appointing commissioners.

Senate adopted, almost unanimously, House joint resolution, appointing five commissioners to Washington Convention.

Senate—Afternoon Session

Senator Parsons[247] introduced an act appropriating twenty-seven thousand dollars for the payment of men and officers of the Southwest Expedition.[248] The act allows all non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates, pay for three months, at the same rate as is allowed, according to

[240] The Virginia sponsored peace convention met in Washington, but none of the seceded states attended, and it was unsuccessful in finding a solution to the secession crisis.

[241] There were four parties active in Missouri; they were normally identified by the name of their 1860 presidential candidate:
1. The Southern Democratic party candidate for President was Vice Pres. John Breckinridge. He led what was widely considered the secessionist party.
2. The Northern Democratic Party was a pro-Union party.
3. John Bell was the 1860 Constitutional Union Party presidential candidate. His party was a pro-Union party.

[242] John D. Coalter was the brother-in-law of Edward Bates, the U.S. attorney general during Lincoln's first term.

[243] Alexander W. Doniphan would remain loyal to the Union, rejecting a brigadier general commission in Governor Jackson's secessionist Missouri State Guard, created from the Military Bill, which took effect on May 14. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#116).

[244] Harrison Hough would present the minority report at the Missouri State Convention, reciting the wrongs suffered by the slaveholding states at the hands of the North and calling for a conference of the Southern states then in the Union, to determine what was best for their interests.

[245] Judge Aylett H. Buckner served on the Third Judicial Circuit.

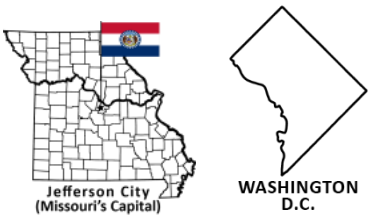
[246] Waldo P. Johnson would be elected U.S. senator in March 1861. However, though he was elected as a Union man, he eventually entered the C.S. Army.

[247] Senator Monroe M. Parsons was the unsuccessful Southern Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor in 1860. In May 1861, he was appointed a brigadier general by Gov. Jackson and given command of the 6th Division (Central Missouri) of the secessionist Missouri State Guard.

[248] For information on the Southwest Expedition by the militia to the Kansas border, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-14).

rank, in the United States Army. Referred to Committee on Militia.

Several local bills were passed. Adjourned.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.2)

February 1, 1861

House Determined to Send Unionists to Washington Peace Conference

"The position of Missouri as a powerful border state should be that of a mediator in the difficulties between the North and the South. So intimately are her great interests intertwined with both North and South, that in case of dissolution, she would be the greatest sufferer of any of the states."

Jefferson City, Jan. 31, 1861.

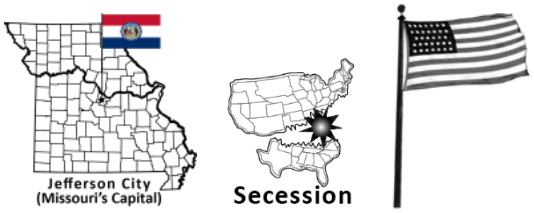
The question of appointing commissioners to the Virginia Peace Conference at Washington, on the 4th of February, has been a very perplexing one in the House, and has given rise to lengthy debates without arriving at any definite results as yet. The difficulty arises from the selection of the commissioners. The Senate candidates, with the exception of two, Messrs. Ferdinand Kennett[249] and General Doniphan, are not considered as sound Union men, and those resolutions only direct that they shall use their efforts to sustain the equality and honor of the slave states.

The friends of the Union in the House wish to send Union men and to instruct them to use all efforts to preserve or reconstruct the Union. The commissioners, if sent, are to be under the direction of the General Assembly and the State Convention, when in session. The evil effect of sending secessionists to this Convention would soon be seen by their attempting to place the state in a false position, and also embarrass the action of the upcoming State [Secession] Convention.

The efforts of the Union men will be directed towards preventing the appointment of anyone whose views are not in favor of preserving the Union, and unless they can secure this point, will use all effort to defeat the whole measure. There is a determined feeling with the conservative members to defeat any measure that may tend to commit the state to secession. Missouri will be made to occupy a conservative position on the great question of the preservation of the Union.

The position of Missouri as a powerful border state should be that of a mediator in the difficulties between the North and the South.[250] So intimately are her great interests intertwined with both North and South, that in case of dissolution, she would be the greatest sufferer of any of the states.

—K.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.3)

[249] Ferdinand Kennett, a wealthy Mississippi River steamboat operator and entrepreneur, was a slave-owner and Southern supporter. He acted as then U.S. District Attorney Thomas C. Reynolds's second in the latter's duel against B. Gratz Brown, editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, which took place on August 16, 1856, at Kennett's Castle (a.k.a. Selma Hall). He died sometime in 1861 (date unknown), and his castle became a target for both Union and Confederate forces traveling the Mississippi River.

[250] After the secession of South Carolina and then the other deep south cotton states, most in Missouri looked upon the developing crisis as a problem between the North and the states of the deep South. They could not visualize the crisis involving Missouri. The feeling was that the border states, including Missouri, could be peacemakers and mediate between the sides to find a compromise and defuse the situation.

February 1, 1861

The Effect of Secession on Workingmen

(Letter to Editors)

"For once, let us banish party prejudices, and inspired by true patriotism, unite to save Missouri from the ruin of secession."

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

I speak not as a partisan, but I am sorry to say your paper is the only medium in this city through which the workingmen of this community can learn their true interests in this alarming crisis, save, perhaps, the papers published in the German language, which Americans do not generally read. The balance of the American press here are loaded with doubt, hesitation, conditions, qualifications, and partisan language in regard to secession and its effect upon the best interests of the state. In the pending contest for delegates to the State Convention, every vote counts one, and it is absolutely essential that the voter should understand the effect his ballot, for union or secession, will have on the future of our state. For once, let us banish party prejudices, and inspired by true patriotism, unite to save Missouri from the ruin of secession.

Secession Will Stop Emigration to Missouri

This proposition, to me, is clearly evident. First, because the emigrant that would settle in Missouri will have no confidence in the stability of her government. If she secedes now from the Union, in which we all feel safe, and attaches herself to a southern confederacy of which we know nothing, but can only judge unfavorably from the elements that will compose it, we must live over again the life of experiment; suffer over again the privations, and bare all the burdens of that experiment. The history of our government shows that a quarter of a century elapsed after our independence was acknowledged before emigration from Europe set in to any extent upon this country, and then for another quarter century, it was remarkably slow, although our boundless natural resources were known and acknowledged by the whole world. Why was it slow? For the best reason in the world: that men who are worth having will not settle in a country, invest their means, make improvements, and attempt to raise their families, without a guarantee of safety and protection.

But after the War of 1812,[251] in which we had demonstrated our attachment to our chosen form of government and our ability to protect our rights against the strongest power on earth, the opinions of mankind towards us changed; confidence in our unity and stability took the place of doubt, and soon commenced a tide of emigration and capital to our shores, which has made our progress the wonder of the civilized world.

Now let Missouri secede from the Union that has secured this progress, and she sacrifices every claim to confidence in her power to ensure safety and protection, without which progress is impossible.

Emigration must then cease, and our iron, copper, and lead will continue to sleep in the bosom of Mother Earth, for the labor and enterprise that would develop them can have no security. But I am asked, "Will the people of Missouri be less capable of self-government after secession than now?" I answer, yes. Every change that is made in the established forms of government, by radical and revolutionary means, where there is no just cause, weakens the confidence of men in themselves, and proves their want of clear and well-defined notions of what they want. Hence, the act of secession from the present Union would demonstrate their readiness to secede from any Union of which they may form a part, and the world can have no confidence in their stability. Sealed ports and a standing army upon our borders could not more effectually keep out immigration than this fact.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-30)

[251] The War of 1812, fought against Great Britain, was the first declaration of war by the United States against another nation.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.4)

February 1, 1861

Taxing the Poor and Exempting the Rich

(Editorial)

> "Pitiful, indeed, must be the ignorance of the simplest maxims of political economy, or gross must be the corruption which inspires the scheme of perpetuating the suspensions of gold and silver coin payments. We boldly assert that no honest or enlightened legislature can sanction such a project, for in its moral aspect, it presents itself as a device for ministering to the greed of the rich by oppressing the poor."

Two bills pending in the General Assembly show a decided purpose to diminish the obligations of the rich and add to the burdens of the poor.

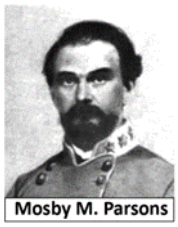
One of these bills proposes to abolish the mill tax appropriated to the support of the common schools of St. Louis, and the other to establish irredeemable bank paper as the legal currency of the state.

The Bank bill proposes to suspend gold and silver coin payment on the part of the banks for an indefinite period, and consequently to tax enormously the whole community for the benefit of these institutions. The contemplated swindle assumes huge proportions, for at this date, a dollar bill is worth but ninety cents in coin, as the exchange market demonstrates daily. You cannot buy a hundred dollars in gold for less than a hundred and ten dollars in Missouri bank bills now, and the depreciation will be forty or fifty percent instead of ten if the threatened revolution in the banking system is affected. If the bill becomes law, the monetary systems of the state will be permanently demoralized. The effect will be precisely the same as if one-tenth of every coin should be abstracted by the process of clipping or sweating, and made over to the coffers of the banks. All the relations of debtor and creditor, of workman and employer will be weakened and deranged; in every contract and business transaction, there must be special stipulations specifying the kind of money which shall be accepted in the redemption of obligation and as the medium of exchange between buyer and seller. Regarded from the most favorable point of view, the measure is equivalent to one for greatly debasing the coin, or greatly reducing its standard weight. The outrage would not be greater if all the gold and silver in the state should be called in and melted and thirty, forty and fifty percent of the bullion set aside for the banks. Pitiful, indeed, must be the ignorance of the simplest maxims of political economy, or gross must be the corruption which inspires the scheme of perpetuating the suspensions of gold and silver coin payments. We boldly assert that no honest or enlightened legislature can sanction such a project, for in its moral aspect, it presents itself as a device for ministering to the greed of the rich by oppressing the poor.

The journal that advocated the exemption of the Southern Hotel from taxation advocates the repeal of the school mill tax. Let the public schools be robbed of the blessings they enjoy, and let these be transferred to the bank and other wealthy corporations, is the cry of the *Missouri Republican*. We learn that the repeal of the mill tax would practically destroy the public school system of this city, and consequently Churchill's bill is but an indirect way of reaching that end.

February 2, 1861


1861 Military Bill


Mosby M. Parsons


Secession

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2)

February 2, 1861

Atrocious Provisions of The Military Bill

(Letter to the Editors)

JEFFERSON CITY, Jan. 30

Editors Missouri Democrat:

You have already been advised of the nature of the Military Bill which will, I am afraid, pass the legislature.[252] I regard it as the most wicked attempt at legislative despotism ever before known in this state.

The bill is forty pages long, and is a bold, defiant, reckless scheme to place the state under the military despotism of the governor.

It divides the state into nine military districts, the officers of which are to be appointed by the governor. All citizens between eighteen and forty-five years are to be put upon the military roll. Whenever the governor may think it necessary, he may order a draft. If one is drafted, he must swear to support and defend Missouri against all enemies, and to obey all orders of the governor and his subordinate officers.

If any officer or soldier speaks contemptuously or disrespectfully of the governor or legislature, he is to be tried by a drum-head court-martial, and punished at their discretion, which, in time of war, extends to death!

These are some of the many obnoxious features of the bill, which is certainly the very climax of legislative audacity and wickedness.

For editorials from the *Missouri Republican* on the same topic (Military Bill), see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-61) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-62).

[252] This version of the Military Bill was not approved by the legislature. However, a similar bill was passed later with an effective date of May 14, 1861. (FLP: Ser 1MD-May Annex-2). Gen. Harney, the commander of the Department of the West, described the Military Bill as an "indirect secession ordinance." He further stated that the bill is "a nullity [void] and cannot and ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri." (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#58).

Essential Information #15: The Military Bill

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2.1)

A few days after Governor Jackson made it clear he intended to use the power of his office to carry Missouri out of the Union, the following appeared in the *Missouri Democrat*.



St. Louis, Mo.

> A military bill by Monroe Parsons[253] was also thrust upon the General Assembly the first week of the session, and it is saying but little to call it the most wicked bill which the people of Missouri and their representatives have ever been called to act upon. Every part of it converges to the center of disunion.[254]

The Military Bill, described in the articles above and below, did not initially pass, but another version did on May 14. Even introducing such a bill in the first week of the session, demonstrates that disunion was the objective from the beginning, even though Jackson would claim actions of the central government demanded measures by the state.

After the Military Bill passed, the commander of the Department of the West, General Harney,[255]

[253] Mo. State Rep. Mosby Monroe Parsons would be appointed a brigadier general in Governor Jackson's Missouri State Guard, created by the Military Bill in May 1861. Later on, he would become a Confederate brigadier general.

[254] (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#19)

[255] Gen. William S. Harney was a slave owner from Tennessee. As his recently deceased wife was from one of the wealthiest slave-owning families in Missouri, he was a de facto member of the Southern elite community. His close connection with known secessionists caused the Union Safety Committee to question his willingness

published the following in a manifesto to the people of Missouri.

> This bill cannot be regarded in any other light than an indirect secession ordinance, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other states.[256] Clearly, its most material provisions conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. To this extent, it is a nullity and cannot be upheld by the good citizens of Missouri.[257]

Not only was the military Department of the West Commander and the *Missouri Democrat* critical of the Military Bill, so was the *Missouri Republican.*


Missouri Republican
St. Louis, Mo.

May 21, 1861

> Instead of uniting the people everywhere in a measure of defense, it contained in many of its provisions the seeds of division and discord…Even if we had an overflowing treasury, how could this law, which was never read in the Senate, and never seen by half a dozen of its members, and which was passed at midnight in secret conclave, when only some twenty senators were present, how could any party expect that it would meet with favor from those who are to be subjected to its operation?
>
> I will not stop to ask the motive for this, but will loudly call upon the governor to lay the bill aside as unconstitutional, as the only relief from the awful responsibility of sanctioning a measure which, if persisted in, must necessarily result in a bloody contest between the State Guards and the United States troops. This being so, who would be responsible for the enormous crime which lies hardly concealed in this bill? History is not always blind, and if calamities result from this Missouri Military Bill, some names must go with it down to posterity loaded with condemnation.

Finally, the State Convention repealed the Military Bill as seen below.


Missouri State Convention

On July 31, 1861, the Second Session of the Missouri State Convention repealed the Military Bill, stating the following.

> Whereas the General Assembly of the State of Missouri did, in secret session, contrary to the known wishes of their constituents, in violation of the Constitution and the dearest rights and interests of the people, and for the purpose of dissolving the political relations of this state to the government of the United States, and subverting the institutions of this state, enact certain odious laws hereinafter enumerated; therefore,
>
> 1. Be it ordained by the People of Missouri in Convention assembled, That an act entitled "An act to provide for the organization, government and support of

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to protect Union interests in Missouri. After he failed to comply with some of the orders from Washington, and failed to take common-sense steps to protect Union interests, he was relieved by President Lincoln and replaced by General Lyon.

[256] The point the general was making was that the other states had organized a secession convention and allowed their citizens to elect representatives to rule on the question of secession. By calling the Military Bill an "indirect secession ordinance," he is indicating the legislature was making the secession decision without consulting the people. However, "the people" of Missouri had already ruled on secession through their own (secession) convention that voted to remain in the Union by a vote of 98 to 1. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar#13).

[257] (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#58).

the military forces of the State of Missouri" [Commonly called the Military Bill], approved May 14th, 1861; also, an act to create a military fund for the state, entitled "An act to raise money to arm the state, repel invasion, and protect the lives and property of the people of Missouri," approved May 11th, 1861; also an act entitled "An act to authorize the appointment of one major general for the Missouri Militia," approved May 15th, 1861; also a "Joint Resolution to suspend the apportionment of the State School Money for the year 1861," approved May 11th, 1861; also an act entitled "An act to perpetuate friendly relations with the Indian tribes," approved May 11th, 1861, be and the same are hereby repealed and declared of no effect or validity whatever.

2. That all commissions issued or appointments made under the authority of the above recited, acts or any of them, be and the same are hereby annulled; and all soldiers and other persons serving or employed under any of said acts are hereby disbanded and discharged from such service or employment.

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Editor's Notes:

1. For the full text of the Military Bill, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-May-Annex-2).
2. Three articles dealing with the powers of the Missouri State Convention, see: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#35.1); (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#36); (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#37).
3. An article on the concept of secession conventions and a review of the details of several state secession conventions, including Missouri, see: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-23).







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#3)

February 2, 1861

Disunion Plot Progresses
Military Bill Proposed

(Editorial)

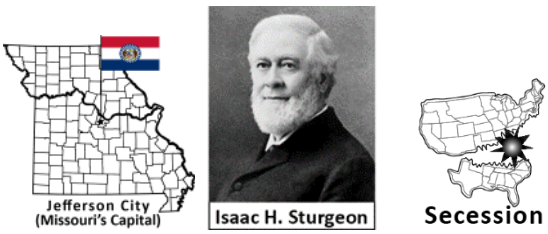
"The governor is to be transformed into a military dictator, and his fellow citizens into his subjects. Death is to be one of the penalties, which courts-martial inflict on those who shall dare to criticize the conduct of the governor or of his subordinate officers."

The disunionists here are unswervingly faithful to the precedents set by their brethren of the cotton states. They are striving not merely to shatter the federal system, but to transform Missouri into absolute military despotism.

Our Jefferson City correspondence shows that the revolution is to be achieved under the guise of a bill for reorganizing the militia. The principal provisions of that bill are such as to render it more tyrannical than the military laws of France, Austria or Russia.

The governor is to be transformed into a military dictator, and his fellow citizens into his subjects. Death is to be one of the penalties, which courts-martial inflict on those who shall dare to criticize the conduct of the governor or of his subordinate officers.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-31)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#4)

February 2, 1861

Officeholders Among Worse Disunionists

(Editorial)

The officeholders in this state are among the most malignant disunionists. They eat the bread of the government which they are plotting to destroy. They call themselves the "chivalry," and we don't know but that they are as good specimens as any that can be found. The clerk of the U. S. District Court is head devil. The physician of the Marine Hospital is another, the postmaster and surveyor of the Fort (the clerks of the latter being the principal source from which the ranks of the Minute Men are recruited) enter the same category. The gentleman who fills the office of assistant treasurer[258] is the only one who has the decency to regard the spirit of the oath by which their fidelity is pledged to the government which employs and feeds them.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#5)

February 2, 1861

Tricks of the Disunionists

(Letter to the Editors)

"A resolution was offered to prevent any person from participating in the meeting who had voted for Lincoln."

Editors Missouri Democrat:

The disunionists are trying everywhere in the state, to deceive the people and smuggle into the [secession] Convention their disunion confederates by professing in a general and non-committal form, to be for the Union, by which maneuver they hope to get control of the meetings and pack all the district conventions with the secessionist tools of [Gov.] Jackson, [Lt. Gov.] Reynolds & Company. The principal means employed is the cry of Black Republicanism, raised against every true friend of the Union.[259] The gag game was attempted to be played at a meeting at Hillsboro [Jefferson County] the other day.

A resolution was offered to prevent any person from participating in the meeting who had voted for Lincoln.

A Republican, Thomas C. Fletcher,[260] of that county, moved to table the resolution, and though the secessionists hooted and yelled, and denied him the right of speech, he firmly pressed his motion, and the friends of the Union carried it.

Let the people look to it and put no confidence in the professions of Union feelings by men who attempt to stifle the voice of a true friend of the Union, no matter to what party he may belong.

Yours,

—X.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#6)

[258] Refers to Isaac H. Sturgeon, who requested troops to guard the $400,000 in the U.S. subtreasury and protect the Arsenal. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28.3).

[259] Black Republicanism: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings.

[260] Thomas C. Fletcher replaced Hamilton Gamble as governor of Missouri during the latter stages of the Civil War. He was the first Missouri governor to be born in the state. He was a Republican supporter of Lincoln, and an ardent abolitionist from a young age despite growing up in a slave-owning family.

February 2, 1861

Peace Convention Representatives Secessionist

Editorial

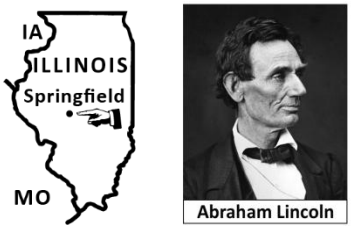
> "These commissioners go to Washington, where they will present the Crittenden Compromise as their ultimatum; the Republicans will be asked to constitutionalize the extension of slavery, and build west of the Rio Grande, an empire of slavery greater even than that which already exists. This small measure of concession will be called compromise. Of course, it will be refused, the commissioners know now."

The Missouri delegation[261] has been filled by Waldo P. Johnson, A. W. Doniphan,[262] A. H. Buckner,[263] J. D. Coalter,[264] and Harrison Hough. This is just as everyone knew it would be. Col. Doniphan is possibly the only one for the Union.

All the rest are unquestionably seceders *per se*, or Union men with such hopeless condition as to become so very soon.

Mr. Hough belongs to the school who believes that Adam had slaves in the Garden of Eden, and fell from his happy state only because he did not fully appreciate his blessings in that behalf.[265] Messrs. Buckner and Coulter are nullifiers of twenty years standing. They have always asserted the right of a state to nullify any act of Congress which she did not like. Waldo P. Johnson was an old Benton man, but some sixty days ago made a full and perfect surrender to the propagandists, so we are informed.[266] These commissioners go to Washington, where they will present the Crittenden Compromise[267] as their ultimatum; the Republicans will be asked to constitutionalize the extension of slavery, and build west of the Rio Grande, an empire of slavery greater even than that which already exists. This small measure of concession will be called compromise. Of course, it will be refused, the commissioners know now. However, when they return, they can cry out against the Republicans for not making concessions, and breaking up all hopes of peace. This course, it is supposed, will promote the cause of secession; and that is the only object of the mission.

—BRNNY.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#7)

February 2, 1861

John Hay[268] on Mr. Lincoln, from Springfield, Illinois

Extract

[261] The convention referred to was the Washington Peace Conference, sponsored by Virginia, which none of the seceded states attended. It ran from 1/19/1861 until 2/271861. Even though it produced some proposals, it went nowhere.

[262] Alexander W. Doniphan would remain loyal to the Union, rejecting a general's commission from Gov. Jackson in May 1861, in the secessionist Missouri State Guard. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-May#116).

[263] Aylett H. Buckner was judge of the Third Judicial Circuit.

[264] John D. Coalter was the brother-in-law of Edward Bates, the U.S. attorney general during Lincoln's first term.

[265] Harrison Hough, pro-South, would call for a conference of the Southern states then in the Union, to determine what was best for their interests.

[266] Waldo P. Johnson would be elected U.S. senator in March 1861; however, though he had been elected as a Union man, his "loyalty" was conditional. He was expelled from the Senate on January 10, 1862 for disloyalty to the U.S. government. He served in the C.S. Army.

[267] For a summary of the Crittenden Compromise, see Essential Information #10, "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30), and for the full text of the Compromise, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

[268] John Hay would serve as personal secretary to then President Lincoln, along with John Nicolay. He would become U.S. Sec. of State in 1898, serving under Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt.

Missouri Democrat

Mr. Lincoln arrived at his home this morning, much refreshed by his late excursion into the woods. He is one of those men who, having carried into middle age the stamina of a vigorous youth, always feel a new pulse of energy upon returning for a while, to the haunts of early exercise. He is never better than after a fatiguing journey, or a continuous series of laborous speeches. He gained fifteen pounds in weight during that energetic campaign of 1858. He bears restored vigor back from this little excursion into the country. An earth-giant, like autumnus, he always gains strength by contact with his mother earth.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#8)

February 2, 1861

Compromise—The Border States and the Union

(Reprint from *New York Times*, January 28)

> "If the Union can be maintained in its integrity, if it can be reinstated in the loyalty and affection of the great body of the American people, it would most assuredly be well worthwhile to make the largest concessions compatible with justice and the fundamental principles of Republican liberty."

There is a very general demand for some measures of compromise in order to save the border states. Men who hold in disgust and horror the flagrant and baseless treason of the Gulf states, insist that the border states may be saved to the Union by concessions on the part of the North, and that every consideration of duty to them and to the country demands that these concessions should at once be made. "Is not the Union worth so much as this?" is the pertinent and forcible question with which they press their requisition.

Now, we have nothing whatever to say against the spirit which prompts the query. We hold it in honor and respect. Nor do we intend to enter now upon any inquiry into the merits of the specific concessions by which it is alleged the border states can be conciliated and induced to remain members of the American Union. If the Union can be maintained in its integrity, if it can be reinstated in the loyalty and affection of the great body of the American people, it would most assuredly be well worthwhile to make the largest concessions compatible with justice and the fundamental principles of Republican liberty. But if concession is merely to purchase the form of union, and we are to have no evidence that its spirit still lives in the communities that demand a price for their prolonged alliance, then we must frankly tell our brethren of the border states that the Union is not worth the sacrifice they demand at our hands.

Border States



We address ourselves to the Union men in the borders states; and we must ask them to look beyond the immediate results of the compromises they suggest, to the principles involved in this matter, and to the results which would inevitably grow out of them. These states assume the position of mediators between the revolted South and the loyal North. It is an honorable office, there is none higher or more honorable on the face of the earth, if only it is discharged in that spirit of equal and exact justice which befits its dignity.

But it must not be the cloak for selfish purposes, nor can its duties be performed in a spirit of barter and in disregard of the high equities and

far-searching issues which the question involves. They may possibly patch up a trade by the narrower and more selfish policy which is commended for their adoption. But they cannot thus do what the sentiment and the welfare of the whole country demands shall now be done—bring about a permanent settlement of the issues which disturb its peace and threaten its integrity.

It must be borne in mind that the extreme southern states proclaim the right of any state to secede from the Union at will, without the slightest regard for its supreme authority as a government, without reference to the forms by which alone the Constitution may be amended, in wanton repudiation of the obligations they have jointly assumed, and in utter defiance of the sentiment or will of the sister states. No intelligent man, North or South, can doubt that such a doctrine admitted into the written or unwritten constitution of any country, renders such a thing as government impossible.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-32)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#8.1)

February 2, 1861

Union Man Driven from Arkansas

(Editorial)

Another victim of the present excitement arrived in this city a few days ago by the Overland Mail coach.

The person we refer to is Mr. Ebenezer White, a native of Pittsfield, Mass., who came to this city in 1836, and resided in this vicinity until 1856, when he was induced by Mr. Joseph Powell to immigrate to Fayetteville, Arkansas, for the purpose of rebuilding a flour mill at the place. He was afterwards employed as a miller and continued to reside in Fayetteville on pleasant terms with his neighbors.

Last year he bought a third interest in the mill for $3,000 and rented the other two-thirds of his partners. He opened a family store, and was a respected, industrious citizen. At the November election, he voted for [the Constitutional Union Party presidential ticket of] Bell and Everett, but took no part in politics or political discussions. On January 19th, a dispatch came to the effect that the governor of Massachusetts had recommended that Massachusetts raise 20,000 men to tender the government to enforce the laws of the United States, if necessary.

Mayor Bedford remarked angrily that he would like to put a cockade on the breast of every Massachusetts man so as to know him. Mr. White said they could put one on him then as quick as they pleased, as he was a Massachusetts man.

The mayor said: “You are? Well, then, you will be compelled to leave this place immediately, and moreover you won’t be allowed to pack either.” The mayor meant by this that Mr. White wouldn’t be allowed to carry anything away. Mr. Ursey, editor of the Fayetteville *Democrat*, said he wished every d—d Yankee was strung up or compelled to leave if he didn’t swear allegiance to the southern confederacy. Mr. White said he owed no allegiance to any southern confederacy. Mr. Ursey asked him to what state he did owe allegiance. Whereupon White said that if the Union was dissolved, he owed allegiance to Massachusetts. Angry remarks followed, but nothing was done.

On the 21st, a public meeting was held, called to order by George Cline, and organized by electing M. D. Frazier, president and Mr. Ursey, secretary. The committee passed resolutions ordering Mr. White to leave town for declaring that he owed allegiance to Massachusetts. The result was that Mr. White had to leave. Before leaving, he left his property, consisting of 1,200 bushels of corn, 800 bushels of wheat, a stock of groceries and homestead furniture, valued altogether at $5,000, in the hands of Stirman & Dixon.

February 4, 1861





St. Louis, Mo.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9)

February 4, 1861

Blaming the Republicans for the Crisis

(Editorial)

"If an offer is made to unite all the Union men in this county on one ticket to ensure Union men are elected to represent us at the Convention, the *Missouri Republican* exclaims in wrath, we will have no Republican on the Union ticket, no matter how strong they are for the Union, because they are the cause of all our troubles."

Those who sympathize with the disunionists in their mad and wicked attempt to destroy this nation are constantly proclaiming that the Republican Party and their recent triumph is the cause of our present difficulties. This is not only false in itself, but it is wicked, at affording justification for the most atrocious treason of which the history of the world can afford an example. Whoever makes the assertion can be proved a falsifier, out of the mouths of the disunionists of South Carolina and the cotton states themselves.

Among the public journals of this part of the country, the *Missouri Republican* [Democratic Party supporting newspaper] is the most conspicuous in its efforts to fix upon the Republican Party the charge of having caused all the difficulty which exists. This paper pretends to be for the Union; to deplore the madness of secession and denounce immediate secessionists, but if a company of respectable gentlemen gets together for the purpose of devising means of saving the Union, they must, in order to find favor with the *Missouri Republican*, at the same time denounce the Republican Party as the cause of all our woes. If an offer is made to unite all the Union men in this county on one ticket to ensure Union men are elected to represent us at the Convention, the *Missouri Republican* exclaims in wrath, we will have no Republican on the Union ticket, no matter how strong they are for the Union, because they are the cause of all our troubles. A man might as well refuse to bask in the warm rays of the sun, because that same sun drew the water from the ocean which drenched him with recent rain.

It is admitted that, to such as the editors of the *Missouri Republican*, the success of the Republican Party seems a great calamity, but no man can consider it a greater calamity than [President] Buchanan's administration has been.

If all the lies that have been told about the Republicans were true (and none know better the utter groundlessness of nine-tenths of these misrepresentations than the editors of the *Missouri Republican*), yet, even in that case, few people would hesitate to prefer the Republicans to either of the two last Democratic administrations. Mr. Lincoln is not likely to fill his cabinet with such traitors as [Sec. of Treasury] Howell Cobb[269] and [Former U.S. Sec. of War] John Floyd[270] and [Former U.S. Sec. of the Interior] Jacob Thompson.[271]


John B. Floyd

No darker crime is known in the annals of human nature than that which a man commits, who, bound by solemn oath, sits at the council board of a nation and yet betrays its counsels, its strongholds, its arms and its honor into the hands of

[269] Sec. of Treasury T. Howell Cobb, a former Georgia governor, was one of the founders of the Confederacy, he would serve as president of the C.S.A. Provisional Congress in 1861.

[270] Former U.S. Sec. of War John B. Floyd served under President Buchanan until the president requested his resignation at the end of 1860, for profiting from government contracts. Floyd was later accused of shipping weapons to the South and eventually became a Confederate general.

[271] Former U.S. Sec. of the Interior] Jacob Thompson resigned in January 1861 to become inspector general of the Confederate Army.

an enemy. Yet this crime was notoriously committed by the men we have named while members of Buchanan's Cabinet. To perjury and treason is added the meaner crimes of embezzlement and swindling, to an extent which makes the entire administration of Mr. Buchanan one huge swollen and putrid mass of corruption.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-33)

Editor's Note: In the opening of the article below, the people of St. Louis were outraged that some of the funds to support the military build-up proposed by secessionists were to come out of funds previously used for educating the children of Missouri.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.2)

February 4, 1861

The Military Bill & The School Mill Tax

"The governor has not the prestige or power in the Assembly that he dreamed he had when inaugurated, and has met with several severe checks to his manifest disposition to precipitate the state into secession."

Jefferson City, Feb. 3, 1861.

School Funding

The prompt and overwhelming manner in which the citizens of St. Louis have spoken out, at almost a moment's notice, against the uncalled for and wicked bill introduced [to defund state schools] by Senator Churchill[272] and passed without any notice to them, has demonstrated that the cause of popular education is deeply cherished in their hearts, and that it must not be put down by politicians, who while raising the cry of reduction and reform, are anxious to vote hundreds of thousands, even millions of dollars to change our state government into a military despotism, and to place the dictatorship in the hands of a governor and satellites whose South Carolinian leanings are manifested on every occasion.

Representative Stevenson, of St. Louis, yesterday presented a protest to the House, signed by fifteen thousand citizens of St. Louis against the passage of Churchill's bill. The fact that this petition was got up at a day's notice shows the deep, heartfelt interest of the citizens in the continuance of the present law. The senator who urged this bill through the Senate can now be designated as an enemy to popular education, as he proposed no middle measure, but at once the absolute closing of the schools.

The reason of this is, probably, that they never again expect to have a seat in that body, and take every occasion to show their disappointment and bitterness of feeling to the majority of the people who now hold the reins of power.[273]

The question of this repeal of the mill tax will be met manfully in the House by the friends of education, and the measure will, it is thought, be defeated. The House is far more conservative than the Senate, and the decided expression of the people of St. Louis will not be disregarded.

The Military Bill

This bill has been guarded with great strictness from becoming public by the committee, who have been laboring for weeks in its delivery.

Enough, however, has been learned to prove that in the language of Gen. Riley, of Wright

[272] Missouri State Congressman Churchill represented St. Louis.

[273] Editor's Note: The early Democratic immigrants from the South, from before Missouri became a state, made up the political elite in Missouri and had the power to control state affairs. However, the election of 1856 demonstrated that, as Missouri's population was increasing, the Southern political elite were losing control. Even with dishonest campaigning in 1860, the Southern Democrats barely maintained control, and it was clear their days were numbered, as demonstrated by the footnoted statement above.

[County], it is one of the most "monstrous of all monstrosities," giving into the power of the governor the most despotic dictatorship, and creating an indefinite number of majors, generals, brigadiers, etc.

The bill will fall a dead failure no doubt. Although the governor will hold out to ambitious, inexperienced heroes, who never yet set a squadron in the field, glittering visions of fine features, gold epaulettes and lace, and although there will be plenty of these heroes who will fall down and worship at the military shrine for these doubtful honors, yet these do not form a majority of the legislature. The governor has not the prestige or power in the Assembly that he dreamed he had when inaugurated, and has met with several severe checks to his manifest disposition to precipitate the state into secession. He met with the first decisive one in endeavoring to force the State Convention bill through without making it responsible to the people for its acts.

The desperate but abortive attempt to force [Southern-sympathizing] Senator Green[274] on an unwilling party and people for another six years, also demonstrates that he cannot control both Houses in any secession movement, or in which he may have a tendency to plunge the state into farther monetary difficulties by the creation of a military despotism and the creation of a standing army.

The Assembly seems disposed now not to commit the state to any ultra-measures involving its peace and its financial standing until the State Convention shall have acted. This is a wise conclusion if adhered to. There are many men, even in both wings of the Democratic Party, who are conservative enough to see the perilous condition of our state treasury and credit, and that any rash disunion measure will cripple both revenue and state credit utterly, and will oppose any extreme measures. Had we a full state treasury and undoubted credit, there would be far more danger of the South Carolinian doctrines of [Gov.] Jackson, [Lt. Gov.] Reynolds & Company succeeding. As yet the efforts here to arm the state are small.

The evident estrangement of the two wings of the Democratic Party is on the increase, and will doubtless have a good effect on the action of the present Assembly. The Douglas wing can now preserve a conservative position in regard to our federal relations, and in that position will be sustained by Union members.

The Military Bill got up by Senate Committee on Militia, of which a synopsis has been published and known as the "Frost bill," has been rejected by the House Committee, who have reported a bill with many modifications, which is now being printed, and will be introduced into the House.

The Senate bill, by which Gen. Frost[275] aims to become major general, will not pass both houses.

—K.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.3)

February 4, 1861

Platform of the Central Union Club [Unconditional Unionist]

(Editorial)

"We, the representatives of the Unconditional Union voters of the ward, will support no ticket for the State Convention which is not individually

[274] For information on U.S. Sen. James S. Green, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#21).

[275] M.V.M. Gen. Daniel M. Frost was the commander of the Missouri Volunteer Militia. After the election of Gov. Jackson, most Unionists were forced out of the militia, and it became a pro-secession force. Frost was the principle military advisor to Jackson and clandestinely encouraged him to take steps to forcibly carry Missouri out of the Union. As a New Yorker and a West Pointer, Frost was the closest thing to a Benedict Arnold-style traitor to come out of the Civil War. Not only was he a traitor to the Union, but after joining the Confederate Army, he was dropped from the rolls of the Confederate Army as a deserter after he abandoned his command and fled to Canada.

pledged to the maintenance of the Union without conditions"

The resolutions appended below are recommended by the Central Union Club to the Ward clubs which meet this evening. The simple question, union or disunion, dissociated from all others, whether of local or general importance, is the question to be voted upon on the 18th of this month. The overwhelming strength of the Union feeling can only be elicited by putting forward that question in its isolated grandeur. As the members of the Convention will be necessarily restricted to the consideration of constitutional laws, the discussion of minor topics in meetings called for the purpose of organizing for the election would be deemed irrelevant. It will be observed that one of the two resolutions has been adopted by the City Council:

WHEREAS: The political parties which contended with one another in the last presidential election were organized for the purposes of settling questions growing out of the relations and [antagonisms] of certain political principles under the Constitution and in the Union; and

WHEREAS: Both the Constitution and the Union, in which these questions in here are in constant danger of subversion at the hands of diabolical traitors; be it

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the Unconditional Union voters of the ward, will support no ticket for the State Convention which is not individually pledged to the maintenance of the Union without conditions, and that in conceding candidates, we will ignore all party distinctions and denominations.

Resolved, That all differences as to the constitutional rights of states on the subject of slavery can be reconciled and adjusted only within the Union, and that a violent rupture of, or even a peaceable secession from the Union can afford no remedy for such differences but, on the contrary, will widen and perpetuate them in the ruinous detriment of the nation at large, and of the several states, and that, with inflexible determination on our part that impartial justice should be rendered to every constitutional right of the country, we hereby resolve and unalterably declare that the United States of America is a constitutional government, one and indivisible, for all time, which we will maintain and uphold against all persons, at home or abroad, who oppose it.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.4)

February 4, 1861

Young Men's Union Club

(Letter to the Editors)

"Let us organize, and see that no man goes from St. Louis County to the Convention who is not unconditionally for the Union—no ifs nor ands; no man who does not fully agree to our motto—In the Union all, out of the Union nothing."

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

There are many political organizations in our city, but I do not know of a Young Men's Union Club. If there is fighting to do, the young men will have their share of it; and for myself, I unhesitatingly declare that I am constitutionally opposed to fighting against my government, and as for warring against my brothers, my better feelings are opposed to that. Then let us have a club of Union young men of St. Louis whose motto shall be,

> *there is nothing to be gained out of the Union that cannot be gained in it*.

Let us extend the right hand of fellowship to all sections, and say to them, we will do for you all we can in the Union but if you dissolve the ties that bind you to the Union, we cannot and will not assist you.

Let us say to the fanatical North, steal no more "slaves," and to the agitated and riled South, take no more of "Uncle Sam's" property.

Let us organize, and see that no man goes from

St. Louis County to the Convention who is not unconditionally for the Union—no ifs nor ands; no man who does not fully agree to our motto—In the Union all, out of the Union nothing. We have no time to lose. Start the ball rolling, and when it is started, keep it going.

Union Young Man.

Editor's Note: Below is another venomous attack on the *Missouri Republican* by the *Missouri Democrat*. The *Missouri Republican* consider themselves Conditional Unionists because they want to see compromise; the *Missouri Democrat* call them Conditional Secessionists because they want the central government to compromise in order to prevent civil war.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.5)
February 4, 1861

The Conditional Secession Ticket

(Editorial)

"Whoever applies mere party tests in this election is not a true Union man, for the vindication of the Constitution, and the maintenance of the Union, are questions which transcend party organizations. Treason ever works by deceit, by ambiguity and dissimilation, until the moment comes for throwing off all disguise. Let those who were misled by the *Republican* last August, be on their guard now. The members of the state government are all disunionists, and yet their names were paraded for months in the *Republican*, the influence of which undoubtedly secured their triumph over the Union candidates."

Under the head of "Constitutional Ticket," we find fifteen names advertised in the *Missouri Republican*, as the names of fifteen candidates for the State Convention. These fifteen, it seems, were nominated on Saturday by a caucus which met at the Mercantile Library building, and the only anxiety of the caucus (we are assured by its sponsor, the *Republican*) was to act "in such a manner as to present an undivided opposition to Black Republicanism."

There was no anxiety to present an undivided front to the Unconditional Secessionists—no anxiety to array all the Union men in the county in one solid unified formation, the influence of which should be enough to preserve the arms of the state from the foul blot of treason.

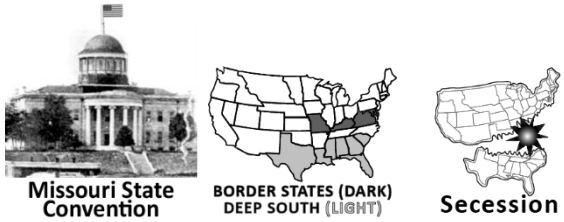
Citizens of St. Louis, are you blind to the cunning intrigues and contemptible goals of the *Missouri Republican* to block our efforts to produce one uncompromising Union ticket?

Do not be gulled by the vague hollow professions of attachment to the Union, with which the "Constitutional Ticket" of the *Missouri Republican* is masked. Remember that [Gov.] Jackson and [Lt. Gov.] Reynolds were elected under the same false pretense in this state, and especially in this city; the wolf must show himself in sheep's clothing to get into office. The *Missouri Republican,* which advocated the election of Jackson and Reynolds as anti-secessionists, advocates this "Constitutional Ticket" and on similar grounds.

Treason ever works by deceit, by ambiguity and dissimilation, until the moment comes for throwing off all disguise. Let those who were misled by the *Republican* last August, be on their guard now. The members of the state government are all disunionists, and yet their names were paraded for months in the *Republican*, the influence of which undoubtedly secured their triumph over the Union candidates.

Will the stamp of the *Republican* journal be sufficient to make the true Union men in the Douglas [Northern Democratic] and the Bell [Constitutional Union] ranks accept base assertions again? Whoever applies mere party tests in this election is not a true Union man, for the vindication

of the Constitution, and the maintenance of the Union, are questions which transcend party organizations. When the Union itself is in danger, how can good citizens be observant of distinctions, which pertain to questions arising within the Union, like party associations?



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.6)

February 4, 1861

Union Meeting in Florissant

(Editorial)

> "…their secession, and the secession of yet other states, can furnish no argument in right or reason to determine the secession of Missouri; that, on the contrary, the highest obligations of duty and a wise regard for the interests of our people demand that Missouri be true to the Union."

At a township meeting held pursuant to a call in the town of Florissant [St. Louis County], Tuesday, Jan. 29, Mr. Thomas G. Settle was called to the chair, and Julian Bates was chosen secretary.

Dr. M. M. Wherry explained the object of the meeting and offered the following preamble and series of resolutions:

Whereas, A convention of the state having been called by the legislature of the state of Missouri, to assemble in Jefferson City on the 28th of February next, and the 18th day of the same month having been appointed for the election of delegates to said convention, and in pursuance of a call upon the people of the township of St. Ferdinand, county of St. Louis, to assemble in mass meeting in the city of St. Ferdinand, for the purpose of designating some persons from the township whose known patriotism, judgment and prudence eminently qualify them for a position so exalted and responsible; and whereas, a large number of the citizens of the township have this day assembled—therefore be it

Resolved: 1. That we have every confidence in the patriotism and love of country of the people of the United States, and we doubt not but means of adjustment of our present national difficulties will be reached, alike satisfactory and honorable to all sections of our beloved Union.

Resolved: 2. That we believe the citizens of the slave states are entitled to some further constitutional guarantees for the protection of their property, and an equality in the territories of the United States.

On motion of Dr. Bates, the following was substituted in place of the above third resolution:

Resolved: 3. That we do heartily sympathize with the people of the "seceding states," in any actual grievances they have endured; that we commiserate the galling and chafing they have suffered from a fancied oppression; yet we pointedly condemn their act of secession as hasty in the extreme; as without foundation in right or expediency; as unkind and unjust to the slave states north of them; as detrimental to the slave interest, and disastrous to the whole country. That in our opinion, their secession, and the secession of yet other states, can furnish no argument in right or reason to determine the secession of Missouri; that, on the contrary, the highest obligations of duty and a wise regard for the interests of our people demand that Missouri be true to the Union.

Resolved: 4. That we hold it to be the imperative duty of all candidates to said State Convention to make a full and distinct avowal (through the newspapers) of their sentiments touching our present federal relations, and will vote for no man who may fail to comply with this demand, and who will not pledge himself that, if elected, he will use his best exertions to have any action of said convention affecting our federal relations submitted to a vote of the people of the state for approval or rejection.

Resolved: 5. That, whereas an Executive Committee of Union men have called a meeting to be shortly held in St. Louis, to suggest a ticket of delegates to the State Convention, we hereby

appoint to represent us in said St. Louis meeting, Edward Hall, Esq., Col. John H. Shackelford, and Dr. Julian Bates.

Resolved: 6. That we recommend as delegates to the State Convention, Capt. A. Harper, Col. J. H. Shackelford, and Judge Frederick Hyatt.

On motion of Dr. Bates, it was:

Resolved: That while we wish and would urge such amendment of the Constitution as will give peace to all portions of the country; and that while we think such would be the effect of the measures known as the Crittenden Compromise;[276] yet we here record our firm conviction that the Constitution as it is, and Union under it, will secure better protection to our rights and interests than any possible arrangement outside the present Union.

On motion,

Resolved: That a copy of the minutes of the meeting be transmitted to the city journals, and publication requested.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

T. G. Settle, *Chairman*.

Julian Bates, *Secretary*.

February 5, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.7)

February 5, 1861

"The Constitutional Ticket"

(Letter to the Editors)

"None of the old and tried Democratic Party in the Third Ward knew anything of this underhand meeting, and there seems to be considerable curiosity respecting the elements composing this 'Constitutional ticket.'"

To the Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

The *Missouri Republican* of yesterday, created quite a surprise in our midst by the publication of a ticket (a so-called Constitutional ticket), made up the preceding evening at Mercantile Library Hall by a few individuals, self-constituted representatives of the feeling and wishes of the people at the approaching Convention at Jefferson City.[277]

Now, Messrs. Editors of the *Republican*, I can safely say that not more than three or four residences in the Third and Fourth Wards were privy to this contemplated meeting at Mercantile Library Hall. None of the old and tried Democratic Party in the Third Ward knew anything of this underhand meeting, and there seems to be considerable curiosity respecting the elements composing this "Constitutional ticket."

Do, for the sake of the *uninitiated*, tell us all you know about this famous convention, from its inception to its birth, as announced yesterday morning, as also these men who have the *honor* of being on your ticket.

—[Illegible]

Editor's Note: In the article below, the following statement is made about the above nominees: "five Unconditional Secessionists are on the ticket, which was nominated on Saturday in the Mercantile Library building (the 'Constitutional Ticket'), we venture to say that the *Missouri Republican* will have the effrontery to play the same deceitful role which it played in the last gubernatorial campaign, and contend that the said ticket is a good enough Union ticket."

[276] For a summary of the Compromise, see Essential Information #10, "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text of the Compromise, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

[277] Also see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.5).



St. Louis, Mo.


Secession


Missouri State Convention

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.8)

February 5, 1861

The Unconditional Secession Ticket

(Editorial)

"Notwithstanding the fact that five Unconditional Secessionists are on the ticket, . . . we venture to say that the *Missouri Republican* will have the effrontery to play the same deceitful role which it played in the last gubernatorial campaign, and contend that the said ticket is a good enough Union ticket."

The straight-out secessionists met in convention yesterday, and nominated a full ticket. To our surprise, they have adopted but five of the nominees on the mixed secession or "constitutional" ticket. These are John D. Coalter, George Penn, William T. Wood, P. B. Garesche and L. M. Kennett. Thus, it is established, in the clearest manner, that five of the fifteen nominated on Saturday are disunionists.

Will the two or three real Union men who were nominated with them remain a moment longer silent? They can be certain, if they do, that the confidence with which the great body of Union voters but recently regarded them will be completely alienated. Notwithstanding the fact that five Unconditional Secessionists are on the ticket, which was nominated on Saturday in the Mercantile Library building (the "constitutional ticket"), we venture to say that the *Missouri Republican* will have the effrontery to play the same deceitful role which it played in the last gubernatorial campaign,[278] and contend that the said ticket is a good enough Union ticket.

[278] In the gubernatorial election of August 1860. Claiborne F. Jackson ran on a Union ticket, but it has been made clear since his inauguration that he is for the South and secession.

Editor's Note: Below, a committee chairman of the Unconditional Unionist reports on his committee's unsuccessful efforts to coordinate with the Douglas and Bell parties on the nomination of candidates for the convention. He states: "We grieve to say that all our attempts to approach the Douglas committee were fruitless. We were greatly surprised that the committee claiming to represent the Douglas party, to act in concert with the Bell party committee, should neglect to receive or counsel with [our] committee of twenty citizens, all of whom were either Bell or Douglas men."


St. Louis


Missouri State Convention

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.9)

February 5, 1861

Unconditional Union Meeting in St. Louis

"We have conferred with a great many citizens and find an almost universal desire to keep the choice of delegates to the State Convention free from party control and party management."

A meeting of citizens, unconditionally in favor of preserving the Union, was held yesterday at Mercantile Library Hall at 3 o'clock, Mr. Sol Smith presided and Mr. William Glasgow, Jr., officiated as secretary.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Gibson, from the Committee to Report a Basis of Operations Preliminary to Nominating Candidates for the Convention, reported the

following about his efforts to meet with the Douglas and Bell party officials:

We have conferred with a great many citizens and find an almost universal desire to keep the choice of delegates to the State Convention free from party control and party management. The various party organizations of this city and county became very much exasperated against each other by matters engendered during the last state and presidential campaign. Events subsequent to the presidential election greatly inflamed their mutual hatred. They had assumed semi-military organizations, and are said to have been very generally armed and quite ready for a conflict with each other. This feeling is rapidly subsiding. Under these circumstances, it is believed to be exceedingly dangerous to the public peace to permit them to be arrayed against each other in a contest which will excite them still more than they now are, and in an attitude little short of actual hostilities. A riot at a public meeting, or a collision in the streets, might become the spark of bloody civil commotion and lead to consequences the most deplorable and disastrous.

On Friday evening last [February 1], we ascertained, for the first time, that two separate conventions or committees of Bell-Everett men and of Douglas men, claiming to represent their respective parties, were to assemble in this building for the purpose of forming a united party and nominating a ticket for the State Convention.

We have not yet learned by what authority groups acted, nor for what reason their meeting was not made known to the public, whom they pretended to represent. We were not aware that the powers given to the conventions of 1860, for the purposes of the last campaign, were to continue during the life of the members thereof. We did not believe the gentleman there assembled were at all authorized to speak for anybody but themselves. But your committee, being exceedingly desirous to reconcile all differences among the friends of the Union, and to bring about unity in action among all those who are devotedly attached to the country, immediately appointed a sub-committee of three to wait upon these gentlemen, in order to ascertain, if possible, their intentions in regard to the selection of candidates, and to let the people act for



John Bell

themselves, in the present crisis. The sub-committee waited on these bodies, and, we are happy to say, were kindly received by the [Constitutional Union] Bell men, and had they (the Bell men) been acting independently of the [Northern Democratic] Douglas men, we doubt not an arrangement could have been made satisfactory to all.

We grieve to say that all our attempts to approach the Douglas committee were fruitless. We were greatly surprised that the committee claiming to represent the Douglas party, to act in concert with the Bell-Everett committee, should neglect to receive or counsel with a committee of twenty citizens, all of whom were either Bell or Douglas men, and especially as their authority to act for their party was disputed, or that they should refuse to consult with some of those (the Douglas men) on the committee and in this meeting whom they pretended to represent.

Editor's Note: The next meeting of this group is covered at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10.2).

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-34)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.10)
February 5, 1861

Another Assault on St. Louis—Bill to Give Governor Power to Appoint Tax Assessors

(Editorial)

> "The new assessors will be responsible, not to the taxpayers, but to the governor. Their aim will, therefore, be to make themselves acceptable to the latter, who is distinguished for his hostility to a community which is opposed to disunion."

The fraudulently elected senators from this county are consistent in their treachery to their professed constituents. Their whole term of senatorial service has been a long bitter war on the rights and privileges of the city and county. They justify themselves perhaps to their own consciences by the fact that they were not fairly elected, and consequently are responsible, not to the majority, but to the faction which was instrumental in placing them in the General Assembly. Their last assault on the rights, it was supposed they would be vigilant to protect, is a bill to give the governor the power of appointing assessors for the city and county. It will be at once perceived that such a measure will necessarily result in forcing both city and county to pay more than their fair proportion of the state revenue. The new assessors will be responsible, not to the taxpayers, but to the governor. Their aim will, therefore, be to make themselves acceptable to the latter, who is distinguished for his hostility to a community which is opposed to disunion.

Property will be rated far above its value, and on that fictitious basis, the state revenue will be levied. No matter how incompetent or corrupt may be the men whom the governor will appoint, they must be borne with for five years. Who cannot see in the bill vestiges of the county court regime? No fault is found with the present assessors. They are acknowledged to be capable and honest. No petitions have been sent to the General Assembly calling for their removal. How could there be, when the Board of Commissioners is ready to listen to and investigate any complaint that might be made against them, and rectify any error which they might commit? The project for supplanting them is one of the foulest political jobs that even [Mo. State Reps.] Churchill and Johnson have yet attempted. The intent, of course, is to saddle the tax-payers with a gang of camp followers, whose conduct has damned them irretrievably in the estimation of the community. This irresponsible gang is to live at free quarters, with the power of making every person who pays taxes pay more than his just share. The House, for its own sake, if for no other considerations, will not concur in the outrage. No member can honestly vote for the bill who is not prepared to vote for such another bill for his own county.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.11)
February 5, 1861

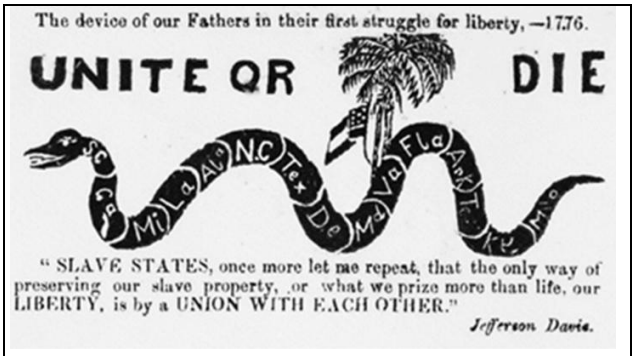
The Virginia Peace Convention Equals Extortion and Submission

(Editorial)

> "Were the federal government shorn of any of its powers, it would be utterly incompetent to cope with the difficulties by which it is beset. The Constitution, and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, are useless if the means of maintaining that Constitution and exacting those laws are withheld."

The events of the last three months show very conclusively that the federal government should be strengthened rather than weakened. Those who stigmatize the enforcement of the laws as coercion would reduce it to a state of impotency. Any covenant like that which it is said the Virginia commissioners in Washington will propose to the representatives of the free states, and the ratification of which is to be held an indispensable condition to actual negotiation, would, if observed, be the coercion of Congress and the Executive into base submission. Properly understood, the Virginia proposition means nothing less than the granting of unlimited license to rebellion. No assembly Is competent to impose restraints on a legislature or executive which derives all its powers from the Constitution.

Whatever disposition there may be to compromise or conciliate, we trust that the conference which met yesterday in Washington will not inaugurate its proceedings by seizing control. That in itself would be revolution. Were the federal government shorn of any of its powers, it would be utterly incompetent to cope with the difficulties by which it is beset.



"SLAVE STATES, once more let me repeat, that the only way of preserving our slave property, or what we prize more than life, our LIBERTY, is by a UNION WITH EACH OTHER."

—Jefferson Davis

The Constitution, and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, are useless if the means of maintaining that Constitution and exacting those laws are withheld. Of course, the conference could only hinder the action of Congress and the Executive by giving new impulses to the declining agitation. Any declaration which an assembly of that description might make would have no legal effect. But the government requires all the assistance which it can borrow from public opinion, and it is therefore desirable that public opinion should not be misdirected or disturbed, as it might be in the event of a conclave of distinguished men declaring that the true policy of the government is not action but submission. Those whose purpose it is to extort concessions from the free states, but who are at the same time devoted to the Union, should be careful that they do not sacrifice the greater to the lesser. If it is once made apparent that the Union can only be preserved by concession, then its vitality is destroyed. From the moment the barbarians made the discovery that the Western emperors would rather make concessions than assert their supremacy, the doom of the empire was sealed. Every new concession gave rise to more oppressive exactions. Province after province was occupied by the fierce invaders, until at last they made themselves masters of the Immortal City [Rome], and overturned the throne of the Caesars. To procure an intermission in the Southern rebellion by purchase is to concede the frailty of the Union and invite fresh attempts upon it. If delivery from the difficulties by which it is surrounded can only be attained by subsidizing rebels, then it is not worth preserving.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.12)

February 5, 1861

Facts for the Western Secessionists

(Editorial)

We find in the [secessionist newspaper, the] *Bulletin* a tabular statement of the late federal census, the perusal of which we earnestly commend to the western secessionists. So long as the *Bulletin* publishes such facts, we shall patiently endure its numerous dissertations on the right of secession. This table verifies an opinion we have expressed

more than once, viz: that the three slave states west of the Mississippi will have an increase of five representatives in the Congress elected under the new apportionment. Missouri gains two members, Arkansas one, and Texas two. This is very fair, considering that the ratio of representation is raised from 93,000 to 127,000. South Carolina has stopped growing and begun to wither, loses one-third of her present representation—a loss far greater than that of any other state. She will have but four members in the thirty-eighth Congress. Missouri will have nine, and yet Missouri, we are told, ought to follow the lead of South Carolina!

February 6, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.13)

February 6, 1861

Great Union Mass Meeting in Hermann, Mo.

(Editorial)

> "*Resolved*: That we will support no candidate as a delegate to the State Convention, who is not unconditionally pledged to the Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws."

Pursuant to a published call, signed by numerous citizens of the county, irrespective of party, the people of Gasconade County met at the Theatre building in Hermann, on Saturday evening, the 2d of this month, for the purpose of nominating a candidate from Gasconade County for the district composed of Franklin, Gasconade and Osage Counties.

On motion, Charles C. Manwaring, Esq., was called to the chair, and William Wesselhoft was chosen secretary. The chairman stated the object of the meeting, and on motion, it was then resolved that a Committee of Three be appointed by the Chair to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting; whereupon the Chair appointed the following gentlemen as such committee: Dr. J. O. Sitton, Jul. Hundhausen, Phillip Weber, H. Schlender, William Baring, Dr. N. Nasse and Thomas T. Clarey.

The Committee retired for consultation, and during their absence, the meeting was addressed by the Hon. James W. Owens and others, in short, able and patriotic speeches, expressing their earnest devotion to the Union, and their determination to use every effort to preserve it as bequeathed to us by our fathers.

Resolved: 1. That as our fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors to establish our excellent government, so we pledge ourselves to maintain it.

Resolved: 2. That we will support no candidate as a delegate to the State Convention, who is not unconditionally pledged to the Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws.

Resolved: 3. That we do not believe any state of this confederacy has the right to secede, but that secession is a revolution.

Resolved: 4. That every candidate for this district should be pledged to submit the action of the Convention to a vote of the whole people of the state for their approval.

Resolved: 5. That we cordially respond to the suggestions of the mass meeting of Osage County, to select one man in each county of the district, as a delegate to said Convention.

Charles D. Eitzen was then nominated by acclamation as the Union candidate for the county of Gasconade, as a delegate to the convention. A committee of three was appointed to wait upon Mr. Eitzen and inform him of his nomination.

Mr. Eitzen then came forward, and in a few short and appropriate remarks expressed his thanks to the meeting for the honor conferred upon him, and accepted the nomination. His remarks, as also an address delivered in German, were received with great applause.

There being numerous persons present from the counties of Franklin and Osage, it was then agreed that the meeting resolved itself into a

convention for the purpose of nominating a ticket to be supported by the Union men of the districts, as delegates to the convention.

Thereupon, C. D. Eitzen was nominated for Gasconade, A. W. Maupin, for Franklin, and F. Isbell, for Osage. Their nominations were ratified by acclamation, with great unanimity and applause.

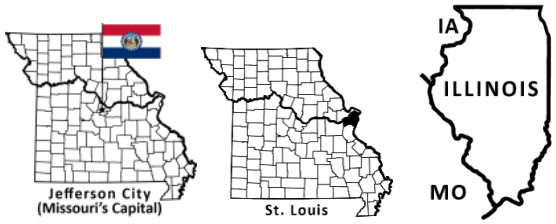
Loud calls were then made for the candidates, who were all present, and each one separately came forward and accepted the nomination, and they pledged themselves, if elected, to vote against secession in all its forms, and unconditionally in favor of the Union, and they believed all our interests, financially and politically are with the Union and under the protection of the "Stars and Stripes." And that they were reverently and devotedly attached to our glorious Constitution, and believed it provided legal and peaceable remedies for the redress of all our present grievances, and all that were likely to arise, and that they had full confidence in the loyalty and patriotism of the people to believe they would be respected and fairly and honorably settled; that the only revolution they favored was at the ballot box.

The enthusiasm of the large and respectable meeting was unbounded, and the views of the candidates were fully endorsed and loudly applauded. There was a deep earnestness and determination manifested by everyone to work zealously for the preservation of our glorious Union, and the success of the Union candidates for the Convention.

Resolved: 6. That the proceeding of the meeting be published in the *Hermann Volksblatt. Washington Advertiser, Missouri Republican, Missouri Democrat*, the German press of St. Louis, and all other papers friendly to the cause.

The meeting then adjourned with three deafening cheers for the success of the ticket and the preservation of the Union.

Charles C. Manwaring, *Chairman*
William Wesselhoft, *Secretary*.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.14)

February 6, 1861

The Banking and Secession Crisis

"The real method of relief to the community would be to have the banks return to a gold and silver coin basis at the earliest possible period, consistent with their safety."

Jefferson City, Feb. 5, 1861

The Bank Bill has, at last, come fairly before the Senate. This body is now discussing it by section, and the debate thereon will consequently be very lengthy. There are many conflicting opinions as to the proper course to be pursued in relieving and regulating the banks of Missouri. The great object, however, with the people of the state is to have a currency on a gold and silver coin basis at the earliest possible period. They have not had that currency afforded to them by the banks, even before the present crisis came on, but have suffered largely by the system adopted, known as the bankable fund system, where the banks print their own currency based on supposed deposits.

This system had depreciated paper money issued by banks to an almost ruinous extent, when it becomes necessary to convert paper money into gold and silver coin or exchange for use outside of a bank's local area. The foreign gold and silver coin paying banks, even in St. Louis, command a premium when bank notes are exchanged for gold or silver. Illinois currency, though not convertible into gold and silver coin, is of equal value as currency, and during the past business season has frequently been taken by savings institutions and private banking houses as bankable funds, and often the preference has been given to Illinois currency over that of Missouri.

The real method of relief to the community

would be to have the banks return to a gold and silver coin basis at the earliest possible period, consistent with their safety. Also, to make the issues of those bank notes (paper money) equal to gold and silver coin in St. Louis and over the state. The time now set in the bill (May 1862) gives the banks every advantage if they are so disposed to take it. The present secession crisis may be over in three months—all our political troubles may be settled. The present crisis, as all will acknowledge, is caused by political troubles. It is a panic over disunion, not a crisis in monetary affairs.

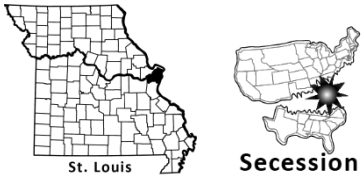
The question is whether, by a lengthy extension of the time of suspension, the banks may not expand to an unhealthy extent their circulation, when the interests of the state and the true interests of the people demand a return to a strictly healthy basis of business, free from [fictitious] values, and confined to the actual wants of the people.

The question will occupy both Houses for many days, as there is a wide difference and a great variety of opinions as to the proper course to be pursued. The currency needs a radical reformation, so also the present banking system, but its multiplicity of doctors may place the patient in a still worse condition than before.

The St. Louis school question came up before the House yesterday and was referred to a special committee of seven, with only two St. Louis members on it. The ordinary rule of courtesy always observed by the House on purely local questions, was denied to the delegation on this question, in not referring it to them.

The committee will doubtless report in a short time. The friends of the repeal on the mill tax wish to push it through at once, but in this, they will probably be foiled. A compromise bill reducing the tax and the expenses of the system will be proposed. In the meantime, the friends of the present law should be wide awake in regard to this matter.

—K.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.15)

February 6, 1861

Union Sentiment in St. Louis

(Letter to the Editors)

"Thank Heaven, the mad pranks of disunion are working their own cure, and from present indications, Missouri will be found equal to the work of saving her own house, unstained by the suicide of secession."

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

If anything were wanting to prove to the outside world that St. Louis is "sound to the core" on the all absorbing question of Union, it is found in the several reports of ward and township meetings in your paper of today, February 5th. What heart that beats responsive to sentiments of a love of country, and drinks in the full measure of the splendid destiny of Missouri in the Union, will not swell with double emotions of pride as he reads these cheering reports? All our citizens astir, and nineteen out of every twenty on the side of Unconditional Union. Thank Heaven, the mad pranks of disunion are working their own cure, and from present indications, Missouri will be found equal to the work of saving her own house, unstained by the suicide of secession.

The souls of the native-born are being awakened now for liberty. Our adopted sons of every nationality are being baptized again in the pure stream of Republican government, which flows from the federal center, and their vows of loyalty to the Constitution they have sworn to support are being hourly renewed. Such unmistakable evidence of fidelity to free institutions are worth the sacrifices we are now making to learn, for scarcely in any other way than in the trial tests we are now passing through could we have learned these important truths.

Let us stand firm now for our country. Let no

act of ours in this hour of trial, obscure the bright visions of returning harmony and peace. Missouri again safely planted upon the rock of the Union by the united voice of the people, can snap her fingers at fate, and defy traitors to destroy her glorious destiny.

Let us work unitedly for the Union, without deceit, conditions or qualifications, until the evening of the 18th of this month. And on the morning of the nineteenth, we can send the glorious tidings through the land upon the wings of the lightning bird.—UNION IS SAFE, THE CONSTITUTION IS SUSTAINED, MISSOURI IS REDEEMED.

Paul Plato.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.16)

February 6, 1861

Coercion—Coercion—Coercion

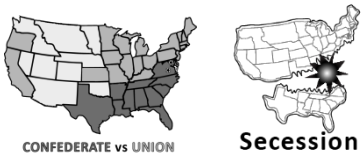
(Editorial)

> "A few months ago, coercion was understood to mean the upholding of all the federal laws and institutions by armies and navies. Now it covers everything peaceful or warlike that may be attempted or achieved on behalf of the Union."

The *Missouri Republican*, being adrift on a crazy raft that is going to pieces that is given up for lost already by all, cries out that loyalty to the Union is coercion, and that coercion is something very monstrous.

A few months ago, coercion was understood to mean the upholding of all the federal laws and institutions by armies and navies. Now it covers everything peaceful or warlike that may be attempted or achieved on behalf of the Union. The reinforcement of Fort Sumter [South Carolina] or Fort Pickens [Florida] is coercion. The collection of the revenues is coercion. To demand the rebels return the public property, which they have stolen by banditry, is coercion. The Secretary of the Treasury is a coercionist if he demands the money in the Sub-Treasury at New Orleans, which the Louisiana rebels have seized. But all this is nothing to the comprehensive dictionary of the *Republican*, which defines coercion as unconditional loyalty to the Union. Therefore, to vote for any ticket but the pure secession ticket of the *Bulletin*, or the mixed secession ticket of the *Republican*, is coercion.

We rather think, according to the new test, in particular, the coercionists are in the immense majority in this county, and henceforth, very few of the citizens of St. Louis will consider themselves offended at being called submissionists and coercionists.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.17)

February 6, 1861

True and False Chivalry

Extract

(Editorial)

> "The place of American chivalry today, as every true heart anticipates us in declaring, is on the side of the Constitution and under the Stars and Stripes, not under the unbaptized streamers of rebellion."

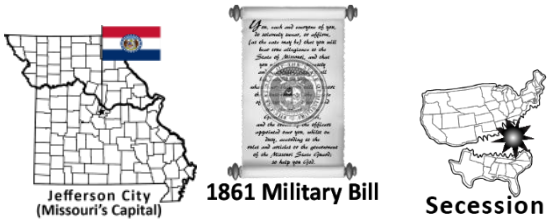
The secession movement has attracted many to its standard by disguising itself in the trappings of chivalry. The Young South, especially, seem to think that honor, if not safety, dwells in the rebel tents. They believe that all the exalted sentiments associated with medieval romance, array

themselves on the side of the cotton states. So strong is this faith among the plantation cadets that many of them believe King Charlemagne and his peers, and King Arthur and his knights, would, if alive, be Minute Men.[279] They have volunteered to fight in what they deem a holy war, but which is in truth as horrible as that to which the Veiled Prophet led his dupes. They would desert faster than they volunteered if they knew that they are nothing but vulgar rebels and unconscious renegades to the ideal which they so much admire; that the cause to which they have pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, is one intrinsically base and little; and that they are the victims and instruments of a small band of conspirators, who, motivated solely by greed and trivial personal ambition, have been scheming and plotting to destroy the Union for thirty years.

Loyalty is the basic virtue of all true chivalry, the distinctive quality of every true knight. In this country, loyalty is not due to men but to ideas, not to the president, but to the Constitution. In the old days, treason was held to be of such a nature as to work corruption of the blood, the crime of the father destroying the rights of his children. Yet today we find the commission of treason trumpeted as manly and chivalric. How can loyalty and rebellion be reconciled? They are as antagonistic as fire and water. We are not among those who deny the right of revolution—the right of overturning governments by force, but we hold that oppression must be actual before such a right can be justly exercised. A suspicious event must proceed the glorification of any revolutionary movement. Unless it is triumphant, it cannot be justified. Chivalry ever fights on the side of legitimacy. It may be wrong sometimes, in this its unchangeable one-sidedness, but there, and there alone, is its proud historic place. It cannot choose but act beneath the familiar flag. The place of American chivalry today, as every true heart anticipates us in declaring, is on the side of the Constitution and under the Stars and Stripes, not under the unbaptized streamers of rebellion. And there will the true American chivalry be found, if the contest, unfortunately, shall admit of no peaceful issue.

Never was a government founded with clearer titles from God and man than this government of ours. Its legitimacy cannot be disputed. Its power is all sufficient for its own vindication and preservation. It is not charged with any wrong; no usurpation has interrupted the line of duly elected presidents. Whatever genuine loyalty survives will, therefore, rush to its support. Resting, as it does, on great truths, rebellion cannot shake its foundation. The false, disloyal chivalry that is making war on it in the much-abused name of Southern rights, will yet shrink cowering and dismayed from the enterprise. How will the movement figure in history when stripped of its disguises, it appears a crusade for the privilege of re-establishing the African slave trade? We acquit the Young South of all knowledge of the real design, but we tell them they are soldiers in a vile cause; that if they fight for that cause, they will be vulgar rebels; and that all the poetry and sentiment of politics and war, generalized under the term chivalry, will be on the side of the Constitution, the laws, and the federal authorities.

February 7, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10)

February 7, 1861

The Military Bill

(Letter to the Editors)

> "The bill in question has for its object the suppression, by military force, of all Union sentiment in the state of Missouri, and especially the suppression of Republicanism in the city of St. Louis."

To the Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

[279]See Essential Information #5, "Minute Men" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1).

The principal features of a bill[280] for reorganizing the militia of Missouri, prepared for presentation and passage, were given in your paper of Saturday last.[281]

The proposed bill should not be lost sight of for a minute by the Union men of our state. Its parallel cannot be found in legislation, unless it be that endorsed by the bloody-minded leaders of the French Revolution.

The bill in question has for its object the suppression, by military force, of all Union sentiment in the state of Missouri, and especially the suppression of Republicanism in the city of St. Louis. This feature of the bill may commend it to those whose hatred of the Republican sentiment has blinded them to the laws of fair play, or rendered them insensible to the laws of tolerance on which our free institutions rest and out of which they rose. But we caution such to beware, that in surrendering the lives, liberties, and fortunes of their fellow citizens into the hands of a clique of despots, they unhappily find in the end, that they have irrecoverably surrendered their own also.

The bill in question proposes the creation of a military dictator by the complete inauguration of the most complete of military despotisms. This surprise attack brought about a right of terror, inaugurated and upheld by the bayonet; drum-head courts-martial, military executions, and occasional clandestine meetings are to do the rest in coercing the state of Missouri out of the Union. This is to be done at all hazards, though it is over the heads of an overwhelming majority of the people, who are in favor of Missouri remaining where she is in the Union.

To the above ends, the Constitution of the United States is to be ignored, the *habeas corpus*[282] act is to be not only suspended but abolished; the right of the citizens to bear arms is to be taken away, his arms seized and taken from him, and all freedom of speech, of the press, and of opinion is to be suppressed.

The last of the above-named objects is to be enforced under a provision of this bill, subjecting to court-martial the free citizens of Missouri for speaking or writing in terms disrespectful of the military dictator [Gov. Jackson] that is to be.

Think you, Reader, that Governor Jackson and his clique do not know that a majority of the people of Missouri are opposed to disunion? Indifference to such a menace of public liberty as the bill in question amounts to, is a bad omen to all liberty-loving men in Missouri.

—H.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10.1)

February 7, 1861

School Funding

Extract

(Staff Report)

"There is a report here which seems to be well authenticated, that Governor Jackson has refused to commission Capt. George L. Andrews, of the National Guards of St. Louis, on the ground that the captain insists that his allegiance is first due to the United States, and therefore he is not sound on the secession question in the estimation of the governor."

Jefferson City, Feb. 6, 1861.

The repeal of the [school] mill tax in St. Louis was again brought up in the Senate yesterday, rather unexpectedly by Senator Johnson. The Senator having witnessed the overwhelming voice of the people on this question, though he voted for

[280] For information on the Bill, see Essential Information #15, "The Military Bill" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2.1). For the full text of the Military Bill, as passed, effective May 14, 1861, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-May-Annex-2).

[281] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2).

[282] Habeas corpus: a writ requiring a person under arrest to be brought before a judge or into court.

the bill, now comes to the mercy seat as a true penitent, and seeks to atone for his sins by endeavoring to retrace his steps and undo the mischief by asking that the bill be sent back to the Senate for reconsideration. But his repentance had taken place past the eleventh hour, and the Senate has refused to let him be heard. Senator Churchill distinguished himself by opposing the resolution and by making the subject a political one.

The politics of this movement is too apparent. The friends of popular education in St. Louis have ever frowned down all attempts to bring the school system into the whirlpool of politics, and so far as these charges are worth noticing, they will only be so noticed as to prove that the charge was made more in the spirit of deadly hostility to the system than any desire to reform it.

The first dash of the senator was against the poor janitors, men who have families, generally whose salaries will barely support, whose work is hard, requiring constant attention, and whose services cannot be dispensed with as long as the schools are kept open. He wanted them discharged. Music masters and drawing masters came in next for their denunciation.

He corrected his colleague in several exaggerated statements of expenditures that he had made. Senator Churchill alluded rather bitterly to the fact of his having been burned in effigy for his course on this bill. He did not, however, care about it, as he was not the first man who had been treated so. He might have said that he was the first man that had been burned in effigy on this question.

Senator Churchill, in his denunciations of the Board of Public Schools as an abolition board, and the teachers as Yankee abolitionists, he only proved himself a severe fault-finder, and either ignorant of the facts in the case, or else willfully disposed to palm a misstatement upon a naive and prejudiced Senate.

The Board of Public Schools of St. Louis is composed of men of different politics, also the teachers. The aim of the Board in employing teachers, has been always to secure the very best talent, and the matter of politics has not been allowed to be broached in their selection. If in the choice of teachers, there should happen to be a minority of Democrats, the fact is rather a doubtful compliment to the party than otherwise.

Senator Morris made an able argument in favor of the adoption of the resolution and charged Senator Churchill with an act of vandalism in trying to tear down these schools, the nurseries of democracy and of equality between the rich and the poor—these schools, which are the pride of St. Louis and the citizens. But the appeals of Senator Churchill to the pro-slavery party, and his denunciations of the Board and officers and teachers as abolitionists, had its desired effect.

The Senate declared the resolution to reconsider inadmissible under the rules, though the president of the Senate had decided that it was.

The School Tax

At a meeting of the Special Committee in relation to the school tax of St. Louis, held last evening, a very animated and instructive debate sprung up between Edward Wyman, Esq., president of the Board of Public Schools, who had been invited to appear before the Committee, and Senator Churchill, in relation to the feelings and wishes of the taxpayers of St. Louis.

Mr. Wyman went fully into the merits of the case and demonstrated, in the ablest manner, not only the necessity, utility, and high character of our public schools, but the satisfaction and pride which our people feel in them. In answer to which, Mr. Churchill denounced them as an abolition institution, paying exorbitant salaries only to further and sustain Black Republican principles; that as good teachers could be obtained at $500 per annum and a variety of other extravagant assertions. All these charges Mr. Wyman met and refuted, completely vindicating the system, his colleagues in the Board, and the teachers. Mr. Partridge, in reply to Senator Churchill's statement, showed his confidence in his position by a willingness to submit the question again to the voters of St. Louis.

Mr. Churchill declined so doing, and took ground for the support of the schools by voluntary contribution.

There is a report here which seems to be well authenticated, that Governor Jackson has refused to commission Capt. George L. Andrews, of the

National Guards of St. Louis, on the ground that the captain insists that his allegiance is first due to the United States, and therefore he is not sound on the secession question in the estimation of the governor.

—K.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10.2)

February 7, 1861

Unconditional Union Meeting in St. Louis

(Staff Report)

"…they had been employed for two days making up this ticket, and had endeavored, by giving and taking, demanding and yielding, in accommodating as nearly as they could, all classes of the community. They had selected, in every instance, Unconditional Union men—those in favor of the Union without an if or a but."

An earlier meeting of Unconditional Union men, irrespective of party, was reconvened yesterday at Verandah Hall [St. Louis] for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee appointed at the earlier meeting[283] at Mercantile Library Hall on Monday afternoon [February 4],[284] upon names to be supported at the ensuing election for delegates to the State Convention. The hall was densely crowded, and as on former occasions, the assemblage embraced many of the most substantial businessmen of the city, men who seldom leave their stores, counting rooms, and offices to take part in political movements, but who feel an interest in the maintenance of the federal Constitution and the enforcement of the laws, such as has not been witnessed in this region since Missouri first became a state. Two-thirds of those present were taxpayers, and the other third the bone and elbow of our workshops.

Mr. Sol Smith officiated as chairman. The secretary of the former meeting, Mr. William Glasgow, Jr., being absent, Mr. John Riggin was elected secretary.

Mr. J. H. Alexander, Chairman of the Committee of Twenty-five, stated that before reading the names unanimously agreed upon by the Committee, he would say that they had been employed for two days making up this ticket, and had endeavored, by giving and taking, demanding and yielding, in accommodating as nearly as they could, all classes of the community. They had selected, in every instance, Unconditional Union men—those in favor of the Union without an if or a but. The Committees know that they have not pleased everybody. But every man has been vouched for on the score by some member of the Committee before being nominated. He desired to say that two eminent citizens had been unanimously nominated, but peremptorily declined the use of their names—Colonel John O'Fallon[285] and Samuel T. Glover.[286]

The names of the candidates reported by the Committee were then read, each on being received with applause:

Hamilton R. Gamble,[287]	John How,
James O. Broadhead,	Henry Hitchcock,

[283] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.9).

[284] The report on the earlier meeting is at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.9).

[285] John O'Fallon, Jr., a wealthy merchant and leading citizen of St. Louis, generously supported the city's benevolent and civic efforts. He was the first adjutant general of the state of Missouri and a member of the first state legislature of Missouri.

[286] Samuel T. Glover, a St. Louis lawyer and anti-slavery conservative, was a member of the St. Louis (Union) Safety Committee.

[287] Hamilton R. Gamble, a former chief justice of the Missouri Supreme Court, would eventually be elected provisional governor of Missouri after Governor Jackson was removed by the Second Session of the Convention, on July 31, 1861.

Dr. M. L. Linton,	George R. Taylor,
Hudson E. Bridge,	Uriel Wright,[288]
John F. Long,	Ferdinand Meyer,
Isidor Bush,	Turner Maddox,
Sol. Smith,	William S. Cuddy,

J. H. Shackelford.

The Chair stated that the first question would be on the acceptance of the report. Report accepted.

Mr. Joe. R. Boggs moved that the names be considered one after the other. The move carried.

Mr. Charles Gibson stated that the Committee had been selected with great care, and was composed of men of all shades of political opinions. Yet so little had been said of politics that he himself did not up to this time know some of the opinions of its members. They had tried to select a ticket acceptable to all classes of people, and had put as much virtue, talent and patriotism as could be possibly put into any fifteen names in St. Louis. He urged the meeting not to attempt to tinker the list as they would be involved in endless confusion if they did.

When we are asked what we think of coercion and civil war, we can say that calamity is so far off, that it is time enough to talk about it when the contingency happens; but if a conflict must come, and this glorious Union is attacked, then we must rally for its defense. If we are to fight, the only fighting we can do must be under the Stars and Stripes. {Immense applause.} Our hearts throb in sympathy with the gallant Major Anderson now beleaguered in Fort Sumter. [Tremendous applause.] A voice—Three cheers for Major Anderson.

Mr. Mitchell continued: If those who now spit upon the Union and this flag fired a shot at Fort Sumter, as much as he dreaded civil war, he hoped that in the conflict which would ensue, the God of Battles would be with the gallant man, and if his life must be given up, that whole slaughter of his enemies would mark the event. [Applause]

Mr. James K. Knight proposed to state, for the benefit of the meeting, the politics of those whose names were on the ticket. He would first say that he was a [Northern Democratic] Douglas man before he went into the Committee. There was only one other Douglas Democrat on the Committee with him, Louis G. Pequot of Carondelet [St. Louis County]. They fought together for a proper representation and did the best they could, but when men get together, a [Constitutional Union] Bell man wanted one of this sort, a Douglas man or a Black Republican.[289] [Hisses and applause, and cries of "Take that back," "No Black Republicans here." Calls for Blair, and a scene of confusion and excitement, which lasted about a minute.]

Mr. Knight asked leave to explain. He had used the term Black Republican in no offensive sense, but merely as used in the political newspapers. He would take it back and say Republicans. He then went on to say that there was no [Southern Democratic] Breckinridge man on the ticket. They could be sure of that as the Bell men had a majority of the Committee, it was natural that they should have a majority of the ticket—they had six or seven—six sure and one doubtful, but say seven. There were three Douglas men upon it; the other five were Republicans.

Bell Constitutional Union Party:	7 Nominees
Douglas Northern Democrat Party	3 Nominees
Republican Party	5 Nominees
Breckinridge Southern Democrats	0 Nominees

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-29)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#11)

[288] Uriel S. Wright was a criminal lawyer in St. Louis and a former Missouri state representative. He allied himself with the Unconditional Union men until the capture of Camp Jackson (May 10, 1861), which he condemned strongly. He later entered the C.S. Army, serving throughout the war as a staff officer.

[289] Black Republican: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings.

February 7, 1861

The Unconditional Union Ticket

(Editorial)

"It represents all political parties, and better still, all the great interests of the community. The merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, farmers, and the learned professions will each recognize men of their own class among the fifteen. In every case, the one indispensable condition was whole-souled devotion to the Constitution and the Union."

Hamilton R. Gamble	John How
James O. Broadhead	Henry Hitchcock
Dr. M. L. Linton	George R. Taylor
Hudson E. Bridge	Uriel Wright
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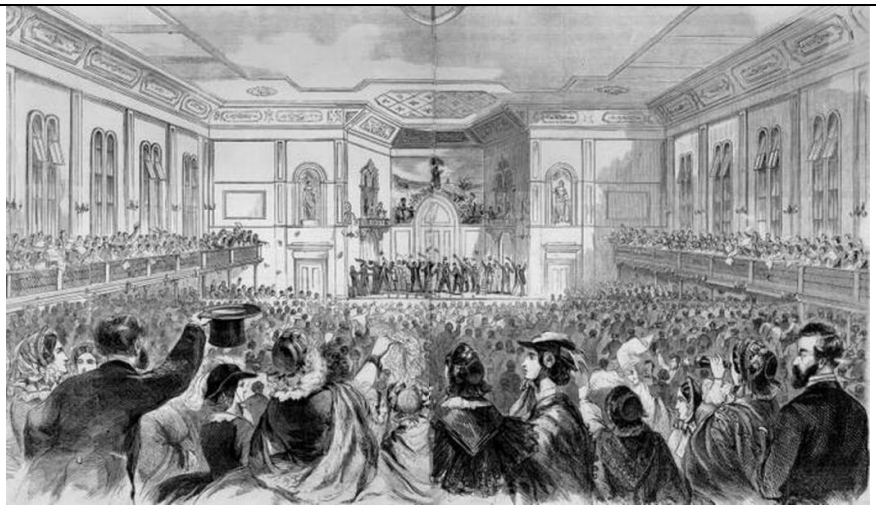
J. H. Shackelford

The above names are those of the fifteen candidates for the State Convention,[290] nominated yesterday by the unconditional Union men, who met in Verandah Hall. The committee appointed by a previous meeting of Unconditional Unionists, to report a list of candi

dates to the adjourned meeting of yesterday, were unanimous in their recommendation of every one of these names.[291] The chairman of that Committee, and other members of it, vouched publicly for the unqualified loyalty of the whole ticket—a ticket, which for weight of character, intellectual capacity, and the variety of interests represented, stands preeminent—for excelling any other that has for years been submitted to the citizens of St. Louis. But to preclude the possibility of error, the candidates will be required to pledge themselves in writing.[292]

It represents all political parties, and better still, all the great interests of the community. The merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, farmers, and the learned professions will each recognize men of their own class among the fifteen. In every case, the one indispensable condition was whole-souled devotion to the Constitution and the Union.

[290] For details about the delegates for the State Convention, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-11).
[291] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.9).
[292] For a statement from each man on his loyalty to the Union, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26).



Mass Meeting Endorsing Call for Secession
Charleston, South Carolina
Library of Congress

Partisan divisions and demonstrations were entirely disregarded. Three tickets—the Unconditional Union ticket, and the two secession tickets, from which to choose, are now before the people. It is not for the election of their candidates the Unconditional Union men will have to struggle in this campaign. The election of these candidates is certain. The question is, by what majority will St. Louis attest her fidelity to the Union, and her horror of anarchy and treason.

We can anticipate such returns from the polls on the night of the 15th of this month, as shall be all sufficient to overwhelm the disunion conspirators throughout the state, and quell forever the accursed agitation, which has already inflicted such grievous injury on all classes of the people.

Let the Unconditional Union ticket be elected, as it very probably will, by some 8,000 or 10,000 majority, and the secessionists will disappear from the political arena for as long a period as the locusts from the fields. This is the work that St. Louis has to accomplish in the present emergency. It is here to vindicate the loyalty and redeem the character of the state, for both are compromised by the conduct of Governor Jackson and his confederates.

2. *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* ARTICLES, FEBRUARY WEEK TWO

February 8, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#12)
February 8, 1861

The Constitutional Union Ticket and Coercion

(Letter to the Editors)

"It is then evident, that this resolution opposes any attempt on the part of the government to lay to rest the treason of seceding states by enforcing those laws designed to prevent any such transgression. It is therefore equivalent to admitting that government should never interfere with, nor place any restraint upon nullification, treason or secession; or in other words, that a mere body of men may by a mere declaration break up our Union, seize our property, and set all our laws at defiance."

Editors, *Missouri Democrat*:

The ticket for the Convention, supported by the *Missouri Republican*, has already been the theme of much comment, but all its fallacies have by no means yet been pointed out. It is called the Constitutional ticket (a very appropriate name by which to cloak its true nature), but from what constitution does it derive its title? Is it from the Constitution of the United States? Let us see. In resolution sight of the platform, we find these words: "We are opposed to, and will not submit to any attempt by the general government to 'coerce them' (that is, the seceding states) 'by force.'"

Now, what does this word coerce, which they doubtless use on account of its ambiguity, and the various meanings given to it by different persons, really mean? It is simply "to restrain by force; to keep from acting or transgressing, particularly by moral force, as by law or authority; to repress, to compel, to restrain." It is then evident, that this resolution opposes any attempt on the part of the government to lay to rest the treason of seceding states by enforcing those laws designed to prevent any such transgression. It is therefore equivalent to admitting that government should never interfere with, nor place any restraint upon nullification, treason or secession; or in other words, that a mere body of men may by a mere declaration break up our Union, seize our property, and set all our laws at defiance.

It is then absurd to suppose that it can be based upon the constitution of that very government, whose laws it virtually sets at naught; it must, therefore, refer to our state constitution if to any, and, such being the case, in what respect is it preferable to that of the secessionists, which bases its platform upon "state rights" and claims to act in accordance with, and in defense of, state laws and interests? But why is it that they oppose coercion? Certainly not on account of the principle involved, for by their own resolutions, they declare that they will not submit to any coercion by the general government, thereby declaring that they, as a state, will coerce that government to let the seceding states alone; that is, they give to the latter an authority which they deny the former, thus giving to one, three or five states a greater power than all the others combined. It is, then, not the principle of coercion, but it is the impact of coercion, which the enforcement of the laws would have upon the seceding states, to which they object.

They may well cry "no coercion," for they know full well that the first blow struck at their treason by the government will strike still deeper at the permanence of their peculiar institutions; that it would be a signal for revolt among their slaves, and that they will be merged into all the horrors of a civil and servile war. It is not, then, a love for the Constitution which prompts this but a sympathy

with the seceding states, which they attempt to conceal under the disguise of a "Constitutional ticket."

—W. R. H.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#14)

February 8, 1861

The Union in Missouri

(Letter to the Editor)

> "War is not to be dreaded. It will hasten the solution of the slavery question a hundred years. It will destroy the pro-slavery party in the North. It will bring permanent and solid peace, and by firmly establishing the pillars of the Union, add a thousand years of glory to our nation's history."

MACON CITY [MACON COUNTY], MO., Feb. 4, 1861.
Editor, *Missouri Democrat*:

I send you a few lines to inform you how the battle for the Union stands here in Macon County. Since the lofty stand taken by the Union men at St. Louis, the Union feeling has wonderfully increased here. Before that, all was gloom and despair, now the Union feeling is strong and confident. There are at least a dozen candidates for seats in the Convention from this district and only one avowed secessionist, and he stands no chance.

The question is, "How can Missouri be retained in the Union, even if all other Southern states secede?" The sympathy of her people, caused by the ties of kindred and common ancestry, is undoubtedly with her Southern sisters; her true interest and geographical position require her to remain in the federal Union. I think the Union party should assume the offensive. In perilous times, boldness and audacity subdue irresolution and inaction.

Let St. Louis take the lead in organizing a Central Union Club,[293] with branches throughout the state. Let it adopt short and forceful popular war cries, viz: "the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws."

Missouri steadfast for the Union—the secessionists too weak to injure her; seven million against nineteen million.

Another great question remains: Are we to have a war with the secessionists?

I think war cannot be avoided with honor to the federal Union. If the federal Union will permit the South to secede peaceably, and grant all she asks, war may be avoided; but I think not on any other conditions. To do this, we must grant that any state has a right to secede whenever she chooses. This sows the seed of dissolution and death at once. War is a thousand times a less calamity than this. I think the public mind should be prepared for the emergency. The overt act will come from the secessionists themselves. This will instantly prepare the public mind for action. The moral sentiment of the nation and of the world will be on the side of the Union.

War is not to be dreaded. It will hasten the solution of the slavery question a hundred years. It will destroy the pro-slavery party in the North. It will bring permanent and solid peace, and by firmly establishing the pillars of the Union, add a thousand years of glory to our nation's history.

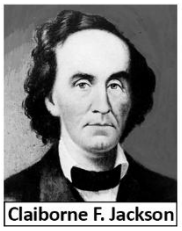
Some four weeks ago, a handbill signed, "Three Southerners," was posted at the door of every Republican in this village, and in the towns of Edina [Knox County], Memphis [Scotland County] and Kirksville [Adair County]. It was done in the night. The "notice" requires every Republican to leave Missouri before the 4th of March. It is supposed the bill was struck off by the Minute Men of St. Louis, and distributed by the federal provost marshals.

Yours,

—"UNION."

[293] The Central Union Club members are the Unconditional Unionists. For more on the Central Union Club, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#23.1) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28).





(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#14.2)
February 8, 1861

Missouri Geologically Considered

(Letter to the Editors)

"The secession movement may spread until the whole people will organize into vigilante committees, and traitors will then get their due."

POTOSI, WASHINGTON CO., MO., Feb. 4, 1861.

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

The state of Missouri includes within her boundaries the central wealth of lead, iron, coal, copper and other metals, rocks and useful clays of this great valley. Our governor, in his inaugural, does not seem to realize that he is elected over a state whose geographic position and great natural resources entitle her to the proud position of the most upward moving among the states of the Union—her hills and valleys being a vast storehouse of useful metals, her soil for grain, grapes, and grazing unsurpassed. Her climate the medium between the grassland regions of Minnesota, and tropical heats of Louisiana.

Yet, with all these national resources, our governor would be content to tie this great state, with all its advantages, to the little fire-eating, seceding state of South Carolina, to become a single spoke in the wheel of the Palmetto[294] car.

Verily, this must be the age of treason and imbecility in high public functionaries.

The secession movement may spread until the whole people will organize into vigilante committees, and traitors will then get their due. The functions of the government may be suspended for a time, but as soon as patriotism and loyalty to the Constitution have done their work, the people will go home, and we shall have a reign of honesty at Washington.

—Union.

[294] "Palmetto" is a reference to the flag of South Carolina, which depicts a palmetto tree and crescent moon.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#14.3)
February 8, 1861

The Open Secret of the Disunion Movement

(Editorial)

"The rebellion is an inevitable development of the philosophy of slavery. It is a rebellion against citizen suffrage, the right of the majority to rule, and freedom of expression—in a word, a rebellion against American Democracy."

The overthrow of the disunionists in Virginia recalls once more the true nature of the Southern rebellion. Virginia has more slaves than any other state. Her borders are more exposed than those of any other slave state, Missouri excepted. Her losses from illicit emigration are such as might be estimated from the proximity of free territory and the number of her slaves. Yet in the very tempest and whirlwind of the disunion agitation, that state votes to keep her place in the federal system. Virginia decides that both her honor and safety require her to adhere to the Union, of which Virginians Washington and Madison are the chief authors. The Union was the crown and consummation of the Revolution, and consequently, it would be unnatural in Virginia, which played such an illustrious part in the Revolution, to turn against the Union. Kentucky, the eldest born of Virginia, and three other border states, have not even deemed it necessary to call a convention.



The governors or legislatures of these states do not consider it proper to take any steps which might be held to indicate that cause of alarm or apprehension exists. There can be little doubt that Missouri will declare for the Union in the most emphatic manner. Thus all the slave states, which have cause of complaint, real or imaginary, against the free states, are opposed to the twin projects, of a dissolution of the Union, and the formation of a southern confederacy. The states that have embarked in these open and fantastic enterprises have neither wrongs to redress nor guarantee to demand. The disunion movement is not a sudden spontaneous one, provoked by some recent event or succession of events. It is the result of a conspiracy of thirty years standing. This its living leaders acknowledge. Rhett[295] and other members of the South Carolina Convention so declared in the midst of that assembly. Historic facts corroborate the declaration. Nearly thirty years ago, South Carolina passed a secession ordinance, because she disliked an act of Congress for the regulation of import duties.[296] President Andrew Jackson took up the challenge of battle at once, and by the vigor of his movements and the terror of his name and purposes, quelled the developing rebellion. But he knew he had only injured and not killed the snake. With wise foresight, he predicted that disunion would rear its head again and make the slavery question its pretext.

The first faint utterances of the divine right of slavery were then audible; but it was not until 1830 the first essay was made to fulfill the prediction. On the ground that the compromise measures of that year were hurtful to the interests of slavery, South Carolina and several other cotton states chose between immediate and deferred secession. The majorities were against immediate secession, and as soon as that fact was ascertained, a lull ensued. The conventions of the two great parties met and ratified the compromise of 1850,[297] pledging themselves to resist the agitation of the slavery question. On this pacific platform, Pierce was elected. He appointed disunionists to seats in his Cabinet. Slavery propagandism and the Democratic party came to be identical.

The Missouri Compromise[298] was abrogated by a submissive Democratic Congress. To plant slavery in Kansas by fraud and force, was the enterprise inherited by [President] Buchanan from his predecessor. But the scheme failed.

In short, all the machinations and efforts of the pro-slavery party for the last ten years have ended in disgraceful failure. Slavery has had all the powers of the government exercised on its behalf for that period, and the result today is wide-spread demoralization, rebellion, and wholesale robbery. That power, being no longer supreme in the government, yields to an impulse growing out of its affinities for anti-Democratic ideas, and struggles to dissolve the Union and build the foundations of a new empire for itself out of the ruins. Attracted on

[295] Robert B. Rhett, a former South Carolina senator, wrote the state's Ordinance of Secession and would serve as a delegate to the C.S.A. Provisional Congress in 1861.

[296] Refers to The Nullification Crisis of 1832, when South Carolina refused to comply with federal laws, alleging that high tariffs on imports of common manufactured goods made in Europe made those goods more expensive than ones from the northern United States, raising the prices paid by planters in the South, thus benefiting northern industrialists at the expense of southern farmers.

[297] The Compromise of 1850 addressed a variety of boundary issues, the status of territory issues, and the issue of slavery. Both sides of the slavery issue were concerned with the amount of land on which slavery was permitted and the number of states which would be slave states vs. free soil; therefore, the size of Texas, a slave state, was an issue. California was admitted as a free state; the New Mexico and Utah territories were established; the importation of slaves into the District of Columbia was banned, and Texas's borders were set.

[298] The Missouri Compromise of 1820 restricted slavery to states below the southern border of Missouri. In 1854, Congress annulled the compromise by passing the Kansas-Nebraska Act that gave residents of territories applying for statehood, the right to determine by popular vote if they wanted to be slave or free. In 1857, in the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court ruled that Blacks cannot be citizens and that Congress has no power to outlaw slavery in any territory.

one side by visions of a vast political and social system founded on slavery and extending from the northern boundary of the cotton states all over the American tropics, and impelled from the other by the fury of the very passions which the poet ascribes to Satan after his defeat, the disunionists are beyond self-control. The rebellion is an inevitable development of the philosophy of slavery. It is a rebellion against citizen suffrage, the right of the majority to rule, and freedom of expression—in a word, a rebellion against American Democracy.



The United States Before (above) and After (below) the Compromise of 1850.



See maps AM-7 and AM-8 on pages 449-450 for the enlarged images.

We commonly speak of it as a movement for the dissolution of the Union, but this is a very superficial definition. The thing has a far deeper significance. The passion for a new form of society, divided into castes and orders, and culminating in a feudal aristocracy and a lofty throne, surrounded by a standing army, is the fertile root of the movement. Is it not known what a profound contempt the plantation aristocracy entertains for "greasy mechanics" and "hard-fisted farmers"—we quote the phrases from a Virginia paper? Have not innumerable outbursts on free society come from the lips and the pens of leading Southern men! How often has it not been proclaimed by the political philosophers of the South, that free society is a failure? Freedom—the word itself, as well as the thing, is banned in the Gulf states.

According to the Charleston [South Carolina] papers, anarchy presided over by mobocracy which "by decision more embroils the conflict," is the permanent condition of the large cities of the North. The dread immobility of perpetual slavery and perpetual tyranny is the only image that can charm the souls of the Southern publicists and politicians. They love to rule, but they would rather rule by force than by persuasion; they would rather lose mandates than solicit votes. This is not owing to any peculiar depravity of their nature, but to the peculiarity of circumstance. The idol which they worship must impress its image to their souls, and mold their policy and laws. Thus the considerable indications we have had of the deeper qualities of the secession movement—the propositions for appointing a dictator, for obliterating state laws, and making one consolidated despotism out of all the cotton states; for lavishing the armed protection of France and England, for restricting the right of suffrage and emulating the whole electoral system. All these things put together, show very plainly that the "rights of the South" are exceedingly comprehensive. They mean nothing less than license to destroy the Union, and extinguish the rights of man. They mean license to revoke the Declaration of Independence, sweep away the Republican form of government, and erect a military monarchy in its place.

February 9, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#15)

February 9, 1861

Giving Aid and Comfort to the Enemy

(Editorial)

> "Nor can any perceptive distinction be drawn between those who levy war on the United States, and those who pledge themselves to cooperate with the assailants the moment the federal government abandons a passive for an active policy."

The public, we presume, understand the representative character of the mixed secession ticket nominated on Saturday last [February 2] in the Mercantile Library building.[299] That ticket is pledged by resolution to resist the execution of the laws, which they call "coercion." It is pledged to give aid and comfort to traitors, and if any attempt is made by the federal government to oppose the rebels by force, to fight on the side of the rebels.

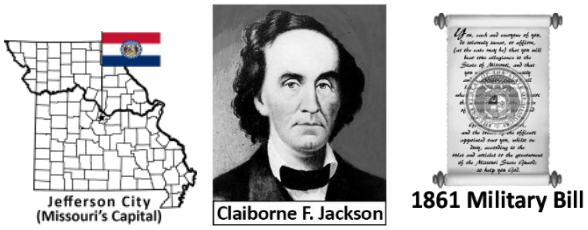


St. Louis Mercantile Library
The Library would be the host location of the Missouri State Convention, March 4-22, 1861.

The attitude of the mixed secession ticket is precisely the same as that of an individual who should stand by with a leveled pistol while one accomplice was assaulting a third person, the holder of the pistol threatening to shoot the soldiers or any others who might interpose in the interests of peace and order. The law, we apprehend, would pronounce the guilt of each of the assailants the same. Nor can any perceptive distinction be drawn between those who levy war on the United States, and those who pledge themselves to cooperate with the assailants the moment the federal government abandons a passive for an active policy.

The complicity of the mixed secession ticket is the work of treason, further shown by the fact that five names are common to the straight out secession ticket. Indeed, the secession ticket is practically withdrawn. It is sustained by no newspaper. We hear of no meetings on its behalf. All shades of secessionists will, therefore, concentrate on the ticket concocted in the Mercantile Library building [and supported by the *Missouri Republican*].

The Unconditional Secessionists, at least, can have no serious objection to the arrangement. They have been awarded a proportion of the nominees far greater than their popular strength among the people, or rather weakness, would authorize them to claim.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16)

February 9, 1861

The Tyrannical Military Bill

(Editorial)

> "Taking it all in all, the Military Bill is the crudest, most dangerous, disgusting and contemptible essay at legislation which has ever been submitted to the General Assembly of Missouri."

[299] Under the head of "Constitutional Ticket," we find fifteen names advertised in the *Missouri Republican*, as the names of fifteen candidates for the State Convention. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.5).

The brief abstract of the Military Bill, which we published last Saturday, was proved to be correct by the fuller abstract which we published yesterday.[300] The measure is indeed as vile and tyrannical as it was suspected to be. It is undoubtedly the joint production of conspirators and tyrants. Treason and frivolous vanity run through every line of it. No such bold attempt on the loyalty and freedom of the people has ever been made in these states. The oath is treason in itself. Were the bill to become law, Missouri might be at war with the United States twenty-four hours afterwards, if [Gov.] Claiborne Jackson is so willed. Were the bill to become law, Claiborne Jackson could order all the men of Missouri, capable of bearing arms, to invade Arkansas or St. Louis. The war-making power, unlimited and unchecked, is to be lodged in the hands of the governor, except when the General Assembly is in session. It is no exaggeration to say we should have a genuine military dictatorship if such a wicked scheme as the Military Bill should be legalized.

The Dictator would be empowered to enroll all citizens between the ages of eighteen and fifty years inclusive, and exact implicit obedience from them. He could lead them against the United States, or any state in the Union, if he only had the courage and capacity to do so. Everyone who might refuse to accompany him is to have the choice of pleasant alternatives—paying a ransom of a hundred and fifty dollars or submitting to be shot as a deserter. The working man, whose earnings are barely sufficient to supply his family with food and clothing, and who has no hundred and fifty dollars to buy himself off, must shoulder a knapsack and leave his wife and children, unprotected paupers. And, you idiotic conspirators, you dare not pass that bill! The wrath of the people would consume you like stubble.

The instinct of self-preservation will teach you how to prevent it, while seeming to give it all your support. You are revolutionists indeed! The only revolution which you are capable of bringing about is one that shall overwhelm yourselves with ridicule and contempt. Among lesser characteristics of the project, we may enumerate the following:

Every person liable to enrollment is also to be assessed fifty cents per annum. Three percent of the revenue is to be set aside by the auditor for the military chests. We are to be blessed with no less than eight major generals, and an indefinite number of brigadier and adjutant generals. Every fool in the state is to have a feathered head-gear. The line of demarcation between the soldier and the officer is to be drawn with the utmost rigor. The offense which the former is to compensate with his life, will be punished, in the case of the latter, by cashiering.[301] As already suggested, the oath is so prepared as to harmonize with the contemplated treason. It is not the oath which is now administered in the militia, but one to subject every citizen capable of bearing arms to the most humiliating servitude. It is said that when the name of death was first pronounced, all the caves of hell echoed with the dismal sound. A phonographic report of that occurrence would be very like some parts of the bill before us. Death is the keynote of the strain. Section after section is burdened with the word, death. Let these actions be converted into law, and there is very little doubt that they would be more fatal to the unfortunate people of Missouri than to say other people near or far.

The power to dispense political meetings and dissolve political associations at the point of the bayonet, under the pretext of suppressing illegal military organizations, is to be given not to the governor alone, but to every commanding officer, no matter what may be his rank. The suppression of armed conspirators, such as the Minute Men,[302] for

[300] For the abstracts mentioned above, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2) & (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#3). For more information on the Military Bill, see Essential Information #15, "The Military Bill" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2.1), and for the full text of the Bill, as passed, effective May 14, 1861, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-May-Annex-2).

[301] Cashiering: to dismiss a military officer from service, especially with disgrace.

[302] Minute Men were secessionist-minded gentlemen, mainly from the Southern political and social elite of Saint Louis, who organized themselves at a meeting on January 7, 1861, to advance the secessionist efforts in Saint Louis. For information on the meeting, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21). For more information on the Minute Men,

instance, is highly proper, but then it should be done by due process of law. Trampling down one form of terrorism by another is furnishing a remedy quite as bad as the disease. But such a provision is essential to any complete scheme of military despotism. It is evident that the whole state will be under martial law the moment this power is conferred on the militia officers, each of whom would have full license to proclaim a state of siege within the limits of his own district.

Taking it all in all, the Military Bill is the crudest, most dangerous, disgusting and contemptible essay at legislation which has ever been submitted to the General Assembly of Missouri. When we say dangerous, we mean only in intent. The scheme is damned in advance by the lead of folly and tyranny which it carries, and which have been imposed upon it by the flamboyant vanity of despots, and the deep-seated evil of traitors.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16.1)

February 9, 1861

Meeting of the Carondelet Union Club

see Essential Information #5, "Minute Men" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1).

The Minute Men eventually became companies within Missouri's secessionist-minded militia and were taken prisoners and effectively disbanded with the capture of Camp Jackson (May 10, 1861). While the Minute Men did "openly proclaim" their organization and purpose, the only thing they accomplished was to awaken within the Unionists the need to prepare for the upcoming efforts required to keep Missouri in the Union. The Minute Men were directly responsible for the organization of the St. Louis (Union) Safety Committee three days later, which in the end was responsible for blunting Governor Jackson's effort to take Missouri out of the Union.

"The cause of Union in Carondelet is onward, and I do not believe that a dozen votes will be cast in this township for secession. The Americans are alive, the Germans are true to a man, the French and Irish are active and inquiring for the true Union gospel. The people are all astir and eager to repel the foul allegation that disunion can find a lodgment in any heart here."

At the meeting of the Union Club of Carondelet [St. Louis County], February 7th, 1861, at Lafayette Hall, a very large crowd of citizens of all shades of political sentiment was present. The club was harmonious, and intensely enthusiastic. Every allusion to the Union or the maintenance of the government of the United States, at every chance, was loudly applauded, and the remarks of the chairman, which are given below, and the speech of Major Uriel Wright,[303] sent a thrill of delight to every heart, and proved the determination of the people to stand by our glorious flag to the death. In giving what the speakers said, I wish I could also give what the audience evidently felt. But that, unfortunately, is impossible. The cause of Union in Carondelet is onward, and I do not believe that a dozen votes will be cast in this township for secession. The Americans are alive, the Germans are true to a man, the French and Irish are active and inquiring for the true Union gospel. The people are all astir and eager to repel the foul allegation that disunion can find a lodgment in any heart here.

Mr. Picot, on taking the chair, said:

> Fellow citizens,
>
> Our country is in peril, and nothing, in my judgment, can save it but a love of country. A love of country, my fellow

[303] Uriel S. Wright, a criminal lawyer, was a delegate to the Missouri State (Secession) Convention. He was a Unionist until the capture of Camp Jackson on May 10, 1861, an action he considered uncalled for and condemned. He eventually entered the Confederate army, serving throughout the war as a staff officer.

citizens, is not a natural, but an acquired sentiment. It comes from that knowledge that our government is our own, born of the people. And when we know that it is all we desire it to be, then love of country becomes a fixed and abiding sentiment. Who does not admire these lines of the Scottish bard?

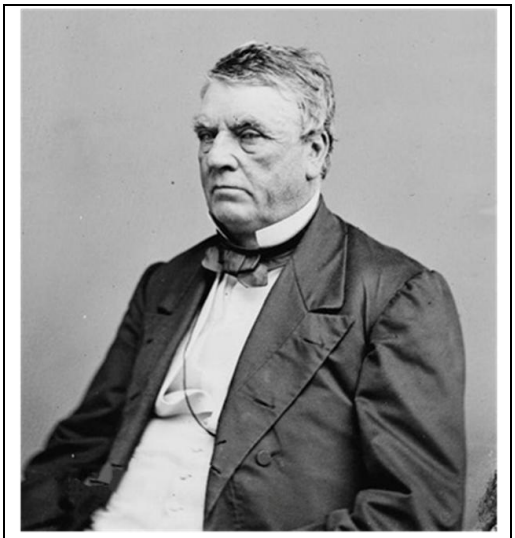
Breathes there a man with soul
so dead.
Who never to himself has said
This is my own—my native land!

The danger that is upon us was unforeseen, and is without cause. But a few short months ago, everybody seemed contented and thought we had the best government in the world. Now, from the clamor for its destruction, you would suppose we had the worst.

Young men talk about their rights, as though some great oppression was upon them. Let me call upon you to ask yourselves what rights have been violated.

I have read the recent letter of Mr. Botts, of Virginia, and I agree with him, that no man, North or South, can mention one right that the federal government has violated.

Then why break up a government that has done you no harm, but has furnished protection to every interest?



John M. Botts
Brady-Handy Collection, *Library of Congress*

In conclusion, one word about "coercion." I never took a human life, and have no taste for blood, but if I were president of the United States, as I am of this club. I would sink every ship in the navy; I would sacrifice the life of every man in the militias before I would give up Fort Sumter to South Carolina.

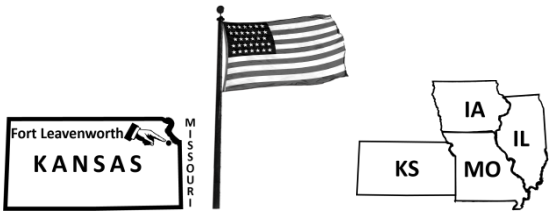
Mr. Picot took his seat amid such a storm of applause that it was plain to the dullest observer that he had touched a responsive chord in every heart, and come what will, that *that* crowd would die to sustain the gallant Major Anderson[304] and defend the honor of our flag.

Major Wright next addressed the audience in one of his most incomparable efforts, for which he is so famous; and the whole crowd was perfectly wild with patriotic enthusiasm. I will not attempt a synopsis of his speech, as it will be furnished at length for the Union press of St. Louis.[305]

The following resolution was offered, and the meeting adjourned till next Thursday evening.

Resolved, That, having positive assurance that the gentlemen selected by the Citizens' Convention in St. Louis,[306] as candidates for the State Convention, are Unconditional Union men, and come fully up to the standard of principles declared by the Club, and at the same time entertaining a high degree of respect for the moral worth and ability of the ticket, and its eminent fitness to represent the interests of St. Louis County, we pledge our hearty and undivided vote, support and influence, to the election of said ticket.[307] —S.

[304] Maj. Robert Anderson was the commander of Fort Sumter.
[305] For Maj. Wright's speech, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#18).
[306] For more information on the meeting and those selected by the Citizens' Convention, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10.2) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#11).
[307] The ticket referred to was the ticket of the *Missouri Democrat*, not that of the *Missouri Republican.*



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16.2)

February 9, 1861

Kansas Admitted to the Union

(Letter to the Editors)

Wyandotte, Kansas, Feb. 2, 1861.

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

The news has just reached us that the president has signed the bill admitting Kansas into the Union.[308] The people rejoice in being delivered from federal tyranny and in having a government of their own choosing.[309]

Gov. Robinson[310] will probably receive official information on the admission of Kansas by Monday next [February 4], and immediately issue his proclamation calling together the state legislature by the first of March.

Candidates for the U.S. Senate are numerous, and every day increasing. Among the most prominent is Gen. James H. Lane,[311] of Lawrence, and about forty others are also spoken of as willing to accept seats in the Senate.

The constitution provides that the first legislature shall meet at Topeka, and that they shall submit to the people the question as to the permanent location of the capital. The friends of Topeka and Lawrence will contend for the distinction, and both claim that their strength is sufficient.

But with few exceptions, the constitution of Kansas gives general satisfaction to the people. We are particularly pleased with two provisions, one preventing the first legislature from changing county lines, and the other vesting the sole power of granting divorces in the courts.



312

The passage of the Pacific Railroad bill through the Senate, making the mouth of the Kansas River the starting point of the main trunk, has given a new impulse to speculation among us. But still, with all our wild fancies, we never fail to acknowledge that St. Louis must of necessity be the great distributing city of the continent, and as such, will vie with New York and San Francisco in wealth and importance.

—Felix

February 11, 1861

[308] Kansas was admitted to the Union on January 29, 1861.

[309] Under two Northern Democratic presidents, the Southern Democrat-controlled federal government attempted to cause Kansas to enter the Union as a slave state. This effort led to the creation of the Republican Party and a border war between anti-slavery and pro-slavery proponents in the region, which was in reality the first fighting and dying of what was later called the Civil War.

[310] Charles L. Robinson was sworn into office as the state of Kansas's first governor on February 9, 1861.

[311] James H. Lane was elected as Kansas's first U.S. senator. He is notorious for his activities against proslavery "border ruffians," which began in the late 1850s. His actions against Missouri slaveholders, confiscating their property, including slaves, while assisting fugitive slaves to escape, continued during the war.

[312] This map represents the final selection of what is called here, the Pacific Railroad bill. At the time this article was written, it was still hoped that St. Louis would play a bigger role than what the final selection gave it. In the end, Chicago became "the great distributing city of the continent." Lincoln's personal pre-presidential interest in the route across Iowa and Nebraska, and the unsettled state of Missouri during the Civil War, prevented Missouri from fulfilling its potential as the "great distributing city of the continent." That honor went to Chicago, in Lincoln's home state.

Editor's Note: In the article below, the *Missouri Democrat* is again attacking the *Missouri Republican*-supported Conditional Unionists, who are against the federal government taking action against the seceding states. The *Democrat* mockingly uses the term "Conditional Secessionist" rather than "Conditional Unionist," the term used by the *Republican* to describe its ticket of candidates for the Convention.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#17)
February 11, 1861

Conditional Secessionists Succumbing to Union Sentiment

(Editorial)

"Rebels are to be permitted to insult the flag of the country and rob its treasuries with impunity and applause, but mob vengeance is to be invoked against loyal men."

The Conditional Secessionists in this city are compelled to roost on a lower perch every second or third evening. The treason in their platform is openly repudiated by some of the gentlemen whom they had the cunning and audacity to nominate for the State Convention, and yet the nominees are retained. The secret of this is not hard to find out. There was no possibility of electing the secessionists on the "Constitutional ticket," except by mixing them up with patriotic Union men, who are therefore kept on for the same reason that they were put on.

Major Wright[313] and Judge Hamilton Gamble[314] announce their platform to be the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws, without drawing down the guillotine on their necks. This is a good sign. It shows that the Conditional Secessionists are conscious of their weakness, that they feel the necessity of stalling and pretending to be Unionists. Mr. Kennett[315] is perhaps the only one of them who expresses their real feelings in public. His program is to sweep the Republicans summarily to hell, which in this instance, we will be charitable enough to presume means the grave. His language is a significant comment on the purposes of those who cry out so loudly against coercion.

Rebels are to be permitted to insult the flag of the country and rob its treasuries with impunity and applause, but mob vengeance is to be invoked against loyal men.

With the policy of the Conditional Secessionists thus disclosed, it was base as well as criminal for St. Louis to elect any candidate to a seat in the Convention who is not unconditionally for the Union. An Unconditional Union delegation is the only guarantee attainable for maintaining the safety of the commonwealth. Let St. Louis elect Conditional Secessionists, and the Union cause is lost, and herself with it. Where can the conservatism of the state find a center upon which to rally, if St. Louis, by electing Conditional Secessionists, should give cause to doubt her fidelity to the Union?

The defeat of the loyal Unconditional Union ticket here would give the disunionists control of the Convention and turn the scale in favor of civil war. The defeat of the Conditional Secession ticket will, on the other hand, have the constructive effect of extinguishing treason and preserving peace.

[313] Although Uriel Wright allied himself with the Unconditional Union men at this time, he would defect after the Camp Jackson affair (May 10, 1861) and eventually serve in the C.S. Army.

[314] Hamilton R. Gamble was a retired Missouri Supreme Court justice. He was appointed provisional governor of Missouri after Claiborne Fox Jackson was deposed by the Second Session of the State Convention (July 22-31, 1861).

[315] Luther M. Kennett was a former mayor of St. Louis and a former U.S. congressman.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#18)

February 11, 1861

Speech of Major Uriel Wright Before the Carondelet Union Club, February 7, 1861

"I have no notion of being dragged out of the Union by South Carolina. I have lived in the United States until I am quite an old man, and...I am determined to die in the Union."

Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens of these United States—for I hold that there is still a United States, the seceders to the contrary notwithstanding. A convention has been called to sling us out of the Union. Our governor, who would like to make himself military dictator, wants this state to follow the example of South Carolina, and secede. But I trust Missouri will ever be found, as now, a part of the most glorious empire in the world. [Applause]



Carondelet Courthouse (c. 1860)
Missouri Historical Society

Fellow citizens, I wish to talk to you a while about this new thing they call secession. This is a great country, and it is so great, and so glorious, that some of our sister states seem to be getting tired of it, and have taken it into their heads that they can't stand to stay on any longer, and they have determined to secede, run away, and leave this source of all their unparalleled prosperity and happiness. Like partners of a commercial house with a large and prosperous business, when all at once a partner says, "I guess I'll go out; I'll secede. What's the matter?," says the other partners, "What have we done that you wish to leave us?" O! that's my business, says the one, and now if you don't divide up and let me go in peace with my share of the stock in trade, I'll burst up the concern, and I'll give you until tomorrow morning at nine o'clock to think about it." [Applause.]

Well, but why this haste? Say the other partners. We want time to think about this thing, and maybe we can adjust our trouble and go on together again as usual. And, wasn't the partnership to be perpetual, and wasn't the contract signed by you as well as us? No matter for that, I'm going out, or I will tear the contract to shreds.

Friends, this obstinate partner is South Carolina. Enjoying all the blessings of the best associated government that the world ever saw, protected by the powerful arm of the most enlightened people on earth, having her full share of the honors and profits of the association, and still not satisfied, she must run away and leave her associates in a nightmare of wonder at this unprovoked step. Mississippi, respectable because of her association with the United States, must go because South Carolina went. Alabama had to go to carry out Yancey,[316] who couldn't live in the same country that held [U.S. Congressman] Owen Lovejoy.[317] Little Florida, unable to walk alone, had to crowd out. Georgia, combining the strength, stability, and statesmanship of the South, must go out to take care of the rest. Louisiana, purchased by the money of the whole nation, which has since been taxed with tariffs to protect her sugar, she too, must secede, and she has stolen the money from the Federal Mint and sub-treasury in her state to pay her way out. [Great applause.]

And now, Texas, which came to us through the

[316] William L. Yancey, a former U.S. congressman from Alabama, drafted that state's ordinance of secession and would go to England and France in March 1861 as a commissioner from the Confederate States.

[317] U.S. Congressman Owen Lovejoy, from Illinois, was an abolitionist and a conductor on the Underground Railroad.

blood of our brothers, and was raised from poverty by the common treasure of the Union, after we have fought her battles, and saved her people from the merciless scalping knives of Mexico. Now, she has given us an example of gratitude by sliding out too. And this is what they call secession. Thank God they don't dare to call such consummate cowardice by the glorious title of revolution!

I believe in revolution myself. There is something stable and manly in the term; I recognize and eulogize the right of revolution. Our own great [Gen.] Washington was a revolutionist, and it was baptized by the blood of our fathers, and sanctified by our deliverance from British tyranny. A brave people who have real wrongs to redress will boldly bare their breasts, and through respectable revolution will face death in defense of their rights, but God deliver us from this cowardly thing they call secession. [Immense applause.] And now to clap the climax of this villainy, they want to drag Missouri into secession, and make her a ruin, too. My friends, I have no notion of being dragged out of the Union by South Carolina. I have lived in the United States until I am quite an old man, and by the blessing of Heaven, I am determined to die in the Union.

I was born and raised in Virginia, I spent my youth and early manhood there; Virginia was then my home. Twenty-five years ago, I came to the West, and settled in Missouri, and it is my home; my country is the United States. [Great applause.]

I well remember the thrill of delight which the reading of the glorious exploits of our fathers occasioned me, when a boy. In my riper years, when I saw the towering greatness of this country, and saw men of foreign birth under the eyes of our country delight in their deliverance from oppression, and enjoying the benefits of free government such matchless wisdom had set up; my heart was filled with involuntary emotions of pride that I was a citizen of such a country. While [Presidents] Washington, Jefferson, and Madison were Virginians. I felt that I had also an interest in [John] Hancock and [Samuel] Adams, in [Gens. Francis] Marion and [Thomas] Sumter, in [Benjamin] Franklin and [Robert] Morris. These, I had supposed, belonged to my country, and their combined wisdom were the trophies we could exhibit to an admiring world. But if secession is right, I must have been mistaken. Washington belonged to Virginia, and the shadow of his greatness rests upon her soil alone. The peerless wisdom of Franklin was a hollow boast, for he belonged to Pennsylvania, and the dauntless courage of Marion must be appropriated by South Carolina. And when I go to bed at night and offer up a silent prayer for my whole country, as all good men should, I wake up next morning, and ongoing to my daily business, filled with joyous pride that I live in such a land, I meet a friend, and he tells me that South Carolina has seceded. I am startled, and begin to reflect. South Carolina has seceded! Hark! Mississippi, Alabama, Florida have gone too! My God! Is it possible? And the prayers for my country as one and inseparable were too vain. No! It cannot be; there must be some mistake about it. What! Break up this great government by secession? The idea is monstrous.

There is no such thing as the right of secession. If there is, we are all most miserably deluded, for we thought we had a close compact government, sanctified by the wisdom of common ancestry and cemented by the best blood of our sires. But, Oh, how basely deceived. Instead of being the happy citizens of the best government on earth, as we supposed, we find we are only the citizens of Missouri, and soon to have our lips sealed, that we shan't say anything against his Highness, the Governor, or the members of the legislature. [Applause.] And this, the remedy for fancied wrongs! This, the poisonous and leprous brew[318] that secessionists would place at the nose of this great American nation! [Loud applause.]

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-16)

Editor's Note: The speech of Major Uriel Wright, transcribed above, was well-received when given at an Unconditional Union meeting—see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#16.1). At the Conditional Unionist meeting, covered in

[318] Refers to an alleged plot by French lepers in 1321 to spread their disease by contaminating water supplies.

the following article, (FLP: Ser1MD-Feb#19), it was not well received.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19)
February 11, 1861

The Conditional Secessionists in Council

(Editorial)

The much-talked of rally of the supporters of the *Missouri Republican* Conditional Secession ticket for the State Convention took place at Verandah Hall on Saturday evening [February 9]. It was a mixed affair. Minute Men[319] wearing blue cockades abounded, while a few staunch Union men, attracted by the announcement that Major Wright was to speak, were present to give respectability to the meeting.

We noticed a large proportion of those who attended the meetings of Minute Men at Washington Hall on the evenings of the 7th and 8th of January,[320] and by the smile in the corner of their eyes and the sly remarks now and then, it was evident that they regarded the objects of their secession meetings would be fully carried out by endorsing the ticket put forth by the *Missouri Republican*. There was a great deal of talk before the organization of the meeting about the position of Maj. Wright[321] and Hamilton R. Gamble,[322] and it was reported that an attempt was to be made to hiss Maj. Wright off the stand. The scene when Maj. Wright first mounted the stand showed that the rowdy element was not strong enough, and the mingled applause and hisses which greeted some of his remarks were in lively contrast.

The speaker's stand was filled with flags. The effect of the decorations and the excellent music played by the band was very pleasant. The meeting was completely under control of the former [Northern Democratic] Douglas party members, among whom the valiant [Mo. Volunteer Militia] Colonel Thornton Grimsley[323] was a leading spirit.



Samuel Gaty
(c. 1850)

The meeting was called to order by Washington King, Esq.,[324] who nominated Samuel Gaty[325] president. Mr. Gaty accepted, and a long list of vice presidents, headed by the irrepressible Thornton Grimsley, were appointed.

Mr. D. A. January[326] then came forward and spoke briefly in favor of equal rights in the Union, and giving in his adherence to the platform upon which he was nominated. He spoke against "coercion by force," as the prelude to the

[319] Essential Information #6: "Minute Men" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1)
[320] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21).
[321] Uriel Wright, a St. Louis criminal lawyer from Virginia, was a delegate to the Missouri State Convention who actively opposed secession until the capture of Camp Jackson (May 10, 1861), an action he considered uncalled for, and after which he entered the C.S. Army as a staff officer for the duration of the war.
[322] Hamilton R. Gamble, a retired Missouri Supreme Court justice would replace Claiborne Fox Jackson as governor after Jackson was deposed by the Second Session of the State Convention, held July 22-31, 1861.
[323] M.V.M. Col. Thorton Grimsley was one of the leaders of the pro-secession Minute Men.
[324] Washington King, a former St. Louis mayor, was manager of the Adams Express Company, a stagecoach, cargo & freight transport company, providing service over much of the country. After Gen. Lyon's death, King volunteered to transport the general's remains, and his escort to Connecticut via special train at no expense to the government.
[325] Samuel Gaty, one of St. Louis's most prominent businessmen, was the first manufacturer of steamboats in the West.
[326] D. A. January was the president of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce. He served with distinction as a Union officer during the war.

invasion of the homes and firesides—the ravishing of the wives and daughters of the Southern states by Northern troops.

Mr. P. B. Garesche, a secessionist, endorsed the Conditional Unionists. He claimed to be a better Union man than any Republican in the city. He doesn't think it worthwhile to glorify the Union because he loved Missouri even better than the Union. He thought the Constitution was made first and the Union afterward, and he was for the Union as made by the Constitution. He acknowledged that he was not an Unconditional Union man. [Applause.] He wanted the Union as it had been and not as Black Republicans[327] proposed to have it.

These remarks were received with complete inattention, and were only now and then interrupted by applause.

Captain N. J. Eaton[328] started out by saying that he was not an Unconditional Union man; he was for it if the right thing was done, and would sacrifice his life to see that right thing done. He believed the Republican Party had done wrong, and if the vote was to be taken over again, they would do differently. He said that to be an Unconditional Union man, was to be for civil war and nothing else. [Applause]. He was against coercion in all forms and under all circumstances, but was opposed to secession, and would not sign any secession ordinance.

Major Wright was loudly called for, and a regular scene ensued with cries of "no, no," "he's a coercionist and Unconditional Union man." "No Carondelet speeches[329] here," "put him down," and applause were all mingled indiscriminately.

The blue cockade gentry threw up their hands wildly and protested, but the major took his place in front of the stand and attempted to speak; the words "fellow-citizens" were no more than out of his mouth, than some fellow yelled out: "Don't let a coercionist speak," whereupon babble ensued again, and several seconds were required to restore order.

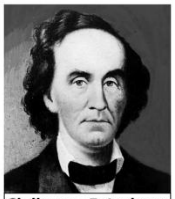
Major Wright then proceeded and managed, by the exercise of a commendable degree of patience through several interruptions of applause and hisses, to make a tolerably connected speech. He defined himself an out and out Union man, unalterably opposed to secession as not believing that Missouri had sustained any wrong that would justify secession from the Union, and in favor of protecting the Stars and Stripes from insult and outrage everywhere. His remarks were often interrupted by hisses, and did not please the Conditional Secessionists at all.

Mr. L. M. Kennett[330] then harangued the crowd (which began to thin out rapidly after Major Wright's speech) for half an hour, in the vilification of Black Republicanism, and declaring that the only way to prove devotion to the Union was to pull down the Republican Party.

Col. Bogy[331] made a speech in the same strain. He was for the Union with equal rights and guarantees, and counseled a union of all parties to beat the Republicans.

The crowd dispersed at a later hour, and if the Conditional Secessionists can do no better than on this occasion, they will be in a minority of several thousand in the convention delegates' election Monday next.

February 12, 1861


Claiborne F. Jackson

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.2)
February 12, 1861

[327] Black Republicans: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings.
[328] N. J. Eaton was a Constitution ticket nominee (February 1861), but was not elected as a delegate of the Missouri State Convention. The Carondelet speech is at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#18).
[329] Refers to Maj. Wright's speech at the Carondelet Union Club on the 7th of February. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#18).
[330] Luther M. Kennett was a former mayor of St. Louis and U.S. congressman.
[331] Lewis V. Bogy was a St. Louis lawyer and former Missouri state representative.

Our Secession Governor

Governor Jackson has finally and absolutely refused to commission Capt. Andrews, of the 2d company of National Guards of this city, for the sole reason that Capt. Andrews, in his application, insisted that his first allegiance was for the government of the United States, and next that of the state of Missouri.

The members of the company, we learn, are very indignant at the action of the governor and declare that they will have Capt. Andrews or nobody.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.3)

February 12, 1861

The Secession Ticket

(Editorial)

The Unconditional Secessionists announced yesterday through their mouthpiece, the St. Louis *Bulletin*, the formation of a new ticket. The citizens of St. Louis will not be surprised at all to find that exactly four-fifths of the names on that ticket are at the head of the editorial column of the *Missouri Republican* as "Constitutional Union men." The names of the gentlemen who are thus endorsed by the out-and-out secessionists are as follows:

Hon. John D. Coalter	Luther M. Kennett
Dr. George Penn	William T. Wood
N. J. Eaton	D. A. January
Henry Overstolz	P. B. Garesche
Lewis V. Bogy	Henry S. Turner
Albert Todd	J. W. Wiles

Editor's Note: The article below, (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.4), contains the letters of acceptance of the Unconditional Unionists on the *Missouri Democrat*'s ticket for the election of convention delegates.

As part of the nomination process, candidates selected for the Unconditional Unionist ticket were required to certify they agreed with and would accept the principles of the Unconditional Unionist. Below are the resolutions they were required to agree to and adopt. The article that follows contains their acceptance letters and their comments on the seven principles listed below.

1. *Resolved*, there is no sufficient cause at this time to justify this state in seceding from or disrupting the Union; that we deal only with the political *status quo*, and will not anticipate evils that do not now exist; and acting on this basis, we are unreservedly for the Union.

2. *Resolved*, that the true attitude of Missouri at this time of trouble is that of fraternal relations to all the states, and her honor and interests alike demand of her to do all in her power to bring about harmony and reunion among the discordant people of the whole country, and that we should calmly await the issue of passing events before taking any other position than the one she now occupies.

3. *Resolved*, that all existing causes of complaint and the difficulties can be peacefully arranged in the Union, but not out of it; that disunion will neither abate nor remedy any grievance complained of, and will fearfully increase the animosities now agitating the republic.

4. *Resolved*, that the state of Missouri ought to consult with the border states in endeavoring to obtain a just solution of our difficulties.

5. *Resolved*, that in the opinion of this meeting, the selection of candidates to the state convention on the part of the Union men of St. Louis ought not to emanate from party or party organizations, and ought to be kept aloof from

the ordinary political arena.

6. *Resolved*, that every candidate for the convention ought to give satisfactory assurances, that should the convention pass any ordinance or take any steps that will make any change in our federal relations, they will insist that the same shall be referred to the people of the state for their ratification or rejection.

7. *Resolved*, that a committee of twenty be appointed for the purpose of conferring with any other citizens upon measures calculated to secure harmonious action among the friends of the Union, and to give to St. Louis county the influence which she ought to possess in the convention, and that said committee report their action to a future meeting.

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-41)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.4)

February 12, 1861

Letters of Acceptance of the Unconditional Union Candidates

"I must of necessity feel that at this present time (as the first resolution expresses it), I am unreservedly for the Union. What I may feel in the future, and when circumstances change, I cannot know, and am not expected to say."

[Hamilton R. Gamble]

Judge Gamble's Reply

Mr. John Riggin
Secretary of Committee of Citizens' Meeting

St. Louis, February 8, 1861

Sir: I have just received your note of the 6th February, in which you inform me that I was nominated at a citizens' meeting to represent this county in the State Convention.[332] You also invited my attention to the first six resolutions adopted by said meeting. You further stated that the nomination was made on the assurance of my friends that said resolutions would meet with my unqualified concurrence.

When your meeting nominated me, they were aware that I had been before nominated by a different meeting, and that my name appeared upon a published ticket. I take it, therefore, to be certain that the nomination made by your meeting was made on account of my known attachment to the Union, and not with the expectation that I would be thrown by your nomination into opposition with the other gentlemen whose names appear upon the other ticket with[333] mine.

In this contest, I cannot come down from the discussion of great questions affecting the very existence of the government to take part in a war of tickets or a war of parties. If my views of the questions before the minds of the people correspond with theirs, I am willing to serve them in the Convention, and just as willing to stay at home, if they do not; and I may just as well say here that I have no desire to be elected because my name appears upon one ticket or upon another ticket. I have no objection to the first four of the resolutions adopted at the Citizens' Meeting. Some persons are afraid of the words "unreservedly for the Union," but I can trust myself to look at words in their



Hamilton R. Gamble
The State Historical Society Of Missouri

[332] See: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10.2)
[333] Hamilton R. Gamble was nominated for both the *Missouri Republican* Constitutional Unionist ticket and the *Missouri Democrat* Unconditional Union ticket.

context and understand their meaning. When I say that, I regard the Union as the foundation of my country's prosperity and greatness, and that although there are grievances, they do not justify disunion, and that the apprehension of future grievances does not justify disunion. I must of necessity feel that at this present time (as the first resolution expresses it), I am unreservedly for the Union. What I may feel in the future, and when circumstances change, I cannot know, and am not expected to say. It is perfectly apparent to my mind that the Union can only be preserved by the exercise of a spirit of conciliation and compromise, and that Missouri is in a position to contribute much to the restoration of harmony.

The fifth resolution is the expression of an opinion which I suppose has nothing to do with the fitness of any person for a seat in the Convention. I suppose it has performed its office when nominations are made.

If the people of the county desire me to utter their voice in the Convention, I am willing to do so.

Your obedient servant,

HAMILTON R. GAMBLE.

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John How's Reply

J. H. Alexander,
Chairman of Nominating Committee
St. Louis, Feb. 8, 1861

In informing me of my nomination as a candidate to represent St. Louis County in the Convention to be held on February 28th, you propose two questions on behalf of the meeting.

First, whether I will accept the nomination, and whether I will pledge myself to fealty to the Union?

I answer, I will accept, and my attachment to the Union will end but with life itself.

Feb. 8, 1861 Yours,

JOHN HOW[334]

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Dr. Linton's Reply

St. Louis, Feb. 7, 1861.

J. H. Alexander, Esq., etc.,

Dear Sir: Though I have rather avoided than sought a nomination for the coming Convention of Missouri, yet I shall feel bound to serve as a member of said Convention if elected.

I am, always have been, a Democrat. I am in favor of Crittenden's proposition,[335] or any similar one that will save the Union. But I have no conditions nor ultimatums to propose.

I have no idea that any contingency will ever arise in which I should not be for the Union.

Yours,

M. L. LINTON.[336]

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Ferdinand Meyer's Reply

John Riggin, Esq.—

Dear Sir: I received your note as Secretary of the Committee of Twenty-five appointed at the Citizen's Meeting, held at Mercantile Library Hall on the 30th of last month, informing me of my nomination as a delegate to represent this county in the coming State Convention.

I accept the honor conferred upon me by my fellow citizens, although reluctantly. I had hoped that the lot would have fallen on one more capable and that had more time to devote to it, without the interference of private business.

I fully endorse the resolutions you allude to as having been adopted and published in the *Evening News.* Thanking you, and through you my fellow-citizens for the high confidence entrusted to me; you can rest assured that I will use my best endeavors to save our blessed country, though humble my efforts should prove.

Your obedient servant,

FERDINAND MEYER.

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[334] John How, a prominent and wealthy merchant, was a former St. Louis mayor and a member of the St. Louis Union Safety Committee.

[335] For a summary of the Compromise, see Essential Information #10, "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text of the Compromise, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

[336] M. L. Linton was the founder and editor of the *St. Louis Medical & Surgical Journal* and a professor of medicine at St. Louis University.

Uriel Wright's Reply

St. Louis, February 9, 1861

Mr. John Riggin—

Dear Sir: You apprise me by letter of my nomination by the Citizens' meeting, and call my attention to the "first six resolutions adopted by that meeting, as published in the *Evening News* of the next day." I find but five published in that paper, and the fifth refers only to the rule adopted by the committee in selecting candidates. As that resolution must have spent its force in the fact of nomination, I presume you do not embrace it in your inquiry of me.

The first four resolutions I have read carefully, and approve them. They embody, as far as they go, sentiments which all true Union men may adopt.

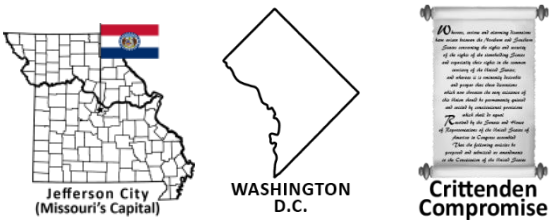
I deem it proper that I should say to you, and through you, to the Citizens' meeting—as I shall say to the whole people of the country—that so soon as I saw a serious movement in our General Assembly towards a call of a convention in this state, I resolved to ask the people of St. Louis County and city to give me a seat in that body, if convoked.

I thought I saw a design in the movers to swing Missouri out of the Union by an ordinance of secession, and every instinct of patriotism and the loyalty to the government of which I have ever been so justly proud, stirred me to struggle against such a calamity.

I have not failed in public speeches and in private conversation to make known my unequivocal allegiance to the government of the United States, in this day of its trial. It is, therefore, a high gratification to me to find myself recommended to the voters of my country by portions of the people, acting under the different organizations—and perhaps looking at the national disorders from different standpoints.

However this may be, that no voter misunderstands my true position, I go beyond the scope of the resolutions to which you call my attention, and say:

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-42)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.5)

February 12, 1861

Missouri House Refuses to Push Crittenden Compromise

From Jefferson City

(Special Dispatch to the *Missouri Democrat*)

Jefferson City, Feb. 11

House—Morning Session

Congressman Duvall of St. Louis County, moved to dispense with the regular order of business to take up the resolutions of Congressman Lawson of Franklin County, instructing the commissioners from Missouri to the [Virginia Peace] Convention at Washington,[337] to urge the Crittenden Compromise[338] as a basis of adjustment. A lengthy and heated discussion sprung up on the motion. The House refused to take up the resolutions by a vote of 60 noes to 24 ayes.

Editor's Note: See the convention's address at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-20).

February 13, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.6)

February 13, 1861

[337] See Essential Information #13: "Peace Conventions" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.1).

[338] For a summary of the Compromise, see Essential Information #10, "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text of the Compromise, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

A Note from Major Uriel Wright

(Letter to the Editors)

"I am not a 'coercionist,' in the sense of favoring the invasion of a seceding state and the subjugation of her people by federal arms. However much opposed to the doctrine and the fact of secession, I cannot favor a policy which would inaugurate a carnival of blood."

St. Louis, February 12, 1861

To the Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

Gentlemen: My attention has been called to the speech made by me at Carondelet [St. Louis County], as reported in your paper of yesterday. In it, I see the reporter has misunderstood me on one point. I am not a "coercionist," in the sense of favoring the invasion of a seceding state and the subjugation of her people by federal arms. However much opposed to the doctrine and the fact of secession, I cannot favor a policy which would inaugurate a carnival of blood.

In many respects, your reporter had rendered me with a fidelity in thought and expression to which I am, but little used.

Respectfully, your follow citizen,

Uriel Wright.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.7)

February 13, 1861

Major Shackelford Accepts Nomination to Convention

"I heartily endorse the resolutions adopted by the meeting, and if elected will do all in my power to preserve that Union in which we have been so greatly blessed, and in which alone just and equal rights can be best obtained, and by the destruction of which all may be lost, thus bringing reproach upon our revolutionary fathers, by demonstrating that we are incapable of self-government."

J. H. Alexander, Chairman on Nominations:

Dear Sir: Your letter, informing me of my nomination as a candidate to represent St. Louis County in the Convention, by a large meeting of my fellow citizens, held at the Verandah Hall on the 6th of this month, was received a few days since.

The momentous questions to be considered, I regard as paramount, and rising far above party alliance. I am happy, therefore, to find that the ticket named contains the names of gentlemen drawn from the various political parties, who are unreservedly for the Union, and who are resolute in their purpose to maintain and preserve it.

I deem it an honor to have been selected by my fellow citizens as one, in their judgment, worthy of such high trusts as are imposed upon those who shall be elected to the Convention, and do not feel at liberty to decline their nomination.

In accepting, it is due I should say, that I heartily endorse the resolutions adopted by the meeting, and if elected will do all in my power to preserve that Union in which we have been so greatly blessed, and in which alone just and equal rights can be best obtained, and by the destruction of which all may be lost, thus bringing reproach upon our revolutionary fathers, by demonstrating that we are incapable of self-government.

In conclusion, I will further add, if chosen a delegate, and should the Convention adopt any measure changing the relations of Missouri to the federal Union, I will vote to submit the same to the people for their ratification or rejection.

I am, very respectfully yours,

J. H. Shackelford.[339]

[339] J. H. Shackelford was a Bell-Everett (Constitutional Union) man.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.8)
February 13, 1861

Republican Party Misrepresented

(Editorial)

"According to its enemies, the only object of the Republican Party is the total and immediate abolition of slavery in the South, and its favorite means for accomplishing that end, Negro insurrections, abolition forays, forced emancipation by the United States courts, supported in the performance of that work by all the military power of the federal government."

Misrepresentation of the principles and purposes of the Republican Party is undoubtedly the chief, if not the only cause, of the Southern rebellion. The orators and newspapers of the opposite party have kindled the present excitement by attributing to Republicans sentiments and designs of the most violent and unconstitutional character. In vain have these sentiments and designs been repudiated by Republican conventions, senators, representatives, legislatures, and journals. The work of falsification still went on.

According to its enemies, the only object of the Republican Party is the total and immediate abolition of slavery in the South, and its favorite means for accomplishing that end, Negro insurrections, abolition forays, forced emancipation by the United States courts, supported in the performance of that work by all the military power of the federal government.

The Southern imagination has been stimulated by pictures of frantic black mobs engaged in slaughtering and devastating, wholesale arsonism, plantations burned into deserts, and endless havoc, anarchy, and ruin as the consequences of the ascendancy of the Republican Party. With dangerous falsehoods, thus daily and hourly administered to a credulous and excitable people, why should we wonder at the outburst of fear and rage in which their credulity and excitability have culminated?

The cotton states have been made drunk with lies, and the effects are before us in secession, armaments, wholesale robbery, and all manner of political disorganization. The fundamental principles of all society, and especially of democratic republics, are questioned and denied by the authors of the secession and denied by the authors of the secession movement.



An Ordinance Abolishing Slavery in Missouri
[Passed on January 11, 1865, three weeks before the U.S. Congress proposed the 13th Amendment]

"Be it ordained by the people of the state of Missouri in convention assembled, that hereafter in this state there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby
DECLARED FREE."

(Followed by signatures of the delegates.)
Lithograph by Theodore Schrader

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-43)

Editor's Note: The description of the Republican Party in the article above basically

summarizes the propaganda spread by Governor Jackson and his supporters against Republicans and the Germans, who were mostly Republicans.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.9)

February 13, 1861

Unconditional Union Ticket Perfected

(Editorial)

"It is in vain the secession newspapers indulge in their stale partisan cries. The contest is between unionists and disunionists, and certainly, the Unconditional Union ticket cannot, by any possibility, be the disunion ticket. There is no want of signs by which to find out the true character of each."

The vacancies on the Unconditional Union ticket being filled, we present it in its perfected shape this morning. The candidates have spoken for themselves in their letters of acceptance,[340] and the people are thus fully informed of the principles which the ticket represents. The philosophy of the Union movement, a movement limited by no party lines, is clearly and correctly laid down in Dr. Linton's admirable letter. It is in vain the secession newspapers indulge in their stale partisan cries. The contest is between unionists and disunionists, and certainly, the Unconditional Union ticket cannot, by any possibility, be the disunion ticket. There is no want of signs by which to find out the true character of each.

The *Republican* newspaper, which is the sponsor of the "Constitutional ticket" [Conditional Unionist], declared on the 31st of last December[341] for the secession of Missouri on or before the 4th of March.[342] The Minute Men[343] and the other straight out secessionists have adopted that ticket with the exception of [Hamilton R.] Gamble and [Uriel S.] Wright. We will remark here that Messrs. Gamble and Wright ought to secede without a delay from [any] association with a set of persons, three-fourths of whom are indirect or immediate secessionists. [344]

Tell us that the ticket which the secessionists have adopted is not a secession ticket. That was to pronounce the secessionists, who are undoubtedly sincere, a gang of wretched hypocrites and imposters, who are ready to sell their principles for a chance of a share in the spoils. Then, again, every man on that ticket, with the exceptions already noted, is pledged to rise up in arms against the federal government if the president complies with his oath and executes the revenue laws in the Southern ports. Thus, we see the slime of the disunion serpent over them all. Is this a time to be paltering with our allegiance to the Constitution? Let cunning mercenary traitors graduate their love for the Union by the measure of the concessions they may be able to wring from the government, but let patriots suspend their party quarrel until the Union itself is safe.

How can he who has the shameless audacity to demand a price for staying in the Union pretend to be a true Union man? His loyalty is in the market; he is nothing but a mercenary, whose fidelity can be

[340] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.4).

[341] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-15).

[342] (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-15) is a transcription of the Dec. 31, 1860 article mentioned. It is a very clear explanation of the philosophy of the *Missouri Republican* newspaper. As mentioned above, it is the foundation for the feud between the two papers (*Missouri Republican* and *Missouri Democrat*) and Missouri's internal political feuding that would play a major role in dragging Missouri through many years of hell on earth.

[343] See Essential Information #5, "Minute Men" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1).

[344] The *Missouri Democrat* qualifies as a radical Union newspaper. Anyone, or any organization, like the *Missouri Republican* newspaper, that is not 100% for the Union, with no suggestion of compromise, is considered a secessionist. To the *Missouri Democrat*, Conditional Unionists are Conditional Secessionists.

bought and sold.

In voting next Monday [February 18], it is not enough that the disunionists (by which we mean the joint, mixed, or Conditional Union ticket, which calls itself the Constitutional Union ticket, on the same principle that secession claims to be a constitutional right), it is not enough, we say, that this ticket should be defeated. It is also necessary that the groveling, narrow partisanship, which in this great national agony thinks of nothing but the spoils, should receive an authoritative rebuke. The great reaction in favor of the Union has set in. The result of the Virginia election[345] proved that the crisis was passed. The glorious triumph of the Union cause in Tennessee has signalized the salvation of the border states. Let Missouri, next Monday, go as far in advance of Tennessee as Tennessee did of Virginia; and the advent of peace and prosperity will immediately succeed.

February 14, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#20)

February 14, 1861

Unconditional Union Meeting at Soulard Market

Spirited Speeches and Great Enthusiasm

(Staff Report)

"In exchange for all these blessings which the Union has given to us, what does South Carolina and her rebellious peers offer us if we will join them? They propose that we shall give up the security and prosperity we have enjoyed as the central state in the grandest empire the sun ever shone upon, to take a position upon the borders of a southern confederacy, upon the border, Citizens of Missouri, upon the border where we will be subjected to all the John Brown raids and excitements which a border is subject to."

A glorious meeting was held in the Second Ward, at Soulard Market, last evening, by the friends of the Citizens' Unconditional Union ticket. The crowd was not only large, but represented the workingmen of the Ward. A large American flag with thirty-four stars[346] was suspended over the stand.



Historic Soulard Market
Begun in 1779, it is still operating as a farmer's market at 730 Carroll Street in St. Louis.
www.soulardmarket.com

The meeting was organized by electing Capt. James B. Eads,[347] chairman and Charles Weber, secretary.

[345] On February 13, 1861, Virginia's Secession Convention met and voted to remain in the Union. However, two months later, they voted to secede. On January 9, Tennessee voted not to hold a secession convention by a vote of four-to-one. However, on June 8, the voters elected to secede.

[346] The significance of the 34-star flag was that Kansas was represented by the 34th star, as it had become a state on January 31, 1861.

[347] James B. Eads was a ship builder that worked with MGen. John C. Fremont in 1861 to design and construct mortar boats, gunboats and steamers for use on the Mississippi River. Boats he constructed played a major role in the success of the brown water navy throughout the war.

Capt. Eads thanked the audience for the honor conferred upon him, and briefly addressed the meeting. He spoke as follows:

> When I cast my eyes over this large and intelligent mass of my countrymen, and see among them so many of our adopted citizens rallying to the standard of the republic, and when I reflect that among all those who are now plotting their country's ruin, there is not one of the foreign births enrolled within their ranks.
>
> This Union has given to our people prosperity at home and respect abroad. It has secured our free speech, free thought, and free press. It has fostered the arts and sciences, encouraged manufactures, promoted virtues, administered impartial justice, and has secured to us the right to worship the Most High, according to the dictates of our own consciences. Under its beneficent influence, Missouri has grown in forty years to be a mighty empire in herself, and our own St. Louis, of which we are so justly proud, is now the queen city of the Union.
>
> In exchange for all these blessings which the Union has given to us, what does South Carolina and her rebellious peers offer us if we will join them? They propose that we shall give up the security and prosperity we have enjoyed as the central state in the grandest empire the sun ever shone upon, to take a position upon the borders of a southern confederacy, upon the border, Citizens of Missouri, upon the border where we will be subjected to all the John Brown raids[348] and excitements which a border is subject to. Upon our soil is to be quartered the troops which are to protect Carolina slaves from escape. Upon our soil are to be fought all the border wars, and our soil and our citizens are to be enormously taxed to make slaves more secure in the Gulf states, and to defray the expenses of a government administered according to the extravagant ideas of Southern bigwigs. All this we are to get if we will give up the blessings of the Union.
>
> Now I hold it to be an indisputable truth that at a time like this, when the very life of the nation is at stake, no man can be a true Union man who will keep alive petty party spirit and boast that no Republican is on his ticket. How much more noble would be the boast that upon that ticket no man's name had a place who was not known to be for the Union, the whole Union, the everlasting and indivisible Union. Misrepresentation of the objects and purposes of the Republican Party has been the sole cause of bringing the nation to its present humiliating position. Is there a man so ignorant as not to know that the preservation of this Union is the all-absorbing desire of the Republican Party?

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-17)

Editor's Note: The meeting discussed below is not the same meeting as the one discussed above.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#20.1)
February 14, 1861

Politicians Hijack Workingmen's Meeting

(Editorial)

[348] John Brown was an abolitionist that led many attacks against pro-slavery men during the "Bleeding Kansas" period. On October 16, 1859, he seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. While still in the arsenal, a company of U.S. Marines captured him. He was convicted of treason and hung on December 2, 1859.

"…we have every reason to believe the mechanics and working men of St. Louis, with a very few prejudicial exceptions, were "for the Union first, last, and always."

Last evening, at 7:30 p.m., quite a large crowd assembled at Verandah Hall to attend the workingmen's meeting. George Ransom called the meeting to order, and nominated Joseph McBride as chairman, who was unanimously elected.

The Chairman introduced Mr. Clarkson as a workingman who spoke of being a laboring man, of the dark clouds which hung over our glorious country, of rivers of blood, civil war, fanatical leaders, Lincoln coercion, and the star-spangled banner, and closed by saying he was not an Unconditional Union man.

Mr. Kennett, a politician already on the stand, said the following.

> I was, perhaps, too severe in my speech of Saturday night when speaking of the Republican party, who are reared in colleges, schools, churches and firesides to war on the institutions of the South.
>
> It seems no explanation I can give of my remarks will satisfy the *Evening News*. It charges me with having consigned 1,800,000 Black Republican abolitionists to hell, which they perhaps well deserve; but I believe, so help me God, that all the trouble brought at this time upon the country, through the Black Republicans, emanated from the devil himself, and should be consigned back to the place from whence it came.

Kennett then fell upon the editor of the *Evening News*, calling him a sanctimonious, peace-loving hypocrite; and to show how peaceful he was, quoted from that gentleman's speech at the Union meeting, when he said he "believed in coercing the traitors of the South, and rather that whole honeycomb of secessionists should be shot than one hair of Major Anderson should be harmed." And that is peace.

Kennett belched forth a Democratic tirade against the whole Republican Party. Said he thought the Chicago platform was a very fair thing until reading it a second time, he found it was for Negro equality.

Kennett closed by saying that there was a great hue and cry about laying aside party and party platforms; and that if the Black Republican Abolition Citizens' ticket, put forward by the *Missouri Democrat*, was elected, it would have no influence in the Conventions. If you send our ticket, the *Missouri Republican*'s Constitutional Union ticket, to Jefferson City, we will make the best bargain we can for you.

The speech was poorly received by the working men, and only cheered by the Douglas Democrats' "Constitutional Guard."

As Mr. Kennett retired, Mr. Uriel Wright[349] made one of the clearest, sound Union speeches we have ever heard, and was greeted with cheer after cheer of applause at the end of almost every sentence, much to the chagrin of Messrs. Kennett, Grimsley and others on the stand. Among the good things he said, was that no man who loves his country would hesitate to do something to save it, and he recognized anyone as for the Union who lays aside parties and platforms and comes forward to work in a spirit of conciliation and patriotism, and any man who would not, he branded as a traitor. (Loud and long cheers from the workingmen.)

> No man is a lover of his country who is for secession, either for a state to go out and stay out, or to go out and come back again. It is wrong, and the people must rise up in their majesty and put it down, and strike for the Union and the Stars and Stripes. [Applause.] I never was a candidate for your votes before, and now I only ask you to vote for me if you are for the Union; and it is for you to say whether I shall represent you or stay at home. [Cries, "We will elect you," from the

[349] Uriel Wright actively opposed secession only until the capture of Camp Jackson (May 10, 1861), an action with which he strongly disagreed. He subsequently joined the C.S. Army.

workingmen; from the Douglas Guards, "You may stay at home."]

After Mr. Wrights finished, Mr. Garesche stepped forward and told the crowd frankly how he was for the Union, which was in substance, if the South had everything her own way, he was willing to remain; otherwise, he was for going out. In reference to secession, and his views of it, he was hissed by the workingmen and cheered by the Douglas democrats.

The meeting was at one time very large, at least 1,000 present, and we have every reason to believe the mechanics and working men of St. Louis, with a very few prejudicial exceptions, were "for the Union first, last, and always."



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#21)

February 14, 1861

Fidelity of the Border States

(Editorial)

"The state can ill afford the expense which the proceeding involves, and in no case could she venture to secede unless she was intent on her own destruction. The calling of the convention, then, is an unjustifiable act, or rather (looking to the motive in which the movement originated, and the evil consequences it has produced on mercantile and monetary affairs) an act of gross criminality."

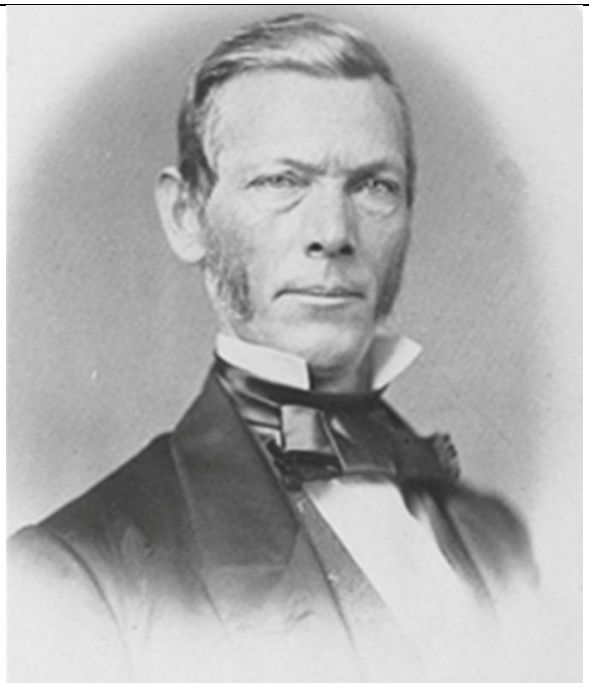
Though the Democratic leaders in Virginia are secessionists, the people of that state have pronounced against secession. Kentucky, true to her historic position, and calm from the consciousness of strength, refuses to recognize the existence of any cause for disunion. Maryland and Delaware take the same ground. The remaining border state, Missouri, which, like Virginia, is ruled by a party whose leaders are disunionists, is seemingly placed in an attitude of hostility to the Union by those leaders. Without consultation with the people, a convention is suddenly called, in the hope that it may pass an ordinance of secession.

The states immediately to the south of us, Arkansas and Tennessee, have submitted the question of calling a convention to the people, and Tennessee has decided it in the negative. Arkansas will probably do so, too. Who imagines that the people of Missouri would vote for a convention if the question should be submitted to them? The state can ill afford the expense which the proceeding involves, and in no case could she venture to secede unless she was intent on her own destruction. The calling of the convention, then, is an unjustifiable act, or rather (looking to the motive in which the movement originated, and the evil consequences it has produced on mercantile and monetary affairs) an act of gross criminality.

But since it was resolved to imitate the conduct of South Carolina and Georgia rather than the conduct of Maryland and Kentucky, which have not called conventions; since it was resolved to issue the call, why was not its submission to the people, as in Arkansas and Tennessee, one of the prescribed conditions? How humiliating that Missouri should be taught lessons of prudence and loyalty by more Southern states! It is all owing to accident. Gov. Claiborne Fox Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds were elected as Union men. Three-fourths of the General Assembly were elected as Union men. There is no safeguard against hypocrisy, which, according to the post, deceived both men and angels. Jackson was not only elected as a Union man, but he campaigned against Hancock L. Jackson, who was supposed to be the secession candidate. Such, according to the *Missouri Republican*, was the nature of the contest between the two Jacksons and the two factions of the Democratic Party. He, who was elected, stole into the capitol under the Stars and Stripes.

Missouri appears in a doubtful attitude simply because Claiborne Fox Jackson is her governor and

James S. Green[350] one of her U.S. senators. It is charitable to suppose that many of Green's oratorical eccentricities are the results of his drunken habits, but it is not the less certain that he is a disunionist at the core of his heart. Early in the session, he stated, in a sober moment, that Missouri was devotedly attached to the Union. Subsequently, he announced himself an immediate secessionist, whether his state should be for or against secession. Tuesday last, he made a speech to fire the Southern heart and bring about a collision in South Carolina, by attempting to prove that the federal government is making war on that state by retaining possession of Fort Sumter. Is this drunken drivel or fanaticism?



James S. Green
Illustration by James Earle McClees (c. 1859)

We hope the Missouri Convention will adopt a more adequate mode to relieve the state of Senator Jim Green, though his term extends only to the 4th of March. We know of no other positive act of fidelity to the Union which it will be in the power of the Convention to perform. When it is in her power to rid herself of it, why should Missouri endure the disgraceful nightmare which oppresses her in the person of Green? Let no one suppose that a resolution declaring his place vacant, and instructing the legislature to fill it instantly, would be of revolutionary character. The power of the Convention over the domestic affairs of the state will be supreme. We rather think it would be advisable to deal with Jackson and Reynolds in the same manner, but this we leave an open question, to be acted upon as the good sense of the Convention shall deem advisable. Certainly, a legitimate revolution of that kind would recover the dimmed luster of the state and re-establish its tottering credit on a secured basis.

How painful it must be to the citizens of Missouri to compare our Senator Green with Senator Johnson of Tennessee! The one seeks to destroy, the other to preserve the Union. The one is a disgrace to Missouri, the other an honor to Tennessee. The contempt Green provokes, impacts the reputation of Missouri, while Tennessee shares in the renown of the reputation which Johnson has achieved. Look upon this picture and on that, citizens of Missouri, and quickly veil your faces with your hands.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#21.1)
February 14

The Military Bill

(Letter to the Editors)

"It will be seen that they are not required to bear any allegiance to the United States, or to support the Constitution of the United States, or to serve against the enemies or opposers of the United States, or to support the constitution of Missouri, or even to obey lawful orders, but are sworn to obey the governor."

[350] U.S. Sen. James S. Green would not be re-elected due to his Southern sympathies. His term in office would end on March 4, 1861.

Jefferson City, Feb. 8, 1861

Editors Missouri Democrat:

I send you a copy of the Military Bill.[351] Only one hundred copies have been printed. It contains, you will see, 268 sections, with authority to a military board to make regulations at will. It is an unmistakable disunion document, and is intended as a preparation for war upon the United States. To make sure of this treasonable purpose, it proposes to establish a military despotism, not inferior in atrocity to that of Austria.

"The Missouri State Guard," including the whole military power of the state of Missouri, to serve her faithfully against all her enemies or opposers whatsoever, and obey the orders of the governor of Missouri, and the orders of officers appointed over them, according to the rules and articles for the government of the Missouri State Guard.

It will be seen that they are not required to bear any allegiance to the United States, or to support the Constitution of the United States, or to serve against the enemies or opposers of the United States, or to support the constitution of Missouri, or even to obey lawful orders, but are sworn to obey the governor, even if he orders them on to Washington to attack the Capitol, or to South Carolina, to aid in its rebellion. Nowhere in the bill are the officers required to swear to support the Constitution of the United States and of this state, as peremptorily required by the Constitution of Missouri, Article 3, Section 32: "All officers, both civil and military, under the authority of this state, shall, before entering on the duties of their respective offices, take an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States and of this state, and to demean themselves faithfully in office."

The colors are not to be the Stars and Stripes, but "of the patterns described by regulations" of the military board. All armed organizations are to be disarmed by the military, and their arms confiscated, although the constitution of the state (Article 13, Section 3) provides that "the right of the people to bear arms in defense of themselves and of the state cannot be questioned." Thus, they begin, as in Austria and in Ireland, to disarm the people, the very theory the Constitution was intended to prevent.

The bill also provides that any officer or soldier who shall use any *contemptuous or disrespectful* words against the governor or legislature, shall be subject to such punishment as a court-martial may order. And this will apply to all citizens between eighteen and forty-five years of age, because, by the provisions of the bill, they are all subject to be drafted.

> *Our citizens are first to be disarmed, then drafted, and then punished by a traitorous drum head court-martial, for complaining of the waste, extravagance, folly and corruption of the governor or legislature, who are their servants, and who are squandering their money, driving them to arms in self-defense, and utterly ruining the state.*



A Drum Head Court-Martial (Civil War)
Special Collections and College Archives, Musselman Library, Gettysburg College

Information here, from all quarters of the state, is most encouraging. I do not believe a single open secessionist can be elected in any district of the state. If any get into the Convention, it will be as Jackson and Reynolds were elected, by the grossest cheating of the people. If these gentlemen had avowed their present treasonable doctrines before the election, they could not have commanded ten thousand votes.

—T.

[351] For information on the Bill, see Essential Information #15, "Military Bill" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#2.1). For the full text of the Military Bill, as passed, effective May 14, 1861, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-May-Annex-2).

3. *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* ARTICLES, FEBRUARY WEEK THREE

Editor's Note: The *Missouri Republican* newspaper is the driving force behind the Conditional Union[352] ticket for the election of delegates to the (secession) Convention in St. Louis. From the start of the crisis, the *Missouri Republican* has kept the option of secession open, if concessions were not made by the North over the slavery issue.





The Missouri Republican:

1. Does not support secession, but insists the North compromise over the slavery issue to save the Union.
2. Feels the Northern states have greatly wronged the slave states, and those wrongs must be redressed before there can be any settlement of the crisis.
3. Feels slave states should hold a convention to identify and clearly express their grievances against the North (to whom the slave states will no longer submit), for submission to Congress for action.
4. If Congress fails to take positive steps to address slave state grievances by the time Lincoln is inaugurated, all 15 slave states should declare their separation from the Union.

The full *Missouri Republican* article laying out the above is at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-15). The following quote is in that article.

> *We assume as a fact beyond dispute, that there is no considerable body of men in this state who desires the dissolution of the Union for the causes which have up to this time been presented to the country. We maintain now, as we have always maintained, that the Northern states have greatly wronged those of the slave states, and that those wrongs must be redressed before there can be any settlement of the issues between them.*

February 15, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#22)

February 15, 1861

Speech of Samuel T. Glover At Unconditional Union Meeting

"…when treason was becoming more odious, and patriotism more respectable day by day, we found, likewise, that seceders and nullifiers gradually grew, like so many chameleons, into Union men."

I think I am not mistaken that bills drawn on the bank of secession are at this time at a heavy discount in the city.

The majority of all who are now free from commitments to secession have cast it out, and will continue to cast it out and discredit it up to the election of the Convention delegates on 18 February, on which day the secession plot and its plotters, will meet the general and decisive

[352] The *Republican* calls the ticket they support the "Constitutional Union" ticked; The *Missouri Democrat* calls it the "Conditional Secession" ticket.

condemnation of our people.

The little Unconditional Unionist seed that was planted in Washington Hall on the 11th of January last,[353] has produced a more solid Union. On that night in Washington Hall, the Republicans of St. Louis, "resolved unanimously" to merge all political distinctions in the great movement for the preservation of the Union, and solemnly pledged their fortunes, their honor, and if need be, their lives, to the maintenance of the Union, the federal Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws.

At the same meeting they declared there are but two parties in the country, one for the Union and the other against it," and openly proclaimed "the friends of the Union to be their friends, its foes their foes." There were those who deemed this position too bold and defiant. They said it would never do to cut off in this way certain "lame captains," who had already made their arrangements for a good retreat and safe deliverance from the hands of the seceders if they were successful. It turned out, however, that supporting the Union was worth the effort and not so bad a thing after all.

When the line was first drawn, and the people began to array themselves, and the real Union sentiment began to come out, and the numbers commenced rallying upon the sides of the "glorious old flag;" and when the signs began to stick out that secession, avowed and open secession, would not do in St. Louis; when treason was becoming more odious, and patriotism more respectable day by day, we found, likewise, that seceders and nullifiers gradually grew, like so many chameleons, into Union men.

This was an extraordinary phenomenon and merits some attention.

As it were today, we had around us and about us, men who denounced the federal government; who complained of its oppressions; who talked affectedly of their "rights," and pompously of their "wounded honor"; who declared that Missouri must secede unless her many and insupportable grievances were redressed before Lincoln takes office on the 4th of March 1861. And, fortunately, some of these things were put in print, and remain on record. On tomorrow, you might traverse the length of the city and you would hardly find a disunionist; a seceder is a rare bird.

What had become of the nullifiers? Where were the fire-eaters? Had the plague swept them off? Had an earthquake swallowed them? No; we have had no plague, no earthquake. Had they been transferred to far off regions? No, fellow-citizens, no. The same men still walked our streets and breathed our air; but they had been miraculously changed; they were made Union men; in the twinkling of an eye they were changed into friends of the Constitution —servants to the laws, desiring to save the country from disunion.

Were they, are they really such? I admit that to the eye, they looked like Union men unless you chanced to see them at midnight, drilling with those deadly weapons, which they had prepared to shed the blood of anyone who opposed South Carolina in her rebellion; and they talk like Union men, unless you should cross-examine one of them to force out of him his real sentiments.

If, however, you could procure such cross-examination, you would find that he was a most devoted Union man. You would find further that he has suffered tortures and a thousand deaths at the idea of dissolution; that you yourself had never given half this care to the subject that he had; that he would stand by the Union as long as a gleam of hope remained. Surely, you conclude, this man may be trusted; you have read of men who loved their country and periled life, fortune and sacred honor in its support; men who grasped their arms and sought the battlefield, and defended their country against its enemies; men who died to make the good government under which we live, whose last gleam of hope departed only with life—patriots, martyrs to truth and the universal rights of man; men of whom the poet has sung,

The meanest brook, the mightiest river.
Rolls mingling with their fame forever.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-18)

Editor's Note: Several names are used interchangeably to describe the *Missouri Republican* ticket: Conditional Unionist ticket; Constitutional Union ticket; Constitutional

[353] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28).

ticket. The *Missouri Democrat* calls it the Conditional Secession ticket. No matter what they are called, the two primary tickets in St. Louis are the different *Missouri Republican* tickets mentioned above and the *Missouri Democrat*-supported Unconditional Unionist tickets.



Secession Exploded
by William Wiswell (June 14, 1861) / Library of Congress

This anti-Confederate cartoon is a vision of the Union defeat of the secessionist movement. A hideous monster representing secession emerges from the water at left. He is hit by a charge from a mammoth cannon, "Death to Traitors!," operated by Uncle Sam. A two-faced figure representing Baltimore, whose allegiance to the Union was at least questionable during the war, pulls at Uncle Sam's coattails. The explosion sends several small demons, representing the secessionist states, hurling through the air. Prominent among them is South Carolina, in a coffin at upper right. Tennessee and Kentucky, two Southern states internally divided over the secession question, are represented by two-headed creatures. Virginia, though part of the Confederacy, is also shown divided—an acknowledgment of western Virginia's alignment with the Union. Among the demons is a small figure of Tennessee senator and 1860 presidential candidate John Bell, with a bell-shaped body. Missouri is represented as an upside down bird-like creature. At the bottom is a large American flag on which Winfield Scott, commander of the Union forces, and a bald eagle rest.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#23)
February 15, 1861

The *Missouri Republican*'s Conditional Secession Ticket

(Editorial)

"Thus, all parts of the secession program harmonize with one another. The bill calling the Convention; the Military Bill; the "Constitutional ticket"; the refusal of the governor to issue a commission to Capt. Andrew Jackson because he would not forswear his allegiance to the Constitution of the United States; the swearing-in of the Minute Men in this city by Gen. Frost; the strategy by which an avowed secession ticket was put forward and then withdrawn—these are all details of the grand scheme for separating Missouri from the Union."

If any wish to be informed of the true spirit of the conditional secession movement, they have but to hear or read the speeches of the candidates on the *Missouri Republican*'s Conditional Secession ticket. The everlasting theme is opposition to the Republican Party; the advocates of the Conditional Secession ticket preach nothing but discord and ill will.

Knowing that it would be politically unwise to advocate secession, they compensate themselves by vulgar denunciations of the only party whose allegiance to the Union is above suspicion.

The pit of hell is the place to which Mr. Kennett[354] and his confederates, in their insane

[354] Ferdinand Kennett, a wealthy steamboat operator and entrepreneur, was a slave-owner and Southern

fury, would consign Republicanism. The object sought by the Conditional Secessionists is a victory over the Union by means of a relentless crusade against Union men.

How can those who attempt to outlaw Republicanism in St. Louis, pretend to be in favor of a compromise with Republicans in Washington? Is not their obstruction and denunciation of Republicans here equivalent to a declaration of war against all the free states, the president-elect, and a majority of the House of Representatives? No peace conference could ever be held if the principle, on which the Conditional Secessionists in St. Louis are acting, were observed by others.

It is in vain, then, for the Conditional Secessionists to disguise their purposes. Every eye can see the hideous front of treason beneath the thin veil of duplicity which they wear. They commenced the practical secession movement in Missouri by calling a convention, which body they fondly hoped would pass a secession ordinance before Lincoln took office. See the *Missouri Republican* of the 31st of December for proof of this.[355] Still professing some regard for the Union because to do otherwise was to mar the success of the plot, they declared against any cooperation with Unconditional Union men, pretending that these are all "Black Republicans."[356] They call Dr. Linton,[357] Judge Breckinridge,[358] and the other Douglas and Bell men on the Unconditional Union ticket, "Black Republicans," a proceeding to which we have not the slightest objection. Our only regret is that it is not true.

The next step in the tortuous intrigue was to set up an avowed secession ticket, as a kind of lightning rod with which to draw the fire of popular indignation, and thus preserve the *Missouri Republican* Conditional Secessionist ticket from the fury of the tempest. The former *Bulletin* Secession ticket no longer of any use, was taken down yesterday, and now the *Bulletin* supports the *Republican* ticket.

So the secessionists of every shade are now united on the one list of candidates, the *Missouri Republican*'s ticket. Those, therefore, who pretend any longer to think that the so-called "Constitutional Union ticket" [a.k.a. *Republican* Conditional Union ticket] is not a secession ticket are either willfully and criminally blind, or engaged in a game of deception.

Each phase of the disunion plot as successively developed, throws light on every other. No sooner was the bill to call the Convention passed, than a military bill was proposed that required the compulsory enlistment of all the able-bodied men in the state, and the formation of a military despotism was brought forward. Clubs of Minute Men were organized in anticipation of the project's receiving the sanction of the legislature. Thus, all parts of the secession program harmonize with one another. The bill calling the Convention; the Military Bill; the [*Missouri Republican's]* "Constitutional ticket"; the refusal of the governor to issue a commission to Capt. Andrew Jackson because he would not forswear his allegiance to the Constitution of the United States; the swearing-in of the Minute Men in this city by [Mo. Volunteer Militia] Gen. Frost; the strategy by which an avowed secession ticket was put forward and then withdrawn—these are all details of the grand scheme for separating Missouri from the Union. With regard to the incorporation of the Minute Men in the Militia, we would take the liberty of asking what form of oath was administered in mustering them into the service of the state. The term which the Military Bill prescribes, the form which Jackson and Frost have concocted is nothing but a sacrament of treason and a covenant with rebellion.

Looking at the conditional secession ticket in connection with the source from which it emanated, and the proceeding of those whom it represents (the Military bill, the incorporation of the Minute Men in the service of the State, the refusal to commission Captain Andrew because of his loyalty, the intrigue of Jackson, Reynolds, and the *Missouri Republican*, the withdrawal of the

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supporter.

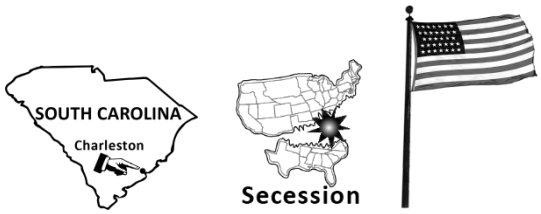
[355] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-15).

[356] Black Republicans: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings.

[357] M. L. Linton, a Unionist, was the founder and editor of the *St. Louis Medical & Surgical Journal* and professor of medicine at St. Louis University.

[358] Samuel M. Breckinridge, a circuit court judge, gave anti-secession speeches and took a staunch Unionist stance.

avowed secessionists of their own ticket, and their adoption of the conditional one), it becomes unfortunately but too plain that the said ticket is a part, and no small part, of the machinery for taking Missouri out of the Union. This mournful inference is corroborated by the speeches and writings in which it is recommended to the people. These speeches and writings teem with diabolical hatred of Republicans. The spirit of discord and Disunion presides over every sentence. Can the Union be preserved, or could it ever have been formed, in such a spirit? Making war on true Union men and denouncing them in violent language, is an unerring test of disunion, and tried by that as well as by every other test, the "Constitutional Union Ticket" is a disunion ticket.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#23.1)

February 15, 1861

Results of the Secession Policy

(Editorial)

"With the dissolution of this Union must perish the best hopes of democracy in the world, while the reign of slavery and oppression in the South and abroad, would be solemnly and formally legitimatized."

It is possible that the citizens of this country are somewhat too intimately involved in the present issues, too affected with the passions which such a contest invariably excites to view with sufficient calmness and discretion the full consequences which must inevitably result to themselves, to posterity, and to mankind at large, should the secession movement result in the disruption of this Union. Or if they appreciate them in their real extent, many appear to be at a loss to perceive the immediate avenue through which escape may be achieved, and resign themselves to the influence of a sort of fatalism.

Yet surely every passing day furnishes ample evidence of the disasters which impend over society, should the reckless and criminal course of the disunion faction be crowned with even temporary success. From the revolted states of the South themselves, although the real condition of affairs is as carefully concealed from the world as possible by the interested parties who have obtained power there, every mail brings evidence of the distress which already prevails amongst the mass of population in consequence of the general derangement of business, and the burdens which the new state of things renders it necessary to impose. The fact leaks out, from time to time, that the public enthusiasm in favor of secession is for the most part fictitious and but slightly shared by the rural free population of the South. Again, the trade of the Southern ports is reported as suffering at present to an extent never before witnessed; and it is needless for us to point out to our fellow citizens in St. Louis what a blight has fallen upon their interests since the palmetto flag was hoisted in Charleston [South Carolina]. These are the immediate consequences of permitting a section of the country to set the law and the Constitution at defiance with impunity, and allowing treason to assume a public organization and the formalities of government.

But these are only the first fruits of this ruinous policy. Should the right of secession be once established, this noble confederation of states would be split up, each with rival and frequently hostile interests to those of its neighbors. The glory and greatness of the nation would then be lost, never to be restored.

With the dissolution of this Union must perish the best hopes of democracy in the world, while the reign of slavery and oppression in the South and abroad, would be solemnly and formally legitimatized.

Such are a few of the obvious, the inevitable results present and prospective of a triumphant disunion, results which no man who has a personal interest to protect, or a national principle to vindicate, can contemplate without real dismay on

the one hand, and on the other a just feeling of hostility towards those who by their contempt of the Constitution have brought about this crisis.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#23.2)

February 15, 1861

The Secession Ticket

(Editorial)



The Secession Bubble. "It must Burst"

Lithograph by J. H. Bufford

A slave child plays with a soap pipe in a garden. Beyond the garden fence, in a landscape with palmettos, a fortress flying a Confederate flag is visible. In a large bubble (upper left) is a reflection of her face. A dog stares at the sight of the bubble. In a tiny pond, before the child, floats a toy boat, possibly a disparaging allusion to the Confederate navy.

Our citizens will not be deceived about the so-called *Missouri Republican* Constitutional Union ticket. It is virtually the secession ticket. The secessionists were consulted in its formation. It is headed by John D. Coalter, a South Carolinian by birth, and at heart a secessionist. Twelve of the names are endorsed by the honest out-and-out secessionists as good enough for them. The words "Constitutional Union ticket" are a mere disguise. Beware how you vote for the secession ticket.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#23.3)

February 15, 1861

The State Convention, Union Sentiment, Bank Bill, and School Tax

"The State Convention is looked upon by them as the body in which the sovereign will of the people will come forth, and its action will be taken as an index and guide to them on the federal relations of the state and its financial interests."

The legislative proceedings of this week have not been characterized by the passage of any important measures. State Convention matters are causing the postponement of other important measures. This is perhaps the most proper course to pursue in the present crisis.

The State Convention

The State Convention is looked upon by them as the body in which the sovereign will of the people will come forth, and its action will be taken as an index and guide to them on the federal relations of the state and its financial interests. Hence, the people of the state should exercise the greatest care and caution on selecting their

representatives to that Convention. The unmistakable indications now are that they will send an overwhelming majority of Union men there, providing that secessionists are not elected who profess to be Unionists until they get the power, and when that is obtained, then will come out in their true colors. A deep game is being played by the secessionists in this matter. Let the people be on their guard that they do not elect traitors to the Union.

The Union Sentiment

The Union sentiment is fast on the increase. Members who in the commencement of the session were rampant for secession are now either mute or qualified Union men. The reasons are that their breeches' pockets are loaded down with letters from their constituents denouncing their course and demanding them to retrace their steps under penalty of being allowed to retire to private life at the earliest period. The people still have the power to control these men and should not trust them in the Convention.

The Bank Bill and the Savings Institutions

The Bank bill still occupies the attention of the Senate, but they will probably get through today. The bill, so far as amended, does not strike at the evils of the present banking system; on the contrary, it gives the banks still further advantages over the people in many respects. The odious bankable fund system is to be continued, and the people are to be saddled with a currency not worth more than the ninety cents on the dollar. The loss to the people of St. Louis annually on this currency is more in amount, in the totality, than one half of the taxes of the city. It would be far better for the people that the currency should be brought to a gold and silver coin basis, and that all business should be brought to that standard. The depreciation of the currency is always borne by the mass of the people, the consumers. If the merchant pays ten percent premium for exchange to pay his debts, that premium must be added to the prices of his goods, and so in all channels of trade. The banking law should, by all means, provide that on the resumption of gold and silver coin payments, the notes of the present banks and the branches should be made payable in gold and silver coin at the counters of any of them.

When the bill comes up in the House, a thorough review will be had, and the system of banking will undergo the thorough reforms which are demanded by the people.

The School Tax

The school committee which visited St. Louis to inspect the system, have not yet reported. It is understood that a majority of the committee will report in favor of the indefinite postponement of the bill repealing the mill school tax. These gentlemen have become fully convinced that the excellent workings of the system should not be interfered with. A minority, two members, I learn, will make a minority report, recommending a reduction of the tax. The report of the majority will guide the House in its action.

—K.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#24)

February 15, 1861

The *Republican* Newspaper Inciting to Riot

(Editorial)

"The smaller the vote on Monday, the smaller will be the majority against the Conditional Secession ticket. We tell the *Republican* that when the Union is at stake, men will not be intimidated from voting. The citizens of St. Louis will vote on Monday in spite of all the *Republican*'s baseless stories and the bullying of the Minute Men and the Constitutional Guards."

The *Republican* is doing all in its power to

create a riot next Monday during the election. Its columns team with inflammatory appeals and malicious misrepresentations. For months it encouraged the organization of armed political clubs, and now, when the Minute Men[359] have found shelter in the service of the state by being sworn into the militia, it affects a great horror of such associations. Its tactics are exactly what they were in 1854 when Kennett[360] was elected and the Irish massacre occurred.[361]



Anti-Irish riots break out on election day, August 7, 1854, in St. Louis.

Who has ever seen a word of censure in the *Republican* directed against the secessionist Constitutional Guards or the Minute Men? When the latter was getting cartloads of muskets nightly into their headquarters, the fact was not even chronicled in that paper. So long as arming was confined to disunionists, the *Republican* had nothing to say against the proceedings. Now it is frightened or pretends to be frightened at what, after all, is just a distraction, designed to prevent voters from going to the polls. The smaller the vote on Monday, the smaller will be the majority against the Conditional Secession ticket. We tell the *Republican* that when the Union is at stake, men will not be intimidated from voting. The citizens of St. Louis will vote on Monday in spite of all the *Republican*'s baseless stories and the bullying of the Minute Men and the Constitutional Guards.

There will be no riot at the election. Our Republican Mayor Filley,[362] who, fortunately for the city, still possesses the power, will take such precautions as shall effectively guard against a riot. There has never been any disturbance at the polls during his administration, and the trained bands of disunionists with which the *Republican* is identified, will discover that any attempt on their part to create a disturbance on Monday will have the effect of bringing them into the hands of the police and before the court.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#25)

February 15, 1861

Minute Men Legalized
What Can it Mean?

(Editorial)

Two additional companies of secessionists,

[359] For information on the Minute Men, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21) and Essential Information #5, "Minute Men" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1).

[360] Refers to Luther M. Kennett, a former St. Louis mayor, who, running as a Whig, won a seat in the House of Representatives in the election of 1854, beating the Democratic incumbent, Thomas H. Benton.

[361] The riot was caused by the *Missouri Republican*'s warning that "A large number of illegal votes will be attempted, watch them closely." Thomas H. Benton had successfully courted the immigrant vote, while his opponent, Luther M. Kennett, attracted native-born Americans. Due to the *Republican*'s comment on illegal votes, hundreds of Kennett supporters showed up at the Irish 5th Ward, where the poll judges were busy disqualifying voters, and where a dispute turned into a riot, resulting in ten dead and at least thirty wounded between August 7-9, 1854. Property damage included 93 Irish homes and businesses. [Source: Tim O'Neil, "A Look Back, Irish Immigrants Fight Back in 1854 Nativist Riots," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (Aug 8, 2019).]

[362] Republican Oliver Filley was the first mayor elected for a two-year term under St. Louis's City Charter of 1859, and a member of the St. Louis (Union) Committee of Public Safety.

Minute Men, were last evening sworn in the service of the state militia, making seven companies of nearly four hundred Minute Men answering to the governor. The movement occasions general surprise and almost universal indignation.

A meeting/inspection of all the companies of militia in the city has been called for this evening.[363]

February 16, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26)

February 16, 1861

The Unconditional Union Ticket

(Editorial)

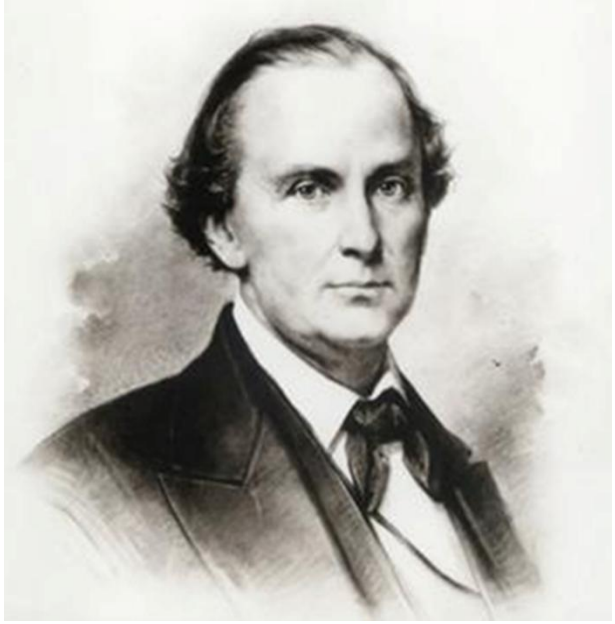
"No quibbling, no dodging, no buts or ifs, but plain, outspoken, honest and patriotic. Each one is for the Union and nothing but the Union—The Union, One and Inseparable, Now and Forever."

Citizens of St. Louis City and County, the following is the true, unmixed, Unconditional Union ticket. Look at the names, and read what each candidate says. See where he stands. Mark how unequivocally and decidedly he takes his position. No quibbling, no dodging, no buts or ifs, but plain, outspoken, honest and patriotic. Each one is for the Union and nothing but the Union—The Union, One and Inseparable, Now and Forever.[364]

SAM M. BRECKINRIDGE

I am glad to know that those whom you represent have adopted this as their policy, applying only the test of absolute, inflexible devotion to the Union. I claim fellowship with all who avow this as the rule of their action.—From *his letter to the Nominating Committee*.

JOHN HOW*



John How
Missouri History Museum

First, whether I will accept the nomination? And whether I will pledge myself to fealty to the Union! I answer I will accept, and my attachment to the Union will end but with life itself.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

*Three time mayor of St. Louis. Member of the St. Louis (Union) Committee of Public Safety.

DR. M. L. LINTON

But I have no conditions nor ultimatums to propose. I have no idea that any contingency will ever arise in which I should not be for THE UNION.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.[365]

HUDSON E. BRIDGE

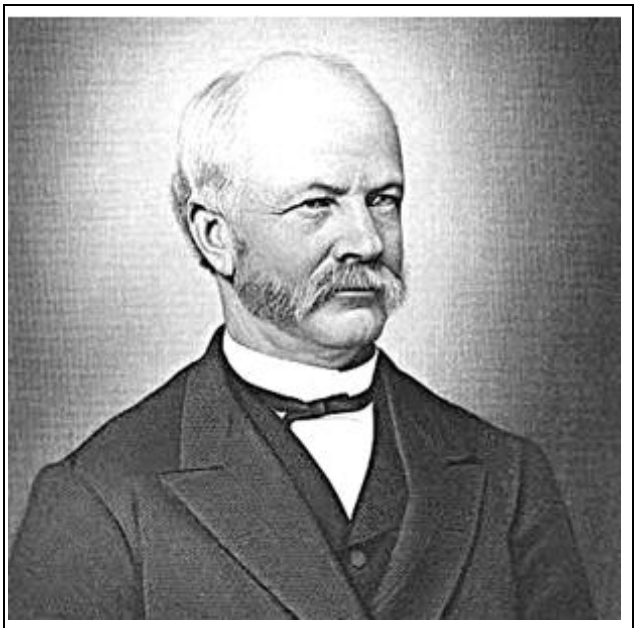
[363] Swearing the secessionist Minute Men into the militia and mustering all St. Louis militia the night before the election of delegates for the Convention, was to ensure they were in position to react if the governor declared martial law in St. Louis, which it was threatened he would do. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.2).

[364] For the names, districts, profession, and other details of the delegates to the State (Secession) Convention, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-11).

[365] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.4).

I am unreservedly and unconditionally for the Union "now and forever," one and indivisible.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

THOMAS T. GANTT[366]



Thomas T. Gantt
Missouri History Museum

I am in favor of the Union unreservedly. No man can, in my judgment, without confounding all distinctions between loyalty and treason, prescribe the conditions on which alone he will be faithful to the obligations of citizenship.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

HAMILTON R. GAMBLE*

What can there be in the mere anticipation of future evil to justify us in rushing upon present destruction? To justify us in tearing down the only fabric of constitutional liberty that ever has been erected? In God's name, I say, stand for our rights. But let us stand in the Union.—*Speech at the meeting at the Court House on the 12th of January*.

*Future provisional governor of Missouri after July 31, 1861.

JOHN F. LONG

I answer briefly that I heartily endorse said resolutions. I am for the perpetuity of the "Union."—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

URIEL WRIGHT[367]

I say, I will live under it (the Constitution) until that time; and more than that, that I hope to live under it and die under it. I don't care who nominated me, so help me God, the day on which I rally under any banner than that which is now before me, may God sink my existence in this world!—*Speech at Verandah Hall, Feb. 9th*.[368]

FERDINAND MEYER

I fully endorse the resolutions you alluded to as having been adopted and published in the *Evening News*.—*From his Letter to the Nominating Committee*.[369]

HENRY HITCHCOCK

I reply, further, therefore, that I am thoroughly and unconditionally a "Union man." I, therefore, hold myself absolutely bound, whether in an individual or representative capacity, under all circumstances, to obey and maintain the Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, as "the supreme law of the land."—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

ROBERT HOLMES

If devotion to my country, its Constitution and laws, a love for the Union as framed by our fathers, qualifies me for a place on the ticket, you are at liberty to use my name. And if elected, I will, to the best of my ability, stand by the Union in this its day of trial.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

JAMES O. BROADHEAD

Since I have known anything of public affairs, I have never entertained any other sentiment than that of unconditional fealty in the Union of these states and the Constitution of my government,

[366] Thomas T. Gantt, a former St. Louis law partner of Montgomery Blair (postmaster general during Abraham Lincoln's first term in office), would remain loyal to the Union and serve in the Union Army.

[367] Uriel Wright actively opposed secession only until the capture of Camp Jackson (May 10, 1861), an action with which he strongly disagreed. He subsequently joined the C.S. Army.

[368] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-16).

[369] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.4).

which was the result of the wisdom and patriotism of those who framed it, because I have never been willing to look forward to any contingency which would justify the disruption of the one, or resistance to the authority of the other.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

SOL SMITH

In answer, I have to say that I most respectfully accept the nomination, and do most heartily concur in the resolutions (unreservedly for the Union) referred to.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

ISIDOR BUSH[370]

The resolutions referred to meet with my full concurrence, and if elected, I shall cooperate to the best of my ability with my honorable colleagues on this ticket.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.

JOHN H. SHACKELFORD

I heartily endorse the resolutions adopted by the meeting, and if elected, will do all in my power to preserve that Union in which we have been so greatly blessed, and in which alone just and equal rights can be best obtained, and by the destruction of which all may be lost—thus bringing reproach upon our revolutionary fathers, by demonstrating that we are incapable of self-government.—*Letter to the Nominating Committee*.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.2)

February 16, 1861

Appeal for Peaceful Election

(Editorial)

"Why have Republicans armed? To defend their rights, their families, and their lives, we should say, and because perhaps they were resolved and are still resolved not to die like rats in their holes. The very nature of things renders it impossible that they could have armed for any other purpose than self-defense. They meditate no revolution or *coup d'etat*. They have no quarrel with the Union or the Constitution, with the federal government or any other. They are not tired of Mayor Filley, and they submit to Claiborne Jackson and the Missouri legislature as inevitable evils. Therefore, if any of them have armed, they have armed to resist threatened physical aggressions."

Notwithstanding the desperate efforts of the *Republican* to precipitate an armed collision during the elections on Monday [February 18] between Union men and the disunionists, there is every reason to conclude that a riotous attempt, should it be made, will be speedily and effectually suppressed by the city authorities. We have learned that our Republican Mayor Filley has taken such measures as will ensure a legal and orderly election. We, therefore, call on our citizens to dismiss from their minds the apprehensions which the inflammatory articles of the *Missouri Republican* may have created. Were it at all necessary, we would advise the Union men of all parties to observe scrupulous propriety of deportment on that day. They are the party of law and order and the opponents of revolution and civil war. Those whose aim it is to overturn the Constitution of the United States would not hesitate to trample down freedom of election, but fortunately, they are too few to accomplish either project, and if they attempt violence, they will find the police more than a match for them.

A riot would find its victims on both sides. We will go into no cold-blooded calculation as to which

[370] Isidor Bush, born in Prague in 1822, was a business man, railroad man; and president of the People's Bank of St. Louis. He resigned as the bank president and took a captain's commission in 1861, and became aide-de-camp on MGen. Fremont's staff.

side would be likely to prove the victor. It is enough to know that the whole community would suffer in one way or another, and the innocent as well as the guilty.

The fact that some Republicans (chiefly Germans) having armed themselves, is the cause of much nonsensical clamor. Why have they armed? Because they have been threatened with expulsion or extermination; because the terrorists throughout the state have by every contrivance striven to intimidate peaceable Republicans and driven them into exile; because the Minute Men organized, drilled and armed themselves in ostentatious style, with the avowed object of fighting against the Stars and Stripes, and separating Missouri from the Union on or before the day Lincoln takes office, as the *Republican* advised them to do. Everywhere in Missouri, except in St. Louis, Republicans have been under a reign of terror for months; and here, because some of them on hearing the rattle of the serpent, put themselves in an attitude of defense, they are denounced in the most virulent language. Is it not notorious that their position has been very similar to that of Major Anderson in Fort Sumter, not knowing the moment an attack might be made on them? The winter has been a long martyrdom to the Republicans in the interior. They have been placed under the surveillance of vigilante committees; notices to quit the state have been posted upon their doors; numberless threatening letters have been addressed to them. And the same spirit exists here, and to a certain degree expresses itself. Why have Republicans armed? To defend their rights, their families, and their lives, we should say, and because perhaps they were resolved and are still resolved not to die like rats in their holes. The very nature of things renders it impossible that they could have armed for any other purpose than self-defense. They meditate no revolution or *coup d'etat*. They have no quarrel with the Union or the Constitution, with the federal government or any other. They are not tired of Mayor Filley, and they submit to [Gov.] Claiborne Jackson and the Missouri legislature as inevitable evils. Therefore, if any of them have armed, they have armed to resist threatened physical aggressions.

Therefore, all the efforts of the *Republican* newspaper to create a riot on Monday will prove of no avail, for the Union men are too powerful to be assailed, and the city authorities too well prepared for the disunion rowdies.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.3)

February 16, 1861

An Earnest Appeal to the Workingmen of St. Louis by One of their Number

(Letter to the Editors)

Editors Missouri Democrat:

Allow me, through the *Missouri Democrat*, the people's organ, to say a few words familiarly to the class of men that must decide the fate of Missouri in the coming contest. The mechanic, the manufacturer and the laborers of every kind are now being appealed to, and as one of that important class, and one whose sympathies and best wishes are with them, I wish to speak familiarly to them, and God forbid that I should say anything to deceive or mislead.

Friends, brothers and countrymen, "lend me your ears." Our beloved country is in danger; how shall we act? This is no time for trifling. A fire has been kindled that threatens to devour us. Shall that fire be extinguished by our own strong arm, or shall we, at the bidding of the agitator that has fired the noble temple of our liberties, feed the devouring element? Let me ask, who has kindled this blaze, who has fired the temple, and for what earthly purpose has our magnificent government, that has sheltered us so long, now to be laid low by the hand of the destroyer?

Is it you, brother mechanic, who has been specially favored far above your class in any nation

on the globe? Have you thrown the firebrand among the chips and shavings of your own industry, that your own great workshop and dwelling may be consumed? No, I exonerate you from the crime. Is it you, manufacturer, whose enterprise has been shielded by the protecting cover of that building which is now in flames? Have you set this fire to consume your neighbor's hive of industry in the foolish hope that yours might escape destruction, and that you would profit by his ruin? Now that cannot be. You, of all men, cannot be a maniac. Is it you, farmer, whose soil has been drenched by the sweat of your own honest toil? Have you fired the fabric that safely garnered the fruit of your own patient labor? No! There's madness in the thought. Well, is it you, common laborer, who has dug your way beneath the foundation of that mansion of government whose constitution has secured you an easy and honorable pass from the humble walks of life to the highest stations in the gift of a great people, and there applied the torch that will consume the house in which your present and future hopes are lodged? I pray you to forgive the thought. I cannot lay the charge at your door. Then, is it you, men of foreign birth, who have sought protection from the oppressions of kings beneath the wings of our country, who flew from the tyranny of the old world and sought the shelter of our glorious flag of liberty? Is it you who have raised the parricidal arm and lit the fires that will devour the temple in which you took refuge? Never! It is not you. Then in God's name, who is it? The building is on fire—the flames are spreading—our own future and the hopes of mankind are being destroyed, and who has kindled the terrible flame? Listen, and I will tell you who have done it, and when you learn the truth, and the agitators ask you to throw resin and turpentine upon the flames, in the shape of ballots for secession, you can see by the light of the flames of your own house, what destruction they have wrought.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-36)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.4)

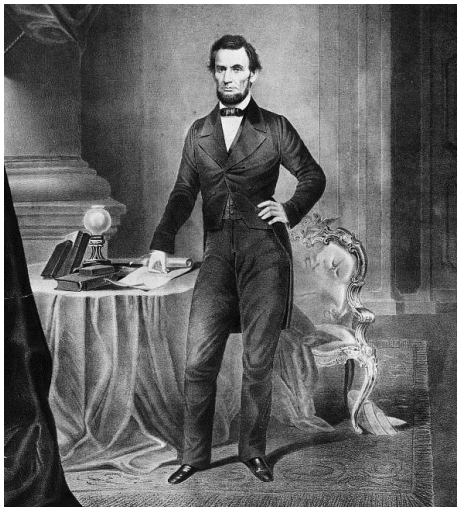
February 16, 1861

Coercion as Understood by Lincoln

(Editorial)

"The supremacy of the American flag must be maintained, not only from the St. Lawrence to the Potomac, but from the Potomac to the Rio Grande."

The Springfield (Ill.) *Journal*, a paper which has undoubtedly reflected the views of Mr. Lincoln, states the case with force and clearness:



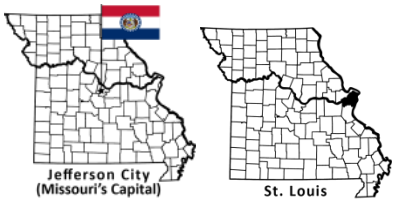
Abraham Lincoln
Lithograph by Herline & Hensel

If those States which pretend to have gone out of the Union do not want to be represented in Congress, no one will compel them to send representatives there. If they do not want post offices, they need not have them. If they desire to dispense with judges, marshals, and all other federal officers, no force will be interposed to thwart their wishes. Those offices are created and filled almost solely for the accommodation and benefit of the

people among whom they are placed. If those people do not desire such accommodations or benefits, we assure them that neither Mr. Lincoln nor the Republican Party will ever interfere to compel them to accept either. No hostile demonstration will ever be made against seceding states by the federal government, nor will national troops ever march through such states, except to recover or protect federal property within their limits.

The New York *Tribune,* alluding to this extract says:

This covers the *whole ground*, and sketches the only plan by which the Union can be permanently and honorably maintained. The slave states may play at being out of the Union as long as they like. They may govern themselves, and tax themselves, and arm themselves to their heart's content. They may withdraw their representatives from Congress, where their presence in their present temper is neither needed nor desired, and they may decline to avail themselves of the advantages of the federal courts and post offices. To that extent, they may go out of the Union and stay out till they are tired of the position. But they cannot be allowed to rob the United States, to disobey or evade the revenue laws, or to hold unlawful intercourse with foreign nations. The supremacy of the American flag must be maintained, not only from the St. Lawrence to the Potomac, but from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.5)
February 16, 1861

Secessionists Attempt to End Funding for St. Louis Schools

(Editorial)

"Such efforts, designed evidently to punish what they call the Black Republicanism of St. Louis, and to force, by unjust legislation, the people of the city back into the ranks of the Democratic Party, will be seen in their proper colors by the people. They have taken the wrong course. The people cannot be coerced in this manner. Her representatives will contest to the last for this right, and the people will and must uphold them."

Jefferson City, Feb. 15.

The School Tax

This morning Mr. Conrow,[371] of Ray [County], asked leave to present what purports to be a number of petitions from citizens of St. Louis, asking the repeal of the mill tax for the support of the public schools of that city. The names are said to number from fifteen to twenty thousand. The petitions, coming as they do, through the hands of a rural country member, who can have no interest in local questions concerning St. Louis, but who, like many others, seems disposed to violate all rules of courtesy observed heretofore in the House, by officiously taking out of the hands of the St. Louis delegation, their right of representation, must be regarded as the efforts of politicians who are opposed to the real interests of the city, and who are determined to lessen the influence of representatives who were elected by large majorities by the people, who now wish, by the bid of secret committees and juntas, to take away the rights and privileges of the people of St. Louis, to gratify their own revengeful feelings; to punish the people of St. Louis for their political preferences; to insult them on every occasion by insulting their representatives; to take away their dearest right of

[371] Aaron H. Conrow, elected in 1860 to the state legislature, was a secessionist, and would later serve in the First and Second Confederate Congress.

representation by placing it in the hands of the dominant party. Such efforts, designed evidently to punish what they call the Black Republicanism[372] of St. Louis, and to force, by unjust legislation, the people of the city back into the ranks of the Democratic Party, will be seen in their proper colors by the people. They have taken the wrong course. The people cannot be coerced in this manner. Her representatives will contest to the last for this right, and the people will and must uphold them.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-37)

February 18, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27)

February 18, 1861

Only Two Tickets: Union and Secession

(Editorial)

> "For disguise it as they may under a false designation, the Constitutional Ticket is *de facto*, a secession one absolutely. Its supporters call under a false flag, raised purposely and skillfully to deceive the unwary and to lure the unreflecting and over-confiding into their ranks in the sacred name of Union."

Notwithstanding all that has been said and written for some time past in relations to the election today, we believe there may yet be found some few persons in this city who have not arrived at a perfectly clear conception of the radical distinction between the Unconditional Union ticket and [the Conditional Union ticket], the so-called Constitutional ticket. To these, a final word or two in explanation may not be out of place, so that they may go to the polls with exact ideas as to what they are about to vote for.

Let those persons, then, to whom we address these remarks, be apprised that by voting for the *miscalled "Constitutional" ticket, they give their* suffrages for the secession of the state of Missouri from the confederation of the United States; they vote for the destruction of the best and noblest government which the wisdom of the human race ever yet framed, and for the overthrow of that Constitution which the great founders of American liberty devised with so much solicitude, foresight and patriotism. They vote to break into fragments this magnificent nation, so let the wonder and the envy of the whole civilized world to undo the incomparable work of a generation of statesmen, with whom the ablest men of the present day are but pygmies in comparison; and, above all, they perform their part to set the soul to the death-warrant of the prosperity of this state and city. For disguise it as they may under a false designation, the Constitutional Ticket is *de facto*, a secession one absolutely. Its supporters call under a false flag, raised purposely and skillfully to deceive the unwary and to lure the unreflecting and over-confiding into their ranks in the sacred name of Union.

The great mass of the citizens of this state are not to be deluded into voting for the disruption of the Union and the secession of Missouri. Our people are for the Union, come what may; nor would we feel it necessary to say one additional word on the subject, save to clear away the doubts of a few who have not until now paid the necessary attention to the points in issue.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.1)

February 18, 1861

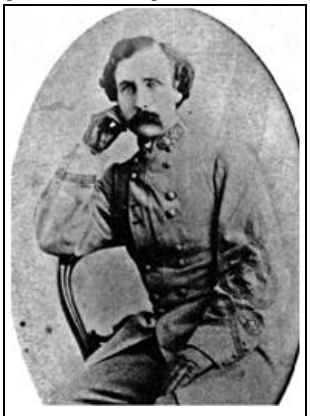
[372] Black Republicanism: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings.

The Military Bill Rejected, The House Being Unconditional Union

(Editorial)

> "The truth is, a great change has taken place in the feelings of the people of Missouri within the last four weeks. They are all now devotedly for the Union with a few insignificant exceptions in the shape of political hacks and devotees of fuss and feathers."

The refusal of the House of Representatives on Saturday to pass the Military Bill, putting St. Louis under martial law and [Mo. Volunteer Militia] Gen. Frost,[373] shows conclusively that the great majority of that body is in favor of the Citizens' Union ticket. They were told that the other ticket, the Constitutional ticket, so-called, would be beaten by thousands if the bill was not passed, upon which instead of passing it, they adjourned at once. They could not have given a more satisfactory proof of their sympathy with the Unconditional Union ticket, or of their aversion to the so-called Constitutional [Conditional] Union ticket.



Daniel M. Frost

The truth is, a great change has taken place in the feelings of the people of Missouri within the last four weeks. They are all now devotedly for the Union with a few insignificant exceptions in the shape of political hacks and devotees of fuss and feathers. This partly accounts for the indirect though yet unequivocal demonstration of favor on behalf of the Unconditional Union ticket, which was witnessed in the House of Representatives on Saturday. The other cause of that patriotic phenomenon is the deep dislike with which the disunion senators from this county are regarded by the honest members of the country. They know that a delegation composed of Conditional Unionists would be an intolerable pest in the Convention.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.2)

February 18, 1861

Working Men, Vote for Our Country

Editorial

> "Remember that if you vote for the 'Conditional Union' ticket, that it will vote for secession in the Convention, no matter what their profession may be."

Working men, this day is to decide the future of Missouri. Let us stand firm for our rights. Let every man of us who regards his own position under free institutions as worth preserving, vote the Citizens' Union Ticket. No matter what secessionists and their hirelings tell us, the "Citizens' Unconditional Union" ticket, is our ticket.

1. Remember that the success of secession in Missouri is the first step to the subversion of every right of the working men. You know this, and for the sake of our future, let there be no lack of courage on our part to meet the crisis, and vote solidly for our rights.

2. Remember that secession is a perfect surrender of every principle of equality in this government by the working men.

3. Remember that if Missouri goes out of the Union, she will go with a southern confederacy, in which the rights of the working man will be no more regarded than they are now in the empire of Austria.

4. Remember that if you vote for the "Conditional Union" ticket, that it will vote for secession in the Convention, no matter what their

[373] Daniel M. Frost was the commander of the Missouri Volunteer Militia (MVM), composed entirely of the pro-secessionist Minutemen. The bill referred to was the first Military Bill, which failed to pass.

profession may be.

If we wish to live in Missouri as equals, let us vote for the Union.

If we desire the prosperity of Missouri, let us vote for the Union.

If we love our own homes and firesides, and regard the future position of ourselves and children, let us vote for the Union.

If we love free constitutional government, in which we are all equals at the ballot box, we must vote for the Union.

If we vote for secession, we vote against ourselves, and by our own acts, we destroy our own future hopes.

If we deliberately vote away our own equal rights in the government, which is what secession will do, we become menial drudges to political taskmasters, and make ourselves the slaves of an intolerable slave-owning oligarchy.

If we vote for secession, we sacrifice our equality, our manhood, our self-love, our dignity, our honor, our love of country and free institutions, and by that vote manacle our own limbs, seal our own lips, destroy our own privileges, degrade our own nature, and voluntarily prostitute our lives to the behests of militia upstarts and political despots.

This is just what secession will result in, for its leaders are monarchists, usurpers, human blood suckers, and tyrannical aristocrats, who care no more for the rights of the workingman and the demand of free white labor than a wolf cares for the life of a lamb. Then, in the name of our own indefensible, inalienable and unquestionable rights, let us bury secession in Missouri today beneath such a pile of the ballots of freemen as will sink it into the depths of damnation, where it originated, and we must again consign it, or our future liberty is sacrificed.

Paul Plato.



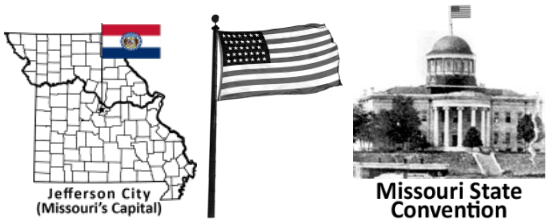
(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.3)
February 18, 1861

The State Looking to St. Louis

(Editorial)

Secession is done for in this state if the Unconditional Union ticket here is elected by a 6,000 majority. All the true Union men in the interior are looking with strained eyes to St. Louis for the signals and assurance which shall tell them of the omnipotent ascendancy of the Union cause in the empire city of the West. With a gloriously prosperous issue here, the powerful Union feeling of the people of Missouri will break from its fountains like the mighty river itself from the icy bonds of winter, sweeping away with irresistible force a great deal of rotten timber, and depositing it along the deltas of the Mississippi. Let us, therefore, strangle the serpent of secession today, by giving a majority of 6,000 for the Unconditional Union ticket. Remember that the question is settled if the requisite majority be given for the Union.

Editors Note: Outside of St. Louis, there are places where it is dangerous to be a Union supporter. The above article expresses the idea that when St. Louis is unequivocally for the Union, Union support will grow.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.4)
February 18, 1861

Different Appeals to Working Men

(Letter to the Editors)

"The Constitution needs enforcing rather than amending. Virginia and Tennessee have so declared by the solemn voice of their people, and Missouri should profit by

their example."

To the Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

It is a noticeable fact, that with all the extra importance surrounding the election of delegates to the State Convention, men on the "Constitutional Union" ticket will persist in appeals to the passions and party prejudices of their hearers. One would suppose that party rancor should be allowed to slumber when the boiling cauldron of revolution, with open mouth, threatens to devour us. The working men have all of a sudden risen into immense importance in the eyes of these "Conditionals," and every effort of deception, mis-statement, and perversion of fact, with no lack of passionate appeal to party hate, is applied to get their votes. Thus it is that the working men, whose existence is ignored ordinarily by such men as composing this "Conditional Secession" ticket, are now pathetically implored to lend themselves to the schemes of the destroyer, and place the heel of secession tyranny upon their own necks. After all the light that surrounds this case, after the complete sacrifice of their dearest rights under a reign of terror in the seceding states, after being warned that such must inevitably be their fate in Missouri in case the state secedes; if after all this before their eyes, the working men of St. Louis will vote for secession by voting that ticket, they will barely deserve a better fate than the utter ruin of their future hopes, which must follow its success.

BE NOT DECEIVED BY MISSTATEMENTS

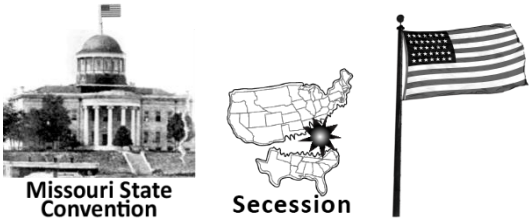
There is no dodging the conclusion that a set of candidates who occupy an ambiguous position on this question of Union, will vote for secession if elected to the Convention. They may cry Union to deceive you, as they do; they may damn the Black Republicans to hell to arouse your prejudices; but it all means *secession*, desolation, and ruin. Secession means destruction to manufacturers; are you willing to vote for that? Secession means the suppression of free speech; will you vote for that? Secession means a manacled press; will you vote for that? Secession means a surrender of civil and religious liberty; will you vote these blood bought rights away? Secession means a substitution of military tyranny for civil authority; will you vote to put that yoke upon your own necks? Secession, in short, means the complete sacrifice of constitutional freedom, and those who vote for it may as well know the fact. To prove that it means all these evils combined, you have only to learn the true condition of things in the states that have already seceded; and if you find manufacturing encouraged; if you find free speech; if you find a free press; if you find civil and religious liberty; if you find constitutional freedom, and a complete supremacy of the civil law in those states that have seceded, then go ahead and vote for secession in Missouri; for precisely the facts in relation to all these inestimable rights which exist there, will exist here after secession.

If you want proof that the secessionists aim at the destruction of all the rights that freemen value, then read the infamous Military Bill, and measures of like character, that the leaders are trying to get through our legislature, even in advance of secession, and you have a foretaste of what is sure to follow if Missouri secedes.

THE DIFFERENT TICKETS IN THE FIELD,

and their equivocal and unequivocal positions, ought to suffice to open the eyes of every voter, and while the "conditional secession" ticket will stop at nothing to get your votes, the citizens' "unconditional Union" ticket is the only one you can support with a guarantee of having your true sentiments represented in that Convention if you are true Union men. But you say there are Republicans on that ticket, and for that reason, you won't vote for it.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-38)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.5)

February 18, 1861

The Irish and Secession

(Letter to the Editors)

"…it is my honest and sincere conviction that not one Irishman in this city will cast his vote for any candidate to the Convention who is not for the preservation of this Union. The Irish do not forget the oath they have taken to support the Constitution."

ST. LOUIS, February 15, 1861

Editors Missouri Democrat:

In your paper of this morning, you say it is reported that some naturalized citizens of our county are advocating secession, and will vote that ticket. I beg to state that there is not an Irishman this day in the United States that represents any such doctrine, and if the Irish vote the secession ticket in this state, it is because they will be misled in the matter, and if my impression is wrong, you will please correct me in the point. For one, it is my honest and sincere conviction that not one Irishman in this city will cast his vote for any candidate to the Convention who is not for the preservation of this Union. The Irish do not forget the oath they have taken to support the Constitution. They even do more than this by praying that the dark clouds which hang over this glorious confederacy may soon pass away, and the sun to shine again as bright as ever to the latest generation. This is the wish of all the Irish and your humble servant.

Very respectfully,

P. MACKLIN.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.6)

February 18, 1861

Judge Gamble Vouched for by His Own Record

(Letter to the Editors)

"The celebrated Dred Scott case originated in Missouri, and was ruled upon when Judge Gamble was on the bench. In his dissenting opinion, he declared the doctrine of the majority as abominable—in fact, took the very ground in reference to this case, which was assumed by the Republican Party."

Editors Missouri Democrat:

The *Missouri Republican* has labored very diligently in its issue of Saturday and Sunday to create an impression unfavorable to Mr. Gamble,[374] who happens to be a candidate on both tickets to be voted for on Monday. This paper has had the indecency to charge Judge Gamble with duplicity and insincerity, and has endeavored to create the suspicion in the minds of some that Mr. Gamble was ready to consign the Black Republicans to his satanic majesty's dominions as was the amiable Mr. Kennett.[375] I deem it due to Judge Gamble, as well as to the Republican Party, to offer a few facts which will establish the status of Judge Gamble as being entirely satisfactory to every good Republican.

First, it should not be forgotten that Judge Gamble's public life has established beyond a doubt his position on the much disputed Negro question.

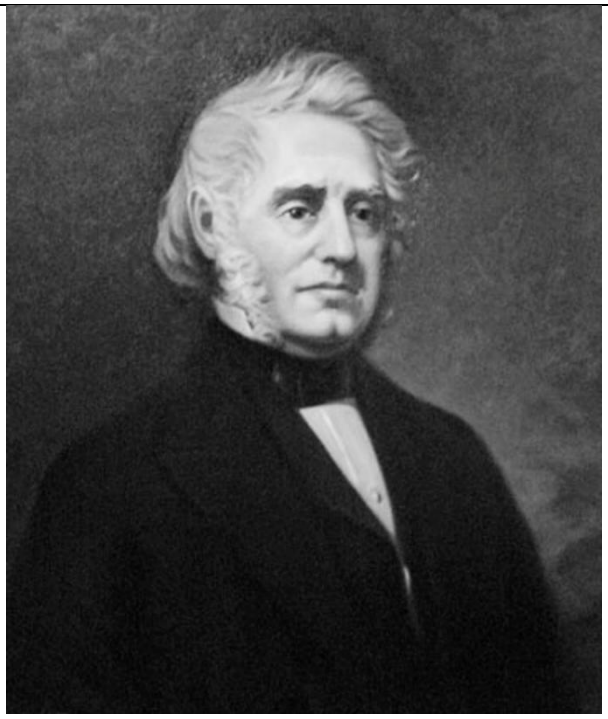
The celebrated Dred Scott case[376] originated in

[374] Hamilton R. Gamble would be elected provisional governor of Missouri by the second session of the Missouri State Convention (July 23-31, 1861), replacing the ousted Gov. Claiborne Fox Jackson.

[375] Ferdinand Kennett, a wealthy Mississippi River steamboat operator and entrepreneur, appeared as a candidate on both the Unconditional and Constitutional (Conditional) Union tickets, same as Gamble. Kennett was a slave-owner and Southern supporter. He acted as then U.S. District Attorney Thomas C. Reynolds's second in the latter's duel against B. Gratz Brown, editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, which took place on August 16, 1856, at Kennett's Castle (a.k.a. Selma Hall). He died sometime in 1861 (date unknown), and his castle became a target for both Union and Confederate forces traveling the Mississippi River.

[376] Dred Scott Case: Missouri's long-standing law of "once free, always free" was the judicial standard in determining freedom suits. Slaves who were taken to

Missouri, and was ruled upon when Judge Gamble was on the bench. In his dissenting opinion, he declared the doctrine of the majority as abominable—in fact, took the very ground in reference to this case, which was assumed by the Republican Party. If any person will take the trouble to read this decision, he will come to the conclusion that Judge Gamble was at that time a good Republican.



Hamilton R. Gamble
As judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri (1851-1854)
www.courts.mo.gov

The fact is certain, the *Republican* is hostile to Judge Gamble, and is endeavoring to arrange his defeat. The attempt is to raise suspicion against him in the minds of the Republicans. In conclusion, let me say that Judge Gamble has a judicial record which makes him a good enough Republican for me, and I am a straight out Republican, and expect to live to see the day when Judge Gamble will receive office from the Republican Party, fitted to his ability and purity of character.

slave-free areas were freed, even if they returned to Missouri. Once the bonds of slavery were broken, they could not be reattached. However, that was overturned by the Missouri Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case by a vote 3 to 1. Judge Gamble, in his dissenting opinion, asserted that taking a slave where slavery was expressly prohibited was a tacit act of emancipation, and that Scott should be freed. Judge Gamble wrote: "Times may have changed, public feeling may have changed, but principles have not and do not change, and in my judgment, there can be no safe basis for [this] judicial decision."

February 19, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28)
February 19, 1861

The Unconditional Union Ticket
A Glorious Triumph

(Editorial)

"The Unconditional Union ticket is elected by an average majority of 1,000. St. Louis has thus declared emphatically her devotion to the Union."

The event so anxiously looked forward to by every patriotic citizen of St. Louis is at last decided. The momentous crisis, upon which hung so many interests, so many hopes, is over; and the predictions which, in our strong faith in the unswerving fidelity of the vast majority of our fellow citizens to the Union cause, we ventured to offer, have been amply and satisfactorily realized.

The Unconditional Union ticket is elected by an average majority of 1,000. St. Louis has thus declared emphatically her devotion to the Union—to the Union without any of those tricky conditions wherewith assigning rogues and heartless anarchists sought to clog her declaration. The star of our glorious Republic has not yet set. A voice has gone forth from the Queen City of the West, which will cheer many a desponding heart, and decide many a wavering mind throughout the length and breadth of the land. Wherever in this broad empire

one pulse throbs for the sacred cause of true human freedom, for the integrity of our national confederacy, and the honor of the American flag, the verdict which St. Louis has just rendered will bring confidence and gladness.

To the advocates of secession, it is the keenest rebuke they could well receive; while for every loyal citizen, it creates a fresh incentive to pursue the plain, straightforward path of duty, nor suffer himself to be led away by the flimsy arguments of disunionist partisans, who for the basest and meanest motives of self-interest, labor to bring to ruin the fairest structure of liberty with which God's earth has ever yet been blessed.

With respect to the voting in other portions of the state, we have yet but partial returns, but judging from these received, we have every reason to believe that the supporters of Union have prevailed by an overwhelming majority.

But even in the interior, the verdict to be rendered by this city was the supereminent consideration, and that verdict is now gone forth. Whatever happens, St. Louis will be *for* the Union and in the Union. She has solemnly, and once again, pledged her faith to the Constitution, and neither fraud nor force shall avail to make her violate that doubly ratified engagement.



Let it be known that Missouri has nobly stemmed the mad torrent of secession folly, and declares for the permanency of the Union. Such an example must encourage the other border states and terminate the idle hopes of those who have been for years practicing their vile machinations for the overthrow of our popular government and making Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri appendages of the cotton confederacy.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.1)

February 19, 1861

The Election Yesterday

Triumph at the Unconditional Union Ticket

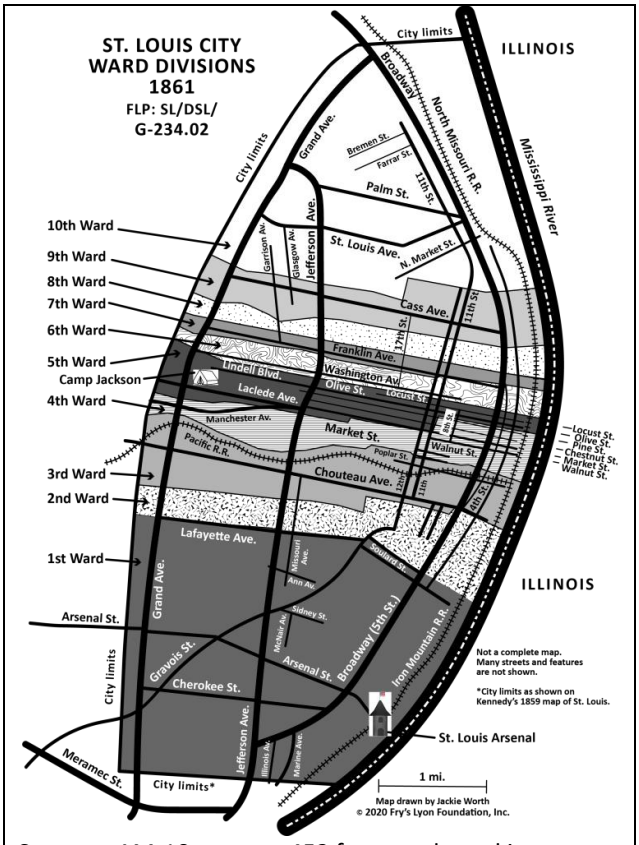
(Editorial)

"Yesterday's experience has certainly decided the question, that St. Louis is a peaceable, orderly city, and that notwithstanding the excitable character of the issues at stake, and particularly the aggravated insults offered to the loyalty of the German population, that respect for law and order, and peace and quiet, is dear to the hearts of a majority of our citizens."

The election for delegates to the State Convention was held yesterday, and was one of the most orderly and quiet that we have ever witnessed, thus setting at rest forever the infamous libel heaped upon our people by the governor of the state and an unprincipled Senate, on Saturday last, when they attempted to declare the city under martial law for fear of a riot. There was no serious disturbance in any Ward, and not the least demonstration that approached a noise at nearly all the voting places. Mayor Filley's police and the good sense of law-abiding inclinations of the people, saved us from the shame, which a handful of politicians at Jefferson City would have been pleased to witness at this election. There were crowds present at each voting place, but the most remarkable quiet prevailed everywhere. Yesterday's experience has certainly decided the question, that St. Louis is a peaceable, orderly city, and that notwithstanding the excitable character of the issues at stake, and particularly the aggravated insults offered to the loyalty of the German population, that respect for law and order, and peace and quiet, is dear to the hearts of a majority of our citizens.

As will be seen by the returns, the result is a complete triumph for the Citizens' Union ticket. This victory was so palpable from the day that the ticket was first put in the field that the only real contest

was upon the majority it should receive. All the electioneering was done by our opponents; they employed all the strikers, all the carriages, wagons and vehicles to bring up voters, all the ticket peddlers chiefly, and all the hirelings at the polls. Upon our side, a committee was delegated to each Ward to see that tickets were promptly distributed and on hand on the day of the election, and that's all. The result is therefore all the more gratifying.



See map AM-10 on page 452 for an enlarged image.

The voting in the first four wards was unattended by any excitement whatever. In the Fifth Ward, at the Court House, an immense crowd gathered, and everybody who could hurrah for the secession ticket was so employed. It was impossible to get through the line to the voting window without being met by twenty-five Constitutional Union tickets, while those holding the Citizens' Union ticket were comparatively few in number. At the western precinct, everything was very quiet. At the Tobacco Warehouse, in the Sixth Ward, there was a deal of swearing and loud talking on the sidewalk. Up to 2 o'clock, about 1,700 votes were polled, which is a large number for the ward. Probably many who resided in other wards voted here—as we believe a resident of the city could vote anywhere, provided he only voted once. There were no arrests. The western precinct polled only a few votes and was extremely quiet. The eastern precinct of the Seventh Ward, corner of Fourth and Morgan Streets, was kept in a muddy state all day by the crowd, but had no other musses to contend against.

Continued at (FLP: Ser 1MD- Feb-Annex-39)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.2)

February 19, 1861

The Secondary Morals of the Victory

(Editorial)

> "We have never had a more peaceable election; no slanderers have ever received a more humiliating rebuke than those who conspired to slander St. Louis as a means of prostrating her under the heel of a bloodthirsty politician, who wants to be a military dictator instead of a governor."

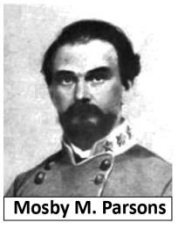
St. Louis passed solemn judgment yesterday on the traitors and despots who sought to repress her loyalty by armed demonstrations. She gave the lie to [Gov.] Jackson, [Lt. Gov.] Reynolds, [Speaker] Churchill, and the *Missouri Republican*, by her scrupulous observance of law and order. We have never had a more peaceable election; no slanderers have ever received a more humiliating rebuke than those who conspired to slander St. Louis as a means of prostrating her under the heel of a bloodthirsty politician, who wants to be a military dictator instead of a governor.

We asked the people of St. Louis if they will

permit themselves to be branded by Governor Jackson and his minions as a lawless mob, reckless of life and property [as demonstrated in their threat to declare martial law in St. Louis, and calling out the militia].[377]

Let us say again that the authorities and people of St. Louis have nobly vindicated themselves from the attacks of the assassins of their fair fame, if not of their lives, and that all who were not a party to the outrage should concur in translating the victory of yesterday into a denunciation of the criminal conspirators, who meditated the overthrow of the ballot box by the bayonet.


1861 Military Bill


Mosby M. Parsons


Marion County

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.3)

February 19, 1861

Military Bill and Malicious Men

(Letter to the Editors)

"The attempt to rush this ridiculous absurdity through the lower House of the legislature, a few days since, I am happy to see, was 'nipped in the bud,' as it should have been, and I am also rejoiced to find that there are some of the members of that venerable body who do not misrepresent their constituency, and are not wire-walking for the sake of office."

Editors of the Missouri Democrat:

Who is the author of the notorious Military Bill,[378] which is at present absorbing the time, talents and conversational powers of some of our elected "honorable" representatives at Jefferson City? What are his antecedents? Who were his ancestors? To what party does he belong? These and other questions of a similar nature are in the mouths of hundreds of our citizens, who have never before so much as heard of this self-taught Solomon of Marion County. He is a political chameleon, who, seemingly for the sake of notoriety, would hazard every principle to his lustful ambition, and if necessary to accomplish his insatiable thirst for notoriety of whatever nature, would sink his country into eternal oblivion if he might stand upon her ruins and claim the accomplishment of such a stupendous feat. He is the same who, during the "spilt" of the Democratic Party in 1860, took what was termed the "Douglas chute"[379] and is now bitterly opposed to the political doctrine enunciated by Stephen A. Douglas and every other conservative Union man,[380] and is a strong advocate of "secession" and the reported author of the aforesaid despicable Military Bill, by the provisions of which we are to be restrained and coerced into service (against whom we cannot divine) against our interests and inclinations. Yet he is an honorable man. They are all honorable men.

The attempt to rush this ridiculous absurdity through the lower House of the legislature, a few days since, I am happy to see, was "nipped in the bud,"[381] as it should have been, and I am also rejoiced to find that there are some of the members of that venerable body who do not misrepresent

[377] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#24) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#25)

[378] The Military Bill was introduced in the Missouri House by Representative Thomas A. Harris of Marion County. It was introduced in the State Senate by Mosby M. Parsons. Both Harris and Parsons were appointed brigadier generals by Governor Jackson in the Missouri State Guard, created by the Military Bill, when it passed the legislature and took effect on May 14. Parsons finished the war as a Confederate major general. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#19) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#30.1).

[379] The "Douglas chute" refers to the course taken by secessionists that claimed to be Unionists, supporters of Stephen A. Douglas, only for the purpose of getting elected.

[380] Refers to popular sovereignty, whereby the people of a territory vote to decide whether to enter the Union as a free or slave state.

[381] While the proposed Military Bill was initially defeated, an even more treasonous version was passed at a later date. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-May Annex-2)..

their constituency, and are not wire-walking for the sake of office, and who are not disposed to interfere with what does not concern them.

I doubt not the gentlemen who are the supporters of this beautifully concocted humbug are all opposed to "coercion," and yet they are, for the sake of the city of St. Louis, willing to lay aside all their little prejudices on this matter and coerce us by the passage of this abominable, contemptible, miserable, abortive document, honored by the title of the "Military Bill."

Comment of this subject is altogether not necessary, as our citizens are too well posted in regard to the questionable merits of the Military Bill to need any explanation of them, and too patriotic to become "submissionists" to such a revolting piece of tyranny, even if it were passed.

—Consistency

February 20, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29)

February 20, 1861

Disunionist Desperation and Revenge

(Editorial)

"The real party strength of the disunionists in this county, and indeed throughout the state, is contemptible; and knowing that, they shrunk from any explicit avowal of their designs, and called themselves Constitutional Unionist."

Instead of accepting the almost unanimous verdict rendered on Monday in this county, the defeated disunionists are now seeking revenge. Throwing off every vestige of disguise, it calls upon the General Assembly to coerce and punish St. Louis for loyalty, and make her an example to all communities that shall dare to manifest an irrepressible love for the Union.

The sole vocation of the *Missouri Republican* now is to slander St. Louis and invoke the thunderbolts of disunion wrath on her devoted leaders. In its reckless malignancy, it strains all its energy to destroy the influence of the delegation cast to the Convention by representing them indiscriminately as Black Republicans.[382] We have again to express our sincere regret that they are not all Republicans, for any party might well be proud of the ten Douglas and Bell men, whom with five Republicans, St. Louis has commissioned to represent her loyalty and her welfare in the Convention. But the *Republican* is greatly mistaken in trying to damage these gentlemen by calling them Black Republicans.

The whole state knows that the question in dispute at the election was Union or Conditional Union. That both tickets were supposed to be Union tickets because Conditional Secessionists were afraid to appear in their true colors, they covered their nakedness with the Stars and Stripes as with a *fig leaf*, deluding by that theatrical ruse, thousands of genuine Union men.

The real party strength of the disunionists in this county, and indeed throughout the state, is contemptible; and knowing that, they shrunk from any explicit avowal of their designs, and called themselves Constitutional Unionist.

They were for the Union, but against coercion, they were for the Union if they could have their rights in it; they were for the Union if the free states would accept their demands; they were for the Union if they should be permitted to hold federal offices and enthrone the slave in the seventh heaven of the Constitution; they were for the Union, not the old one founded by Washington, Madison, and Hamilton, but for a new one, to be reconstructed out of the fragments of the old, according to the plan of [Provisional C.S.A. President] Jefferson Davis.[383]

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[382] Black Republicas: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings.

[383] Jefferson F. Davis resigned from the Senate on January 21, 1861, after Mississippi had seceded from the Union. On February 9, 1861, he was unanimously elected president of the Provisional Government of the

In short, the secessionists were for the Union if the conditions which they prescribed were complied with before the inauguration of Lincoln, and for a separation from the Union if these conditions were refused.

We consider it especially unfortunate that a journal like the *Republican*, that has been elevated into wealth and influence by the good people of St. Louis, should now be found their bitterest and most relentless enemy. It is a perfect illustration of the viper stinging the bosom that warmed it into life. That paper seems to have devoted itself to the unholy task of maligning the reputation and assailing the municipal rights of its benefactors.

Rule or ruin is its motto, and failing to rule, it toils with the malice of a defeated tyrant to ruin. Had its plans succeeded, a bloody and devastating riot on Monday would have been the consequence.

Even now, it calls on the legislature to coerce St. Louis, and sweeps away from her citizens the inalienable right of self-government. Surely such blind perversity and criminal ingratitude cannot escape the observation or the censure of intelligent and outraged people.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.1)
February 20, 1861

The *Missouri Republican* and Revenge

"Was there any reason to justify calling out the militia and declaring martial law last Saturday? No! But the traitors were determined to have the control of this city, and that they failed was not their fault."

The miserable knot of little, envious nullifiers, who have been scheming and plotting against the peace and well-being of this state, and particularly of this city, are rendered perfectly desperate by the defeat in the election of Monday [February 18]. The *Missouri Republican* utters their groanings in unmistakable language.

One would think it is time to give over the abominable work, but it is not so. The *Missouri Republican* in its bitterness against all who voted the Citizens' Union ticket, against all who voted in opposition to the black flag of secession, renews its pledges of wickedness and begins the war so instantly that it concedes the fatal overthrow of Monday.

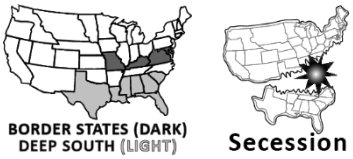
It appeals to the secessionists in Jefferson City. And what does it ask them to do? Why, make a new city charter; turn out the present office holders, introduce something like honesty and economy—that is, put the seceders, the traitors, in office. It then adds, "If the legislature has proper regard for the interests of the people of St. Louis," these things "should be attended to." That is, that the seceders, the pitiful minority shown by the vote of Monday, are "the people." The voters of St. Louis have cast them out as unworthy; therefore, they should be put in office by the legislature passing a new charter for St. Louis.

On the day it is passed, the Republican's editor, Mr. Paschall, is appointed mayor, Thomas C. Johnson city recorder, Churchill chief of police, and so the thing goes, and this is arranged under the protection of [Mo. Volunteer Militia] Gen. Frost and his Minute Men. Nothing short of this is the *Missouri Republican*'s program. And, joking aside, the thing will be done unless the people of this city find means to prevent it.

Was there any reason to justify calling out the militia and declaring martial law last Saturday? No! But the traitors were determined to have the control of this city, and that they failed was not their fault. The question is gravely presented: Shall St. Louis have a free charter government of her own, like other cities, governed by her own people, or shall the legislature of Missouri control the local interests of the city, appoint city officers, etc.? The question is one of moment, and must be looked to. Citizens of St. Louis, take this as a notice and a warning.

AMERICUS POPULI

Confederacy.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.2)

February 20, 1861

Disunion Game Nearly Played Out

(Editorial)

> "The simple truth is the disunion game is very nearly played out, and however the more prominent speculators may continue to bully and abuse, the people whom they have blindfolded and betrayed are growing sick of them and their disunion cause."

From all the indications manifested within the last week, it may be safely predicted that the secession sentiment, even in its strongholds, has already reached and is descending from its high point. History furnishes a vast variety of such phenomena as this secession movement, but it is observable that whenever there is not a basis of truth and equity underlying such impulses, the subjects of this form of temporary insanity speedily recover their reasoning faculties, and although an interested faction or a few crafty intriguers, who owe their influence to popular misunderstandings, may labor to perpetuate the profitable delusion, the masses generally come right in the end and abandon the false prophets who had so long led them astray.

We believe the reaction in favor of Union and reason has not only commenced in the cotton states, but that it has been for some time silently operating and is already considerably advanced. When the individual or the community is unusually excited, cool reflection and sober thought, if attainable, are about the most effective curative in the world.

The simple truth is the disunion game is very nearly played out, and however the more prominent speculators may continue to bully and abuse, the people whom they have blindfolded and betrayed are growing sick of them and their disunion cause. However impulsive and excitable the inhabitants of that section may be, as a body, they are far from being deficient, either in patriotism or political virtue.



In fact, the cotton states have placed themselves in a particularly awkward dilemma. They thought, or rather the demagogues who did the thinking for them, imagined that by precipitating secession, they would be able to seduce the border states to commit their fortunes to the same leaky boat they have launched. In this, as has been seen in the case of Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and, now, Missouri, they have been entirely disappointed.[384]

So while it would seem that the people would need only to reflect in order to retrace their steps, in this instance, they are subjected to other problematic influences. The pride which will not admit an error, and the hold which [fake news] and factionists have upon their understanding of the issues, are the main impediments to a reunion.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.3)

February 20, 1861

U. S. Arms Stolen at Little Rock

(Editorial)

> "Would that arsenal have been taken had it contained one-quarter of the force now in charge of the St. Louis Arsenal?"

"Your secessionists," said Mr. Blair at Verandah Hall, "always attack empty forts and full sub treasuries, showing that they are much better

[384] In the early days of the crisis, voters in all four states rejected secession. Virginia and Tennessee did not secede until after April 15, 1861.

at stealing than fighting." A fresh instance of the truth of this saying is the taking of the United States arsenal at Little Rock, Arkansas, brief reports of which reached us by telegraph several days ago. The full particulars of the disgraceful affair will be found in another column [below] of today's paper. It seems the marauders took the citizens of Little Rock and the governor utterly by surprise. The governor, however, succumbed, and assuming the responsibility of the movement, demanded the surrender of the U.S. property. Capt. Totten, having no defensive force, of course, surrendered the arsenal.

The newspaper then congratulates the citizens that the difficulty has been happily settled, and to "the entire satisfaction of the troops." Would that arsenal have been taken had it contained one-quarter of the force now in charge of the St. Louis Arsenal? Brave and chivalrous soldiers these seceders, capturing an undefended arsenal.



Arsenal Grounds at Little Rock (1866)



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#29.4)

February 20, 1861

Little Rock Federal Arsenal Surrendered

(Reprint/Editorial)

(From the Little Rock *Democrat*, Feb. 7th)

On Tuesday morning [February 5], our city was thrown into the highest state of excitement by the unexpected arrival, on the steamer *Frederic Notrebe,* of a body of troops from Helena [Arkansas], with the avowed purpose of taking the United States Arsenal at this place and the arrival of additional troops a few hours later from Jefferson County [Arkansas] on the [steamboat] *Key West*, increased the excitement tenfold.

As our citizens were not apprised of any determination to take the arsenal, and were ignorant that troops had been requested from a distance to take it, their unexpected arrival produced quite a sensation. The City Council was called, and on application to the governor, was informed that the troops were not here by his orders. The troops themselves were of a different opinion, and came here, as they thought, at his command; but whether so or not, they were here to take the Arsenal and they determined to accomplish that object before leaving.

The excitement consequently continued to increase with every fresh arrival of troops, until the citizens of the town met and made a formal request of the governor to assume the responsibility of the movement in the name of the state, to demand the arsenal of the officer in command of it. It was believed that Captain Totten[385] would surrender to the authorities of the state rather than have a collision, but would not to a body of men disavowed by the governor and acting in violation of law. Consequently, the governor consented to act and immediately made a formal demand upon Capt. Totten.

To the governor's demand for the surrender of the arsenal, Capt. Totten agreed, and it was arranged that at 12 o'clock today, the arsenal should be delivered to the authorities of the state.

Capt. Totten, we presume, will soon take his departure, and as he has been regarded almost in the light of a citizen, his father and mother having resided here for more than twenty years, he will carry with him our regrets for the necessity that compels him to leave, and our warmest wishes for

[385] Capt. James Totten remained loyal to the Union and finished the war as a brevet brigadier general.

his welfare. There is no truer Southern man than Capt. Totten, and during his stay here, he won the respect, esteem and confidence of everyone.

The prompt and gallant manner in which our citizens in every direction responded to the call upon them will be a source of pride to every Arkansian. Their spirited conduct shows the stuff they are made of, and proves that in the hour of peril, there are many brave hearts and strong arms ready to stand forth in the cause of the state. Arkansas is far from being defenseless so long as she has such sons.

February 21, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#30)

February 21, 1861

Convention will be a Pro-Slavery and Anti-Secession Assembly

(Editorial)

"The state that asserts it will only stay in the Union on certain conditions, places itself not only in a dangerous dilemma but in a rebellious attitude, because if the conditions are not granted, there is no choice but ruin or ridicule. It must either do what it said, or back down."

The election returns from the state, so far as received, are utterly destructive of the secession scheme. They failed in any instance to announce the election of a disunionist. There can be no doubt but a decided majority of the Convention will be for the Union without condition or qualification.

That body, we venture to predict, will present no demands or propositions as an ultimatum. Very probably it will be eager to get everything it possibly can for slavery, but it will not threaten to take the state out of the Union on or before Lincoln takes office, on the 4th of March. In other words, the Convention will be a pro-slavery anti-secession assembly, looking in the Union and not outside for "remedies."

We may safely conclude that it will prove the efficient guardian of the honor, as well as the interests, of the state, for it will not put these two in antagonism with each other.

The cotton states never would have seceded had not the leading men placed themselves in such a position as to be forced to eat their own words or rebel against the general government. The false pride of those men would not permit them to acknowledge that their threats were only made for effect. They plunged into secession as the only means of escaping ridicule, thus sacrificing the dearest interests of their constitution to their own morbid vanity.

The state that asserts it will only stay in the Union on certain conditions, places itself not only in a dangerous dilemma but in a rebellious attitude, because if the conditions are not granted, there is no choice but ruin or ridicule. It must either do what it said, or back down. No government can, with safety to itself, feast with rebels or prospective rebels. The condition paramount and precedent of all proceedings appertaining to adjustments or compromises, is a recognition of the perpetuity of the Union. If the existence of the Union is permitted to enter into debate, then the whole fabric of the government is practically annihilated. For any state, therefore, to lay down an ultimatum, is virtually to put itself in a rebellious attitude.

The results of the election in this state, however gratifying they may be as evidence of the loyalty of the people, can cause no surprise when we find how Arkansas and Tennessee have acted. These are partially cotton states, with an infinitely larger slave interest than Missouri. Yet they have each voted down the call for a convention by a large majority.[386]

[386] Initially, both states voted not to hold secession conventions, but Arkansas passed a secession ordinance on May 6, 1861, and Tennessee, which initially rejected leaving the Union, seceded on June 8.


Missouri State Convention


Marion County


1861 Military Bill

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#30.1)

February 21, 1861

State Legislature and the Convention Election

"The voice of the people thundered peace, union, harmony—not secession, civil war, bloodshed, a military dictatorship, wasting money to make generals out of politicians, and to keep up a standing army to introduce a reign of terror."

Jefferson City, Feb 20.

The Howling of the Traitors

The back of the monster secession was completely broken in the Assembly by the action of the people in the election of Monday last [February 18].[387] The people have crushed both secession and its aiders and abettors so completely that only the howls of despair, the shrieks and gnashing of teeth can be plainly heard in all the dark corners of the Capitol to which they have fled, to grind out the little political life that they yet retain.

The howls of disappointed traitors could be heard in both the House and the Senate yesterday.

Mr. Harris, of Marion [County], who was a leading champion of the calling of the State Convention, with or without referring its action to the people, declared that if he could now recall his action and others calling the State Convention, he would do so.

Mr. Harris and His Military Bill

[State Rep. Thomas A.] Harris, of Marion County, made repeated efforts to get his pet Military Bill before the House. The voice of the people thundered peace, union, harmony—not secession, civil war, bloodshed, a military dictatorship, wasting money to make generals out of politicians, and to keep up a standing army to introduce a reign of terror. His efforts failed. Say what he will, the Military Bill is dead already in the House. It will not consent to pass any such absurd, monstrous measure. As I remarked before, the House will give the governor no more power than he has now. He has been too greedy in his efforts to obtain it, and in those efforts has awakened alarm and distrust in the minds of many of his own party. The Douglas party did not elect him to precipitate the state into secession, as he has tried to do. It did not elect him as a military dictator; it did not elect him to grasp at the power of the people to elect their own officers and wrest that privilege from them.

Conservative Speech of Senator Bell

Senator Bell, yesterday, in reply to Senator Parson's speech on the Military Bill, delivered an able, conservative, Union speech—one of the very best speeches delivered yet this session. He earnestly advocated the Union—the adoption of the Crittenden Compromise as a basis of compromise, and proved the folly and the suicidal doctrines of secession.

The Voice of the People Felt in the Senate

The voice of the people in Monday's election has even been felt in the Senate.

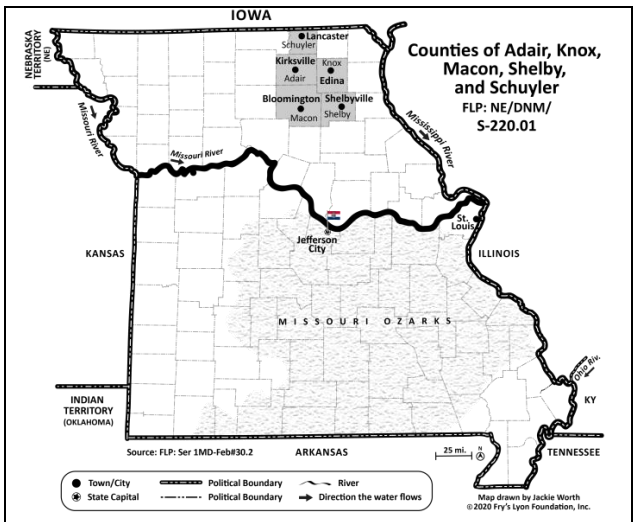
Senator Goodlett moved the postponement of the Military Bill, on the ground that his constituents had decided largely in favor of the Union. Though he was a friend of the bill, yet he felt bound to obey the will of his constituents. He wished it postponed until he could hear further from his constituents.

This gave rise to a lengthy debate, in which the secessionists came out in their true colors, setting the will of the people at defiance. The bill was finally postponed until Friday next.

Mr. Harris Makes Another Wiggle

Mr. Harris, of Marion County, this morning again insisted on calling up the Military Bill, but by some strange coincidence, whenever he makes the effort, about fifty members spring to their feet with

[387] The election was for delegates to the State Convention.



See map AM-9 on page 451 for an enlarged image.

cries of "Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker, I have a bill I want to get through." The confusion increases until the House grants leave to some member to introduce some local or other bills, and Mr. Harris is again made to wait. Really, of right, the bill was the regular order of business. Yesterday the successful effort to keep it off the agenda prophesized correctly its utter defeat when it does come up.

Secessionist States' Rights Meeting

Another States rights meeting was held last evening in the House of Representatives. The number of the so-called states rights' men was small, though the House was well-filled with spectators. Speeches were made by [Lt. Gov.] Reynolds, Gen. Riley and Mr. Rains.[388] A committee of nine was appointed to watch and influence the action of the State Convention.

—K.



[388] James S. Rains, a former state senator, was later appointed a brigadier general in the Missouri State Guard by Governor Jackson. The Guard was created as part of the Military Bill, which finally passed and became effective May 14, 1861.

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#30.2)
February 21, 1861

Northeast Missouri Votes for Union

(Letter to Editors)

Macon City [Macon County], Mo.,
Feb. 18, 1861.

Editors Missouri Democrat:

Today we have had another triumph in the Republican cause. In this section of Missouri, our cause is a perfect success, and our party voting and living up to the organization like men true and loyal to freedom's cause. At this precinct, our ticket (the Union) ran four to one ahead, and from all information now received, we shall elect our men by at least a majority of four thousand votes. The district is composed of the counties of Adair, Knox, Shelby, Schuyler, and last but not least, Macon. Hon. F. Rowland of Macon, J. D. Foster of Adair and J. W. Irwin of Shelby are doubtless elected to the Convention, and I am proud to say they are tried and true men—sound on the Union and faithful to their constituents. Thus are we progressing in "Old Macon," who will swell loud and long her echo of Union now and Union forever.[389]

True Republican.

[389] For the names and details on the delegates to the Convention, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-11).



“The Flag of Our Union”
Strike ‘til the last armed foe expires,
Strike for your altars and your fires!
Strike for the green graves of your siren,
God and your native land!
Currier & Ives, 1861

4. *MISSOURI DEMOCRAT* ARTICLES, FEBRUARY WEEK FOUR

February 22, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31)

February 22, 1861

South Carolina vis-à-vis Missouri and the Death of Slavery

(Reprint/Editorial)

> "Her interests are all with freedom and the free states, and her fortunes are irrevocably linked with theirs. Almost surrounded as she is by free states, and permeated by the wind currents of freedom which sweep upon her perpetually from those free states to her east, west and north, with the free navigation of her mighty river absolutely dependent upon the Union, with railroads sweeping across her from Illinois to Kansas . . . —what to her are the fidgets of South Carolina?"

(From the *New York Times*, Feb. 18)

There is no more preposterous fallacy than that which is just now urged with such persistence by the adherents of two opposing political factions—that the fortunes of the whole of the Southern states are irrevocably linked together for the support and propagations of slavery, or that, because that institution is recognized in them all, therefore their aims, interests, and destiny are identical. For the fact is, that the mere incident of slavery, so diverse in the different states in its extent, its scope, its history, and its power, can furnish no such almighty bond of union to the exclusion of other interests, greater, more vital, and universal. There is far more real antagonism today, both of interest and principle, between Missouri and South Carolina than there is between Massachusetts and North Carolina. Nay, so radically diverse are the purposes of the disunion cotton states from those of the border slave states of the great West, that the latter could not exist a year in a confederacy in which South Carolina had a controlling voice.



The conspirators of the Deep South cotton states along the Gulf of Mexico, in their dreams of a slave empire, of which they shall be lords, would trample down every interest but their own; while in the border states of the West and of the center, social and economic forces are working irresistibly to expel slavery, which can never be other than perturbing and hostile. With the one, the slave interest is supreme, while in the other, it is continually dwindling in power, and the broader interests of humanity are firmly asserting their supremacy and jealously maintaining it.

Compare, for example, the relative growth of the white and black races in Missouri and in South Carolina for the last ten years.

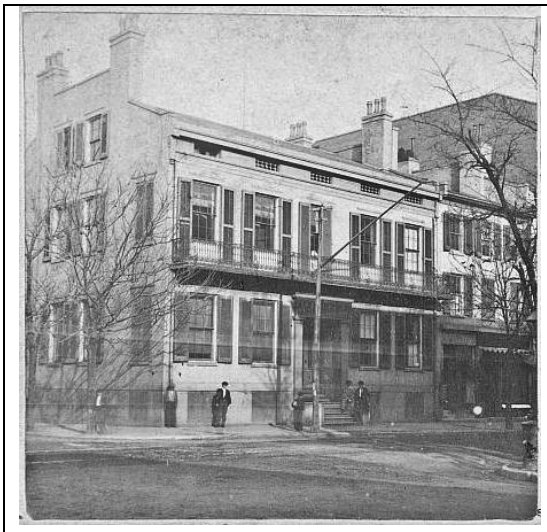
The new census[390] exhibits the remarkable fact that the free population of Missouri has nearly doubled within the last decade, being now (in round numbers) eleven hundred thousand, while the total slave population is only one hundred and fifteen thousand, or one black to ten whites, an increase of but thirty percent; and during the last two years, or since the decision of Kansas to enter the Union as a free state, the expansion of slavery has been checked, and the number has been stationary. The same ratio of increase of whites for the next ten years will give the state a free population of over two million; while, should the export of slaves southward go as rapidly as at present, the slave element in Missouri, in 1876, will not be much larger than it is now in New York; or for all practical purposes, be eliminated.

[390] See maps AM-6a, AM-6b, and AM-6c on pages 446-448, for more information on the distribution of the white, slave, and freemen population of Missouri.

In South Carolina, on the other hand, according to the ominous figures of Mr. Kennedy, there are in round numbers, one hundred thousand more black slaves than whites, while during the last ten years, notwithstanding the enormous export of slaves westward, the increments in both classes of her population has been just about the same. The ratio of her slaves, however, actually increases at a high rate, and but for the western outlet, they would now number two to one of the whites. And should she be finally cut off from the Union, and her Trans Mississippi slave market be shut off (as it certainly will be), and if this increase goes on, gathering force continually as it must, in two or three decades, the white population of South Carolina will bear about as insignificant a proportion of the total population as the blacks do to whites in Missouri. This, in the natural course of events, will cause her Palmetto flag,[391] to become the emblem of a black kingdom, not more imposing than any African kingdom.

What interest, then, has Missouri, the stalwart giant of the West in slaves, in common with this foredoomed kingdom of slaves?

For the fact is, that in Missouri, slavery is but a temporary and exceptional affair left over from before the Louisiana Purchase, and not the all-together rolling affair that it is in South Carolina, and the entire abolition of the institution in Missouri today would not affect the interests of the state half as much as the secession furor has already affected those of South Carolina.



Office of Missouri Pacific Railroad Co.
St. Louis, Mo. (c. 1867)

Missouri, too, knows well that all her splendid future, as well as her present greatness, depends upon the labor of the sturdy freemen,[392] who have been attracted by her liberal institutions, not less than by her generous soil. And she knows also that *that* grand procession of pioneers, now converging towards there from all parts of Europe, who will before long make every acre of her magnificent domain smile with plenty, and her mineable minerals yield up those metals, which are for her a jewel richer than the product of a million slaves, would be suddenly and forever arrested, should she sacrifice, under the pretext of secession propagandism, the peace and security which she now enjoys. Her interests are all with freedom and the free states, and her fortunes are irrevocably linked with theirs. Almost surrounded as she is by free states, and permeated by the wind currents of freedom which sweep upon her perpetually from those free states to her east, west and north, with the free navigation of her mighty river absolutely dependent upon the Union, with railroads sweeping across her from Illinois to Kansas, with the vast commerce of the plains rapidly centering in her chief city, with the Pacific Railroad connecting her with the gold and silver mines of Washoe [Nevada], Pike's Peak [Colorado], and California, with energy, emigration and a boundless future—what to her are the fidgets of South Carolina?

We predict, then, that when on the 28th of this month, her Convention shall assemble to adopt measures for "vindicating the sovereignty of the state and the protection of its institutions," slavery will not be the only institution the vindication of which she will keep in view, but that following the wise example of Virginia and Tennessee, she will resolutely declare for the perpetuity of that Union, under which she has grown, in half a century, from infancy into the proportions of a giant and become one of the foremost states of the republic, both in population and wealth. In the next ten years, she can accomplish what the folly of secession will delay a hundred years.

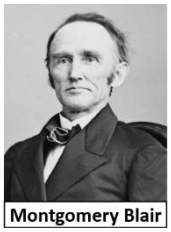
[391] Refers to the South Carolina state flag, which pictures the palmetto tree..
[392] In the city and county of St. Louis, there were more free blacks than slaves.

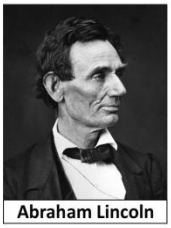
But a still more striking diversity in the slavery element than even that between Missouri and South Carolina is furnished by contrasting the state of Mississippi with Maryland. In Mississippi, during the decade, there has been an absolute increase of a hundred and seventy thousand slaves, or a surplus over the white growth of sixty thousand. In Maryland, on the other hand, the slaves have actually decreased five thousand since 1850, while the white population has increased a hundred and fifty thousand. Indeed, neither Maryland nor Delaware can now hardly come into the same social category with the slave states at all. In Maryland, the institution is rapidly disappearing, while in Delaware, their total slave population is hardly as many slaves as belong to some individual planters in the cotton states.

The same line of comparison might be run between other of the slave states, and the same striking contrasts would appear.

The fact is, that without the balancing and harmonizing power of the Union, all the grand and varied interests of the great border and the Western states would be utterly submerged in the one, all destructive, vortex of secession propaganda.

Editor's Note: In the article below, Montgomery Blair, the elder brother of Missouri's U.S. Congressman-Elect Francis (Frank) Blair Jr., is recommended for a position in Lincoln's Cabinet. Montgomery will be appointed Lincoln's postmaster general and become a very influential member of the Cabinet, especially concerning military matters. He will also play a major role in all issues concerning Missouri. Born in 1813, he was an 1835 graduate of West Point and fought in the Seminole War. After leaving the Army, he moved to St. Louis, was an attorney, a judge, and served as mayor in 1842-43. He moved to Maryland in 1852. After the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he left the Democratic Party and became one of the founding leaders of the Republican Party. His name will appear often in the volumes of this *1861 Missouri Speaks* series.


Montgomery Blair


Abraham Lincoln


Frank P. Blair, Jr.

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31.2)

February 22, 1861

Hon. Montgomery Blair

"The name that he wears is a synonym for all that is gallant and long-suffering in the service of the Republican Party. But in his moral fitness for a position in any president's Cabinet, we feel that we have a right to speak, for knowing him well, as do thousands of others in this city, we know that he is 'honest, faithful and capable.'"

In several quarters, we see very favorable mention made of the Hon. Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, to fill one of the Cabinet offices under Mr. Lincoln. Every honest citizen of the United States has felt his cheek mantle with shame at the disgrace brought on by our government and people by the corruption and treason of one of Mr. Buchanan's ministers.[393] No man can be unmindful of the hands into which the good name of our government is entrusted.

We hold, therefore, that it is the right of every loyal citizen to feel and manifest an interest in the appointments of Mr. Lincoln, or any other

[393] This refers to President Buchanan's Sec. of War, John B. Floyd, who used his government position to enrich himself and friends. Then when he knew civil war was inevitable, scattered the Navy around the world, and had arms and equipment from the Northern depots shipped South. After President Buchanan refused to pull Maj. Anderson out of Fort Sumter, Floyd resigned and went South, where he accepted a commission as a Confederate general.

president. And accordingly, we record our earnest desire to see so good a man as Judge Montgomery Blair placed in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet.

We shall not dwell on Judge Blair's political claims for such an honor. The name that he wears is a synonym for all that is gallant and long-suffering in the service of the Republican Party. But in his moral fitness for a position in any president's Cabinet, we feel that we have a right to speak, for knowing him well, as do thousands of others in this city, we know that he is "honest, faithful and capable." He possesses a temper of wonderful equanimity, an impartial, upright and well-informed judgment, and firmness and courage for what he believes to be right, that no man in the Union can exceed.

Judge Blair's life-long experience in the ablest political school that ever gave direction to American politics (that of Old Hickory and Thomas H. Benton in their glorious days) gives him an advantage that few men in the nation can rival. We trust Judge Blair may be offered a seat in the Cabinet. A more honorable and [useful] public officer would never be found.

—*Evening News of Yesterday*.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31.3)

February 22, 1861

Missouri For the Union—Rejoice the Vile Reptile Secession is Slain

"In this glorious struggle, we have shown that with us, love of country is stronger than a love of party. We have proved that we are ready to act only with the men who are faithful to the Constitution and will sustain a government of equal and popular rights."

The day of our deliverance is at hand. The traitor army is routed. The viper foes of Missouri that have nestled upon her bosom until warmed into life by her kindness and forbearance, attempted to give her the vital sting, but through your courage, they have not succeeded. Through the trying ordeal just past, our beloved state has purged herself from the villainy of secession.

MISSOURI IS TRUE TO THE UNION

Let the earth rejoice. Let the people unite in songs of thanksgiving. The arm of treason is broken. The hand that was raised against the flag of our country has been paralyzed by the almighty breath of the people. The sun of liberty yet smiles upon us, and tyranny trembles in view of the scaffold erected for its execution.

The blow was struck by your hand that has shivered into fragments the "cabbage tree" of secession, which traitors planted upon our soil, intending to water it with tears and blood of the laboring men.

By laying aside party and rallying so nobly around the standard of "Unconditional Union," you have given political schemers and disunion rebels a foretaste of what they may expect in the future at your hands. You have manfully defended your own rights. You have nobly sustained your own cause.

You have demonstrated what workingmen can do when called upon to uphold the honor of that country in which the hope of popular liberty is centered.

THE VILE REPTILE IS SLAIN

The triumph is a complete and glorious one, and you have got the vile reptile, SECESSION, under your heel.

You have now but to follow up the good work, and take care that this same disunion serpent does not appear to you in another shape.

He is capable of assuming almost any form, but the mark you have put upon him will guide you correctly.

Look at the top of his head, and if you find there a mark in the shape of the heel prints of the workingmen, be sure it is he, and give him another.

In this glorious struggle, we have shown that with us, love of country is stronger than a love of party. We have proved that we are ready to act only with the men who are faithful to the Constitution

and will sustain a government of equal and popular rights.

By this position, let us stand in all coming time, and on the principle of a free, stable government, let us plant our batteries and live and die in defense of our liberties. With this resolve carried into action, we are secure against the ravages of foreign wars, or from the blighting curse of domestic treason. If we are true to ourselves and our own interests, we will have the best of help, for we help ourselves.

"*Who would be free,*
Themselves must strike the blow."

Paul Plato

February 23, 1861

Editor's Note: At the time the article below was published, it did not reflect the actual conditions in the St. Louis Arsenal, as the arsenal commander, Brevet Major Hagner, would not allow Captain Lyon to make the necessary preparations to protect the Arsenal. Lyon released the information below to mislead the secessionists and deter an attack. After the Lincoln administration gave Lyon command of the Arsenal, something he should have had from the beginning, according to the Articles of War and Army regulations, Lyon implemented the precautions described in the article below.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#32)
February 23, 1861

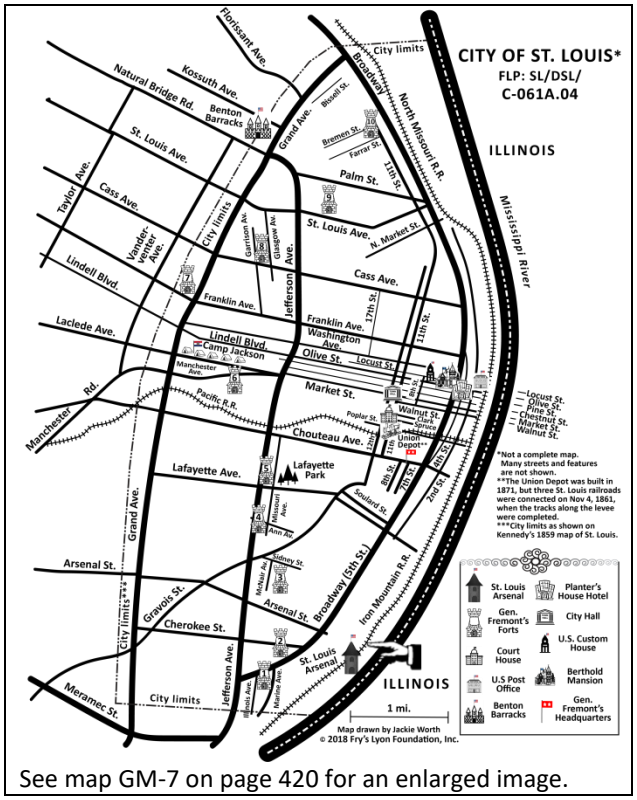
The St. Louis Arsenal

Condition—Preparedness to Repel an Assault —Names of the Officers—Discipline of Troops

(Editorial)

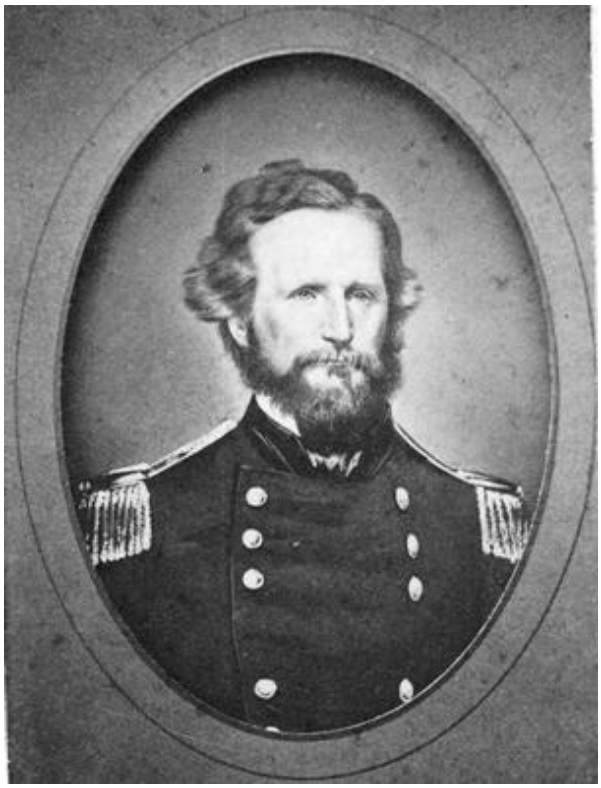
"The infantry soldiers are all good and true men. The officers are sound on the Union question, and would sooner die than see the Stars and Stripes hauled down and any mongrel secession flag hoisted in its stead, no matter by whom or under what authority."

If there be any secessionist or other persons in St. Louis or out of it, who is under the impression that the Arsenal in this city can be easily wrestled from the possession of the United States government, let him at once stand on the idea; and if there be any Conditional Union man who goes to bed at night half inclined to fear that before he awakes the next morning, the Arsenal property will have been seized, let him henceforth rest in peace. The Arsenal is safe in the hands of United States troops, in force sufficient with the best of defense at their command to drive off ten times the number, with all the arts and implements of that likely to be brought into action by secessionists or others.



See map GM-7 on page 420 for an enlarged image.

We paid a visit to the Arsenal yesterday, and



Nathaniel Lyon
by J. A. Scholten
Missouri Historical Society Photographs and Prints

although it is a peaceful area, one cannot but feel the moment once the gate is closed upon him, that he is surrounded on all sides by terribly effective weapons of defense.

The number of men now quartered within the walls and capable of active service, is five hundred, with a large reserve team at the Jefferson Barracks, five miles below the city. The troops are divided into ordnance corps and infantry corps, the latter being responsible for its defense and the most numerous. The chief ordnance officer in command is Major Hagner, the second in command is Captain N. Lyon, recently arrived from Fort Scott [Kansas], whither he went in search of Montgomery's band,[394] on the occasion of the late outbreak on the border.[395]

The following is a list of all the officers, and the state from which they hail:

ORDNANCE CORPS

Brevet Major, Peter V. Hagner; Washington, DC
1st Lieutenant John W. Todd; Kentucky

INFANTRY CORPS

Captain Nathaniel Lyon; Connecticut
Capt. Alfred Tracy; Massachusetts
1st Lieutenant, William F. Lacy; Virginia
2nd Lieutenant, John A. Thompson; Virginia

ARTILLERY CORPS

1st Lieutenant, Rufus Saxton; Massachusetts

The infantry soldiers are all good and true men. The officers are sound on the Union question, and would sooner die than see the Stars and Stripes hauled down and any mongrel secession flag hoisted in its stead, no matter by whom or under what authority.

Brevet Major Hagner has recently arrived from Fort Leavenworth, and superseded Major Bell in the command of the post.[396] He is a brave and gallant officer. Captain Lyon, who is equal in line rank[397] to Brevet Major Hagner, is captain of the Second Infantry. Captain Lyon graduated from West Point in 1841, and immediately entered into active service as a 2nd lieutenant infantry company commander in the Seminole War, in Florida. After leaving

[394] Refers to the band of James Montgomery, an abolitionist who believed in destroying the South with "fire and sword," and was notorious for his raids on pro-slavery settlements along the Missouri-Kansas border. For more information on Montgomery, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.1).

[395] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-14).

[396] Major Bell was removed at the request of the Union Safety Committee for suspected disloyalty. On January 24, Gen. Frost wrote Gov. Jackson advising him Major Bell was everything they could desire and would turn the St. Louis Arsenal over to the state whenever the time came. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan#20).

[397] In reality, Nathaniel Lyon out-ranked Brevet Maj. Hagner, having been promoted to Regular Army captain earlier than Hagner (June 11, 1851 vs. July 10, 1851), even though Hagner graduated from West Point five years earlier. Hagner was a brevet major because the Ordnance Corps commander of the Arsenal calls for the commander to be a major; therefore, Captain Hagner had the temporary rank of brevet major while he was in command of the Arsenal.

Florida, he served along the Great Lakes in upstate New York. On the breaking out of the Mexican war, he was ordered to Mexico, and served under General Taylor, then Gen. Scott, in command of an infantry company. He participated in the storming of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino Del Rey, and the final taking of the City of Mexico, where he was wounded. For his leadership and heroism in battle, he was promoted from 1st lieutenant to brevet captain. On the close of the war, he went to California; commanded several expeditions to Clear Lake and Russian River to chastise troublesome Indians, for which he was complimented by both the War Department and the Congress. He served on the Western Frontier from 1849 to 1854. After May of 1854, he was assigned to Fort Riley, Kansas, but served throughout the West. He arrived in St. Louis with his company to protect the Arsenal on February 7, 1861.

The subordinate officers are all believed to regard the Stars and Stripes as the only flag worth following. They have a high admiration of Major Anderson, and profess to hope that he may maintain his position unharmed at Fort Sumter.

We need not tell our readers how many men from the lower part of the city would tender their aid to preserve the Arsenal, in case it was attacked by secessionists, acting under state or individual authority.

NOW THE ARSENAL CAN BE DEFENDED

It is not our practice to state how the Arsenal will be defended, that is, of course, a military secret which it would be impolite to expose; but we can state the means of defense and the possibilities of the war, and with the assurance that the necessities are well understood by the officers in command and the means of carrying out the plans ready at a moment's warning, leave our readers to learn of it for themselves how the place can be defended.

It is well known that the Arsenal buildings and grounds are surrounded by a high stone wall. This is extremely fortunate, as it forms a basis of protective precautions. Plank platforms may be erected, but a hundred yards inside the walls and with a force of infantry to keep off intruders, the walls can never be scaled. This is an important point gained. Sentinels now guard the wall, and a single shot would be sufficient to call several hundred men to arms in mere minutes. The gates are commanded by six four-pound howitzers,[398] protected by earthworks to keep off the fire of musketry or rifles. The soldiers can never be reached by rifle or musket, while a charge of grapeshot would scatter an assailing force at the gates quickly. There are some of these ugly customers at each gate.

The orders to prepare field works were received from the War Department[399] about two weeks ago. The work has been done promptly and well. The artillery is so distributed that any attack of the railroad could be repelled in a few minutes by running out a couple of guns beyond the walls in the southwest corner and completely keeping the track northward. Then inside, thirty-two pounders are arranged to sweep the length of the walls completely, so that if an assailant ever got over the walls they would meet certain destruction.

There are other means at hand to dispose of an invading force, should one be successful in reaching the inside of the walls; warning which we are not at liberty to speak but has been accomplished toward putting the Arsenal in a defensive condition, has been done quietly and without any noise or parade.

We are permitted to state that a large entity of arms lately stored in our Arsenal has been shipped to other states, principally to Wisconsin. As the southern states have had more than their share in the seizure of the arsenal in Charleston[400] [South Carolina], Baton Rouge[401] [Louisiana], and elsewhere, Secretary [of War] Holt, with a commendable sense of justice, has supplied the northwest from this point.

There is an abundance of stores, artillery arms, and ammunition left for practical purposes, and a force of laborers not engaged putting every musket, rifle, sword, and pistol into perfect order. The artillery is chiefly mounted. Sandbags for throwing

[398] Howitzer: a cannon which fired hollow projectiles and was lighter than its solid-shot cousins.
[399] See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Feb#11).
[400] The Charleston Arsenal was seized on December 28, 1860.
[401] The Baton Rouge Arsenal was seized January 10, 1861.

up fresh breaks are all ready for use, and in short, the condition of things may be pretty much called "on equal footing."

One company was engaged with muskets in target practice yesterday while we were on the grounds, and their proficiency would do credit to any of our excellent volunteer companies. At a distance of sixty yards, nearly every ball was inside a ring fifteen inches in diameter, and the bull's eye was completely riddled. We understand that the men take great pride in the ranks as to the best shot. A careful inspection of the arms and ammunition is ordered daily to see that neither are injured by dampness or otherwise.

THE SMALL POX

The quarters of officers and men are kept in the cleanest condition, and the health of the troops is generally good. The stories about the small pox epidemic in a fearful extent on the premises are exaggerated. There are a few men sick with it in the hospital, but they are kept entirely aloof from any contact with the main body of troops, and no fear is entertained whatever that it will spread. Ample precautions have been taken, however, to prevent it. We could not help being struck with the fine appearance of the men as we passed over the grounds. They look as well and hearty as any set of troops ever seen in this city, and there is not a rebellious spirit among them.

The American flag is hoisted at sunrise and lowered at sunset, with military honors. Long may it wave.

Editor's Note: Prior to Jackson being elected governor, he was the State Banking Commissioner. As a result, he was intimately familiar with banking operations and bank owners across the state. After Jackson took office, he developed a plan to fund the arming of his secession-minded supporters by having banks give special loans to wealthy landowners, who would then use the money to arm locally organized quasi-military units that could be brought into state service when the governor was ready. "Neither the signers nor the bankers thought they would be personally responsible for repayment." Governor Jackson had assured them his new Confederate state government would assume the debt. However, after the governor was forced from the capital by General Lyon, and the loans became due, banking regulators required the borrowers to repay the loans when they came due. This caused formerly wealthy landowners to lose everything when they could not repay the loans. It is assumed that the new banking laws discussed below, being pushed by the secessionists in the legislature, had something to do with the governor's effort to arm his supporters. [Source: Mark W. Geiger, *Financial Fraud and Guerrilla Violence in Missouri's Civil War, 1861-1865* (Yale University Press, 2010), page70.]



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#32.1)

February 23, 1861

The Bank Bills in the House

(Editorial)

"There seems to be an understanding or an agreement between the House and Senate. The House asks the Senate to pass its stay laws, and in consideration thereof, the House will pass the Bank bill, with slight amendments."

Jefferson City, Feb. 22.

The Bank bill came up before the House yesterday. The House refused to refer it to the committee and manifested a decisive desire to proceed to its consideration at once. The debate on it and amendments will take up doubtless several days. The bank influence (if the first action of the

House is to be taken as a guide) is very strong, and they may be able to carry through a bill, which will suit only the banks.

There seems to be an understanding or an agreement between the House and Senate. The House asks the Senate to pass its stay laws,* and in consideration thereof, the House will pass the Bank bill, with slight amendments. How this plan will work yet remains to be seen. If the Senate rejects the stay laws, then the bank bill will have a hard road to travel; otherwise, it will go through easily. The stay law advocates, who have a majority, use this argument:

> *We wish to support the people; you wish to support the banks. Agree to our Bank Bill, and we will agree to yours.*

But this very proposition will delay for some time the final passage of either, and in the meantime, the times, pregnant with great events, may materially alter their final decisions.

*Stay laws gave debtors extra time to pay their creditors before their property would be seized for payment.

February 25, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#32.3)
February 25, 1861

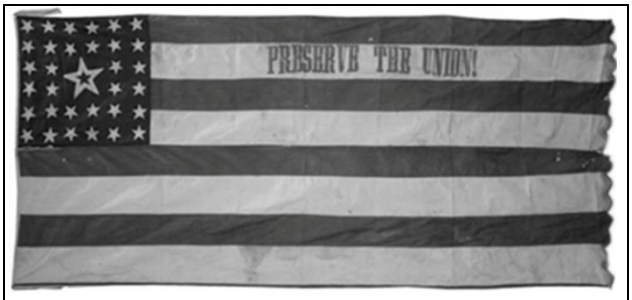
Union Feeling—An Incident

(Reprint/Editorial)

(From the Kansas City *Journal of Commerce*)

At the meeting on Saturday night [February 23] at the courthouse, an incident occurred that shows the feeling of the great popular heart on the question of Union.

Bantle's splendid saxhorn band had been taking their usual practicing lesson, and when their lesson was over, adjourned to the courthouse and stationed themselves at the door, unknown to the great body of the immense audience. At the first interval in the proceedings, the close of Dr. Condiff's Union speech, they struck up "Hail Columbia," at the same time displaying the Stars and Stripes waving over the heads of the people.



Stars and Stripes
"Preserve the Union!"
33 stars, 1859-1861

Such a scene of enthusiasm was never witnessed in the city before. The entire audience seemingly sprang to their feet and nothing but waving hats could be seen above the heads of the audience, while the cheers ran wild in their intensity, and with a prolonged continuance that made the building tremble. Old men jumped up on the benches and shouted with the vigor of youth. It was a memorable incident.

February 26, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#33)
February 26, 1861

What Is Said of Our Election

(Editorial)

"The secessionists have been overwhelmingly defeated in Missouri by the national men of that state, many of

the prominent leaders of public opinion declaring that the institutions of the country must be upheld under all circumstances and that all political reforms be secured by legitimate and honest means. Differences in politics are not adequate grounds for the dismemberment of a government."

The following are reprints of articles from across the country.


VIRGINIA, 1861



Wheeling, (Va.)

The election news from Missouri is very meager as yet, but sufficient to indicate, beyond a doubt, that the Unconditional Unionists have carried the state by a heavy majority. In St. Louis County, the secessionists were nowhere. This result is most gratifying. It is one more link in that chain of border states that are tied to the Union and the Constitution—one more pound that is to break the back of secession. Nobly done, good and faithful Missouri!



Olney, Ill.

The election in Missouri last Monday [February 18] resulted in the triumph of the Union party. In spite of all the wrangling of the *Missouri Republican*, the greatest lying disunion paper in the state, St. Louis rolled up a majority of nearly 5,000 for the Union candidates.



Philadelphia, Pa.

The secessionists have been overwhelmingly defeated in Missouri by the national men of that state, many of the prominent leaders of public opinion declaring that the institutions of the country must be upheld under all circumstances and that all political reforms be secured by legitimate and honest means. Differences in politics are not adequate grounds for the dismemberment of a government and the consequent ramification of inconclusive evils upon these now living and their prosperity. Missouri has done nobly. It is almost a matter of wonder that any of her people were so politically demoralized as to seek remedies for political complaints in the total subversion of the liberties of the people.



Dubuque, Iowa

The reaction against secession in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee resulted in a glorious climax in Missouri on Monday last.

The disunionists disguised their candidates in the garb of Conditional Union or anti-coercion men, and warred upon all Unionists as Black Republican abolitionists. The *St. Louis Republican* announced in advance that if the Unconditional Unionists should win, it would be nothing but a Republican triumph. The fight was therefore not a square one, and the traitors were overwhelmed. It would seem that if Missouri, a slave state, could thus pronounce in favor of absolute unqualified submission to the Constitution and laws of the land, while seven slave states profess to have grievances, enough to push them into an attitude of rebellion, that inhabitants of the free states might be expected to unanimously stand by the Union.



New York, N.Y.

The intelligence received from Missouri must be cheering to every friend of the Union, as secession has been so completely defeated, that it will never again be heard of in the great pivotal state. The city of St. Louis gives a clear majority of four thousand for the Union, and it is supposed that hardly ten members in favor of separation have been elected to the Convention. If any state has

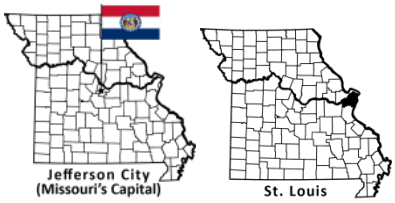
grounds for complaint, it is Missouri, surrounded, as shown, by free communities on three sides, but her loyalty is too great to be even shaken by trivial matters. More than this, Missouri has awoken to the consciousness of the magnificent future which awaits her, carrying, as she does in her girdle, the keys of the Pacific, as well as, the Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio valleys. If her soil is not fully equal to that of Illinois, her climate will more than compensate for this defect, while her mineral wealth is literally immeasurable. Her principal city, St. Louis, is destined to be the commercial center of the great valley, standing like a halfway house between New York and San Francisco, the three cities being likely to become the largest and most influential in their respective sections of the country. We are far mistaken if St. Louis does not distance Cincinnati [Ohio] in the race, as she has already beaten Chicago by the close of the decade on which we have entered. And what St. Louis is becoming, Missouri will yet be among the states of the Mississippi valley.

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#33.1)

Editor's Note: The article that follows provides insight into the thinking of Missouri's secessionists toward St. Louis. The speaker, J. W. Tucker, was the editor of a South Carolina newspaper before moving to Missouri two years earlier. After he arrived, he became the editor of the St. Louis secessionist *State Journal* newspaper, and according to this article, the St. Louis *Bulletin also.* The *State Journal* was shut down on 12 July, at the order of General Lyon, as a seditious newspaper, and Tucker was eventually charged with treason. While his trial was in progress, he fled St. Louis and joined Gov. Jackson, who had already fled the capital. Afterward he became one of the editors of Jackson's State Guard newspaper, the *Argus*.

Timeline: Jul 12. - Col. McNeil, at the direction of Gen. Lyon, halts the publication of the *State Journal* newspaper. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#49). The reason given by McNeil for shutting down the paper is as follows:

> *The Missouri State Journal, a newspaper printed and published in the city of St. Louis, has given and is continually giving, aid and comfort to those who are in active rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States. It has not only encouraged them by its persistent appeals to the people to take up arms against that authority but by its constant and continual publication of intelligence known to be false, respecting the troops of the United States, it has indirectly incited disaffected citizens to the commission of overt acts of treason.*



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#34)

February 26, 1861

Secessionist J. W. Tucker's Opinion of St. Louis

"He supposed Missouri would act in concert with the other border states. If the concessions they asked were granted, they might remain for a while in the Union; but he undertook to say that no patchwork of compromise, Crittenden's or any other, could long keep them with the North. Their feelings and interests were with the South, and the sooner they find it out, the better for them."

JEFFERSON CITY, Feb. 23, 1861.

The stagnant waters of the Capitol were moved

last evening by a lecture from J. W. Tucker, Esq.,[402] of your city.

The lecturer commenced by modestly alluding to himself and the object of his address. He had a personal and political design of momentous importance to the people of the state, which he should presently explain to them. He did not, however, proceed directly to the point, but wandered off to the city of St. Louis. He talked about its growth, its destiny, the magnitude of its business and influence, which made it, in some respects, the pride and ornament of the state.



Joseph W. Tucker

The Germans

The Germans, he thought, constituted the greatest number. They were not bad; they were frugal, industrious, but they were foreigners and hostile to the state government which protected them and to the institutions of the state. They were in the hands of the Black Republicans, and were used to carry out their wicked purposes.

City Government

The city government was in the hands of the same Black Republicans, and they filled all the offices from the judges to the street sweepers. They were worthy men for what he knew, but he believed every one of the judges were hostile to the institutions of the state, and to the policy and feelings of the legislature. These things ought to create apprehension and alarm, and St. Louis ought to be brought into harmony with the rest of the state.

Newspapers

The newspapers of St. Louis were also hostile to the interests of the state, and exercise a disastrous influence. He expanded on the influence of the press, as molding and controlling the character, sentiments and political action of the state, and then described the troublesome influence of the newspapers in that city.



St. Louis, Mo.

(Democratic Party Paper)

He first took up *The News*, a very good paper, a respectable paper, and conducted by honorable gentlemen; but it was indecisive, unreliable, and its influence was disastrous to the South and to the institutions of Missouri. It never omitted an opportunity to slander and vilify the South. It spits upon the secession resolutions of South Carolina; it first suppressed the fact that Mississippi appointed a delegate to this state, and abused her for not doing so, and then when the commissioner came, wanted to know what business or right he had to dictate to this state. That paper first advocated the Crittenden Compromise,[403] and then went for Unconditional Union, and turned upon the friends of John Bell.[404]

[402] After moving to St. Louis in 1858, Joseph W. Tucker started the secessionist Missouri *State Journal*, which became Gov. Jackson's champion and mouthpiece. Publication of the paper was suppressed in July 1861. See (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#49).

[403] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

[404] John Bell ran on the new Constitutional Union Party ticket in the 1860 presidential election. In St. Louis. There

As for the Military Bill, which the governor, in his love for St. Louis, recommended to guard her people against riot and bloodshed. *The News* ridiculed and abused the governor for this patriotic act, belied and slandered his motives and those of the legislature.

The course of that paper reminded him of the old couplet:

You shall and you shan't;
You will and you won't.
You'd be damned if you do;
You'd be damned if you don't.



St. Louis, Mo.

(Democratic Party Paper)

Having thus disposed of *The News*, he took up the *Missouri Republican*. This was a respectable paper and of great influence, but malignant and venomous against the institutions of the state. It was always singing the song of the "Union"—a silly and senseless song, always in the mouths of tyrants. Who, he exclaimed, is not for the Union as it once existed; but we are all for disunion if we can't get our rights. The *Republican* was careful always to publish everything denunciatory of the South, but nothing in their favor.

It was full of vile falsehood and slander of the South and of South Carolina, professed to approve the Crittenden Compromise and then ignore them, and was unscrupulous and bitter in its abuse of the legislature when they did not conform to its views. He concluded that the *Republican* could not be relied on as the organ of the States' Rights party of the state.



St. Louis, Mo.

(Republican Party Paper)

The *Democrat* was summarily disposed of as a vile inflammatory sheet, a monstrous cancer on the body politic. This concluded his enumeration of the newspapers of the city—there were no others worthy of notice.



St. Louis, Mo.

(Southern Supporting Paper)

The speaker then referred to himself. He was from South Carolina, where he had held important offices, but had removed his family and transferred his affections to this state, and was bound to it for better or worse. Then came the point of the story. The *Bulletin* was the only paper that truly represented the feelings and sentiments of the state, and that paper was temporarily suspended. Actuated by a patriotic desire to serve the beneficent institutions of the state, he had consented to undertake the editorial management of that paper, and called upon the members of the legislature, and through them, the people of the state, to give it their patronage and support.[405] Having made known his true object, he expounded eloquently upon the happy and beneficent effect his paper would have in bringing the naughty St. Louis in harmony with the institutions and policy of the state.

South & Border Slave States



He then commented on the condition of things in the South. He said a number of states had seceded and formed an independent government. They would soon be completely organized with ministers at foreign courts, and one thing might as

was a large number of Bell supporters, who were referred to as the "the Bell people." Other groups were the Stephen A. "Douglas people," the Republicans, and the secessionists.

[405] Each year the state government gives a desirable and lucrative contract to one newspaper/publisher to print all official state new releases and publish all state documents. The writer feels Mr. Tucker was in the Capitol to lobby for that contract. See: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#56.2) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#35.1).

well be understood and settled upon. These states would never come back into the Union on any terms that could be offered; never, never. He wanted to make this emphatic, for he knew whereof he spoke. As wise men, we should consider the consequences; we must join one side or the other. He supposed Missouri would act in concert with the other border states. If the concessions they asked were granted, they might remain for a while in the Union; but he undertook to say that no patchwork of compromise, Crittenden's or any other, could long keep them with the North. Their feelings and interests were with the South, and the sooner they find it out, the better for them. The Southern states, he declared, were looking to Missouri with feelings of affection he could not express. A vacillating policy was ruinous and would disaffect and disgust the South. Now they are waiting, and anxious to receive us, but if we hesitate, they may say to us: "I would that thou were either hot or cold; but because ye are lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth!"

Governor and Lieutenant Governor

This is a faint outline of the lecture, and it is due to truth to say that it was not received with much enthusiasm. In fact, it was received with chilling coldness and silence. Some were so disgusted that they left the room, and those that remained did not seem much impressed with the argument, or sympathize much with the object. It is, however, of significant import. The speaker is acting in concert with the governor and lieutenant governor, and all are in league with the chief conspirators at South Carolina. It is their part of the scheme to chain Missouri to the cruel sacrifice of disunion, but the devil is too clearly visible to deceive.

A LOOKER ON.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#34.1)
February 26, 1861

Secessionist Minute Men Called Out?

(Editorial)

The Minute Men were seen yesterday dropping little square bits of white paper along the streets and posting them against the walls. This is a revival of the old "Know Nothing"[406] call to quarters. We suppose this "fancy militia" is alarmed at the *Missouri Republican* disclosure yesterday morning of the regiment of [German] Black Jaegers, [Unionists], all fine-looking fellows and young, going through the drilling exercise. Terrible fellows, these Black Jaegers.

February 27, 1861



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#35)
February 27, 1861

Voice from Missouri

(Letter to the Editor)

"Sirs, I can assure you the one thing that I feel is the general feeling in Missouri, and that is *eternal devotion to the Union*. And if there is no other way of maintaining our rights but by combat, we shall stay right where we are and have every right the Constitution guarantees to us in the Union."

SHELBYVILLE [SHELBY COUNTY], MO.,

[406] Know Nothing: A short lived, secretive, anti-foreigner political party that announced secretive meetings by dropping little square bits of white paper along the streets and posting them against the walls.

Feb 10, 1861.

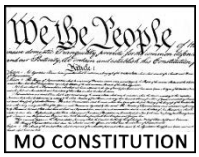
To the Editor of the Democratic Journal:

GENTLEMEN: Fanaticism, secession, and disunionism are marching day by day nearer and nearer death. On the 13th day of this month, when the Convention first meets, they will be laid side by side in the dark graveyard of oblivion, where the old Democratic Party is now turning to dust. Instead of mourning their deceased, we will swing up the old flag, sing the Star Spangled Banner to the Heaven-created fluttering, and dance them a happy good night to the tune of Yankee Doodle.

Sirs, I can assure you the one thing that I feel is the general feeling in Missouri, and that is *eternal devotion to the Union*. And if there is no other way of maintaining our rights but by combat, we shall stay right where we are and have every right the Constitution guarantees to us in the Union. God grant that necessity may never arise and that the extremism North and extremism South will rally once more in joy, in peace, in harmony under the old flag; and if every other means is exhausted, if it is impossible for us to have our rights in our slaves in any other way, then I say we can engage in no better way to maintain them than to rally to the cause. Our honor, our country, and our flag; our Union, our Constitution, with the enforcement of our laws, even though the cold shroud of death clings around them.

Such is the sentiment of Missouri, and I pray to God, will be the sentiment of every human being within this God-given confederacy of states.







(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#35.1)

February 27, 1861

The Hidden Cost of the Convention

(Be Careful What You Wish For)

"The secessionists, with the governor at the head, called this convention confidently expecting that it would dissolve the connection of the state of Missouri with the Union. Now, they are most bitterly disappointed, and now if the Convention in its wisdom dissolves their official connection with the state, it would be on them, though fully justifiable."

Jefferson City, Feb. 25

Those who so earnestly advocated calling a convention and pressed the bill through the legislature, are now in the condition of the unfortunate fellow who won an elephant at the raffle. After he won him, he found that he was dangerous and beyond his control, and the question then was how to get rid of his prize.

This is now the case with the secessionists. They find that they have called into existence a power that can easily turn on them and crush them out of political existence. The Convention has the power to throw out the whole state legislature, the governor, and to completely reorganize and remodel the constitution of the state.[407]

The secessionists, with the governor at the head, called this convention confidently expecting that it would dissolve the connection of the state of Missouri with the Union. Now, they are most bitterly disappointed, and now if the Convention in its wisdom dissolves their official connection with the state, it would be on them, though fully justifiable.

—K.

February 28, 1861

[407] Once the people elect delegates for a convention, and the convention convenes, it has unlimited power unless the legislature that authorized the convention puts limits on what it could do. In this case, the secessionists were in such a hurry to create a convention, they failed to put restrictions on them, something they would come to regret. See: "The Role of the State Conventions": (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-23).


Missouri State Convention


Jefferson City (Missouri's Capital)


Secession

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#36)

February 28, 1861

To the Members of the Convention

(Letter to the Editor)

"While such men as these, with large passions and small minds, are playing their parts, please remember that in all Missouri, there are something over one million white people who own no "slaves," while there are only about thirty thousand, at the largest calculation, who are proprietors of such property. Ask yourselves, then, these questions: Would secession be urged at all except for the supposed interests of the slaveholders?"

GENTLEMEN: You have been elected by the people of Missouri to stand in their place and stand and act for them in this great national crisis. You will, of course, be bound to consult their interests. You will hear much of "Southern rights" and "Southern wrongs," and you will be told that the interests of the slaveholders require Missouri to break up the government, to secede, to make war on the United States, to send armies to South Carolina to protect her in her rebellion, and such like nonsense. No doubt the Jacksons, Churchills, Johnsons, and Vests of your body will foam and swell in the direction of secession.

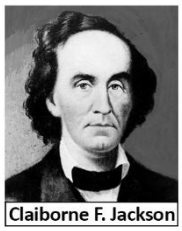
While such men as these, with large passions and small minds, are playing their parts, please remember that in all Missouri, there are something over one million white people who own no "slaves," while there are only about thirty thousand, at the largest calculation, who are proprietors of such property. Ask yourselves, then, these questions: Would secession be urged at all except for the supposed interests of the slaveholders?

Would it be the interest of anyone of the one million people who own no slaves to secede on their own account? If secession is to cost the state one million dollars per annum for ten years for those benefits, is this money to be raised by taxation and expended?

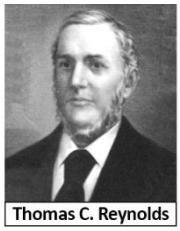
If arms, forts, arsenals, materials of war and provisions, are to be paid for, whose advantage is this for?

Having settled these points in your minds, gentlemen, please decide whether you should sacrifice the millions of people among your constituents to the advantage of the thirty thousand, even if such sacrifice would be to the advantage of the above many.

JUSTICE.


Claiborne F. Jackson


Missouri State Convention


Thomas C. Reynolds

(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#37)

February 28, 1861

Memo to the Convention (Replace the Governor)

(Editorial)

The Convention, which convenes today in Jefferson City, has full power to repeal the fundamental laws of the state and frame a new constitution. It is the embodiment of the sovereignty of the state, and as such is competent to do everything but the one thing for which it has been summoned, namely, to dissolve our relations with the Union. That is a feat beyond its reach, for the state on joining the Union resigned forever the power of doing so, except by virtue of a release from the other states. The partnership can only be legitimately resolved by mutual consent,

and in conformity to the prescribed methods.[408]

This being self-evident, two lines of action are open to the Convention, namely, to dissolve itself immediately after organizing, or to proceed by revising the state constitution. The people are willing to accept the immediate dissolution of the Convention as the simplest mode of delivering the state from the false position in which it has been placed by the traitorous machinations of [Gov.] Jackson, [Lt. Gov.] Reynolds, and the rest of the disunion conspirators.

However, more radical changes are demanded. The Convention would enshrine itself in the hearts of the people by electing from its own members a governor, a lieutenant governor, and secretary of state, of course submitting this as well as its other acts to the popular vote. The public welfare demands something of this kind. There are plenty of good Union Democrats and Bell men in the Convention from whom to choose the occupants of the places so grossly abused by the trio of traitors designated above. We tell the gentlemen of the Convention that they will not only fail to respond to the public desires, but prove themselves unworthy of the grand opportunity thrust upon them if they fail to deliver the state from the traitorous Governor Jackson and his accomplices. If they wish for the blessings of their constituents, or the grateful remembrance of posterity, they will purge the government of disunionists. Their right to do this thing is as legitimate a one as the right of the legislature to mark out a state road, or to change the name of an individual. An act of that nature, sanctioned as it would be, throughout every senatorial district, would be in no degree akin to revolution. What would it mean, after all, but asking the people whether they prefer three gentlemen chosen by the Convention as governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state, respectively, to the present occupants of those seats (Jackson, Reynolds, and Massey)? The three latter did not pause to advocate revolution and civil war. The legislature did not even consent to ask the people whether they would have a convention or not. The Arkansas legislature decided to submit the question of calling a convention to the popular vote; Tennessee and North Carolina did the same thing, and all rejected calling a convention. Kentucky and Maryland refused to entertain the question at all. The Missouri legislature, in contempt of public opinion, and prompted thereto by the governor and his plotting associate, did all it could to precipitate the state into revolution and civil war, for which proceeding, it should be provided with a successor as soon as possible. Perhaps the best way of dealing with the whole business would be to order a state election in August for state officers and members of the General Assembly, the Convention to provide against a gap in continuity during the interval, in the mode which shall appear most practical. The people of Missouri are not finicky as to means, provided the ends be reached! As long as the depraved politician, Jackson, is removed from office, in compliance with the motto of our state: *The welfare of the people is the supreme law.*



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#37.1)

February 28, 1861

The State Convention

"The members are not politicians, and probably the people of the state have never been so ably and truly represented as they will be in this assembly."

Jefferson City, Feb. 27.

The train from St. Louis this afternoon, brought forty of the delegates to the State Convention. The St. Louis delegation are all here, with the exception

[408] A national convention could eject a state from the Union, as it was a national convention, ratified by the states that created the Union in its present form. Therefore, it would require a national convention to modify the original form of the government, with the ratification of the remaining states of the Union.

of Mr. Gantt.[409] The other members on board are mostly from the northern counties, and are all strong Union men, anxious for compromise and settlement, but utterly opposed to secession. So far as could be ascertained, they harmonize in all essential particulars with the St. Louis Unconditional Union delegation.

The Convention will be full tomorrow, and will be called at 12 o'clock. The courthouse will be nearly filled up, with little room for outsiders. The legislature will not adjourn during the Convention, being just now involved in important business. The members of the rural areas of the state are discussing the propriety of adjourning to St. Louis.

The members are not politicians, and probably the people of the state have never been so ably and truly represented as they will be in this assembly.

The impression tonight seems to be that at the outset, an attempt will be made to get an anti-coercion[410] expression from the convention. This is to be the great point of the Conditional Union men, in accordance with instructions from the *Missouri Republican*. The attempt will likely prove a failure.

A resolution will be offered in the Convention calling upon the governor for information in relation to munitions of war concentrated in and around the State Tobacco Warehouse in St. Louis and the arming of the Minute Men.

—G. W. F.



[409] Thomas T. Gantt, former law partner of Montgomery Blair and U.S. district attorney of the District of Missouri, was a leader in the Unconditional Union Party. Later in the year, until early 1862, he would serve as assistant aide-de-camp with the rank of colonel under then MGen. George B. McClellan.

[410] Anti-coercion refers to the federal government using force to keep the seceding states in the Union.

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Annex 27	**Deleted**	
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	question is settled already. Slavery has all the territory it claims, for it has all south of 36° 30', and a considerable belt north of that line, situated between it and the northern boundary of New Mexico; and all this it can hold for the next two years, at least, if the senators and representatives who favor the extension of slavery keep their seats in Congress and give their votes."	
Annex 44.	**Deleted**	
Annex 45	**Deleted**	
Annex 46.	**Deleted**	
Annex 47.	**Treason and State Authority** (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-47) Letter provides a sarcastic counterpoint to a letter that appeared in the *Missouri Republican* newspaper, arguing that Congress does not have the power to wage war on a seceding state (often referred to as "coercion" of seceding states). This article argues that "any act of war against federal authority by a person or a state is an act of treason," and it provides evidence that such a finding was the specific intent of the framers of the Constitution. The letter closes with, "If Congress has not the power to punish treason, then the Constitution is *indeed* "a rope of sand."	374
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	editorial critiques the Military Bill, asking "who would be responsible for the enormous crime which lies hardly concealed in this bill?"	
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Annex 1 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-1)

The German Element

Missouri Republican, published December 28, 1860

No well-informed man will deny that the German immigration to the United States has made a valuable addition to the industrial forces of our country. As farmers, artisans, mechanics, and laborers, their presence here is welcome. There are, no doubt, disadvantages in such an emigration; disadvantages which are felt in social relations and in differences of opinion, which cause more trouble than do opposing sentiments when entertained by persons of the same race and nationality. The occasions of mutual misunderstandings are increased, and the chances of rectifying those misunderstandings lessened. Such facts as these have so far prevailed with many native Americans as to make some of them adverse to the immigration of foreigners, and still, more of them opposed to granting such immigrants citizenship. For ourselves, we may say that we have not at any time sustained sympathies with native American organizations, whose aims were to exclude immigrants or to confine the citizenship, with the right of voting and being voted for, to native-born inhabitants of the country. We have regarded those newcomers in the main likely to be loyal to the institutions of the country and content with their workings. Of the Germans, it may be remarked that until within the last ten or a dozen years, all, nearly without exception, came here to better their material condition. Here was a country where land was cheap and labor bore a high price. A few years' exertions here would make a German more comfortable than a whole life time's labor would have in his native country. The same cause has continued to operate at the present time. But of late years, too, political causes have sent many Germans from Europe, to take up their abode in this country. Many of the immigrants who have been impelled by these causes may be without injustice styled natural-born revolutionists. Devoured by an egotism which respects no opinions but their own, and believing themselves competent to every achievement, they may be classed with the infidel King of Spain, who thought it a pity that the Maker of heaven and earth did not call him in and take his advice at the creation of the world. These revolutionary Germans had an opportunity of reconstructing constitutions and governments in Europe but greatly abused their opportunities. A more miserable lack of states craft was never exhibited by them. The upshot was, that many of them, disgusted with Europe, but unfortunately not, as they ought to have been, disgusted with themselves, shook off the dust from their feet, and abandoned the Old World for the New. No sooner had they fairly established themselves on our shores, than they began to offer their services in reconstructing American institutions. For the last ten years, every now and then, attention has been called to meetings and conventions of German Reformers, who have come together and recommended, in the most dictatorial manner, amendments of various sorts to our constitutions of government. Some of these amendments were about as safe as the crazy decrees of the revolutionists in Paris when Christianity and the calendar were abolished by the same sweep of the pen. These conventions and schemes of so-called Reform were the work of this latter immigration of political agitators from Germany. To them are owing all the fiercely fanatical demonstrations in the direction of radical revolution, that have begun to identify in the popular mind of our country the once peaceful, sober, safe German, as a red-hot destructive, in whose keeping, or under whose control the best institutions of this or any other country would come to a speedy death. The idea of a German as a thinking, deliberative individual, of cautious movement and circumspect judgment, is fast fading away. In its place, we have the image of a hare-brained, reckless and restless agitator, who is as mischievous as he is uneasy. Boastful and threatening, overrunning with conceit and arrogance, not a few Germans talk as if they already had America under the soles of their feet. Of this sort is a resident of this city—an official personage—the author of the card we published yesterday, and which was put forth as the manifesto of a portion of the Germans of the Tenth Ward. This card, no less coolly than ridiculously, assumes that the Brunswickers, of whom it informs

the public the Tenth Ward Wide Awakes are chiefly composed, "purify this England" and are [illegible] going to "purify this country"; more than [illegible] intimates that German valor conquered both at [illegible] and Waterloo, (the thousands of "Saxony" [illegible] who deserted from the French at [illegible], the brave resistance of Wellington [illegible] Irish, Scotch, and English at Waterloo [illegible] chanting for nothing); that the South Carolina [illegible] (or all Frenchmen we don't clearly see are "degenerate Huns," and that Lincoln [illegible] have a call, "five hundred thousand [illegible] Boys. The above will give an idea of the nonsense, folly and impudence of this manifesto [illegible], which contains sundry other outgivings equal [illegible] and gasconading. In the same vein [illegible] of a certain German resident of an int[illegible] town in this state, who, smitten with the idea [illegible] out by Seward, talks of Germanizing [illegible]. But the scheme of Germanizing is not [illegible] to Missouri. The boom is designed to [illegible] the whole United States.

It is certainly to be regretted that with so many solid virtues as the German people really have, are subject to the mischievous influences which have been brought to bear [illegible] them in this country within the last ten or fifteen years. These influences deteriorate their natural goodness, and tend to make them less useful either as citizens and neighbors, or husbands, fathers and sons. There is no relation to life among them which does not suffer from such demoralizing causes. These, if not checked and counteracted, threaten to set up the Germans as the antagonists of a major part of the country; and of course to lead to feuds and quarrels, which will utterly destroy the harmony which so long existed between the Germans and the rest of their fellow citizens.

One more word. This captain of the Tenth Ward Wide Awakes, while he denies that any Sharps Rifles have been offered to him, admits that all the Wide Awakes in his Ward are armed, and that he will command the use of the arms whenever he thinks proper to do so. This organization is not denied, and from this time forward, the people of the Tenth Ward may understand that the Wide-Awakes of that Ward are armed with guns brought from the fatherland, or purchased, according to one of their resolutions, for the purpose indicated in Capt. Shoenbeck's letter to us.

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Annex 2 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-2)

To the Hon. Edward Bates

Missouri Republican, published December 30, 1860

SIR: I shall offer no apology for thus obtruding myself upon your attention. I approach you as a *personal* friend. Your well-known suavity of manners has long impressed me with more than ordinary personal considerations for yourself and your estimable family.

With this temper of mind, I propose to submit a few reflections for your Christian meditation.

In view of the alarming attitude of our common country, it becomes all good men to scan closely the causes, and to re-examine the fundamental principles on which the government of that country is based.

It is also understood that you counsel *coercion* against any state or states which may withdraw from the present confederacy. Yes, that Edward Bates, the *bland gentleman* and *pious* Christian, actually urges *fire* and *sword* to devastate fifteen states of this Union, if they, or any of them, shall dare to sever the ties which bind them to a government which, as they believe, is soon to be converted into a central despotism, and which, by the operation of the principles of its rulers, must and certainly will culminate in the emancipation of four millions of slaves, and in their own utter subjugation!

I have long since, Sir, known your opinions, honest, no doubt, as to the original formation of our federal government; and it is in order to sustain that brilliant, but fanciful, theory, and *not the wickedness* of your heart, that you now advise coercion.

For some years you have cherished the theory of Alexander Hamilton and his school of politicians, that a strong central government was the most

conducive to the true interest of the American people. Your convictions of its excellence have imperceptibly led your mind to the conclusion that this pet theory is sustained by historical facts.

Superadded to this consideration are the admitted blessings that might result from a united confederacy of thirty-three states. But, with all these gorgeous blessings acknowledged, is it not possible that the incoming administration may bring with it a *Trojan horse* filled with enemies of the South? Can you regard that section as so stupid that they cannot see the approaching danger, and, seeing it, so *craven-hearted* as not to prepare to avert its ravages?

But you and your party retort, "You can resist oppression in the Union, but to secede you shall not." Sir, in this arrogant announcement can be seen the germ of a consolidated government, which your party has so persistently worshipped. By its conduct, it has always maintained that if this is not a consolidated government, it ought to be, which is the same thing. You are not ignorant that at the close of the Revolution, the British Government acknowledged, in the Treaty of Peace, the thirteen colonies, designating each by name, "separate, sovereign, and independent states." You are not ignorant that in all the national conventions, those in forming old articles of confederation as well as those in forming and adopting the present Constitution, the votes were cast, each state for itself and not per capita as in our Congress. And you are not ignorant that in organizing this new government it was stipulated that it should be considered as adopted if *nine* of these states should agree to the Constitution and the confederacy of which that should be the basis of the compact.

In all the debates of the national and state conventions in the formation and adoption of the Constitution, the dominant party was always jealous of the centralizing efforts of the consolidation party. The dominant party ever struggled to preserve all the rights of the states except such as were indispensably necessary to the management of the foreign relations of the confederacy and a few specified items of domestic affairs. The latter were vigilant to absorb enough of these rights as should make the arm of the federal government as strong at least as that of the British. From that day to the present that struggle has continued! That state rights finally triumphed made no difference in the persistent efforts of their adversaries. If, say they, any desired power was not delegated to Congress, it ought to have been. If any state or states, having tried the blessings of this government long enough to satisfy themselves that curses are about to be substituted for blessings, should determine to withdraw, then the dogs of war shall be let loose upon such rebellious states!

In deducing the constitutional power of Congress thus to wage war upon any seceding state, will you deign, Mr. Bates, to designate the clause or clauses of that Constitution, which authorize the exercise of such a monstrous power?

But I can anticipate your answer: instead of giving a categorical reply, you will repeat the cant about this government being "*a rope of sand*."

Pray, Sir, how much *better* is a chain of despotism to a free people?

As a "*rope of sand*" cannot keep these states together, can it be done, think you, by a *chain of despotism*? Can these states be kept united by force?

You are familiar with the history of our Revolution. You know the antagonistic characters of Lords North and Chatham. With the results of the policy urged by each on that infatuated government, who would have thought that the amiable and Christian Bates would have adopted as his model the blood-thirsty Lord North? But, I am consoled in the reflection that as his policy lost to the British crown its brightest jewel and gained to the colonies their liberties, so the bloody code about to be adopted by your policy will result in the triumph of their rights and their honor by the South over the unconstitutional and fanatical theory of the incoming administration. Many of your adherents affect to believe that the present excitement in the South is the mere outburst of a few unprincipled demagogues. I cannot believe that you can cherish such a monstrous fallacy as this.

You ought to know that the antagonism, nay, hate between the North and South is *extensive and deep-seated*.

Can this *antagonism*, think you, be destroyed by threats of, and especially by actual, coercion?

You are a Virginian by birth and a Missourian

by adoption. For this reason, you and your party may flatter yourselves that your selection, as a Southern man, may tend to allay the Southern excitement. Be not deceived, Sir, in the efficacy of this flattering unction. I cannot be mistaken in assuring you that a Northern abolitionist is much more acceptable to Southern susceptibilities than Southern coadjutors to that wicked and mischievous function.

With the foregoing very brief reflection, I close this number, intending, if I have leisure, to continue them.

Jefferson.

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Annex 3 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-3)

From Jefferson City: Alabama Commissioner Cooper's Speech

Missouri Republican, special dispatch, December 30, 1860

Not more than half the members of the legislature, which convenes on Monday, have as yet arrived, but the town is full of office-seekers and interested outsiders. There is, of course, a great deal of underhanded dealings in progress, but as yet nothing definite has been agreed upon, and it is quite impossible just now to tell what will be the basis of action. Strong efforts are being made towards fusion, but so far the efforts have proved unsatisfactory, as nearly as can be ascertained. A movement was at first set on foot for a Union of Breckinridge and Bell men, in which event it was proposed to elect Major Harris as Speaker. It is now understood, however, that the project has been given up. The next move was to unite the Douglas and Bell men to elect Gen. Price of this city as Speaker. This promised favorable results until this evening; efforts are now being made to unite both wings of the Democratic Party.

The three prominent men whose names are strongly urged for the Speakership are General Price, Maj. Harris, and Mr. D. C. Ballou. It is considered doubtful whether either of these gentlemen can be elected. Mr. Ballou is regarded as the strongest man, so far as popularity is concerned, but it is generally acknowledged that Gen. Price is better fitted for the office than perhaps any other member, from the fact of his experience heretofore as a presiding officer, and his general excellent administrative abilities.

Mr. Thomas Murray is strongly urged for the office of Chief Clerk, and his chances, so far, seem favorable.

There are some dozen or more candidates for sergeant-at-arms, and also a large number for all other minor offices.

The secessionists had a feast served up for them at the State House this evening, in the shape of a strong secession speech from a Mr. [William] Cooper, who, it seems, has been commissioned by the governor of Alabama to visit this city and urge the cooperation of Missouri in the secession movement. Mr. Cooper has been in town several days, the governor of Alabama, not being aware as to the exact time of the assembling of our legislature. The fact that he would address the members this evening was placarded about the streets. Bills were also posted that a separate meeting would be held to take into consideration a project sustaining Southern state rights against Northern aggression. Accordingly, the Representative's Hall was filled with people as early as 7 o'clock, and shortly thereafter Mr. Cooper was introduced, without comment, to the audience.

Mr. Cooper is apparently between fifty and sixty years of age, and of prepossessing appearance, his countenance being somewhat venerable and highly intellectual.

Mr. Cooper said his visit was for the purpose of ascertaining what sage counsel the South could have from the state of Missouri. He had been sent to the capital of Missouri by a commission from the governor of the state of Alabama; an issue had been forced upon the Southern people which they could not avoid. Sixteen sovereign states had nullified the Constitution, in this that they opposed the provisions of the fugitive slave law;[411] they had

[411] Passed on September 18, 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law required that slaves be returned to their owners, even if

passed laws in absolute violation of the laws and the letter of the Constitution; they elected a president to carry out the principle of higher law and higher obligations than the Constitution, or the oaths they had taken to support it. He was aware that there are those who can find a mild aspect to the election of Mr. Lincoln, but he could see no such aspect. The Republican Party proposes to confine slavery to the Southern states, and this would have the effect of causing an increase of slaves in the Southern states, which would prove extremely dangerous. Under the policy of the Republican Party, the time would arrive when the scenes of San Domingo and Hayti,[412] with all their attendant horrors, would be re-enacted in the slaveholding states. The question therefore arose, what shall be done—what can the South do to vindicate her rights? There were several alternatives offered. The first was to submit calmly and be politically submerged. The second was to raise an intestine war and come off victorious. Neither of these alternatives could prove acceptable, but there was a third alternative and that was straight out secession. Secession was the desirable movement under the circumstances. He knew it would induce trouble, but all the trouble arising from secession was not more than a drop to the ocean compared with the troubles which would arise from either of the other alternatives. He could not believe that in a commercial or industrial point of view, the Southern States would be the losers in case of a disruption of the Union. A great deal had been said about the re-opening of the African slave trade; the South did not desire to see that trade re-opened. He did not know a single individual who was in favor of re-opening it. The whole talk about the re-opening of the African slave trade was a humbug; but even if it was not a humbug, it would not prove conducive to Southern interest but secure the purposes of the abolitionists. It would cause the Southern states to be flooded with slaves and merged in an element of barbarism; a convention would assemble in Alabama on the 7th of January, to pass upon the great questions now at issue between the North and the South. There was no doubt as to what Alabama would do; she would most emphatically side with the South in her sovereignty as a state. She would go out of this Union and set up for herself, and be ready to set up afterwards with any Southern slaveholding states which should follow her example.

Mr. Cooper was occasionally applauded, but not so enthusiastically as was perhaps desired by the more ardent friends of secession. At the conclusion of his speech, it was announced that a meeting to consider the suggestions Mr. Cooper had made, would be held in the Senate Chamber, and there a good portion of the crowd proceeded from the Representative's Hall. After the crowd had assembled in the Senate Chamber, Mr. Parsons of Cole County, moved that Mr. John Hyer, Senator from Dent, be called to the chair; the meeting concurring, Mr. Hyer thereupon took the chair.

Mr. Parsons further moved that Col. Ballou, of Benton County, be called to act as secretary.

Col. Ballou said he held it incumbent upon him to decline. He was not aware of what course the meeting proposed to pursue, but could not at this time approve of any measure tending to secession. He would stay in the Union until he was forced out of the Union. It was true, wrong had been committed by the North against the South, but there was yet hope that matters might be amicably adjusted. He would rather not serve as secretary.

Mr. Parsons resumed in a few remarks, which were responded to by a speech of considerable length by Mr. Ballou.

Mr. Parsons then offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That we have heard with deep interest the address of the Hon. William Cooper, Commissioner from the governor of Alabama, in regard to the course which the slaveholding states should take under the present crisis, and that we will, during the coming session, express our opinions officially upon the questions now distracting the Union and furnish his Excellency, the Governor of Alabama, with a copy of such resolutions on the subject as the General Assembly may adopt.

The meeting, thereupon, adjourned.

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they were in a free state.

[412] The slave revolts, which led to Haitian independence, took place between 1791 and 1804.

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Annex 4 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-4)

Letter from Lt. Governor-elect Reynolds

Missouri Republican, published January 1, 1861

St. Louis, Mo., 31st December 1860

Dear Sir: Several of my friends have requested me to write them from Washington, concerning the crisis of our political affairs. I take this mode of addressing them as I have no time to write each separately.

When I reached Washington, on the 11th of this month and for several days thereafter, I had strong hopes of an honorable adjustment of our difficulties, through the action of Congress. But these hopes I no longer entertain, for circumstances have produced in the Republican party an impression that the South is a house divided against itself and will not stand; and as shrewd political managers and men desirous of asserting the supremacy of their section, the Republican leaders feel no disposition to yield anything as long as they hope to set one portion of the South to subduing the other while they look on, in safety and in glee, at the spectacle of a great people given over to its enemies by timidity, blindness or treachery of some of its own sons. The same circumstances, also, on the other hand, have rendered the leading men of the cotton states distrustful of the border slave states and indisposed them to postpone their action in order to wait on our movements through fear that they may at last fizzle out into mere pompous resolutions and windy declarations of what we will do when we go far enough into the swamp of abolitionism to lay our very hands on that political jack-o-lantern, the "overt act."

This was the state of things when I left Washington on the 26th of this month., and it is not surprising that under such circumstances, scarcely a man could be found who believed the Union would be saved by any action of Congress, and that but few had any hope of its being saved at all. This despondency is patent from the facts given to the public by the press.

I take it for granted that no sensible, impartial man in Missouri has any doubt that whatever may be the real or fancied advantages of disunion to other communities, the interests, honor and dignity of our state would be best served by a continuance of the Union as it geographically stood before the election of Mr. Lincoln, with a strict observance of the Constitution, in letter and in spirit, and with peace upon the slavery question. If the Union is, however, inevitably doomed to dissolution, I consider it equally clear that every citizen of Missouri should desire to see the separation effected without effusion of blood.

The first step to be taken in order to preserve the Union, is to totally disabuse the Republican leaders of the impression that on this slavery question in its present *practical* shape, that is, on the question of attempting to coerce any seceding state by maintaining garrisons within its borders, levying tribute on its citizens, harassing its commerce, or in any other manner whatever, they will not encounter the defensive armed resistance of the *entire South*.

The next step in the same direction should be a decided rally of the Democratic Party and all other conservative men of the North to the support of the position taken by Senator Pugh in his late brilliant speech in the U.S. Senate, and a firm determination on their part to refuse all support, either in men or in money, to the general government, in any attempt to exercise any authority whatever over any state which shall treat the soldiers and tax gatherers of the president as his forefathers and curs did those of George the Third.

Civil war being thus rendered almost impossible, the country could then gain time to consider its difficulties and adjust them, our passions would cool down and we could accept the sad alternative of separation in peace, and perhaps, in friendship.

The census of 1850 shows Missouri to be the *first of all the slaveholding states* in white population (and consequently in military strength), and she has this powerful claim upon the sympathy of the Northern Democratic Party that she alone of all the states, North and South, ever since her admission into the Union, has always thrown her

whole electoral vote for a Northern Democrat for the presidency, whenever there was such a candidate in the field. She, therefore, has a right to *take the lead* in determining the final course of the South and in appealing to the conservatives of the North to stand by us in the defense of our just rights. Moreover, her legislature meets today, first of all those of the border slave states. She has it in her power by mingled firmness and wisdom to save this Union, or if not, at least to save us from the calamity of civil war and powerfully contribute to the reconstruction of a more perfect union in a great and powerful confederacy in which she will play no secondary part. As soon as the Senate of Missouri, by going into committee of the whole on the state of our federal relations, shall give me an opportunity to exercise my constitutional privilege of debate as lieut. governor of the state, I shall give at length the reasons for my opinions. Meanwhile, however, to gratify the friends before mentioned, who requested me to write to them the result of my observation at Washington during the past three weeks, I will state now the positions which I think the interests, honor, and dignity of Missouri, as well as her *devotion to the Union* and to peace, require her to take.

She should sustain the president of the United States in his refusal to inaugurate civil war.

She should declare in firm but conciliatory and respectful language her determination to oppose any attempt to coerce any seceding state by exercising any act whatever of sovereignty (such as collecting revenue or maintaining garrisons) within her limits. The transparent sophistry of drawing a distinction between coercing a state and enforcing laws against its citizens should be disregarded. In our system, a state is its people; citizens compose that people, and to use force against citizens acting by state authority is to coerce the state and wage war against it; and to levy tribute, molest commerce, or hold fortress, are as much acts of war as to bombard a city. To make this declaration effective in case of necessity, she should immediately prepare for the contingency of coercion. It will not be necessary at once to arm the state, but our militia should be thoroughly organized without delay and other preparations made for defense.

Having thus, by preparing for war, contributed all in her power towards securing peace, let Missouri take the lead in a course similar to that adopted by our fathers soon after our Revolution in inaugurating our present Union. Congress has proved itself unequal to the emergency: the mode of meeting it by calling a convention of all the states in the manner directed by the Constitution is too slow for the crisis. Let us then resort to the reserved powers of the states: have them meet in convention of their own motion, frame a new constitution or an amendment to the old one, submit it for adoption to sovereign conventions in the several states and let those adopting it form a more perfect Union and a new government, just as Washington and his associates did in 1789. On that occasion the new Union went into full operation with only eleven of the old thirteen States, Rhode Island and North Carolina remaining out of it for more than a year after Washington's inauguration, insisting on the preservation of the old union or confederation, even after its Congress had politically evaporated. The legislature of Missouri should immediately appoint delegates to a *consulting* national convention and invite all the states, from Maine to California, to send like delegates to frame a new constitution, and should at once order an election for a convention to be called together hereafter. It should also invite the other fourteen slaveholding states to send delegates to meet ours in a like convention, at the same time and place, to insure unity of action in case the convention of all the states should fail to do us justice. If all the states will not join in the movement, let us act with those that accept our invitation. If the slaveholding states, or even only those north of the cotton states, unite with us, and only some of the non-slaveholding states meet us, let us still concert with them the formation of new union. A refusal to meet us in such a Convention should be treated as justifying separation from the state or states so refusing, and the new union to grow out of such a convention should proceed at once to set its government on foot and treat the non-concurring states as Washington did North Carolina and Rhode Island, as foreign and independent but friendly powers. The questions of dividing the Territories and public property between the new government and the

states adhering to the old order of things can be left for decision as other questions between independent powers.

I have no time now to give my reasons for the opinion, but I firmly hold it, that this course will, like the course of Washington in 1789-90, eventually and speedily result in reconstituting the United States just as they were before the secession of South Carolina, and on a more lasting basis.

The views contained in this letter are the same I gave in conversation with you on the 29th of this month. and in a speech on the evening of the same day before the Young Men's Democratic Association of St. Louis. I am glad to see by your editorial of yesterday that you substantially concur with me in regard to the course the state ought to pursue. While we should do everything consistent with honor to preserve the Union, I cordially concur in your view that "It is our duty, if all constitutional and patriotic expedients should be exhausted *before the fourth of March next*, then to declare a separation from the states of the Confederacy." It will be for me, as for you, and all patriotic citizens of Missouri, a sad duty; but without a previous and final adjustment of our difficulties, we should never permit Mr. Lincoln to exercise any power of government within Missouri, since he has warned us in advance of his intention to wage war upon us.

Among the patriotic expedients I allude to, would be immediate addresses of the central committees of the three anti-Lincoln parties of Missouri, to their political brethren in the non-slaveholding states, urging them to hold conventions and unite with conservative Republicans in bringing their influence to bear on their legislatures, to induce them to accept the invitation of Missouri to meet in the consulting convention above suggested, and also in forming a great *Anti Civil War Party* in their states, which by refusing Mr. Lincoln the supplies necessary to carry on his proposed civil war, will force him into the paths of peace.

In conclusion, I will remark that, in order to fortify the state for any emergency that may arise, its credit should be scrupulously maintained, the most rigid economy observed in the expenditures as well of the state as of the counties and municipal governments under it, and a stern legislative prohibition of all extravagant or unnecessary outlay on the part of the city and county of St. Louis should be accompanied by a reduction of the rate of taxation to ease out heavily burdened citizens at the present crisis.

I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours,

Thomas C. Reynolds

To: N. Paschall, Esq.,
Editor of the *Republican*

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Annex 5 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-5)

Asst. Sec. Treasury Sturgeon *to* President James Buchanan, Letter #1

Missouri Republican, published January 9, 1886

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 5, 1861

His Excellency James Buchanan,
President of the United States.
DEAR SIR:

In the present excited condition of the country, I cannot help feeling concerned in regard to the safety of the government funds in my hands, its arms and munitions of war, which are at the Arsenal, and within the limits of the city.

I am satisfied that if either the Republicans or the secessionists should seize the Arsenal here, war would at once begin in this section, as neither would submit to its possession by the other peacefully.

I have now over four hundred thousand dollars of government money on hand, which might be seized, and I have thought proper, under all the circumstances, to submit to you whether it is not advisable, without delay, to concentrate troops at the Arsenal for the protection of the government property there, which I think is very large, and the treasure in my care, if it should become necessary. I am satisfied that both sides here have their eyes fixed upon these two points, the Arsenal and Treasury, and that the taking possession of them by either will lead to conflict, and it, therefore, seems

to me that the sooner provision is made to guard them, the better. A little later and the excitement may arrive at that point here that any suggestion of bringing a force here for their protection would precipitate the seizure of them.

I wish very much that the amount at this place, to the credit of disbursing officers, the United States treasurer, and the Post-Office Department, could be placed at a point where there would be less danger of its seizure. There may be none here, but I fear there is; I fear we are arriving at a point in our troubles that at this place there is danger from both sides.

I should be glad if you would advise me, if there should seem to be an imminent danger, what course to pursue, and what officer to apply to for protection.

I sympathize most deeply with you in the trying and delicate position in which you are placed, and nothing shall be wanting on my part to render you all the aid I can command here or elsewhere.

I am most respectfully and truly yours,

ISAAC H. STURGEON,
Assistant Treasurer U. S., St. Louis, Mo.

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Annex 6 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-6)

Asst. Sec. Treasury Sturgeon *to* President James Buchanan, Letter

O.R., I, 53: 481-482

SAINT LOUIS, January 12, 1861

His Excellency James Buchanan,
President of the United States:

DEAR SIR—

Forty men, under command of Lieut. Robinson, arrived here yesterday morning, and on the suggestion and advice of Major McKinstry were temporarily placed in some vacant rooms of the custom-house. In consulting with Lieut. Robinson in the afternoon, we deemed it best for them to take up their quarters at the Arsenal, which is some two miles from the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States.

The secession paper of this city and those who follow it seemed to think it highly improper that troops should be sent to guard the public property here.

All Union men whom I have seen today are gratified that the government has taken this precautionary measure. I wish it was about two hundred instead of forty men. I give no explanations in regard to the matter, except that they were sent to be placed at the Arsenal for the protection of the public property.

There was a tremendous Union meeting here today.[413] I observe that I was made one of the vice presidents. I was not able to get to the meeting by reason of engagement until after it had been underway an hour and the resolutions adopted. I enclose a copy of them. They seem well enough. The tenth resolution,[414] as I understand it, is merely an appeal to avoid the shedding of blood, if possible. May Heaven grant us a peaceful solution to our troubles.

With high regard, your obedient servant,

ISAAC H. STURGEON,
Assistant Treasurer U.S., Saint Louis, Mo.

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Annex 7 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-7)

Speech of Lt. Governor Reynolds

[413] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28).

[414] The tenth resolution states: "That in the opinion of this meeting, the employment of the military forces of the government to enforce submission from the citizens of the seceding states, will inevitably plunge the country in civil war, and will imminently endanger, if it does not entirely extinguish, all hopes of a settlement of the fearful issues now pending before the country. We, therefore, earnestly entreat, as well the federal government, as the seceding states, to withhold and stay the arm of military power, and on no pretext whatever, to bring on the nation the horrors of civil war, until the people themselves can take such action as our troubles demand."

Preservation or Reconstruction of the Union

January 17, 1861

Missouri Republican, published January 28, 1861.

Delivered in the Senate of Missouri, Jan. 17, 1861

The Senate, having resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill authorizing the governor to appoint commissioners to a national convention at Wheeling[415] and a Southern convention at Nashville [Tennessee], Lieut. Governor Reynolds[416] requested Senator Newland to take the Chair, and then spoke as follows:

Mr. CHAIRMAN, this bill is one of great importance, and as I first suggested one of the provisions contained in it, I will exercise on this occasion a privilege conferred on me by our constitution but which I have no desire to exercise again, namely, that of debating in this Senate in Committee of the Whole. I allude to the provision which says: "The governor of this state is hereby required to appoint three commissioners from this state to meet in a convention, which is hereby recommended to be held at Wheeling, Virginia, on the 11th day of February 1861, to be composed of three commissioners from each of the thirty-three states of the American Union, for the purpose of consulting together and, if possible, agreeing upon some plan of compromise by way of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to adjust existing difficulties, preserve the Union, and avert the horrors of civil war." I presume, Sir, that it will be permissible to discuss the whole question of the difficulties now existing in this country, and in rising to address this committee on this subject, I feel that I can say with all sincerity that I have not only never expressed but have never felt any disaffection to the union of these states. But I can also say that I have never felt any disposition to stand by the union of these states for the one-thousandth part of a moment after it shall have failed to serve the end for which it was created, viz., the preservation of the blessings of liberty to ourselves and those who may come after us.

What are the Union's advantages to us? Among them is, in the first place, protection abroad. On those of us who remain at home, the government acts chiefly as a protector, silently and quietly. But those whose occupations call them abroad, who go down to the sea in ships, are made more keenly sensible of the difference between traveling under the protection of the Stars and Stripes and being under the flag of some petty republic. I, at least, may be excused for sharing this feeling in a no ordinary degree, for it was my fortune to pass nearly ten years of my life, with but little intermission, where American citizenship was often my sole protection. I recollect now, even at this distant day, with some emotion, that when in a far distant land, so distant that I found there persons who had never even heard the name America, even there, in a remote Austrian province, I felt quite as safe as if some Carolina Ingraham,[417] with a squadron manned by New England seamen, stood ready to plant our national ensign on the battlements of the Austrian seaport of Trieste, whenever necessary to give me protection. I felt as safe as if I had, within call, all the mighty fleets and armies that a word from our Congress could call forth. I am, then, to be excused if I feel some emotion in discussing this *great question*—for it is the question of the maintenance or destruction of this mighty government itself. At home, the great advantage of this Union is freedom of intercourse between the different states, and also the preponderance which it gives us on this continent of America.

Political philosophers lay down that the power

[415] Wheeling, at that time, was in the state of Virginia, in the northwest area, which later split from Virginia and became West Virginia.

[416] Lt. Gov. Thomas C. Reynolds helped organize the Southern-sympathizing Minutemen on January 7, 1861, just a few days after the January 4 meeting of secessionists in Jefferson City and his oath of office as lieutenant governor.

[417] Refers to U.S. Navy Capt. Duncan N. Ingraham, from South Carolina, whose determination helped release Martin Koszta (a Hungarian who had declared his intention to become an American citizen) from the confines of an Austrian brig. Ingraham was awarded a medal and served as Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrographer of the Navy (1856-1860). He resigned from the U.S. Navy on February 4, 1861 and joined the C.S. Navy.

of a nation depends very much on four circumstances, viz: the unity of race, the unity of language, the unity of religion, and unity of domestic institutions. We had at the formation of this government, substantially, the unity of race; we had also substantially, unity of language. Instead of enforcing unity of religion, our ancestors adopted, and I think wisely, that unity of religion which results from the toleration of all creeds. But, in my humble judgment, and as we are now discovering, our ancestors made a terrible mistake when they drew a geographical line coincident with a marked difference in social habits and domestic institutions.

It is no disparagement of the wisdom of our ancestors for any man of this day, after the lapse of seventy or eighty years, to criticize their acts, nor would I be so presumptuous as to criticize *that* act even now, but for the fact that its author, Mr. JEFFERSON, lived to deplore it himself.

All of the thirteen colonies which declared their independence of Great Britain were slaveholding, and Mr. JEFFERSON and other statesmen, yielding to what appears to me (I say it with all due respect) either over-sentimentality, political sentimentality or erroneous social doctrines, sowed the seeds of dissension at the very moment when they were endeavoring to form a more perfect Union. Instead of taking the stand, which the occasion demanded, that the Caucasians are masters on this continent and that the African should forever be a servant as his and our Lord had centuries ago declared he should be, they divided this fair land and ordained that on one side of the Ohio, domestic institutions hostile to that divine ordinance should prevail. They committed another capital mistake in this, that they did not positively ordain that African slavery should forever prevail on the other side of the line; they left the question open, and it has proven to be the door by which the agitation of the slave question has crept into the very citadel of the South—the states themselves.

This has been the one great peril to the institutions of this country. It has arisen from the adherence to a false political principle and its introduction into those institutions, an introduction which Mr. JEFFERSON himself, in 1820, lived to deplore. In that year, this evil again disturbed our tranquility, and with all possible respect for the wisdom and the patriotism of the men who on that occasion endeavored to save us from civil war, I believe history will pronounce on them the judgment that they yielded too much to that false political principle. Instead of dividing the territory of this country into slaveholding and non-slaveholding states by the line of 36 deg. 36 min., establishing it on the one side forever and forbidding it on the other forever, they forbade it on one side and left it open on the other side to agitation. In 1850, when the question again came up, this same political blunder was committed, and in 1854, when it again disturbed this country, the same error was repeated. And now, at last, some of the very statesmen who engaged in these acts have adopted what I must humbly consider the true principle, in this case, a *fair and positive, distinct, unmistakable division of the territory of the country*.

Why is this the true solution to the difficulty? Because every nation the moment that it ceases to grow begins to die. If the North were to be told that African slavery should be the normal condition of all the territories of the United States, the instinct of the people would at once tell them that their growth would be arrested; and so, also, if the people of the South are to be told that African freedom must be the normal and constant condition of those territories, they will at once see that their progress is to be stopped. On such a vital point, it is to be expected that any nation, particularly one descended from the heroes of 1776, will show the greatest determination, and they will rather sweep aside constitutions, laws, and institutions of every kind than suffer their life to be extinguished by such a stifling process. Therefore, I conceive the true solution of this question to be to give to each section its legitimate outlet and give it, too, beyond the possibility of a disturbance.

This true solution to this question is one which I was very happy to see recognized in principle not many days ago. I think it was on the first of this month, in a paper published in St. Louis, of the Republican school, the Missouri *Democrat*. I attach considerable significance to that editorial for the reason that a distinguished citizen of St. Louis who is to occupy the position of legal adviser to Mr. Lincoln, arrived a day before from Springfield, where he had been called by telegraph to confer

with the president-elect. In that editorial, the writer suggests that the true solution of this whole difficulty is to do what two belligerent nations, when they have both exhausted all their powers in a long contest, do to bring their quarrel to an end, namely, restore the condition of things existing before the war, or as it is technically phrased, restore the *status quo ante bellum*. I am happy to shake hands with that journal on that proposition as the foundation of a compromise, but I totally disagree with it as to what is the *status quo ante bellum*. It is contended by the Missouri *Democrat* that the *status quo* on the slavery question is the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, with reference to the Louisiana Purchase, and the continuance of the principles of the compromise of 1850, with reference to the Territory acquired from Mexico. I deny that that is the *status quo*. This war commenced in 1820, and the condition before the war is the condition of things before 1820. What was that condition? The *absence of slavery agitation throughout the country*. A feeling of security to every citizen, that he could go into every portion of the common territory (except the northwest) with his property and be protected by the government of the United States. You will find on the statute book a law with reference to the unorganized territories of the United States, by which it is a felony to steal or embezzle any property whatever. That sir, is the *status quo* to which we are entitled. But I am not unwilling to adopt another mode of settling our disputes, which is founded in some respect on justice, viz: a division of the territory; and it should be a positive, distinct, unmistakable division, establishing the institution on one side, forbidding it on the other. I do not see how any patriotic man from the North can object to such a division. It has equality and justice as its basis. Then, in addition, let provisions be made, of the most ample and stringent kind, for bringing back this country to the condition, in other respects, in which it stood before 1820, and we may hope to have a permanent Union. In doing so, while we are fixing up a "compromise," let us consider everything which might endanger the peace of the country or revive this antagonism between the states. First and foremost, the very beginning of all this agitation was the question of emancipation *within* the states. After the Missouri Compromise had given peace to the country, the slavery question again presented itself in the shape of attempts by Northern societies to influence the South to abolish her institutions. Cut that agitation up by the roots; make it a part of the fundamental, perpetual law of this whole Southern country, that whatever effects may be produced, in fact, by the laws of political economy; however any state may be denuded of slaves, even to the very last one, by higher prices obtained for them in states further South, nevertheless the *right* to hold an African in slavery shall forever be established as the public law of every one of the present slaveholding states. Then, agitation of the slavery question within the states will be cut out by the root. I do not propose on this point to ask of Northern men concessions which they think affect their conscience. When I stated this proposition not long ago to a distinguished Northern senator, he thought the North would object to placing such a provision in the Constitution, as many would regard it as asking *them* to establish slavery. I said the form was nothing, provided we get the substance. An amendment of the Constitution which would fully effect the object would be one authorizing the slaveholding states and free states to form compacts with reference to their respective domestic institutions. Then New York, New England, Illinois and all the free states of this confederacy might form a compact with each other never to admit slavery within their limits; and I for one would cordially vote for a compact between Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland and the other Southern states, that we should never abolish the institution of African slavery as long as it existed in any of the fifteen states which now have it. That provision would cut off the agitation of emancipation. Another question which disturbs this country and forms another cause for agitation is the foreign slave trade; and I think there would be no objection on the part of an overwhelming majority of the South to cut up that source of agitation also by the root, by forbidding it forever in most unmistakable terms.

Again, another pretext for agitation is the domestic slave trade. Let us cut out that also by the root, by a declaratory amendment to the

Constitution, forbidding interference with it. So, also, with the question of the right to hold slaves within the forts and arsenals of the United States, which can easily be settled by permitting every state of this Union to retrace its steps and place itself in the position in which Missouri finds herself, i.e., of not having surrendered her jurisdiction in any fort or arsenal within her borders. Let that question be settled by the law of the state or territory to which the forts or arsenals may belong.

So, also, with the other question of slavery in the District of Columbia. How can there be equality in this Union unless every man is permitted to go there with his property? That question can be settled by an amendment to the Constitution to the effect that every citizen coming to the seat of government shall be entitled to bring with him whatever property he is entitled to hold in any state of the Union.

Another question is the Fugitive Slave Law, and this is one of the most difficult. It is a good rule of politics to "accept the situation," as the phrase is, to acknowledge "fixed facts." I believe that not a senator here will deny the correctness of the position I take when I say that we are two distinct nations, that the North and South are different peoples. The wisest course is to accept that situation of things, legislate upon it and treat them accordingly. In fact, when we find the bonds of the Union too tight, the true policy is not to tighten them still more by coercion, but to loosen them so that each section may act with more freedom. Suppose we were different nations in law as well as in fact; that the fifteen Southern states had seceded peaceably and had had their independence recognized by the remaining states, where would we be on this question? We would be without the right to demand the return of fugitive slaves, and the North without the right to demand the return of fugitive criminals. But we would be also entitled by international law to obtain, as our government once demanded and obtained from the powerful empire of Great Britain, *indemnity* for the value of the property, the flight of which had been aided and abetted by the foreign power. The treaty with Great Britain of 1814 acknowledged that right, and I think I am not drawing too strong a conclusion from that treaty when I say that international law would entitle us to an indemnity for every slave that would be taken over the border.

Let us solve that question by establishing within the Union the very state of things which is the best we could obtain if we had separated, viz: not the return of the fugitive himself, but the payment of his value. Dissolve between the several states all obligations to return criminals, leaving it to negotiation between them, just as we negotiate charters for railroad companies or just as our government negotiates treaties of extradition between this country and foreign nations. Then each section might be protected. Each will be armed with a weapon for the purpose of defense, and no trouble will arise from demands for the extradition of ordinary criminals or indemnity for slaves escaping from service. Another question which disturbs us as a branch of the slave question is the organization of the Supreme Court. We have been warned in advance by Mr. Lincoln's adviser and Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, that the Supreme Court is to be re-organized; and Senator Trumbull tells us that there are to be no more Dred Scott decisions. In this matter, let us take a lesson from history. In the year 1618, a riot at a church produced a disturbance in a little village in Germany. The priests of the church sent for the troops of a neighboring abbot, the people called for aid from a neighboring Protestant and prince; thus began a war which lasted thirty years and was concluded in 1648 by that treaty which formed the basis of the public law of Europe up to the time of the French revolution, and is known as the peace of Westphalia. After thirty years' war, a solution of the quarrel was obtained, which could as well have been obtained before. It was this: The Supreme Court of the Empire of Germany was ordered to be thereafter composed of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics, with the exception of two to be named by the Emperor for the time being; the president of the Court was to be alternately a Catholic and a Protestant, and it was directed that in every question between parties of different religions, the judges deputed by the court to decide the question should be one half Protestants and the other half Catholics. That was practically all, so far as the jurisdiction of the courts were concerned, that the Protestants obtained by

their thirty years' war.

Why cannot we adopt that principle in our government? Why not ordain that one half of that court shall be always from one section and the other from the other section and that the president of the court shall alternate between the two?

Another difficulty is that we are losing our equality in the Senate. On that question, too, I think it will be well to draw a lesson from history. I know of no contest which is parallel, or so nearly parallel to the one now in this country as that between the Protestants and Catholics of Germany, two centuries ago. That great empire was also torn in pieces by a contest where a geographical line separating the pure German race from those mixed with the Slavonic coincided with a difference in religious principle. The Protestants of the north of Germany were in a minority, the Catholics were in the majority, and they had the government in their hands. The presiding magistrate, the emperor, was always a Catholic, being elected by their majority. After this thirty years' war, how did they solve that difficulty? If I recollect aright (I have not the authorities here, but I speak from memory), it was in this mode. Whenever a question arose in the German Legislature which affected the rights of the Protestants or concerned their religion, the representative of the elector of Saxony, as the head of the Protestant body, rose in his seat and called upon the Protestant members of the empire to retire for consultation; if they came back and informed the president of the Diet that they forbade that act as one infringing on their privileges as Protestants, it could no further be proceeded with. Let some such guarantee be given to the South, and history will recount of us, as it has already recounted of the German Empire, that no question ever arose which required the exercise of the veto thus conferred. The majority in the presence of this formidable power would know that it would be useless to attempt any infringements of the rights of the minority. If it be said that this is too great a concession to ask from the North, I say to them, "Do you prefer that this minority shall be to you a foreign nation or would you rather that the countrymen of Marion and Washington should remain united with you of the North in fighting the battles of the country against a common foreign foe. I think that the concession which the proud house of Hapsburg granted, and which that most inflexible of all institutions, the Catholic Church, did not conceive it beneath her dignity to submit to, a concession which so brave a race as the German consented to make to their countrymen, is not too much for us to ask from our fellow countrymen of the North.

Another disturbing element under our present Constitution is the right of every citizen to all the privileges of a citizen in every state. We all feel and know that it is a disturbing element; it is found to be so in various states of this country. I should be the last man in the world to wish to see it entirely abolished, but it is a disturbing element, and while I will not venture to suggest what is to be done in relation to it, I mention it as one of those things which it would be well to consider in settling on a new basis for a more perfect Union.

If there is any one circumstance which has tended more than any other to bring about the present state of feeling in the South, it is that the vote of the great State of Ohio was practically decided by free Negro suffrage in the last October election. Let that grievance also be removed by confining the right of suffrage to white citizens alone in every state.

Equality of taxation should also be established by some means or other, and I would furthermore suggest that one great cause of disturbance in this country, viz: the patronage of the president, should be removed. It is well known that one of the reasons why gentlemen of the South apprehend so much evil from the election of Mr. Lincoln was, that they feared he would send a swarm of abolition officers over the South to practically encourage insurrection. We know that one of the elements which entered into the last election, and which powerfully contributed to the success of Mr. Lincoln, was the impression (whether well or ill-founded I do not know) that the patronage of the government had been used corruptly by the present administration. Every four years there is an immense contest in this country over the presidential patronage, and I think no one single measure will more contribute to giving peace to the country than depriving the president of that patronage. Let it be vested in the representatives of

the respective states. It is an adjustment of the question by which neither one party nor the other will lose. Let every custom house officer, postmaster, or other local officer in Massachusetts, be appointed by the delegation from Massachusetts, and so likewise in South Carolina and Mississippi, reserving simply to the president and Senate the power of removing them for good cause, and if that is done, a great many people who now expend their time, money and eloquence in agitating the country, would, perhaps, find better employment in quieter occupations.

The public lands are another disturbing element. Homestead bills are brought in to make recruits to the Republican Party or other parties, and we can do nothing better with that subject than also to refer it to the states. Let each state have the lands within its borders, and then we shall have less disturbance about land questions.

I suggest these things, not with the idea that if I had any voice in framing a compromise, I would insist on all of them; because I think the Union of these states is itself a great benefit, which we should make great sacrifices to preserve. But in discussing these questions, I would be unjust to the subject did I not state all the principal matters which I think a convention of all the states, if called, should take into consideration.

What has been done to produce a solution to our difficulties? Congress has utterly failed, and it is not astonishing that it should have failed. How can we expect that men who for years past have been founding their reputation in the country on the ability with which they conducted the fight, should now turn around and at once show equal capacity in concluding an honorable peace? It is utterly useless to expect any solution whatever of this difficulty from the present Congress. The only way is to go behind them to their constituents, to get as near to the people as we can; and since we cannot get to them directly, the only mode is to appeal to those legislative bodies *in* the states which have the power of calling the people together.

It was this opinion which led me to suggest, several weeks ago, that an appeal should be made by this state to the Northern states to come forward and call the people together for the purpose of consulting on what is best calculated to preserve this Union. But the question at once arises, "You can call spirits from the vastly deep, but will they come?" Will these Legislatures send deputies to consult with us? I think they will. If it depended on the agreement of the Legislatures of all the seventeen non-slaveholding states, I would not dream of success. But, fortunately, any one of five different states can force the entire North to come into the measure. Suppose that this consulting convention meets at Wheeling, and the single state of New Jersey sends delegates there, agrees to the compromise there proposed, and is willing to abide by it, forming a new government upon it; dare Pennsylvania or New York permit New Jersey to form a part of a new Union? Common prudence would *compel* their Legislatures to send commissioners wherever New Jersey went. If the great state of Pennsylvania, the keystone of the arch of this Union, recollecting her conservative history, should determine to send delegates to this convention and intimate her intention to abide by some reasonable compromise, dare the North to hesitate one moment to join in the movement? Would they risk that *that* great state, by joining the South, should separate this Northern confederacy into two parts? They *must come*. The same is true of the state of Ohio, or Indiana or Illinois. The moment any one of them joins in the movement, the rest must follow; and I am glad that this bill proposes that we send a commissioner directly to the state of Illinois to ask her to co-operate. If she does join, having the Republican president within her borders, there will be no question that the others will follow—aye, Sir, in hot haste. But if she does decline, if the legislature of Illinois tells our commissioner that she cannot meet us even in council, then we can turn around and tell *our* people, "Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone!" There is thus a great practical benefit proposed by this bill. If it is accepted by the North, we have a great prospect of composing our differences; if it is refused, we then shall know *how to act*.

But it will be said, when that convention meets, "it will not be able to agree. These legislatures are composed of stubborn men, and they will not agree on anything." But the bill provides that we shall in the meantime have

consulted with our brethren of the South, to know what ultimatum we will present to them; not by way of consultation with friends, but by way of ultimatum to foes. Therefore, this bill is eminently a bill to preserve the Union. It is a bill to call out every effort for that purpose, and knowing that the sentiment of this state is for the *preservation of the Union*, if it can be done with honor, I expect to see it supported, in principle, by every senator on this floor.

But suppose all shall have failed: shall we resort to disunion—to secession? I say, emphatically "*No!*" I find in the history of our own country a precedent for a wiser course. The old confederation of this country was just such a government as ours now is. The articles of confederation provided that every state was to abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled in regard to all questions submitted to them; that the articles of the confederation should be inviolably observed by every state, and the Union be perpetual, nor should any alteration at any time be made in any of them unless such alteration should be agreed to in the Congress of the United States and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of *every* state. The articles were signed by delegates, who said: "We do solemnly plight the faith of our respective constituents that they shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled on all questions which, by the said confederation, are submitted to them, and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetuation." This was signed on the part and behalf of the state of Massachusetts, by John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and other; on behalf of Virginia by Richard Henry Lee and others; on the part of South Carolina, by Henry Laurens and other; and though this "*perpetual* Union" was freely and solemnly sworn to, yet in the year 1778, within ten years thereafter, no less a man than GEORGE WASHINGTON presided over a convention by which that Union was broken up *without* the consent of every state, by which a new government was put in operation by a part of those states, and by which the name and style and title of the United States of America was taken by a revolution of the states from the hands of the old confederation and placed in those of a new government? Being like all lawyers, fond of the following precedent, that is the one which I propose that we shall follow. I propose that we shall not give up the glorious title of United States of America, that we shall not give up the Constitution to those who have violated it, that the states who may be willing to join with the state of Missouri in imitating the conduct of Virginia, under the lead of WASHINGTON, shall assume before the world the name, style and title of the United States of America, that we shall not secede from the Union but do as the people of France did when they got tired of their legitimate sovereign, CHARLES X, depose King ABRAHAM LINCOLN. When we got tired of him let us do as Virginia did with GEORGE III, annul his power as president by an act of revolution, if you choose to call it so, of such a revolution as WASHINGTON and his compeers inaugurated. Let us go boldly before the nations of the earth claiming not to be a Southern confederacy, not a Union of states which have seceded from the Union which WASHINGTON had founded, but as the old United States; call upon the army and navy to acknowledge us as the government, just as the army and navy of the old confederation acknowledged WASHINGTON—invite the people of the territories to submit to our government; and I venture on the prediction that but a few years will elapse before you will find them dropping in gradually, just as North Carolina and Rhode Island dropped into the Union, while the old confederation evaporated without any man's being able to see how.

I know some men will say, this is treason; this is revolution! My answer is: it is like the act of WASHINGTON and his fellow patriots in 1787. They and their state government had solemnly pledged themselves that those articles of confederation should not be changed in any respect without the consent of every state; and yet, no historian has ever reprobated as treason, or even as a violation of pledges, the policy then advocated by that *soul of honor*, GEORGE WASHINGTON. Virginia was pledged to the old confederation, but she did not hesitate when it was necessary for her peace and safety and happiness, to sweep aside the articles of confederation to join the other states in establishing a new government, *without* the

consent of every state in the confederation, and posterity has approved the act.

Although the Constitution of the United States says that it shall not be amended except in a particular way, yet the crisis would justify a call upon our sister Southern states, and all the Northern states that will join with us *if we cannot preserve this Union in any other way*, to preserve it as WASHINGTON did, viz: by forming a new powerful union, without abandoning the old name.

I may, however, be met with the objection: what right have we to name, style, and title of the United States of America? We have every moral right which the human mind can conceive. In the first place, is it not a recognized right of the constituents of a government to revolutionize it? No man has ever been so base in this country as to deny the right of revolution. If it belongs to individuals, does it not more clearly belong to states? Cannot the fifteen states of the South say to the fifteen states that gave a *majority* vote for Mr. LINCOLN, we have made this government, we are the United States, or at least you are not more the United States than we are? But we have higher rights. Look at the history of this country. Who carried us safely through the war of the Revolution? A Virginian. Who were the chief instruments in framing the Constitution under which we live? MADISON, a Virginian, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, born in a slaveholding colony in the West Indies. What right then has the North to say that she shall take the name of WASHINGTON and the government of MADISON? Look at that other revolution by which the principles of Democracy were established over those of Federalism in this country? Who led then? THOMAS JEFFERSON. Who led our armies to victory in the war of 1812? A Virginian and a Kentuckian in the North and a Carolinian in the South. Who annexed Louisiana to this Union? A Virginian president. Who saved this country from disruption in 1820? A Virginian, representing Kentucky in the Congress of the United States. Who led our forces at Buena Vista? A Virginian, raised in Kentucky and living in Louisiana. Who conquered, with the American forces under his command, at Vera Cruz and Mexico? A Virginian again; and when the fruits of these conquests threatened to disrupt this Union, who came forward to save the country from disorder? A Virginian again, the great Harry of the West. And now, when the country stands appalled before the danger that threatens it, who is most prominent in his patriotic efforts to save this government? The noble-hearted senator from Kentucky.

But even in the North, does history assign to the Lincoln minority of this Union any right to retain the national name? Have HANCOCK and the elder ADAMS, the WEBSTERS of a past generation, or the FILLMORES, EVERETTS, and DOUGLASES of the present, any lot or part in modern Republicanism? Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I claim that numbers alone cannot take this government. History must be allowed some voice in it; and just as had I been a citizen of Athens, I would not have permitted any horde of Macedonian barbarians to claim the name of Greece, so, Sir, as a native son of the South, and living in a Southern state, I for one *shall not* consent that an administration be put into power by free Negro votes in Ohio and hordes of Black and Red Republican barbarians from Europe, and continuing their abominable principles, shall assume the glorious style and title of United States of America.

I hope that the first thing which the united Southern states will do if they are compelled to take arms in defense of their rights, will be to declare *themselves* the legitimate constitutional government of the United States.

But independent of our claim from history, we have the claim that we have been faithful to that Constitution, to that Union, to that flag; and, whatever else we may find it advisable to do in order to defend our rights, I see no necessity of giving up our claim to any of those three. There is no court to decide the case. If we claim to be the government of the United States, if we set up our president and send our ambassadors abroad, claiming to be the representatives of the United States of America, foreign nations will have to decide between us and Mr. Lincoln's envoys, just as we have to decide whether King BOMBA or VICTOR EMANUEL is King of Naples. King Cotton will very soon tell them which of these two governments they are to acknowledge as the legitimate government of the United States.

If peace prevails between the two sections, the time will not be far off when the states of the

North, those that refuse to recognize the legitimate government which we shall establish, will soon (to use a phrase familiar to TRUMBULL, SEWARD and other statesmen of the North) return to their allegiance. It will not be long before the state of Illinois, remembering the Kentucky and Virginia origin of many of her inhabitants, will decide, just as the French decided between CHARLES X and LOUIS PHILLIPPE, will decide to cast aside their government and recognize the constitutional government established by the constitutional states of the South. How long will New Jersey continue out? How long will the city of New York permit herself to be tacked on to a Puritan confederation? As a States' Rights man, I do not think that the government of the United States, which the constitutional party would establish, should go to the extent of coercing those states; I do not think the president that we may put into power should use the army and navy to blockade the port of Boston and force her to acknowledge the legitimate government; but if the city of New York is powerful enough to establish her independence of the barbarian Black Republicans who inhabit the northern part of that state, it will be the duty of the legitimate government of the United States to recognize her *de facto* independence and admit her into the Union, just as we admitted Texas when she separated from Mexico. So, also, if the southern part of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio choose to declare and establish their independence, as I see from yesterday's *Democrat*, southern Indiana is said to propose doing, we should be willing to admit them also into the Union, presided over by this legitimate government of ours. We should not force anybody to acknowledge his authority. And even after Maryland should join the legitimate constitutional government and cast aside Mr. LINCOLN, I should like to see him and his government remain in the District of Columbia, if for nothing else but the fun of the thing, exhibiting, as he would, the amusing spectacle of a government installed in a capital surrounded by hostile states. We should leave him unmolested, and even provide all his office seekers with free passes over the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. [Laughter.] But suppose that they, like the adherents of Charles the First, claiming him to be the legitimate sovereign, refused to recognize the Long Parliament of England, which had, in order to protect their constitutional rights, set aside that rebellious monarch, these Northern partisans make war upon us. Then, Mr. Chairman, let us be *prepared to meet them*. I have seen with great surprise that our late governor, in what I cannot but call a fit of unnecessary alarm, has drawn an exaggerated picture of the dangers to which this state will be exposed in case of a violent disruption of the confederacy, a picture which is as incorrect in its facts as it is brilliant and poetical in its language. I do not pretend to be a military man, but in my earlier days, it was one of my delights to visit the scenes of great military combats and to discover, as far as books and observation on the spot could teach me, why it was that certain countries have been in all ages the scenes of great battles and that other countries remained entirely unmolested, though perhaps inhabited by a feeble race in the midst of powerful neighbors. And I must say that, in all my travels, I have rarely seen a country which has so strong a military position as the State of Missouri. The governor of Illinois has (I think unadvisedly) talked in a sort of braggart tone of what the great northwest will permit and will not permit in this Mississippi Valley. Before he talks of what the northwest will or will not permit, I think he would have done well to examine what she *could* or *could not permit*. He can readily learn from any military man, or any work on military strategy, what kinds of countries present facilities for invasion, what furnish obstacles to it. Could he at the height of a few miles in the air get a bird's-eye view of Missouri, he would see the Ozark Mountains rising up in her midst like a vast natural fortress. With the Missouri River on the north, the Mississippi on the east and the swamps of southeast Missouri and of Arkansas on the south, this fortress is impregnable in those directions, while on the west and southwest, a fertile country, stretching even into Texas, can furnish it with abundant supplies of provision, and the mountains themselves contain inexhaustible stores of iron, copper, lead and even nitre for the manufacture of gunpowder. Northern Missouri is a very defensible country, and any invasion of it will surely be gallantly repelled, even should the Northern interests connected with the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad be unable to

prevent an act fatal to the communication between Illinois and Kansas. Before the governor of Illinois talks of invading Missouri, let him inquire of even a mere novice in military affairs if all history presents one single instance of the passage of a river as large as the Mississippi *in the face of a brave hostile force*?

Let him turn his eye to Kentucky. It requires no great knowledge of military science to discover the strategic strength of the "dark and bloody ground." Great rivers are as formidable obstacles to an invading army as they are invaluable facilities for concentrating troops for defense. Suppose a Lincolnite force (if permitted to pass through southern Illinois by the gallant citizens of that favored land) should succeed in crossing the Ohio, the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers must still be crossed, or avoided, and left free to be used for transportation of troops to the rear of the Black Republican army, to intercept its retreat when repulsed by a general apprising of Tennessee.

But I have no time to enlarge on this subject. I will only add that all military men admit that the rivers which run with the line of march of an invader and not through swamps, facilitate, while streams running across that line obstruct his progress; that cheap though slow river transportation is of greater moment in war than rapid, but dear, railroad transportation; that the expense of an army depends much on its distance from its base of operations, and that a level country projecting out between hilly countries is commanded by them, while a hilly country projecting into a plain dominates the levels surrounding it.

An application of these almost self-evident principles to the question of a civil war in this valley will show that, while a Southern army, landing below Cairo, reaching the Iron Mountain in a few days by a military road, and thence transportable in a few hours to St. Louis, need not fear interruption from Illinois, that state would be utterly unable to subdue its southern counties if they rejoin Kentucky and are aided by that state and Missouri. They also show that a Southern army, if successful in crossing the Ohio, would find itself at Chicago or Cleveland only at about two hundred miles from its base of operations and with no other great river to cross; while a Lincolnite force, thrown over the Ohio, would, if it ever reached the Gulf, be at least six hundred miles from its base and with several formidable rivers intercepting its communications. The Southern rivers run east and west to the Mississippi, across an invader's path, and he cannot go down the bank of the great river itself because of its swamps. The rivers of the northwest run south towards the Ohio and facilitate an invader's progress to the lakes.

But the Lincolnites boast that the superiority of the non-slaveholding states of this valley over the slaveholding in population and resources is so great that despite all these drawbacks in the weak strategic position of the former, they can readily execute the menace of the governor of Illinois and subdue us. Let us examine this pretension, and for the sake of argument, I will admit their population to be, not only brave (which we know it to be), but as warlike as that of the "military states," as Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri have been very aptly called; that the people of southern Illinois, Indiana and Ohio will heartily join in the invasion of the land of their forefathers and that the population on the lakes, trading exclusively with the northern Atlantic states, will feel so anxious to hurt their own interests that they will fight to keep the Mississippi open instead of paying to have it obstructed by Rock Island bridges, or praying for a sandbar to close its mouth below New Orleans.

The population in 1850 of the states owning territory to any considerable extent in the Mississippi Valley, was as follows: That of the ten slaveholding states of Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, was 7,276,066, and that of the seven non-slaveholding states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, was 6,635,683. Excluding the population, in such portions of each state as are outside of the Mississippi Valley proper, the relative numbers of each division was about 5,000,000 slaveholding to 3,600,000 non-slaveholding. A portion of the former, about 11,400,000, were slaves so that the white population of each division was about equal; but in estimating military strength, the slave population being engaged in agricultural and other labor is as

much to be considered as a corresponding number of free laborers. The opinion common in the North, that they lessen our military power by requiring white men to watch then, is known to every Southerner to be an error. Two percent of the population of a country is considered a very large military force for it to sustain, yet the 7,000,000 of the slave-holding valley states could raise an army of 110,000 men and still leave at home nearly a million of white men in the military age between eighteen and fifty-five.

But an army has to be fed and clothed, and supplies have to be transported to it; cavalry and artillery also require horses. Let us compare the *military resources* of the two divisions of our valley, i.e., the ten slaveholding states on the one hand and the seven non-slaveholding on the other. By the census of 1850, their resources and productions in that year were in round numbers as follows:

	Slaveholding States	Non-slaveholding States
Horses, asses, and mules	2,115,000	1,489,000
Neat cattle	7,125,000	4,462,000
Sheep	5,561,000	8,056,000
Swine	16,957,000	7,668,000
Wheat, bushels	20,762,000	51,303,000
Rye, bushels	1,276,000	5,491,000
Oats, bushels	40,827,000	55,692,000
Indian corn, bushels	286,748,000	200,188,000
Potatoes, bushels	31,116,000	17,942,000
Hay, tons	903,000	4,658,000
Butter and cheese, lbs.	55,701,000	131,380,000
Peas and beans, bushels	5,317,000	270,000
Orchard products, value	$1,025,000	$2,203,000
Honey and beeswax, lbs.	6,880,000	3,901,000
Poultry, (1810) value	$3,880,000	$1,937,000
Home manufactures, value	$15,657,000	$5,513,000
Wool, lbs.	10,762,000	20,066,000

Allowing to each division the same supply in proportion to population, the surplus of the slaveholding section in those animals and products which are most useful in war (draft animals, neat cattle, and the cheaper articles of food) was in round numbers about as follows: 500,000 horses, mules or asses; 2,200,000 neat cattle; 8,500,000 swine (or more than the *whole* number in the non-slaveholding section), and 70,000,000 bushels of Indian corn.

Wheat is the principal article in the production of which the non-slaveholding division of the valley excels the slaveholding: it is the principal article of export of the former, and the surplus available for export dwindles into insignificance when compared with the honey, flax, tobacco, cotton and sugar of the latter. In potatoes, peas and beans (provisions which figure largely in army supplies), as well as in

home manufactures, the superiority of the latter is also remarkable. The inferiority in hay is explained by the fact that the slaveholding section has much milder and shorter winters and requires proportionately less of that article.

It is thus incontestable that in supplies for an army, as well as in the production of those articles which can be sold abroad to furnish money wherewith to purchase articles not produced by our own citizens, the slaveholding states of our valley are considerably an over-match for the non-slaveholding. Indeed, with the loss of the Southern market for their manufactures (the necessary result of any war), it is somewhat difficult to imagine how with nothing to send to Europe but provisions, they could raise a revenue except by onerous, direct taxation; a Southern confederacy, by duties on the goods brought in return for the cotton, tobacco, etc., could readily defray all ordinary expenses.

But the coercionist may answer to this, that the valley states of the North will not stand alone; that New York and New England will join them. Let us, for argument's sake take it for granted that they will lose their proverbial shrewdness so completely as to grant men and money to open a way for the trade of the northwest to go away from Boston and New York, and follow our river to New Orleans. In the event of a civil war, it is a hundred to one that the fifteen Southern states will be united, and any aid given the Lincoln government in the border slaveholding states would be more than counterbalanced by the support which appearances indicate a constitutional government, established by the South, would receive in the North. Let us compare their relative strength and resources, and first in regard to naval matters.

On June 30th, 1858, the tonnage of registered vessels (i.e., those engaged in foreign trade) owned in the non-slaveholding states, including those on the Pacific, was 1,831,605 tons; that of similar vessels owned in the slaveholding states was 391,518 or about the same as one hundred ships of the line of the largest class. In 1793, the entire shipping of the United States in the foreign or domestic trade or in the fisheries combined, amounted to only 491,780 tons. In the same year, 1858, the entire tonnage, registered, enrolled and licensed, of the non-slaveholding states, was 3,855,097 tons; that of the slaveholding states amounted to 918,092 tons, or more than the registered tonnage of the entire Union in any year prior to 1842, greater than the entire tonnage of the United States in 1798, when President Adams defied France, or in 1802, when Jefferson defied England by purchasing Louisiana. Prior to 1815 our entire tonnage had never exceeded 1,670,000 tons, and in 1830, when, under Jackson, we were considered a very respectable naval power, it had sunk to 1,191,776 tons, and our population of 13,000,000 was about the same as that of the slaveholding states at the present day.

The navy of the United States consisted, on November 1st, 1859, of vessels at sea, carrying in all, 723 guns, or vessels in ordinary or on the stocks in the Northern navy years, mounting 903 guns, and in Southern navy yards, mounting 553 guns. The North has the four navy yards of Portsmouth, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the South three, at Washington, Norfolk and Pensacola. They are supplied with live oak for the construction of a few more vessels; but as that wood does not grow north of the Carolinas, the Northern government would have to obtain teak or mahogany from abroad to supply its place. If the South will abandon its carrying trade to foreign vessels, and convert its own into privateers, the small fleet of the Lincoln government would have full occupation enough in protecting Northern commerce, and a real blockade of Southern ports would be an impossibility; meanwhile with first-class navy yards, abundance of live oak and all other materials for fitting out a fleet, the South would soon be able to meet at sea any power which the North could put forth. Of course, I am reasoning on the basis of the state of affairs the Republicans predict as necessarily resulting from a disruption of the government, i.e. a cessation of Southern commerce, no employment for our 918,092 tons of shipping, except to privateer on Northern commerce, and a necessity for the South to fit out a fleet to put an end to such a state of things.

But has the South ship builders to construct a navy and officers and men to manage it? The officers, the Ingrahams and Shubricks, abound. As for shipwrights, it appears that the tonnage of vessels built in 1858-9, in Delaware, Maryland, the

District of Columbia and Virginia, exceeded that of all the vessels built during the same period in the entire state of New York. The tonnage of ships built in 1855, in Southern shipyards, was 54,253 tons, in 1856, it was 45,538 tons, in 1857, it rose to 47,831 tons, and again fell in 1858 to 43,576 tons. In the same period, the total tonnage built in the United States varied from 583,850 tons in 1855 to 242,285 tons in 1858. The total tonnage of all vessels built in the whole United States in each of the years, 1820, 1835 and 1813, was under 48,000 tons. In regard to seamen, the census of 1850 shows that there were then in the United States 710,603 mariners; it is not stated how many belonged to the South, but of 116,341 free persons engaged in sea and river navigation, 26,472 resided in slaveholding states; how many slaves were employed as seamen is not stated, but many of the coasting vessels of the South are manned in part by slaves. Of 14,998 seamen registered in the United States in the two years from October 1856 to October 1858, those in Southern ports amounted to 1979, those in New York ports to only 1323, and while the number of seamen registered in Southern ports increases from 937 in the first to 1,042 in the second of those two years, the number of those registered in Northern ports fell in the same period, from 7,172 to 5,817. It is thus very clear that on the supposition that Southern commerce is to cease and Northern commerce continue, the latter requires all the seamen it can get, the maritime forces thrown out of peaceable employment would be an over match of those of the North; to say that those of the South would be required for commerce, or be engaged in privateering, while those of the North would be free to go to naval war, is to give up the whole argument of the coercionists.

These facts are taken from the official publications of our government or such standard authorities as the American Almanac and other works, and they speak volumes on the subject of coercion. The census of 1860 will make but little difference in the relative strength and resources of the two sections, and in comparing them I have taken it for granted, as is at length clear to every thinking man, that on the question of resisting coercion, the Lincoln government would have to meet the united strength of the fifteen Southern states.

I will not detain the committee by a comparison of the wealth, productions and commerce of the two sections: the superiority of the South in the value of its exports is notorious. The idea that the North, with these Southern parts closed to its manufactures, with scarcely anything but breadstuffs to export, with its commerce exposed to privateering under a Southern flag, could raise a revenue to sustain a navy, except by the most onerous direct taxation, is simply ridiculous. As to land operations, we have seen that in this valley, the slaveholding are an overmatch for the non-slaveholding states; and any additions to their strength from the other states adhering to the Lincoln government would still not enable them to be our equals when they undertake to invade us; we, of course, have no intention to invade them, except to repel their invasion of the well-known military principle of “carrying the war into Africa.” I do not wish to tread on the delicate ground; but coercionists will do well to read the lesson of history, that war always seeks plains to fight its battles on and great cities to sack: it avoids mere agricultural regions, mounts and unwholesome swamps. If a civil war arises in this Union, in which section lie the plains and the great cities?

But, Mr. Chairman, I desire no such calamity to befall this country. I seek *peace* and *union* by endeavoring to show the North how futile would be any attempt to coerce the South; to show the South that by uniting we are strong enough, both in naval and military resources, to command peace. If the governor of Illinois should ever see these statements, he may be convinced that this game of controlling the Mississippi Valley is one “that two can play at;” yet, I hope the state of Missouri will invite him to another game, which, also, two can play at. I mean the game of conciliation. This is a bill of conciliation, and I have prepared an amendment to meet this very question which the governor of Illinois presents; to meet it, not by force of arms, not by returning his defiance, but by doing him right and justice. I shall move to amend this bill by adding the following section:

“Said Commissioners are instructed to announce to the bodies to which they shall be respectively sent that the state of Missouri solemnly

declares it to be a perpetual general, public law of the Mississippi Valley that the Mississippi and all its tributary rivers shall be regarded as an inland sea, and the right to navigate the same shall be at all times free to the citizens of every state possessing territory within said valley, whether the same remain under one government or not: subject, however, to such regulations, only as may be necessary to prevent the abuse of said right, and to such tolls as may be necessary to pay the actual expense of preserving the navigability of such rivers."

We have a great example before us in this respect. When the treaty of Vienna was made in 1815 to settle the questions which had disturbed the world for so many years, all the powers of Europe united in a declaration similar to the one which I now propose the state of Missouri should make, viz., that the general public law of Europe should forever be, that all rivers on that continent should be forever free to all the states bordering on the same. I propose this measure now, as the time may come when this valley may not be under one government, and in order that we may, at the very beginning of these troubles, set down *our* declaration at least for freedom of navigation all over this valley.

I am thankful for the patience with which senators have listened to this discourse, which has drawn itself out too much greater length than I had intended. In conclusion, I would urge upon senators the speedy passage of this conciliatory measure. It does not weaken the force of our position at all. While we, on the one hand, propose to give to the Northern people *every possible chance* to do us justice, while we do not dictate terms in any way, and make no premature declaration of what we consider our ultimatum should be, we at the same time turn around to our brethren of the South and promise to join them in the Convention to decide upon our common course. In public as in private life, men never lose anything by being conciliatory. I am convinced that nothing will show the North more conclusively that we are in earnest than this proposition to give them, so to say, a last chance. I hope that the governor of this state, if this bill is passed, will, under one of its provisions, send some eminent citizen to the state of Illinois, to let her know that the destiny of this country is in her hands. Let him appear before her legislature, God grant that he may have an eloquence like Demosthenes, and as that Grecian orator, when he wished to arouse the Athenian people to a last effort to save the Union of Greece, appealed to them "by the spirits of those who died at Marathon," so let that commissioner appeal to the Legislature of Illinois, by the spirits of those Illinoisans and Mississippians who fell together at Monterrey and Buena Vista.

I feel confident, that when he strikes those chords in the heart of the great state of Illinois, no fanatical feeling will prevent her from cordially responding; and that thus the state of ABRAHAM LINCOLN himself will hearken to the call of Missouri. If she does, the whole North will follow. If we meet in convention, as this bill proposes, I still hope that the Union which WASHINGTON framed, may be preserved; that we shall have no necessity to revolutionize this government, disrupt it, or secede from it. But if that disastrous time *must* come; then if we have *fully* exhausted *every* measure of conciliation, we will feel that we can, with a good conscience, appeal to the God of Battles, and that truly "thrice armed is he who hath his quarrel just."

* * *

Annex 8 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8)

Amendments Proposed in Congress by Senator John J. Crittenden

December 18, 1860

Whereas, serious and alarming dissensions have arisen between the Northern and Southern states, concerning the rights and security of the rights of the slaveholding states, and especially their rights in the common territory of the United States; and whereas it is eminently desirable and proper that these dissensions, which now threaten the very existence of this Union, should be permanently quieted and settled by constitutional provisions, which shall do equal justice to all sections, and

thereby restore to the people that peace and good will which ought to prevail between all the citizens of the United States: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both Houses concurring), that the following articles be, and are hereby, proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, when ratified by conventions of three-fourths of the several states:

ARTICLE I

In all the territory of the United States now held, or hereafter acquired, situated north of latitude 36° 30', slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is prohibited while such territory shall remain under territorial government. In all the territory south of said line of latitude, slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance. And when any territory, north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress according to the then federal ratio of representation of the people of the United States, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states, with or without slavery, as the constitution of such new state may provide.

ARTICLE II

Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction and situated within the limits of states that permit the holding of slaves.

ARTICLE III

Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as it exists in the adjoining states of Virginia and Maryland, or either, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation first made to such owners of slaves as do not consent to such abolishment. Nor shall Congress at any time prohibit officers of the federal government, or members of Congress, whose duties require them to be in said District, from bringing with them their slaves, and holding them as such, during the time their duties may require them to remain there, and afterward taking them from the District.

ARTICLE IV

Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one state to another, or to a territory in which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea.

ARTICLE V

That in addition to the provisions of the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, Congress shall have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty so to provide, that the United States shall pay to the owner who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave in all cases when the marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest said fugitive was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation, or when, after arrest, said fugitive was rescued by force, the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave under the said clause of the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. And in all such cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitive, they shall have the right, in their own name, to sue the county in which said violence, intimidation, or rescue was committed, and to recover from it, with interest and damages, the amount paid by them for said fugitive slave. And the said county, after it has paid said amount to the United States, may, for its indemnity, sue and recover from the wrongdoers or rescuers by whom the owner was prevented from the recovery of his fugitive slave, in like manner as the owner himself might have sued and recovered.

ARTICLE VI

No future amendment of the Constitution shall affect the five preceding articles; nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of said Constitution and no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which shall authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the states by whose laws it is, or

may be allowed or permitted.

And whereas, also, besides these causes of dissension embraced in the foregoing amendments proposed to the Constitution of the United States, there are others which come within the jurisdiction of Congress, as far as its power will extend, to remove all just cause for the popular discontent and agitation which now disturb the peace of the country and threaten the stability of its institutions: Therefore,

1. Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves are in strict pursuance of the plain and mandatory provisions of the Constitution, and have been sanctioned as valid and constitutional by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, that the slaveholding states are entitled to the faithful observance and execution of those laws, and that they ought not to be repealed, or so modified or changed as to impair their efficiency; and that laws ought to be made for the punishment of those who attempt by rescue of the slave, or other illegal means, to hinder or defeat the due execution of said laws,

2. That all state laws which conflict with the fugitive slave acts of Congress, or any other constitutional acts of Congress, or which, in their operation, impede, hinder, or delay the free course and due execution of any of said acts, are null and void by the plain provisions of the Constitution of the United States; yet those State laws, void as they are, have given color to practice, and led to consequences which have obstructed the due administration and execution of acts of Congress, and especially the acts for the delivery of fugitive slaves, and have thereby contributed much to the discord and commotion now prevailing. Congress, therefore, in the present perilous juncture, does not deem it improper respectfully and earnestly to recommend the repeal of those laws to the several states which have enacted them, or such legislative corrections or explanations of them as may prevent their being used or perverted to such mischievous purposes.

3. That the act of the 18th of September 1850, commonly called the fugitive slave law, ought to be so amended as to make the fee of the commissioner, mentioned in the eighth section of the act, equal in amount in the cases decided by claimant. And to avoid misconstruction, the last clause of the fifth section of said act which authorizes the person holding a warrant for the arrest or detention of a fugitive slave, to summon to his aid local citizens, and which declares it to be the duty of all good citizens to assist him in its execution, ought to be so amended as to expressly limit the authority and duty to cases in which there shall be resistance or danger of resistance or rescue.

4. That the laws for the suppression of the African slave-trade and especially those prohibiting the importation of slaves in the United States, ought to be made effectual, and ought to be thoroughly executed; and all further enactments necessary to those ends ought to be promptly made.

* * *

Annex 9 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-9)

National Republican Party Platform (a.k.a. Chicago Platform)

Adopted by the National Republican Convention, held in Chicago, Illinois on May 17, 1860

National Republican National Platform

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States in Convention assembled, in the discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

The Republican Party

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican Party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Its Fundamental Principles

2. That the maintenance of the principles

promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

True to the Union

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may. And we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

State Sovereignty

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Sectionalism of the Democracy

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal Courts of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

Its Extravagance and Corruption

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

A Dangerous Political Heresy

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Freedom, the Normal Condition of Territories

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom: That, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no persons should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

The African Slave Trade

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a

crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Democratic Popular Sovereignty

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of Non-Intervention and Popular Sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Admission of Kansas

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a state under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Encouragement of American Industry

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Free Homesteads

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free-homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

Rights of Citizenship

14. That the Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any state legislation by which the rights of citizens hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

River and Harbor Improvements

15. That appropriation by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

A Pacific Railroad

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

Cooperation Invited

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the cooperation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

* * *

Annex 10 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-10)

The Constitution, Union and the Enforcement of the Laws

Speech by Sample Orr, Delivered in the Hall of Representatives, January 5, 1861

Missouri Democrat, published January 7, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.3)

I told the people that a portion of those Jackson resolutions were right and a portion wrong. They have been re-adopted, and I understand in a place where the light of day could not shine in. They were re-adopted in caucus a few evenings since when a big Negro acted as door-keeper. [Laughter, and "that's so."] That is what I understand. So you see how the conservatism of the people is managed.

You remember the division that took place in the great Democratic Convention at Charleston

[South Carolina], and I want to show you that it was then designed by the managers of the Democratic Party that Lincoln should be elected president of the United States, for a pretext to take the Southern country out of the Union and make a southern confederacy. In the first place, they spilt at Charleston. I admit that if they could have agreed at Charleston, and nominated Douglas or Breckinridge, they would have obtained the support of the conservative people of the country, and elected their man. But they failed to agree. At that time, the conservative element of our country met and selected Bell and Everett, not because of their availability, but because they wished to present to the American people men who would rally around the Constitution and the Union. The Democratic Party then met at Baltimore and brought out Douglas. Then the other party, the seceders, went across the way and nominated Breckinridge. Why? Because they knew if each of the candidates then nominated remained in the field, they would be beaten, and Lincoln is elected. They desired his election, not because he was a Republican, but because they wanted some pretext for a dissolution of the Union. In this connection, I desire to read an extract from the message of Gov. Stewart; I say there has been no governor of Missouri that deserves to have his name handed down to posterity, so long and so far as Gov. Stewart, for what he says in this message. I was informed today, that in the Senate, a motion was made to publish the address of Gov. Jackson and the message of Gov. Stewart, and that some individual proposed to print 5,000 of the former, and only 500 copies of Stewart's. Now, that reminds me of a sale I once saw in Tennessee; it was a sale of merchandise. In that state there is a law against the sale of playing cards. At that sale, some Sunday school testaments, bound in pasteboard, were sold for five cents each. The next thing they took up was a pack of playing cards, which brought a dollar. Now I think to myself, 6,000 copies of this inaugural address of Gov. Jackson—an address which is in some respects treasonable—and only 500 copies of a document well calculated to make its author rank with our greatest statesmen! Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, you ought to think of what you are doing. [*Reads from Gov. Stewart's message*]:

As matters are at present, Missouri will stand to her lot, and hold to the Union so long as it is worth an effort to preserve it. So long as there is hope of success, she will seek justice within the Union. She cannot be frightened from her propriety by the past unfriendly legislation of the North, nor intimidated into secession by the restrictive legislation of the extreme South. If those who should be our natural friends and allies undertake to render our property worthless by a system of prohibitory laws, or by re-opening the slave trade, in opposition to the moral sense of the civilized world, and at the same time reduce us to the humble position of a sentinel, to watch over and protect their interests, receiving all the blows and none of the benefits, Missouri will hesitate long before sanctioning such an arrangement. She will rather take the high position of armed neutrality. She is, at present, able to take care of herself, and will be neither forced nor flattered, driven or coaxed, into a course of action that must end in her own destruction.

If South Carolina and other cotton states persist in secession, she will desire to see them go in peace, with the hope that a short experience of separate government and honorable re-adjustment of the federal compact will induce them to return to their former position. In the meantime, Missouri will hold herself in readiness at any moment, to defend her soil from pollution and her property from plunder by fanatics and marauders, let them come from what quarters they may. The people of Missouri will choose this deliberate, conservative course, both on account of the blessings they have derived from the Union, and the untold and unimagined evils that will come with its dissolution. Is it nothing to us that the postal system of the United States carries intelligence to every family in the state and receives back, in postage, only a small

> portion of the expenditure? Is it a trifle to us that millions are distributed from the federal treasury every year to support officers and contractors within the state? Is it a matter of no consequence to our farmers that other millions are paid every year for stock and produce to support the army on our western frontier?
>
> But far above this pecuniary view of the subject—quite beyond the reckoning of dollars and cents—is it nothing to be an American citizen?—a free-holder in the greatest and most powerful country on the globe?—part owner of a flag that has been baptized in the fire and blood of a thousand battles—a flag that now floats proudly on every sea, and in every port—a countryman and kinsman of heroes and patriots, who fought and fell in the great struggle for liberty and right? Is there nothing in the memories of the past, the prosperity of the present, or the hopes of the future that should make us cling with a dying grasp to this last hope of the world—this proud temple of American liberty? But if the blessings we have derived from our government excite no desire for their preservation, then let the evils, crimes, and horrors which must follow its dissolution, withhold us from hasty and inconsiderate action. First, though least in the category of evils that must come with secession, are those of a pecuniary nature.

I believe there are millions of Northern men as conservative as you and I, and that they are unwilling to see this Union torn to fragments. But what has brought about the present condition of things? Let us see! Pierce's administration,[418] I think, was a bad one. Buchanan,[419] however, entered upon his official duties with $27,000,000 in the treasury, and at a time when we were at peace with all nations. He is now about to leave it almost in a bankrupt condition. Under this state of circumstances was it strange that the people of the North who had any conservatism in them, should vote for Lincoln? The moment he was elected, we see the whole South arrayed against the government unless we can get "our rights." What "rights" have we not got? "The abolitionists are stealing our Negroes," it is said, "and we are insulted, and will have to go upon our knees as humble suppliants." Well! Have the abolitionists broken loose very lately? Has it not been so all the time? Did you hear anything of the kind at the time Pierce was elected? No, sir! Personal liberty bills were in force at the time, and Negroes were stolen. But when Lincoln was elected, we are told that the chivalrous South would never allow themselves to be run over and imposed upon by the Black Republicans. I fought until ten o'clock on the night of the election, and made more speeches than any other man living and kicking in the state of Missouri to beat Lincoln. But he is elected. He has been elected according to the forms prescribed by the Constitution of the country. What did I say to you when I spoke in the courthouse over yonder last summer? I told you that I was sometimes asked: "Suppose you are elected governor of Missouri, what are you going to do in case of Lincoln's election?" My answer was, that if a president was elected according to the Constitution of the country, I would spill the last drop of blood in my veins, if necessary, to sustain the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws, under his administration. I am for the Jackson resolutions[420] myself; but it was a different Jackson though. One of these resolutions was "The Union, it must and shall be preserved," and the other, "The man who commits an overt act against any law passed by Congress shall be hung." [Applause.] I desire here to read some resolutions adopted at a meeting held in Springfield on the 1st of December. [*Reads:*]

Resolved, 1st. That we do not believe that the election of any man to the presidency, when done according to the laws of the land and the requirements of the Constitution. and in the absence of any official act of his in violation of law

[418] Franklin Pierce was U.S. president from 1853-1857.

[419] James Buchanan was the outgoing U.S. president, his term ending March 1861.

[420] For the text of the Jackson Resolutions, which were passed on March 10, 1849, see (FLP: Ser 3RN-Jan-Annex-5).

or the Constitution, gives any just cause whatever to authorize any state to secede from the Union.

Resolved, 2d. That when any man is elected to the presidency of the United States, according to the law of the land and the requirements of the Constitution, he is the commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and is sworn to protect and support the Constitution and enforce the laws, and we are for holding him to a strict performance of these duties.

Resolved, 3d. That any attempt by states or individuals with armed force, to destroy the force of the Constitution, or to prevent the faithful execution of the laws, is not only unauthorized, but is prohibited by the letter and spirit of the Constitution and cannot be viewed in any other light than treason and rebellion.

Resolved, 4th. That we view with sorrow and regret the now tangled doctrine that is being attempted to be engrafted upon our government, "that any state feeling aggrieved by the action of the general government," has the right to secede from the Union, this doctrine being admitted at once renders the Constitution a "rope of sand."

Resolved, 5th. That we are for the Union of the state under the Constitution, for the enforcement of all constitutional laws, and in the words of Hon. Jackson, "The federal union, it must and shall be preserved!" is our motto.

Resolved, 6th. That while we object to the idea of secession by any Southern state, we as heartily object to Legislative enactments by any Northern states in open violation of the Constitution, and we deem it the bounden duty of every state, whether North or South, East or West, to keep step to the music of the Constitution and the Union.

Resolved: 7th. That while we deplore the election of Abraham Lincoln, we unhesitatingly acquiesce in his election.

We have a good government, and a constitution as strong as a constitution can be made, and all that is necessary is to find some man who will enforce the laws. I shall expect to demand of Mr. Lincoln, that if he does not enforce the laws, he shall be impeached. We have got a Senate, and if they don't go out, we can make him do his duty. But because we have failed to have our rights, is that any reason why we should tear the government to pieces? It is true, we do not get all our rights under the Constitution, and there never will be a government where we can get all our rights. We have to risk the chance of mobs and robbers in every country, we have some rights to sacrifice, and we cannot help ourselves. But has a state a right to go out of the Union because somebody steals from the citizens of that state? I live in the county of Greene, in southwest Missouri. It is about 130 miles from here, and 100 miles from anywhere else. [Laughter.] We have railroads constructed on various parts of the state, and the county of Greene has helped to support them, and has always paid its share of the revenues, but none of these railroads, which we have helped to build, run anywhere near the county of Greene, and we do not derive any benefit from them. Now, because we do not get our rights under this government, must we declare we will go out of it? By no means! Each organization has its proper sphere—national, state, county and family relations, all have their proper spheres, although I have never been able to have just what I thought was exactly right under any of them. [Prolonged laughter.] Now, if South Carolina has a right to go out of the Union, why has not Missouri, or any other state, the same right? Under such a condition of things, this Union would be as frail as a rope of sand. A few years ago, I remember, our present lieutenant governor, Thomas C. Reynolds, was strongly in favor of having a man hung for treason, for violating a United States law, in the southern portion of this state, by cutting government timber. Now, I am not alluding to this to say a word against Governor Reynolds, but I hold that if a man violates the law of the land in any instance, I want the law enforced upon him, whether it be the timber law or any other law. I do not say that South Carolina has violated any law; but supposing she shoots down an officer who is there doing his duty under orders from the president of the United States, then she is in open rebellion, and must we stand by and say she is doing right? I don't know but Lieutenant Governor Reynolds may be needed in this country yet. I deplore the election of Lincoln as unhesitatingly as anyone. I remember that since the election, our Governor Jackson made a speech in Brownville [Nebraska], in which he said that he was with his

friend Orr, for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of laws. I told him I thanked God for it. But what does he say in his message now? He says we must have a Convention. For what? Not to keep in the Union, but to go out of it. Now, I am opposed to this movement for a Convention; it is dangerous. I say we have a Constitution sufficient for the emergency, and we ought to do no such thing as is proposed by Governor Jackson. Now, if South Carolina does not repeal the resolution declaring herself out of the Union, we ought to require Buchanan or Lincoln to declare such resolution void, and run over it. Now, what does Governor Jackson say? He says, "I will not justify or condemn South Carolina."[421] He won't condemn a state in the Union that stands in open rebellion to the Constitution! He calls her a gallant little state, but he has not a solitary word for any of the states of the Union except South Carolina. I am not afraid to condemn her, and I do condemn her as base and cowardly in her action in attempting to tear up the best government that ever existed in the world. [Applause and hisses.] I am not making speeches to please the secessionists. You can hiss if you choose—but when I say what I do, I do not desire to ignore the fact that South Carolina has given birth to many brave, and generous, and worthy men. She has a man named Orr, but I want you to make a distinction between Orr, of South Carolina, and Orr of Missouri. Gov. Jackson goes on to say that we ought not to coerce South Carolina—that no state can be maintained by the sword, and that history doesn't show that any government was ever maintained by the sword. How long do you suppose we should have enjoyed American liberty after the battle of New Orleans [Louisiana], had it not been the British feared the sword of the Americans?

But the great Democratic Party, after all its bickering last summer, has, at last, come together again. They fought with deadly antagonism against each other during the canvass, but as soon as the spoils were to be disposed of, they united together again and agreed upon future peace and harmony, while in the fullness of their heart they put forward Mr. Claiborne to offer the Bell-Everett Party the office of Speaker pro tem. But the Bell-Everett Party never asked any favors of them, holding that, to the victors belong the spoils, and thinking at this time they ought to be considering over the affairs of the country instead of the spoils of office. And here I wish to read a little extract from the *Examiner* of the 15th of last month:

> Now, as we declared last week, we have not one word to say against the [course] adopted by the Douglas Party. We expected overtures from them. Looking upon them as deserters of Democratic principles, we expected they would, with all humility, beg to be taken back into the Democratic fold and be forgiven. With their candidates in a minority of nearly a million votes in the Democratic states, we expected they would demand a back seat in the [illegible]. And we expected it would be our unpleasant duty to refuse them even this poor boon. Having no confidence in their leaders, elieving them demagogues rather them Democrats, lovers of the spoils rather than principle, and [illegible] county rather than preserving and building on the Democratic Party, we feared that it would be an unpleasant duty to reject and spurn their proffers of friendship and [reformation]"

I am told that about thirty of the Douglas Northern Democratic Party are pledged to vote for Jim Green. Thus we see, that while the country is tottering upon the verge of ruin—at a time when every lover of his country is called to lay aside his partisanship—the party lines are drawn as strictly as ever. Gentlemen, it is necessary we should reflect. I believe all parties are to blame, more or less. I believe Missouri ought to stand where she is. She ought to fight in the Union, and although South Carolina may go, and Alabama, and the North, the East, and every state in the Union, yet Missouri ought to contend for the Stars and Stripes, and if

[421] Governor Jackson's exact words were, "I do not stand here to justify or condemn the action of South Carolina, who has already withdrawn her allegiance to the federal government." These words were said in his inaugural address, January 3, 1861. For the full speech, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12).

they persist in tearing them, then Missouri should cling to the end that has the stars, and let the others have the stripes.

Missouri is big enough to divide into four states. We can divide her up and still be the United States, and then make Stewart president and Orr vice president, and then we can maintain our rights in the Union, and fight our battles under the Stars and Stripes.

I am for the Union as it is, and I will fight for it until I die before I will give it up.

Great applause followed the conclusion of Mr. Orr's speech, and as he descended the steps of the platform, he was warmly greeted by many friends.

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Annex 11 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-11)

Names of the Delegates of the First State Convention of Missouri, with the Senatorial District, Age, Nativity, Current Address and Profession

Journal and Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention Held at Jefferson City and St. Louis, March 1861. George Knapp & Co., 1861.

Name of Officers	**Office**	**Age**	**Nativity**	**Address**	**Profession**
Price, Sterling	President	51	Va.	Brunswick	Bank Commissioner
Lowe, Samuel A.	Secretary	41	Md.	Georgetown	Clerk of Courts
Campbell, R. A.	Asst. Sec.	26	Mo.	Bowling Green	Lawyer
Anderson, C. P.	Door Keeper	42	Tn.	California	Editor
Grover, B. W.	Sergeant at Arms	49	Oh.	Warrensburg	Farmer
Monroe, Andrew	Chaplain	68	Va.	Fayette	Minister
District	**Name of Members**	**Age**	**Nativity**	**Address**	**Profession**
9th	Allen, J. S.	46	Tn.	Bethany	Merchant
25th	Bartlett, Orson	51	Va.	Bloomfield	Merchant
3rd	Bass, Eli E.	54	Tn.	Ashland	Farmer
1st	Bast, George Y.	48	Ky.	Rhineland	Farmer
10th	Birch, James H.	57	Va.	Plattsburg	Lawyer
23rd	Bogy, Joseph	54	Mo.	St. Genevieve	Farmer
29th	Breckinridge, Sam M.	32	Ky.	St. Louis	Judge Circuit Court
29th	Broadhead, James O.	41	Va.	St. Louis	Lawyer
29th	Bridge, Hudson E.	50	NH.	St. Louis	Merchant
14th	Brown, Robert A.	51	Tn.	Harrisonville	Farmer
29th	Bush, Isidor	39	Austria	St. Louis	Merchant
1st	Calhoun, Robert	57	Ireland	Concord	Farmer
23rd	Cayce, Milton P.	56	Va.	Farmington	Merchant
17th	Chenault, John R.	51	Ky.	Carthage	Judge Circuit Court
District	**Name of Members**	**Age**	**Nativity**	**Address**	**Profession**
24th	Collier, Samuel C.	35	Mo.	Fredericktown	Lawyer
14th	Comingo, Abraham	41	Ky.	Independence	Lawyer
18th	Crawford, Robert W.	49	Va.	Mt. Vernon	Lawyer

13th	Doniphan, A. W.	52	Ky.	Liberty	Lawyer
12th	Donnell, Robert W.	42	NC.	St. Joseph	Merchant & Banker
28th	Douglass, William	32	Va.	Boonville	Lawyer
28th	Drake, Charles	32	Ky.	California	Lawyer
10th	Dunn, George W.	45	Ky.	Richmond	Judge Circuit Court
21st	Eitzen, Charles D.	41	Bremen	Hermann	Merchant
1st	Frayser, Robert B.	55	Va.	St. Charles	Farmer
3rd	Flood, Joseph	48	Ky.	Fulton	Farmer
7th	Foster, John D.	40	Ky.	Kirksville	Lawyer
29th	Gamble, Hamilton R.	62	Va.	St. Louis	Lawyer
29th	Gantt, Thomas T.	46	D.C.	St. Louis	Lawyer
5th	Givens, N. F.	52	Ky.	Waterloo	Lawyer
5th	Gorin, Henry M.	48	Ky.	Memphis	Merchant
17th	Gravely, J. J.	32	Va.	Cedar Co.	Farmer
12th	Hall, Willard P.	40	Va.	St. Joseph	Lawyer
6th	Hall, William A.	45	Me.	Darksville	Judge Circuit Court
18th	Harbin, A. S.	60	NC.	Washburne	Farmer
25th	Hatcher, Robert A.	42	Va.	New Madrid	Lawyer
2nd	Henderson, John B.	34	Va.	Louisiana	Lawyer
19th	Hendrick, Littleberry	61	Va.	Springfield	Lawyer
22nd	Hill, V. B.	32	Ky.	Waynesville	Lawyer
29th	Hitchcock, Henry	31	Al.	St. Louis	Lawyer
29th	Holmes, Robert	45	Penn.	St. Louis	Lumber Dealer
22nd	Holt, John	66	Ky.	Dent Co.	Farmer
25th	Hough, Harrison	49	Ky.	Wolf Island	Judge Circuit Court
29th	How, John	50	Penn.	St. Louis	Tanner
4th	Howell, William J.	47	Ky.	Paris	Lawyer
11th	Hudgins, Prince L.	49	Ky.	Savannah	Lawyer
7th	Irwin, Joseph M.	42	Va.	Shelbyville	Lawyer
21st	Isbell, Z.	48	Va.	Linn	Farmer
8th	Jackson, William	38	Tn.	Newton	Farmer
19th	Jamison, Robert W.	49	Ky.	Marshfield	Farmer
20th	Johnson, James W.	49	Va.	Bolivar	Farmer
15th	Kidd, Christopher G.	40	Ky.	Calhoun	Lawyer
27th	Knott, J. Proctor	30	Ky.	Jefferson City	Lawyer
24th	Leper, William T.	38	Tn.	Greenville	Farmer
29th	Linton, M. L.	52	Ky.	St. Louis	Physician
29th	Long, John F.	44	Mo.	St. Louis	Civil Engineer
16th	Marmaduke, Vincent	28	Mo.	Marshall	Farmer
15th	Marvin, Asa C.	46	NH.	Clinton	Farmer
4th	Matson, James T.	39	Mo.	Saverton	Physician
21st	Maupin, A. W.	33	Mo.	Union	Blacksmith
District	**Name of Members**	**Age**	**Nativity**	**Address**	**Profession**
27th	McClurg, J. W.	43	Mo.	Linn Creek	Merchant
26th	McCormack, James R.	36	Mo.	Appleton	Physician
17th	McDowell, Nelson	59	Il.	Greenfield	Farmer
9th	McFerran, James	41	Md.	Gallatin	Judge Circuit Court

29th	Meyer, Ferdinand	34	Prussia	St. Louis	Leather Dealer
20th	Morrow, William L.	43	Tn.	Buffalo	Merchant
13th	Moss, James H.	35	Mo.	Liberty	Lawyer
26th	Noell, James C.	29	Va.	Greene	Lawyer
13th	Norton, E. H.	39	Ky.	Platte City	Lawyer
19th	Orr, Sample	44	Tn.	Springfield	Lawyer
16th	Phillips, John F.	26	Mo.	Georgetown	Lawyer
24th	Pipkin, Philip	46	Tn.	Ironton	Lawyer
22nd	Pomeroy, William G.	46	NY.	Steelville	Lawyer
23rd	Rankin, Charles G.	53	Mo.	Peveley	Merchant
10th	Ray, Robert D.	44	Ky.	Carrollton	Lawyer
4th	Redd, John T.	44	Ky.	Palmyra	Lawyer
18th	Ritchey, M. H.	49	Tn.	Newtonia	Farmer
28th	Ross, James P.	48	Md.	Versailles	Lawyer
7th	Rowland, Frederick	56	NC.	Macon City	Farmer
16th	Sawyer, Samuel L.	46	NH.	Lexington	Lawyer
5th	Sayre, E. K.	51	NJ.	Monticello	Farmer
27th	Scott, Thomas	44	Ky.	Tuscumbia	Farmer
6th	Shackelford, Thomas	39	Mo.	Glasgow	Lawyer
29th	Shackelford, John H.	57	Ky.	Florissant	Farmer
14th	Sheeley, James K.	46	Ky.	Independence	Judge Com Pleas Ct
8th	Smith, Jacob	44	Ky.	Linneus	Lawyer
29th	Smith, Sol.	59	NY.	St. Louis	Lawyer
12th	Stewart, Robert M.	43	NY.	St. Joseph	Lawyer
9th	Tindall, Jacob T.	34	Ky.	Trenton	Lawyer
20th	Turner, W. W.	24	Il.	Lebanon	Lawyer
1st	Waller, Joseph G.	58	Va.	Marthasville	Farmer
26th	Watkins, Nathaniel W.	- -	Ky.	Jackson	Lawyer
15th	Welch, Aikman	33	Mo.	Warrensburg	Lawyer
11th	Wilson, Robert	58	Va.	St. Joseph	Lawyer
3rd	Woodson, Warren	64	Va.	Columbia	Farmer
8th	Woolfolk, Alexander M.	25	Ky.	Chillicothe	Lawyer
29th	Wright, Uriel	55	Va.	St. Louis	Lawyer
11th	Vanbuskirk, Ellzey	39	Oh.	Oregon	Circuit Clerk
1st	Zimmerman, George W.	67	Va.	New Hope	Farmer

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Annex 12 (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jan-Annex-12)

Governor Jackson's Inaugural Address

January 3, 1861

Missouri Republican, published January 4, 1861.

JEFFERSON CITY, January 3

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Assuming in your presence the office of chief magistrate of the state, at a period when our whole country is in a condition of gloomy apprehension, I

enter upon the discharge of the trust with which the people of Missouri have honored me, with deep convictions of its responsibility. Invoking the aid of that Almighty Being who has hitherto conducted us through perils of no ordinary kind, I can only bring to the post assigned to me an honest devotion to my state, to the Constitution of the United States, and to that union which the Constitution was designed to perpetuate. My chief dependence in hoping to accomplish anything promotive of the prosperity and security of our state, and contributing to the honorable, pacific and satisfactory adjustment of our federal relations, is upon the representatives of the people, whom I meet here today. You, gentlemen, are here to pronounce the will of the people of Missouri, and to it will be my pleasure, as it is my duty, to cooperate with you in the preparation and execution of such measures as will, in your judgment, advance the interests and sustain the honor of our state. No man who has observed the progress of events for many years past can have failed to perceive the approach of the crisis which is now upon us. Events have been tending in this direction steadily and perceptibly, and if the present alarm and disorganization of the government and the division of the people are unexpected, it must be because the people have not observed, and have labored under a misunderstanding of, the nature of our government and a misconception of the character of our people. Upon the questions of policy or expediency, no nation has exhibited a readier disposition to acquiesce in the expressed will of popular majorities than have the American people at every stage of their progress. But they are jealous of their constitutional rights and prompt to insist on their maintenance and preservation. They know full well that the price of the liberty is eternal vigilance, and that to wait with quiet submission the insidious approaches of the sectional despotism when concealed under the form of constitutional majorities, is to deprive them of all power of effectual resistance. They have not forgotten the lessons taught by their revolutionary ancestors, but they are perfectly aware that the most odious and perfect absolutism is that which assumes the form of legitimate authority. It is now forty years since the Missouri question, which startled the apprehensions of one of our wisest statesmen, sounding in his ears like a fire-bell at night, was finally disposed of. Fifteen years after the adjustment of this controversy, under the leadership of a class of individuals from the headquarters of fanaticism in London, the anti-slavery question was revived. The party by whom it was started was contemptible in numbers and power; isolated in position; seeking shelter for the propagation of its dogmas under the constitutional right of petition, and agitating it in Congress and in the country under this perverted pretext. Acquiring strength from the countenance it received from a few prominent politicians, who were willing to sacrifice the permanent interests of the country for their own temporary aggrandizement, alliances were gradually formed with some one or other of the political parties which divided the country, until a foothold was gained in the federal Legislature. There we find it resisting supplies to maintain the patriotic soldiers who, at the call of their country, were sustaining our flag on the plains of Mexico; then controlling the disposition of our entire acquisitions upon the Pacific. The fruit of that war, and appropriating that strip of country south as well as north of the Missouri Compromise line, to increase the strength of the predominating section, then encouraging the colonization of Kansas as by state governments' intervention and emigrant aid societies against the spirit and promise upon which the territorial bill was passed, and finally attaining its culmination in elevating to the head of the federal government the nominee and representative of the party. I will not speak, except incidentally, of the outrages which have been perpetrated in the name of the party by those whose powers of invention and rigor of execution have been drawn from a study of the precepts which their leaders have propagated and advanced. The dissemination of incendiary pamphlets, or the rescue of fugitive slaves and the unparalleled atrocity of the Virginia invasion are disclaimed as legitimate results of their leading political dogmas and may only be attributed to them upon the principle that he who sows the wind may reap the whirlwind. But the prominent characteristic of this party, which pronounces its condemnation in the estimation of those who love their country, is that it

is purely sectional in its locality and principles. The only principle inscribed upon its banner is hostility to slavery, whatever adjuncts may have been drawn to it from political or religious associations, the soul of the organization is now where it was at the beginning of its hostility to slavery. Its object has been openly avowed or disavowed as time, place and circumstances rendered expedient, not merely to confine slavery to its present limits, not merely to exclude it from the Territories and prevent the formation and admission of any new slaveholding states, not merely to abolish it in the District of Columbia and interdict its passage from one state to another, but to strike down its existence everywhere, to sap its foundation in public sentiment and annoy and harass and gradually destroy its vitality by every means, direct and indirect, physical and moral, which human ingenuity could devise. The triumph of such an organization is not the victory of any political party, but the domination of a section. It proclaims the destruction of that equality among the states which is the vital cement of our federal union. It places fifteen out of the thirty-three states in the position of humble recipients of the bounties, or sullen submission to the power of the government, which they had no voice in creating and in whose councils they had not participated. It cannot, then, be a matter of surprise to either victor or vanquished that these fifteen states, with a pecuniary interest at stake reaching the enormous sum of thirty-five hundred millions of dollars should be aroused and executed at the advancement of such a party to power; their possession of the federal Executive Department, destined soon to be followed, in the event of a silent acquiescence of the minority, by similar accessions, to the control of all the other departments of the government. Such an event is not likely to be overlooked by men who understand their rights and who have not yet been deprived of the power of maintaining them. Would it not rather be an instance of blindness and fatuity unparalleled in history, if the people and government of fifteen slaveholding states, under such circumstances, should manifest quiet indifference and make no effort to avoid the destruction which threatens them. Is there nothing alarming in the fact that the whole power of the federal Executive is pledged in advance for the subversion of their constitutional rights in the government, and the honor of one-half of the republic. History furnishes no example such as this. Can the minority of those states, then, who have not contributed a single electoral vote to the elevation of the party in power, quietly submit to the control of federal action which is designed to break down their present system? Are these apprehensions diminished in the border states of the southwest, where a nucleus exists for the exercise of abolition influences? Such a condition of things is incompatible with the stability of any government unless invested with a power and will to sustain itself by the word. It requires no extraordinary sensibility to the injustice, no peculiar foresight to be aroused by the approach of peril so apparent that the instinct of self-preservation alone is sufficient to warn against their further advances. Accordingly, we find the result of the recent presidential election has already produced these natural effects. Throughout the entire slaveholding states of the Union, from Florida to Missouri, a feeling of the discontent and alarm has manifested itself, more or less silently; and from the menaces and dangers to the interests at stake, the cotton growing states of the South, having a larger and more vital interest in jeopardy than the border states, are the first to awaken to a sense of insecurity. The sagacious Southern statesman is fully aware that this section, although necessarily the last victim, will be the greatest sufferer, and that when the outpost yields, the citadel will not long afford safety. With them, the alternative is presented in the maintenance of that institution which the crown of Great Britain forced upon their ancestors or the conversion of the homes into desert wastes; with them, it is not a mere question of property, but, what to them is dearer than property or life, their duty and honor are involved. It has been said to be quite easy to bear the calamities of our neighbors with philosophical equanimity. Let us not illustrate this maxim by a silent contemplation of the ills which have befallen our sister states. Let us consider our union with the South. They are not the aggressors; they only ask to be let alone. [Applause.] If some have regarded their action as hasty, has not the occasion been extraordinary? I do not stand here to justify or

condemn the action of South Carolina, who has already withdrawn her allegiance to the federal government. She is a gallant state and will not forfeit that renown, which a long list of distinguished statesmen have conferred upon her when she unrolls that list and points to her MARIONS, SUMPTERS, JASPERS, LAURENS, MCDONALDS, PINCKNEYS, RUTLEDGES, HAYNES, PRESTONS and BUTLERS, and to that prominent statesman who divided the public esteem with WEBSTER and CLAY. Her sister states, blessed with larger and more fertile territory, may well covet the glory of having given birth to such citizens, and may safely leave the interests of the state in her own hands. [Applause.] If South Carolina has acted in advance, let not her error lead to the more fatal one of an attempted coercion. The destiny of the slave-holding states of the Union is one and the same. So long as a state continues to maintain slavery, it is impossible to separate her fate from that of her sister states, having the same social organization. This decree of nature and necessity impresses itself upon the understanding, and without the aid of argument or illustration, and will not lose its force by any mutations to which our federal government may be subject. In the event of the failure to reconcile conflicting interests, which now threaten to disrupt our country, interest and sympathy will combine to unite the fortunes of all the slaveholding states. The identity rather than the similarity of their domestic institutions, their political principles, their common origin, their pursuits, their manners, their territorial contiguity and inter-commercial relations, all contribute to bind together in one brotherhood, the states of the south and southwest. [Applause.] Missouri will not be found shrinking from the duty which her position upon the border imposes. Her honor, interests and sympathies point alike in one direction, and determine her to stand by the South. [Applause.] The products of her agriculture find their principal market in the South, her wheat, corn, flour, horses, hogs and mules, and manufactures, all springing into existence and tending to augment the wealth and give stability to our commercial prosperity, must all go South for a market. Our only outlet to the ocean is through the natural channels of the South. The estimated value of slave property in our own state falls but little short of one hundred millions of dollars; notwithstanding the active opposition of a few anti-slavery propagandists, and the number of slaves which high prices for cotton have drawn South during the past ten years, the increase shown in that population, by the recent census, has been forty thousand. Are we prepared to annihilate one hundred millions of capital, and can we maintain a solitary position as a slaveholding state, shut out from the ocean and flanked on every side by states which, in such crisis, would look upon us with hostility and distrust? In considering the course proper to be pursued by this state, it is important to observe that any disposition evinced by Missouri, or any other large border slave state, to throw their weight into a union of the slave-holding states as one Republic, would close up all prospect of reconciliation of present differences. The equilibrium of power between the slave-holding states is already gone. Missouri will, in my opinion, best consult her own interests and the interests of the whole country by a timely declaration of her determination to stand by her sister slaveholding states, in whose wrongs she participates, and with whose institutions and people she sympathizes. [Applause.]

These views are advanced, gentlemen, not upon the belief that all hope for the preservation of the Union is lost, but upon the conviction, I believe felt by all observers of passing events, that the time has arrived when the further postponement of these considerations would be unsafe and unwise. The issue of present embarrassments depends entirely upon the sentiment and action of the North. I trust there is patriotism left in our country sufficient to harmonize the conflicting views and place the Union upon a basis consistent with the honor and safety of its constituent members. So far as Missouri is concerned, I do not fear that I misrepresent the sentiment of her citizens by saying that they have ever been devoted to the Union, and will remain in it so long as there is any hope of maintaining the spirit and guaranties of the Constitution. [Great applause.] But, if the Northern states have determined on putting the slaveholding states on a footing of inequality by interdicting them from carrying their slaves into the Territories; if they resolve to admit no more slaveholding states into the Union, contrary to the plain letter of the

Constitution; if they will persist in nullifying and perverting that Constitution with reference to slave property, then they have themselves practically abandoned the Union, and will not expect our submission to a government in terms of inequality and subordination. [Applause.] We hear it suggested in some quarters that the Union is to be maintained by the sword. Such suggestions, it is to be hoped, have sprung from the impulse of the moment and not from reflection. The project of maintaining the government by force may lead to a consolidation of despotism, but cannot lead to union. Desperate politicians may hope to mend their fortunes by civil war, and some men with honest intentions may think there are examples of this kind in history which may be safely imitated, but our government stands upon the basis of Justice and Equality, and its existence cannot be prolonged coercion. Standing armies of mercenary soldiers subject to the will of an executive, are not remedies for violated constitutions and laws; our British ancestors, in the worst times of their dependency upon the mother country, would not submit to standing armies in times of peace, nor have their descendants so degenerated as to entrust their interests to any executive or mercenary army in enforcing obedience to an administration which has declared its hostility to an institution involving the rights and tranquility of fifteen sovereign states of this Union. The first drop of blood shed in a war of aggression upon a sovereign state will arouse a spirit which will result in the overthrow of our entire federal system and which this generation will never see quelled. As the ultimate fate of all the slaveholding states of the Union, in my judgment, is identical, they should determine on a general consultation. In order to produce united action, there must be united council, and as the wrong is common to all, its adjustment should be submitted to the judgment of all. It may not become me to suggest what ought to be the ultimatum to be insisted upon by the slave-holding states, but candor compels to say that a mere congressional compromise is not to be thought of, and will only postpone an aggravated evil, and will utterly fail to reach the disease. The past shows too well that these compromises only lay the foundation for additional agitations. They are but laws, and as such, are able to be repealed, and they are dependent altogether upon the fluctuation of public opinion, operating through the representatives of that opinion at Washington. The object of our constitutional guarantees is to protect the rights of minorities, and it is to such guaranties and not legislative compromises that the South must look for protection and security. These questions must now be settled, and the power and duties of the federal government, in connection with the existence of slavery in the states and territories, be put forever at rest. It is for the interest of the whole country that these causes of dissension and irritation should be removed. Neither section has any right to expect a restoration of that harmonious cooperation in the advancement of the general welfare, which characterized the early stages of the Union, by postponing or evading a fall, frank and explicit understanding upon this subject. Its agitation, hitherto, has only served to inflame the public mind, to arouse anger and passion, and keep the Union in a perpetual ferment; and if the gloomy aspect of affairs, which this agitation has produced, shall terminate in a permanent settlement and adjustment by means of constitutional amendments, an immense injury already sustained will be more than compensated by a return of the country to her former career of prosperity, security and peace. If the Northern states are willing to remain with the South under a general government, where domestic slavery is to be regarded as entitles to its protection instead of the object of hostility, they can have no reasonable objection to so declare, in terms which will leave no grounds for cavil. If they are not content with such an association, it is due to their own character, as well as to the rights of their associate states, that their determination should be made known for the purpose of ascertaining the final and deliberate judgment of each division of the country, and carrying that determination into effect, either by the addition of such stipulations to the Constitution as may be agreed on, or by peaceable separation. A convention of the slave-holding states should be called. In such convention the Southern states could agree upon such amendments to the Constitution as would secure to them their just rights, and in terms so explicit that no difficulty could arise in the

future as to the rights of either section. These amendments could be respectfully submitted to the Northern states for their consideration and action, and in this manner the whole question might be settled. As the ground of dispute is a sectional one, the Convention must necessarily be sectional. If it shall be proposed to establish a geographical line, there should be at least a reciprocity of rights on either side of the line. If the Northern states shall insist upon the abolition of slavery north of the line, then the South, upon every principle of justice, equity and right, should demand that slavery not be abolished south of the line without the consent of the slave-holding states. [Applause.]

By prudence and well directed efforts, I am not without hope that an adjustment alike honorable to both sections may yet be effected; that such may be the issue that our country may again advance in her career of unprecedented prosperity; that our federal government may again become what its framers designed it to be, the sheet anchor of our peace and safety abroad, is, I am confident, the sentiment which animates you and all patriotic citizens. But in the present unfavorable aspect of affairs, it is our duty to prepare for the worst. We cannot avoid danger by closing our eyes to it. The magnificent interests now in jeopardy, both with reference to ourselves and our prosperity, demand a prompt but deliberate consideration, and in order that the will of the people may be ascertained, a state convention should, in my view, be called immediately. Missouri is entitled to a voice in the settlement of the question now pending, and our position on these questions should be known. It may soon become necessary to send delegates to a convention of the Southern states, and these delegates can only be instructed by an expression of the will of the people through their state's convention; in this way, the whole subject will be brought directly before the at-large, who will determine for themselves what shall be the action of the state.

In view of the marauding forage, which continue to threaten our borders, as well as the unsettled position of political relations, we should insist upon a thorough organization of our militia. An active military force, well-armed, and held in readiness along our whole border, would afford that protection to person and property, which the citizens of our border counties have a right to demand, and which duty to them and ourselves, requires us to furnish. Allow me, in this connection, to allude to the promptness and efficiency with which the citizen soldiers of our commercial metropolis recently responded to the call of my predecessor. The expedition afforded no occasion by which military laurels could be gained, but the patriotism and ardor evinced by officers and men furnishes assurance of future usefulness whenever their country may call for their services. [Applause.]

Turning from the consideration of our federal relations to such questions as affect our domestic prosperity, I take pleasure in alluding to the constant progress which the state has made in all the essential elements of wealth and prosperity since her admission into the Union. The depressed condition of our money market, growing out of the political condition of the country, appears to have precluded the hope of raising additional funds for the railroads by the sale of State bonds. These bonds have already gone down to sixty cents, and perhaps lower, and a further sale may be considered out of the question.

Under these embarrassments, the utmost caution will be necessary in the further prosecution of the public works, and to avoid a disastrous blow to the credit of our state, which a want of punctuality would produce, our true policy, it seems to me, is to apply all our means and energies to the completion of that branch of the public works which may, in your judgment, promise the most speedy relief from the existing burdens. If it can be made to appear upon a calculation that a final completion of any one or more of our roads will enable them to pay their interest, sound policy points to that completion is the best means of securing the end so desirable. I need not add that I will be glad to co-operate with the General Assembly in all efforts of this kind, not calculated to increase the burdens upon the people.

With respect to the bank question, my opinions and views have been so often expressed and recently explained in detail in a communication to the last session of the General Assembly, that but a few words on this occasion will be deemed necessary. If the General Assembly shall think

proper to legalize the suspension of specie payments and adopt such provisions as would secure a return to the specific basis, I should consider such action highly desirable. [Applause.] I deem it one of the most important duties to secure a sound circulating medium. It will also occur to you that if we take any step in the restoration of our currency to a specie basis, there ought to be proper cautions observed, such as would prevent a recurrence of the present depression. Our public asylums and benevolent and educational institutions are objects worthy of our highest consideration, and you need no suggestions from me to remind you of their paramount importance. With reference to these other subjects, it will not be expected on this occasion that I should enter upon any detailed statement concerning them. If it should become necessary during the present session to call your attention to them, I shall not hesitate to do so. I take this occasion to renew my pledge, that I will observe the strictest economy in the administration of the government, and to say that so far as the constitution allows, a spirit of wise economy shall be carried out in every branch of government.

As the reporters for the *Missouri Republican* were unable to obtain a copy of the above message, they were compelled to report it phonographically. It will be found correct in all its main features.

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Annex 13 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-13)

Excerpt: The Union Meeting of the Wide Awakes

Missouri Republican, published January 12, 1861.

Mr. Blair was then loudly called for to speak. A passageway was opened in the crowd for him to pass up to the platform. As Mr. Blair was about to speak, his enthusiastic admirers gave him three cheers, and excitedly flourished their hats.

Mr. Blair commenced by saying that the friends of the Union were his friends. He was glad to see so large an assemblage of citizens and hoped they were all for the Union as much as himself. The people of Missouri owe everything to the Union—their lives, liberties, and prosperity—and are they to be dragged out of the Union at the tail end of South Carolina!

Missouri, he thought, would decide for herself what her interests were, and not be dictated to by the little Negro Confederacy of South Carolina. Mr. Blair was particularly severe on those who declared themselves for the Union on certain contingencies. Some said if the South can have her rights, they were for the Union, or if the North will lose everything she has gained, they were for the Union, and others would be for it if anybody but Lincoln could be president. Now, Mr. Blair would have no dodging—he was for the Union at all hazards and under any circumstances. He thought the South had all the rights that belonged to her. The Republican Party was willing to give her all that the Constitution would allow her, and no more. It is not so much her rights that South Carolina wanted, as to act out her true spirit, and that was a sort of monarchism.

They hate democracy, and therefore wish to be in a government by themselves, where they can dominate as much as they please. They are awfully averse to being in the minority, those South Carolinians, and it grieves them sorely to think they got defeated at the last election. Shall we, said Mr. Blair, put the Union aside for this cabbage tree state of South Carolina, where no man can vote unless he owns Negro slaves? Missouri, he thought, could not afford to go out of the Union. She is the greatest of all the slave states because she has more white men in her borders than any other, and he thought she would be greater if she had no slaves at all. Mr. Blair was willing to forsake old party lines and prejudices and unite with all good men who will unite for the Union. He thought if the other parties would show as much disposition to conciliate and unite as the Republicans, the Union could be saved. Mr. Blair thought the election of Lincoln gave no just grounds for dissolution. He thanked God that Democratic [Party] rule in Washington was nearly at an end, and closed by urging his friends to show a spirit of conciliation, yet never think of going out of the

Union.

Mr. Blair was followed by Samuel T. Glover, Esq., who dwelt at some length on that part of the Crittenden Compromise which he said proposed to purchase Mexican territory, and make slave states out of it. If this part of the compromise were dropped, the Republicans could adopt it, and the whole question might be settled.

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Annex 14 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-14)

Southwest Expedition (Kansas-Missouri Border Troubles), 1860

Secretary of State, Missouri Digital Heritage
https://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/soldiers/abstract

During the antebellum period, many Missourians advocated for the organization of the territory west of the state's border. The land, home to many Native American tribes, was fertile and undeveloped. More importantly to Missouri as a slave state, was the possibility of sharing a border with a territory that allowed slaves, thus protecting and defending their own interests in that institution.

President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act on May 31, 1854. The act organized the land west of Missouri into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, with the provision that popular sovereignty would determine if the territories were slave or free.

That act set the stage for a decade of border warfare. Missourians from the western counties began by raiding Kansas's territorial elections, attempting to establish a pro-slavery government through illegal voting and violence. Finally, in October 1857, with federal troop protection, a legal free-territory government was established; in January 1861, Kansas was admitted as a free state.

From the spring of 1858 through December of 1860, western Missourians suffered many depredations from Kansas invaders, referred to as "jayhawkers." The attacks were in retaliation for offenses inflicted on Kansans by aggressive bands of "border ruffians" from Missouri. Vehemently opposed to slavery, the jayhawkers engaged in acts ranging from looting to murder.

In February 1859, the Missouri state legislature appropriated $30,000 to suppress the troubles in western Missouri and bring the jayhawkers to justice. That April, Governor Robert Stewart instructed the state's attorney general to organize militia companies in Bates and Cass counties. There was a brief cessation of hostility during the spring and summer of 1859; James Montgomery, the Kansas guerrilla leader, and his forces were scattered.

Governor Stewart received calls for aid and protection along the border during 1860, as sporadic violence continued. The hostility only heightened with the election of President Abraham Lincoln. In late November, Stewart sent a body of troops from St. Louis and Jefferson City to Vernon County to suppress Montgomery's increased activities. The force was known as the Southwest Expedition, commanded by Brigadier General Daniel M. Frost. Order was *somewhat* restored by December, but the border turmoil continued throughout the civil war.

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Annex 15 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-15)

The Legislature—The Crisis

Missouri Republican, published December 31, 1860

The General Assembly will meet at the Capitol today. Never has a legislative body been convened in this state under circumstances of greater responsibility. We allude now, of course, to the political condition of the country (we can no longer speak of it as a union) and not to the legislation which is inseparable from a rapidly growing state, which, however, is not without its difficulties and troubles. But the question which will override all others, and will be pressed in some quarters, much too persistently, grown out of the attitude which Missouri should assume towards the other states at

the present time. Fortunately, as we think, the legislature of Missouri commences its session in advance of any other state, and if her representatives are true to the people, and prudent and patriotic, they may inaugurate a policy which will commend itself to Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and other moderate and conservative states, and bring about prompt cooperation for the adjustment of all the difficulties which now convulse the Republic. Not only are her legislators the first to meet in council, but the population, the wealth, the influence of the state, the interest which she has in all these questions, may well be put forward in justification of any proposition which she may make, having in view the adjustment of all differences between the states of the confederacy. Keeping this fact in mind, we shall be rejoiced to learn that the legislature, at the very first favorable opportunity, is prepared to address itself to the work of maturing such plans for re-establishment of the Union as a sincere patriotism and true wisdom may suggest.

We assume as a fact beyond dispute, that there is no considerable body of men in this state who desires the dissolution of the Union for the causes which have up to this time been presented to the country. We maintain now, as we have always maintained, that the Northern states have greatly wronged those of the slave states, and that those wrongs must be redressed before there can be any settlement of the issues between them—any restoration of those kindly feelings which ought to exist between brethren of the same political family. And hence it becomes the duty of the one party to ponder well upon the grievances of which they have a cause of complaint, to submit them to the party which has oppressed them, and if they reject them, or treat them with contempt, thenceforward they will be justified in complete alienation from them. This position being admitted, it will be the duty of the legislature of Missouri, we humbly submit, to take such steps as will, in the first place, secure the cooperation of the slave states in some definite plan of action, and then to carry out resolutely whatever may be agreed upon. As the first movement in this political drama, it would well comport with the position of Missouri to pass an act, at an early day of the session, calling a convention of commissioners from all the slave states in the Union, at Baltimore, to consider and decide upon the matters in controversy, and to state explicitly the grievances and aggressions of the North, to which such states will no longer submit. The commission need not be a large one, say one from each electoral district, to be appointed by the governor. His own sense of the responsibility of his position will dictate to him the propriety of selecting the ablest and purest men in the state—and he will do it. In the same act, let provision be made for a state convention to be elected, and assembled on the call of the governor, to consider such constitutional amendments as may be proposed by Congress for the settlement of these difficulties; or, if all constitutional and patriotic expedients should be exhausted before the 4th of March next, then to declare a separation from the states of the confederacy. A commission, such as we have suggested, selected for their wisdom, their regard for the rights of the states, so wantonly trifled with and invaded, coming from states representing the largest population and the most wealth, and which have suffered most from the aggressions of the North—would not fail to agree upon the propositions to be made to the adverse party, and there is every reason to believe that such propositions would be agreed to. If they should not, then the alternative would remain, and the fifteen states would be justified in the eyes of the world in declaring separation forever. The adjustment of such grave matters might well be committed to the hands of a commission, such as we have indicated, and as it will save a vast amount of money, gain time, and enforce final action before adjournment of the present Congress, our conviction is, that it ought to be adopted. We are satisfied, as things now stand, that it is only by the instant, active and honest cooperation of the border and conservative states, that the Union can be re-established and maintained, and civil war avoided.

In the House of Representatives, if prudent counsels prevail, no man who is committed, by his declarations or opinions in favor of secession, should be elected Speaker. The people of Missouri are not in favor of a dissolution of the Union, nor will they sanction any arrangement by which a

secessionist is elected to the Speaker's chair. By their votes for Bell and for Douglas, they entered their protest against any such action. But the election of an avowed secessionist as Speaker, no matter by what combinations it may be brought about, will be received with indignation all over the state. Missouri asks of her representatives that they shall legislate in the Union and for the Union, and to do this, a Union man ought to preside over the deliberations of the House of Representatives. The Democratic Party owes it to itself—owes it to the vast majority by which it has been sustained in the state—to keep out of any caucus, any arrangement, any plot, by which offices and compensations are to be used for the accomplishment of such end. There will be, of course, an immense outside pressure, from hundreds of anxious applicants for office, to get up caucuses in which they may advance their own chances of success, but in the present case, the Democratic Party, so far as we can learn, are not disposed to go into a "slaughter-pen" simply to oblige them. They are right.

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Annex 16 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-16)

Speech of Major Uriel Wright Before the Carondelet Union Club, February 7, 1861

Published in Missouri Democrat on February 11, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#18)

If secession is true, no permanent government can ever be organized. I am quite an old lawyer, and have had considerable to do with contracts and co-partnership agreements, but I never heard of a co-partnership being formed where one of the parties could secede. [Loud applause.] But now the right is not only claimed, but they can't wait to see whether the proposition is tenable or not. They won't have time to think about it, but thrust the doing in our face, and tell us we will give you only ten, twenty, or thirty days to consider it, and then if we don't make up our minds to let them do as they please, they will burst the government into fragments. Like me, for instance, having a note against one of you, and I take the note in my hand and walk up to you in a terrible hurry, and say, here, Sir, I'll give you five minutes to pay this note and pass receipts, and if you don't do it in that time, I'll knock your brains out. [Great laughter and applause.] Such is secession. Can't wait another moment; no time for reflection; no waiting for adjustment; no consultation allowed; we have made up our minds to secede, and so we will. The tears and pleading protests of friends to the contrary is of no avail; we are determined to destroy this government anyhow! This is what is called their ultimatum. [Laughter.] And South Carolina, like the fox in the fable, having lost her tail[422] in the disunion trap, has gone around to the rest of the states, and is trying to make them think short tails are fashionable, and they must cut off their tails, too. [Great laughter.] And, Gentlemen, she has succeeded admirably so far, until we see some six or seven of these short-tailed foxes running around; and now she has got to Missouri. Well here as elsewhere, we see this leading characteristic—haste—manifested, and our governor thinks we may stay in the Union (let's see, what day of the month is this, is told, and counts up the days), twenty-four days more. So, you see, my friends, that our governor has served a notice on us to quit in twenty-four more days; the great state of Missouri must cease to be one of the United States of America. We are to renounce the Stars and Stripes, give up the Constitution, yield the protection of the federal government, sacrifice our interest in this great nation, and throw away all hope of future prosperity that we may be hitched on to the (bob) tail of South Carolina! (Tremendous applause and cries of never, never.) Gentlemen, I have made up my mind that I am not ready to quit; are you? [No, no. and applause.] But, after all the arguments of the Rats or Rhetts, and Keitts and Phillips and Lloyd Garrison, who agree that the Fugitive Slave law is unconstitutional, the secessionists have utterly failed to make out a case.

[422] An Aesop fable, *The Fox Who Lost His Tail*, relates the story of a fox who lost his tail in a trap and tried to convince other foxes to remove their tails.

The sharp and subtle senator from Louisiana with his acknowledged learning and keen insight, could not make out an indictment against the general government that would stick, and so he must run, too, and throw the responsibility on to a political party. I conclude then that there is no cause for this absconding, but that this whole secession movement is grown out of a settled purpose of South Carolina of thirty years standing, to break up this Union. This most flagrant act has its origin in the slide of South Carolina from love of a free country towards a monarchy [along the] model of Great Britain or Louis Napoleon's. But what do despotic powers do with slavery? South Carolina wants to preserve slavery, but how will she fare in this respect under the protection of England? I will tell you how England protects slavery—she abolishes it as she did in the West Indies. But they claim that Lincoln won't execute the fugitive slave law. Well, how do they know that he won't? This is some more of their hasty judgment before the evidence is submitted. I am no Lincoln man, but I believe the fugitive slave law will be better executed for the next four years than it has been for eight years past. I am opposed to fugitive slaves or fugitives from justice; and I am opposed to fugitive states running away. [Laughter and applause.]

Much is said about "coercion," but I believe in enough coercion to hold this government together and execute its constitutional laws, fugitive slave law and all. Perhaps it is because the seceders have too much to fear from the execution of the laws against theft that they have run. A good many years ago, Massachusetts didn't like a certain embargo law that was passed by the general government, and she got up the Hartford Convention. Then, as now, she was largely engaged in commerce, and the embargo stopped her commerce, and she [declined]. But I do not remember that South Carolina counseled the refusal of the embargo on that account. The embargo was considered necessary as a war measure to protect the best interests of the whole nation, and Massachusetts was forced to yield until that law had served its purpose. She set a bad example in resisting the authority of the United States, but she did not secede from the Union, but only seceded from the law. South Carolina is now practicing upon her bad example, and has seceded from the Union, laws and all. [Laughter.] But as Massachusetts had to knock under to what was considered the good of all, and has since behaved herself very well, so I trust South Carolina will have to come down from her lofty seat of secession nullification, if the welfare of the whole nation demands it. There is no halfway ground in this matter. Either secession is right, and we have no government, or it is wrong, and the United States have the right to prevent the destruction of the Union and to enforce our own laws. But they will tell me I am a submissionist. If they mean by that, that I will submit to the laws of the general government, made in pursuance of the Constitution—that I will submit to my constitutional obligations—that I will submit to have this government exist as it has existed, acknowledging its right and its duty to protect itself and afford me protection, then I am a "submissionist." But I'll tell you what I never will submit to, I never will submit to be dragged out of this glorious Union by South Carolina. [Great applause.] I never will submit to see this glorious Union rent asunder by the madness of political demagogues for the want of every sacrifice I can make to save it. [Applause.] Why, what does Garibaldi think now as he reads the news from this country, and sees his model government on the point of disruption? Won't the last hope for self-government die within him, as he sees a people he has spent a life of hardship to imitate, on the brink of destruction from causeless dissensions? Won't the struggling millions of Europe, who have watched this country as a beacon light to their path of future deliverance, close their eyes in utter despair if this Union is dissolved? Then, fellow citizens, we owe it to the world of humanity, as well as to ourselves, to save this Union from the calamity of dissolution.

But it is said that Missouri must go out of the Union, to get her rights. My friends, let me tell you that Missouri has not a right on earth that will not be a thousand times better preserved in the Union than out of it. [Applause.] I, too, have as many rights as anybody, and I believe I am as tenacious of them as any man need be, but I tell you, Gentlemen, in the Union is my only hope of security for those rights, and if Missouri, in the evil hour, should follow the bad example of South Carolina

and secede, I shall consider every right I have in this world sacrificed. Missouri is a great state, and I would rather trust my fortunes with hers than any other state out of the Union. But Missouri is not my country, and Heaven grant that my last few days may be spent in an undivided Union. [Applause.] What will Missouri do out of the Union? Why, you say she will join a southern confederacy? Yes, join a government of states that claim the right to Union whenever it suits them. [Applause.]

Let us examine the elements of this proposed southern confederacy a little. John Quincy Adams once said that two fortune tellers never could meet face to face without smiling. Now, imagine to yourself a council of seceders, fresh from the destruction of our government, met to form another. Don't you think there would some smiles pass when they look each other in the face? [Great laughter.] The first proposition that is presented is the right to secede whenever any one of the contracting parties takes a notion. But if the proposition is not brought up and settled, South Carolina, being the chief in the movement, will claim secession as a reserved right, no matter what compact or obligation she may subscribe to. And if one state has the right, they all have, and, Missouri being of the number, what guarantee has her people in the stability of the new alliance? None whatever. You have seceded yourself out of one Union, and you secede yourself into another where the right to secession must become the cardinal doctrine. You have exchanged independence and stability in the old Union for dependence on the whims of secession for safety in the new. And what, do you think, you have made by that trade? Have you made anything? No. Well, have you held your own? Let us calculate on it, and see what you had and what you've got. Under the old arrangement, you had a state government and institutions to suit yourself. You belonged to a brave, powerful and independent nation and had your proportion of its benefits, and bore your part in its councils; your commerce was protected, trade fostered, and a magnificent postal system furnished you at very slight cost. You had security at home and protection abroad, and your affairs were represented at every court in the civilized world. You were proud in the boast of being an American citizen, and as such, you had the respect of every nation. You had an inviting soil, a healthful climate, and were covering your territory with an intelligent and industrious population. This was your position in the old Union. But you have seceded, and find yourself afloat, a miserable wreck, a fragment of the once glorious old ship Union. You go to work and patch up a government out of all the other fragments that are afloat, or you go it alone, and, in either case, what have you gained? You have gained the right to secede and the association of others that have the same right, and you find it impossible from such material to form a government that anybody will have the slightest confidence in. What is the result? Why, your commerce dies for the want of protection, trade seeks a safer market, your postal system is destroyed or becomes very expensive, your security at home will depend upon the size of your standing army. For protection abroad you have got contempt for being an unstable fragment of a once powerful nation. Your boasted American citizenship becomes an object of derision, and from the respect once due, you have seceded to a laughing stock. Your soil and climate no longer invite population, for that will only go where protection is secured. With this view of the case, I leave you to decide whether you have held your own, and also to determine for yourselves, in the light of the best possible aspect of the subject, how much Missouri will gain by secession.

To my mind, this secession doctrine is one of the most mischievous things ever presented. Men coolly talk about breaking up this great government, as though it was the easiest thing in the world to make another. Why, Sir, the colonies, with all the weight of British tyranny upon them, declared, among other things, that "government long established should not be changed for light and transient causes"; but where there is no cause, or if any so light that it is not worth the hazard of the one day's disturbance of the quiet of the country, what then do you think of the "prudence" that would dissolve the Union for next to no cause at all. I tell you, Gentlemen, it's no easy matter to frame a government, adjust all its parts, and make everything work smoothly. Our Fathers, with all their wisdom and patience, didn't do it the first time; and in nine of ten years after the adoption of

the confederation, the Constitution was demanded.

Look at the character of the men who framed that instrument and built this government upon it. Were there ever their equals in all the characteristics of greatness and goodness assembled for a like purpose? And who supposes now that a plan of government could be devised by human wisdom that could compare with it, all things considered? I tell you, Sirs, it's the best model of government the world ever saw; and if you allow it to be destroyed, no power on earth can ever re-establish it and make it what it was before. Those wise and good men had their differences of opinion, and it was only by a spirit of compromise that the constitution was made at all. In the convention, after deliberating solemnly for weeks, they got into a snarl, which threatened to defeat their object. They were at a deadlock, and Dr. Franklin rose and said, *"Let us pray."* They prayed, got off of their knees, resumed their labor, and soon they were straightened out again. Who believes that even the saving grace of prayer could now unsnarl Congress, or any convention that may attempt to improve the Constitution? I was in favor of the Crittenden Compromise, but I don't intend to break up this great Union if I don't get it. [Cries of good.]

If Congress can't settle this question and put it at rest forever, let them throw the residuary of power back upon the people, and they will settle it without trouble. Congress never can settle the slavery question, but if they will let it alone, it will settle itself by the immutable laws of nature and self-interest. Take the case of New Mexico, for example. How much do you suppose a good, likely slave is worth out there? Two hundred and fifty dollars. Well, how much is he worth in Missouri or the cotton states? From a thousand to fifteen hundred dollars. Now, if one of you were going to New Mexico to settle, knowing the facts, would you go and invest your money in slave property to take with you? If you would, how much of speculation would you make? Why, several hundred dollars out of pocket. Then don't you see that slavery in New Mexico amounts to nothing, and if let alone, will die by the inexorable natural laws that surround it? But, for the barren right of taking slavery into that territory, the South would dissolve the Union; and the North, to prevent its going where it can't live, would let them dissolve the Union and rob you and posterity of all the benefits this great government has conferred. [Applause.] And for this miserable abstraction they want to fight. The South is going to whip the great North if they cannot have their way. This, Gentleman, is the most ridiculous part of this disunion farce. There is courage in both sections, and war is the last arbiter that can settle differences, and that will surely augment them.

These secessionists say they love the government and don't want to see it broken up, but we must have our rights in the territories. Gentleman, this territorial slavery question is the most stupendous humbug that ever claimed the attention of reasoning men. The South, with more territory than she can find slaves to cultivate in the next two hundred years, and the North, clamoring for slavery prohibition, when they know the people will have slaves if they want them, whenever they can make their labor profitable, and all the "provisos" in the world cannot prevent it. The whole aspect of this question has changed within a few years. A Democratic Congress passed the bill organizing the territory of Oregon with the slavery prohibition clause in it, and Polk, a Southern president, signed it. Now these Southern men claim unlimited areas for slavery and protection to slave property in the territories, or they will burst up the government and secede. [Laughter.] But that ain't the trouble. They are out of power, and they can't brook such dishonor. This Calhoun dogma of slave protection never was present until the scepter had departed, and now they make the extreme demand because they know it won't be granted, and then they will have an excuse for executing their long-premeditated plan of dissolving the Union. Gentlemen, shall they do it, and will we in Missouri help on their mad schemes? [Cries of never! Never.]

My friends, I do not know that I shall be a candidate for the convention. I find my name on two tickets—the constitutional Union ticket and the Citizens' Union ticket. All I have to say is, if I am a candidate, and the secessionists vote for me, with a view that if elected I will vote in the Convention to take Missouri out of the Union, they are laboring under the most stupendous mistake. [Great applause and cries of "Good."] I am asked if I am an

unqualified Union man. I reply that I am unqualified enough. I have no idea of aiding to drag Missouri out of the Union, either to suit Rhett of South Carolina, or Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts. I have no confidence in the formation of a southern confederacy in which Missouri could be secured a tithe of the rights she now enjoys; and to think of her setting up on her own account is too absurd for reflection. [Applause.] If we want to kill Missouri, why not give her strychnine at once, and not apply the slow, poisonous, leprous brew to produce suffocation. But what kind of a figure would Missouri cut in the eyes of the civilized world if she sets up for herself? She must have her representatives abroad; she must coin money, establish weights and measures, and protect her own commerce. We would find our minister from Missouri at the feet of Napoleon III, begging for trade. The question is asked, who are you, Sir, and what country do you represent? I came from the nation of Missouri, a fragment of the late great North American republic. [Laughter.] You may well laugh, and your ministers would be laughed at by the representatives of the nations. But who is that other grave-looking gentleman over there? He is the minister from little Rhode Island. He is here begging, too, for Rhode Island must also have trade. But where is Rhode Island? Why, she is another small fragment of the American Union. And so, if you look round, you will see that much of the thirty-four fragments of the once united, happy and powerful American confederacy has its representatives, not only at the Court of Napoleon, but of England, Russia, Prussia, and Italy, all begging to be recognized—all begging for trade. My friends, is not this a most awakening play at government for Missouri to contemplate? Brought down from being an honored part of the great consolidated American republic, whose representatives are respected at every court in the world—whose mighty flag is a protection to the interests of all—whose word in the council of nations is more potent than the edicts of emperors, and whose greatness and glory command the homage of kings, princes, and sovereigns, all now to be lost by the fist of disunion! [Great applause.] But my friends, I have hopes yet that these troubles will be settled by some adjustment, fair and honorable to all, and that we shall yet be spared the humiliating condition that secession implies. I have great faith in the firmness and patriotism of the border states, and believe that through the spirit of fairness and conciliation they manifest, we will yet be saved. By the running of the cotton states, we have thrown away every constitutional advantage, and if there should be any aggression upon the rights of the South by Mr. Lincoln's administration—which I do not anticipate—the responsibility must rest upon the seceding states. If they had remained in their places, Mr. Lincoln would have been powerless and could not even organize his government without the consent of an opposing Senate. His party was also in the minority in the House, which would have been a complete check upon aggressive legislation, and secession has thrown away these advantages. Now, after this deliberate surrender of every check upon anticipated mischief, what right have the seceding states to ask Missouri to give up her place in the Union in advance of any rest upon our rights by a president elected according to the prescribed forms of the Constitution? The proposition is preposterous, and coming from the seceders, after they have run away and left us alone to guard our own interests, is positively insulting. Our country is widespread and of mixed interests, and if the chosen guardians of those interests, in any section, shall abandon their posts in an hour of peril, and leave their charge to the enemy, who is to blame if their rights are infringed? But secession is no remedy for the evils we complain of, and I, therefore, will oppose it to the bitter end. I look upon secession as a causeless suicide, and when I say that, I do not counsel Missouri to yield one of the constitutional differences between contending for our rights, where we have the right to contend, and sacrificing everything by renouncing the constitution that alone secures those rights. For myself, I will cling to the Constitution so long as it produces the objects of the Constitution, especially that of preserving my liberties. [Applause.] If the government fails to accomplish the objects for which it was instituted, if the blood of the revolution was shed in vain, if the institutions our fathers set up work so badly that practical liberty under them is impossible, then it will be time to talk about revolution, and in that case, I will become a

revolutionist. But under no circumstances, in or out of Missouri, at present, and for all time to come, so help me God, I never can, nor never will become a secessionist! [Immense cheering and applause.]

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Annex 17 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-17)

Unconditional Union Meeting at Soulard Market

Spirited Speeches and Great Enthusiasm

Published in the Missouri Democrat, February 14, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#20)

"Is it to be supposed that a party that is about to assume the administration of the government for the first time in the history of the country, is not as anxious to preserve this Union as the [Constitutional Union] Bell Party or the [Northern Democratic] Douglas Party? When the Union is at stake, and you boast that no Republican is on your ticket, do you not show that it is not love for the Union but hatred of Republicans which is motivating you?

"Yet this is the boast of the *Missouri Republican* journal which advocates the Constitutional Union secession ticket. And this is the spirit which pervades the speeches of most of the candidates on that ticket.

"This is not the spirit which should motivate true patriots in a time like this. When the ship of state is in peril, we should all march up, Bell men and Republicans, Douglas men and all, and seizing the ropes, give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together, to save the noble vessel. I shall not ask the politics or the religion of him who toils by my side in such a cause. I care not whether he be Democrat or Republican, Yankee or a Southerner, Christian, Jew, Gentile, Turk, or Mormon; he is my brother when he labors to save this Union, and I will love and honor him for doing it.

"But these Conditional Secessionists can't help it and we must not be too hard on them; it is a constitutional defect with them. They are like the sick man whom the doctor told to take a quart of sage tea as the only means left to save his life. "Oh! Doctor, I am a gone case then, for I only hold a pint." Now if these men were told that the only means of saving the Union was by voting for a Republican for the Convention, it would be good-bye, Union, for you could not cram a quart of patriotism into a whole regiment of such men. At the same time, they will out-Union the Unconditional Unionists in their protestations of devotion to the Union. But they can't express their love for it without butting you more ifs and ifling you more buts than are to be found in Webster's dictionary. My friends, there are no "buts" or "ifs" in the Constitution, and there should be none in the hearts or on the tongues of its true friends, to limit their devotion to the Union.

"What in God's name, my friends, are we to gain by giving up this Union? Does anyone here desire to see these people brought to the contemptible condition of the distracted and unsettled states of South America, or of Mexico? Can anyone be so dull as not to know that the chief cause of our prosperity at home and high position abroad, is to be found in the strength and stability which an indissoluble, perpetual Union gives to us? Can any man be so simple as to suppose that a confederacy founded then upon the doctrine of the right of anyone state to secede from it at pleasure, can possess that stability without which there can be no prosperity, or that strength without which there can be no security? Have we a guarantee from Carolina that she will not secede when we ask that our manufacturing interests shall be protected? When the strong arm of the Union is paralyzed, how long will it be before strife will break out between king cotton and the sugar dynasty, that will split in two this new confederation? Will our slaves be more willingly returned by a foreign nation upon our border than by the fraternal states? If a member of this Union place upon her statute book an unconstitutional personal liberty bill, do not destroy that government which gives you a fugitive slave law to recover your slave, but recover it as the safeguard of our rights, and arm her, if necessary, with increased powers to override

and trample in the dust every state law that violates the Constitution.

"Madmen and fools of the South! Go on in your insane endeavor to make slaves more secure by destroying the Union which now protects them, but be assured that no fanatical abolitionist of the North can desire a speedier solution of the slavery question than the destruction of this government will precipitate upon the South. When the blissful promise, which this Union gives to suffering humanity throughout the world, shall be broken to their hope forever; when upon their ears shall strike the knell which tolls forth the dissolution of this Union; before the last sad, mournful tones are stilled in the depths of time; as sure as God lives, the southern breeze will bear upon its wings, in recompense, the death notes of African servitude on the soil of America.

"With many thanks, my friends, for your respectful attention, in conclusion, let me call upon you not to forget that there is but one question at issue, and that is the vital question of Union or disunion. There is no middle course to pursue. No man can serve two masters. No man can be on both sides of this issue. He that is not heart and soul unconditionally for the Union, now and forever, in this crisis, is with its enemies.

"Remember, that the way to settle the unhappy difference which now distracts the country, is fully provided for by the Constitution, and not by a convention to be held at Jefferson City. Let the voice of the whole people, the sovereign power of the whole nation, be heard in its might and majesty through the ballot box, and peace will reign supreme. Let every heart that loves the Union search in its inmost recesses and bring forth as an offering at the shrine of his country whatever of party spirit, of sectional jealousy or bigoted fanaticism may be lurking there. In this way, will we save the Republic, and vindicate before the world the ability of man for self-government.

"Had Northern sons no homes on Southern soil, nor Southern maidens become the pride and glory of Northern firesides, we might have lost hope for the Union. Were there not loving fathers, sons, and brothers, scattered broadcast throughout this land, then might we have less hope for the Union. Were there no ties of blood, no bonds of friendship, no cords of interest to bind these people together, then might we have less hope for the Union. Were all sense of justice, generosity and goodwill fled from the human heart; were not patriotism, national honor and pride of country implanted in the bosom of every true American, then might we hang our heads in hopeless despair; but whilst all these and a thousand others conspire to cheer us, let us swear by Heaven that this Union must and shall be preserved."

Mr. Francis Minor[423] was called for and responded:

He was pleased that he could yet greet the citizens of the Second Ward as fellow citizens—that we who live in the United States can yet call each other fellow citizens. He hoped that on Monday next, the men who were now seeking to destroy this Union would be beaten by such a majority that would forever crush them out in this community. The speaker said that this was an occasion which, although not a public speaker or a politician, he could not resist. There was a fearful issue presented to the people of Missouri, whether this government shall be broken up or be preserved. The people of the city of St. Louis must decide one way or the other. The disunionists of this state were trying to precipitate this state under the lead of South Carolina, but he entreated everybody who valued the protection afforded by the Stars and Stripes to come up and vote, to put them down by electing the citizen's ticket.

Mr. Isidor Bush[424] was loudly called for and enthusiastically received. He spoke briefly in the German language, and was much applauded by the Germans present. Every Union sentiment was received with great demonstrations of delight.

Mr. James O. Broadhead[425] followed in a forcible speech for the Union. He appeared as a candidate on the Citizen's Union ticket. He was not here as a party man, but as the representative of those men who believe that the Union must be preserved. It had been said in the days of the

[423] Francis Minor was a lawyer from St. Louis.
[424] Isidor Bush was a bank president.
[425] James O. Broadhead, a St. Louis lawyer and former state legislator, was a member of the St. Louis Safety Committee.

Roman republic that Caesar had a party, Antony had a party; the Republic had no party. Shall it be as here? Shall it be said that Mr. Lincoln has a party, Mr. Douglas has a party, Mr. Bell has a party, and Mr. Breckinridge has a party but the Republic has no party? He trusted in God not, but that men and patriots would rally in their might in defense of that glorious symbol of our liberties, the American flag. [Applause.] He reviewed the formation of the Constitution and of the blessings which have ensued. Our persons and property have been protected at home and abroad; we have established a nationality and grown rich and prosperous. Now it was proposed to destroy this Union, and for what? Now it was proposed in Missouri to initiate secession and commit treason—for say what you will, it is not more or less than treason. [Immense applause.]

The question was now whether you will permit traitors to break up this government and bring upon yourselves anarchy, and confusion and mobocracy. But when the traitor comes—when the man who would deprive you of these rights comes, is it not proper that he should be denounced, and his crime be placed at the head of all capital crimes? Secession's treason, and the man who comes to you with Union on his lips but treason in his heart, is to be avoided. What is it but treason! And how should it be treated otherwise than as treason? One of the greatest statesmen of the country, from Kentucky, was asked when he would consider the time ripe for dissolution, and he said, "Never, never, never." Why should you give up this government? Has any individual or collective interest been infringed in this state? Surely Missouri had no cause to destroy the government. She has grown rich and great in the Union. She has been blessed in it, and will be cursed out of it. But, say some of the seceders, Abraham Lincoln has been elected. Well, he has done them no harm, because he had no power for good or evil. So they fall back from that; then they complain of the non-execution of the fugitive slave law; but since Mr. Douglas, in the Senate, has declared that this law was as faithfully executed like any other law, they have abandoned this. So they have given up the complaints of the several liberty bills, and thus driven from one pretext to another, until at last they've settled down on the territorial question.

How stands the record on that pretext? Why, last year, in the Senate, when all the senators who have seceded with their states were in their seats, Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, introduced a resolution declaring that Congress should pass a code for protecting slave property in the territories. Yet these very men voted it down by a vote of 42 to 3, and said that they didn't want protection for slaves in the territories. Now, indeed, they are going to break up the government on this idea. Will Missouri join them and help force a Southern Confederacy? [Voices, "never," "never."] We have no interest in common with theirs; none of our rights have been invaded; none of our slaves have been run off by the notion of the federal government. Secession will be no remedy for any fancied wrong. It will promote discord and produce civil war, for if the laws and Constitution of this country amount to anything, our allegiance is first to the United States; and for one, said the speaker, he could not be taken out of the Union, but would stay in and tell the secessionists that he would never raise a hand against the Stars and Stripes. [Loud and continued applause.]

One of the secession candidates proposed as a remedy that all the Republicans should be "sent to hell." Well, he doesn't seem to make any calculation about the young Republicans who are growing up all around him. They have increased very fast of late, and if you send the one million eight hundred thousand who voted for Mr. Lincoln to hell, and should happen to get in that place himself, why it would be rather tight on him; in vulgar jargon, he would be in a hell of a fix. [Laughter and applause.] No, no. Mr. Kennett's remedy won't do. He rejects all counsel with the Republicans, yet these are the men who hold the reins of power, and who must yield all the concessions as demanded. They are now in consultation with committees from border states, at Washington, and if Mr. Kennett does not want to hold counsel with them, it follows as a matter of course, that he is opposed to any compromise and is in favor of secession.

The speaker commented on the condition of things in the seceded states, and of the evils of heavy taxation which would follow the Union of Missouri with a southern confederacy. He was

frequently interrupted by applause, and loudly cheered at the close.

The meeting was further addressed by Augustus Alexander[426] and Robert White, on behalf of the Citizens' ticket, and broke up about 10 p.m., with three cheers for the Union and Constitution.

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Annex 18 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-18)

Speech of Samuel T. Glover at Unconditional Union Meeting

Published in Missouri Democrat on February 15, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#22)

I say such thoughts as these are passing through your mind, but what a sad mistake to suppose there is anything of the sort in his mind. Press the point, and his last gleam of hope, in favor of the Union, will desert him, and you will find that, probably, he is not in favor of the Union at all, unless he can have the Constitution changed in some way, and more rights and greater privileges secured to him than this government now gives, though he admits it to be the best government under the sun; or perhaps, you will find that he considers that the Union was already destroyed when South Carolina seceded, and that he has no hope but in "reconstruction"; or that his last gleam of hope for the Union depends upon his rolling on the black tide of African slavery to the end of the continent. Ask him if he can settle the question in his own mind so as to tell you whether he will vote for secession in convention; he can't tell you; he doesn't know what he will do himself, because he doesn't know what is to turn up, his vote will depend upon various conditions which it is impossible to solve. He cannot know, and is not expected to say. Nevertheless, he calls himself a Union man—perfectly sound—perfectly reliable! Now, of his kind we have a goodly number. And so we have among us two kinds of Union men. This kind will tell you they will oppose secession and upon no condition will they vote for it in convention. The other kind claim to be Union men, but their Unionism seems to be a form rather than a substance. Their devotion to country is mere lip service; their Unionism is perfectly consistent with the destruction of the Union at any moment; their patriotism is qualified by mental reservations and conditions as variable and vanishing as the Northern Light. These classes have formed themselves into parties, and have nominated their separate tickets. They are antagonistic to each other, and each is boldly canvassing for success. The principles by which they are really governed must, therefore, be different. No two parties would ever spring up and combat each other in this way if they did not seek opposite ends. I affirm, under such circumstances, one of them must be for the Union in fact, and the other must be for secession in fact, absolute or conditional. The proofs are various and conclusive.

1. One of these parties has struggled from the moment of the introduction of the Convention bill, to unite in one body all the men, and throw on one ticket all the votes which could be procured for the absolute maintenance of the Union. The other party has constantly denounced this course, refusing to count the votes of ten thousand men unreservedly for the Union.

2. One party has insisted on an organization based on the preservation of the Union as the greatest present attainable good. The other has labored for an organization formed for carrying the city election in April—thus ignoring and passing by default the greater question of the Union.

3. The present government of the state of Missouri is in the bands of seceders and nullifiers. The inaugural of Governor Jackson and the letter of Lieutenant Governor Reynolds leave no doubt on this subject. A convention has been called to pronounce Missouri out of the Union. Preparations are now making to fight the general government; bills are pending before the legislature to put the people under martial law; steps have been initiated, as far as possible, to cut off expenditures on other subjects and concentrate all the income and finances of the state upon a great military

[426] Augustus W. Alexander was a St. Louis lawyer.

establishment. This is notorious to all. And while it is so notorious, the chiefs of one of these parties have published an address to the people of the city, which declares that "The times demand that the corporate powers of this city should be under the control and direction of political sentiments and opinions in unison with those of the people of this state." That is, while the people of the state are asked to secede and may secede, the times demand that this city should be in unison with the sentiments of the people of the state, whatever they may be.

4. One of these parties has constantly united with nullifiers and seceders, received them in private consultation, joined them in making a platform, met them in public convention, and pledged themselves in contingency to "share the common duties and common dangers of the South."

5. The same party has more recently declared that they "will not submit" to any attempt by the general government to coerce seceding states—that is, they will not submit, but will resist the execution of the laws in such states—and this declaration is made without restriction or qualification.

6. One of these parties has made a ticket and asked for it the support of the people of this city, on which ticket are "notorious nullifiers" and seceders, and every nullifier accepts and supports the ticket.

7. In no instance has this party put forth any resolution or sentiment censuring or protesting secession. But they have pledged themselves to protect and defend it. In no instance have they uttered a word of approval for the course of Major Anderson,[427] whose heroic valor and patriotism are the pride of every loyal citizen.

My fellow-citizens, the question is this: have any party in this state whose purpose is to secede, seize upon the property of the Union, expel its authorities, and coerce submission to these lawless acts? If there be such a party, where is it?

Has there been any secession plot in Missouri? If such a one ever existed, has it been abandoned? If it has been abandoned, why this array and conflict of parties? Why the canvas, why the election? Does all this mean nothing, or is there a real controversy going on? If there be a real controversy going on, what is it about? Fellow citizens, I tell you there is a real controversy—and the controversy is the most momentous ever presented to the people of our state. The question is union or disunion. All your interests—all of them are involved. Your safe deliverance absolutely depends upon the election of members to the convention, on the 18th of February, who are unconditionally for the Union; who under no state of the case will vote for secession, and who know their own minds sufficiently to say so. I warn you now that you cannot employ too much caution on this subject. The whole history of the secession movement enforces this injunction most earnestly upon us. In several seceding states, it is believed the people have been betrayed into the election of seceders wearing for the purpose of the fraud, the uniform of the Union. In no instance have the seceders had fairness enough to trust an act of secession to the popular vote. It cannot now be shown that a majority of the people of a single seceding state has approved secession.

Duplicity and fraud have marked the whole progress of this reckless and wicked movement. The real Union men of St. Louis, determined not to be cheated in this way, have assumed a clear and fearless position upon this question. They do not mince the matter at all; they look upon secession as treason, and all who shall back it up by overt acts as traitors. And I should like to know why or how the real friends of the country can assume any other position.

If a man enters my house and secretly takes and carries away my coat for the sake of gain, without my knowledge, the man has committed a larceny, and there is no objection to my saying so. It is generally supposed I ought to say so; first to vindicate the offended law, and next to warn society. And so, too, when a robbery, an arson, or a murder has been or is about to be committed, high moral and legal duties attach to every citizen who can lift a hand or raise a voice on the behalf of violated law and outraged justice. But when treason plots in secret, or stalks openly abroad, one must forsooth be silent—treason that is the aggregation

[427] Maj. Robert Anderson was the commander of Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor.

of all the immoralities, and the consolidation of all the crimes. Upon this most important of all of our public or political interests, the preservation of the union of the states, we are told we must question no one, and censure no one; we should not doubt the patriotism of citizens; we should not fix too high a standard of duty; that any sort of a Union man is better than none! Out upon such driveling nonsense! We want Union men on whom we can rely; who can tell how they will vote and what they will do. If you wanted a county road, and a candidate could not tell whether he would vote for it or not, you would not support him. I have no respect for the pretended Unionism of any man who cannot tell whether his passion will last him through the convention. Such a man is not for the Union now, and is of no service to us. He may come out right in the end, but he may come out wrong, and therefore he cannot be trusted at the Convention.

No, fellow-citizens, we have taken high grounds and we have taken true grounds; we have brought on the battle right, and now we must "fight it bravely." I have already said momentous interests depend upon the issue—all that you have, all that you expect. You are to put this treason down beneath your feet, or it will put you beneath its feet. Who shall fully appreciate, who shall enumerate the blessings of the good government which our fathers gave us? Alas! Not we. We never knew oppression. For more than seventy years the glorious structure of the Union has stood around us and about us, providing for all our wants like an unseen angel. We have stood in its presence like thoughtless and ungrateful children, in the presence of the good God whose wisdom and bounty had blessed them a hundred-fold. With the establishment of the union of the states, come to us national powers, enforcing fear, and therefore commanding the respect of foreign nations. With the establishment of the Union, come to us internal repose, freedom from jealous factions and bloody wars, which have wasted continental Europe and cursed her people for a thousand years. With the Union, consolidating peace at home and abroad, rose up the material interests of the country—agriculture, mines, manufactures, commerce, arts, and trades. Never, never upon this earth, have any people so prospered in all their material interests, for never had any people a government so happily adjusted to their necessities. With the establishment of the union of the states come first national and individual freedom from want, then independence, then wealth, and, following in the train of these, came education, science, universal knowledge, refinement, elegance, and luxury—the privileges of a favored few in other climes—the blessed heritage of all in ours who will have them. Intellectually and morally the national Union has not less signally exerted its influence on mankind. If it was for Gibbon[428] to trace that "gentle, but powerful influence of" laws and cement the grandeur of Rome, and to mourn over the revolutions in which they were lost, the effects of which he declared, at the time he wrote, "were still felt by the nations of the earth," what sorrow will not the philanthropic historians endure, what tears will he not weep, to record the overthrow of a vast and mighty moral power which, beginning under the auspices of this Union, had passed beyond its limits, to inspire the hopes and stimulate the energies of man everywhere; the extinguishment of a light which was illuminating the darkness of every land. Think not, fellow-citizens, this spell of progress and prosperity will abide when the Union is destroyed. No, it was the Union that evoked them into being, and they will perish when the Union ceases to exist. When dissolution takes place, intestine war will follow quickly on its heels—a war of factions, neighborhoods, families, and individuals. Party spirit will fan the flames, and personal malice will stimulate the horrors of the scene. Behold already how the mere apprehension of dissolution has roused and excited the land. On every hand is seen the busy note of preparation—on every breeze comes the hoarse rattle and discord of arms. If the mere thought shall thus disturb and shock the social elements, what may we expect from the fact itself? There is a maxim of the civilians—in times of war, the law falls silent—when war prevails the laws cease to operate—the laws which guard all our interests and represent all our rights. This fundamental saying speaks with potent energy the sad condition of those people, all whose

[428] Refers to Edward Gibbon, author of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*..

institutions are put to the desperate arbitration of the sword. From the trial of intestine war, nothing passes away in its original form, while every social interest is scorched and blasted; many are utterly consumed. It is only when the storm of fire has swept by, that we may survey the desolated field and learn how much has outlived its fury. There are those who tell you if the Union is dissolved, it may be done in peace—that bloodshed need not follow. Vain and deceitful hope, never to be realized. Would that it could be so. When in the history of mankind has such an event transpired? When was a great government like this assaulted by internal faction, overthrown and dismembered without bloodshed? History has never yet recorded such an event. Upon what basis of human reason, upon what principle of human nature, is this expectation founded? What plan has been yet proposed by the expectants whereby to bring about the miraculous result? Why, it is suggested that the people of the seceding states, who have overthrown the Constitution and made war upon the government, who have seized its forts and arsenals, and robbed its treasury and insulted its flag, shall be allowed peaceably to do as they please; shall not be compelled to submit to the laws; shall not be coerced into obedience—nay, more, that if any attempt is made to enforce the laws, these generous expectants declare they will themselves take up arms and join the rebellion, and coerce for it a triumphant success. So much conciliation will no doubt have its effect. It is the same policy that has prevailed in every civil broil since the world was made. When did any party not ask and expect to have its demands granted; not ask to be let alone; not ask to be allowed to do as it pleases, as the only conditions of peace? And who is it in times of revolution that is not ready to coerce another to his own will, even when he thinks that no man should do the ungracious act of coercing him? Is it likely that war may be avoided by the act of one of these conflicting powers yielding up its existence into the hands of the other? Is the event one that may be reasonably anticipated? Again I ask, when has such a thing occurred in the history of man?

If such a result is not to be anticipated, judging from the ordinary course of human conduct, the question arises, is there, in this case, anything which would be likely to make it an exception to the rule? Has the conduct of the revolutionists been marked by forbearance, justice, and dignity? Have they appealed to reason, or constitutional modes of redress for supposed grievances? Have they grievances which demand redress, and the nature of which seems to furnish probable cause for the course they have pursued? I fear that on an impartial examination, all these questions must be answered in the negative. Indeed I know no man in Missouri who pretends to justify the seceders. Many seek to minimize and excuse their crime against the government—many propose to sustain and defend them in their treason—but none will fully justify their crime.

I have been considering whether it is likely that war may be avoided while the seceders occupy their present hostile position, pressing the controversy up to a dissolution of the Union. I have supposed it was impossible while human nature shall remain what it is and take its ordinary course. I now ask the question, ought the general government, which stands charged with the duties which belong to the occasion and the subject, to allow the seceders to overthrow it? Is that the duty which the general government owes to the country, to humanity and to God? I would meet this question broadly. I would free it from all technical considerations and prepossessions. I hold to the right of revolution, and proclaim its sacred nature. If, then, the seceders are the victims of intolerable oppression, I will concede their rights are higher and better than the Constitution and laws of the United States. If they are the victims of such oppression, I, for one, will never deny their right to overthrow the oppression. If the general government is such an oppressor, then I will concede that there is no duty on the part of that government to coerce seceders into submission. How, then, lies the case? Why, in the compass of a nutshell. The seceders demand as their rights: 1st, the protection of slavery by Congress where it now exists; 2d, the protection of it in places where it does not now exist, both in and outside of our present territorial limits. Nothing need be said under the first head, because their demands have been admitted, if they will have them, in relation thereto, and they are content. Upon the second

head, several remarks are to be made, which will place the question of their oppressions in a very clear light. This supposed right to the protection of slavery in territories was never known or contended for by any party in this country prior to the year 1854. Our fathers lived and died without acknowledging or claiming such a right, and of course unconscious of all this factious pretense of oppression. It is not twelve months since, that the whole Bell-Everett party and the whole Douglas Party united with the Republican Party in denying the duty of Congress to protect slavery in any territory of the United States. Certainly, posterity cannot fail to look upon such a claim as a monstrous proposition. What is it but asking Congress to do, in relation to these territories, what the British sovereigns did on this same subject to the American colonies—to force slavery into them against the will of the people of the territories, and keep it there against their will during the *whole territorial probation*. This stupendous evil of African slavery in this country is solely attributable to such legislation. Had the people of the colonies been allowed to speak, it would never have been here. If a majority of the people of a territory are allowed to speak, slavery will never go into them.

Hence a plan is laid to force it in. The seceders are outvoted on this question, and this is intolerable oppression! If the majority of the people in the Territories are not allowed to speak at all, if slavery is forced upon them against their will, that is no oppression. Certainly not. For what right have they to any opinion on the subject? This, fellow-citizens, is a naked showing of the case. Here you find the basis of all the "wrongs" the South is suffering, and all the "rights" she claims, and all the horrible "grievances" which are to be redressed, and all the "differences" which she wishes "adjusted." Here is the pretense which she offers in justification of secession. But you tell me the seceders believe themselves to be right. This I am compelled to deny. They do not believe any such thing. The argument is so strong as to be overwhelming. For many years, the whole pro-slavery party in every state have held it as a fundamental proposition that Congress had *no power* to legislate concerning slavery in the territories! That Congress should assume to do so was an aggression not to be endured. More than once have the fire-eaters[429] threatened to rebel because Congress proposed to legislate on slavery in the territories! This is a fact so notorious, no man will dare to question it. It was only on the 25th of May 1860, so odious to the pro-slavery men of the South, was the idea of Congress making any law on the subject of slavery in the territories, that the Senate of the United States voted against it by a majority of 26 to 8. The following resolution was before the Senate:

> "*Resolved*, That the existing condition of the territories does not require the intervention of Congress for the protection of property in slaves."

And here is the vote:

Yeas—Benjamin, Brown, Chestnut, Clay, Davis, Fitzpatrick, Green, Gwin, Hammond, Harlan, Hemphill, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, (Ark.) Lane, Mallory, Mason, Nicolson, Powell, Rice, Sebastian, Simmons, Slidell, Wigfall, Wilson, and Yulee.

Nays—Bragg, Clingman, Crittenden, Johnson, (Tenn.) Latham, Polk, Pugh, and Toombs. Now, the Southern senators could swear only last May that there was no necessity for protecting slave property in territories, how can we believe them sincere in making war on the government because it was not done? If they voted against it, whose fault was that? John C. Breckinridge, who has at last taken sides openly with the rebels, prior to the last presidential election, defined his position in these terms:

> *I am connected with no party that has for its object the extension of slavery, nor with any to prevent the people of a state or territory from deciding the question of its existence or non-existence with them for themselves.*

Examine to the bottom of this secession movement, and it becomes apparent that it rests on nothing substantial—nothing but a concerted,

[429] The fire-eaters were radical Southern Democrats in the antebellum South, who favored the separation of Southern states into a new nation. Although pro-slavery, with the goal of protecting slavery, they used the rhetoric of states' rights.

powerful, passionate and unprincipled effort of a band of traitors to inflame the honest masses of the Southern people against their government. This they seek to accomplish for the purposes of the individual and personal ambition. And a system of fraud and misrepresentation, unexampled in history, is the means they have so far successfully employed. In May last, these agitators repudiated all pretense of a right to demand congressional aid for slavery in territories. Four months after, they began to persuade the Southerns they were the most outraged and oppressed people under the sun because they had not received such protection. Nay, more; they not only set up a right to such protection inside our present limits, but they insist now on such protection *in all territory hereafter acquired*. The purpose of the agitators is to break up the government. The offices have passed away from them. This is the cause of the rebellion. The right of forcing slavery into the territories against the will of the people of the territories and applying the principle to future acquisitions, was assumed because they believed it never would be granted, and ought not to be granted. Under these circumstances, the question again recurs, and must be decided. What is the duty of the government? Shall it live and maintain itself, or shall it resign its power, abdicate its trust, and cease to exist? In deciding this small question, it would be well to settle in our minds whether we need to have any government at all or not. If we conclude we shall continue to need a government hereafter, the next inquiry is what sort of a government. Shall we have ones like the present or a better one? If there is better, how shall we get it?—or if we have got it, how shall we maintain it? What shall be its territorial limits? Into what fragments is our present one to be broken? How many new structures are to rise out of the ruins of the present fabric when we shall have quietly allowed it to go to pieces, and what will be the condition of the people and of their new establishment? If we shall use no means to maintain the present government in order to avoid bloodshed, how soon will it be till we shall have to take up arms in our own defense? If collisions ensue, from what cause are they likely to arise? And how long will the causes last so that we may fix the duration of the conflicts themselves? Such an investigation will probably lead to the conclusion that a government is indispensable to our case, and that we can never have a better [one] than this, and that it is, therefore, the most solemn and sacred of all duties to maintain it. I think it will appear that we must maintain it—that we have no choice about it. For, if when we have allowed the work of dissolution and disintegration to go on until everything is resolved into its original elements—if, when anarchy and chaos have been reached, we shall have to begin then to work our way back once more to a social order, to a system of laws and regular government—if we shall be compelled of necessity to run this course, it would seem that whether we would or not, we must maintain the government; whatever sympathies would tend to divert us, we must maintain the government; whatever expenditures it may cost, we must maintain the government; whatever obstacles may interpose, or hazards may be incurred, we must maintain the government. I am supported in this position by the universal declaration of all parties, that it is the best government that ever was made, and should it cease to exist, it's like may never be formed again. I am supported in this position by the fact that its preservation may be secured by the firm and prudent courses of administration, involving no willful act of bloodshed and no violence unless produced by the rebels themselves. I am supported in this position by the prayers and hopes of all those persons who so much deprecate "coercion," and who insist that without coercion, the seceding states will soon return to their allegiance. I, too, most devoutly pray that they may return; but remark that unless the government is maintained in the meantime, they will never return because there will be nothing to which they can return. Some of the seceding states themselves have shown a willingness to accept adjustment. It is for their good and ours then that the government should be maintained. The government of the national Union consists first in powers employed solely for the benefit of the people of the states, and second, in powers employed for the joint benefit of that government itself, and the people of the states.

To the first class belongs the federal judiciary, post offices and post roads. The states enjoy these

and other like advantages when they request and desire them, and may renounce them at their pleasure. The renunciation of them is no offense to the authority of the United States.

The collection of the revenues of the general government and its system of navigation and military posts belong to the second class, and are essential to its existence and dignity. These are the only points, perhaps, in which the execution of the national laws come into absolute contact with the people of seceding states. By maintaining these, the national government is maintained. By abandoning these, the government will cease to exist in the seceding states. They must be maintained, or the government of the Union is abandoned. Is there anyone, not an actual and irredeemable traitor, who would desire the utter abandonment of the government? It is the enforcement of these laws which is called coercion, and this is indispensable. Yet coercion has been held up to the people as the march of devastating armies into seceding states, wasting fields and burning towns. But these are figments of guilty and disordered imaginations. They will never be realized unless the seceders themselves shall, by making war on their part, provoke the slow but certain vengeance of the nation. No blood will be shed unless the seceders will have it so. Should they make war upon the United States, seeking to annihilate that government, and maintain by coercion, a dissolution of the Union, that government will maintain its power by the same means, and ought to do it. But, fellow-citizens, I think we may dismiss these gloomy apprehensions of a dissolution of the Union. The Union is not dissolved yet, and I trust will not be. The nation will forbid it. The national government will maintain itself in the seceding states despite opposition and without bloodshed, other than they will have. It will remain there in all the plenitude of its majesty and power. It will be there to reel any assaults upon its authority, and to invite, by a course of firmness and conciliation, the sober second thought of the people. That sober second thought will come. It will come as certainly as passion and folly must give way to calmness and to reason. Secession will thoroughly work its own destruction. A new class of men will rise up in the cotton states—a class of men who will see their interests and the interests of their children in the Union as it is—who will see that by pressing the question of dissolution, they have everything to lose and nothing to gain. They will maintain the Union for itself, and without conditions. This "pomp and circumstance of war" will pass away, and in place of martial strains, we shall only have the sweet notes of peace.

O, beauteous peace!
Sweet union of the state, what else but thou
Give majesty, strength, and glory to the people!

* * *

Annex 19 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-19)

The Honorable Francis P. Blair

Missouri Republican, published January 13, 1861

MR. EDITOR:

I agree with you that no sentiment ought now to be published during the present excited state of public feeling, and amid the dangers that threaten us, if such sentiment be calculated to inflame the public mind, and to widen the breaches, which already appear in the framework of our government. I agree further with you, that the promulgation of false statements cannot have the effect of procuring for us the desired peace. It is a time which, of all others that have ever existed, requires that the people should truly understand each other. It is a time when every man who has one drop of patriotic blood in his heart, should exert all his moral and personal influence to achieve peace among the states, upon a righteous and permanent basis. This can never be done as long as communities, composed of the Anglo-Saxon race, and with the same interest and intense attachment to civil and political rights, are constantly inflamed and excited against each other. It is with sentiments of this kind, that I beg leave to call the attention of the reading public of St. Louis and of the state to some statements made and sentiments uttered by the Honorable FRANCIS P. BLAIR, in a public meeting

at Washington Hall in this city, on the evening of the 11th last, as reported and published in your columns this morning. Assuming that *that* report correctly represents the speaker, I have some comments to offer in the premises. And that I may not do MR. BLAIR injustice by misquoting him, I submit the paragraph *verbatim:*

> *It is not so much her rights that South Carolina wanted as to act her true spirit out, and that was a sort of monarchism.*
>
> *They hate democracy, and therefore wish to be in a government by themselves, where they can dominate as much as they please. They are awfully adverse to being in the minority, those South Carolinians, and it grieves them sorely to think they got defeated at the last election. Shall we, said MR. BLAIR, put the Union aside for this cabbage tree state of South Carolina, where no man can vote unless he owns Negro slaves?*

Upon these statements of MR. BLAIR, I beg leave to make the following remarks:

1st. Either MR. BLAIR was truly informed of the facts in relation to which he makes these positive statements, or he was not so informed. If the latter supposition be true, then he has exposed before the people of the country a vulgar ignorance and profound stupidity, and no reasonable man, in future, could depend upon the correctness and accuracy of any statement he may hereafter assume to make for the information of the public. More than this, he who would assume to make positive statements in relation to important facts about which he knew nothing, must be held to exhibit before the world a wanton and uncalled-for recklessness.

2nd. Assuming the former supposition to be true—that MR. BLAIR knew the fact—then the HON. FRANCIS P. BLAIR has perpetrated before a public audience in St. Louis a willful and deliberate misrepresentation. That gentleman may stand on either horn of the dilemma to which his taste and morals most incline him.

The state of South Carolina has been universally Democratic, in her politics and government, for more than half a century. *Universal suffrage*—absolute, unconditional and unqualified, has been the constitutional law of the state for more than fifty years. The humblest and poorest citizen of that state has the same rights and the same potential influence at the ballot box as the chief justice or the governor of the state. No foaming politician, no armed mob, no threat of violence, has ever controlled, nor can control, the free, unhindered expression of the sovereign will of her people. In her late political action, there was not a dissenting vote, from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Atlantic sea coast, as to her determination to maintain the inalienable rights of a free people.

In all the wars and conflicts which have threatened the common government, from the days of the Revolution up to the last battle on the plains of Mexico, the *"Cabbage Tree"* flag has waved over true and loyal regiments, who drew the sword and faced death in all its forms to protect the rights and defend the honor of our once united country. Her record is made, and she can afford to laugh to scorn the threats and slanders of her foes.

People of St. Louis, I ask you before God, and in the light of your consciences, who has brought upon the country her present distresses? Who has impaired the value of the property and commerce of the country to the amount of four hundred millions of dollars, in less than four months? Who has sent home to their starving families each night, millions of honest working men? Who has taken bread from their mouths and hope from their hearts? Who has broken the bonds of union which cemented together our once fraternal government? Who holds up before your fancy pictures of carnage and desolation? Who has shed a gloom upon the country like the black wing of the angel of death? You are bound to answer in truth, the Black Republican party has wrought all this deadly mischief, of which party FRANCIS P. BLAIR is a leader and a chief. I do not expect to reach or influence the course of MR. BLAIR—but what to me is incomprehensible, is how S. T. GLOVER, Esq.[430], can

[430] Samuel T. Glover, a St. Louis lawyer and anti-slavery conservative, was a member of the St. Louis (Union) Safety Committee.

associate with such a character.

ST. LOUIS.

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Annex 20 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-20)

Border State Convention's Address

Given on June 8, 1861.

Original transcription from nytimes.com; NY Tribune, June 9, 1861

We find in the Louisville papers the address of the recent so-called Border States Convention in Frankfort, Ky., It is printed herewith:

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

The delegates to a convention of the border slave states, assembled in the city of Frankfort, desire to address you in relation to the present condition of the country.

None of us have ever expected to live to see the spectacle now exhibited in our divided land. The cry to arms resounds throughout our borders, and in a few short weeks, we have seen all over the land the marshaling of troops ready for the conflict. The pursuits of peace are neglected and abandoned, and the fell spirit of war has seized almost every heart, until even gentle and tender woman yields to the fierce impulse and encourages the strife, and the maternal eye scarce gathers a tear as the son seizes his arms and rushes towards the field of carnage and of death.

If this warlike spirit—this terrible energy—were displayed in preparing to meet the legions of an invading enemy, our hearts would exult in the exhibition of the martial spirit of our countrymen; but, alas! the combatants are descendants of Sires who stood side by side in the day of battle to maintain the independence of our country, and in the approaching conflict, brother is to fall by the hand of a brother.

Can we hope, in this day of fierce passion, that our voice, crying for peace, will be heard? Will any sketch of the horrors of civil war that we can give have any influence with those who are rushing on to destroy each other? We fear not. States which should have been with us, and whose voice would have increased the potency of our demands for peace, have been seized with the prevailing madness, and have rushed to arms. Still, we feel bound to make our voice to be heard, with the hope that our words will have some influence at some day when men shall behold the wasting and the desolation that their madness has produced.

All the slave states except four[431] are arrayed in hostility to the general government and are demanding that the confederation, which they have formed, shall be recognized as a separate sovereign nation. The process by which they have attempted to form themselves into a distinct nation has been, for each state by itself, to declare all connection with the general government terminated, and then unite in forming a confederation among themselves.

Our present purpose does not require us to discuss the propriety of the acts of these states, yet it may be proper for us to say that they find no warrant in any known principle of our government, and no justification in the facts existing when they seceded.

While these states claim that their sovereignty as a nation shall be recognized, and have collected armies to make good their claim, the government of the United States insists that the ordinances of secession are utterly void, and that the Constitution and laws of the United States are still in force within the seceded states just as they are within any of the other states, and to maintain this position armies are rapidly gathering on the borders of the seceded states.

If there could be any intervention by which the shedding of blood and the desolation of civil war could be avoided, the practical good sense of the American people might discover some mode of adjusting the difficulties which would be alike honorable and beneficial to both the contending parties. But while one side demands the recognition

[431] Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri did not join the Confederate States. Tennessee seceded on June 8, 1861.

of its sovereignty, and the other insists that such recognition is a constitutional impossibility, it is manifest that there can be no arbiter but the sword, unless the people themselves, acting upon and through their representatives, state and national, shall interpose, arrest the strife, and enforce a settlement without bloodshed. If any terms of adjustment would be satisfactory to both parties, which would fall short of the recognition of the sovereignty of the seceded states, and still satisfy them, and short of the obedience of the seceded states to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and still satisfy the people of the United States, it is the duty of each party to notify the other of such terms as would be satisfactory so that an attempt at adjustment might be made.

But we repeat, if the recognition of the sovereignty of the seceded states continue a *sine qua non*[432], and if the government continues to disclaim the constitutional power to make such recognition, there is no peaceful solution of the difficulty possible, other than such as the people themselves may, by their action, produce.

It is proper for us to say that, in our opinion, the Constitution delegates to no one department of the government, nor to all of them combined, the power to destroy the government itself, as would be done by the division of the country into separate confederacies, and that the obligation exists to maintain the Constitution of the United States, and to preserve the Union unimpaired.

It has been suggested, in quarters entitled to the highest respect, that the independence of the states which have seceded might be acknowledged by a national convention, adopting an amendment to the Constitution for that purpose, as such an amendment would have the support and acquiescence of the seceded states. But we leave that for the decision of the people and their representatives, when they shall feel the imperative necessity of such a settlement.

We now turn to the consideration of what ought to be done for the purpose of quieting apprehension within the few slave states which still adhere to the Union established by their fathers.

We ask no concession of new or additional rights. We do not fear any immediate encroachment upon our rights as slave states. The amendment to the Constitution, proposed by the last Congress, gives assurance that at present there is no danger that our rights will be assailed. But we are few in number, and the preponderance of the free states is continually increasing. The security to our rights now afforded by the sense of justice in the minds of the free states may be lost by a change of popular feeling in the future. One great object in constitutions is to protect the rights of minorities.

In the Constitution, there are general grants of power to the Congress of the United States, which might be perverted to our injury contrary to the spirit of the instrument, and still the letter of the grant be claimed to authorize the injurious legislation. Such are the power "to regulate commerce between the states," and the power of "exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia" and over "forts, dockyards and arsenals in the several states." It would not now be claimed by Congress that these grants authorized an interference in the sale of slaves between the people of different states, nor would it be claimed that they authorized the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, while Maryland and Virginia remained slave states, nor the like abolition in forts and other places within slave states. But what will be claimed in the future, we cannot know. So, also, in relation to the territories belonging to the United States. While we are aware that all the territories, then unorganized, were organized by acts of the last Congress, which contain no prohibition of slavery, and while we know that this was the action of a Congress in which the free states had the control at the time the acts were passed, still these are but acts of Congress, subject to repeal or alteration as public feeling may change under temporary excitement.

It is but just that the rights of the slave states, now in a small minority of the whole states, should be guarded in the particulars mentioned by such constitutional guarantees as shall render them secure against future legislation in times of excitement. Our distinguished fellow citizen, Hon. John J. Crittenden, for the purpose of securing by constitutional guarantees rights already possessed, presented to Congress certain propositions to

[432] *Sine qua non*: an essential condition.

amend the Constitution, which met with general approval and were satisfactory to us and to our people, and those propositions, as originally offered, or any that are equivalent, would be now satisfactory and would quiet apprehensions that exist, to some extent, in the minds of real friends of the Union and of the people. Whether any such constitutional guarantees would have the effect of reconciling any of the seceded states to the government from which they have torn themselves away, we cannot say, but we allow ourselves to hope that the masses in those states will, in time, learn that the dangers they were made to fear were greatly exaggerated, and that they will then be disposed to listen to the calls of interest and of patriotism, and return to the family from which they have gone out. One effect of giving such guarantees, certainly, will be to prove to the world by the frank recognition of the rights of the few slave states adhering to the Union, that the states which have seceded have abandoned the best government in the world, without any good or sufficient cause.

It may be urged that there are not now a sufficient number of states acting in the Union to ratify any such constitutional amendments as will furnish the guarantees we require. But it is to be remembered that there is no time fixed by the Constitution for such ratification, and if they should be ratified by the free states, then at the end of the present civil war, terminate as it may, either in the restoration of the seceded states to the Union, or in the establishment of their separate national existence, there will be the number of states required for the ratification.

Fellow Citizens of the United States, you are about to be engaged in a war, in which the horrors that ordinarily attend that state are likely to be aggravated by the fact that you are of the same family and have long lived together in intimate intercourse and in friendly relations. The kind feelings that once existed have been changed to bitterness, soon to degenerate, it may be, into deadly animosity. We desire to remind you that you are contending about a question of principle upon which we would willingly believe that you are, on each side, convinced that you are right. It is no longer a question of party politics, no longer a question about the right to hold slaves in territories, or to retake them when they escape; the question now to be settled is, whether we shall live in the same Union as formerly, or whether our fathers formed a government upon such principles that any one state may, at her own pleasure, without the consent of the others, and without responsibility to any human power, withdraw from her connection with the government and claim to be sovereign as a separate nation. It will be readily seen that this, as a question of principle, is not affected by the number of states that have withdrawn. It would have been well if this question could have been solved in some other mode than by a resort to war, but it may be that nothing but a divine interposition now can determine it by other means. A war upon such a question ought not to produce any higher exasperation, or excite any greater degree of animosity, than is incident to all wars. In the meantime, let the spirit of humanity and of the high civilization of the age, strip this war of the horrors that generally attend such civil strife.

Our states desire, and have indicated a purpose to take no part in this war, and we believe that in this course, we will ultimately best serve the interests of our common country. It is impossible that we should be indifferent spectators; we consider that our interests would be irretrievably ruined by taking part in the conflict on the side where the strongest sympathies of our people are, and that our sense of honor and of duty requires that we should not allow ourselves to be drawn into a war in which other states, without consulting us, have deliberately chosen to involve themselves. Our safety and our dignity as among the most powerful of the slave states demand of us that we take this position.

If the time shall come when our friendly mediation may arrest the further progress of the strife, our most earnest and strenuous efforts shall not be wanted to bring about peace, and it is by such efforts that we hope to serve the interests of our country.

And now, in conclusion, we make our solemn appeal to the people of the United States. This is your government—its preservation is your preservation—its overthrow is your ruin, and you are the rightful arbiters of its fate.

We hope you will take the subject of this address into your own consideration. Act with the energy and decision of a free people. In you, and you alone, we have confidence. You have the intelligence and the power to rule this fearful crisis. Make known your will in some emphatic form that shall give it authority with your representatives everywhere.

May we not earnestly hope that you, the people, the whole people, without regard to parties or sections, will be able to command a settlement of the national difficulties, and will see the propriety and necessity of having a cessation of present hostilities so that the measures of pacification, which your wisdom may devise, can be calmly considered by your constitutional authorities.

We venture to suggest for your consideration and action, two specific propositions as most likely to lead to pacification:

1. That Congress shall at once propose such constitutional amendments as will secure to slaveholders their legal rights and relieve their apprehensions in regard to possible encroachments in the future.

2. If this should fail to bring about the results so desirable to us and so essential to the best hopes of our country, then let a voluntary convention be called, composed of delegates from the people of all the states, in which measures of peaceable adjustment may be devised and adopted, and the nation rescued from the continued horrors and calamities of civil war.

To our fellow citizens of the North, we desire to say, discard that sectional and unfriendly spirit, manifested by teaching and action, which has contributed so much to inflame the feelings of the Southern people and justly create apprehension on their part of injury to them.

To our fellow citizens of the South, we desire to say: though we have been greatly injured by your precipitate action, we would not now reproach you as the cause of that injury, but we entreat you to reexamine the question of the necessity for such action, and if you find that it has been taken without due consideration, as we verily believe, and that the evils you apprehended from a continuance in the Union were neither so great nor so unavoidable as you supposed, or that Congress is willing to grant adequate securities, then we pray you to return promptly to your connection with us, that we may be, in the future, as we have been in the past, one great, powerful and prosperous nation.

Indications have already been afforded that a Divine power is ready to interpose and prevent brethren from slaughtering each other. While the bombardment at Fort Sumter continued, no life was lost. When a Providential interposition was no longer needed to prevent the effusion of blood in civil strife, several lives were lost in the performance of a mere ceremony. We would invoke the presence and aid of that Power to preserve our fellow citizens, on both sides, from slaughter, and we would commit the interests of our distracted country to His hands, who can bring forth peace and order out of strife and confusion, when man's wisdom utterly fails.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN, of Kentucky, President.
JAMES GUTHRIE, of Kentucky.
HAMILTON R. GAMBLE, of Missouri.
WILLIAM. A. HALL, of Missouri.
WILLIAM. G. POMEROY, of Indiana.
JOHN B. HENDERSON, of Missouri.
R. K. WILLIAMS.
ARCHIBALD DIXON, of Kentucky.
F. M. BRISTOW.
JOSHUA F. BELL, of Kentucky.
CHARLES A. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky.
G. W. DUNLAP.
JAMES F. ROBINSON, of Kentucky.
JOHN B. HUSTON, of Kentucky.
ROBERT RICHARDSON.
JOHN CALDWELL, of Tennessee.

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Annex 21 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-21)

The Political Crisis of 1820, 1832, 1847, and 1850 Explained

1820: The Missouri Compromise that allowed

Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state, but forbid slavery above Missouri's southern border in any future states. Eventually nullified by the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act.

1832: The nullification crisis involved a confrontation between South Carolina and the federal government over federal tariffs. South Carolina said they were unconstitutional, and therefore null and void within the sovereign boundaries of South Carolina, and would not enforce them. Presidency Andrew Jackson sent the Army into South Carolina to end the crisis; however, the tariffs were later adjusted to be more reasonable from a Southern point of view.

1847: The Wilmot Proviso was an unsuccessful proposal, in the United States Congress, to ban slavery in territory acquired from Mexico after the Mexican War. It passed the House twice, but failed in the Senate, where the South had greater representation.

1850: A package of five separate bills passed by the United States Congress in September 1850 that defused a political confrontation between slave and free states on the status of territories acquired in the Mexican War. One of them was the Fugitive Slave Law.

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Annex 22 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-22)

Astor House Speech, December 1860, of Senator William H. Seward

New York Times, December 24, 1860

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Mr. EVARTS, my friend, I believe is acting as chairman here, chairman of the Committee, president, or something—I don't exactly understand what all this means. Coming in a stranger, as I do, in the Astor House, I find myself put under arrest, as soon as I get here, and brought down out of my own private room to this place. All I know about myself or you is that I find you here, and Mr. EVARTS with his mallet in his hand—I suppose that means something, that he is presiding officer, or speaker, or something of that kind. Mr. DRAPER has intimated to me that you are all Yankees. I suppose you are. I think likely as not you are; therefore I suppose that I may as well set all doubts about myself at rest, and anticipate all your inquiries. I left Auburn this morning at 9 o'clock, and I got here at rather a late hour, to a late dinner at 9 o'clock. [A Voice—"Did you come by the express train?"] Yes, I came by the express train. Nothing particular happened to me on the way, except, I may as well anticipate the express of next Monday morning, as I did not anticipate the express of last Monday, by saying that I met THURLOW WEED in the car. [Laughter. A Voice—"What was said?"] There the Yankee comes out again. I am not a Yankee. No New England blood flows in my veins. I don't answer impertinent questions. I don't mean to tell what he said to me. I will only tell you what I said to him. That was, that I repudiated all compromises that New York and Pennsylvania can't stand upon. Mr. WEED had been to the State of Illinois. I suppose you would like to know what he learned there, I will give you the best satisfaction I can. He prints a newspaper called the Evening Journal, and he is a man of truth, I believe; if he has a mind to tell what he learned, you can get it from his newspaper. I have somehow got off from the direct course of my argument. I began to tell you about myself, and as somehow or other I have got talking about Mr. WEED, and his journey to Springfield [Illinois], I may as well go on in this singular way. I met the governor coming up to Albany. He did not tell me in so many words, but I have a strong suspicion from something in his appearance and some hints which he dropped, that CHARLES STETSON, of the Astor House would probably be inspector general. [Tremendous laughter and applause.] I told the governor I did not think much of STETSON as a tavern keeper, but as a military officer I thought he had no superior. If it was really so, if it should turn out really so, and that these Southerners should invade our city, I thought he would disarm them of all hostility by bringing them in to a supper at the Astor House, like the one now before me.

Fellow Citizens, these are extraordinary times, and extraordinary events are transpiring in our day. I remember that it was the men of New England,

who lived only two or three times as long as I have lived, not only twice as long as I have lived, but thrice as long as my friend, Mr. GRINNELL, whom I see here. I hope he is as sound in his politics as his brother, MOSES. I remember that these men of New England invented the greatest political discovery of the world—a confederation of republican states in America. The first confederation of republican states in America was the invention of men of New England, for the great discovery after having been in successful operation in the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, and Connecticut and New-Haven, came finally—came afterwards, after having been sanctioned by the wisdom and experience of Dr. FRANKLIN, came ultimately to be adopted by the people of the thirteen British colonies of this continent south of the river, St. Lawrence. It has been reserved for our day and for this very hour to witness an eruption of another kind, of an opposite nature, by a portion of our countrymen residing south of the Potomac. The Yankees invented confederation; the people of South Carolina invented secession. The wisdom of the latter is to be tried by the experience of the former. At first glance, it exhibits this singular anomaly—a state which has, in the Senate of the United States, two seats, a state consisting of 700,000 people of all conditions, and of whom 274,000 are white, having two seats in the Senate of the United States, equal to the representation of any other state in the Union, and having six members in the House of Representatives, each of them paid $3,000 a year out of a treasury to which they contribute a very small part, going out of this Union to stand by itself, and to send to the Congress of the United States three commissioners to stand outside of the bar, and negotiate for their interests, and be paid by themselves, instead of two senators and six representatives in Congress, equal embers with all the representatives in the Confederacy. This is the experiment which is to be tried. Whether Status of North America will find it wise to refuse to occupy seats within the Halls of Congress of the United States, to be paid by the United States for going there, and to exercise the powers conferred upon them as such representatives, or in lieu of that, send commissioners to present their claims, will be seen hereafter. This is the latest political invention of the times. I would not say to you that I do not think it is likely to be followed by many other states on this continent, or to be persevered in long, because it is manifestly very much inferior to the system which already exists. [Laughter.] The state of South Carolina desires to go out of the Union, and just at the moment I am going back to Washington for the purpose of admitting Kansas in, and I venture to say that for every state on this continent which will go out of the Union, there stand ready at least two states on this continent of North America who will be glad to come in and take their places with us. They will do so for this simple reason, that every state on this continent must be a Democratic or a Republican state. You gentlemen from New England don't like to hear the word Democratic always, therefore I use the word Republican. No Republican state on this continent, or on any other, can stand alone; and the reason is a simple one. So much liberty, so much personal independence, so much scope for rivalry and emulation, are too much for any one state, standing singly, to maintain. Therefore it is, as you have seen, that the moment it was thought that there was to be a break in this great national confederacy, you begin to hear at once of secession, not only in South Carolina, but in California, secession in New England, and, last, the secession of New York City and Long Island from the state of New York. [Laughter.] Admit the right to dissolve this American Union, and there is no one state which can stand without it. Renewing perpetually the principles of secession, we shall go on until we are brought into the condition of the states of Central America. No, gentlemen, republican states are like sheaves in the harvest field—put them up singly, and they are liable to be blown down by every gust of wind. Stack them together, and they defy the worst and fiercest storms; and so you have seen that these thirteen republican states fell into conviction, each one, that they could not stand alone, and so the thirteen came together. What under Heaven kept the state of Michigan, the states of Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Louisiana, what kept each of these states from setting up in themselves state independence? Nothing, but that no one could stand alone, and so each claimed the right to be

united to the other Republican states of this continent. So it was with Texas. She was independent. Why did she not remain so? You know how much it tried us to admit her into the Union, but it tried her much harder to stay out. Why is not Kansas content to remain out? Simply because of the sympathy and the interest which makes it needful that all Republican states on this continent shall be one. Let South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, any other state go out, and while she is rushing out, you will see Canada and all the Mexican states rushing in. [Applause.] It is the system discovered by our fathers; it is all concentrated in those three words, "E Pluribus Unum." There is no such thing as one separated from the many in Republican states. [Applause.]

And now, fellow-citizens, I will speak one word concerning the anomalous condition of our affairs, produced by this disposition of some of the American states to secede the Union. It has taken the American people and the world by surprise. Why has it taken them so by surprise? Only because it is unwise and unnatural. It is wise that all the Republican states of this continent should be confederated. It is unwise that any of them should attempt to separate, [applause], and yet it ought not to have taken us by surprise. Whoever could have imagined that a machine so complicated, so vast, no new, so untried as this confederated system of Republican states should be exempt from the common lot of states which have figured in the history of the world? A more complex system of political government was never devised, never conceived among men. How strange it is, how unreasonable it is, that we should be surprised that a pin may drop out of this machinery, and that the wheels should drag, or that the gudgeon shall be worn, until the wheels themselves shall cease to play with their regular activity. What human society, for more than a period of seventy years, was ever exempted from the experience of a necessity of repairing its political system of government? We have tried it in our state. Every state in the Union is just like the federal government. No state is more than seventy years old, and there is not any one state of this Union with a constitution which is more than twenty-five years old—every state has repaired and remodeled its constitution once in every twenty-five years, and it is not certain that any one state can adopt a constitution which will last more than twenty-five years without being repaired and understood. But in our own state the constitution adopted about twenty-five years ago, contains a provision, that next year, without any appeal to the people whatever, a Convention shall come together in the state of New York, to make a new constitution. Is it strange, then, that this complex system of our government should be found to work after the lapse of 70 years a little roughly, and that it refuses that the engineer should look into the various parts of the engine, and see where the gudgeon is worn out, and watch that the main wheel is kept in motion. A child can withdraw a pin from the mightiest engine, and arrest its motion, and the engineer cannot see it when it is being done, but if the engine be rightly devised, and strongly constructed, he has only to see where the pin has been withdrawn and replace it, and the engine will go on more strongly and more vigorously than ever. We are a family of thirty-three states, and next Monday I hope we are to be a family of thirty-four. [Applause.] Would it not be strange if in a family of thirty-four members, there should be, once in the course of a few years, one, or two, or three, or four of the members of the family who would become discontented and wish to withdraw for a while to see how much better they can manage their own fortunes alone. I think nothing strange of that. I only wonder that nobody has ever withdrawn before, to see how much better they could get along on their own hook, than to go along in this plain old-fashioned way under the direction of Uncle Sam. Massachusetts and some of the New England States, they say, when I was a boy, got the same idea of contumacy towards the common parent, and want of affection for the whole family, and they got up the "Hartford Convention." I hope you don't consider that personal. [Laughter.] Well, they say that somebody in Massachusetts, I don't know who, tried it. All that I Know is, that for the first twenty years of my political life, somehow or other, I was held responsible for the Hartford Convention. I have made this singular discovery, that whereas when Massachusetts, or any New England state, threatens to go out of the Union, the Democratic

Party all insist that it is high treason, and ought to be punished by coercion, while, when one of the Southern states gets hold of the same idea, the same party think it excusable, and that it is very doubtful whether they ought not to be helped out of the Union, and be given a good dowry besides. Now, gentlemen, I believe among all the truths, that whether it is Massachusetts or South Carolina, or whether it is New York or Louisiana, it will turn out exactly the same way in every case—that there is no such thing in the book, no such thing in reason, no such thing in philosophy, no such thing in nature, as any state existing on the continent of North America, long out of the United States of America. [Applause.] Don't believe a word of it. I don't believe it for many reasons—some I have named, and for one, I don't see any reason given for it. The best reason I hear, is that the people of some of the Southern states hate us of the free states very badly, and they say we hate them, and that all love is lost between us. I do not believe a word of it. On the other hand, I do know for myself, and for you, that bating some differences of opinion about advantage, and about proscription, and about freedom and slavery, and all that, they are merely family differences to which we do not take any outsiders in any part of the world into our counsel on either side. That there is not a state outside of the American Union that I like half so well as I do the state of South Carolina [prolonged applause], neither England, nor Ireland, nor Scotland, nor France, nor even Turkey, although from Turkey they have sent me some Arabian horses, while from South Carolina they sent me nothing but curses; still, I like South Carolina better than any of them. I do not know but I have a presumption about it, to believe if there was anybody to overhear the state of South Carolina when she is talking to herself, that she would confess she liked me tolerably well; and I am very sure that if anybody was to make a descent upon New York tomorrow, whether LOUIS NAPOLEON, or the Prince of Wales, or his mother, or the emperor of Russia or Austria—if either of them were to make a descent upon the City of New York tomorrow, I believe all the hills of South Carolina would pour forth their population to the rescue of New York [loud and prolonged cheers]. God knows how this may be, or where it may end. I do not pretend to know, I only conjecture; but this I do know, that if any one of these powers were to make a descent upon Charleston and South Carolina, I know who would go to their rescue [cries of "Good, good," and loud cheers]—we all know. Everybody knows that; therefore they do not humbug me with their secession. I do not think they will humbug you, and I do not believe that if they do not humbug you or me, that they will succeed much longer in humbugging themselves. Now fellow citizens, this is the ultimate result of all this business. These states were always intended to remain together. They always shall. Talk of taking one star out from this glorious constellation! It is something which cannot be done. I do not see any fewer stars now than I did last winter; on the contrary, I expect to see more. The question then is, when at this time people are struggling under a delusion that they are getting out of the Union, and going to set up for themselves, what we are to do in order to hold them in. I do not know any better rule than the rule which every good New England man (I suppose, though I have not much acquaintance with New England), every father of a family in New York who is a sensible man (I suppose New England fathers do the same thing), the rule which they exercise. It is this—if a good man wishes to keep his family together it is the easiest thing in the world. When one gets discontented, begins to quarrel, to complain, does his father quarrel with him, tease him, threaten, coerce him? No, that is the way to get rid of a family. But, on the other hand, if you wish to keep them together you have only one thing to do—to be patient, kind, forbearing, and wait until they come to reflect for themselves. The South is to us what the wife is to the husband. I do not know a man in the world who cannot get rid of his wife if he tries to do so. I can put him in the way to do it at once. He has only got two things to do—one is to be unfaithful to her, the other is to be out of temper with her, and she will be glad to leave him. That is the most simple way. I do not know a man on earth—I do not think but that even SOCRATES could have got rid of his wife if he desired to do so, in this way; but if he wished to keep his wife, he must keep his virtue and his temper also. In all this business I propose that we should keep our own virtue, which in politics consists in remembering that men must

differ. That brethren even of the same family must differ, and that if we keep entirely cool, and entirely calm, and entirely kind, a debate will ensue, which will be kind of itself, and it will prove to us very soon that either we are strong, and should make concessions to our offended brothers, or else that we are right and he will acquiesce, and come back into fraternal relations with us. I do not desire to anticipate any questions. We have a great many statesmen who assume to know at once what the South proposes to do; what the government proposes to do; whether they intend to coerce our Southern brethren back into their allegiance. Then they ask us, of course, as they may rightly do, what will be the value of a fraternity which is compulsory. All I have to say on that subject is, that it was so long time ago as in the days of Sir THOMAS MORE, when he made the discovery, and so announced it in his writings, "that there are a great many school-masters, but very few who know how to instruct children, and a great many who know how to whip them." I propose to have no questions on that subject, to hear their complaints, redress them if we can, and expect them to be withdrawn if they are unreasonable. I know that the necessities which created this Union are stronger today than they were when the Union was cemented, and that those necessities are as enduring as the passions of men are short-lived and effervescent. I believe that the cause of secession was as strong on the night of Nov. 6, when the president and vice president were elected, and who were unacceptable to the slave states, as it has been at any time. Some fifty days have now passed, and I believe that every day the sun has set since that time it has set upon mollified passions and prejudices, and if you will only await the time, sixty more suns will shed a brighter light and illuminate a more cheerful atmosphere.

The honorable gentleman was frequently interrupted by cheers and applause, and by every demonstrable evidence of delight; and at the close of his remarks, was greeted with nine cheers, and so many "tigers," the reporter found it impossible to count them. It was not far from Sunday morning when the pleasant party broke up.

* * *

Annex 23 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-23)

State Secession Conventions

Many know that the American Civil War involved a group of slave states seceding from the United States and that they organized the Confederate States of America, which resulted in a war with the non-seceding states. Few know the details of the process used by the slave states to secede. The following is a presentation on that process.

PART I
American Precedent

On February 21, 1778, the Confederated Congress of the United States, operating under the Articles of Confederation, adopted a resolution authorizing a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation to better meet the needs of the states and the national government. As a result, fifty-five delegates, representing all of the states except Rhode Island, met in Philadelphia from May 25 to September 17, 1778. The first order of business was to elect a convention president and then appoint a committee to prepare the rules of the convention. With these steps completed and approved, additional committees were formed to deal with specific subjects and make recommendations to the full convention for discussion and modification. One of the convention's early decisions was to discard the Articles of Confederation entirely and create a new constitution. Once this work was completed, thirty-nine delegates signed the Constitution, then sent it to the Confederated Congress for submission to the states. Each state in turn referred it to a state ratifying convention of delegates, chosen by the voters, which eventually approved the Constitution.

PART II
State Secession Conventions

After the election of Abraham Lincoln in November 1860, the slave states of the lower South

started seceding from the Union. By the end of February 1861, seven states had seceded and formed the Confederate States of America. The mechanism used by all of the states of the lower South to secede was a convention similar to the one that discarded the Articles of Confederation and created the Constitution. While there were slight variations in the systems used by the different states, the basic pattern was for the governor to propose to the state legislature that a convention be called to consider either secession itself or the state's relationship with the federal government. The legislature could support or reject the governor's recommendation, or it could put the decision to the voters of the state. If it approved the recommendation, it would identify what specific issues the convention was to consider or rule on (i.e., give the convention a mandate),[433] set a date for the election of delegates, and set the date and place for the convention's first meeting.

After the statewide election of delegates, the delegates met at the appointed place on the appointed date. As with the earlier mentioned Constitutional Convention, the first order of business was to elect a convention president. This was followed by electing a rules committee to organize rules for the operation of the convention. Once the full convention approved the work of the rules committee, the real work of the convention began. Special committees were organized to prepare reports and recommendations on specified subjects. Those committee reports were then presented to the full convention for discussion, amendments, and a vote. Once all of the separate committee reports were presented and adjudicated by the full convention, a final vote produced the decision of the convention.

Based on the decisions of the convention, its findings either became law at that time, or were submitted to the voters of the state for approval. The state legislature, when directing the formation of a convention, could have specified the decision of the convention needed to be ratified by the voters. If the legislature did not mandate that requirement, it was up to the convention whether to involve the voters in their decision or not.

[433] Put limits on what it could do or rule on.

A key point concerning conventions in general, is that operating within the mandate they receive from the legislature, they had "sovereign powers"[434] above the governor and legislature and were free to do anything within their mandate.[435] In two cases, conventions replaced governors: in Texas, when Governor Sam Houston refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Confederate States of America, and in Missouri, when the convention found Governor Jackson guilty of vacating his office, attempting to carry Missouri out of the Union after the Convention had already decreed Missouri would remain in the Union, and effectively declaring war on the United States by calling for 50,000 volunteers to resist federal authority. The fact that Governor Jackson knew he did not have the authority to change the relationship of Missouri to the United States, which he tried to do, can be seen by the following quote from his proclamation, calling for 50,000 volunteers.

> *In issuing this proclamation, I hold it to be my solemn duty to remind you that Missouri is still one of the United States; that the executive department of the state government does not arrogate to itself the power to disturb that relation; that that power has been wisely vested in*

[434] Sovereign powers refers to dominant power or supreme authority. To have sovereign power is to be beyond the power of others to interfere. In the case of a state, a state convention had authority over the governor and the legislature within its mandate while it was in existence.

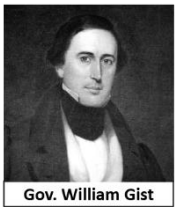
[435] 1. See the *Missouri Democrat* article of February 27, "The Hidden Cost of the Convention," which points out that the secessionists may regret that they forced a convention on the people, as they "have called into existence a power that can easily turn on them and crush them out of political existence. The convention has the power to throw out the whole state legislature, the governor, and to completely reorganize and remodel the constitution of the state." See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#35.1).
2. See the *Missouri Democrat* editorial of February 28, 1861, "Memo to the Convention (Replace the Governor)," which states the convention cannot legally secede, but has the power to replace Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds with provisional officials it appoints, and calls for a new election. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#37).

a convention, which will, at the proper time, express your sovereign will; and that meanwhile, it is your duty to obey all constitutional requirements of the federal government. But it is equally my duty to advise you that your first allegiance is due to your own state, and that you are under no obligation whatever to obey the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington [the Lincoln Administration], or to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its minions in this state [the U.S. Army]. No brave and true-hearted Missourian will obey the one or submit to the other. Rise then and drive out ignominiously the invaders, who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes.[436]

PART III
Three Deep South State Conventions[437]



1. South Carolina


Gov. William Gist


Columbia, South Carolina


South Carolina State Convention

On November 5, 1860, Governor William H. Gist asked the state legislature to remain in session to await the outcome of the national election, so they would be in a position to quickly arrange for a convention if the Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln was elected president. Within a week of the Republican victory, the legislature had adopted an act calling for a state convention. In early December, voters elected convention delegates, and on December 17, the Convention of the People of South Carolina convened. On December 20, an ordinance of secession was adopted without opposition, 169 to 0. The Convention declared the immediate causes of secession as the election of a sectional president hostile to the South, and the final act in a struggle for self-government that the South had been waging for several decades. The citizens of the state were not given an opportunity to vote to approve or disapprove the Convention's findings. Not only was South Carolina the first state to secede, but it sent commissioners to other slave states to encourage them to secede also.

After the first gathering of the Convention adjourned, subject to the call of the convention president, it was called back three times: first, to approve the Confederate Constitution and the elections of Jefferson Davis as president and A. H. Stephens as vice president, then twice more to deal with the military organization of the state and its defense. On September 17, 1862, the South Carolina convention adjourned *sine die*.

2. Louisiana


Gov. Thomas Moore


Baton Rouge, Louisiana


Louisiana State Convention

After the election of Lincoln, Governor Thomas O. Moore called for a special session of the legislature to consider calling for a state convention to consider federal relations. After the legislature convened, they passed a bill calling for a January 7, 1861 election of delegates for a convention to convene on January 23 in Baton Rouge. Bypassing the appointing of a committee to prepare the rules of the convention, the first motion after the election and seating of a president was that a committee be appointed to prepare an ordinance for the withdrawal of the state from the Union. That report was prepared, debated, and approved. On January 26, after a motion that secession not be

[436] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-12).

[437] I am indebted to Ralph A. Wooster, as his book [*The Secession Conventions of the South* (Literary Licensing, LLC, 2011)], has contributed immensely to my understanding of conventions in general, and more specifically, the information presented in Part III of this article.

effective until ratified by the voters was defeated 85 to 45, the ordinance of secession was voted on and passed 113 to 17, where upon the president of the Convention declared "the connection between the State of Louisiana and the federal union dissolved, and that it is a free, sovereign, and independent power."[438]

After the Convention passed the ordinance of secession, it chose representatives to the Convention of the Southern states in Montgomery, Alabama. Once the Montgomery Convention prepared a constitution, the Louisiana Convention voted 74 to 26 not to submit it to the people of Louisiana for ratification, but ratified it itself by a vote of 109 to 7. Afterward, the Convention adjourned on March 26, 1861, *sine die*.

Even though the cotton states used conventions as a means of withdrawing from the Union, not all in the South approved. Below is what was written by a member of the 3rd Louisiana Infantry, who fought on the Confederate side at the battles of Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Hoover's Gap.

> *I had been strongly opposed to secession, and I could scarcely denounce strongly enough the one-sided, unjust, and corrupt means by which the secession of the states was effected; and, though my opinion on that point was still the same, I now share with the large body of loyal, law-abiding and Union-loving people [of Louisiana] in the disgust and contempt justly invoked against the federal government, both under the old and new administration, for the base and deceitful manner in which they had treated the loyal and law-abiding people in the South. For, to say the least of it, they had failed to afford them at the proper time that help and support which was in their power to give. They had, in the most imbecile manner, withdrawn or allowed to be driven from the South every vestige of their authority. They had not in the least way tried to check the actions of the [secession] clique, which had gone through the form of withdrawing the state from the Union and declaring them independent. They had not shown the slightest indication that they would protect and support the law-abiding people of the South in maintaining the Constitution and Union.*[439]

As for the above statement that the federal government failed to afford the large body of loyal, law-abiding and Union-loving people that help and support which was in their power to give, and allowing every vestige of their authority to be withdrawn from the South, that was not the case in Missouri. Congressman Frank P. Blair, Jr. and the Union Safety Committee supported the loyal Unionists' efforts to resist the governor's every effort to carry Missouri out of the Union. Their efforts resulted in the following letter being sent to the Commander, Department of the West in St. Louis.

> *WASHINGTON, May 27, 1861*
>
> *SIR: The President observes with concern that, notwithstanding the pledge of the State authorities to cooperate in preserving peace in Missouri, loyal citizens in great numbers continue to be driven from their homes.*
>
> *It is immaterial whether these outrages continue from inability or indisposition on the part of the state authorities to prevent them. It is enough that they continue to devolve on you the duty of putting a stop to them summarily by the force under your command, to be aided by such troops as you may require from Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois.*
>
> *The professions of loyalty to the Union by the state authorities of Missouri are not to be relied upon. They have already falsified their professions too often, and are too far committed to secession to be entitled to your confidence, and you can only be sure of their*

[438] Ralph A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Literary Licensing, LLC, 2011), p. 111.

[439] William Watson, *Life in the Confederate Army* (Chatman and Hall, London, 1887), p. 122.

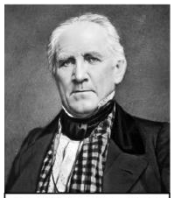
desisting from their wicked purposes when it is out of their power to prosecute them. You will therefore be unceasingly watchful of their movements, and not permit the clamors of their partisans and opponents of the wise measures already taken to prevent you from checking every movement against the government, however disguised, under the pretended state authority.

The authority of the United States is paramount, and whenever it is apparent that a movement, whether by color of state authority or not, is hostile, you will not hesitate to put it down.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant General[440]

3. Texas


Gov. Sam Houston


Austin, Texas


Texas State Convention

After the election of Lincoln, a number of Texans called for a convention, but Governor Sam Houston refused to convene the legislature to consider the matter. Eventually, a group of secession supporters bypassed the governor and the legislature, and called for an election of delegates to a convention.[441]

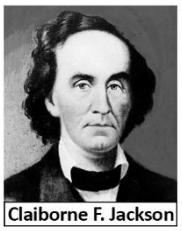
After the elections were held, in an attempt to delegitimize the convention, Governor Houston called a special session of the legislature and recommended the members refuse to recognize the convention. Instead of supporting the governor, the legislature approved the convention, requiring only that its actions be subject to a vote of the people.

On January 28, 1861, the convention convened. On February 1, the convention passed an ordinance of secession by a vote of 166 to 8. By the end of February, the voters concurred with the convention by a vote of 44,317 to 13,020. On March 5, the convention adopted an ordinance uniting Texas with the Confederate States.

When Governor Houston refused to take an oath of allegiance to the new Confederate government, the convention declared his office vacant, and the lieutenant governor replaced him. On March 23, the constitution of the Confederate States was ratified and the convention adjourned *sine die*.



PART IV
Missouri


Claiborne F. Jackson


Jefferson City
(Missouri's Capital)


Missouri State Convention

On January 3, 1861, in his inaugural address, Missouri's new governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson, who had campaigned as a Unionist, called for a convention to determine Missouri's status in the Union. Nineteen days later, a bill was approved by the legislature calling for elections on February 18 to select delegates for a convention to begin on February 28. The legislature mandated that the convention would:

> *consider the then existing relationship between the government of the United States, the people and government of the different states, and the government and people of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the state and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded.* [442]

The governor and the legislature would soon

[440] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-22).

[441] Under the provisions of Article I of the Texas Bill of Rights, the people of Texas had the right to alter, reform, or abolish their form of government.

[442] *Journal and Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention Held at Jefferson City and St. Louis, March 1861.*

regret giving the Convention such sweeping power, as once the Convention convened, it became the sovereign power within the state, and until the Convention itself decided to adjourn for good (*sine die*), the governor and legislature had no power over the Convention while operating within its mandate.

While the legislature did not submit the question of calling a convention to the voters, as Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina did,[443] the Unionists in the legislature were able to force the secessionist members to give the voters an opportunity to approve any decision of the Convention that changed Missouri's relationship with the United States.[444]

The February 18 statewide election of convention delegates produced a surprise for the governor, as not one avowed secessionist candidate was elected, which eventually resulted in the Convention determining by a vote of 98 to 1, that "there is no adequate cause to compel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the federal Union."[445] Then after voting on other issues of interest to the Convention, they created a seven-man standing committee with the power to reconvene if necessary, then adjourned to meet again on the third Monday in December unless called earlier by the Standing Committee.[446] By failing to adjourn *sine die*, the convention maintained its sovereign powers over the governor and legislature. The February 28 article below, from the *Missouri Democrat* newspaper, demonstrates the power of a legally constituted state convention, and shows why Governor Jackson eventually regretted calling for a state convention.



(FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#37)

February 28, 1861

Memo to the Convention

[Replace the Governor]

The Convention, which convenes today in Jefferson City, has full power to repeal the fundamental laws of the state and frame a new constitution. It is the embodiment of the sovereignty of the state, and as such is competent to do everything but the one thing for which it has been summoned, namely, to dissolve our relations with the Union. That is a feat beyond its reach, for the state, on joining the Union, resigned forever the power of doing so except by virtue of a release from the other states. The partnership can only be legitimately dissolved by mutual consent, and in conformity to the prescribed methods.

This being self-evident, two lines of action are open to the Convention, namely, to dissolve itself immediately after organizing, or to proceed by revising the state constitution. The people are willing to accept the immediate dissolution of the Convention as the simplest mode of delivering the state from the false position in which it has been placed by the traitorous machinations of [Governor] Jackson, [Lt. Governor] Reynolds, and the rest of the disunion conspirators.

However, more radical changes are demanded. The Convention would enshrine itself in the hearts of the people by electing from its own members a governor, a lieutenant governor, and secretary of state, of course submitting this as well as its other acts to the popular vote. The public welfare demands something of this kind. There are plenty of good Union Democrats and Bell men in the Convention from whom to choose the occupants of the places so grossly abused by the trio of traitors designated above. We tell the gentlemen of the Convention that they will not only fail to respond to the public desires, but prove themselves unworthy

[443] Initially all three rejected the idea of even having a state convention.
[444] *Ibid.*
[445] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#34.6).
[446] The Standing Committee did reconvene the Convention from July 22-31, and then again on October 10, 1861.

of the grand opportunity thrust upon them if they fail to deliver the state from the traitorous Governor Jackson and his accomplices. If they wish for the blessings of their constituents, or the grateful remembrance of posterity, they will purge the government of disunionists. Their right to do this thing is as legitimate a one as the right of the legislature to mark out a state road or to change the name of an individual. An act of that nature, sanctioned as it would be, throughout every senatorial district, would be in no degree akin to revolution. What would it mean, after all, but asking the people whether they prefer three gentlemen chosen by the Convention as governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state, respectively, to the present occupants of those seats (Jackson, Reynolds, and Massey)? The three latter did not pause to advocate revolution and civil war [when running for office]. The legislature did not even consent to ask the people whether they wanted a convention or not. The Arkansas legislature decided to submit the question of calling a convention to the popular vote; Tennessee and North Carolina did the same thing, and all rejected calling a convention. Kentucky and Maryland refused to entertain the question at all. The Missouri legislature, in contempt of public opinion, and prompted thereto by the governor and his plotting associates, did all it could to precipitate the state into revolution and civil war, for which proceeding, it should be provided with a successor as soon as possible. Perhaps the best way of dealing with the whole business would be to order a state election in August for state officers and members of the General Assembly—the Convention to provide against a gap in continuity during the interval, in the mode which shall appear most practicable. The people of Missouri are not finicky as to means, provided the ends be reached! As long as the depraved politician, Governor Jackson, is removed from office, in compliance with the motto of our state: The welfare of the people is the supreme law.

PART V
2nd Session Missouri Convention
July 22 to July 31, 1861

Even though the State Convention voted to remain in the Union, Governor Jackson and other state officials, through a combination of actions and inaction, clandestinely continued to manipulate affairs to bypass the will of the people and carry Missouri out of the Union. However, on June 11, 1861, at the Planter's House Hotel in St. Louis, General Lyon made it clear that the governor must start complying with the requirements of the Constitution, or as the federal government's representative in Missouri, he would take the actions necessary to bring him into compliance with the law.[447]

After the Governor departed the meeting, he returned to the capital via train, stopping along the route to cut telegraph lines and order bridges to be destroyed. The next morning he issued a proclamation calling for 50,000 volunteers to resist federal authority. Then, three days later, he fled the capital to join his State Guard at Boonville. After his State Guard was defeated by Union forces on May 17, he fled to the far southeast corner of the state, where he attempted to convince Confederate forces to enter Missouri to reestablish him as governor.

After the governor issued his proclamation and fled the capital, the Executive Committee of the State Convention issued a call for the delegates to reconvene on July 22, 1861.

Nine days after the Convention reconvened, it deposed the governor, lt. governor, secretary of state, and all members of the state legislature. It issued six amendments to the state constitution, repealed and abrogated certain laws passed by the legislature, and called for a vote of the people to ratify their actions and elect new state officials to replace those it deposed.

Concerning the May 14, 1861 Military Bill, passed by the deposed legislature "in secret session, contrary to the known wishes of their constituents, in violation of the constitution,"[448] which created the Missouri State Guard,[449] it

[447] For the letter tasking Gen. Lyon with reestablishing the authority of the United States in Missouri, see the sidebar at the end of this annex.

[448] Quoted from the *Journal and Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention held at Jefferson City, July 1861*.

[449] Article 1, Section 10, Clause 2: No state shall, without the consent of Congress …keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with

annulled all commissions or appointments authorized by the repealed Military Bill, and formally disbanded and discharged all soldiers serving in what was formally called the Missouri State Guard.

The following article from the *Missouri Republican* newspaper reflects the attitude of the majority of the voters in Missouri. The *Republican* was a Democratic Party conditional unionist newspaper that endorsed candidate Jackson in his run for governor. Its support was credited with causing his victory over the other three candidates by less than a plurality.


Missouri State Convention


Hamilton R. Gamble

(FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug-Annex-13)

August 1, 1861

The New State Government

Missouri Republican

Extract

Almost universal gratification was expressed yesterday at the result of the labors of the State Convention in the election of Judge Hamilton R. Gamble for provisional governor, Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan County, for lieutenant governor, and Mordecai Oliver, of Greene County, for secretary of state. Every man who has a direct personal interest in the state, who is eager that peace should be restored to us, and that a wise and conservative government should be reestablished, felt relieved when told that Judge Gamble had been placed at the head of public affairs in this trying emergency. As it is well known, he is no politician, he has no political ambition, and if he was drawn from retirement to take part in the deliberations of the Convention months ago, it was because he believed that he had a duty to perform, from which he would not shrink. His election will do more to restore peace to the state than anything that has transpired for a long while, and we congratulate the people upon it.

From this day forward a new and a peaceful policy is inaugurated in Missouri. C. F. Jackson, who has proved himself so dangerous to society and instrumental in bringing civil war and great disasters on the state, is no longer governor. Whatever acts he may do hereafter will be usurpations of office, for which he will be punishable, should he ever get back to the state. All debts contracted by him, or by any of the force under his command in the military department, or for any other purpose, will be illegal and of no value. So, too, the acts of various persons assuming to have military commissions, under authority of various laws passed by the legislature in May last, will be regarded as wholly unauthorized—the laws whereby they hold office having been repealed—and it will be their duty to disband all their forces and to forego all attempts at military organization.

The only lawful governor of Missouri is Governor Gamble, and no commissions issued to military officers by virtue of the law to "provide for the organization, government and support of the military forces of the state of Missouri, approved May 14th, 1861," can hereafter have any effect. No military company can be organized under that law, and if it is done, a heavy responsibility rests upon those concerned in it. Reasonable men, good citizens in every quarter, will see at once the propriety of discontinuing all attempts at organization under this law, and when this is abandoned, the state will be at peace.

Touching the amendments submitted to the people for their consideration in November next, we have no doubt of their adoption. The People desire peace. They will have it. They see in the propositions before them the certainty of accomplishing this end, and they will ratify and confirm them.

another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

***1861 Missouri Speaks,* Series 2, Vol. 2,**
(FLP: Ser 2PS-May#135)
Commander Department of the West
St. Louis, Missouri
May 27, 1861

SIR: The president observes with concern that, notwithstanding the pledge of the state authorities to co-operate in preserving peace in Missouri, loyal citizens in great numbers continue to be driven from their homes. It is immaterial whether these outrages continue from inability or indisposition on the part of the state authorities to prevent them. It is enough that they continue to devolve on you the duty of putting a stop to them summarily by the force under your command, to be aided by such troops as you may require from Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois.

The professions of loyalty to the Union by the state authorities of Missouri are not to be relied upon. They have already falsified their professions too often, and are too far committed to secession to be submitted to your confidence, and you can only be sure of their desisting from their wicked purposes when it is out of their power to prosecute them. You will therefore be unceasingly watchful of their movements and not permit the clamors of their partisans and opponents of the wise measures already taken to prevent you from checking every movement against the government, however disguised, under the pretended state authority. The authority of the United States is paramount, and whenever it is apparent that a movement, whether by the color of state authority or not, is hostile, you will not hesitate to put it down.

L. Thomas
Adjutant-General
Washington

* * *

Annex 24 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-24)

Governor-elect Jackson *to* Shields[450]

January 1, 1861

O.R., IV, 1:26-28 Enclosure No. 4

MY DEAR SHIELDS: I observed in the last *Expositor* a call for a meeting, to take place in Lexington [Lafayette County] on the 10th of this month, to consider the course the Southern people should pursue under the menaces and threats of Black Republicanism.[451] From the free and outspoken terms in which this call is made, and the unqualified language used in setting forth the objects of the meeting, those of us at a distance cannot but infer that the good people of "old La Fayette" are determined to assert the rights which belong to them under the Constitution and set themselves right before the world. I rejoice to see that the men of all parties have freely signed this call, and I trust in God they will have the metal and the nerve about them when they shall assemble together to look all impending danger squarely in the face, and firmly but respectfully declare to the world where they will be found in the fearful crisis which now overhangs our common country.

The time has come, in my judgment, when a settlement, to be of any value, must be full, complete, and final, and expressed in such terms that no one can doubt the exact meaning of the settlement. In the call for your meeting, you have declared your purpose to demand an "unconditional repeal" of all the personal-liberty laws which have been passed by the free states. This is a step, I think, well taken, and leads in the right direction. But does it go far enough? Does it reach the heart of the disease?

Nothing short of the most positive and binding obligations would I accept in the proposed settlement. Suppose those offending states should agree to repeal their odious enactments, and should actually do it, may they not re-enact them the year following? They have already violated one bargain, under the pretense of construing it differently from us. In making the next agreement, let it be made as plain that the wayfaring man,

[450] For more on the same topic, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-3).

[451] Black Republicanism: a contemptuous label used to emphasize the Republican Party's anti-slavery leanings.

though in a gallop, cannot mistake its meaning. You know the Constitution has not the word slave or slavery in it. Our fathers, who made it, were, in reference to this subject, possessed of a little mock modesty, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, they were a little too mealy-mouthed to speak out "in meeting" fully what they meant; yet the abolitionists and Black Republicans are beginning to deny its true intent and meaning. You know this is so; every man knows it.

Should we, then, accept anything less than an amendment to the Constitution setting forth in the plainest terms the exact agreement entered into? I do not know that we should ask this by way of amendment, but rather as an explanation of the true meaning of the Constitution. We should also require a proper penalty of every state that has failed to comply in good faith with the Constitution and laws upon this subject. Each State that permits its citizens, in the way of armed mobs or otherwise, to obstruct the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law,[452] should be held responsible to the owner of the slave for all damages and costs in the case. It has occurred to my mind that we should demand this or something like it. I will not differ with friends in the matter of detail or mere form of the thing; so I get the substance I should feel satisfied.

Some of the Union savers and some of our more timorous friends are insisting that we must wait yet a while longer, until Lincoln shall commit some "overt act." They tell us his election is no good cause for secession. I agree that the mere form or manner of Lincoln's election does not furnish good and sufficient grounds for secession; but when we consider that Lincoln is the representative man of the Black Republican party, that he was taken up by the Chicago convention and afterward elected by his party, solely because he was the author of the declaration that "this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free," I ask if his election under these circumstances is not committing the "overt act. "

Can we regard it as anything less than a declaration of war upon the whole slave property of all the southern states? Is it not a moral dissolution of the Union, a virtual disruption of the government? For myself I cannot but regard the election of Lincoln as having brought to a focus all the threats and agitations of the last thirty years; as severing the political ties which have held together the people of the northern and southern states, as alienating their affections and placing them, to a great extent, in the position of two opposing armies, standing in hostile array to each other. But, my dear sir, do not understand me as undertaking to dictate what should be done. I simply took up my pen, on reading your call for a meeting, to say to you that you have my hearty approval and warmest sympathies in this movement. We shall hold a meeting in Saline [County] on the 14th and would be glad to have you with us if it would not put you to too much trouble. This is all I intended to say in the outset, but as I have a little space, I will add a word more. I think the people of each southern state should hold conventions at once, and these conventions should appoint delegates to a general convention of all the Southern states, where they could all agree on what ought to be demanded, and that all might act in concert in carrying out the measures and policy agreed upon. Had I been acting governor of the state, I should have called the legislature together before now in order that they might consider the question of calling a convention, and at the same time, if thought proper, to dispatch a commissioner to South Carolina, Georgia, &, asking them, as friends, not to go out of the Union by any hasty step, but remain with us and meet us in convention, and if go, we must, let us all go out together. Let us exhaust all the means in our power to maintain our rights in the Union; let us preserve the government if possibly in our power; but if, after having tried all the remedies within our grasp, these should fail, as I fear they will, then I say, let us dissolve the connection and maintain the rights which belong to us at all hazards and to the last extremity. In my arguments upon this subject, I have thought it a waste of words and time to discuss the abstract right of secession. To us it does not matter whether it be a constitutional remedy or

[452] The fugitive slave law was passed by Congress as a part of the *Compromise of 1850*. It required that all runaway slaves were, upon their capture, to be returned to their owners and that citizens of free states had to cooperate with this law.

not. What right has the Black Republican or his allies to read us lectures on constitutional rights after having violated with impunity the plainest provisions of the Constitution for more than thirty years? I pray that our friends may not be betrayed into any rash acts or measures. Let there be no threats, no bravado, no extravagant boasting, but firmly and determinedly let us take our position in the right and stand by it to the last.

C. F. JACKSON[453]

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Annex 25 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-25)

Gen. Harney's Report to the War Dept. on Montgomery's Raid in Kansas

Missouri Republican, published January 1, 1861

To the Editor of the Republican:

Sir: Publication having been made in several newspapers of the report of Gen. Harney to the War Department, on the Montgomery[454] raid in Kansas, which published report contains a sentence not to be found in the report of General Harney, I send you a verbatim copy of the original, to which I ask your attention.

You will perceive that in the published report, the words *"a copy of which have been published on the Black Republican papers,"* appear. These words do not appear in Gen. Harney's report, but are substituted for the following: *"a copy of which may be found in the accompanying newspaper clip."*

General Harney, in his report, does not even throw out an insinuation that Montgomery and his men are Republicans, or in any way allied with them; but distinctly characterizes them as abolitionists.

Whatever may be General Harney's political or party preference, he at least never used the slang phrase "Black Republican" in an official report, and the high-handed outrage committed by some newspaper correspondence at Washington, in thus changing the very letter of the report, cannot be too severely censured.

VERITAS.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
ST. LOUIS, MO., Dec. 17, 1860.

SIR: I have the honor to report, for the information of the War Department, that as soon as the civil authorities could procure writs for the apprehension of Montgomery and others of his band, I ordered Capt. Barry'S command, two companies of artillery mounted as cavalry, to proceed with the United States Deputy Marshal Campbell, to Mound City, where the band was thought to be, to make the arrests. This was on the 6th of this month, the command from Fort Riley having arrived there the day before.

On arrival of the marshal, he proceeded at once to make search for the offenders, but they were nowhere to be found. Supported by a company of dragoons, under Capt. Steele, he continued the search until a late hour of the night, but every place visited was found deserted. The next morning he visited the house of Montgomery, and found only four women and a son of Montgomery. This house, known as Montgomery's Fort, is a double house, built of heavy hewn logs, fitting close together, except at about the height of a man's shoulder, there is an opening of about two inches all around. The only things of note in the house, except its filth, was two empty Sharp's rifle boxes.

On the 8th, the marshal having reported to Major Wessells that he deemed [Montgomery] out of his house and would discontinue the search, the band having scattered, I directed the artillery to return to Fort Leavenworth, the infantry to remain at Mound City and the dragoons to take post at Fort Scott. I consider this force necessary for the

[453] Claiborne F. Jackson campaigned for governor of Missouri as a Douglas Democrat on an anti-secession platform. He was elected by only 47% of the vote. His opponent, Sample Orr, a previously unknown political entity, received 42%. Jackson was sworn in as Missouri's 15th governor on January 3, 1861.

[454] James Montgomery believed in destroying the South with "fire and sword." He was known for his raids, along with other militants, on pro-slavery settlements in Kansas. For more information on Montgomery, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.3.1).

protection of the citizens, and to assist the civil authorities whenever called upon in arresting the offenders.

I have determined, on account of the expense of maintaining so large a force in that part of the territory, to reduce it to one company of infantry, and have therefore directed Major Wessells to return at once to Fort Riley [Kansas] with his company. Captain Lyon is ordered to relieve the squadron of dragoons at Fort Scott [Kansas] as soon as the payments on the Miami Indian Reserve, which he has been ordered to attend with his company, are completed. The dragoons will then return to Fort Riley.

I believe that Montgomery's band is fully as large as represented to be; that they are sworn to protect each other by perjury, assassination, and in every way possible. Their object is, as declared publicly by themselves, to protect fugitive slaves in the territory, to assist them to run away whenever opportunity offers, [which includes raids into Missouri to free them, then] "taking them East and receiving sixty dollars per head," and to drive out of the territory all who oppose them in so doing. A large portion of the population on the border either belong to this organization or sympathize with them, and those who do not, dare not oppose them or give information concerning them. I am satisfied that the greater part, if not all of the donations which are sent to sufferers in Kansas, goes into the hands of this band, and the greater potion is perverted from the use intended by purchasing arms and munitions of war for carrying out their plans. It would take a large force to thoroughly break up this band.

Montgomery has a regularly organized band of about 60 men, who receive $10 per month, besides a portion of the robberies, etc., and also spies and runners all over the country, who give him timely notice of any movements set on foot against him. The day before the troops reached Mound City, Montgomery's men, to the number of between 400 and 500, assembled and passed resolutions, *a copy of which may be found in the accompanying newspaper clip*. I think the cheapest and best way to catch Montgomery and his party will be to furnish the governor with funds, and let him do it his own way. Believing that I could render no more service by remaining at Fort Scott, I determined to return to my headquarters in this city [St. Louis]. I accordingly left Fort Scott on the morning of the 11th, and arrived here on Saturday evening last, the 15th of this month.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Brig.-Gen. Comd'g.

Col. SAMUEL COOPER,
Adjutant General U.S.A., Washington, D.C.
Headquarters Department of the West,
St. Louis, Mo., December 31, 1860.
(Official)

S. WILLIAMS,
Assistant Adjutant General.

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Annex 26 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-26)

A Working Man's Response to Criticism of Frank Blair's Speech

(Letter to the Editors)

Missouri Democrat, published January 15, 1861

*C*omments on a *Missouri Republican* letter-to-the-editors from: St. Louis.[455]

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#31.2)

The suffrage is both "conditional and qualified." The condition is that the voter must vote, if he votes at all, for a slaveholder for all of the important offices; and the "qualification" is that the candidate must have the requisite amount of property to make him eligible to those offices.

Again, it is known of all men that the people of South Carolina do not elect their governor or presidential electors by a direct vote. These are elected by the legislature, and the members of the legislature are elected in the "conditional and qualified" manner above described. There is not a

[455] See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-19)

monarchy in Europe in which the elective franchise is enjoyed at all by the people where suffrage is burdened with more restrictions and "conditions" than in this pattern democratic state of South Carolina. And I undertake to say that she is today, and ever has been, more of a monarchy than a democratic republic. The government of the state is a mean and exacting aristocracy, and the common people enjoy less real liberty than they do in Great Britain or Germany. Their ancestors were Tories or Royalists in our revolutions, and the present governing class has abated not one jot of their original hate of republican institutions. Their pretensions to democratic government is solemn mockery, and their vaunted republicanism is brass-fronted impudence. Today the press, the guardian of republican liberty, is subsidized and trammeled as much as it is in Austria, and the liberty of speech is smothered with worse than French despotism.

This, then, is the model democratic state that "St. Louis" would commend to the laboring men of Missouri. Those petty despots of South Carolina are the "pattern saints" that he would have us follow. Her constitution, which is an eternal barrier to the promotion of her poor people, is held up to us as the political gospel of this model Democrat—"St. Louis." This flower of secession would have us believe that all the wisdom and patriotism of this generation resided in the bosoms of the South Carolina traitors, and her black palmetto ensign[456] is our only protection. He does not "expect to reach or influence the course of Mr. Blair," but his denunciations are directed to the working men of this city, whom he does expect to influence. And in closing, I would borrow his eloquent farewell, and ask "the people of St. Louis before God, and in the light of their own consciences, who has brought upon the country her present distress? Who has impaired the value of the property and commerce of the country to the amount of four hundred millions of dollars, in less than four months? Who has sent home to their starving families, each night, millions of honest working men? Who has taken bread from their mouths and hope from their hearts? Who has broken the bands of Union, which cemented together one fraternal government? Who holds before you fancy pictures of carnage and desolation? Who has shed a gloom upon the country like the black wing of the angel of death? You are bound to answer in truth," *not* the Republican Party as "St. Louis" tells you, but the so-called Democratic Party has wrought all this destructive mischief, of which, no doubt, "St. Louis" "is a leader and a chief." Yes, fellow citizens, every particle of this "mischief" so graphically painted by this apostle of secession, has been "wrought" by the leaders of the Democratic Party of this nation. And, having been tried by a competent jury, the people, and condemned to banishment from the power they have used so long to your injury, they turn around with the audacity of a condemned felon that sees no escape from the gallows, and charge the jury with the crimes for which they are convicted. No, I say boldly, and history is my witness, there is not a crime in the catalogue that this same vaunting Democratic Party has not committed in the last eight years. Solemn compacts broken; the plains of Kansas drenched in blood; treaties violated; piracy encouraged; foreign invasion defended, and the people's money, stolen by the million, are but a few counts in the indictment upon which this political monster has been found guilty. And after having been condemned to merited death, the leaders of that party have sworn vengeance on the Union that will tolerate their rule no longer, and they are now at work pulling down the fairest governmental fabric ever reared by the hand of man. And because our country is suffering from their vindictive assaults, and every material interest is being sacrificed to its fury, the aiders and abettors of shameless treason charge it all upon a party that never held power and are only guilty of opinions adverse to theft, robbery, and secession. Men of St. Louis, this is the unblushing depravity that now stamps that party that appeals to you again to raise it to power in this city, and put into its hands the means by which it can destroy the city, as it has well-nigh destroyed the nation. But "be not deceived, justice is not mocked." "Whatsoever ye sow, that shall ye also reap" If you sow modern, sham democracy, you will certainly reap secession, treason and rebellion, and the multiplied evils that follow in their train. But

[456] The flag of South Carolina depicts a palmetto under the crescent moon. For an image of the flag, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29).

arise in your majesty and might; and spurn the vile serpent that would coil itself about you under the guise of harmless innocence, and declare yourselves men! Free Men! Union Men! who "know your rights, and knowing dare maintain."

Sumpter.

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Annex 27 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-27)

DELETED

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Annex 28 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-28)

DELETED

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Annex 29 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-29)

Unconditional Union Meeting in St. Louis

Missouri Democrat, published February 7, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#10.2)

Hon. Frank P. Blair, Jr., was loudly called for and took the stand amid loud applause. He said that it was probably understood by this time that he was an Unconditional Union man now. He intended to stay in the Union no matter who goes out, and to stay in St. Louis and be in the Union likewise. He had only to say in regard to this ticket, that all he had desired was that there should be a proper representation of all parties in this city who were unconditionally in favor of the Union. That was the only test of fairness in the action of the Committee, that they would yield a representation to different parties, provided they were in favor of the Union, without the addition or subtraction of a letter. He believed that the Committee had succeeded in doing this, and that their intention was right. They had done as well as any other twenty-five men in the city could have done, and he wanted it understood he was for the ticket [applause], as it stands. [Applause.] I believe most of us could or would suggest names we would like to have on the ticket, but with all fairness and candor, he believed it was a good ticket, and he would defend it everywhere with all his might. But it needed no defense—all that was left to be said was for the individuals themselves to come out boldly and unequivocally and say that they are unconditionally for the Union, and every man of them will be elected, and no man, who is not, will be—that's all the assurance we want about these names. [Applause.] Now is not the time to canvass names or to arouse feelings about this or that name. He would like to see this ticket receive 10,000 majority in this county. Give it that number, and the state can't go out. Such a majority will be a notice to the state and the world that St. Louis is not going out, and the state can't go out without this city any more than a man can walk without his head. For his part, he was not only unwilling to go out himself, but would prevent anybody else from going out. There was a deal of sickly sentiment prevailing just now about coercion and fighting for the Union. Men stand by and see their sub-treasuries robbed, the United States property seized and flag trampled on, and yet when it is proposed to stop this thing, there are some who affect a horror of coercion. We didn't buy Louisiana of Bonaparte to let those fellows run off with it, nor did we conquer South Carolina from the British and Tories to let secessionists, who, by their own confession, have been meditating treason for thirty years, tear her asunder from the Union.

These secessionists have shown more discretion, however, in their frenzy than was to have been expected. They seized empty forts and full treasuries instead of empty treasuries and armed forts. I should argue from this that these fellows are better at stealing than fighting. I am for maintaining the honor of the flag, the honor of the

nation, and the integrity of the Union throughout all its limits. Let the traitors go if they wish, we shall be clearer and better by the loss; but we will not let them take away a single speck of the nation's soil—not as much as they can carry away under their dirty fingernails.

A voice—What about Wendell Phillips?[457]

Mr. Blair—Well, he's about on a par with Yancey. They are both on the same platform. This question must be met here in St. Louis as they become patriots. Where do we find our enemies but in the federal offices. The ranks of the Minute Men are recruited from the Custom House. There was one man at Jefferson City who was born in South Carolina and had been transplanted to Missouri to propagate treason in our midst. He urged his friends to go hence to work for the ticket selected by this meeting and give it not one vote less than 10,000 majority.

Rufus K. Sanders was called up, and responded. He said that only to be called on by such a meeting as this was an endorsement of his Unconditional Unionism.

The Chair stated that although the motion to reconsider the vote to adopt these names one by one had been laid on the table, still he had been advised by competent authority that it was in his power to put the question again. He thought that after all these speeches, it was due that the sense of the meeting should be taken again.

Mr. J. R. Boggs said that as he made the original motion for the purpose of drawing out information regarding all the names upon it, and that information had been elicited, he would now withdraw it. [Applause]

Mr. Robert White defended the ticket, and hoped every man present would give up his party and personal prejudices, and go in for the whole ticket with his heart and soul. When he heard Mr. Blair's remarks, he believed they emanated from Mr. Blair as the individual, and not as Mr. Blair the partisan.

The chair put the vote on the adoption of the ticket, when it was carried in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority.

Three cheers were then given for the whole ticket.

On motion, the same committee that reported the ticket was authorized to fill vacancies and to be continued as an executive committee.

The meeting then adjourned in perfectly good order, and with an apparent resolution to elect every man on the ticket by a big majority.

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Annex 30 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-30)

The Effect of Secession on Workingmen

Missouri Republican, published February 1, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.3)

Secede this year and join a southern confederacy, and you drive out thousands that are now in the state, and close our workshops, and extinguish our already too few furnaces. Next year, secede from your Southern union, to which you will be less closely attached than the present, and you complete the work of depopulation, and throw away fifty years of improvement. This result is sure to follow; not so much from a repugnance to your peculiar institution, to save which you secede now, but from an utter want of protection to all interests, without which there can be no progress. Secession will keep out emigration from the Northern free states, and the slave states have no emigration to spare you. Then what is secession but a total bar to emigration?

Population and Manufactures

are what we now need in Missouri, and secession is the very way not to get them. Population begets manufacturing; manufacturing begets wealth; wealth encourages enterprise; enterprise ensures development; development secures intelligence, power and respect; and the whole makes up the sum of human contentment and happiness. This measure of greatness is our lot in the Union. But out of it, we are prey to ambition, the victims of

[457] Wendell Phillips, a well-known orator, was a long-time abolitionist and member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as an early advocate of women's rights.

contending factions, and the galling chain of despotism is the result. What will population do for Missouri? Every hundred families that settle upon our soil and become producers, are a business insurance policy to our merchants and manufacturers. They must have their sugar, coffee, tea, and other groceries. They must have several hundred pairs of boots and shoes, pants, coats, vests, hats, caps, shawls, bonnets, and a general assortment of dry goods. They must have a hundred stoves, a hundred plows, and a hundred each of every implement of husbandry, and Mother Earth yields her wealth, from which the mechanic, the merchant, the manufacturer reap their golden harvest, and look up and thank God that they live in a land where labor and industry are amply rewarded. Add another hundred families to our industrious population, and you but repeat the routine of production, demand, supply, and reward, until the brightest dreams of anticipated material progress are lost in full realization. Secede from the Union, and population will fly from us as from an approaching pestilence. Commerce will die. Manufacturing, the source of employment and bread of our thousands of noble-hearted mechanics, will breathe its last. And the very fountains of wealth and improvement will dry up. Our mines of hidden millions of undeveloped treasures will slumber in their beds of nature, and our capitalists can pick their teeth in utter despair upon the highest knobs of our iron mountains, amid the silence of death. No matter for the loud hosannas now being sung by the disunionists to the glories of a southern confederacy; secession from the Union is death to Missouri. What have the sons of Missouri done to merit this capital punishment? What their crime that they must be hung upon the barren tree of secession? But if we vote for secession, no soul can raise its voice to the All-Powerful God to spare us; but the dark doom that awaits us will be the justly merited reward of our folly.

Capital and Labor Must Unite

In this contest, "capital and labor are a unit against secession," if they but know their true interests. No sane man who can boast a thousand dollars' worth of property can see anything but bankruptcy in secession. The more he has to lose, and with secession, the millionaire of today is a beggar tomorrow. Taxations, proscription, and confiscation are the desperate remedies the disunionists prescribe for our imaginary disease in the Union. The history of the states that have seceded proves this. What else, then, awaits the capitalist of Missouri but the same fate that has befallen those of other seceding states? Then what object can men of wealth have in voting for secession? As for labor, God help it if secession is to be our doom! Commerce ruined, manufacturing destroyed, capital confiscated, and trade annihilated; what but utter despair stares us in the face? You men of wealth who have spent your best days in accumulation of a fortune; and you men of toil whose capital is in your labor; in God's name let me entreat you to strike hands in this contest, and save our state from the impending blow of secession. With disunion, the wealthiest go bankrupt to bed, and the poorest are driven into merciless beggary. The cause of our country is the cause of all, and with its destruction perish the hopes of millions forever. Had I the eloquence of an angel, and the voice of an earthquake, I would appeal to make common cause against this common foe, secession. Let me say in particular to workingmen—know your friends!

Workingmen: Know Your Friends!

Be not blinded by party, or entrapped by prejudices. No man that is not an Unconditional Union man should receive your support. This glorious old Union, as it is, is good enough for us. Spurn the candidate for the convention that will not pledge unqualified fidelity to the Union under the present Constitution. The election of a Union convention for Missouri is our only hope. Ifs and buts will ruin us. Conditions now mean secession in the Convention. Candidates with tails are disunion wolves that would devour us and ruin our country. This is no party contest, and the men who tell you it is, deceive you to your own destruction. Let us arouse, then, and meet fearlessly the enemies of our liberties; and paralyzed by the parricidal arm that is raised to destroy this Union. —Paul I.

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Annex 31 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-31)

Disunion Plot Progresses—Military Bill Proposed

Missouri Democrat, published February 2, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#3)

The new systems is to be placed under the sanction of contemptible, treasonable oaths, which it would be damnable to take and more damnable to keep. We know all this reads like the indistinct recollections of a dream, but it is, in fact, no other than the deliberate plan of men who, though undoubtedly mad, have method in their madness, and who by the destructive association of factions, predominate in the state government, and in one branch at least of the state legislature.

The first step in the direction of providing ways and means for this projected military despotism—this rate of bullets and bayonets—is a proposition to confiscate one-fifth of the entire revenue of the state. The second step would be to confiscate the remaining two-fifths, or to levy forced loans. Indeed, a resort to the latter expedient would be inevitable, sooner or later. The bank bill, and the bill to repeal the mill tax are parts of the same scheme for establishing a war treasury. The [St. Louis] *Bulletin*, the disunion organ, supports both measures, and the former on avowedly revolutionary grounds. To complete the circle, a stay law will be introduced at an early day, and uses the work of confiscation, and legalized robbery will be inaugurated in three distinct forms.

Are the banks participators in the plot? Are the money changers bartering their allegiance for the privilege of swindling the people according to law? One of the reported features of the bill—that which dooms the unwilling conscript to a fine of $150—is so odious, that we refuse to credit its authenticity. But all the others are intelligible enough. The common schools of St. Louis are to be closed in order that the revenue which supports them may be devoted to the maintenance of an armed propaganda of treason. The wealth, as well as the reputation of the state, the educational system of the poor, and the energies of sturdy labor are all to be offered as holocausts on the altar of rebellion. The credit of the state is all but ruined already by the conduct of Governor Jackson and his confederates. Missouri bonds are no longer considered safe security by the banks and state government of Illinois. The currency which was issued on these bonds is disappearing at the rate of a hundred thousand dollars a week. The banks themselves are not less solicitous to retire it than the state auditor. Nor is this the only movement in Illinois resulting from the action of our state functionaries. We learn on good authority, that large numbers of migrants from the interior of Missouri are arriving in that state, there driven by the threats of Minute Men[458] and persons of that description. We have often dwelt upon the phenomena of Missouri's unparalleled growth, but we greatly fear the wicked folly of the secession faction has robbed us of that theme for some time—that the state will recover either in one or two years from the blighting effects of the disunion agitation. Four thousand men, skilled in the varied forms of industry, and yet walking the streets of St. Louis in search of employment, attest the true character of the secession movement, in its local aspect. Is this multitude to suffer because a few slaves make their escape to Canada, or because the free states refused, just as Missouri did, to vote for the Breckinridge platform?[459] When the unemployed begin to put these questions to themselves, fierce judgments will be launched at the rebellious route.

If the plans of the disunionists be carried out, or only partially carried out, the plowshare of ruin will pass over the state. We do not imagine that these men love evil for its own sake. They are the victims of a horrible infatuation, like that which prompts the person who stands on the edge of a

[458] See Essential Information #5, "Minute Men" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#21.1).

[459] The Breckinridge platform was the Southern Democrat, pro-secession party, in favor of extending slavery into the territories.

precipice to fling himself into the abyss below. Can anything be more indicative of an ungoverned fancy and an enslaved judgment than their constant exclamation, we either must go with the North or the South? They seem to be incapable of contemplating Missouri in her individuality, of abstracting her from the other states. They never seem to think that she should be true to herself as the first duty. Could the idea take root in their minds that the state whose policy it is to follow another is necessarily without dignity or respect, the secession excitement would soon subside, for the secessionists would have no stomach for a contest in which victory would be the consummation of their disgrace.

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Annex 32 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-32)

Compromise—The Border States and the Union

Missouri Democrat, published February 8, 1861, reprinted from New York Times of January 28

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#8)

It destroys the very essence and life of all government—loyalty to the civil compact, fidelity to obligations expressed or implied. It strikes at the root of the essential principle which lies at the foundation of our government, that namely which gives to the will of the constitutional majority of the people of the United States, expressed through prescribed forms and exercised through defined and strictly guarded channels and departments of power, the supreme obligation of law. This is a matter which cannot be compromised. If we are to preserve the Union, only on condition that it may be destroyed at the will or caprice of any state, then it is not worth preserving. It ceases to be a government, for it ceases to have authority. It may stand today, but it may be overthrown tomorrow. It no longer commands respect, at home or abroad. Loyalty becomes a word without meaning, because the sentiment which it represents is without an object. We exchanged that patriotic impulse, that sacred fire of love to our country, which is the fountain and the life of all heroism, for a hesitating calculation of shifting advantage. The citizen no longer strides forward on the high road to which his country calls him. He gropes for the by-ways to which his country calls him. He gropes for the by-ways to which selfish and local profit point.

The senators and congressmen of Virginia have addressed to the people of their state a letter, advising them to leave the Union, as the only means of "preserving the hope of reconstructing" it. They are to go out, in order to be bribed back. But the very fact of their going out throws away everything of value which they have to sell.

We want Virginia in the Union because of the loyalty, the fidelity, the conservative power which she will represent and illustrate. We deprecate her secession, not because of the physical power, the commercial advantages, the tangible values she will take with her, but because her leaving will destroy the principle, the authority, the governmental and ideal integrity of the Union, which her great men in early days did so much to create and impress with the perennial majesty of their own unapproachable characters. If she leaves the Union, she asserts thereby the right of secession; and that right thenceforward must be an integral, essential principle in any Union to which she may become a party. If our Union is to be "reconstructed" after that event, under her patronage, it must have this snake forever at its heart, within daily and hourly reach of its life. Such a Union, thus menaced, thus poisoned, we must frankly say, we do not desire. For it would give us nothing that makes the government valuable or useful. It would secure us nothing but the privilege of living—until some new pride should be demanded the privileges of living longer. If Congress were to adopt the Crittenden Compromise[460] tomorrow, and the border states

[460] The Crittenden Compromise called for six constitutional amendments and four congressional resolutions to mollify secessionists. It was popular among Southern members of the Senate but unacceptable to those who opposed the expansion of slavery beyond the

were to preserve the Union in return, two, five or ten years from then, they might renew the experiment and plead this precedent as conclusive for its success. Concession on such conditions, which involve such surrenders, become, from the very nature of the case, only provocations and motives for new demands.

The border states, beyond all question, have it in their power to save the Union from the fearful peril which threatens its destruction. They can earn for themselves such a position of commanding influence in the national councils, such a place on the page of history as few states have ever had an opportunity to achieve. But they must not suffer their spirit to fall below the dignity of the occasion, or the loyalty which it requires. They must not shatter the vase which they seek to preserve. They must not cheapen the Union which they hope to save. Rather let them magnify its value if they would magnify the estimate of their own service in securing its perpetuity.

We have more than once declared our belief that if the border states would plant themselves firmly and immovably upon the Constitution and in support of the Union, they would secure easily from the North whatever concessions their own safety, and the utmost stretch of right and of justice in their favor, might require. The North hesitates, not because it is hostile to the South, but because it is loyal to the Union. It cannot, and it will not, make concession demanded as a price for doing what no man and no state can refuse to do without incurring the blackest moral guilt, and which may be undone whenever the process may be profitably renewed. States that secede today for one reason, and are bought back, may secede tomorrow for no reason except to be bought back again. We do not mean by this any imputation upon which the honor or good faith of Virginia, or Maryland, or Kentucky, or any intimation that they seek to thus drive a thriving trade in the loyalty and forbearance of the Northern states. But they threaten to become endorsers and partners with states that will. There is no extremity or disloyal baseness from which Florida and Mississippi and Texas (if she secedes) would shrink for the sake of achieving a temporary and selfish advantage at the cost of their sister states. The border states owe it to themselves, first to brand the infamous conduct with which the brief career of secession has already defaced the fair record of American history, instead of giving it their sanction and laying the basis for its chronic repetition. Then let them proclaim their attachment to the Union, their devotion to the Constitution, and their determination to uphold and defend them as the guardian of our liberties and the guarantees of our common rights, and they will have laid a foundation on which compromises and concessions can be made, that will give stability to our national greatness and glory, instead of surrendering both to the whim or the greed of the least honorable and the least conscientious members of the confederacy.

What we ask of the border states is that they shall show some love for the Union, on their own part, as the only possible justification for the concessions which they demand on ours, as essential to its preservation. Why do they want the Union saved? Do they want it saved at all? Have they any feeling of respect and reverence for it, any towards it, any convictions that it is essential to their well-being? If they have, let them declare it. If they have not, why do they ask us to save it? Their attitude and the tone they assume carries the idea that the Union has no value to them, that it exists solely for the advantage of the North, and that they confer upon the North a very great favor by consenting to let us save it for the present on certain conditions, which they prescribe. They must understand that this is offensive to Northern sentiment, that it alienates rather than conciliates. The recent Union speeches of Southern men in Congress (the speeches of Millson and Clemens, of Etheridge and Nelson), the action of Maryland and Kentucky in declining to join the seceding states, have done more to create a feeling in the North of kindly regard for the South and a disposition to make any and every concession which, with any regard to justice, they can possibly demand, than any other demonstrations of the day. And our friends in the borders states may rely upon it that the compromises they seek lie in that direction, and

states where it already existed. For a summary of the Compromise, see Essential Information #10, "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

in that alone.

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Annex 33 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-33)

Blaming the Republicans for the Crisis

Missouri Democrat, published February 4, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9)

Is the expulsion of each of these traitors from Buchanan's Cabinet a cause justifying disunion? These men were the open and avowed projectors of disunion; they nursed its infancy and are the authors of its present strength. Is not anarchy and disunion the only refuge on earth for the unparalleled, reckless extravagance and treason which has characterized the recent rule of the Democrat Party?

Every man who has read the *Missouri Republican* for the last year will be able to recall to his mind ample proof furnished by that paper itself of the utter falsity of the charge, that the Republicans are the cause of the present difficulties, which it now makes for the purpose of justifying the disunionists and aiding them in their unholy crusade. Who has forgotten how it was going to ring the charges upon Yancey's[461] famous letter, in which he said, nearly two years ago, that his object was to "fire the Southern heart and precipitate the cotton states into revolution."

This was an avowal of the determination of Yancey and his associates to destroy the Union long before the recent Republican triumph, and certainly was not caused by it, and when Yancey succeeded, at Charleston [South Carolina], in breaking up the Democratic Convention, and thus defeating Douglas's nomination, the *Missouri Republican* charged again and again that this was done for the purpose of securing the election of the Republican candidate, and thus furnishing a pretext for "precipitating the cotton states into revolution." Now the *Missouri Republican* has seized upon that very pretext which it then charged was contrived and furnished for the purpose of "firing the Southern heart" by Yancey & Company, and so far as we can judge, is using it for the very purpose for which it was originally designed.

But let us go to the very fountain-head of disunion, the Charleston Convention,[462] which adopted the ordinance of secession, and what do we hear from the leaders of disunion? They, one and all, deny that Lincoln's election is the cause of disunion, and declare that it is merely the occasion which they have chosen to put into execution designs long nursed in their minds. Mr. Rhett,[463] the leading spirit of the movement, boldly proclaimed that for thirty years he had labored for disunion. William P. Miles, Laurence M. Keitt, and other leaders announced the same idea; it had long been "their dream by night and pondered thought by day." And the same men now say that no concession, no compromise, no guarantee, nothing that can be said or done will win them back to the Union. All these things can be found in the columns of the *Missouri Republican*, and yet that paper has the hardihood to accompany these confessions of long nursed and bitter hatred for the Union, with the wicked and glaring falsehood, that the Republicans have caused all our grief. Did the Republicans empty the forts of their garrisons, that they might become a prey to those who had "fired the Southern heart," in order that they might not be deterred by the presence of an adequate force "from precipitating the cotton states into a revolution?" The *Republican* newspaper well knows that these things were done long before the election of the Republican candidate for the presidency, by Buchanan's Cabinet, with a view of

[461] William L. Yancey, a former U.S. congressman, drafted Alabama's ordinance of secession.

[462] The Charleston secession convention took place December 20, 1860.

[463] Robert Rhett, Sr., a former U.S. senator from South Carolina, launched a movement in 1844, calling South Carolina to declare secession, but it was rejected by more moderate Democrats. He opposed the Compromise of 1850 and continued to advocate (unsuccessfully at the time) for secession. In 1861, he was chosen as deputy to the Provisional C.S. Congress, and served for one year, from February 4, 1861.

encouraging the disunionists and overawing the friends of the Union, and that it was the deliberate design of Democratic politicians to "fire the Southern heart and precipitate the cotton states into a revolution," and then to drag the border slave states after them.

The way in which the border states are to be dragged into disunion of which they never dreamed until the cotton states had seceded, is by the constant cry of pretended friends of the Union, that "the Republicans are the cause of all the trouble." If property of every kind and description has lost half its value, it is a good way to "fire the hearts of its owners" in favor of tying themselves to the tail of the disunion states, to tell them that the Republicans are the cause of it all; if business and trade is paralyzed, and bankruptcy staring the mercantile community in the face, it is an admirable way to "precipitate them into revolution" to inform them that the Republicans have caused all their disasters. If the laborer is thrown out of employ, and goes home empty-handed every night to his suffering family, how easy it is to "fire his heart" by saying that the Republicans have caused all this trouble; but how the newspapers and speakers who habitually indulge in such detestable falsehoods can have the impudence and audacity to proclaim themselves in favor of the Union, which they are thus striving to subvert, would be difficult to understand if we did not know that the love of the Union is so deeply implanted in the hearts of our people, and that the policy of those who desire its overthrow compels them to profess a devotion which they do not feel, in order that they may, little by little, instill the poison, which is corroding their own hearts, into the minds of the people. All the suffering, all the loss, all the grief and danger, and disaster which has fallen upon our people, can be traced directly to the restless and criminal ambition of those who have persistently, for long years, in season and out of season, urged forward the slavery agitation, and who finally broke down that "compact of peace," the Missouri Compromise. Who's "ruthless hand" struck down that compromise "canonized in the hearts of the people!" And how does it become those whose hands are yet red with its blood, to demand the enactment of other compromises? The charge made by those who have murdered the peace of the country, that the Republicans are the cause of all our difficulties, is but the guilty fear of [Shakespeare's] Macbeth who murdered the gentle Duncan and smeared with blood the "sleepy grooms," that it might seem their guilt.

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Annex 34 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-34)

Unconditional Union Meeting in St. Louis

Missouri Democrat, published February 5, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#9.9)

We can only account for an event so extraordinary, on the supposition that there was a power behind the convention, greater than the convention itself, which had its own projects to accomplish.

In view of the vast magnitude of the events transpiring around us, and of the great power to be lodged in the State Convention, our committee was disposed to make every overture, every concession, and to agree upon any plan which we, as the representatives of a meeting of independent citizens could make, without degradation both to you and to ourselves, in order to bring about that harmony so much desired, and for this reason, we were willing to co-operate with gentlemen claiming to represent political parties, and to agree upon a ticket separately acceptable to both parties and people, and to be brought out by those parties in conjunction with the people.

As we before observed, we were received by the Bell-Everett Committee as friends, but though we endeavored during the whole day to obtain an audience with the Douglas Committee, we received no response from them. As we think, most unfortunately, the Bell-Everett Committee had become so allied with the Douglas Committee that it could act only in concert with them, and all attempts at negotiation were therefore unavailing.

It only remains for this meeting of independent citizens, assembled as such, to determine whether they will accept a ticket prepared for them by the conventions of the last campaign, in the formation of which they had no voice, and in which they were not allowed to participate in any manner whatever.

We repeat it as our opinion that the people of St. Louis most earnestly desire to avoid, at this time, a party contest between rival parties, which were lately said to be armed to the teeth, and which might lead to bloodshed and great disorder.

We believe there is a general disposition throughout the country to bury the party tomahawk, to cease to criminate and recriminate, and that good feeling and brotherly affection can only be restored by abusing no party, and especially by encouraging those who, whatever may have been their opinions heretofore, are willing now to divide the territories, to compromise sectional differences, to redress all grievances, and thus bring about once more the days of harmony, peace and plenty, and to re-establish the foundations of the government deeply and securely in the hearts of a loving and loyal people.

We believe the people of Missouri outside of St. Louis are as intelligent and patriotic as those in St. Louis, and that they will not continue to complain of those who are ready to yield for the sake of the Union, everything complained of; to grant the redress and give the guarantee asked of them by Missouri.

We believe the spirit of compromise is, at the present time, the true test of patriotism in men of all parties, both North and South, and that while the people of Missouri are demanding of the North the redress of grievances, the division of the territories, and above all the cessation of sectional slander and prejudice, they should themselves set the example of moderation and forgiveness on their side, and in this view, that the choice of delegates ought not to be made by any party or combination of parties, as such, nor in opposition to any party, but should proceed directly from the citizens, and that Missouri can best preserve her influence with both sections by showing by the example of her citizens, that the people of both sections now residing in large numbers in her borders, can live in peace, and can and will cease to revile and hate each other.

It only remains for us to suggest that if the citizens here assembled decide to act for themselves in these matters, it would be well to adopt some plan by which the conclusion which might be produced by the great number of names that would be before the meeting, should be avoided, to be cautious and prudent in selecting the ticket so as to distribute among each locality and each class of citizens, and put forward at the same time picked men on whose ability and patriotism the people would have implicit reliance.

It has appeared to us that the selection by this meeting of a large committee, to whom the names of all candidates shall be referred, and who shall select from the whole fifteen names and report the same to a subsequent meeting, would be a proper plan. The meeting, of course, to have full control over the reports, so that all our friends would have an equal voice in the ultimate nomination of our candidates.

Howard Bredell,
Chairman of Committee of Twenty.

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Annex 35 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-35)

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Annex 36 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-36)

An Earnest Appeal to the Workingmen of St. Louis by One of their Number

Missouri Democrat, published February 16, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.3)

The Story Explained

I have spoken allegorically, let me explain. The

temple on fire is the *great American Union*, the United States. The *agitators* who have fired this "temple" of our liberties are the *secessionists*, a mixed class of monarchists, aristocrats, professional politicians, and disappointed demagogues, who have no sympathy with workingmen; who care not a straw for manufacturing, the workingman's only reliance, who hate free white labor, and would crush it in the dust; who would build upon the ruins of this fair edifice, an oligarchy, a government of caste, in which the white laboring man would be like the slave, valuable for the services but not as a member of society. The fire they have kindled around this temple, with the destruction of which the hopes of the workingmen must perish forever, is the fire of "disunion." Now look around you, and watch the men that are clamoring for secession in Missouri. Who are the leaders, and at whose bidding do they move? First, we see the Rhetts and Hammonds of South Carolina. The first named are monarchists since the foundation of our government. They hate the Union because it secures equal rights to all, and outside South Carolina, makes the weight of the poor white man at the ballot box, the equal of themselves.

The second named are the men who can stand up in the Senate of the United States and denounce working men as "mudsills of society," as "greasy mechanics, small fisted farmers, and filthy operatives." These are the major generals of secession. Who are their captains and lieutenants in Missouri, who are seeking to make the working men the rank and file of their disunion army, and would lead you to the storming of the Castle of Liberty? They are Claiborne Jackson, your governor, who holds his position by virtue of your votes, but who never held a sentiment in common with your dearest interests. And Lieutenant Governor Reynolds, a South Carolinian, born and raised a traitor, who glories in his treason. Are they mechanics, manufacturers, or working men? No! They despise the name of labor, unless they can use it as a scaling ladder for their ambition. Your votes are the extent of their interest in you; and after being elevated to power by your suffrages, you see how they are using that power for your destruction. Their followers will deny all this, and appealing to your party love, ask, "Are not these men Democrats?" I answer, No! They are not Democrats, and I challenge any man to produce a sentiment they now hold that was held by the great apostles of Democracy—[Thomas] Jefferson and [Andrew] Jackson. They are "disunionists," and would today invade the solemn resting places of the lathers of this government and expose their bones to public ridicule in honor of secession. And who are the men that compose their ticket in St. Louis? With two or three exceptions, they are secessionists of the deepest dye, and although they claim to be Union men to get your votes, they will not say that they are for the Union as the immortal patriots of the Revolution made it. I heard one of those candidates, Mr. Bogy, say before the late presidential election that if Lincoln was elected, the Union would be, and ought to be, dissolved." This is the man that can now insult the workingmen of this city by asking them to vote for him, premeditated disunionist, and his associates, except Major Wright and Judge Gamble, who are kept upon the ticket to catch Union votes for the Convention that is to decide the fate of Missouri and keep the state in its proud place in the Union, or sink it into the abyss of secession, with the precious hopes of labor ruined forever.

What has Secession Done for You Already?

It has closed your workshops and turned labor out of doors. It has sunk the credit of the state and lessened the value of our bonds, so that you who are fortunate enough to have work at all are obliged to take your pay in depreciated currency, which is based upon the almost valueless bonds of Missouri. In addition to being thrown out of employment, secession has, in this way, swindled you out of a large portion of your hard earnings. But they will tell you that Mr. Lincoln's election has wrought this mischief. But every one of you knows that to be a baseless and unmitigated falsehood. Who has inaugurated secession? Has Mr. Lincoln or his party? You know they have not. Then, in the name of heaven, who but those who have initiated secession are responsible for its effect? You must decide this question in the light of your own consciences, and like truthful men answer—nobody. Then let us go to the polls next Monday, and with a united vote for the "Unconditional Citizens' Union ticket," drive the last nail in the

coffin of secession in Missouri. And on the morning of the nineteenth of February, we can rise in the majesty of freemen who have reconquered our liberties through the deep-mouthed cannon of the ballot-box, and greet the sun of that day with shouts of thankfulness as he sheds his glorious light upon a state redeemed.

Paul Plato.

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Annex 37 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-37)

Secessionist Attempts to End Funding for St. Louis Schools

Missouri Democrat, published February 16, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#26.5)

There are in the lobbies here a desperate and unscrupulous set of broken-down office hunters and politicians, who, Judas-like, would sell the interests of St. Louis for their thirty pieces of silver. The House, it may be said to its honor, has many high-minded, honorable men on this floor, who are not so completely blinded by party prejudice as to take away the rights of St. Louis on mere party grounds. The great danger is in these secret committees, who may spring measures and pass them before their merits can be understood or defeated.

There is quite a curiosity on the part of the St. Louis members to see the names on those petitions presented by Mr. Conrow. Doubtless, when they are made public, the majority of them will not be found in the St. Louis Directory, or any place else. It is passing strange that during the very short stay Mr. Conrow made in the city, on his visit at one of the committees, that he should gain so sudden, so great a popularity in the city with fifteen or twenty thousand of the citizens as to honor him with the presentation of their petitions. He had better make another visit, and if like results ensue, it would be highly advisable for the gentlemen to remove to St. Louis with his regal talent and political popularity, as with such evidence of sudden popular favor, he would soon reach the peak of his ambition. The committee will probably report tomorrow. When they came up from St. Louis, it was supposed that a majority of the committee would recommend an indefinite postponement of the bill. Mr. Conrow was numbered amongst those who would do so, but doubtless someone of the committee has given him the honor of presenting the monster petitions, so called, and he has changed his mind somewhat on account of that very doubtful honor. The majority will report probably in favor of reducing the tax.

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Annex 38 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-38)

Different Appeals to Working Men

Missouri Democrat, published February 18, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#27.4)

Well, let me tell you what is true about that ticket. For the time being, there is not a Republican, nor a Democrat, nor a Bell man on that ticket, but it is composed of fifteen solid, worthy citizens of St. Louis County, representing every interest, and are nothing but Union men. And now, if because those fifteen citizens have heretofore acted with this, that, or the other political party in days past when your country was not in peril, you, therefore, will not vote for them; then you are at perfect liberty to vote yourselves into the bottomless pit of secession by supporting the other ticket.

THE VIRGINIA AND TENNESSEE ELECTIONS,

just held, should encourage every man to vote as his own conscience tells him; to sustain the flag of the Union as they have done. All true Union men are for the Union, and will vote to sustain it whether there is any compromise or not. The Constitution, as it is, is undoubtedly much better for

every interest of Missouri than any congress or convention could make it. The Constitution needs enforcing rather than amending. Virginia and Tennessee have so declared by the solemn voice of their people, and Missouri should profit by their example.

MISSOURI MUST SPEAK FOR THE UNION, unqualifiedly, if she wishes to hold good her position as one of the first of the border states. If she presents conditions and ultimatums to the other states which are loyal to the Constitution as it is, she will throw away every advantage she now has under the Constitution, and lose both prestige and power to sustain her own dignity and rights. States, like men, sometimes lose everything by asking too much, and it is the mission of genuine Union men to save Missouri from this folly and make her re-echo, in thunder tones, the Unconditional Union voice of Tennessee. If St. Louis is true to herself, this county will stand by the side of the home of U.S. Senator Andrew Johnson,[464] *which went for the Union thirty to one*.

PAUL PLATO.

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Annex 39 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-39)

The Election Yesterday

Triumph at the Unconditional Union Ticket

Missouri Democrat, published February 19, 1861

Constitutional Union ticket = Conditional Unionist
The Citizens' Union ticket=Unconditional Unionist

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.1)

At 3 o'clock, 1,245 votes had been polled. No arrests. The western precinct, at the upper end of Morgan Street, was as dull as dull could be. At 3:30 o'clock, only 250 votes had been polled, and the only persons in the vicinity were three boys going home from school, and a small dog. The police were having an easy time on the inside. The eastern precinct of the Eighth Ward at Whitehill's lumber yard was crowded by an eager though not excited crowd. There was considerable activity in offering tickets whenever a fresh voter arrived, but nothing violent. Good-natured discussions were kept up all day; but order prevailed. At the western precinct, on Franklin Avenue, near Twenty-Second Street, everything was conducted peaceably, and there were no arrests during the day. Up to 3 p.m., 354 votes had been cast. The secessionist Constitutional Guards were so far behind that they gave it up in despair. At the lower Ninth Ward voting place, corner of Sixth and O'Fallon, there was an immense deal of merriment created by forcing forward, about 3:30 o'clock, an ignorant Irishman, who was willing to vote a half dozen tickets if he could. This caused some pushing and crowding, but the police soon stopped it. At Biddle Market, the western precinct of the same Ward, the largest crowd of any Ward in town assembled, and there was considerable bantering going on. The "rich Irish brogue" predominated over the "sweet German accent," and it seemed as if every second man was peddling the Coalter-Bogy ticket. One individual, about 4 p.m., made himself quite conspicuous in a disgusting allusion to the picture of Washington and the American flags at the head of the Citizens' Union ticket. Tar and feathers would not have been too good for him at any other time, and were it not for the secession doctrines which had been instilled into the minds of the honest Irishmen present under the disguise of Constitutional Union, we doubt not a dozen of them would have undertaken the job. Let him try it next Fourth of July on the same spot if he dares. Excepting this incident, there was nothing to mar the ordinary peace of the neighborhood. The two precincts up to 3 o'clock p.m. had polled 3,173 votes. The Tenth Ward was quiet. The Citizens' Union men had everything pretty much their own way, both in the southern and northern districts. The secessionists knew they were being badly whipped, and though some of their leaders elsewhere were a little restive, in the

[464] U.S. Senator Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was the only senator who did not resign his seat upon learning of his state's secession, instead remaining loyal to the Union throughout the war.

Tenth they took it kindly. Their courage, if they had any, oozed out early in the day. At half-past two, the upper precinct had polled 819 votes, and the lower 1,693. No arrests were made at either place.

Bogus tickets, with names of the Citizens' Union candidates off and Conditional Secessionists on, were thick as mosquitoes in the summer season. A well-circulated fraudulent ticket had the name of Ferdinand Meyer off and D. A. January[465] inserted, and another with Judge Breckinridge's name omitted and Mr. January's in its stead. Another counterfeit Citizens' Union ticket (a perfect facsimile) had the name of Henry Overstolz upon it in place of the genuine nominee's. We could cite other examples of this fraud. An abominable lying handbill was circulated about noon, appealing to Bell and Everett men to vote the conditional secession men as a means of revenge upon a few Germans who scratched Judge Gamble's name, because they knew he would be elected anyhow, in order to cast a complimentary vote to one whose course they approved. This handbill, we are convinced, had no effect whatever. The slanderous epithets used toward many who supported the Unconditional Union ticket were not unexpected, but were borne without resistance. One individual, who wore a blue cockade,[466] in the Fourth Ward, made himself obnoxious on this account, but his slang was submitted to rather than provoke any trouble.

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Annex 40 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-40)

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[465] D. A. January was the president of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.

[466] The "blue cockade" was a ribbon worn by Southern sympathizers. Union loyalists wore red, white and blue cockades. For a picture of the cockade of both the Minute Men and the Confederates, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#19).

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Annex 41 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-41)

Patriot vs. Partisan

Caucus at Mercantile Library—Disguised Black Republican Movement

Missouri Republican, published January 31, 1861

Of the eighty-five or ninety respectable, Union-loving citizens who met in the small hall of the Mercantile Library yesterday afternoon, nearly half found that they had been deceived as to its objects. It did not take long to discover that the affair was a sly Black Republican movement, designed to take in unsuspecting gentlemen, and commit them eventually to such a convention ticket as will be supported by every LINCOLN man in the county. The meeting, it turned out, was the offspring of Mr. CHARLES GIBSON, distinguished here for his attachment and devotion to the interests of Judge BATES, one of the recognized ministers of the incoming Black Republican administration.[467] As a matter of news, we give the proceedings of the caucus, which was called to order by ARCHIBALD GAMBLE, Esq.

On Mr. GAMBLE's motion, Mr. SOL. SMITH was called to the chair.

Mr. SMITH, somewhat surprised at the honor, returned his thanks to the meeting, and explained that although his name was not upon the address which appeared in Tuesday's *News,* it was only by accident that it was not there.

Here WILLIAM GLASGOW, Jr., Esq., was appointed secretary.

The president read the address referred to, and stated that he was in favor of the call. He was ready to sink the partisan in the patriot, and use all his efforts to pacify and reinstate our unhappy country. He was for the Union as it is, and for the Union as it was and ought to be, if harmony can be restored by conciliation and compromise without coercion. He also expressed himself in favor of

[467] Edward Bates was the U.S. Attorney General during President Lincoln's first administration.

amendments to the Constitution, with a view to ensuring whatever rights any portion of the people ought to have.

Mr. CHARLES GIBSON arose to make a short explanation. Few lawyers practicing at the bar were so little disposed to public speech-making as himself. Looking about him he found the community greatly excited, and it was really hard to tell what position our own neighbors occupy. It was evident the public were in a revolutionary state. High-minded, honorable men were alternately put down as Black Republicans and secessionists. The more he thought of it, the more horrible the subject of dissolution became. When he saw that the calling of a convention to consider the present crisis was an inevitable fact, he observed that the Union public of St. Louis was composed of all parties– "black spirits and white, red spirits and gray." The only plan by which to make this sentiment serviceable in the convention was, he thought, the total rejection of party ties, party men, and party policy. It was proper to try whether the *people* actually govern this country, or whether it was absolutely given up to the politicians. His own experience tended to the belief that the politicians have it their own way. He wished, however, to make one effort to absorb power by the conservative men of the countrymen who have no friends to reward, no hostilities to gratify, no interests to promote, but those of the purest patriotism. By the present movement, partisans were requested to let the people act. This, he would confess, was a difficult and serious undertaking, but it was with this view that the address just read was prepared, and he thought he could state that the names signed to it were a fair representation of all the political classes in St. Louis. He and two or three of his neighbors had called this meeting, and he hoped that the community would work now for their country or soon they would have no country to work for. Having called the meeting, he felt that he had done all that duty required of him, and he wished to have no more to do with it than any other interested citizen. Nevertheless, he would state that, in his judgment, the meeting ought to agree upon some principles, some general annunciation of opinion in view of surrounding circumstances, and he would therefore move the appointment, by the chair, of a committee of seven to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting.

The motion of Mr. GIBSON being seconded and adopted, the president selected the following gentlemen to compose the committee, *viz*: Messrs. CHARLES GIBSON, ROBERT HOLMES, J. D. DAGGETT, T. B. EDGAR, H. E. BRIDGE, ADOLPHUS MEIER, P. E. BLAND.

After the committee had retired for consultation, Mr. ARCHIBALD GAMBLE offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of five to "confer with any other citizens upon measures calculated to secure harmonious action among the friends of the Union, and to give St. Louis county the influence she ought to possess in the convention."

The resolution was subsequently amended so as to increase the number of the committee to twenty, and that they report to an adjourned meeting. Thus altered, it was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

During the retirement of the committee, Mr. THOMAS SKINNER was called on for a speech, the president warmly endorsing the call, but Mr. SKINNER excused himself, saying he was only present as a looker-on.

Mr. ROBERT F. WINGATE was then invited to speak. He complied with the request, and made a short but eloquent address, expressing his unaltered attachment to the Union, and protesting against any effort, from whatever source, towards its dissolution. It was an exceedingly strong, unconditional Union speech.

The committee, meanwhile, having returned, Mr. GIBSON reported and read the subjoined resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, there is no sufficient cause at this time to justify this state in seceding from or disrupting the Union; that we deal only with the political *status quo*, and will not anticipate evils that do not now exist; and acting on this basis, we are unreservedly for the Union.

2. *Resolved*, that the true attitude of Missouri at this time of trouble is that of fraternal relations to all the states, and her honor and interests alike demand of her to do all in her power to bring about harmony and reunion among the discordant people

of the whole country, and that we should calmly await the issue of passing events before taking any other position than the one she now occupies.

3. *Resolved*, that all existing causes of complaint and the difficulties can be peacefully arranged in the Union, but not out of it; that disunion will neither abate nor remedy any grievance complained of, and will fearfully increase the animosities now agitating the republic.

4. *Resolved*, that the state of Missouri ought to consult with the border states in endeavoring to obtain a just solution of our difficulties.

5. *Resolved*, that in the opinion of this meeting, the selection of candidates to the state convention on the part of the Union men of St. Louis ought not to emanate from party or party organizations, and ought to be kept aloof from the ordinary political arena.

6. *Resolved*, that every candidate for the convention ought to give satisfactory assurances, that should the convention pass any ordinance or take any steps that will make any change in our federal relations, they will insist that the same shall be referred to the people of the state for their ratification or rejection.

7. *Resolved*, that a committee of twenty be appointed for the purpose of conferring with any other citizens upon measures calculated to secure harmonious action among the friends of the Union, and to give to St. Louis county the influence which she ought to possess in the convention, and that said committee report their action to a future meeting.

The fourth resolution, Mr. GIBSON stated, originally read that "Missouri ought to consult and act in concert with the border states," etc., but that the words "and act in concert" had been eliminated by the committee.

The question being on the adoption of the report of the committee, a gentleman demanded that they be put to the meeting consecutively. This was carried, and Mr. GIBSON then read the first resolution of the series.

Mr. SKINKER objected to the word "unreservedly," near the close. If the committee meant to commit the meeting to an Unconditional Union, whether the rights of Missouri are regarded or not, he was opposed to it. This sentiment was warmly cheered by several persons in different parts of the hall. Mr. S. continued by saying that we were not to disguise the fact that there is really but one question before the people of this country as involving the perpetuity of the Union and our present government, and that is, whether the North will make concessions–whether the North will accede to the Crittenden compromise, or an equivalent, giving the Southern states some assurance that their guaranteed rights are not to be disregarded and trampled underfoot. He would inquire of the gentlemen reporting the resolutions if it was the sense of the committee that the state of Missouri is to submit unconditionally or unreservedly to Black Republican domination He knew the gentleman's affinities. He was aware that his relations were of the most intimate character with a gentleman who, it was understood, was to fill a prominent place in the cabinet of the president-elect.

Mr. GIBSON replied by saying that he did not wish the resolution to be considered by any standard in which its author was to be weighed, but upon its own merit alone. After acknowledging his friendly feelings towards Judge BATES–and glorying in them–Mr. GIBSON passed on to defend the resolution in an ingenious argument, which seemed to exult somewhat in the peculiar phraseology claimed for the resolution in reference to taking no thought for tomorrow. But while Mr. GIBSON could see fit to deal only with the political *status quo*, we do not find that the resolutions attach the least blame to the party bringing it about. In fact, stripped of its tricky construction, the first resolution has the design of putting Black Republicanism on the back, while at the same instant it denounces secession and disunion. And this vein, it may easily be perceived, runs through the entire lot.

Mr. RUFUS N. SAUNDERS followed Mr. GIBSON, taking strong grounds in favor of the resolutions, "unreservedly" and all.

Mr. SKINKER moved to strike out the word "unreservedly," which was seconded in several parts of the hall. Mr. PETER E. BLAND spoke against the proposed change, using the novel argument that the South already had more than would be guaranteed to her under the Crittenden Compromise.

The question being taken on the motion to strike out, it was lost, although by no very decided vote.

The resolutions were then read one-by-one by Mr. GIBSON, and a vote taken on each separately. They were all adopted.

Mr. BEEDELL moved that the meeting adjourn until Monday afternoon, at 3 o'clock.

Mr. WHITE moved to amend by inviting all citizens in favor of the resolutions just passed to attend.

Mr. A. GAMBLE thought that this might interfere with the objects sought to be accomplished by the present meeting (or, in other words, take the movement out of the hands of its originators).

Mr. WHITE thereupon withdrew his motion.

The chair stated that the committee authorized under the 7th resolution would be announced through the public prints.

The motion of Mr. BEEDELL was then put, and the meeting adjourned until Monday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

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Annex 42 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-42)

Letters of Acceptance of the Unconditional Union Candidates

Missouri Democrat, published February 12, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.4)

First. I am opposed to secession, either as a theory or a practice. I am not willing to yield my birthright as an American citizen to any power but that of an honest justifiable revolution. To that power I will surrender it—because a justifiable revolution can never deprive me of it until it has ceased to be a thing of value.

Second. I acknowledge the right of revolution, under the limitations which our fathers and our British ancestors have assigned to it, as a great conservative power—the protector of liberty, not its assailant; and I shall be prompt to exercise that right in case the ills of our government should ever become greater than the evils of revolution. We have no such grievances now.

Third. Every existing public disorder was anticipated by the framers of the federal Constitution, and provided for in the instrument. I see neither wisdom nor prudence in refusing to apply the remedies furnished us by an almost superhuman foresight and wisdom. The only failure our fathers made was to furnish no remedy for a causeless suicide.

Fifth. If we abandon the Constitution, I look around me in vain for remedies elsewhere.

Sixth. As there are anxious public disorders, which have broken the peace of the country and put in peril the stability and permanence of the federal government, I hold that no man can be regarded as a lover of his country who is not willing and ready to do all in his power to save it. This is the touchstone I apply to every man who claims to be a Union man. What will you do for your country's peace and permanence? Will you give up your party prejudices—all of them—and your pride of opinion, especially on abstract disguises? Will you lay these down as an offering upon the pillar of your country's peace? Will you meet others, who have dogmas antagonistic to your own, in the spirit of conciliation and fraternity, in the spirit in which the Union was formed, in the spirit in which only it can be preserved? If you cannot do this, you are not for this union. If you are watching for an opportunity to go out of the Union—or if you seek to stay in it only to use it as an instrument of power, to carry measures and policies which destroy the peace of the country, you are not a Union man.

Seventh. There is a weighty responsibility resting on the state of Missouri at this moment. Her central position throws upon her the office of mediator, and I trust she will be equal to her destiny. Her past sufferings and history qualify her for her great office. They lend to her voice a power

which should be felt, South and North. Her position in the future, if the great disaster shall come, ought to weigh with every sister state to where she makes an appeal.

If others have abandoned the strongholds of the Constitution, she must, therefore, the more bravely and faithfully occupy them. Her constancy will augment and multiply her power. Fortunately, under the retributions of Providence, which compensate human life, the fact that she has been abandoned by others makes her appeal to the justice and the magnanimity of her sister states the more powerful.

Eighth. If elected, I shall labor hard to keep my adopted state in her present loyalty to the beneficent federal government that lifted her up to greatness and started her on her pathway to prosperity and glory. If I shall be overborne by a numerical majority, who shall seek to push us into secession by ordinance, I shall demand that the people of the state at the polls shall say whether I am not an American citizen.

In conclusion, the citizens' meeting knew, before their nomination that I had been recommended by the citizens of Carondelet [St. Louis County], and nominated by citizens acting under the organization of the [Constitutional Union] Bell and Everett party for the past presidential canvass.[468]

Although my views and purposes in seeking to be of the convention at Jefferson City on the 28th are above all party consideration, so far above them that I would tear from my heart every party shred or fiber at war with the peace of my country or its permanence, I accepted their nomination with pleasure as an evidence of the confidence of a body of citizens, with whom I had rallied under a banner on which were inscribed the patriotic words, "The Union, the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws." But by whomsoever nominated, I wish to be supported on the principles which I have laid down in this letter. Upon them, I deserve to be elected, or not at all.

Respectfully, your fellow citizen, URIEL WRIGHT.[469]

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Annex 43 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-43)

Republican Party Misrepresented

Missouri Democrat, published February 13, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#19.8)

Assurances, vindications, and explanations of every kind have been given by Republican authorities, but without producing any beneficial result. The Republican members of Congress, we observe, had recourse to another method of vindication last Monday [February 11]. Congressman Palmer, of New York, submitted resolutions to the House, declaring that neither the federal government nor the people or governments of the non-slaveholding states, have any purpose or constitutional right to legislate on slavery, or interfere with it in any state in the Union. Several Southern members, including Hindman from Arkansas and Burnett from Kentucky, opposed the resolutions. Every Republican in the House voted for them, and they were adopted by 106 to 4. The Southern members asked for a division of the question, in order that they, who do not represent the people or government of the non-slaveholding states, might have an opportunity to declare, by their votes, that these governments and people have a purpose to interfere with slavery in the states. The division of the question was refused, upon which the Southern members, except four, refused to vote. A reconsideration of the vote by which the resolutions were adopted was moved and carried in order that Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, might offer a substitute, for which Southern members could vote without seeming to contradict their unfounded and malignant suspicions of the

[468] For information on the political parties of this time, see Essential Information #14, "The Four Political Parties" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#1.05).

[469] Uriel Wright would abandon the Union after the capture of Camp Jackson (May 10, 1861), an action he strongly criticized, and he would then join the C.S. Army.

purposes of the Northern people. The following is the substitute, which he offered, and which was adopted: yeas 161; nays none.

Resolved, That neither Congress, nor the people or governments of non-slaveholding states have the constitutional right to legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any slaveholding state in the Union.

Every Republican in the House, be it observed, voted for the resolution, which is, therefore, a full, explicit, and authoritative definition of the position of the Republican Party in relation to slavery in the states. Yet we have not the slightest expectation that it will put a stop to the work of misrepresentation. The slanderers will not revoke their slanders though revolution and civil war be the consequences. But the question arises, what stronger guarantee can the Republican Party give the South than it has given it in this resolution? All parties concur in declaring that the Constitution admits not of a certain interpretation. An amendment to the Constitution itself, covering the same ground would, therefore, seem to be wholly superfluous. We take occasion to repeat that if it shall be deemed advisable to adopt any compromise, the simplest plan of readjustment is the best. An act of Congress amending the Fugitive Slave Law[470] is perhaps all that is required in connection with the foregoing resolution to settle all the disputed points in the prevailing controversy.



PROPOSED MISSOURI COMPROMISE LINE

The territorial question is settled already. Slavery has all the territory it claims, for it has all south of 36° 30', and a considerable belt north of that line, situated between it and the northern boundary of New Mexico; and all this it can hold for the next two years, at least, if the senators and representatives who favor the extension of slavery keep their seats in Congress and give their votes. The South, in asking for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, and its extension to the Pacific, is asking for very cumbersome machinery to protect that which the presence in Congress of her representatives and senators will protect. Must the free states be required to do that for slavery which slavery refuses to do itself? If the seceders return, the party with which they act will have a majority in one or both branches of the next Congress, and will, therefore, be able to defeat any measure hostile to the South, if any such measure should be introduced.

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Annex 44 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-44)

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Annex 45 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-45)

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Annex 46 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-46)

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Annex 47 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-47)

[470] The Fugitive Slave law, passed on September 18, 1850, by Congress, was part of the Compromise of 1850. It required that slaves be returned to their owners, whether they be caught in a slave or free state..

Treason and State Authority

Missouri Democrat, published January 1, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#4)

> "By the principles of the American Revolution, arbitrary power may and ought to be resisted, even by arms, if necessary. The time may come that it shall be the duty of the state, in order to preserve itself from the oppression of the general government, to have recourse to the sword, in which case the proposed form of government declares that the state, and every one of its citizens who act under its authority, be guilty of a direct act of treason—reducing, by this provision, the different states to this alternative, that they must painfully and passively yield to despotism, whether citizens must oppose it at the hazard of the halter,[471] if unsuccessful; and reducing the citizens of this state which shall take up arms to a situation in which they must be exposed to punishment, let them act as they will—since, if they obey the authority of the state government, they will be guilty of treason against the United States; if they join the general government, they will be guilty of treason against their own state.
>
> "To save the citizens of the respective states from this disagreeable dilemma, and to secure them from being punishable as traitors to the United States, when acting expressly in obedience to the authority of their own state,[472] I wished to have obtained, as an amendment to the third section of this article, the following clauses: 'Provided that no act or acts done by one or more of the states against the United States, or by any citizen of any one of the United States, under the authority of one or more of the said states, shall be deemed treason or punished as such; but, in cases of war being levied by one or more of the said states against the United States, the conduct of each party towards the other, and their adherents respectively, shall be regulated by the laws of war and of nations.
>
> "But this provision was not adopted, being too much opposed to the great object of many of the leading members of the Convention, which was, by all means, to leave the states at the mercy of the general government, since they could not succeed."

Thus speaks Mr. Martin, and giving his own views and the views of the Convention, of the intent and meaning of that article. Mr. Martin, with a foresight almost prophetic, anticipated decisively the condition of things that now exists, and endeavored to tack on an amendment which would relieve a citizen from the charge of treason, while acting under the authority of his state against the United States, but it failed; for, as he candidly observes, this did not suit the views of the leading members.

If Congress has not the power to punish treason, then the Constitution is indeed "a rope of sand."

—Constitution.

* * *

Annex 48 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-48)

How Would Secession Affect St. Louis and Missouri?

Missouri Democrat, published January 8, 1861

[471] Hazard of the halter: in danger of being hung for treason.

[472] This would have applied, for example, to the Military Bill, effective May 14, 1861, which required all men 17 to 47 to register for a draft that could force them into the Missouri State Guard, which eventually fought against federal forces.

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#23)

The government expenses of a southern confederacy, having neither army nor navy, and which would require a chain of military posts all around its northern border, and a squadron of light-armed vessels in the Gulf, as well as on the Atlantic coast, would not be less than forty or fifty million a year in the beginning.

Missouri, being the most populous of the slave states, would have to contribute largely to the expenditures of the new [Confederate] government; three times as much as South Carolina.

Our share would not be less than five million per annum, at least; while our local taxes, state and city, would be also increased far beyond their present amounts. The consequences would be the bankruptcy of the state and the ruin of every commercial and manufacturing interest. Grass would grow in the streets of St. Louis. The silence of the wilderness would descend on our workshops, and this proud city that, together with the state, has grown so wondrously under the auspices of the Union, would collapse into hopeless poverty, while it is not unlikely that the channel of the Mississippi River will be taken from St. Louis. That would have been attempted ere now, were it not for an injunction from the United States courts, allowing the Corps of Engineers to keep the channel on the St. Louis side.[473] What the condition of mechanics would be in such a graveyard, our correspondent can very well imagine!

* * *

Annex 49 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-49)

Should a State Convention be Called?

Missouri Democrat, published January 11, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.4)

Senator Parsons has today introduced into the Senate the infamous bill in relation to free Negroes and mulattoes in the state,[474] which even a Democratic governor vetoed at the last session. The present governor, it is feared, has no such conscientious scruples as the last governor, and should it take both Houses, it will, in all probability, become a law.[475]

A committee of the House on federal relations reported an act for the calling of a state convention. The disposition of the Democrats at once manifested itself in endeavoring to force action on it at the earliest possible period.

Gen. Riley, of Wright [County], declared himself in favor of a state convention on general principles—elementary principles, if you please. The question is, is the legislature the master of the people?

The authority to govern arises from the governed. . .The action of the Committee on Federal Relations is premature, as it is not authorized by the people.

The question of a state convention was not discussed during the late election campaign. The right course would be to refer the bill back to that committee, and instruct them to bring in a bill authorizing the people to meet in the several counties of the state and declare whether they will have a state convention or not. The people of Missouri are jealous people as regards the assumption of their rights.

Mr. Peckham, of St. Louis, took the floor and made a speech of some length. He took a decided stand against the necessity of calling a state convention.

* * *

[473] The channel between St. Louis and the Illinois bank was slowly moving away from St. Louis. It was only the Army Corps of Engineers' construction of barriers on the Illinois side that prevented the shift of the main channel to the Illinois side, which would make the St. Louis steamboat landing unusable. See Bloody Island sidebar at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#25.1).

[474] The bill was to ban free blacks and mulattoes from residing in Missouri.

[475] The law referred to has to do with requiring all free blacks and mulattoes to leave the state.

Annex 50 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-50)

Central Union Club Organized in St. Louis

Missouri Democrat, published January 12, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#28)

Loud calls were made for Mr. S. T. Glover,[476] and that gentleman finally made his appearance on the stand. He was honored with three rousing cheers.

Mr. Glover spoke on behalf of the strict observance of constitutional rights and the enforcement of the laws. He reviewed the causes which have led to the present crisis, and vindicated the faithfulness of the Republicans to all the rights of the South. He defended the Republican members of Congress from the charge of refusing to make any concessions. He said that the proposition pressed upon them was not only to declare the territory, now owned, south of the Missouri Compromise line, should be slave territory, but also to bargain that all territory acquired hereafter shall be given up to slavery also. They would not accept it—they would divide the present territory with the South for the sake of peace—but to bind posterity to take slavery with any new possessions was monstrous. Mr. Crittenden[477] had abandoned it, his friends had abandoned it, and to talk of compromise upon this basis was nonsense, but he was in favor of such measures as all honest citizens could agree to.

The next business in order was the election of president, whereupon, Hon. Samuel T. Glover was nominated and elected unanimously.

The meeting adjourned with three cheers for the Union.

* * *

Annex 51 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-51)

First Conditional Unionist Meeting/Rally

Missouri Democrat, published January 15, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#29)

We tell you that in certain contingencies that are beginning to assume the complexion of probabilities, we are prepared "to share the common duties and common dangers of the South." We condemn the resolutions because they advocate a policy which, if carried out, would lay our national government prostrate and powerless. In the 10th section, they entreat the federal government to stay the arm of military power, which is, of course, a rhetorical paraphrase for a plea on behalf of non-coercion. Now, supplication in the form of a resolution, and in the present fever heat of Southern sympathies has very much the sound of demand and a threat. The 6th resolution declares in effect that if the government fails to secure a slave property, Missouri will join a Southern alliance. The 10th section entreats a system of non-coercion. The ultimatum and the petition are made equally prominent in the resolutions. The sentiment in both is equally clear and decided. And of one fact we may be sure, that any attempt to coerce the citizen would touch sensibilities tenfold keener than some indirect tampering with the slaves. Non-coercion is as distinctly a part of the platform, as the right of slave property. What is this policy? It proposes to tie the hands of the president, while traitors insult and robbers plunder him. No matter if the only attempt is to protect her own forts and collect her own revenue, without the remotest design of an

[476] Samuel T. Glover, a St. Louis lawyer and anti-slavery conservative, was president of the Central Union Club and a member of the St. Louis (Union) Safety Committee.
[477] John J. Crittenden, U.S. senator from Kentucky, proposed a compromise, which called for six constitutional amendments and four congressional resolutions to mollify secessionists. See: Essential Information #10, "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

invasion, with the scrupulous avoidance of bloodshed, the cry is, "Hands off." No matter if treason is arming and plundering from South Carolina to Texas, we must have no coercion. No matter if we inaugurate a policy which permits St. Louis to become part of Illinois with or without impunity; which disintegrates every state, community, and corporation; which would destroy our credit, dignity, and position among nations, the cry comes up, persistent and clamorous, "No coercion; no coercion." In our allegiance to that principle, we propose no restrictions, no stipulations, no conditions. Our language on this point is unmistakable.

While we are unwilling to quarrel with men who love the Union, although they acquiesce in the resolutions; while there were speeches on that occasion which had the true ring of the old revolutionary patriotism, yet we cannot resist the conviction that the general tenor of those resolutions were unmanly, or reasonable and dangerous. Are we prepared to adopt them as our chart in every exigency? Are we prepared, if the Crittenden Compromise[478] fails adoption, to plunge headlong into civil war, and re-enact the worst horrors of the French Revolution?

T.A.P.

* * *

Annex 52 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-52)

Character of Missouri's Legislature

(Total number of legislators: 133)

Age	Total
Under 25	7
25 to 30	12
30 to 35	18
35 to 40	26
40 to 45	24
Over 45	21

State of Birth

Kentucky	36	Tennessee	32
Virginia	22	Missouri	15
North Carolina	6	Ohio	5
Pennsylvania	5	Maryland	3
New York	2	New Hampshire	1
New Jersey	1	Delaware	1
Ireland	2	Alabama	1
Germany	1	Mississippi	1
England	1		

Occupation

70 farmers,
26 lawyers,
9 merchants,
13 physicians,
2 editors,
2 blacksmiths,
3 manufacturers,
5 mechanics,
1 shipper,
1 tailor,
1 contractor.

The St. Louis delegation is as follows:

John D. Stevenson, Va., aged 39;
George Partridge, Mass, 51;
Felix Coste, Germany, 40;
John Doyle, Ireland, 55;
John S. Cavender, N. H., 36;
James Peckham, New York City, 30;
John Sexton, Va., 34;
Rudolph Doehn, Germany, 39;
Meyer Freide, Germany, 39;
Madison Miller, Penn., 46;
George M. Moore, Del., 36;
R. M. Hunts, Ky. 59.

* * *

[478] For information on the Compromise, see Essential Information #10: "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

Annex 53 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-53)

Secession and the State Convention

Missouri Democrat, published January 25, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#44)

The tendency of an excited assembly will give an abnormal stimulus to the people. The opinions of each man echoed by hosts of others will grow loud and clamorous. Public gatherings begun in unreason, fostered in tumult and excitement, are always dangerous expedients.

But to all this, the apologist is ready with the reply. We have guarded against these abuses. The people of Missouri have reserved to themselves the right to quash the whole proceedings if they desire it. They have the right, but will they use it?[479] The legislature which called the convention and repeatedly voted down amendments submitting the action to the people will throw its whole energies into the field in its support. That body will make its influence felt in every town and hamlet. The channels distributing the news of the Convention will be poisoned. Undercover activities will be established, sectional animosities encouraged. The champion who shall raise his voice in support of the Union, may expect to be driven out with a cry of "abolitionist" and the taunt of verbal abuse. Meanwhile, the attitude assumed by the state will naturally fill Illinois and Iowa with the distrust and alienation. Mutual suspicion, bad feelings, and strife will spring up, until at last, the conservatism of Missouri, which might have stopped the hated secession platform, will be swept away by that most rancorous and incurable of all animosities, the hatred of section toward section, community toward community.

Such will be the natural outcome of a secession scheme begun in passion, deceit, and folly. This prediction is not yet history, but we are nearing a crisis. In this trying hour, what is the duty of patriots? The secession convention has been inaugurated, but there is yet time to turn back the tide of madness. Let us cast out men of false importance, with quibbling and deception, and above all, with that dangerous idea of the Conditional Unionist, "*Union, if we can have our rights."* Let us have men to represent us whose patriotism knows no "ifs" and "buts"; men of nerve, men whose property and families are "pledges to fortune." To the man to whom is committed this issue, we say, be faithful and true in this great emergency, or the curse that follows and brings on war, shall cleave to you.

—P.

* * *

Annex 54 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-54)

An Account of a Disunionist Caucus [Conditional Unionist]

Missouri Democrat, published January 28, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#51)

Mr. Todd said that the allusion should not be made to any sectional party except the Black Republican Party. "For," said he, "Mr. Snead[480] is present among us, aiding us in our glorious work. Shall he be stigmatized? Shall the party Mr. Snead belongs to be stigmatized?" For his part, he was not afraid to speak of the Black Republican Party as the only sectional party. He had done so in the last August election, and would do so again. (Here there was much applause and stamping of feet.)

Mr. Snead then arose. He looked, and doubtless felt, that he was there to command and dictate, and not merely to consult. He held the

[479] If the findings of the Secession Convention change the relationship of Missouri with the federal government, or any state, that finding must be approved by the voters of the state.

[480] Thomas L. Snead was the editor of a pro-secession newspaper in St. Louis, which was considered the mouthpiece of the Minute Men. He eventually became a Confederate colonel and a Missouri representative to the Confederate Congress.

resolutions in his hands and read them aloud. As he read them one by one, he would dash his pencil through such as displeased him, with few but emphatic words, "this will not do" and "this will not do." He shook his ambrosial curls and gave the nod, and all that there was of Union in the resolutions was dissolved by his mere touch. Some of us who were Union men, in fact, looked on and said nothing. Mr. Mitchell looked decidedly as if he had been "sold," and I felt so although I said never a word. Judge Treat made a speech. He said if it was desirable to go in one direction, the resolutions ought to say so explicitly; if the other, then the resolutions ought to say so. If, however, it was deemed best to take the middle ground, then that should be done. But the resolutions neither went in one direction, nor yet the other, nor did they even take a middle course. He, therefore, objected to them, and made good his objection, but did not indicate which course he wanted them to take.

The result of the caucus was the resolutions reported on the next day to the Union meeting, in which it was clearly demonstrated that the blessings of the Union were too great for endurance; that it was necessary to change the Constitution by the Crittenden Compromise, in order to secure our constitutional rights; that any attempt to coerce seceding states would dissolve the Union, (already dissolved by the secession of several states), and that it was necessary to call a convention of the people of the state of Missouri, by which the state could secede if she chose in order to preserve the Union. These resolutions gave satisfaction to all, except Treat, who would not say what he wanted; to the Union men they gave satisfaction by lavish praise of the Union; to the Conditional Union men, by the declaration of an ultimatum upon which the Union should be preserved; to the regular rattlesnakes of secession, by the resolution against coercion, by which alone, now that half a dozen states have seceded, the Union can be maintained, and opening the door to carry off Missouri through a convention, to the southern confederacy already forming. The only drawback to the whole affair was the persistence with which the people hailed every sentiment in favor of the Union, and cried down every attempt of the orators to incline to secession, upon any condition whatever.

The managers of the meetings were well pleased at their achievement, by which they had perverted the Union meeting into a disunion, secession and anti-coercion affair, until the exposures of the *Democrat* and other Republican papers in the city, and the ominous silence of the *Evening News* made it manifest that in the election for delegates to the Convention, the people did not intend to be "sold" again to the disunionists. It had been concerned that the ticket was to be composed of Conditional Union men and secessionists, but it became apparent that in such a case the people were determined to have a ticket of Unconditional Union men, and elect it, and not only elect it but break up the scheme of the coalition to "carry the April city election." The firmness of the Union men of this city, and the exposure of the deception of the disunion coalition, compelled the *Missouri Republican* to draw out of the alliance, and it has recently proclaimed that it will support no secessionist for the Convention; its plan is to impose upon the people a ticket of disunionists disguised as Union men—just as it supported and elected Claiborne Jackson and Tom Reynolds by denouncing Hancock Jackson as disunionist, well knowing that Claiborne Jackson was the better disunionist of the two. It is possible that the *Republican* may be compelled to put some honest and *bona fide* Union men on the ticket in order to carry through those that will be secretly for disunion. Its game is now the same as it always has been. It is compelled to go for the Union on account of the heavy pressure of the Union sentiment in this city, but it will contrive to have many tadpoles on its ticket, who will not drop their Union tails until after the election.

Yours,

—ELY."

* * *

Annex 55 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-55)

The First Drop of Blood Means War

Missouri Democrat, published January 5, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#16)

The real exponents of the Republican Party are themselves acting upon this idea. Mr. Seward,[481] who may be called the real leader of the Republican Party, and who has been more misunderstood, than any other man in the Republican Party, shrewdly apprehends and anticipates the trouble, and, like a true patriot, stands forth to concede everything in order to save the Union. His speech at the Astor House,[482] a few evenings ago, was conceived in the finest spirit, and when we read it, we were in doubt which most to admire—its humor, its skill or its courage. He is a member of the Senate Committee of Thirteen,[483] and the propositions attributed to him in regard to the Fugitive Slave law, and to the admission of New Mexico as a slave state, although not authoritatively announced, and though not covering all the ground, have nevertheless originated in the sincerest patriotism.[484]

Mr. Lincoln, president-elect, is not behind Mr. Seward. He began early after his election to show that he was willing to assist in the good work. The speech of his personal friend, Senator Trumbull,[485] one of the most steadfast and patriotic men in the nation, made in his presence, although objected to by some who expected more at that early period of the campaign, was a large concession to the expectations of the Southern people. And now that Mr. Lincoln has announced the appointment of Hon. Edward Bates,[486] of Missouri, a slave state, as a leading member of his forthcoming Cabinet [as Attorney General], and that his immediate organ at Springfield [Illinois] has put forth every kind expression that he has ever uttered in favor of the South, may we not claim that the chief magistrate, who is to supersede President Buchanan, will be animated by a Union-loving and national spirit? Mr. Corwin,[487] another Republican leader, has manifested a disposition to extend the Missouri line to the boundaries of California.



PROPOSED MISSOURI COMPROMISE LINE

The personal friend of Mr. Seward, Thurlow Weed,[488] has re-echoed this harmonizing idea, and the leaders of the Republican Party all through Pennsylvania and New Jersey, stand almost to a man upon the same platform.

On the other hand, it is asserted, with less emphasis, we confess, that the representatives of the cotton states in the Senate Committee of Thirteen (such men as Jefferson Davis and Robert H. Toombs)[489] have indicated their willingness to take the Crittenden Compromise,* whenever it is offered by the Republicans.

Thus, we see the extremes meeting. Thus the men who lead, the ultra Republicans and the ultra Southern men, standing face to face, like the sections they respectively represent, are beginning, like brothers who have differed, bitterly differed,

[481] U.S. Sen. William H. Seward, former governor of New York, became Lincoln's U.S. Secretary of State.
[482] For the Aster House speech, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-22).
[483] Committee of Thirteen: See Editor's note at (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10.1).
[484] See Sen. William H. Seward's speech of December 1860, (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-22).
[485] Sen. Lyman Trumbull, from Illinois, was one of Abraham Lincoln's closest advisors until after his inauguration. Later, he said Lincoln was too undecided and inefficient to crush the rebellion.
[486] U.S. Sen. Edward Bates, from Missouri, would serve as U.S. Attorney General during Abraham Lincoln's first term. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#3).
[487] U.S. Sen. Thomas Corwin, from Ohio, is best known for the Corwin Amendment, which forbade the U.S. government from abolishing slavery. It passed Congress on March 2, 1861, but was ultimately unsuccessful in drawing the seceding states back into the Union.
[488] Thurlow Weed, a N.Y. newspaper publisher, helped organize the Republican party. After Lincoln's inauguration, he served as an unofficial delegate to Britain and France.
[489] U.S. Sen. Robert Toombs, from Georgia, would leave his seat on February 4, and two weeks later, would become the Provisional C.S.A.'s first secretary of state.

and yet desirous of rushing into each other's embrace, to offer measures of compromise and peace. When they do so, the verdict, whatever it may be, will be hailed with applause and gratitude by a free and reunited people, never, we trust in God, to be severed, "while the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls a wave."

* * *

Annex 56 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-56)

Gov. Jackson and Lt. Gov. Reynolds Clearly for Secession

Missouri Democrat, published January 3, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#10)

The basest feature in the conduct of these enemies of our peace is they profess to be *Union men.* They pretend to desire its preservation. They pretend to seek peace. But watch them closely, and they show the cloven foot of a devil in all their movements.[490]

But the course of the Republican Party has quietly demolished the whole of them, and driven the agitators to the real ground of their dissatisfaction. Mr. Jefferson Davis[491] produced this in the Senate Committee of Thirteen in shape of a demand by the South to introduce slavery into all the territories as fully as it exists in the slave states, coupled with a guaranteed right for slave owners to "travel and sojourn" with their slaves in free states, as desired. What is this but the unqualified extension of slavery by the South? A declaration that A, B or C shall have the power to fix a slave status on the territories against the will of ninety-nine percent of its people! Here the South stands and here the North meets her with a flat denial.

It is not protection, it is not security for slavery where it exists that the South now demands, but it is the right to cultivate, propagate, and extend the institution of slavery at pleasure. It is evident that but for this demand, peace would be secured to the country in one hour.

The disunionists know that this demand will never be conceded by the North. Their professions of devotion to the Union are not worth much when coupled with such conditions.

He, who is for Union only, when by common consent the Union is to become the instrument of slavery propagandism, knows already such consent will never be given.

The slave states have no such right, never had any such—no intelligent man ever expects to get any such guarantee. Let, therefore, no real Union man be fooled; if he commits to this, *he is committing to disunion*. But this is the plan of Gov. Jackson, Lt. Gov. Reynolds & company. The people are to be told that the North, who concede all they ought, will concede nothing, that Missouri must expand upon the right of *propagation and extension of slavery*, or raise the standard of revolt. Thus it is hoped to precipitate our people into civil war in order to extend slavery, an absurd, wicked attempt, contrary to the practice of our government from 1789 to 1854, contrary to the opinions of its founders, contrary to the spirit of the age—a movement against which civilization frowns and

[490] Real "Conditional Unionists" were loyal Unionists. They were critical of South Carolina for seceding, but actively campaigned to have the federal government seek compromise with the disgruntled slave states. They were against any effort by the government to coerce slave states to stay in the Union, and were against Missouri providing troops to support a coercive effort. However, they had no interest in Missouri seceding, or going to war to defend the right of others to secede. Hamilton R. Gamble was a Conditional Unionist organizer and leader. He was eventually appointed provisional governor of Missouri at the second meeting of the State Convention, after they removed Governor Jackson from office on July 31, for making war on the United States.

[491] U. S. Sen. Jefferson Davis, a West Point graduate, withdrew from the U.S. Senate on January 21, 1861, after Mississippi seceded from the Union. On February 18, he became the provisional president of the Confederate States, selected by the C.S.A. Provisional Congress in Montgomery.

humanity revolts, a movement the powers of the earth have united to condemn, and worse of all, a measure utterly destructive to the institution of slavery, the moment it shall be accomplished.

LINN.

* * *

Annex 57 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-57)

Disunion Conspiracy in Missouri

Missouri Democrat, published January 7, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#19)

Their success carries with it the repudiation of the state debt in the first place, a circumstance which perhaps recommends them in certain quarters. It is manifest that if the resources of the State are to be dried up, and its revenues devoured by military armaments, the payment of interest on twenty-five million of bonds is out of the question. Unless the General Assembly imposes a new tax immediately, the July interest cannot be paid [on the state debt], and how can a tax for that or any other legal object be imposed if the plowshares are to be beaten into swords and a war policy established? The sum of fifty thousand dollars which Parsons's bill purposes to appropriate will affect little or nothing. The plan is to authorize the newly created dictator to make such contracts as he shall deem necessary, and we hazard little in the asserting that the cost of these contracts will be counted in millions instead of thousands. The convention itself will cost the state a round sum. When it is remembered that the single item of public printing last year abstracted a hundred thousand dollars out of the treasury, there is hardly a possibility of measuring the scale of expenditure this year. Some may be shallow enough to suppose that the repudiation of state debt will give relief, but such a gross fallacy can only deceive that class from which the inmates of the penitentiary are annually recruited. Property would be actually valueless in the state in the event of its people being loaded down with the infamy of repudiation.

Better far would it be, in a more pecuniary point of view, to double the debt than to repudiate it wholly or partly. Woe to our rich man if the governor's revolutionary policy be not defeated! That policy will force loan payments, confiscations, and bankruptcy. It seems more calculated to destroy Missouri's financial center, St. Louis, than any other end. But we beg to inform the citizens of rural Missouri, that as soon as the city is attacked, the state is smitten, for the one is the heart of the other, and the wound afflicted upon it will spread decay throughout the whole system.

The cloven foot [of the devil], having been protruded so soon and so defiantly, we see no course left open to the Union men of all parties in the legislature but unbending, uncompromising opposition to the revolutionary policy from the outset. There are but two parties in the nation today—the Union party and the Disunionist party. We honestly hope the members of the General Assembly, who are opposed to the secession conspiracy, will set as one man and meet the conspirators at every turn, disputing the ground with them inch by inch.

* * *

Annex 58 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-58)

Governor Jackson's Call for Secession

Missouri Democrat, published January 7, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20)

So far as he can, it is evident that he will hold the reins of power with a firm hand in the discipline of party allegiance, and use that power strenuously for the accomplishment of his recommendations for an immediate state convention. Unless the people speak out in unmistakable tones against this great folly and state suicide, a gloomy prospect is before the state and St. Louis. The first measure of

importance before the legislature will be the calling of a state convention. What will be the consequences?

With the ultra secessionist inaugural of the governor before the people, with a willing Democratic Party majority in both houses, the convention will be called, and the state of Missouri will be firmly committed to all ultra secession movements of the extreme South.

The effect on the value of our state bonds will be most disastrous, crippling the energies and enterprises of our states in the wheels of government and the system of internal improvement. The commercial interests of St. Louis will be still more ruinously prostrated; the price of real estate will be reduced to an alarming extent, and panic, distrust, and alarm will pervade the whole state. The currency based on those bonds will be ruinously depreciated, and a large portion of our circulating medium [paper money] will become depreciated and withdrawn from circulation.

It is feared that the mischief to a great extent is already done. It will be seen that the governor is opposed to any further completion of our railroads at the present time, save, perhaps, some one branch that may, in his opinion, be able by its completion to pay the interest on its bonds and liabilities. During his administration, it may be safely inferred that no state aid will be granted to our railroads, and that great system of internal improvements must depend alone on private enterprise.

It is evident that the Speaker of the House concurs with the views of the governor, and also that the lieutenant governor would use all his power and influence to carry out those views. The question of the state convention will probably come up on Monday next.

—K.

* * *

Annex 59 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-59)

Disunionists in Control of Legislature

Missouri Democrat, published January 7, 1861

Continued from (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#20.2)

Our fathers, when they threw the tea into Boston Harbor, did not stop to count the cost. When the honor and rights of a state are assailed, it should not hesitate to vindicate them in the fullest manner, and should not stop to count the cost. He contended that secession is the proper mode of redress for a state if its rights cannot be maintained in the Union, and that if a state cannot secede, then she has no mode of redress whatever. In that case, we should soon be living under the reign of some Louis Napoleon, and the president would merge into an emperor or despot. Already the news is that an attempt is to be made to collect the federal revenue at Charleston [South Carolina] by force, and the next news will be that civil war had commenced.

He stood on the doctrine that desperate wrongs require desperate remedies. Missouri would go with the South when the proper time arrives. He deplored secession, but would we not go with the South rather than dangle at the tail of a Northern republic? He believed that a compromise could be produced on the basis of Crittenden's Compromise[492] in the Senate. He went on to argue that the great part of the trade of St. Louis was with the South. In case of a Southern Confederacy being formed, St. Louis would not perish in it, but she would perish in a Northern one. From whence is the trade of Pittsburgh [Pennsylvania] and Cincinnati [Ohio] derived? It is from the South. Should secession take place and Missouri go with the South, that trade would be secured to St. Louis. Secession was not such a worry as many would make it.

In a southern confederacy, treaties could be

[492] The Crittenden Compromise called for six constitutional amendments and four congressional resolutions to mollify secessionists. It was popular among slave holding states, but unacceptable to those who opposed the expansion of slavery beyond the states where it already existed. For a summary of the Compromise, see Essential Information #10: "Crittenden Compromise" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#30). For the full text, see (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan-Annex-8).

made advantageous to Missouri with foreign powers, as for instance, the reduction of the duties on tobacco.

An amendment was offered to print five thousand of Gov. Stewart's message, and five thousand of Gov. Jackson's inaugural, one thousand of each in the German.

This again gave rise to a long debate. Senator Johnson, of St. Louis, moved to strike out the printing of one thousand each in German, and went into a statement of his reasons. Among others, he recited the declaration of W. H. Seward, in St. Louis, saying that Missouri must be free—Germanized. He wanted to put his foot on all such declarations. His amendment was carried, and the vote was taken on the motion to print five thousand of each in English, which was carried. [None were approved for printing in German by the Senate.]

———————

Senate—Afternoon Session

Mr. Parsons,[493] of the 27th district, introduced a bill for the immediate arming of the militia of the state, and making an appropriation of $250,000 for that purpose, which was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

A motion was introduced to call a state convention,[494] which was laid over for the present.

Senator Johnson, of St. Louis, introduced an act amending an act in regard to riots in St. Louis and St. Louis County. This amendment takes out of the hands of the mayor and the sheriff the power of calling out the military and suppressing mobs, and places the power in the hands of the governor, lieutenant governor and those they may appoint. This bill is a direct effort to take all available power, in case of mobs, from the hands of municipal and county officers, and leave the people of the city and county to the tender mercies of mobs and disunion governors. The measure will be strongly opposed by the St. Louis delegation, should it come before the House, and its base ends and objects, hatched in treason, will be fully exposed.[495]

—K

* * *

Annex 60 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-60)

Metropolitan Police Bill— A Bill to Annul the City Charter

Missouri Democrat, published March 1, 1861

Our Democratic senators are desirous of rounding their fame with a measure worthy of their previous essay in statesmanship. Under the title of a bill to create a Board of Police Commissioners for St. Louis, a project has been introduced in the Senate for putting the city under the rule of a disunionist Board. The first batch of commissioners are to be directly ingested into power, and their successors, at the end of two and four years, to be appointed by [Governor] Claiborne Jackson and the next governor. The Board is to be authorized to issue scrip annually, bearing interest in the rate of ten percent, to an amount exceeding by $25,000, the cost of the police department in 1860. Of course, they would never stop at that figure. An application would be made at each succeeding session of the legislature to enlarge their powers, and especially the power of taxing the people and running the city in debt, and thus we should have a new colossal banking cooperation established on the principle of the French Credit Mobilier, which collapsed some two years ago, ruining hundreds of thousands. The system proposed, in its police features proper, is

[493] Missouri State Sen. Mosby M. Parsons would be commissioned as a brigadier general and given command of the 6th Military District in Gov. Jackson's Missouri State Guard after the passage of the Military Bill (effective May 14, 1861).

[494] The Missouri State (Secession) Convention would meet from February 28 to March 22, 1861.

[495] On March 27, the "Police Bill" passes the Missouri legislature. The bill strips the St. Louis mayor of his authority over the city's police and gives it to a board of police commissioners, appointed by Gov. Jackson. See Essential Information #6, "Metropolitan Police Bill" (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#22.1). For full text, see (FLP: Ser 2PS-Mar#14). Note: Jackson appoints all secessionists to the St. Louis Police Board.

very similar to that which prevails in countries where representative institutions are unknown. The books of the commissioners are to be open to inspection only to a committee of the General Assembly. The Board, or rather a majority of it, are to have the exclusive power of calling out the military. The sheriff is to be no longer a peace preserving man. All measures which the mayor and council might adopt for preserving the public peace, would be not only null and void but absolutely illegal. The Recorder's Court is to be practically abolished, as well as the mayoralty. Justices of the peace, selected by the Board, are to have a monopoly of the business which is now transacted in the Recorder's Court and of the criminal business transacted in all the Justices Courts. The council is to be deprived of the imprescriptible right of the representatives of every free people—that of holding the purse strings. In brief, the Board is to have command both of the purse and the sword, and to be responsible only to the General Assembly. This nefarious scheme robs the people of St. Louis of the right of self-government and puts them under the thrall of an irresponsible band of despotic [secessionist] commissioners.

The government of the Roman Empire was carried on in the old Republican forms. In like manner, our municipal organization is to be permitted to have a nominal existence while all its powers are to be usurped and exercised by despotism composed of third class disunionists. The plan is in fact but a modification of those previously projected for putting the city under military rule. The authors are of the same relentless disunion clique, if they are not the same individuals. The tactics which were employed on behalf of the attempt to put the city under martial law are again resolved to. For instance, the *Republican* [newspaper] had a melodramatic description of a German organization, called the Schwartz Jagers, on Sunday last, designed to keep the last expiring sparks of excitement alive. What new trick is the disunionist playing now?—was the question everybody asked on reading the article in question. The answer was found in the reports from Jefferson City next day, announcing the introduction in the Senate of a bill to emasculate or rather to annul, the city charter. The Schwartz Jagers is now the cry when a plot is [afoot] to drive the General Assembly into perpetration of some outrage against St. Louis. Whenever Florida wanted anything from Congress, and that was very often a vision of Billy Bowlegs,[496] in all the lurid glories of war paint was sure to appear to all the people of the state, except to those residing where the scene of the incident was laid. The Jagers serve the same purpose for the *Republican,* and the other disunion interests here, that the semi-mythical Indian did for the Florida warriors.

* * *

Annex 61 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-61)

The So-Called Military Bill

Missouri Republican, May 19, 1861

It is not my purpose to examine this bill, which I have just now for the first time seen, from any party or sectional view. Let it be supposed that those who were instrumental in making it a law of the state of Missouri, felt themselves empowered to do so, and thought they were acting for the good of the state. The fact, nevertheless, is that the bill violates both the Constitution of the United States and that of the state of Missouri.

Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States enumerates the powers of Congress, and among them may be seen the *power* to make rules, etc., for the Army and Navy, and for calling out the militia. The whole spirit and tenor of the bill in question are in direct conflict with the power of Congress on this subject. It is useless to argue a point so evident to anyone who will read the Constitution and then read the bill. Again, Article 1, Section 10 of the Constitution of the United States prohibits the states from *keeping* troops without the consent of Congress.

Now, the direct purpose of the bill is to create a body of troops *in the state*, under designation of the *State Guards*. These troops are to be organized,

[496] Billy Bowlegs was a Seminole chief.

officered, uniformed, equipped and, let this be noted, *paid*; and they are to be instructed and disciplined by provisions within the bill, having no other sanction than that of the state, without any reference whatever to the power of Congress, or to the rules and articles of war, or laws governing the army of the United States. Instead of appealing to the rules and articles of war, as established by Congress, the government and authority of the United States are entirely ignored by the bill; and a set of *rules and articles of war* (so called in the bill) are set forth for the government of the Missouri State Guards, as if no such rules and articles were in existence on the statue books of the United States Government.

More than this: the bill provides for an oath of allegiance to the state of Missouri, to be taken by the entire militia of the state, without even recognizing the existence of the United States, subjecting all who disobey it to penal consequences; and this, too, in open and direct violation of Sec. 32, Art. 3, of the Constitution of the state of Missouri, which requires that all officers of the state government shall take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States *and* of the state of Missouri. A more direct violation of constitutional provisions cannot be pointed out in the proceedings of any legislative body that ever assembled to enact laws for a people.

I will not stop to ask the motive for this, but will assume it to have been an oversight, which loudly calls upon the governor to lay the bill aside as unconstitutional, as the only mode of relieving himself from the awful responsibility of sanctioning a measure which, if persisted in, must necessarily result in a bloody contest between the State Guards and the United States troops, the latter having the authority of the laws of the United States to enter the state of Missouri, if required so to do by their constitutional commander, the president of the United States.

The force of this last remark can be fully appreciated when it is seen that this most extraordinary and hitherto unheard of bill embodies a clause requiring the *State Guards* to disarm certain other armed bodies if within the state (see sec. 167).

It is needless to pursue this examination any further. Those who are disposed to see the questions in issue cannot fail to understand the bill as calculated, if not designed, to produce a collision between the state and United States forces, the actors on both sides being innocent so far as both may be obeying their respective superiors in good faith. This being so, who would be responsible for the enormous crime which lies hardly concealed in this bill? History is not always blind, and if calamities result from this Missouri Military Bill, some names must go with it down to posterity, loaded with dreadful curses.

* * *

Annex 62 (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-62)

About the Military Bill

Missouri Republican, May 21, 1861

It is one of the most lamentable features of the crisis through which we are passing, that men seem to be carried away by an excess of feeling, amounting almost to frenzy. Nobody seems *to think*. Reason has lost its sway, and a man is nothing now if he be not intemperate in the expressions of his opinions and intolerant when opposition is made to his extreme and abominable plans for the safety of the republic, or the destruction of it, which is much the best form of speech. Another unfortunate feature, in connection with public affairs, is that a man of sound intellect, great moral courage, and real interest in the preservation of our institutions, is no longer able to command public attention, or is reluctant to put himself before the country for fear of the torrents of abuse which are sure to be showered upon him by desperate politicians, by political eunuchs, by men who have nothing to gain by the return of peace, and who, to characterize them emphatically, would rather “reign in hell than serve in heaven.” Age, experience, and the voice of patriotism are set aside that people may be led, step by step, to ruin and civil war. One has only to look to the press and the pulpit, and to be present in one of our legislatures or public

meetings, to hear language and curses fit only for chaos itself. And for what? That the people may be the sooner induced to embroil themselves in a bloody war—brother against brother, father against son, carrying death and woe into every household in the land. We talk of this as an age of civilization, of high intellectual culture, of progress, and even claim that it is remarkable for Christian and ennobling virtues, and yet we see around us stronger evidences of barbarism of savage ferocity, of desperate wickedness, than has signalized any page of history. Is it not time that there should be some pause, on all sides, in this outburst of folly and madness and intent to murder?

What are we to gain by it? What is Missouri civil to gain by the inauguration of war and misrule within her borders by being overrun with hordes of troops, with no feeling of responsibility, except to obey orders, *to kill or destroy*, and thus to attack a land which, if left to itself, will yet be the abode of millions of happy, free people? Why should we, all unprepared as we are, merely from pride of opinion, and to carry out the views of ambitious men, consent to a policy which can have no other termination than the total subjugation of the state, after having sacrificed thousands of lives and witnessed the destruction of all the material wealth of which we are now possessed? What have these men done for the people that we should be called upon to make such sacrifices for them? If, twelve months ago, they had gone to work quietly to pass such laws as would have put the state in a condition of defense, and thus to have prepared for us the calamities which are hovering over us, they might have had some claims to statesmanship, and even a prudent regard for the lives and property of the people. But they had not the foresight or the courage to do it; and now, with a foolishness, which is nearly allied to insanity, under the influence of terror, and in a midnight session, they permitted themselves to pass laws which never can be executed, and the whole effect of which is to bring disgrace and ruin upon the state. That law, upon which they relied for an organization of the militia, contains features so revolting as to make it impossible that it can be made efficient. Instead of uniting the people everywhere in a measure of defense, it contained in many of its provisions the seeds of division and discord weakening the state by such dissensions and rendering all other efforts abortive to sustain her in the crisis through which she is destined to pass. Even if we had an overflowing treasury, how could this law, which was never read in the Senate and never seen by half a dozen of its members, and which was passed at midnight in secret conclave, when only some twenty senators were present—how could any party expect that it would meet with favor from those who are to be subject to its operation? We know it will be said in extenuation that it was passed in hot haste, consequent upon the reception of news of the slaughter of men, women and children at Camp Jackson, but that is no apology for them. Instead of legislating under the impulse of passion, or of fear, the necessity was the greater for deliberation and a full examination of the consequence of every measure before them. Now that they have returned to their homes and have had time to reflect upon what they have done, and done so badly, instead of rushing the people into civil war, they should counsel them to peace until some other means can be devised for their deliverance from what they may conceive to be oppression and wrong.

There ought to be no organization of the militia under this law. Gen. PRICE is a soldier of great experience, and accustomed in a long course of public life to observe strictly the Constitution, and we feel persuaded that he will not commit himself to the execution of an act which violates that instrument. He cannot desire to enforce a law, which is certain to divide instead of drawing together and uniting as a band of brothers the whole people. No blame can attach to him if it is deemed absolutely necessary to wait for the meeting of the legislature in September to remedy the defects of their past unconstitutional and unfortunate legislation. Gov. JACKSON can only feel solicitous for the preservation of the peace of the state, and we submit to him, and to the people, that this can best be done by declining to enforce the provisions of this law at this time.

* * *

Appendix A - Abbreviations

The following are abbreviations used in 1861.

Newspapers and Personal Correspondence

A&C	Chicago & Alton railroad.
Ans'd.	Answered
Cmg., Cdmg.	Commanding [as in Cmg. officer.]
Esq.	Esquire
Genl.	Alternate abbreviation for general [as in Genl. Lyon.]
Hon.	Honorable
jour.	Journeyman; worker
Ks.	Kansas
KT.	Kansas Territory
Ky.	Kentucky
Messrs.	Plural of Mister [Mr.]
N.	North
No.	Number
N.E.	North east *[NE; NW; SE; SW]*
R.R.	Railroad
ss.	Symbol indicating an "official Seal" was on the original document.
St. L	St. Louis Railroad
U.S.R.C.	United States Reserve Corps. These were six-month regiments, of which there were five, mostly from St. Louis, who served during much of 1861.

U. S. Military Grade[1] (Rank[2])

OFFICERS

Lt. Gen. or Lieut. Gen. …	Lieutenant General (3 stars)
Maj. Gen. ……	Major General (2 stars)
Brig. Gen. ……	Brigadier General (1 star)
Gen. ……	General[3]
Col. ……	Colonel
Lt. Col., Lieut. Col. …..	Lieutenant Colonel
Maj. ……..…..……	Major
Capt. ……...……..	Captain
1st Lt., 1Lt. (1st Lieut.)	First Lieutenant
2nd Lt., 2Lt. (2nd Lieut.)	Second Lieutenant
Bvt. …….	Brevet[4]

ENLISTED GRADES

NCO ……	Non-Commissioned Officers
Sgt. ……..……	Sergeant
Cpl. (Corp.) ……..	Corporal
Pvt. ……..……..	Private

Military Abbreviations

Act.……..	Acting [Acting commander]
Adj., Adjt. …	Adjutant[5]
ADC ……	Aide-de-camp
Adj. Gen. …	Adjutant General [The adjutant for a general.]
Art.…….	Artillery
Asst. ……	Assistant [as in Asst. Adjutant General—Asst. to the Adj. Gen.]

1 **Grade** - relative position within the army, bottom to top: 2/Lt.; Capt,; Maj.; Lt. Col.; Col.; Brig. Gen.; etc.

2 **Rank** - relative seniority, based on date of promotion within a grade. Both are the same grade (Capt.), but one is senior in rank.

3 **"General"** is commonly used in speaking and sometimes in writing to refer to all grades of generals.

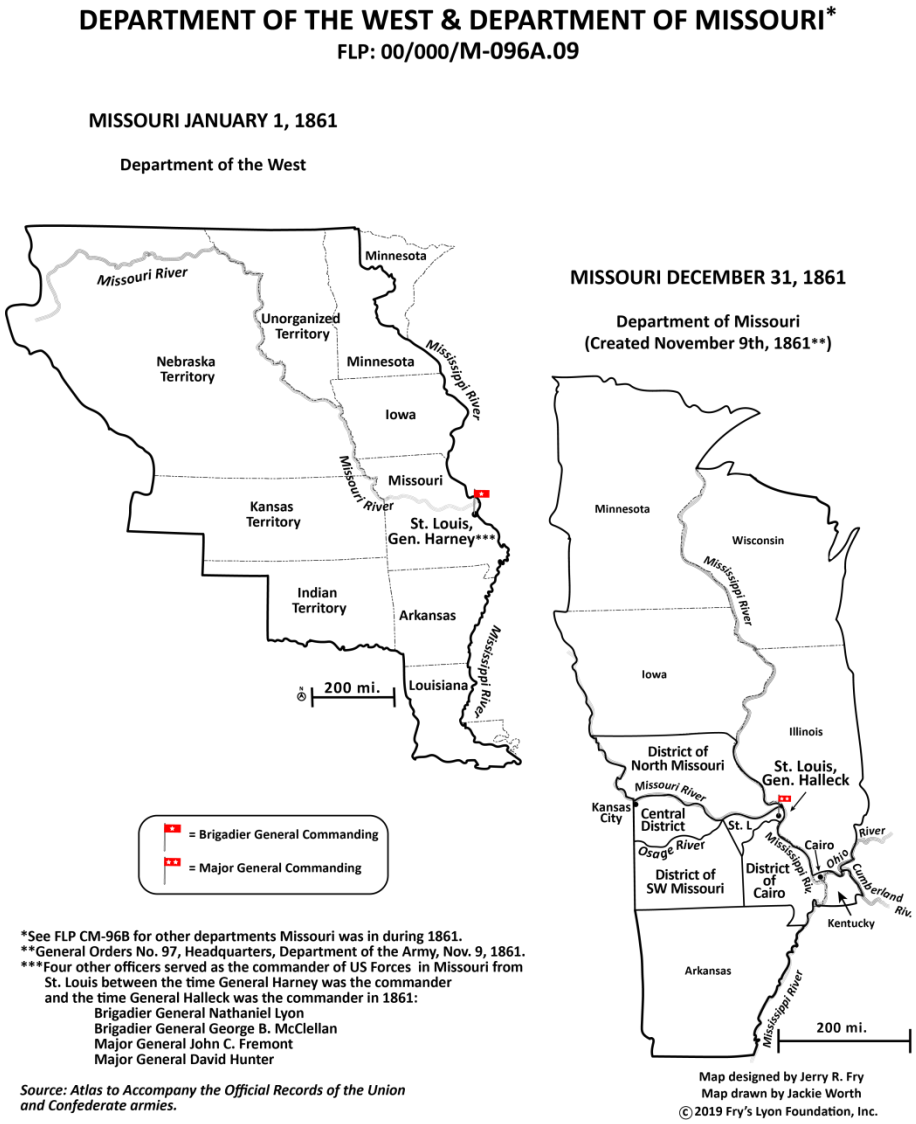
4 **"Brevet"** indicates one has a rank that is temporary or honorific, which is higher than one's rank on his regular seniority list. For example, when a captain receives this temporary or honorific promotion, he wears the insignia of his brevet grade and is referred to by the title of the brevet grade but is not senior to those he was not senior prior to receiving his brevet promotion. One is not normally paid at the higher grade, unless the president himself takes certain steps to make that happen. Most brevet promotions are received for gallant and meritorious conduct in combat. [Other examples: 1. A West Point graduate waiting for a position to open up so he can be assigned to a unit as a 2nd Lt., is a Brevet 2nd Lieutenant until there is an opening for him to fill; 2. An officer serving in a position calling for a higher rank may receive a brevet promotion to the grade required by that position. The St. Louis Arsenal is to be commanded by a major; when a captain is given the position, he can be appointed a brevet major.

5 **Adjutant** (from a Latin verb meaning to help) The assistant for the commander responsible for all paperwork and personnel matters within the unit (Official Orders, Courts-martial, Personnel Reports, Records, etc.). Official letters for the commander are addressed to the adjutant. When a decision is made by the commander, the adjutant may prepare a letter or order, then signs it and dispatches it in the name of the commander. Consequently, something signed by the adjutant carries the authority of the commander himself. Some not familiar with the military system may think an adjutant (or adjutant general) is giving the order, but he is only passing on the orders of the commander.

Bat. ……. Battalion (Inf.) or Battery (Art.)
Batn. ……... Battalion (Inf.)
Brig. …… Brigade or Brigadier General (One Star)
Btry. …… Artillery Battery
Bvt.……. Brevet[5]
Capt. ……... Captain
Cav. …… Cavalry
Cdg., Cmdg. Commanding
Co., Comp. .. Company
Col.……. Colonel
Com. ……... Commissary Officer or Commissioned Officer
Corp. ……... Corporal
Doc. …… Document
Dr. ……. Doctor
Drgs. ……..… Dragoons
F., Ft. ……. Fort
H.Q. …….. Headquarters
Inf., Infy. ……Infantry
Leav. ……. Leavenworth, Ks.
Lt. Col. …….. Lieutenant Colonel
Lieut. ……. Lieutenant
Maj. ……Major
Q.M. …….. Quarter Master
Ord. ……Ordnance
Prov. Mar. ….. Provost Marshal
Regt. …….. Regiment
Ret. …… Return [Unit's report on the number and status of its men and its activities.]
Sargt., Sgt. ..… Sergeant
Sect. ……Section
Secy. …….. Secretary [as in Secy. of War]
Sqd. ……Squad
Sqs. …… Squares [an infantry formation used against cavalry]
Sub. ……Subaltern [a grade less than captain: ensign; 2/Lt.; 1/LT.]
Surg. …….. Surgeon [an Army doctor's title]
Temp. …… Temporary [as in Temporary Commander]
USMA ……U.S. Military Academy, West Point
Vol., Vols. …. Volunteer [as in 1st Missouri Volunteer Infantry Regiment]
West Pointer One who graduated from the USMC [Often considered a martinet by enlisted men.]

Appendix B - U.S. Army Districts Controlling Missouri in 1861

On January 1, 1861, no Federal Army troops were "operating" in Missouri. The small regular army element at Jefferson Barracks, five miles south of St. Louis, on the Mississippi River, was focused on supporting Army units outside of Missouri, in Arkansas and further west. There were two arsenals in the state, the St. Louis Arsenal and the Liberty Arsenal near Kansas City. Both had only a small staff to support their ordinance and supply activities. By December of 1861, there were thousands of federal troops, Confederate troops, rebel former members of the Missouri State Guard (MSG), a lot of bandits and outlaws, from one end of the state to the other.



In January of 1861, the Army's Department of the West, in St. Louis, was responsible for all military operations west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, except for Texas, Utah and New Mexico. That department had no "operations" in Missouri. However, by the end of the year, the headquarters in St. Louis

was controlling military operations across state. The information below spells out the changes that occurred in the command structure as the Army attempted to organize military operations in Missouri. A state that started the year at peace with itself and its neighbors, ended it a war with itself and its neighbors.

Department of the West (10 Nov 1960 Harney Assigned)

West of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains,
(except Texas, Utah Territory, and New Mexico),
including Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota,
Kansas Territory, Nebraska Territory, Colorado
Territory, Dakota Territory, Indian Territory (Oklahoma),
Louisiana, west of the Mississippi River

The **Department of the West** had been in existence for many years to control military activities west of the Mississippi. General Harney assumed command in November of 1860, but ended up being relieved by President Lincoln, reinstated by Lincoln, and then relieved a second time for making decisions that were not in the best interest of the United States, and the fact that Unionists in Missouri felt he was disloyal to the Union. He associated primarily with Southerners, many of them secessionists. His wife, who passed-away in 1860, was from one of the wealthiest slave-owning families in Missouri, and Harney had slaves himself.

1. William S. Harney
10 Nov. 1860—23 April 1861 (assumed Command 17 Nov. 1860)

Brig. Gen. Harney was relieved of command and recalled to Washington on 23 April 1861, for reasons stated above.

2. Nathaniel Lyon (Capt.)
23 April 1861 - 29 April 1861

When General Harney was relieved, Captain Lyon assumed operational responsibilities/command of the Department Commander.

3. Edmund B. Alexander (Col.)
29 Apr. 1861 11 May 1861.

Colonel Alexander was the senior officer in the Department of the West when Brig. Gen. Harney departed, but he was located at an isolated post in the West, and we found no record that he even learned he was the Department Commander until after Harney returned.

4. William S. Harney
11 May 1861 - 31 May 1861

After being called back to Washington to explain his actions and confirm his loyalty, Harney convinced those in Washington to reinstate him in command.

When General Harney was relieved the second time, Brigadier General of Volunteers Lyon assumed command.

5. Nathaniel Lyon
31 May 1861 - 3 July 1861

The Dept. of The West became the **Western Dept.**, when it became part of **The Dept. of Ohio**

Western Department (July 3, 1861)

[Sub-element of the Department of Ohio]
Organized on July 3, 1861 from The Department of the West.
It included (in part) Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas,
Nebraska Terr., Colorado Terr., Dakota Terr., and Indian Terr.

When the **Department of the West** was put under General McClellan's **Department of Ohio** by President Lincoln, the name was changed to the **Western Department** with McClellan assuming operational control of troops in Missouri, Illinois, and the other areas of the Department. When Major General Fremont arrived in St. Louis on 25 July 1861, he assumed operational control of the Department.

General Lyon was the Department of the West Commander on July 3; therefore, he was shown as the Western Department Commander until Gen. Fremont arrived in St. Louis on 25 July. However, McClellan took control of Missouri and Illinois, and Lyon only controlled the forces with him in the field after 3 July 1861, the same date he departed Boonville for Springfield, Missouri, where he was killed in the Battle of Wilson's Creek on 10 August 1861. Lyon had no control of other forces within the Department after 3 July, but he had directed everything that was done prior to that. McClellan started moving troops and giving orders when he took control, and he specifically directed Lyon not to move any troops without his authority.

See:
1. Frank Blair's strong comments against Lyon being removed from command. (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#82).
2. Lyon 1st letter to McClellan (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jun#61)
3. McClellan 1st letter to Lyon (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul#24) (Promise of troops not kept, Lyon received no additional troops.)

1. Nathaniel Lyon 3 July 1861 - 25 July 1861 (When Maj. Gen. Fremont arrived.)

District of Ironton, created 3 July 1861

2. John C. Fremont, 3 July 1861 - 24 Oct 1861 [Assumed Command 25 July 1861]

29 July 1861 District of North Missouri created, Brig. Gen. John Pope, commander

Lincoln ordered Fremont relieved and replaced him with Brig. Gen. David Hunter.

3. David Hunter, 24 Oct 1861 - 9 Nov 1861

Lincoln replaced Hunter on 9 Nov 1861 with Henry W. Halleck, and the new **Department of Missouri** was created.

After President Lincoln relieved Maj. Gen. Fremont, he initially appointed Brig. Gen. Hunter Western Department Commander, but two week later replaced Hunter with Henry W. Halleck. Then, so as not to upset Hunter, Lincoln reorganized the Western Department, creating two new departments, the Department of Kansas and the Department of Missouri. Lincoln gave Hunter command of the Department of Kansas and Halleck command of the Department of Missouri.

Department of Missouri (9 Nov 1861)

Minnesota, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Arkansas, Wisconsin,
Kentucky, west of the Cumberland River, Western Tennessee

Henry W. Halleck, 9 Nov 1861 - 11 Mar 1862
(Assumed 19 Nov 1861)

26 Nov 1861 District of North (Northern) Missouri Created

3 Dec 1861 District of Central Missouri Created

23 Dec 1861 District of Cairo Created

Sub-Elements of Missouri Departments

Active on 31 December 1861, under the Department of Missouri (Gen Halleck):

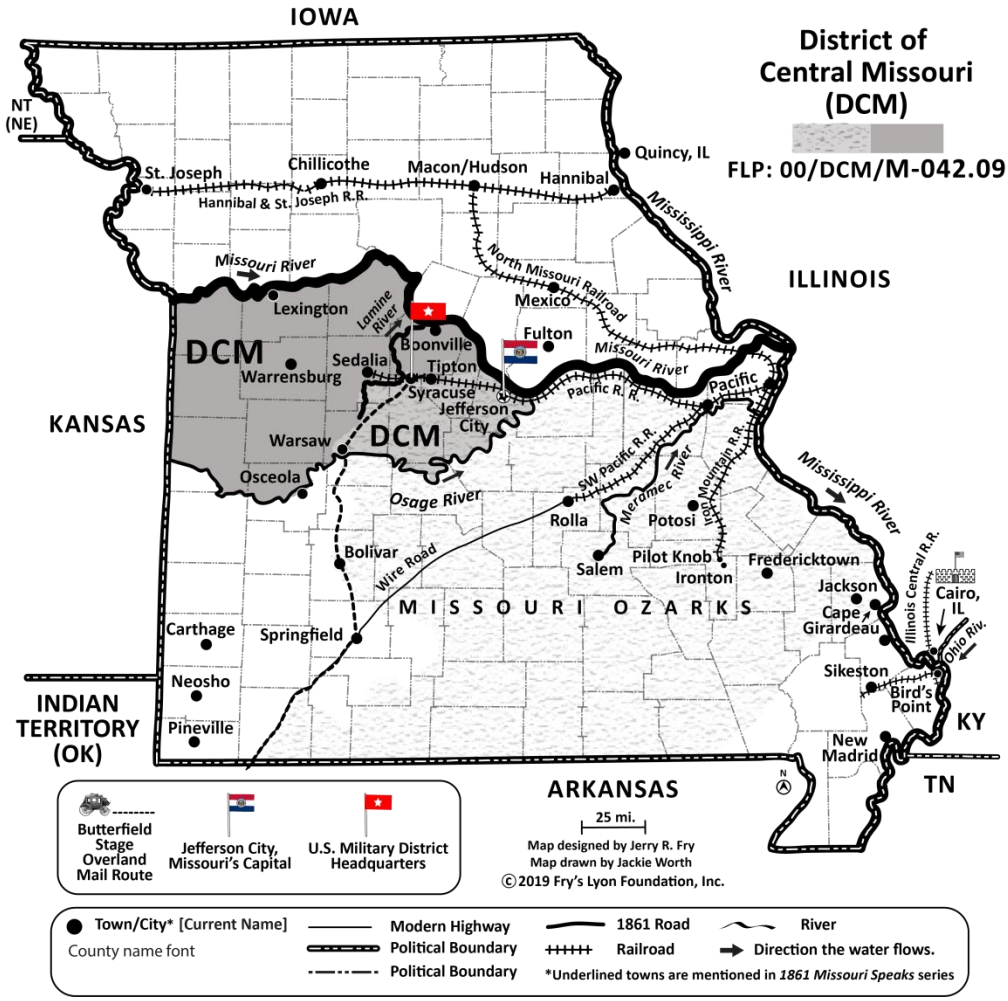
1. **District of Cairo**: Brig Gen Ulysses S. Grant
2. **District of Central Missouri**: Brig Gen John Pope
3. **District of North Missouri**: Brig. Gen. John M. Schofield (26 Dec 1861 - 11 Mar 1862) *
4. **District of Southwest Missouri**: Brig Gen Samuel R. Curtis
5. **District of St. Louis**: Brig. Gen John M. Schofield (11 Nov 1861—10 Apr 1862) *****

*Eicher, John H.; *Civil War High Command*; pp. 838 and 847. Shows Schofield commanding both at the same time.

1. District of Cairo—Created: 23 Dec 1861

[Created out of: the former District of Southeast Missouri]
(Created under: Department of Missouri—Gen Halleck)
[Area: Vicinity of Cairo, Illinois; Ironton, Jefferson City, and Cape Girardeau, Missouri]

1861 Commanders:
Ulysses S. Grant 23 Dec 1861 to 14 Feb 1862



2. District of Central Missouri—Created: 3 December 1861
(Created under: Department of Missouri—Gen Halleck)
[Area: Between the Missouri and Osage Rivers in Missouri]

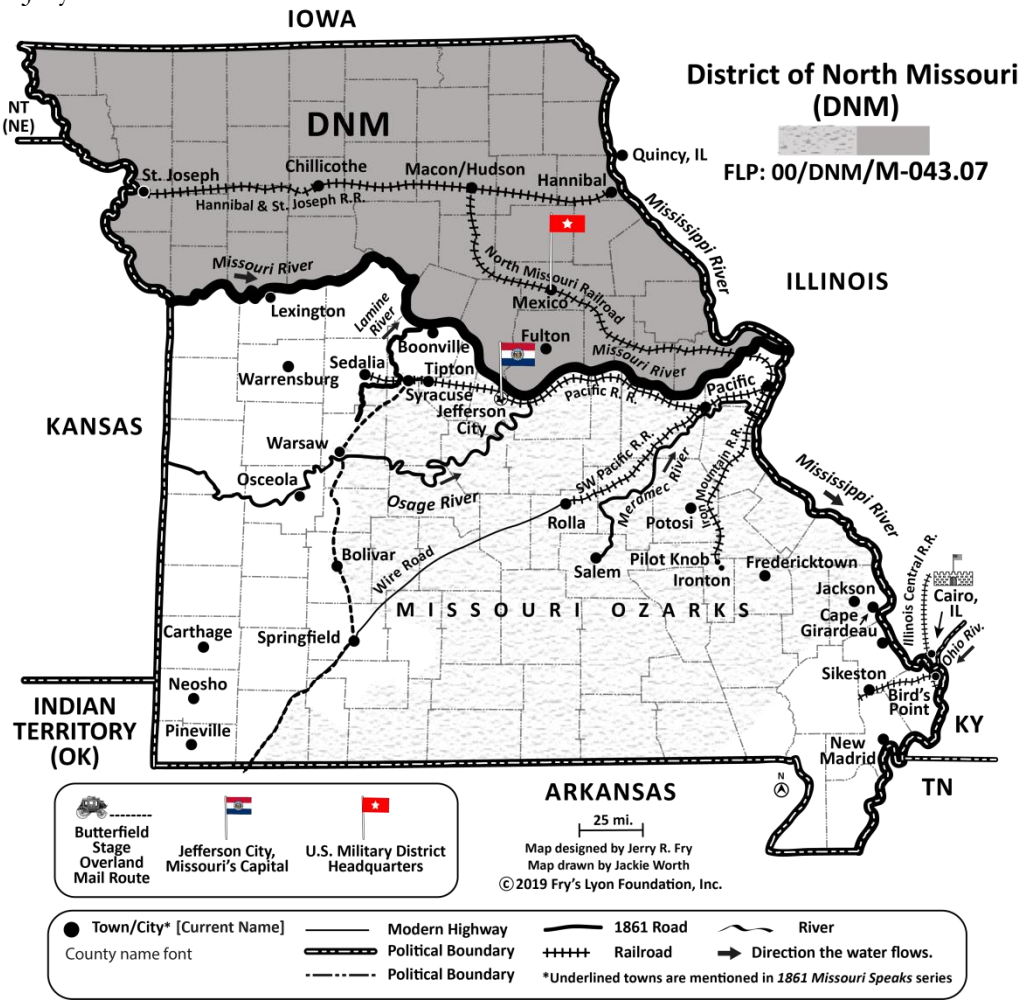
1861 Commanders:
John Pope 3 Dec 1861 to 11 Mar 1862
James Totten 11 Mar 1862 to 12 Feb 1862

District of Ironton—Created 3 July 1861 (Ended 1 September 1861)
(Created under: Western Department—Gen Lyon)
[Area: The environs of Ironton, Missouri]

1861 Commanders:
B. Gratz Brown 3 July 1861 - 8 Aug 1861
Ulysses S. Grant 8 Aug 1861 - 15 Aug 1861
Benjamin M. Prentiss 15 Aug 1861 - 1 Sept 1861

(Original) District of North Missouri—Created 29 July 1861 (Ended 26 November 1861)
Created under: Western Department—General Fremont
[Area: Around Hannibal, Mexico, Warrenton, and Renick, Missouri]

1861 Commanders:
John Pope, 29 July 1861 - 9 Nov 1861



NOTE: The above District of North Missouri was created on 29 July 1861 by Maj Gen Fremont with Brig Gen John Pope the commander; the book providing that information** shows John Pope gave up command on 9 Nov 1861. On 26 Nov 1861 Maj Gen Halleck created a new District of the North (Northern) Missouri commanded by Brig Gen Prentiss, which included what had previously been the old District of North Missouri commanded by Brig Gen Pope (around Hannibal, Mexico, Warrenton, and Renick, Missouri). No one is shown as commanding the old District of North Missouri from 9 Nov to 26 Nov 1861.

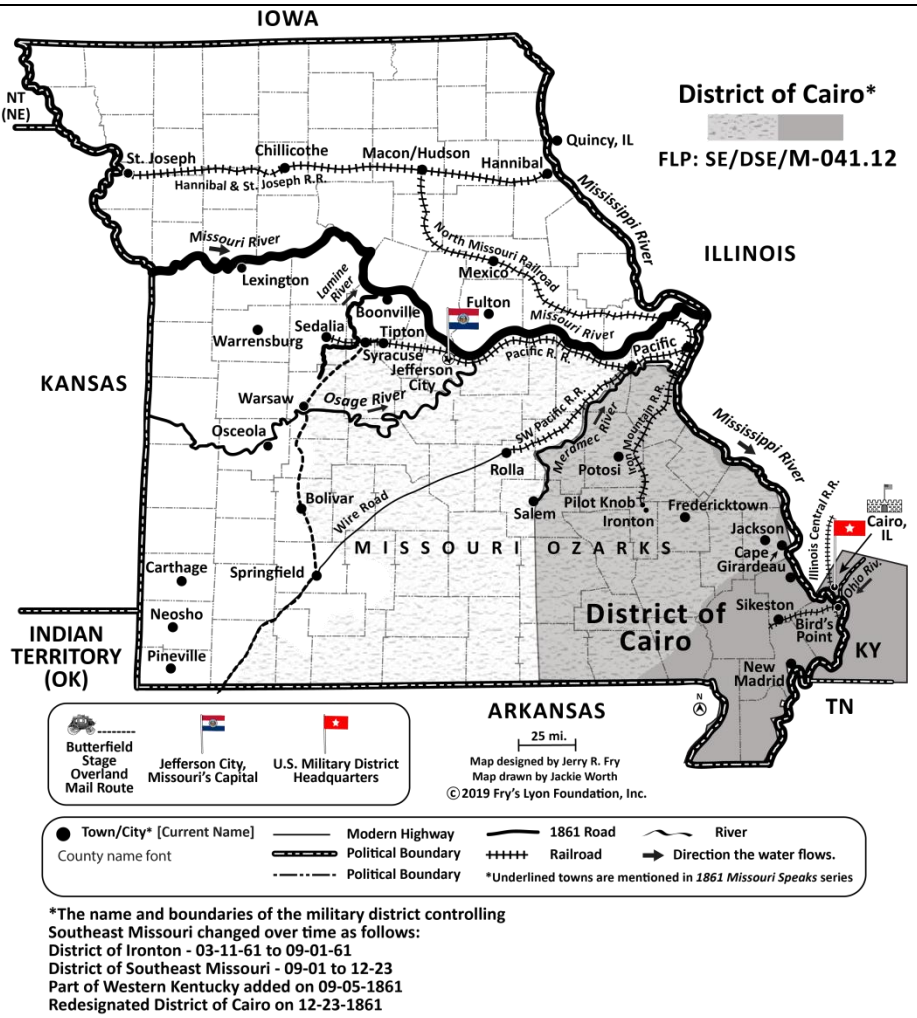
**Eicher, John H.; *Civil War High Command*; pp. 838 and 839.

3. District of North (Northern) Missouri—Created 26 November 1861
Under: Department of the Missouri—Gen. Halleck
[Area: State of Missouri north of the Missouri River]

1861 Commanders:
Benjamin M. Prentiss 26 Nov 1861 - 26 Dec 1861
John M. Schofield 26 Dec 1861 - 11 Mar 1862

1st District of Southeast Missouri—Created 1 Sep 1861 (Ended 9 November 1861)
Created under: Western Department—Gen Fremont
[Area: Bird's Point, Missouri, Cairo and Mound City, Illinois]

1861 Commanders:
Ulysses S. Grant, 1 Sept. 1861 - 9 Nov. 1861



2nd District of Southeast Missouri
Created 9 November 1861 (Changed to: **Dept. of Cairo 23 December 1861**)

Created under: Department of the Missouri—Gen Halleck

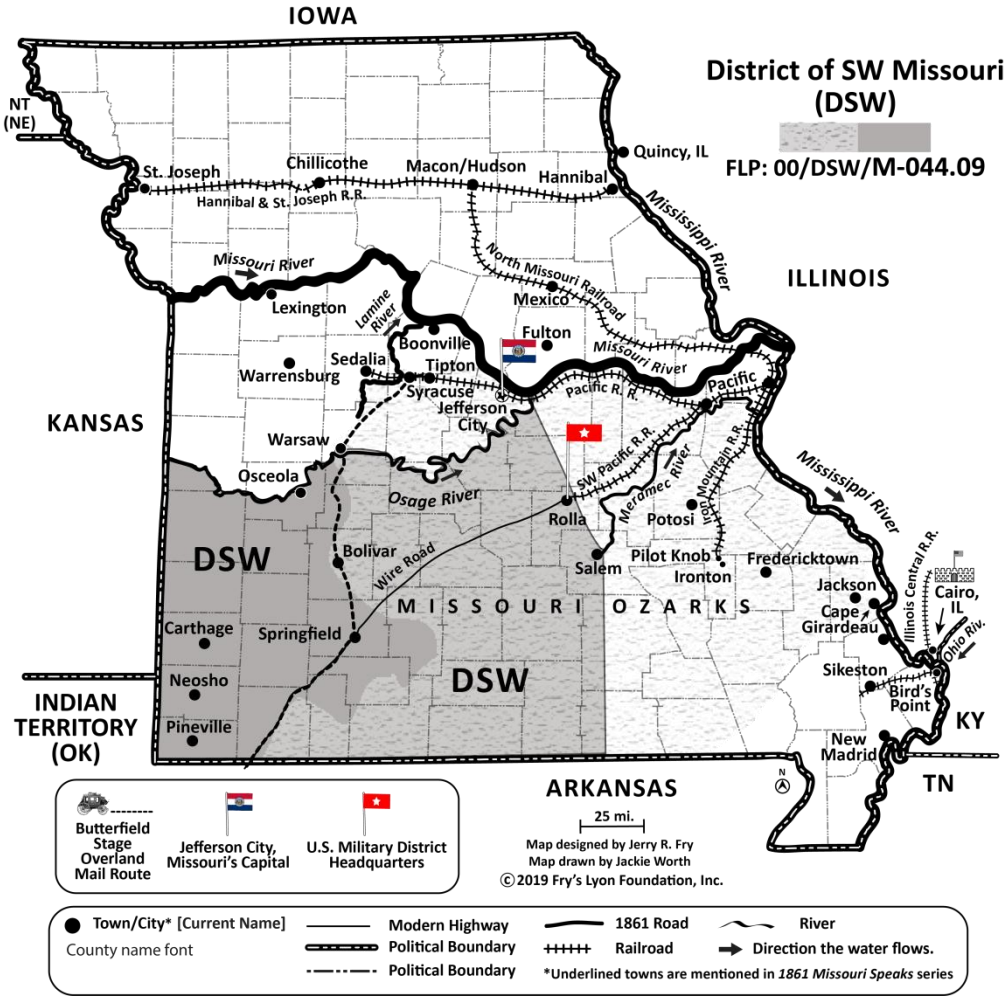
Changed under: Department of the Missouri—Gen Halleck
[Area: Cairo, Illinois area; Ironton, Jefferson City, and Cape Girardeau, Missouri]

1861 Commanders:
Ulysses S. Grant, 9 Nov. 1861 - 23 Dec 1861 (Renamed the District of Cairo—See District of Cairo above.)

---

4. District of Southwest Missouri—Created 25 December 1861
Created under: Department of the Missouri—Gen. Halleck
[Area: Missouri, south of the Osage River and west of the Meramec River]

1861 Commanders:
Samuel R. Curtis, 25 Dec. 1861 - 11 Mar. 1862

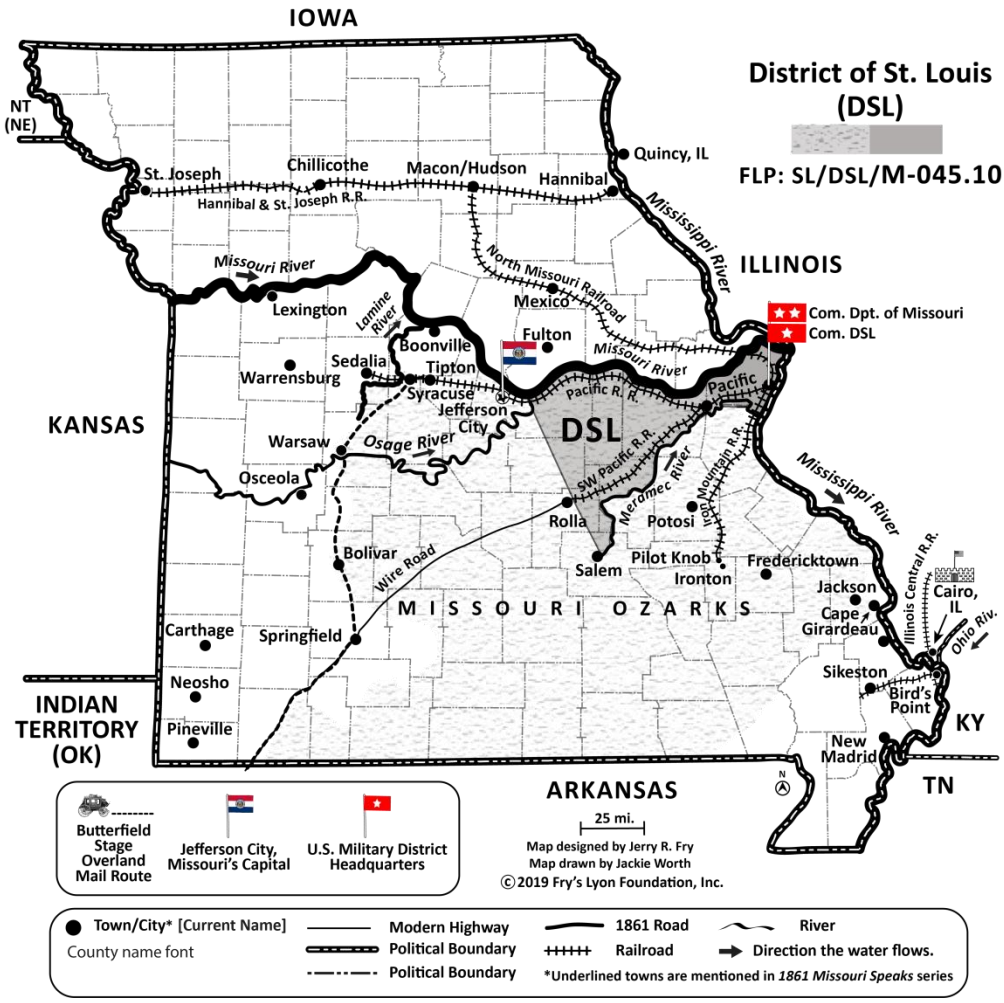


5. District of St. Louis—Created 25 December 1861

Created under: Department of the Missouri—Gen Halleck

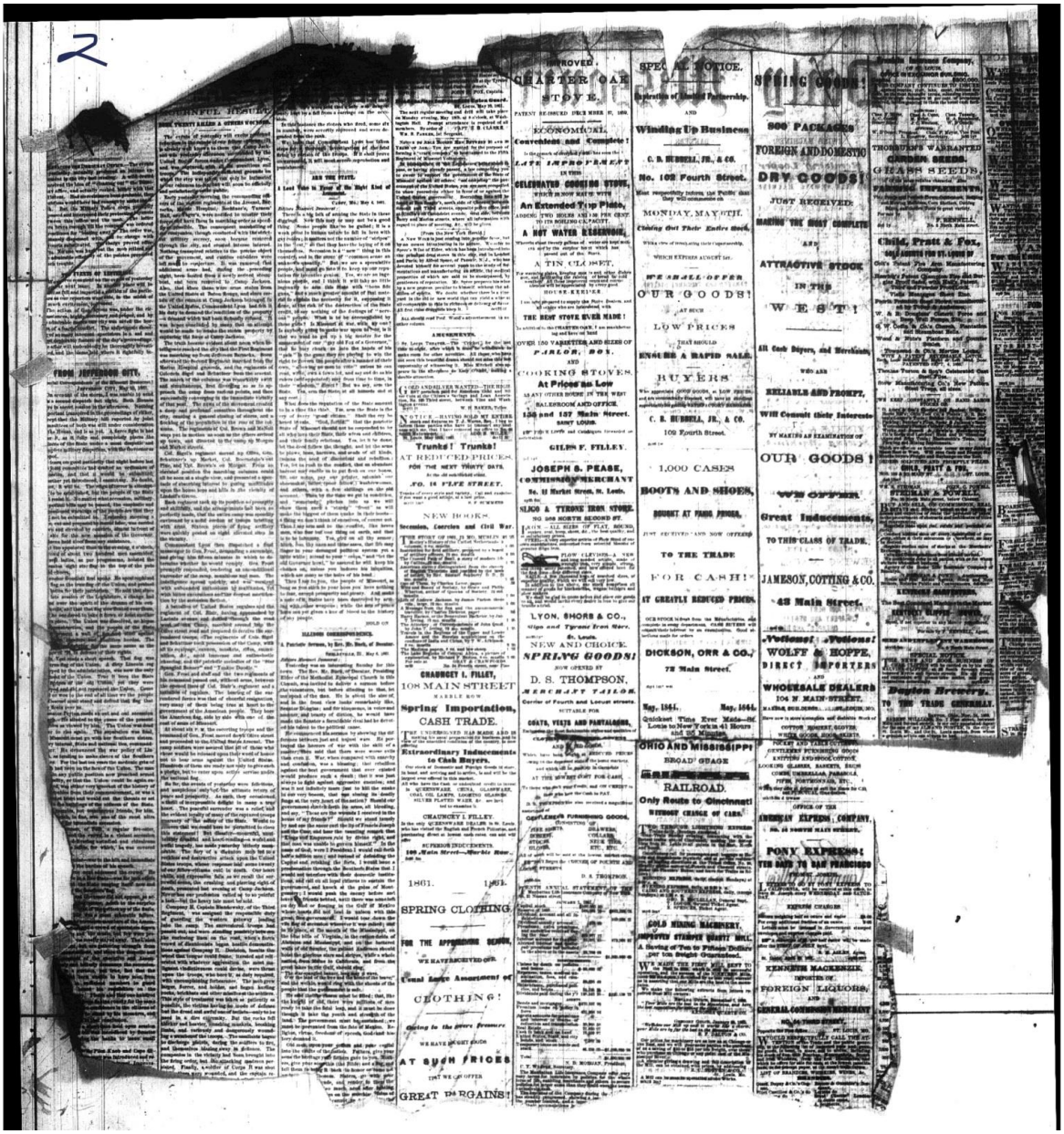
[Area: Bounded by the Mississippi, Missouri, and Meramec rivers and the railroad line from Pacific to Rolla, as far as Lindesy's Station, and a line drawn from the mouth of the Osage River, just west of Jefferson City to the Meramec River.]

1861 Commanders:
John M. Schofield, 21 Nov 1861 - 11 Mar. 1862



Appendix C

Sample page from *Missouri Democrat*



ABOUT THE EDITOR

Colonel Jerry R. Fry retired from the U. S. Army in 1992, having served four years as an enlisted man, mostly in the 82nd Airborne Division, and twenty-six as an officer after graduating from Infantry Officer Candidate School in January 1966. His duties took him from the platoon level to the Army Staff in the Pentagon. He attended the Command and General Staff College, where he received a master's degree in Military Art and Science and is a graduate of the U.S. Army War College. His Vietnam service included one tour as a helicopter pilot; when that tour ended, he extended his stay in Vietnam in order to command an infantry rifle company in the 101st Airborne Division (A Company, 1st Battalion, 501st Airborne Infantry). He can be contacted at flfJerry@gmail.com.

PROJECT RECOGNITION

There has probably never been a writer/editor more indebted to his helpers than I am. Both Jackie Worth and Teresa Veleces have been the lifeblood of Fry's Lyon Project, almost from the beginning; they have pulled together and organized all the material on the website (FrysLyonProject.com) which spawned the project books. Without their help, the project could have died on the vine, as they kept things moving forward during all of my ups-and-downs.

Jackie Worth has been the project's master researcher, microfilm reader, cartographer, and finding aid preparer. She has been a jack-of-all-trades extraordinaire. Jackie holds a B.S. degree from Montclair State University, Montclair, New Jersey. She lives with her husband, Richard, in Bolivar, Missouri. She is currently working on a Graphic Design degree from Southwest Baptist University in Bolivar.

Teresa Veleces from 2010 to 2019 was the foundation of the project and always kept things moving forward. She was the one that organized the Foundation website and did much of the research associated with separating out Missouri-related material from other Civil War repositories. Teresa lives in Humansville, Missouri with her family. She spends her free time enjoying many outdoor activities, like gravel biking and camping. Teresa was raised on a dairy farm in Indiana and spent four years serving in the military, which brought her to settle in Missouri.

Blanca Madani, a former researcher and assistant editor, joined the Fry's Lyon Foundation in 2016. She is the foundation's volume coordinator, assisting also with research and copy editing. She is the one that is responsible for every aspect of converting the Foundation website to printed volumes. Blanca has a B.S. from California State University, Stanislaus, in political science with a minor in history, and did graduate work at Georgetown University in Contemporary Arab Studies. Although her expertise is in a different area of the globe, Blanca's interest in U.S. Civil War history began in her early teens and grew during her early college years. She enjoys learning more about this period in time through her work with the foundation, particularly about Missouri's crucial role in the first year of the war.

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Fry's Lyon Project (FLP) Map Identifier Key

(FLP: 00/000/G-174.20)

Example:

FLP: **NW/DNM/M-142.01** represents:

Northwest Missouri / **District of North Missouri** / **FLP Number**

Geographic Regions:

NW (Northwest)
NE (Northeast)
WC (West Central)
SW (Southwest)
SC (South Central)

Missouri River Regions:
KC (Kansas City)
JC (Jefferson City)
SL (St. Louis)
00 (Not Region Specific)

Military Districts (If Needed):

DNM (North Missouri)
DCM (Central)
DSL (St. Louis)
DSW (Southwest)
DSE (Southeast)*
CMD Cairo Military District
000 (Not Military District Specific)

*Names and area changed over time:
District of Ironton - 03-11 to 09-01-61
District of SE Missouri - 09-01 to 12-23
Part of Western KY added on 09-05-61
Redesignated District of Cairo, 12-23

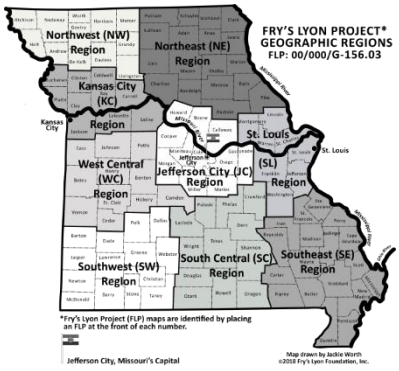
Letter and Numbers:

M-000.01 (Military Map)
B-000.01 (Battle Map)
S-000.01 (Specific Location Map)
G-000.01 (General Map)
C-000.01 (County Map)**
M-000.01 (Military Map)

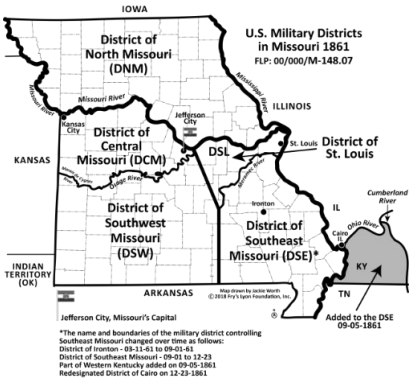
****County Map Key**

C-099 (Carter County)
C-100 (Wayne County)
C-114 (Pemiscot County)

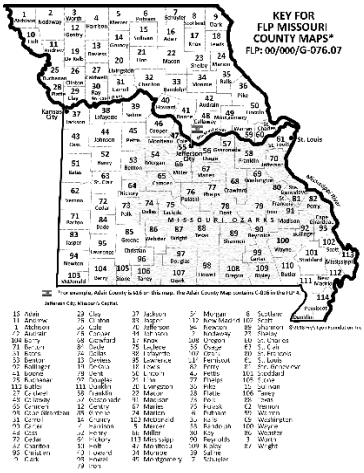
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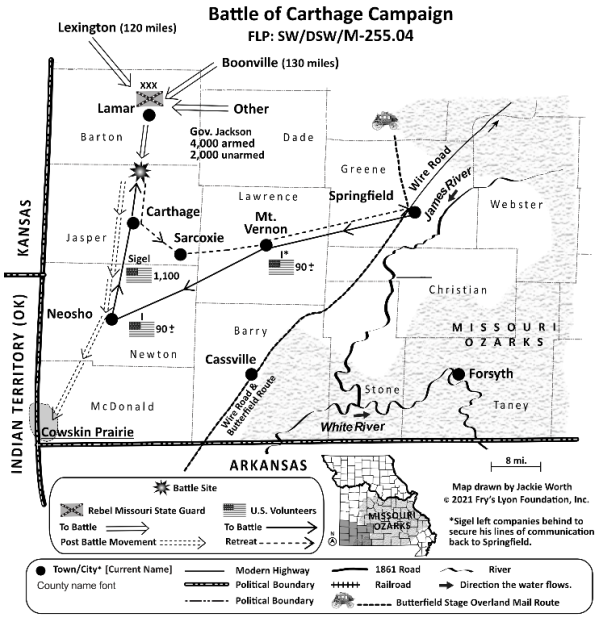
Military Districts:



County Map Key:

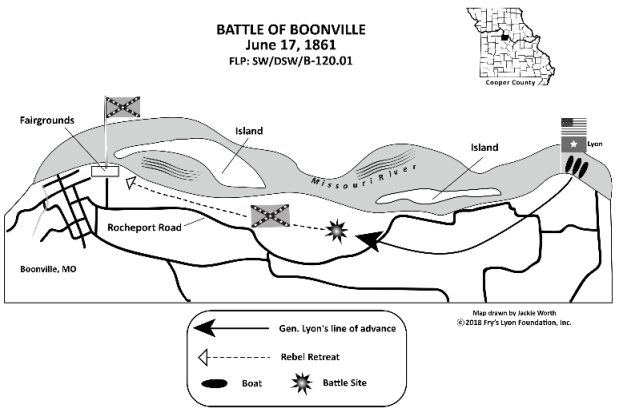


Military Map

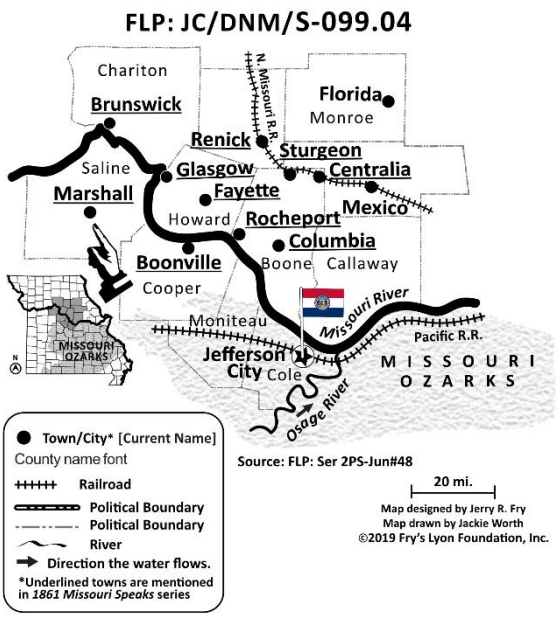


See next page for more information.

Battle Map



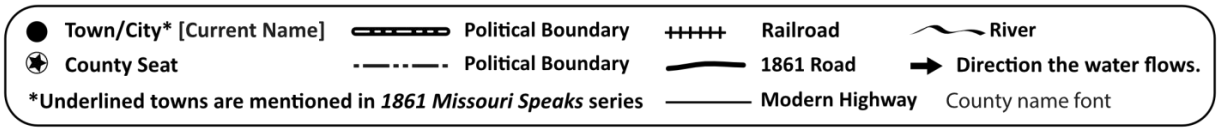
Specific Location Map

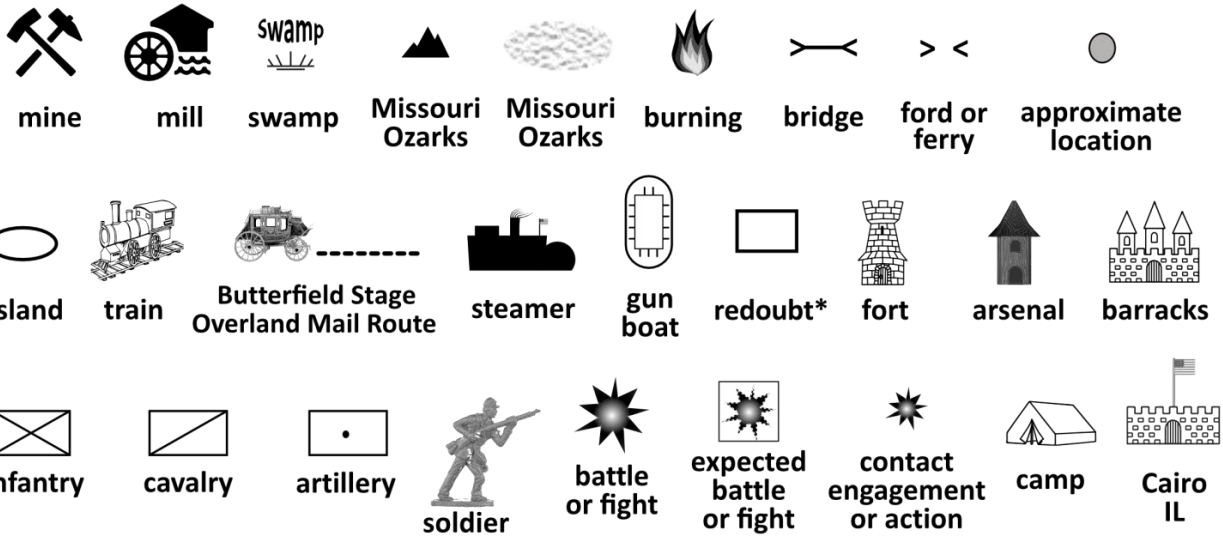


General Map



Frequently Used Symbols On FLP Maps
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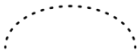
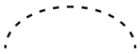
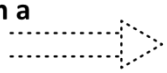
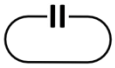
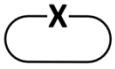


*A temporary enclosed fortified position.

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Battle Map Symbols
FLP: 00/000/G-141B.01

Basic Symbols

Company/Battery II
Regiment III
Brigade X
Division XX
Corps. XXX
Army XXXX
Infantry 
Cavalry 
Cavalry covering force 
Infantry pickets 
Artillery 
Artillery in position 
Trains 
Troops moving 
Troops moving from a previous location 
Troops in position 
Enemy side
or

Infantry Company
Enemy side

Infantry Brigade
Enemy side
Troops in camp 
Old or prior camp 

Generals' Flags


Lyon


Fremont

Samples

III

Sigel's Regiment

II

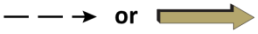
Totten's Battery

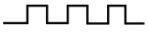
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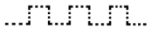
Carr's Cavalry Company

Troops moving (and direction) to new position 

Troops in position under attack 

Route of march 
or

Prepared position 

Old position 

Battle site 

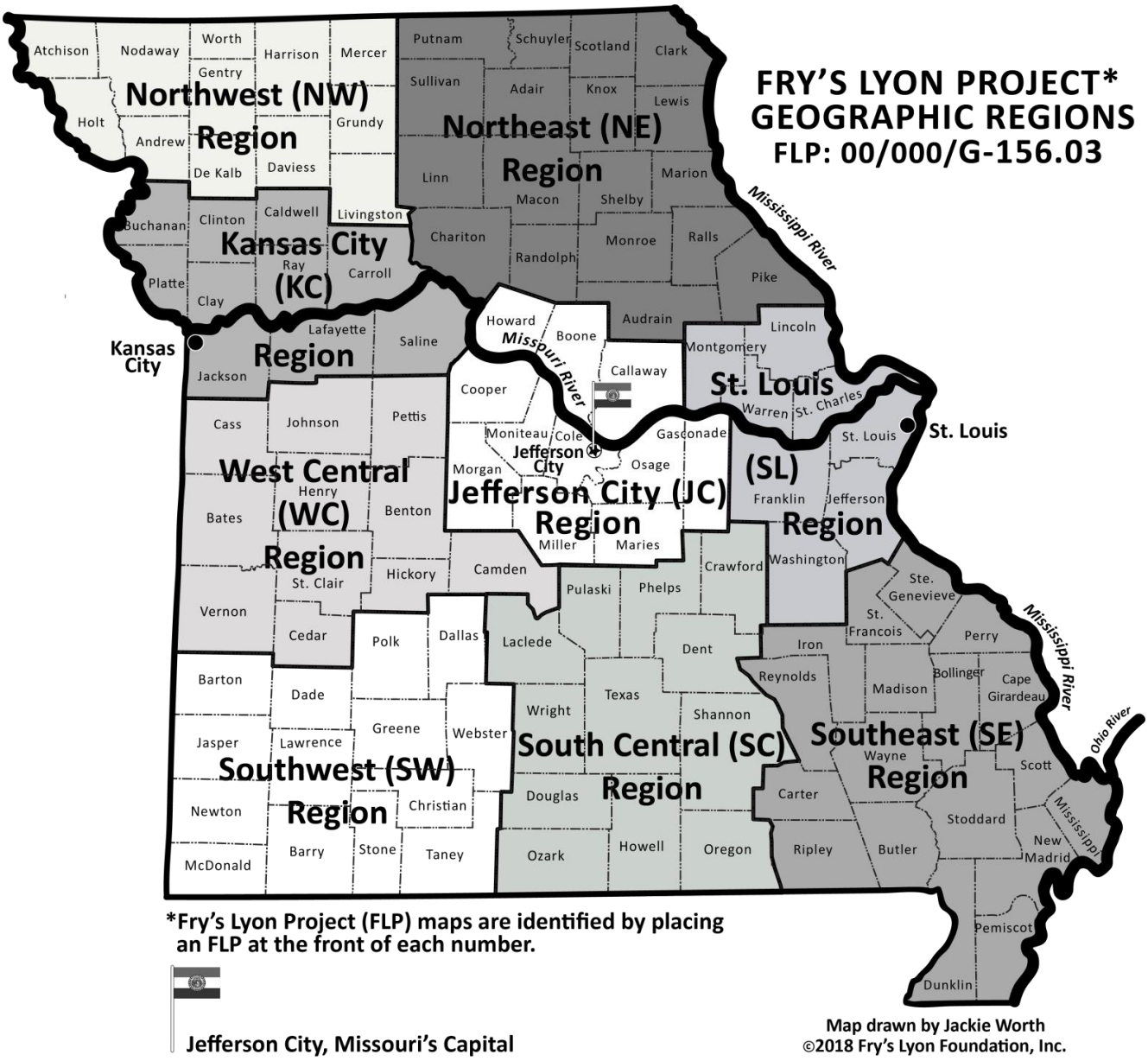
Expected battle 

Contact engagement or action 

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General Maps

GM-0

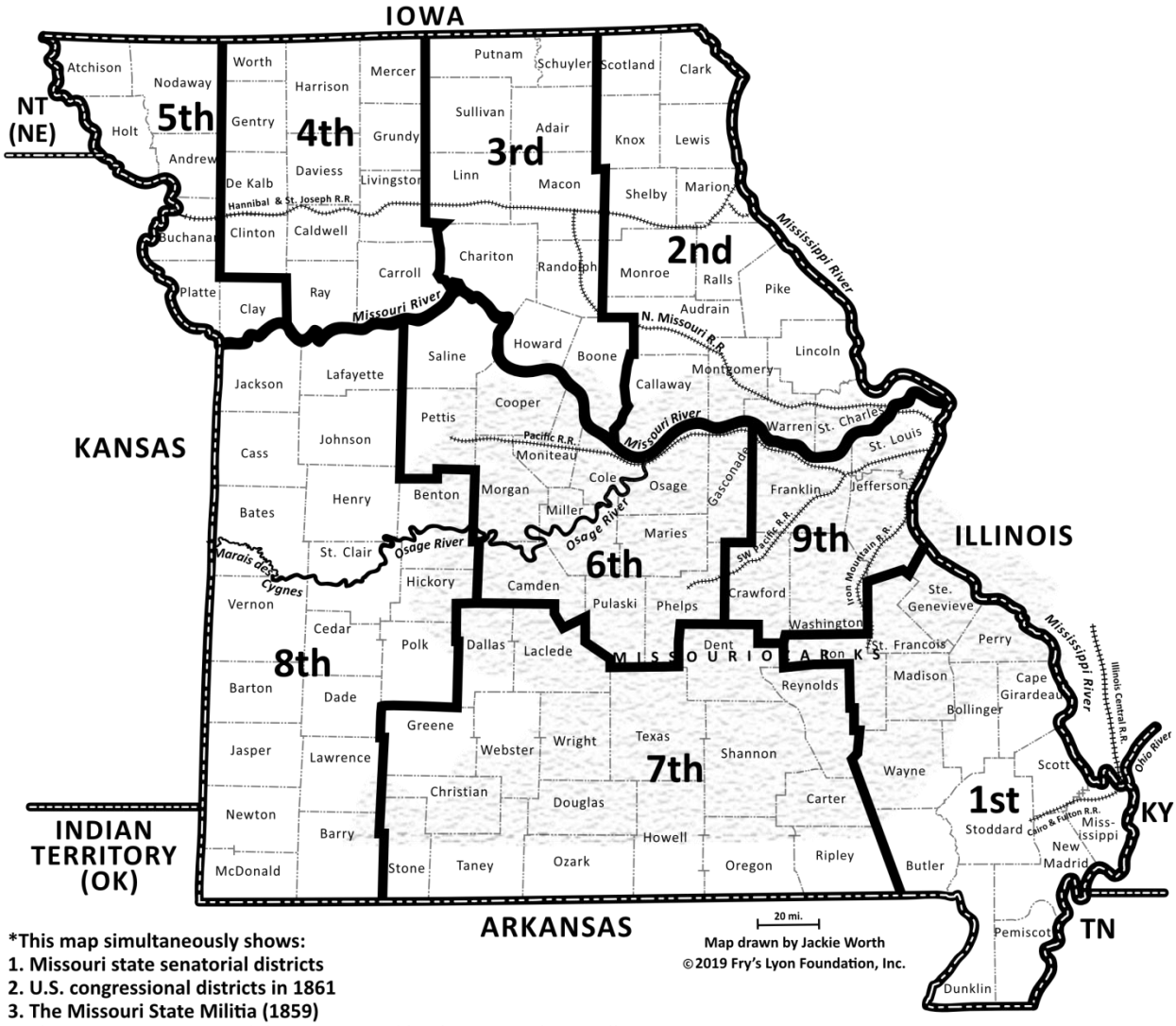


General Maps

GM-1

FOUR-IN-ONE MAP*
FLP: 00/000/M-064.07

1. Missouri State Senatorial Districts
2. U.S. Congressional Districts
3. Military Districts of the State Militia
4. Military Divisions of the Missouri State Guard, in effect from May 14, 1861, to July 31, 1861.



*This map simultaneously shows:
1. Missouri state senatorial districts
2. U.S. congressional districts in 1861
3. The Missouri State Militia (1859)
4. The Missouri State Guard districts created by the 1861 Military Bill and repealed by the Missouri State Convention, July 31, 1861. See (FLP: Ser 1MD-May-Annex-2) and (FLP: Ser 2PS-Jul-Annex-10).

The Military Bill

Springfield (MO) Mirror, published May 25, 1861

We give below some of the main features of the Military Bill passed by the called session of the Legislature.

The first section provides that:

"All able-bodied free white male inhabitants of the State of Missouri, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, who shall be enrolled or liable to military duty under the provisions of this act, shall constitute, be known and designated as the "Missouri State Guard," and the State of Missouri is hereby divided into nine Military Districts."

Each of these Districts have a Brigadier General who is appointed by the Governor, and the 22d section provides that said Commander or General "shall have power to arrest and bring to trial before a court martial, any member of the Missouri State Guard in his District, who may be charged with any military offense under this act," thus bringing every individual over eighteen and under forty-five, under the jurisdictions of a military court martial.

When mustered into service, the military have to take the following oath:

"You each and every one of you, do solemnly swear or affirm (as the case may be) that you will bear true allegiance to the *State of Missouri,* and that you will serve her honestly and faithfully against all her enemies; that you will support the Constitution of the State of Missouri, and observe and obey the orders of the Governor of Missouri, and the officers appointed over you, whilst on duty, according to the rules and articles for the government of the Missouri State Guards, so help you God."—See Sec 41.

Thus the constitution of the United States is given the go by, and the soldiers are virtually *sworn out of the United States*, and thus placed in a hostile attitude to the Government. Truly, Gen. Harney knew what he was saying when he called it a *secession ordinance in disguise*.

All officers are appointed except Company officers, who are elected by the Privates, but have to receive the approval of the superiors before they can be commissioned—which virtually takes from the private soldier any voice in selecting his officers, because he must elect those in favor with the superior officers, or his choice is not heeded. Very consoling this, to free born American citizens.

Sec: 141. "Whenever any person shall have been drafted into the service of the State, under the preceding sections, he may be excused from such service upon his paying to the County Treasurer of such county where the draft may have been made, within *twenty-four hours* after such draft has been made, the sum of *One Hundred and Fifty Dollars* as a commutation to the credit of the general military fund of the State, if the draft shall have been made for a service of twelve months, or in the same proportion for a longer or shorter time."

Poor men of Missouri, have you got this $150 laying by you or in your reach, so that you can get the sum in twenty-four hours after you may have been drafted? We

cannot speak for you, but for ourselves we can say we could not raise that much in twenty-four *days* let alone twenty four *hours*. Thus do our reckless legislators make laws that grind and oppress the poor man—requiring him to do the bidding of military despots—leave his home, his wife and little ones, to the cold charities of a heartless world—his crops untended—his family unprovided for, while the door is left open for the rich nabob[497] (who can raise a few dollars most any hour), to stay at home at his ease and revel in his wealth, while the poor man is compelled under the penalties of a military court martial, to go and fight the battles which he had no hand in bringing about.

There are many more objectionable features in this bill, which are well calculated to strike alarm to the heart of freemen, which we have not room or time to notice now. But we call on all true, loyal citizens to look well to their interest, or before they are aware of it this bill will be (in the language of a prominent leader in this place) crammed down your throats, and you become the helpless, ruined victims of a vile military despotism, and compelled to wage war on our Government and brothers. God forbid such a thing.



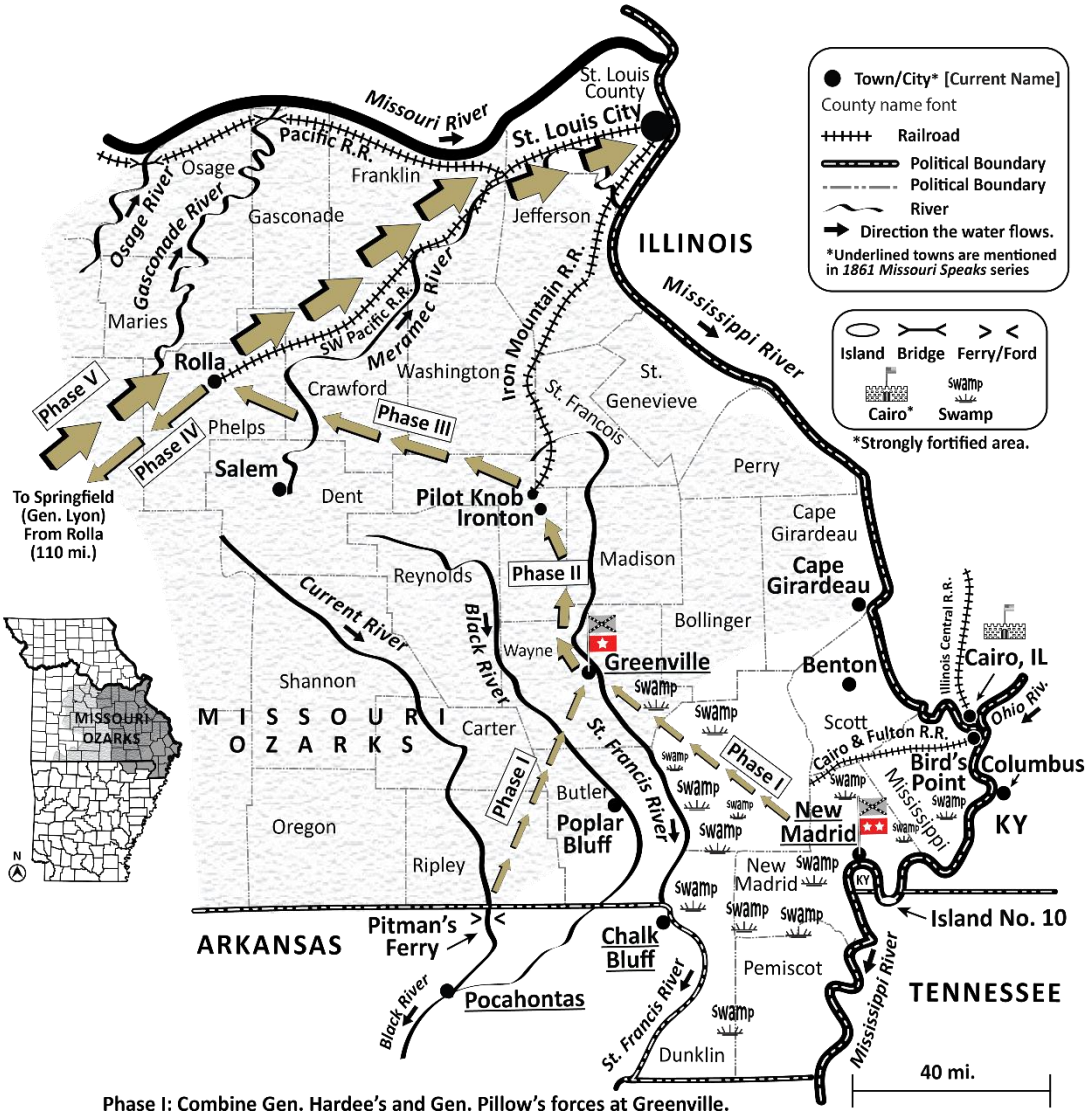
[497] Nabob: a person of high status.

General Maps

GM-2

C.S.A. Gen. Hardee's Proposed Plan to Capture St. Louis

FLP: SL/DSL/M-116.04



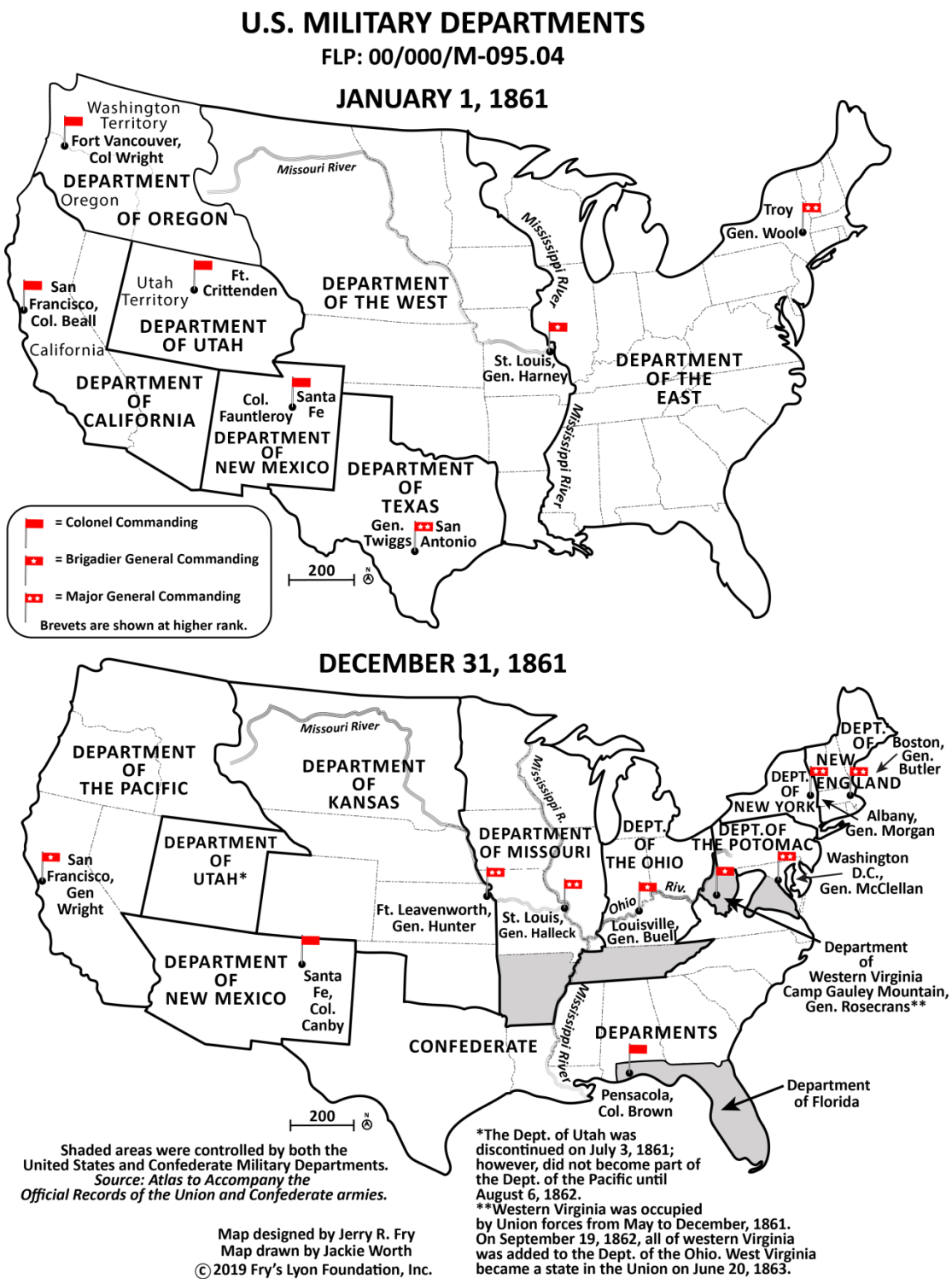
Phase I: Combine Gen. Hardee's and Gen. Pillow's forces at Greenville.
Phase II: Move to attack Ironton.
Phase III: Ironton to Rolla.
Phase IV: Rolla to Springfield, cut off Lyon's supplies, attack and rout him.
Phase V: Combine McCulloch's, Jackson's, Pillow's and Hardee's forces at Springfield, attack St. Louis.

Source: Hardee's August 7, 1861 letter to Tennessee Maj. Gen Pillow (FLP: Ser 2PS-Aug#70.1).

Map designed by Jerry R. Fry
Map drawn by Jackie Worth
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General Maps

GM-3



General Maps

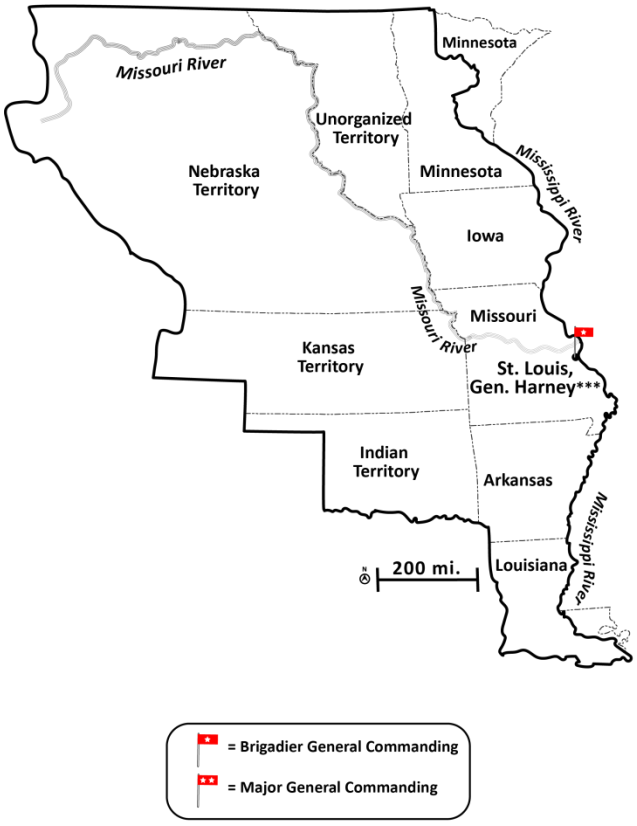
GM-4A

DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST & DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI*

FLP: 00/000/M-096A.09

MISSOURI JANUARY 1, 1861

Department of the West



MISSOURI DECEMBER 31, 1861

Department of Missouri
(Created November 9th, 1861)**



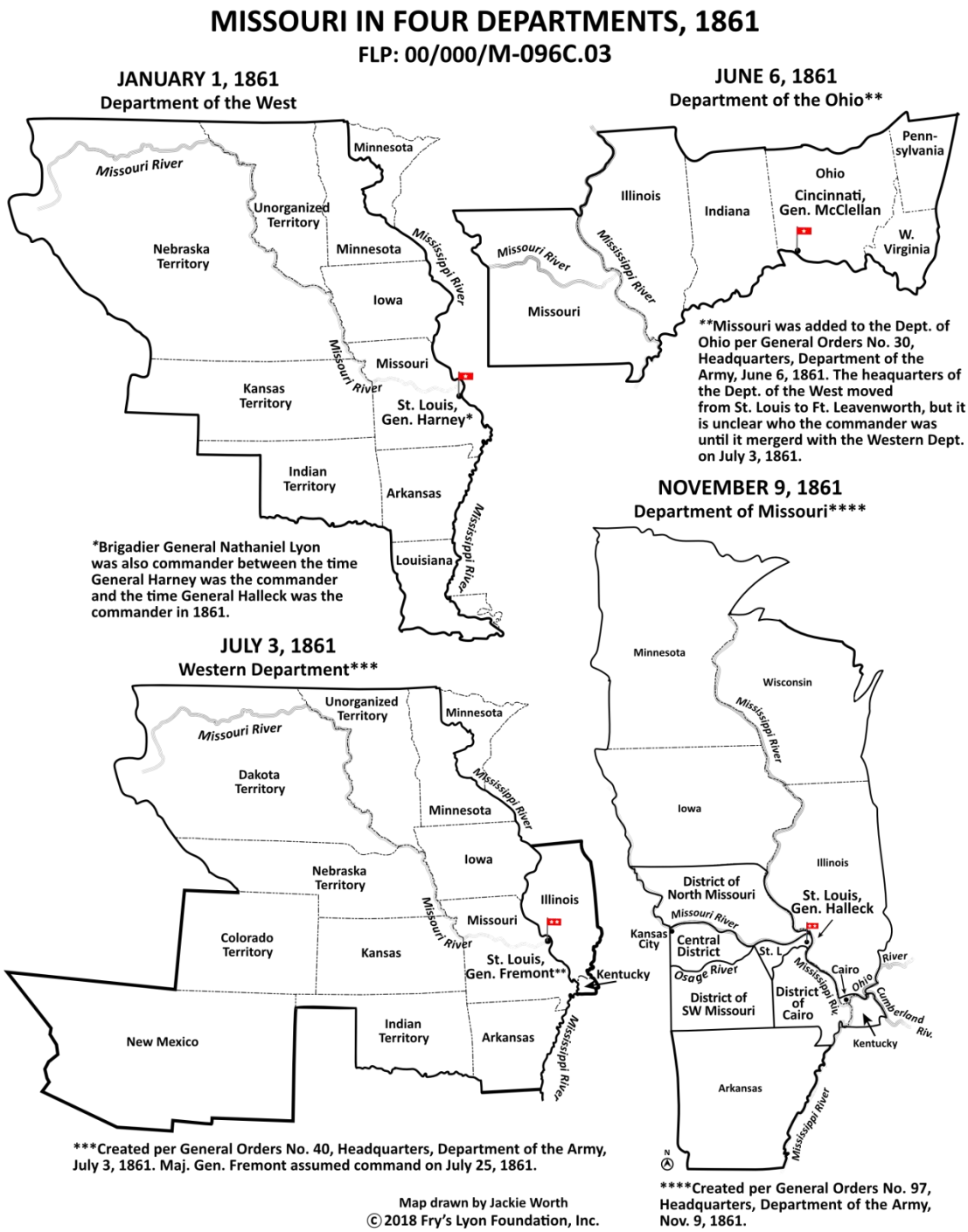
*See FLP CM-96B for other departments Missouri was in during 1861.
**General Orders No. 97, Headquarters, Department of the Army, Nov. 9, 1861.
***Four other officers served as the commander of US Forces in Missouri from St. Louis between the time General Harney was the commander and the time General Halleck was the commander in 1861:
Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon
Brigadier General George B. McClellan
Major General John C. Fremont
Major General David Hunter

Source: Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate armies.

Map designed by Jerry R. Fry
Map drawn by Jackie Worth
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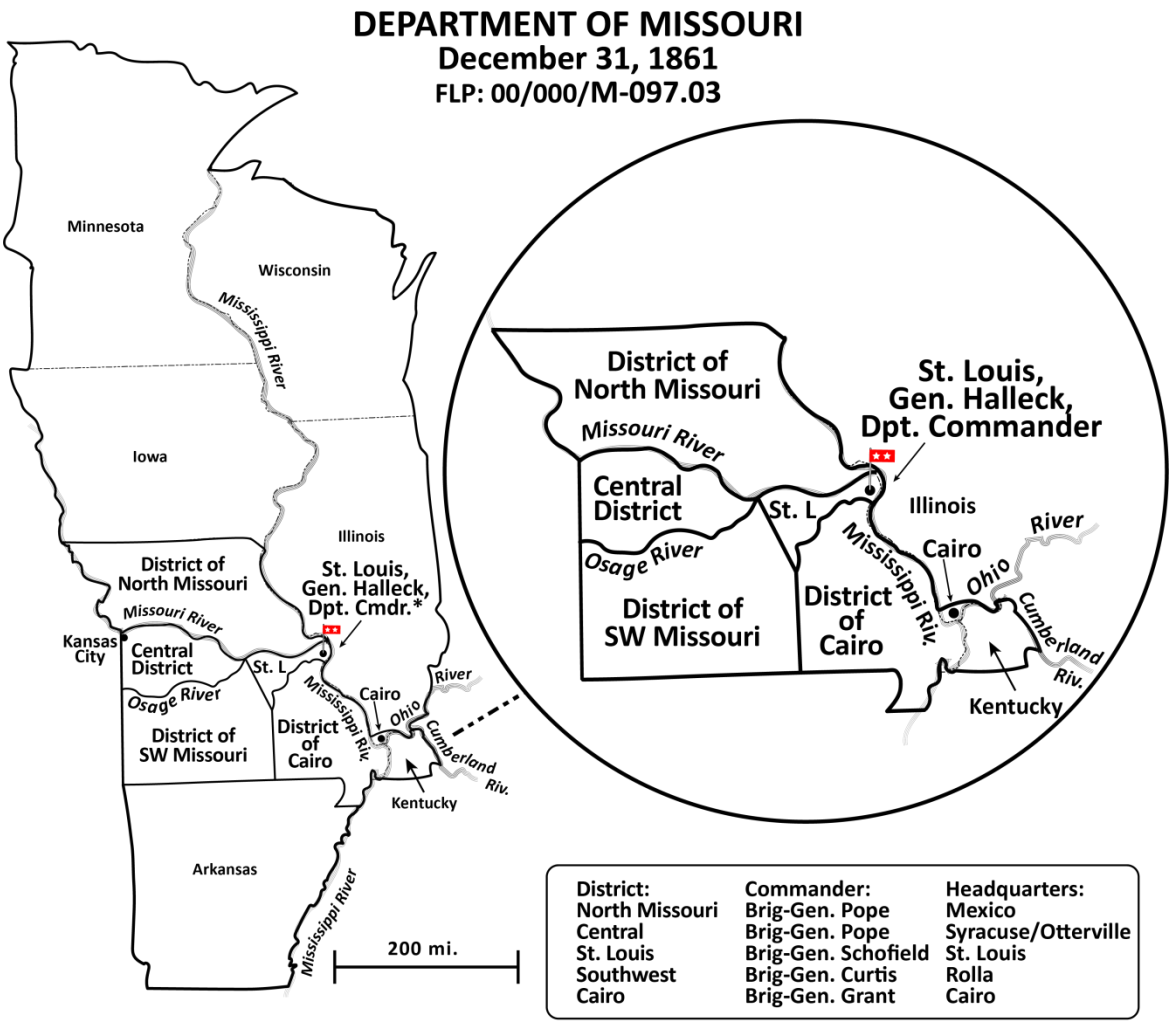
General Maps

GM-4B



General Maps

GM-5



District:	Commander:	Headquarters:
North Missouri	Brig-Gen. Pope	Mexico
Central	Brig-Gen. Pope	Syracuse/Otterville
St. Louis	Brig-Gen. Schofield	St. Louis
Southwest	Brig-Gen. Curtis	Rolla
Cairo	Brig-Gen. Grant	Cairo

*Three other officers served as the commander of US Forces from St. Louis between the time General Harney was the commander and the time General Halleck was the commander in 1861:
Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon
Major General John C. Fremont
Major General David Hunter

= Brigadier General Commanding
= Major General Commanding

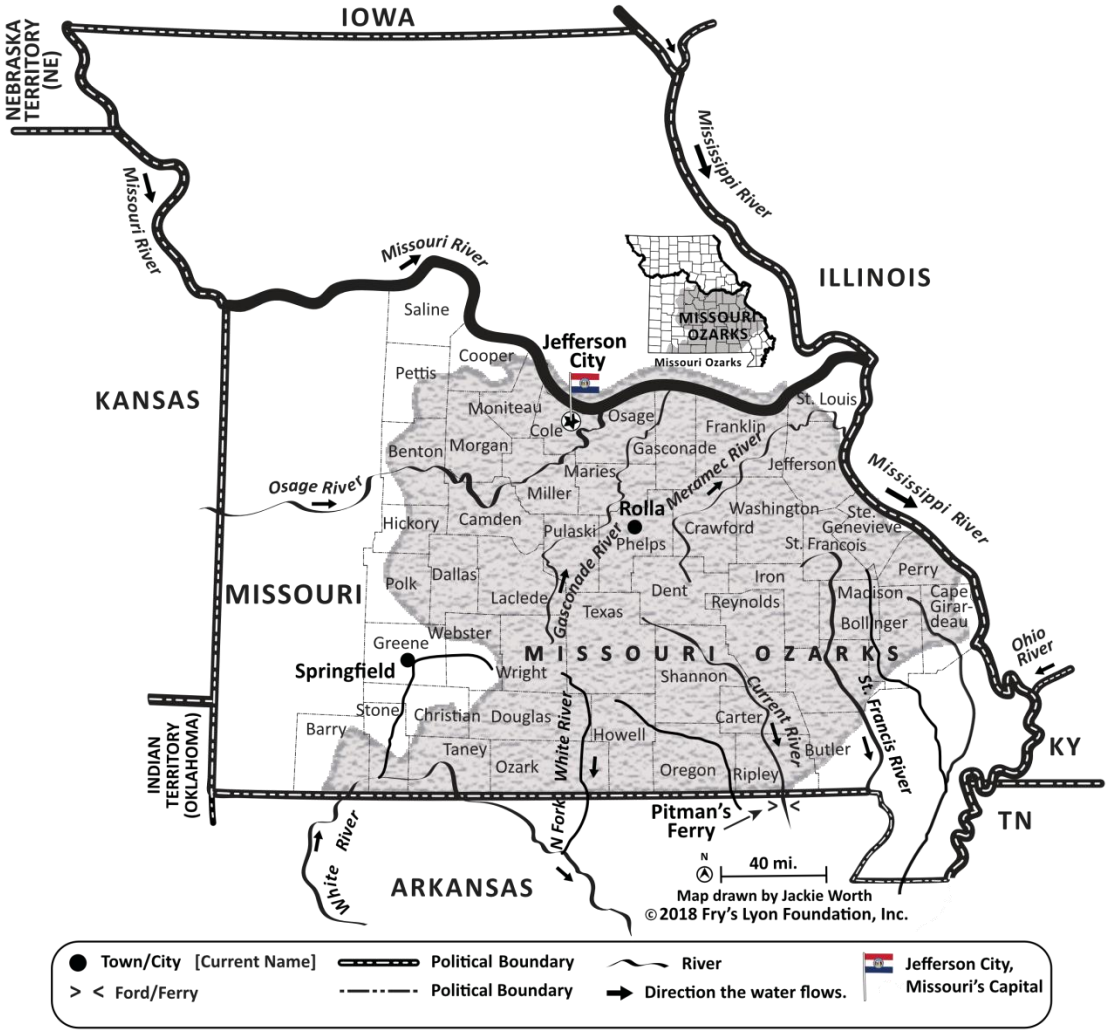
Source: Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate armies.

Map drawn by Jackie Worth
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General Maps

GM-6

MISSOURI OZARKS*
FLP: 00/000/G-05.15

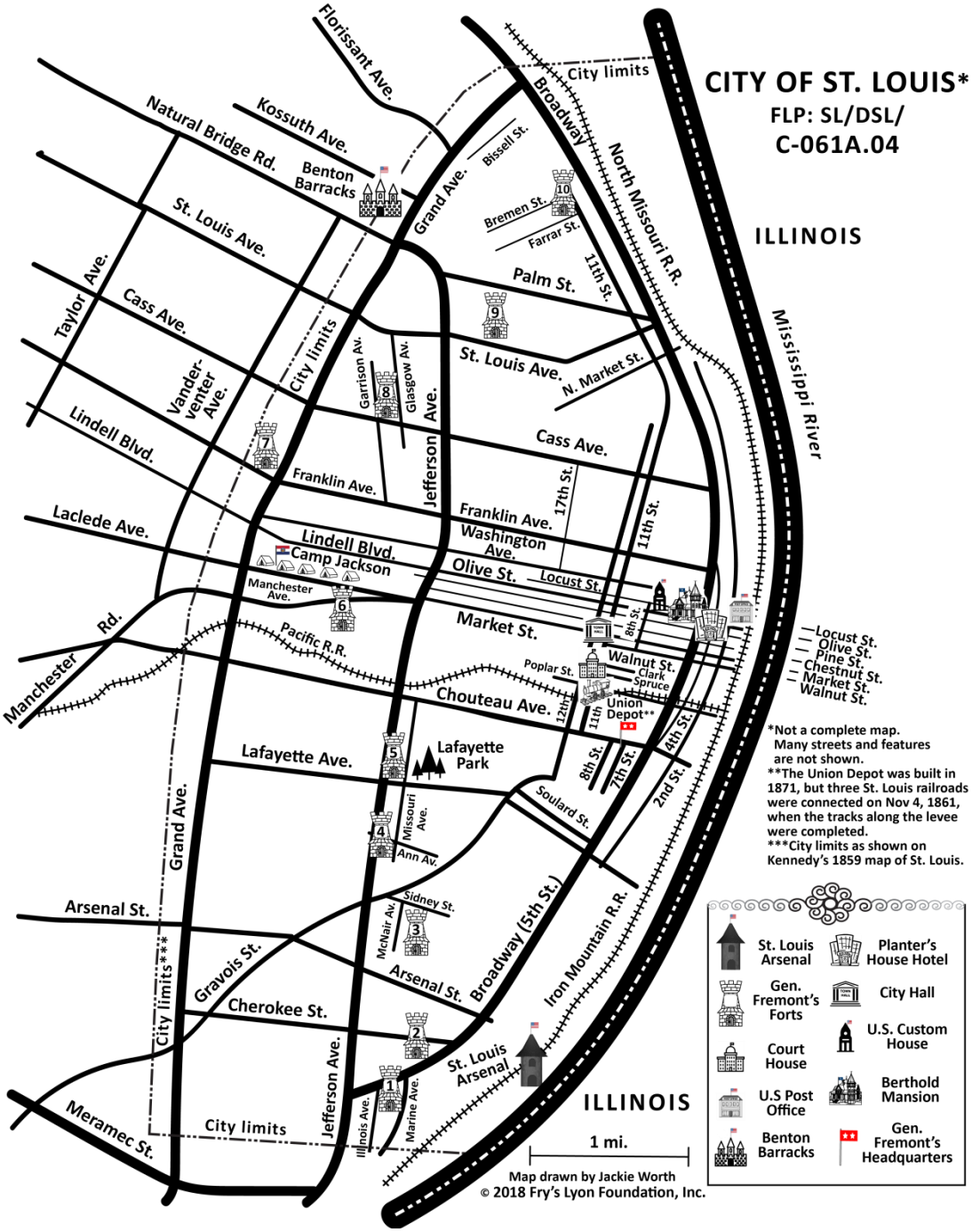


For details concerning unmarked rivers, see Waterways of Missouri map (FLP: 00/000/G-100) in the general maps section of most *1861 Missouri Speaks* volumes.

***The Missouri Ozarks boundary trace used in the *Missouri Speaks* series represents the physical Ozarks boundary as determined by soil types. Department of Natural Resources; Generalized Geologic Map of Missouri, 1990.**

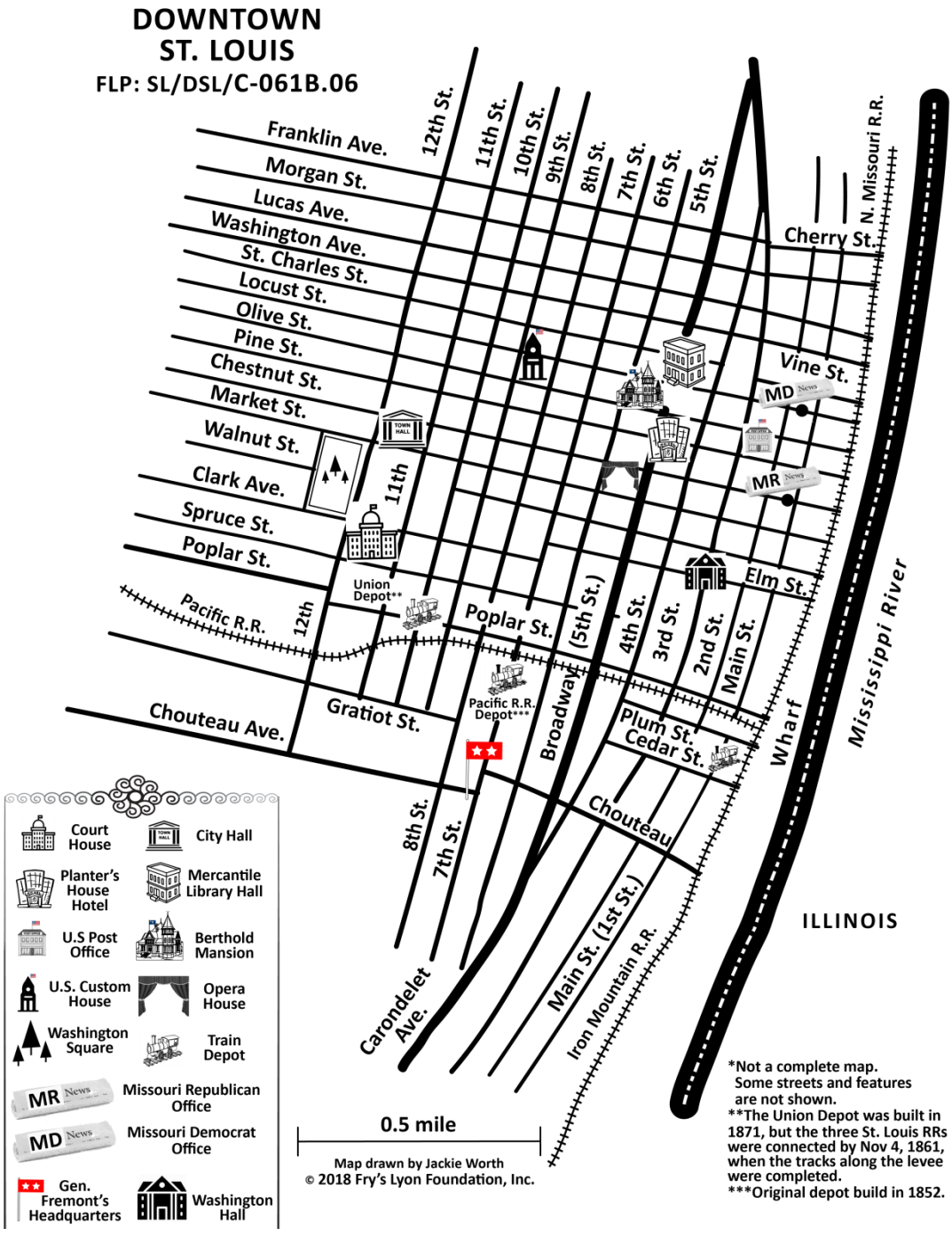
General Maps

GM-7



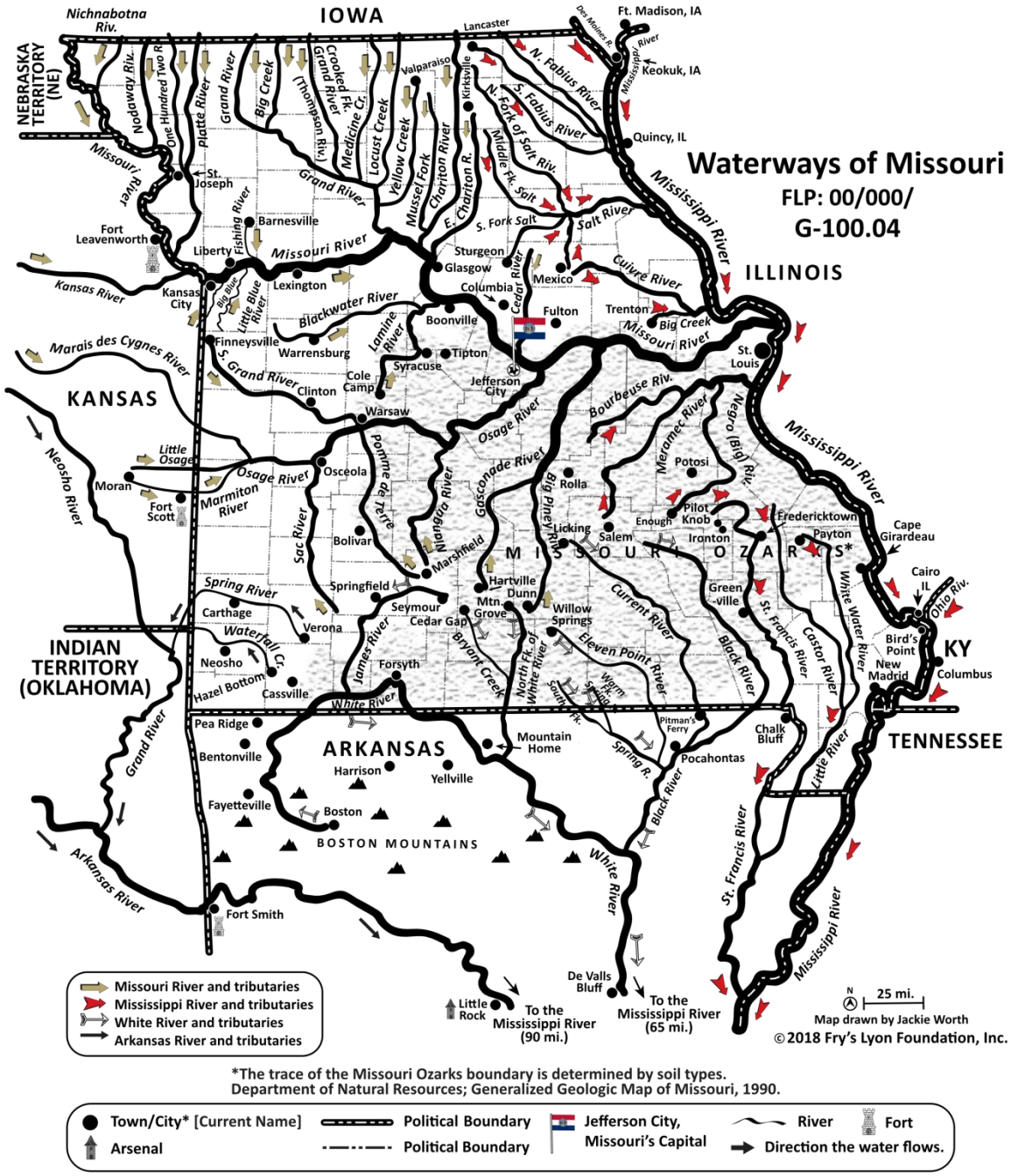
General Maps

GM-8



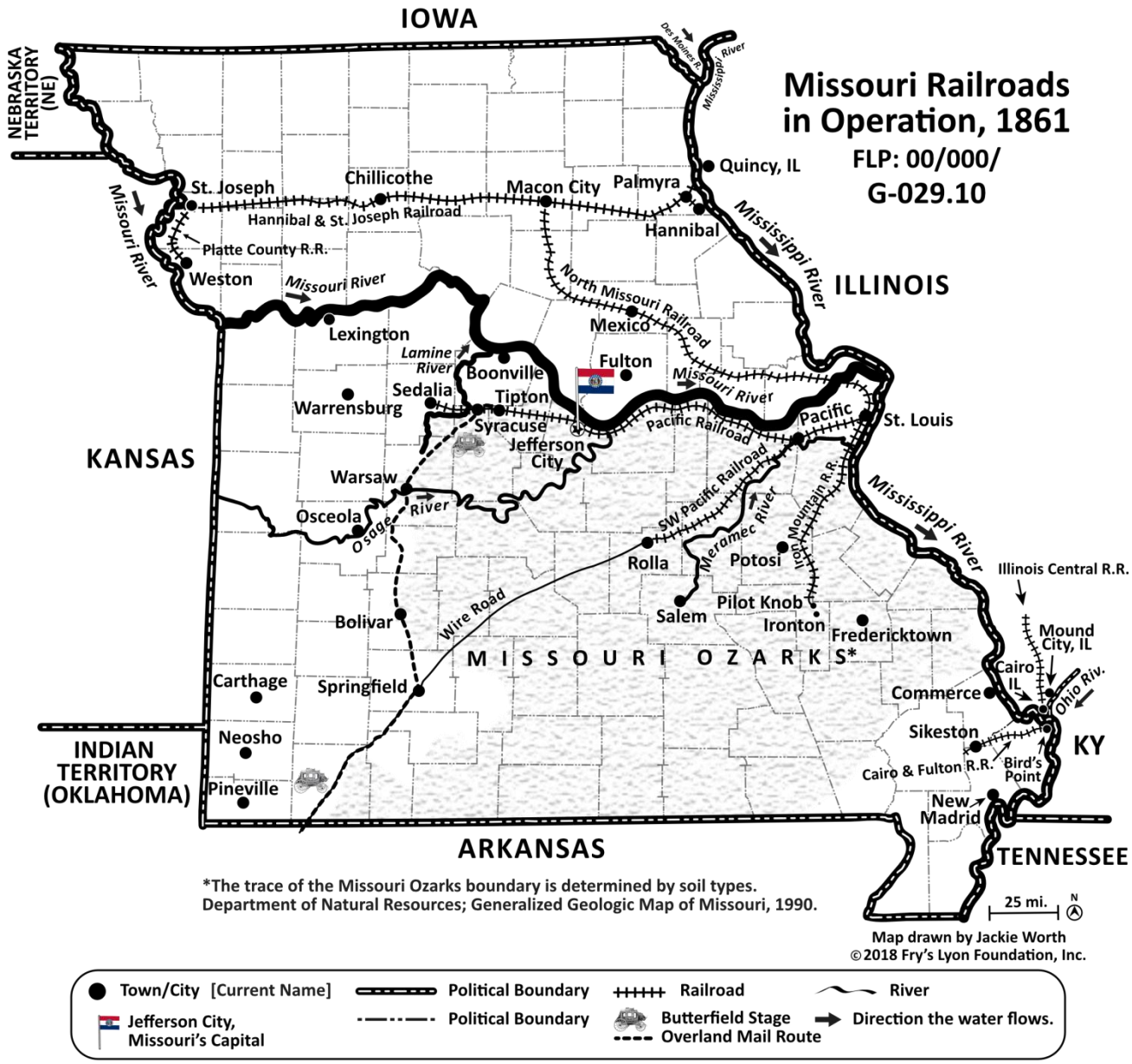
General Maps

GM-9



General Maps

GM-10



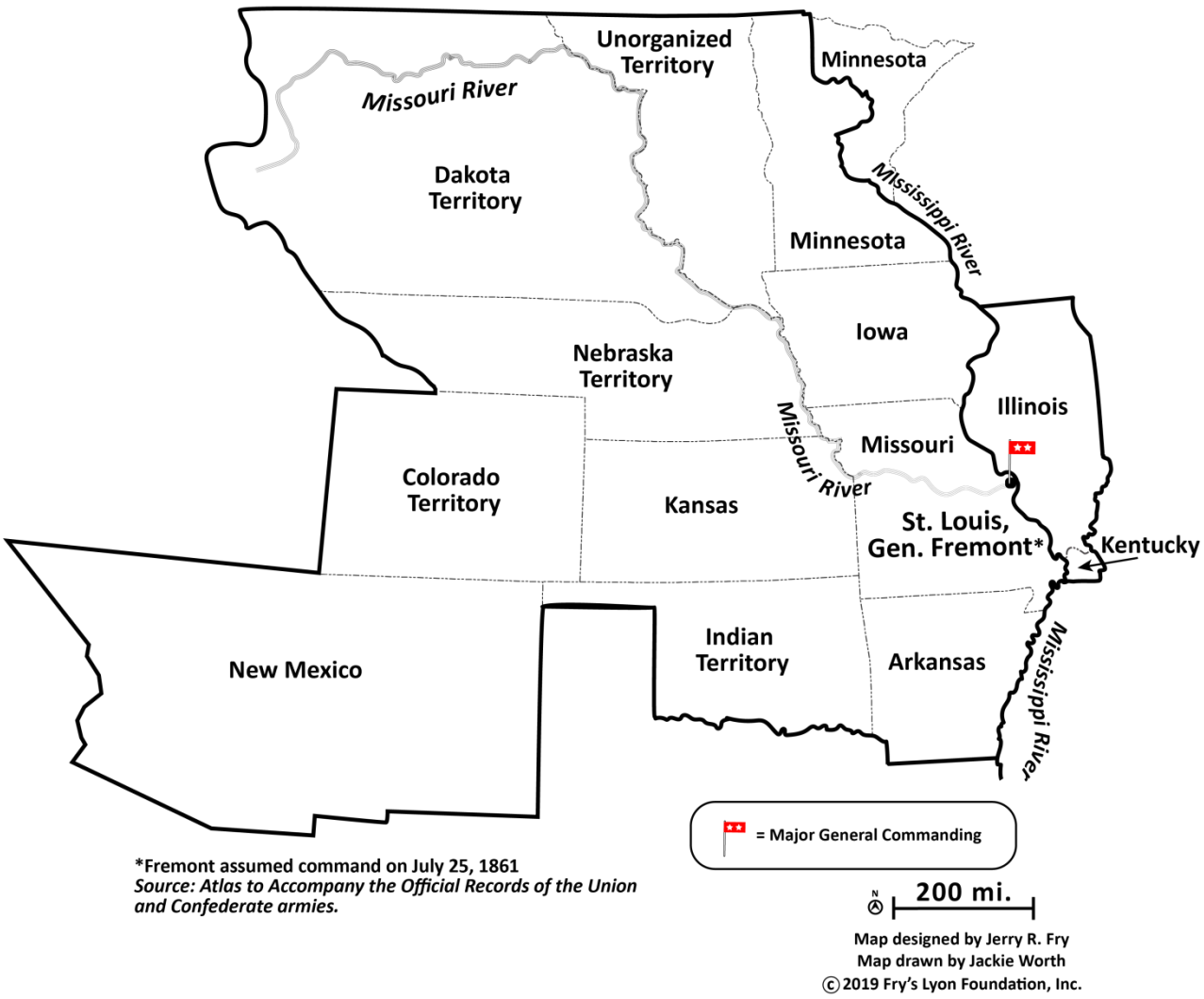
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GM-11



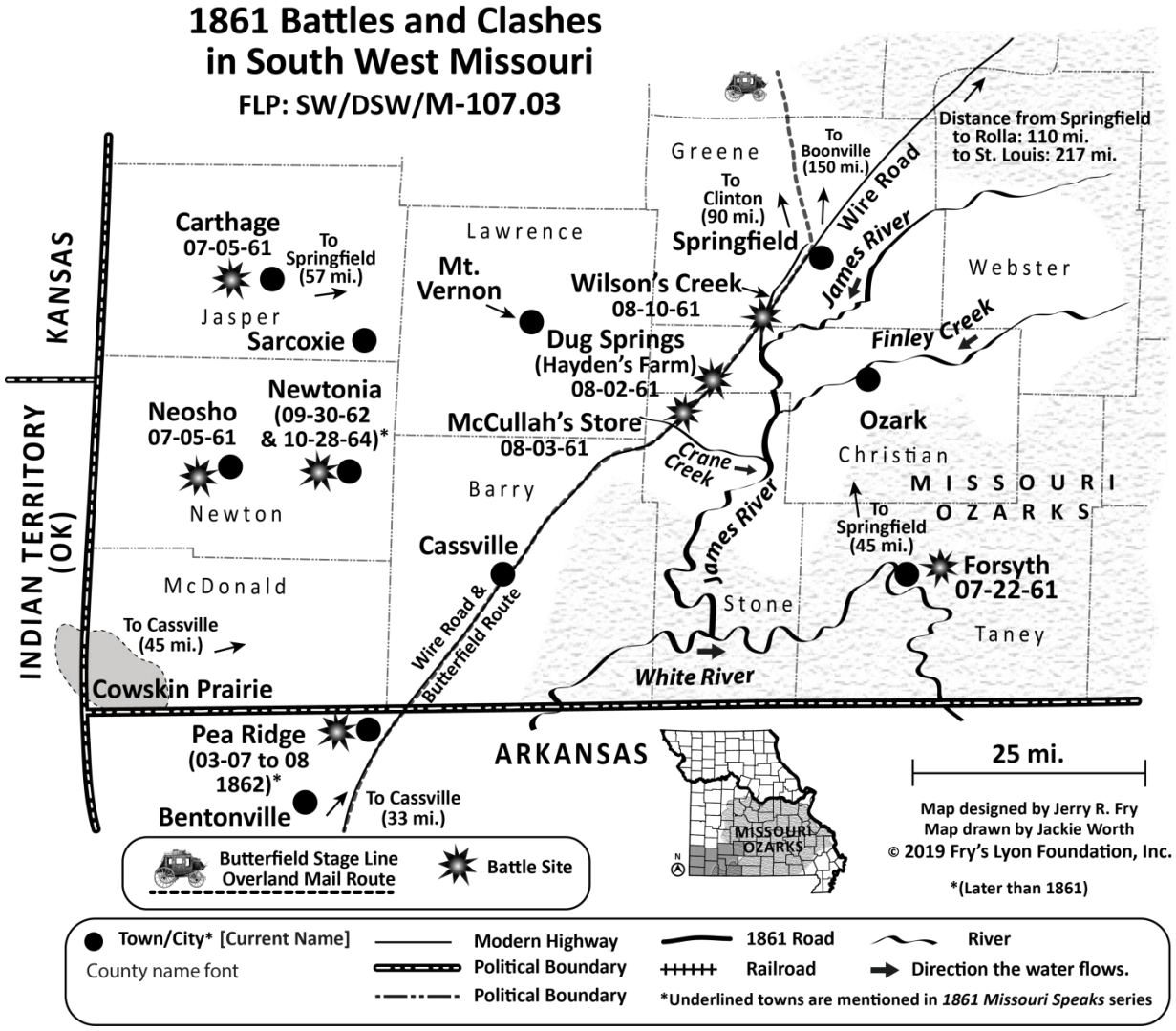
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GM-12



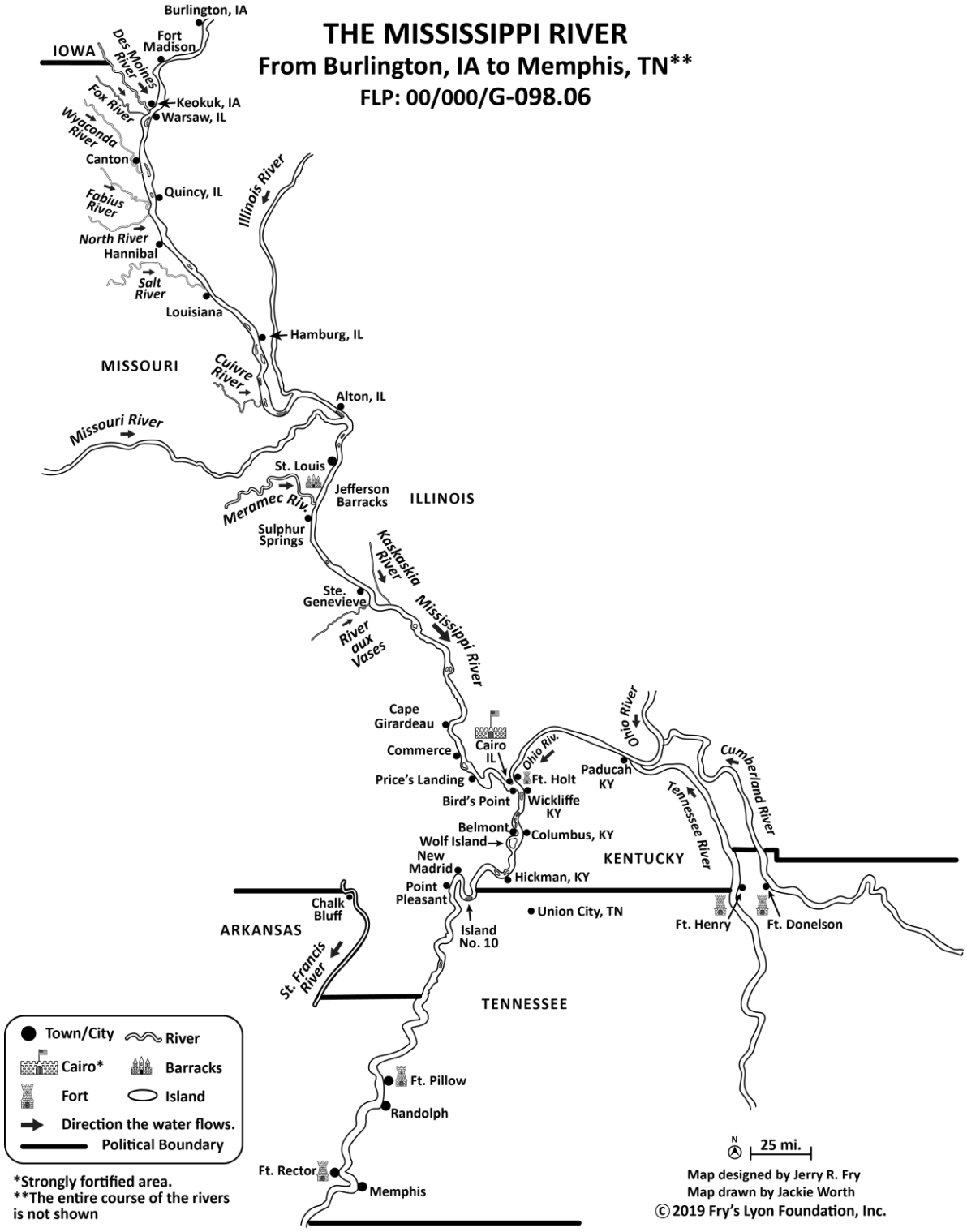
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GM-13



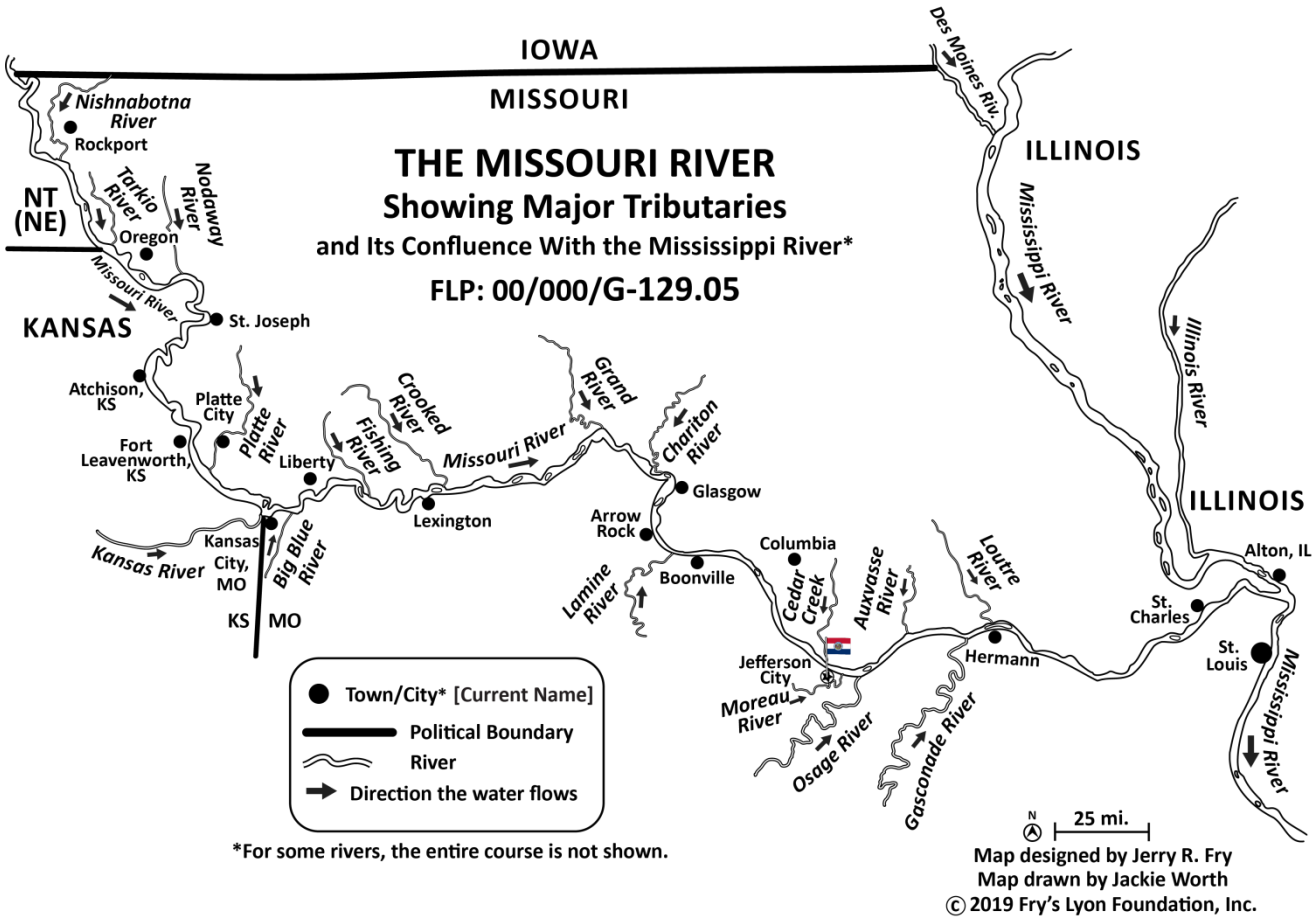
General Maps

GM-14



General Maps

GM-15



General Maps

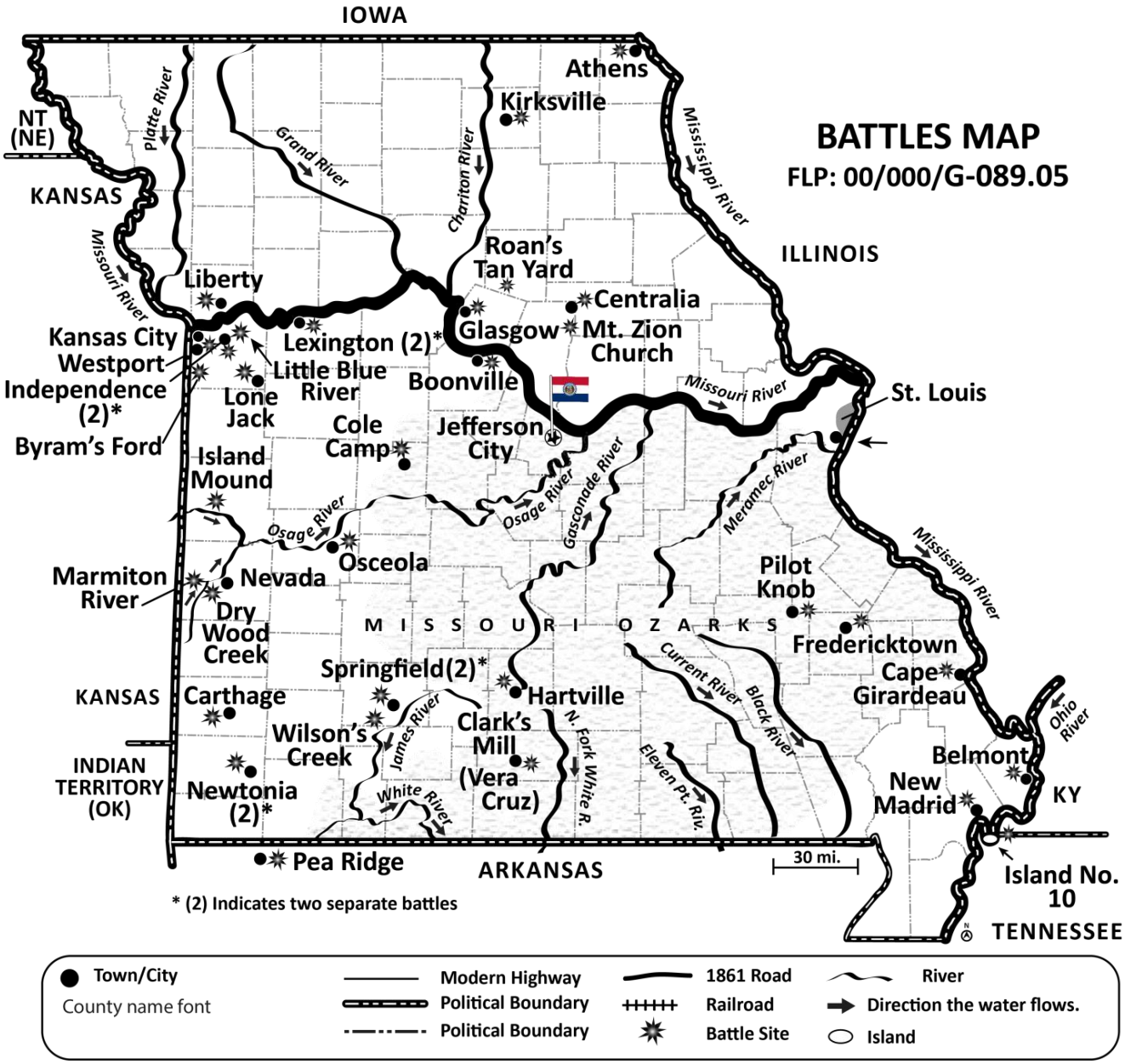
GM-16



***After Virginia seceded, the citizens of Northwest Virginia "dismembered" themselves from Virginia. On June 20, 1863, West Virginia entered the Union on its own right. Slavery was gradually abolished, with all slave children born after July 4, 1863, being freed, and all others freed on their twenty-fifth birthday. However, on December 6, 1865, the 13th Amendment freed all slaves.**

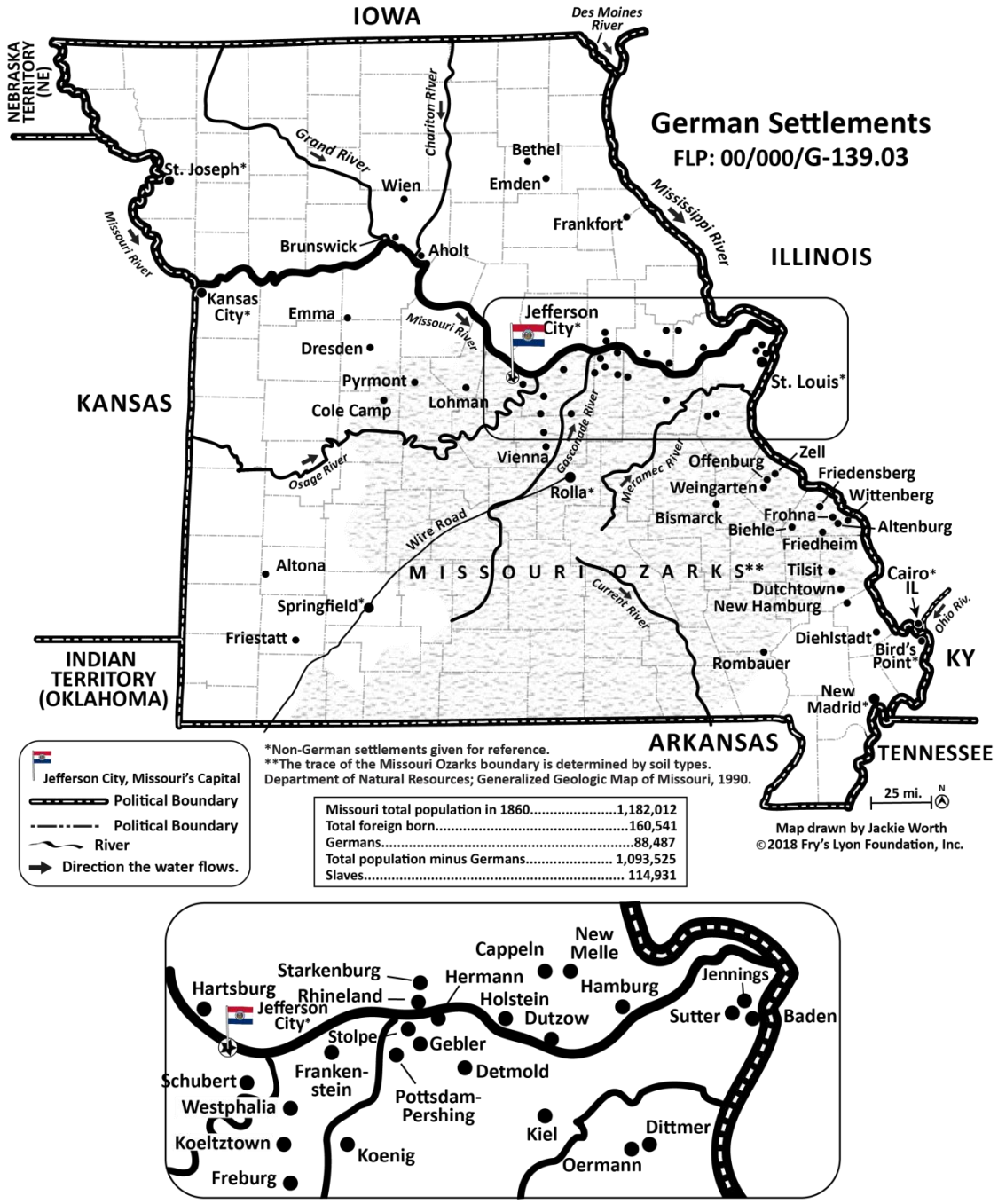
General Maps

GM-17



General Maps

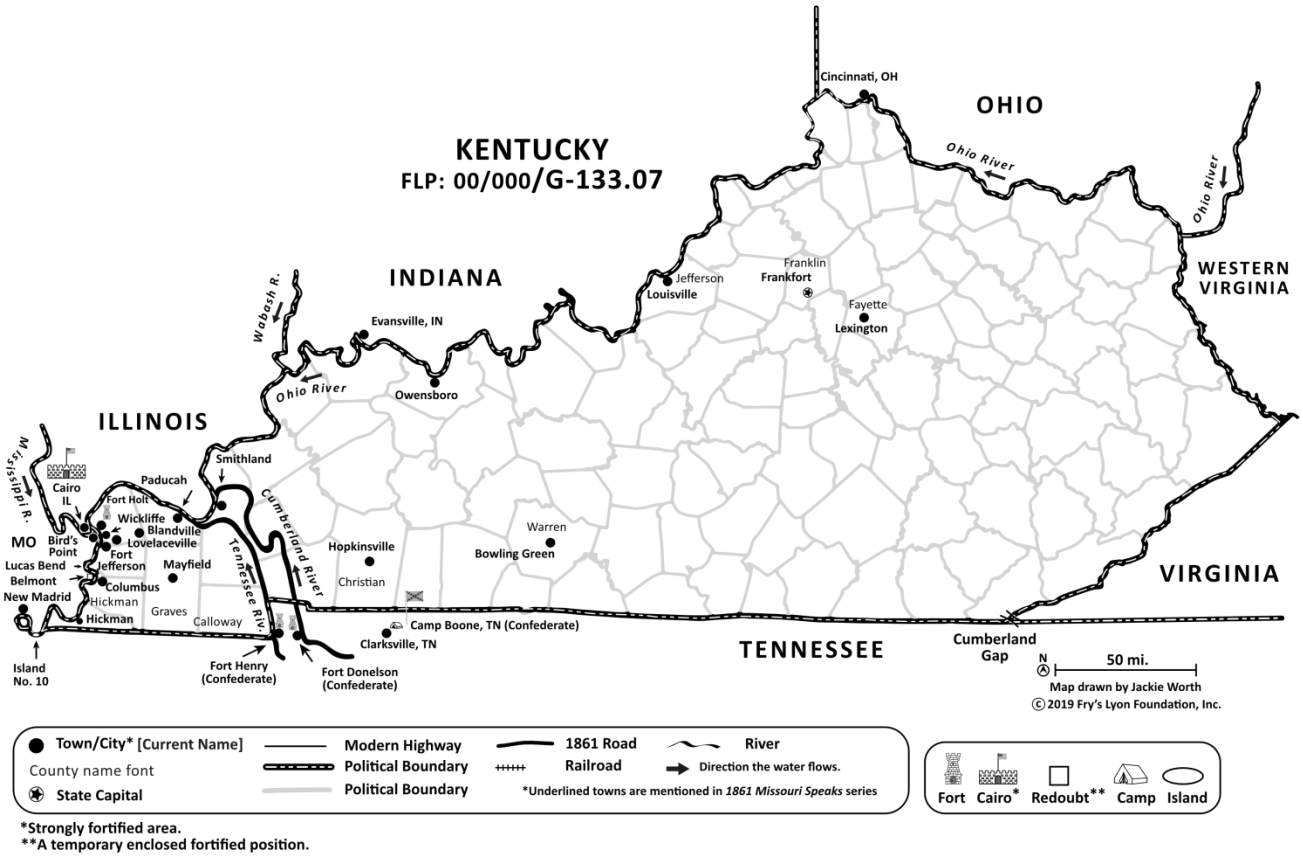
GM-18



Sources: Burnett & Luebbering, *German Settlement in Missouri,* p. 3 (Mark Davis, GIS/RS Lab, Lincoln University, based on a map by Andreas Grotewald and Walter Schroeder, Geography Dept., University of Missouri-Columbia). U.S. Census 1860.

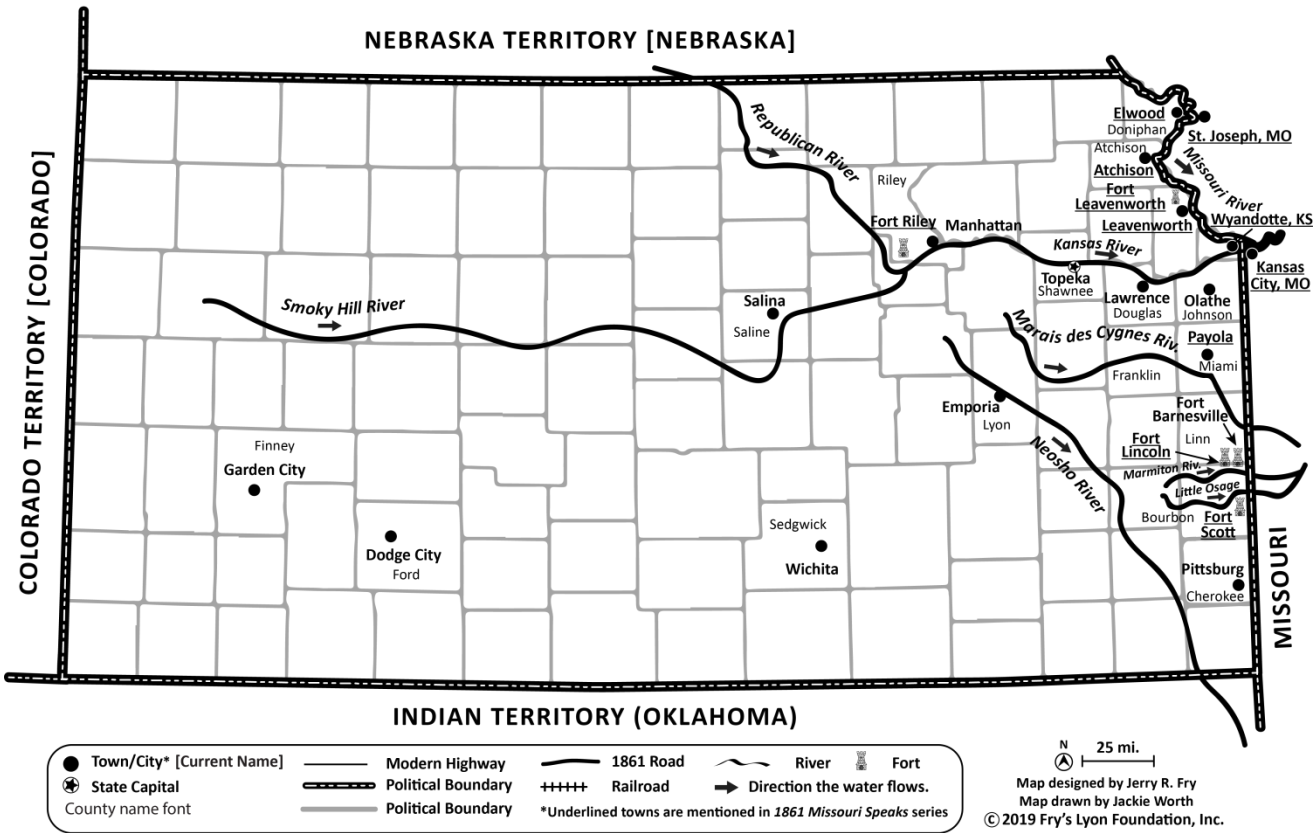
General Maps

GM-19



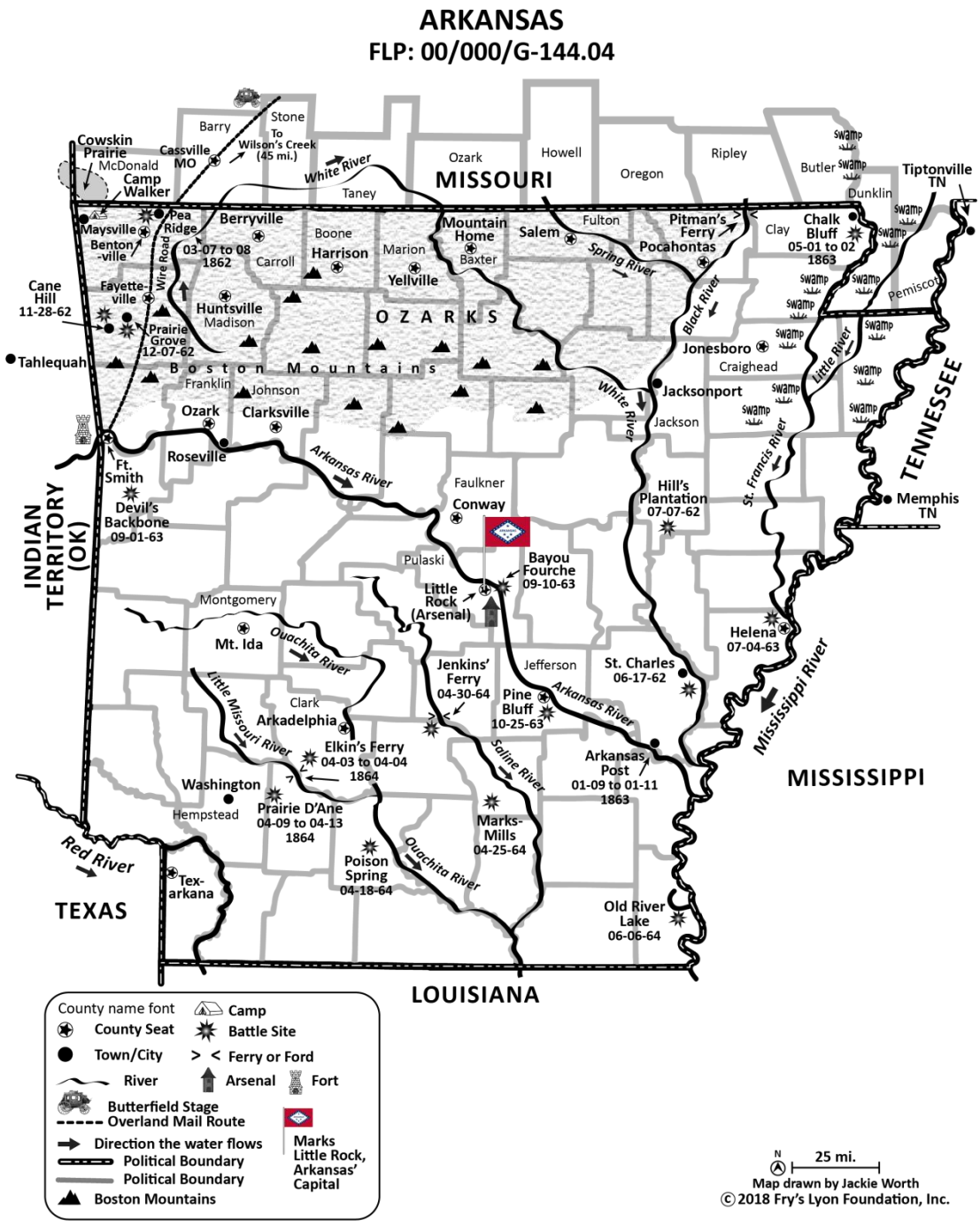
General Maps

GM-20



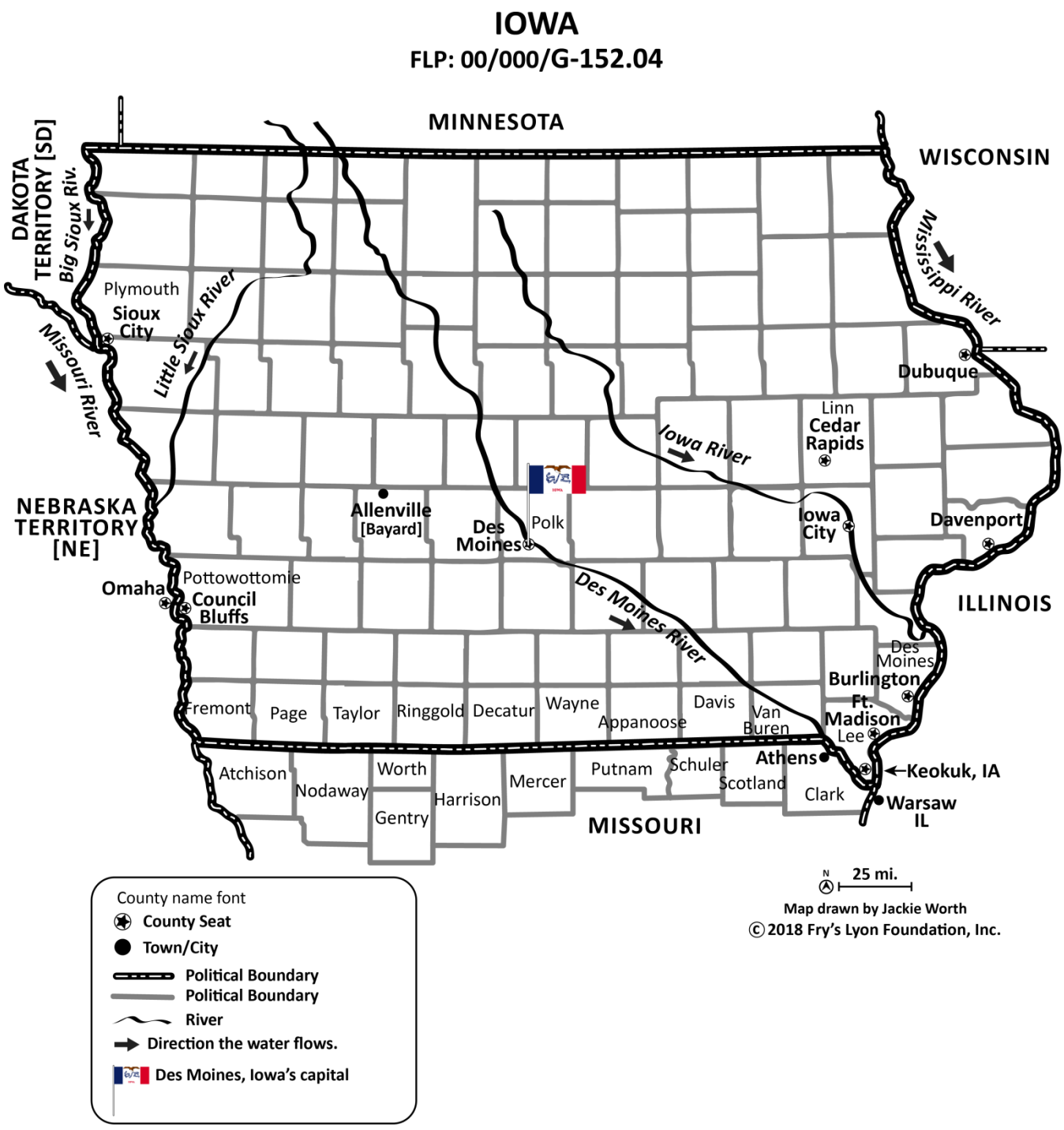
General Maps

GM-21



General Maps

GM-22



General Maps

GM-23

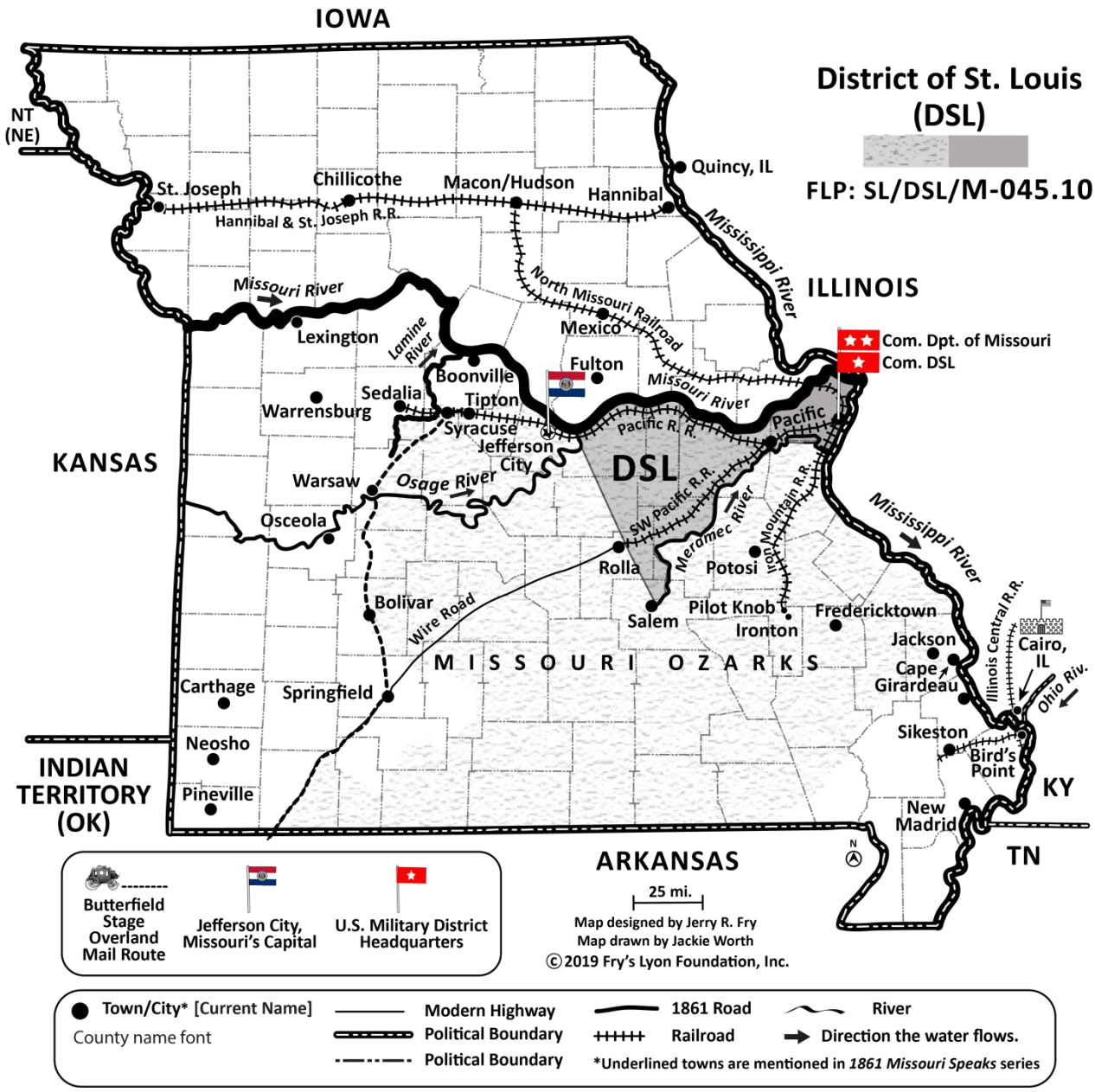
WESTERN TENNESSEE
FLP: 00/000/G-153.05



*Strongly fortified area.
**A temporary enclosed fortified position.

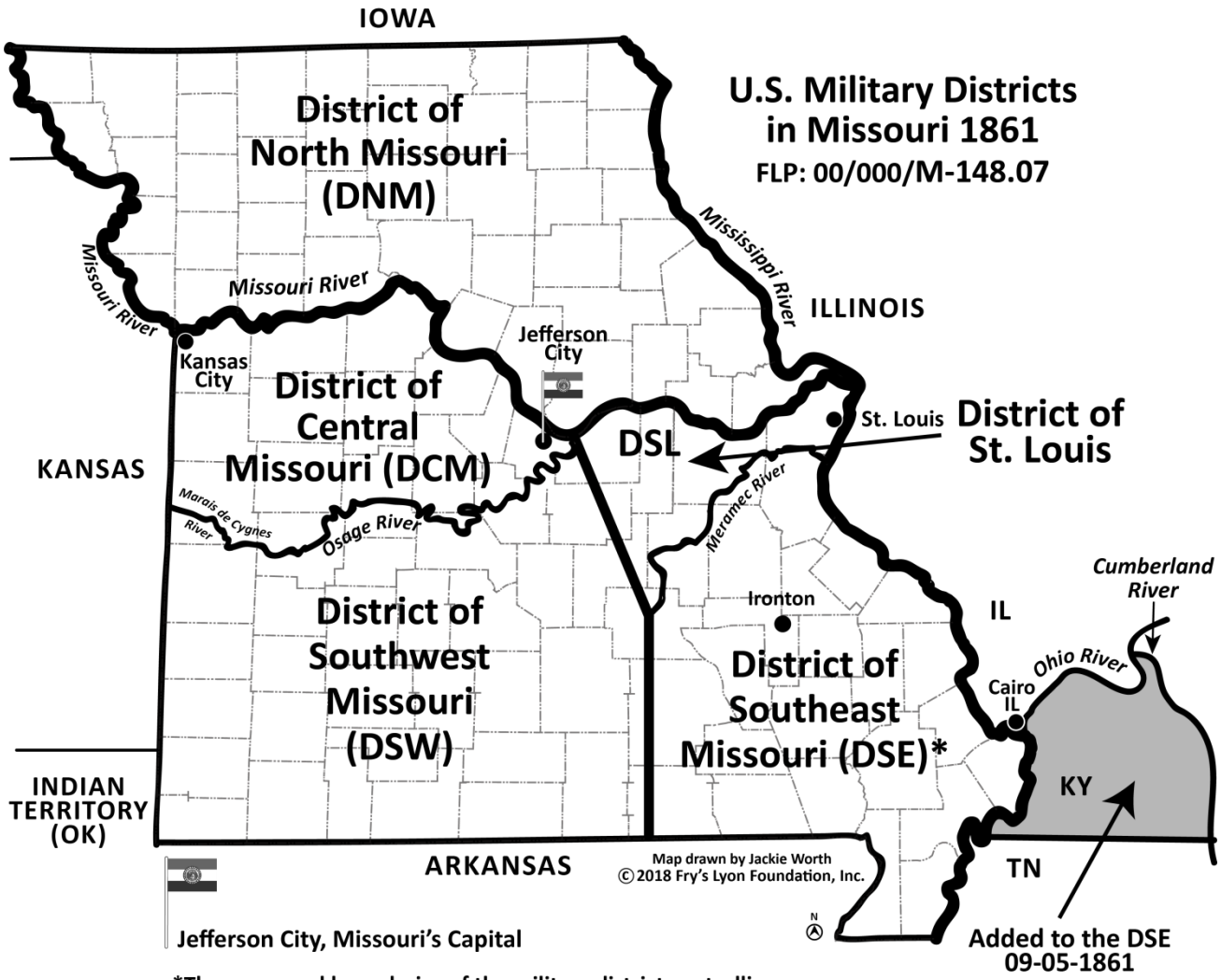
General Maps

GM-24



General Maps

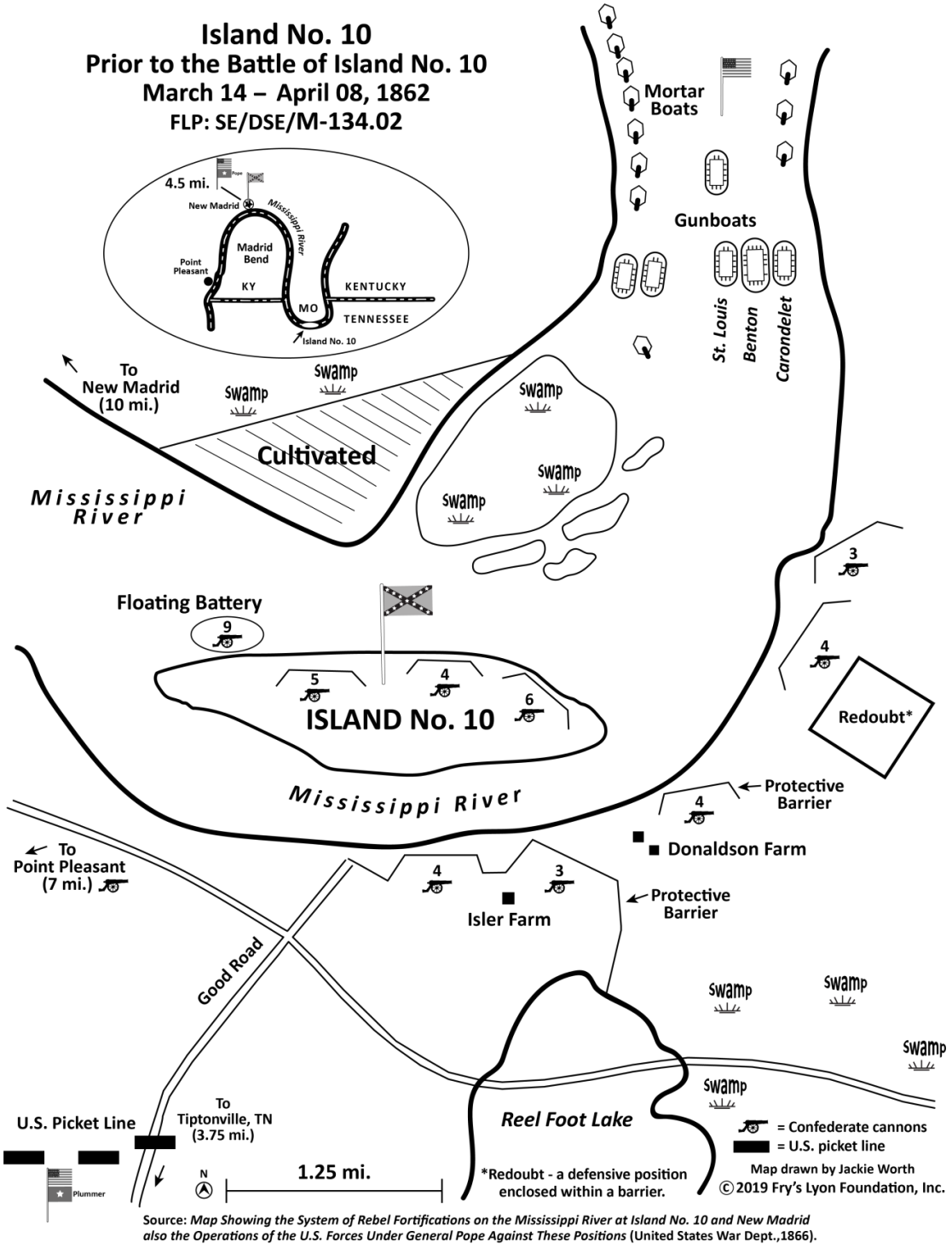
GM-25



*The name and boundaries of the military district controlling Southeast Missouri changed over time as follows:
District of Ironton - 03-11-61 to 09-01-61
District of Southeast Missouri - 09-01 to 12-23
Part of Western Kentucky added on 09-05-1861
Redesignated District of Cairo on 12-23-1861

General Maps

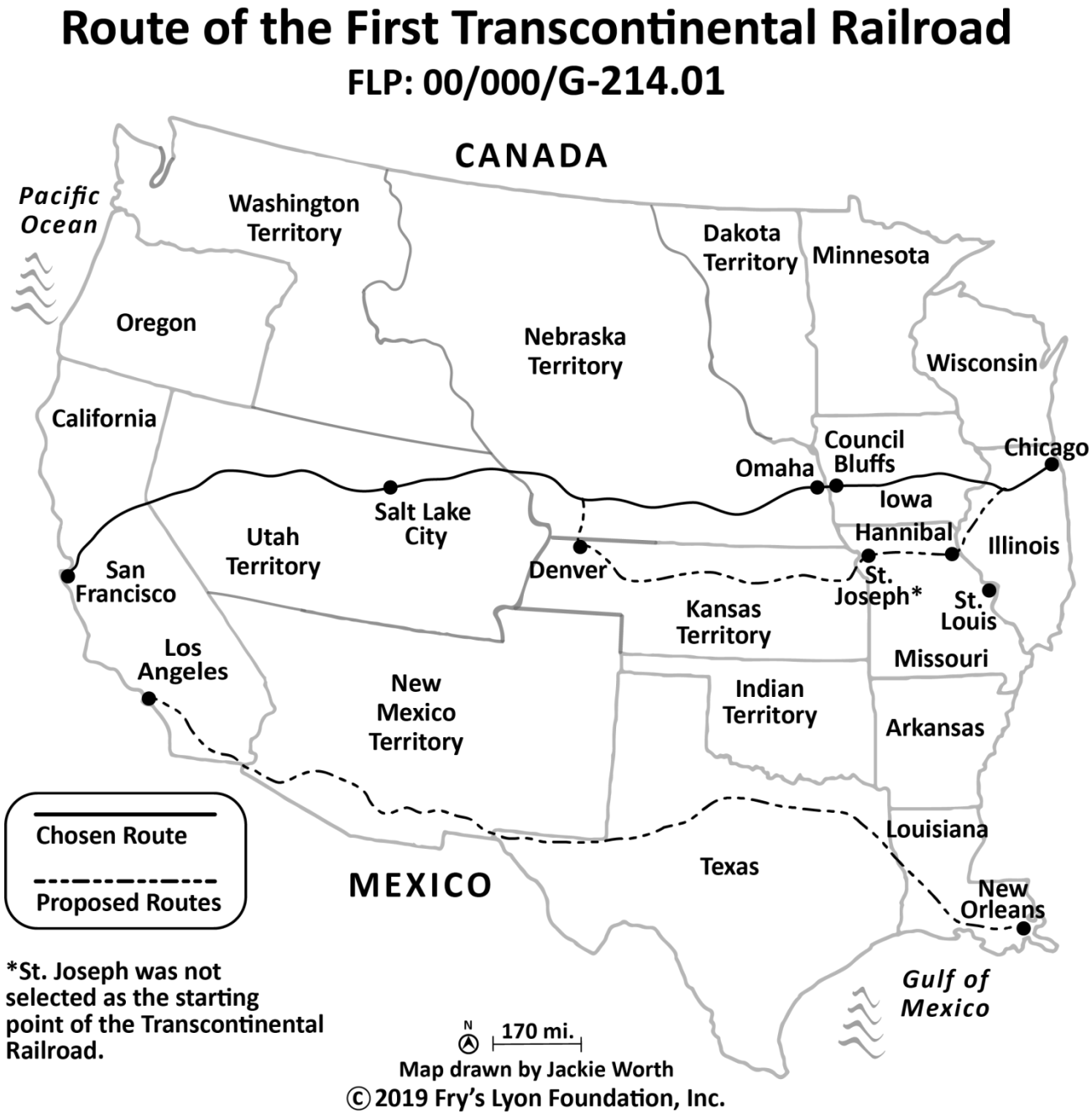
GM-26



Source: *Map Showing the System of Rebel Fortifications on the Mississippi River at Island No. 10 and New Madrid also the Operations of the U.S. Forces Under General Pope Against These Positions* (United States War Dept.,1866).

General Maps

GM-27



Associated Maps

AM-1

Associated Document: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#6)



Associated Maps

AM-2

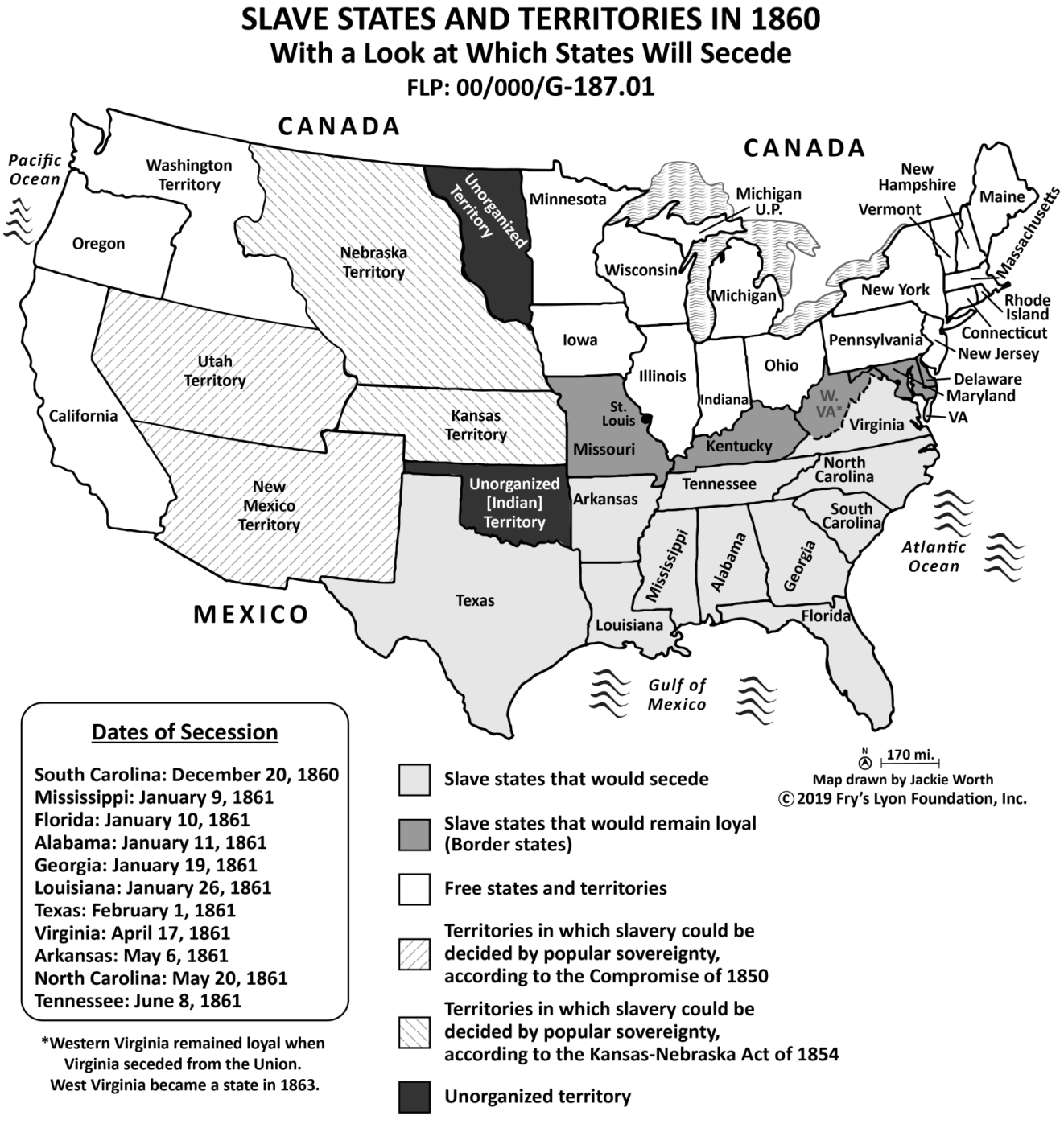
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Associated Maps

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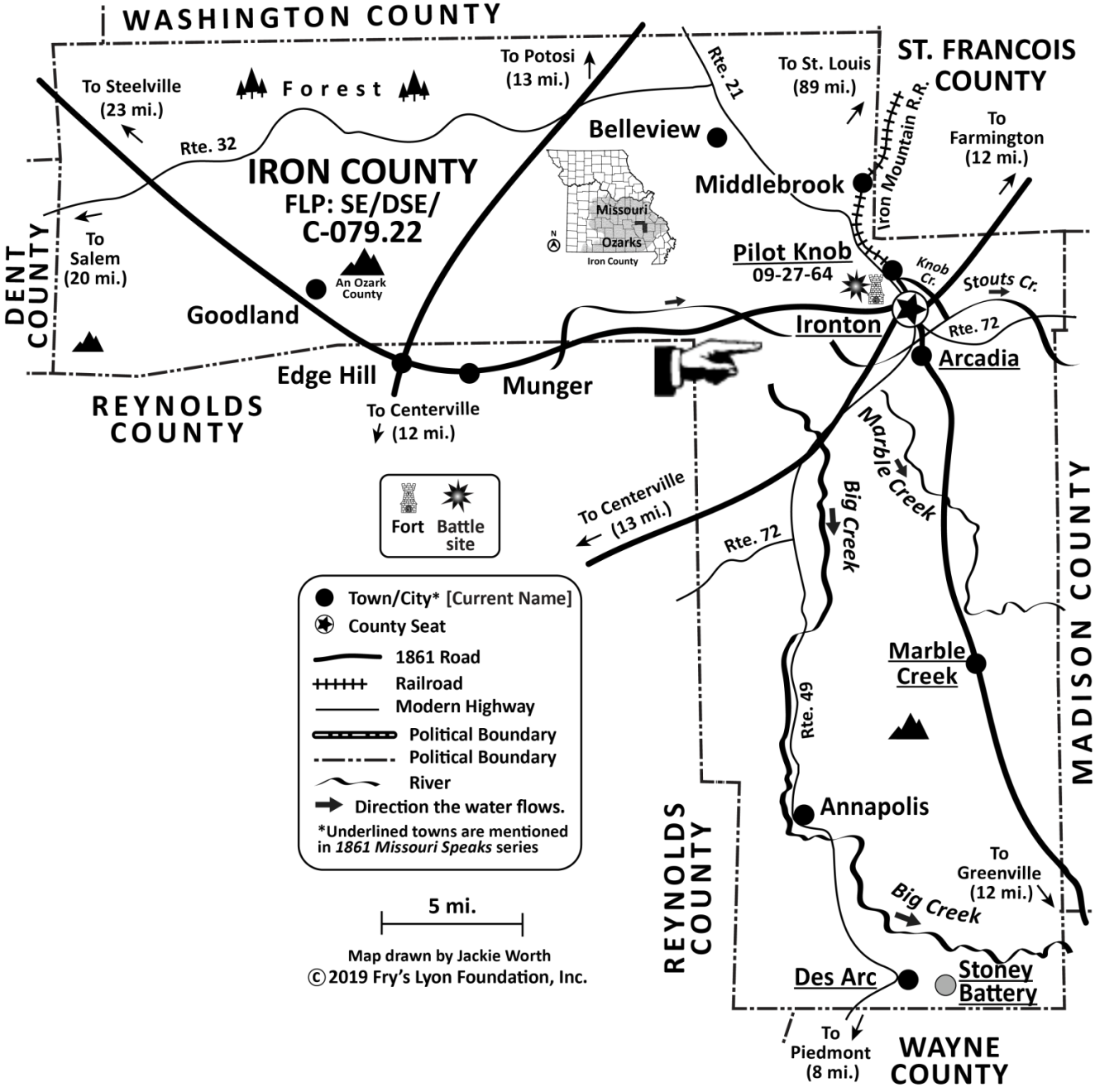
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Associated Maps

AM-4

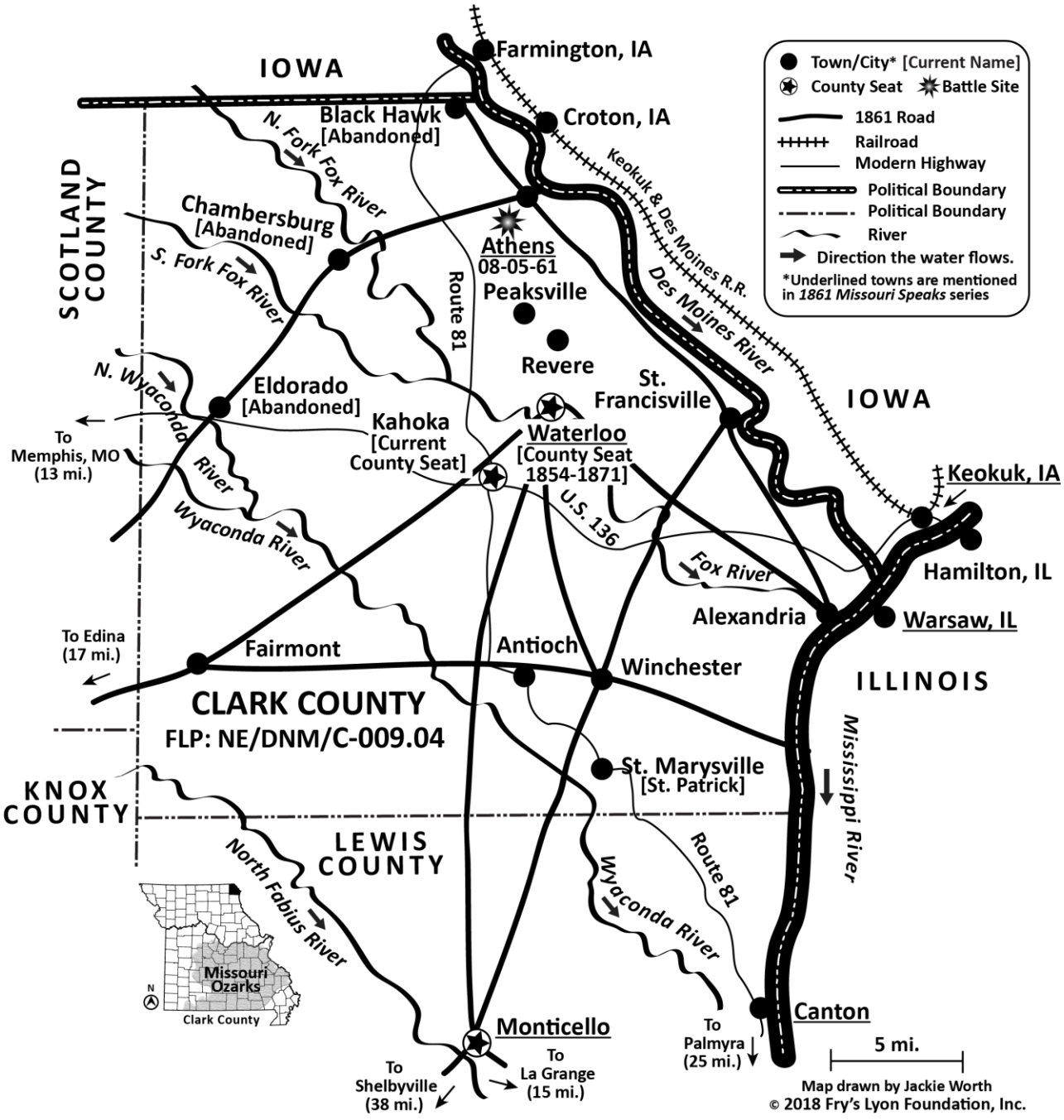
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Associated Maps

AM-5

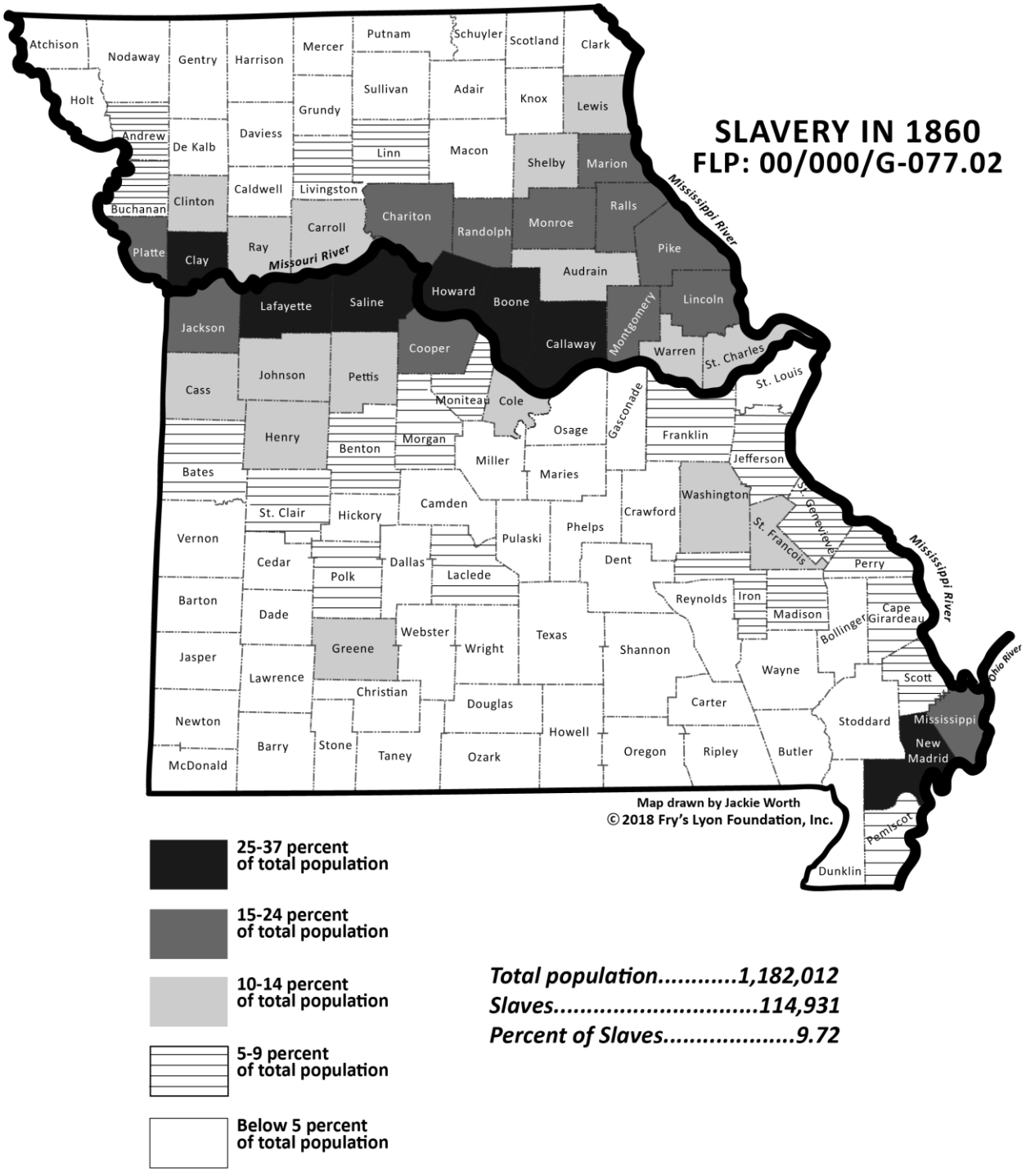
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Associated Maps

AM-6a

Associated Document: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Jan#57) and (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31)

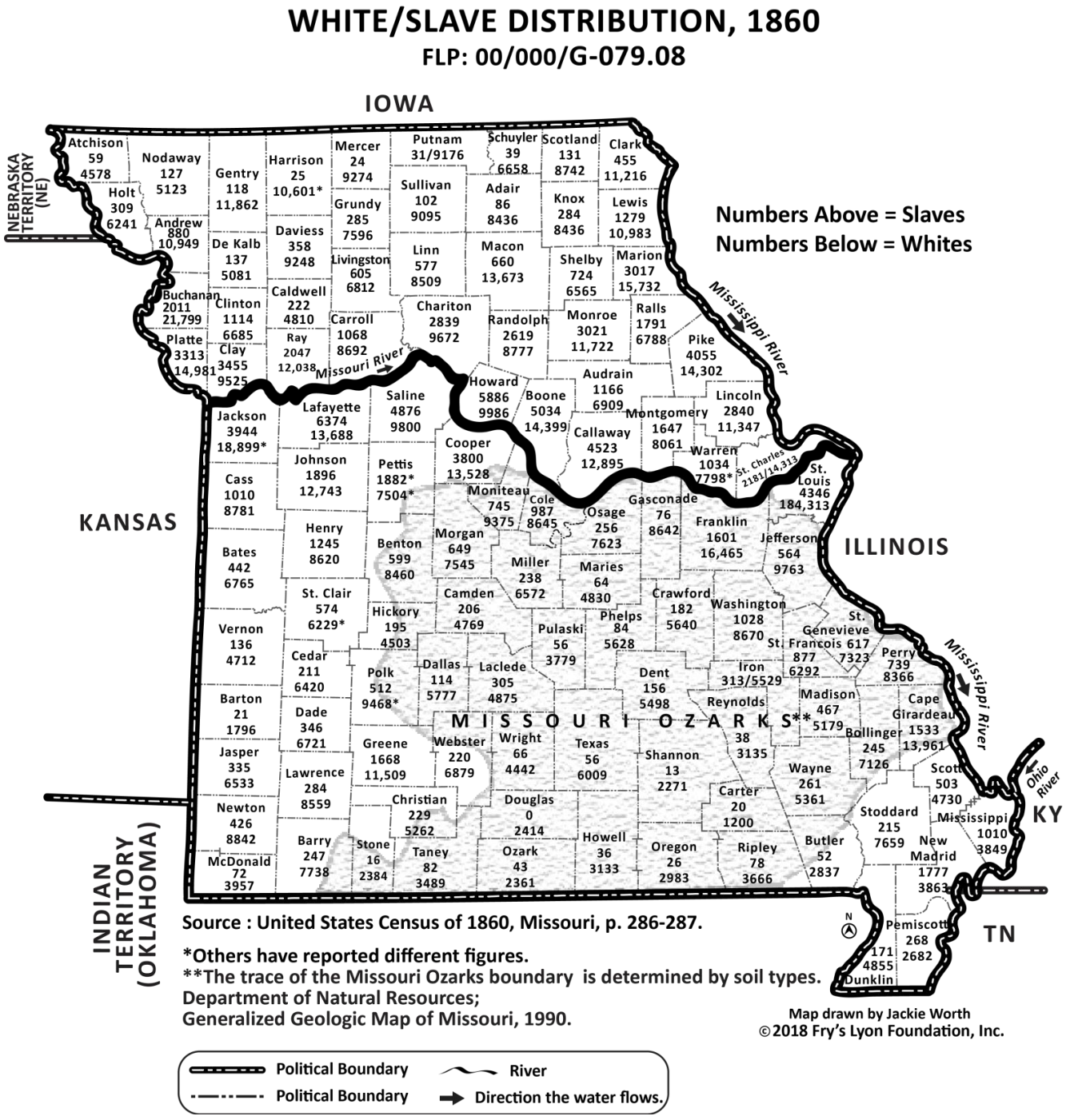


Sources: Hurt, R. Douglas. *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie*. University of Missouri Press, 1992.
U.S. Census 1860, Missouri, p. 286-287.

Associated Maps

AM-6b

Associated Document: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31)

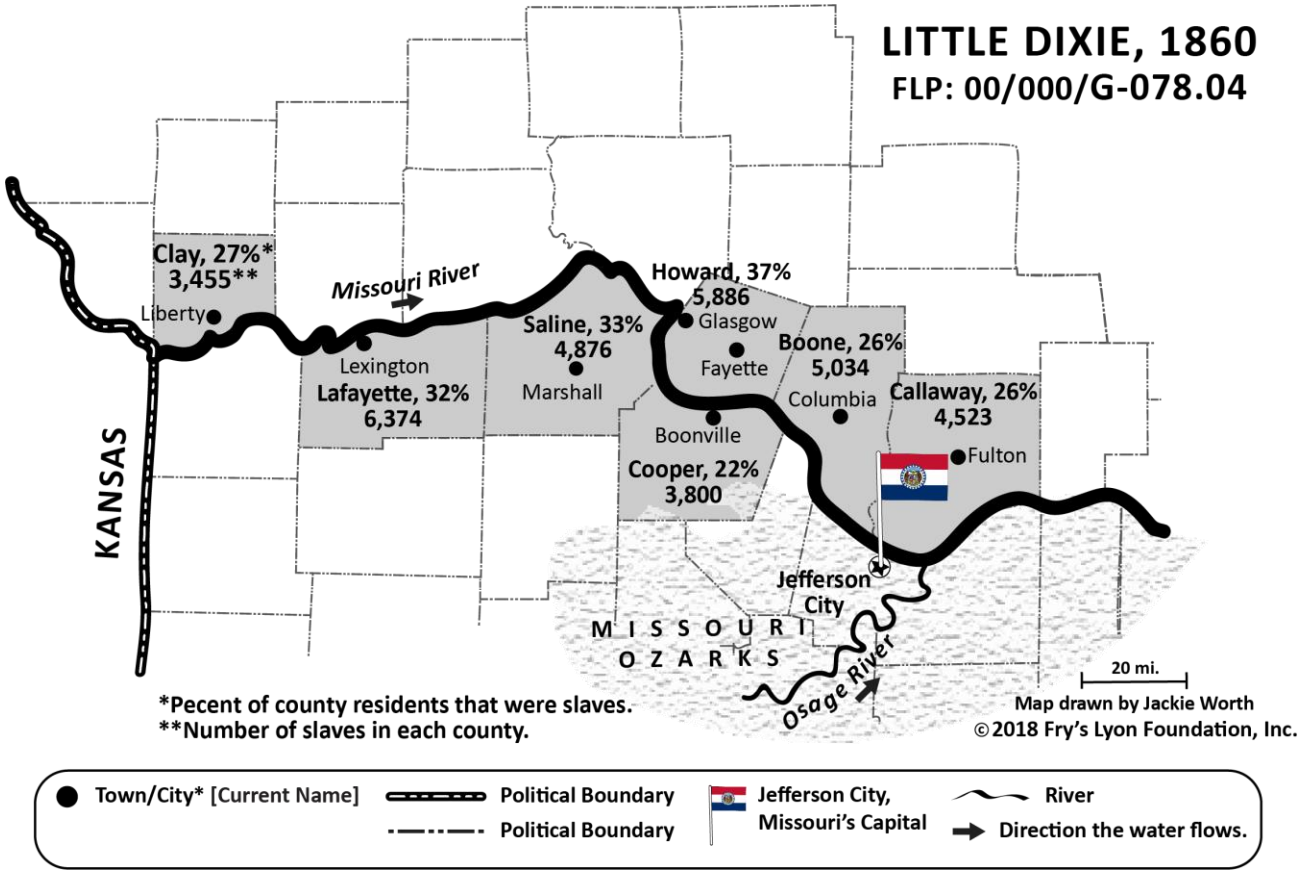


Associated Maps

AM-6C

Associated Document: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#31)

The Slave Population along the "Little Dixie" Section of the Missouri River



Associated Maps

AM-7

Associated Document: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb-Annex-40)



Associated Maps

AM-8

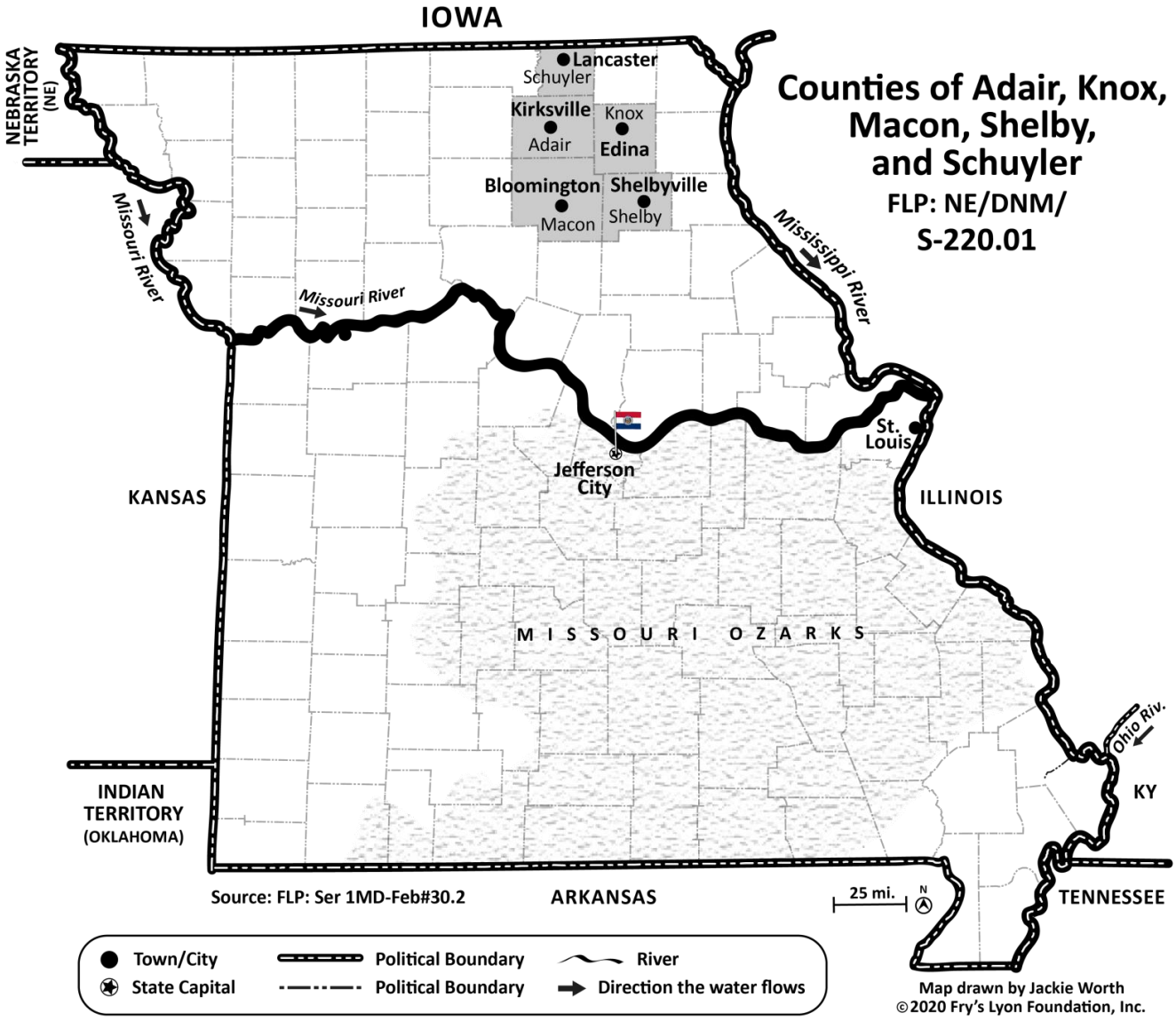
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Associated Maps

AM-9

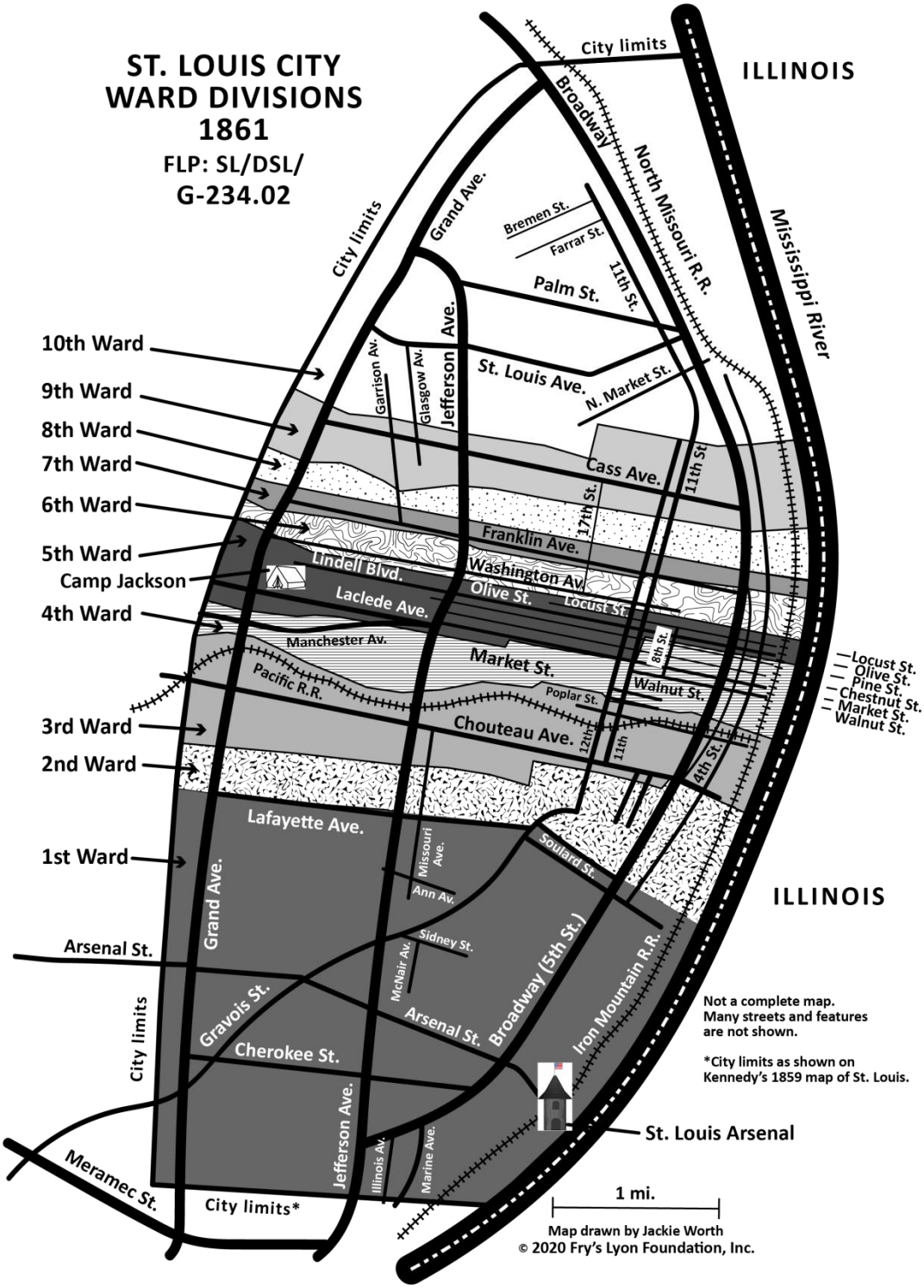
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Associated Maps

AM-10

Associated Document: (FLP: Ser 1MD-Feb#28.1)



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