"Which Side Are You On?" Baltimore's Immigrants and the Civil War

There are numerous histories of the Civil War in Maryland, but there has been little focus on immigrants[1] and their role in Baltimore and in Maryland. At the time of the Civil War, Baltimore was a cauldron of various social and ethnic groups. Immigrants made up twenty-five percent of Baltimore's population of 1860; with their children, the figure rises to about thirty-seven percent. Germans totaled 53,000 or twenty-five percent, of which 7,000 were Jewish; the Irish and their children came to 25,000 or twelve percent. African Americans totaled 28,000 or thirteen percent, ninety percent of whom were free, the largest free black population in the country. Native-born Americans, largely of British ancestry, formed the other half of Baltimore's population and was divided into working, middle and upper classes.

In the thirty years before the Civil War, the Irish were the largest immigrant group in the United States and in East Coast cities, such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. That was not the case for Baltimore; as early as the 1790s, it had established strong trading patterns with the German city of Bremen and its port of Bremerhave. Baltimore traded cotton and tobacco for linen, glassware, and ironware. Starting in the 1830s, German merchants found that bringing immigrants as well as goods to America was lucrative.[2]

The Political Background

The United States developed a national two-party system from the 1830s to 1854, the Whigs and the Democrats. To remain viable as a national party, the Whigs avoided any discussion of slavery or the expansion of slavery. They generally favored a strong governmental role in the economy, such as high tariffs and support for building roads and canals. Except for their economic program, they did not have a coherent ideology, but consisted of disparate groups of voters. In the South, they often won the votes of large planters and established farmers. In the North, they won the votes of the middle class and reformers, as well as factory workers who favored high tariffs. The Whigs tended to be native born, largely of British ancestry. They won the votes of those who favored temperance and Sunday (blue) laws, and of those who were also nativist and anti-Catholic. They believed in community standards, that the community did

have the right and duty to impose its moral views on a changing polyglot society.

The Democrats believed in laissez-faire economics and individualism, "A man can do what he wants on Sunday." Immigrants in Maryland and elsewhere felt uncomfortable with the nativism of the Whigs and largely voted Democrat. Like the Whigs, they included disparate groups, such as free thinkers and also religious minorities, Catholics and Jews, and also backwoods farmers.

Maryland permitted slavery, but the 84,000 free blacks in 1860 almost equaled the number of the 87,000 slaves. On the Eastern Shore and in Western Maryland, the free black population slightly outnumbered slaves. As noted above, ninety percent of the African-Americans in Baltimore were free. Slavery was most entrenched in the six tobacco counties of Southern Maryland (Saint Mary's, Charles, Calvert, Prince George's, Montgomery and Anne Arundel), where conditions were similar to those of the Deep South, and the enslaved population of 46,000 almost equaled the 49,000 whites. Few immigrants owned slaves, as they were an expensive purchase for immigrants just starting out in a new country. Most immigrants settled in Baltimore, where slavery was weakest. Few immigrants settled in Southern Maryland,[3] and few immigrants in Maryland or anyone else openly advocated the abolition of slavery, an unpopular stand south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

In 1854, Northern and Southern Whigs split over the issue of the expansion of slavery into the Western territories, particularly . Many Northern Whigs and some Democrats joined the new Republican Party, which favored "free soil"—no slavery in the territories. Southern Whigs and the rest of the Northern Whigs along with some Democrats formed their own party, the American Party, also called "Know-Nothings," which took an anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic stance. More than three million immigrants, mostly Irish and Germans, had arrived in the U.S. in the period from 1845 to 1854, triple the amount of the ten years before that. Many Americans believed that immigrants depressed wages and undercut traditional American values and culture. By focusing on immigration, the American Party sought to avoid any discussion of slavery and thereby reduce tensions between North and South. Democrats remained the strongest party in the South, and their candidate, James Buchanan, was

elected President in 1856.

As the national parties realigned, Baltimore's native-born working class turned to the American Party and fought with Democratic opponents in street battles, mostly on election days. In the 1850s, all white men could vote; there was no voter registration, and the election judges and police were appointed by the Mayor. No one could prevent non-citizens, youths under twenty-one, or women dressed as men from voting, or men from going from ward to ward and voting in each ward. In those days, each party printed its own ballot and distributed it to their prospective voters usually at the polling place. Each of Baltimore's twenty wards had only one polling place where as many as 2,000 could vote. One way of suppressing the opposing vote was to beat up, chase away, or even kill opposing poll workers or voters, or snatch their ballots. It is not surprising that the polling places became flash points during contested elections. Both parties armed their poll workers with pistols, knives, shoemaker awls, and even cannon. Two elections in 1856 resulted in seventeen deaths and sixty-seven injuries. The American Party won tainted elections between 1856 and 59, further cementing Baltimore's reputation as "mob-town," and home of streets gangs, such as the Blood Tubs, notorious butchers who would dunk the heads of Democratic voters in tubs of animal blood. Baltimore's immigrants who became citizens would not vote for the nativist American Party and supported the Democrats. Some immigrants fought the Know-Nothing gangs in various melees. The police force was of little help in keeping the peace, as the policemen were hired directly by the mayor, and they stood by during the clashes.[4]

By 1859, Baltimore's leading businessmen had had enough and established the Reform Association to clean up the elections and the police department. Eager to oust the American Party, Baltimore's immigrants backed the reform efforts. In October 1860, the Reformers won with a 2–1 majority in a peaceful election, with George Brown, a banker by profession, elected as Mayor. He even carried the American Party wards by narrow margins.

In the presidential election of November 1860, the Republican Party made gains among former Northern Whigs and among German Protestants, increasing their national vote from 1,342,000 in 1856 to 1,866,000 (an increase of thirty-nine percent) in 1860, sweeping seventeen of the

eighteen Northern states (all except New Jersey), gaining a majority in the electoral college, and electing Lincoln to the Presidency.[5]

But Lincoln had little support south of the Mason-Dixon Line and won less than three percent of the vote in Baltimore and Maryland generally. Politically, Maryland was a Southern state. The two leading candidates in the South were the Southern Democrat Breckinridge and John Bell, who won the American Party voters under the banner of the Constitutional Union Party, which tried to bridge the gap between the various factions by calling for the preservation of the Union and the elimination of multiple political in favor of a unified adherence to the Constitution.

Democrats in the Deep South supported the Southern position of extending slavery in the territories. Many Southerners spoke of secession if Lincoln were to be elected. In Maryland, the Democrats identified with the South, but did not openly support secession. Baltimore immigrants voted for Breckinridge, who carried Baltimore by 2,000 votes and narrowly won the state by 700 in a peaceful election. They were mainly motivated by their antipathy towards the American party; unlike many Southerners, they were not voting for the Southern agenda. Some historians have interpreted the immigrant vote for Breckinridge as support for secession, but their subsequent behavior reveals little support for the Confederacy.[6]

A SURVEY OF BALTIMORE'S IMMIGRANTS

The Irish had a presence in Baltimore from the early days. The Ancient Order of Hibernians was founded in 1803 and helped the Irish in need. Up to the 1830s, the majority of Irish immigrants was Protestant, mostly from Northern Ireland, and included a variety of occupations, such as artisans, tradesmen, professionals, and laborers. Irish immigration, with Catholics from southern Ireland, grew in the 1830s, as Irish laborers worked on the turnpikes, canals, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The 1840s witnessed the catastrophic Irish potato famine; during the years from 1845 to 1854, one million Irish died and 1.3 million left for the United States, traveling on what were dubbed "coffin ships." Baltimore was one port of entry, with smaller numbers of Irish immigrants than Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. One observer said of the famine-ravished Irish arriving in Baltimore, "They were the most emaci-

ated creatures we ever seen."[7] The Hibernians built a shelter for them in Canton; many of those who recovered found work on the railroad, which, luckily for them, was undergoing a boom.

Irish immigrants settled in the neighborhood of Mount Clare Station as early as in the 1830s to work on the B & O Railroad. Some moved up to positions of foremen or other skilled positions and bought modest row-houses. Some Irish also settled in Fells Point and worked on the water-front. Irish were loyal to the Catholic Church and consecrated Saint Peter the Apostle Church in 1843 near Mount Clare Station; they had four other Catholic churches or chapels by 1860. They also backed the Democratic Party throughout this whole era.

The Germans were a more diverse and larger community, and the immigrants with their children made up about twenty-five percent of Baltimore's population from the 1860s to the 1880s. Unlike the Irish immigrants, who tended to be mostly blue-collar workers, Germans represented a broad social spectrum of businessmen, professionals, skilled craftsmen, and laborers. They were also religiously divided among Catholics, Jews, and various Protestant denominations and supported twenty-five German language churches and synagogues. Moreover, some twenty-five German language newspapers appeared at one time or another, sometimes briefly, in the ante-bellum era.[8] There were also sixty German clubs and social organizations in 1860.[9]

The most widely-read paper was the daily *Der Deutsche Correspondent*, which generally supported the Democratic Party. The weekly *Katholische Volkszeitung*, published for a national audience, was more partisanly Democrat and vociferously condemned abolitionism. On the other side, some immigrant groups included intellectuals who had joined the failed liberal democratic revolution of 1848 in their homeland, but fled to America in the aftermath. Their views were expressed in *Der Wecker,* which advocated a democratic Germany and the abolition of slavery, while denouncing the Catholic Church as a bastion of reaction. Many Germans joined the *Turnverein*, a gymnastics club, with a liberal, democratic ideology. Their headquarters, the *Turnhalle*, was on West Pratt Street, and their national newspaper, the *Turnzeitung*, espoused abolitionist views and was printed on the same presses as the *Wecker*.

Baltimore's Jewish community in 1860 numbered 7,000; most had immigrated from , especially , during the previous thirty years or were the children of immigrants. Many of them started out in the retail trade or clothing production, which would grow greatly during and after the Civil War. Jews participated in the German language press and some prominent Jews served as leaders in German social and cultural organizations.[10] Politically, Jews and Germans and Irish together supported the Democratic Party because of their opposition to temperance and Sunday laws, and to the Whigs and later Know-Nothings. The issue of slavery divided the Jewish community. Rabbi David Einhorn of Har Sinai published his own German language paper Sinai and took the abolitionist position; Rabbi Illoway of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation defended slavery, and Rabbi Szold of Oheb Shalom called for neutrality.[11] The *Sinai*, *Turnzeitung*, and *Wecker* were the only abolitionist papers in Maryland, all written in German.

THE GATHERING STORM

In the late 1850s, tensions rose between North and South over the issues of free soil and slavery. Southerners perceived slavery as under attack, and in Maryland, slave-owners were worried that the large free black population would undercut the viability of the slave system. In 1860, the Maryland legislature drafted a measure for a referendum that would have banned the future manumission of slaves and would have re-enslaved the 84,000 free blacks. In the election in which Breckinridge carried the state, seventy percent of Maryland voters opposed the measure. The vast majority of Marylanders had no stake in slavery. While they did not support the abolition of slavery, they were uneasy about taking away the freedom of those who had already earned it. The attempt to protect, even enhance slavery, as the proponents saw it, reflects the willingness of a portion of Maryland's population to take extreme measures. Likewise, the majority of Marylanders would not support going that far. An illustration of the divide could be found in Kent County, where slaveholders tried to expel an anti-slavery advocate, and his supporters defended him in street clashes.[12]

FIRST BLOOD

After Lincoln's election as President in November 1860, seven states of the Deep South seceded. The ensuing political crisis placed Maryland in the middle of the conflict. After Confederate forces in South Carolina fired on the federal garrison of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor on April 12, 1861, Lincoln called for volunteers to suppress the insurrection of April 15. Virginia seceded on April 17, followed by North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Marylanders hotly debated secession. Tensions rose between the unionists and the secessionists, with clashes and fist fights breaking out throughout the city. There were few federal troops in Washington to face Confederate forces in Virginia, and Lincoln asked for more troops. In this supercharged atmosphere, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, without any advance notice given to the city authorities, arrived at President Street Station on April 19 at eleven in the morning. Since there was no railroad connection to Washington from President Street, they had to travel on horse-drawn trolleys for a distance of two miles along Pratt Street to Camden Station, where they could board trains to the capital. The first eight trolley cars arrived, but the last one was blocked by a barricade constructed by an angry mob. The soldiers disembarked and had to make their way on foot to Camden Station. In the process they clashed with a hostile pro-Southern mob resulting in the first sixteen fatalities (four soldiers and twelve civilians) of the Civil War.

As for the composition of the mob, historians have identified 159 individuals who attacked the troops or demonstrated for the South. Half of them were involved in trade and commerce, and less than one-eighth in industry, which suggests that the rioters came more from the middle class than from the working class. According to census figures, those identified in the mob averaged holdings close to $10,000 real and personal property, a substantial amount of wealth for 1860.[11]

Later that day, April 19, a pro-Southern mob gathered in front of the *Turnhalle* and demanded that the Turners replace the American flag with the Maryland flag. The Turners responded that "they would rather blow up their hall than lower the Union flag." But the next day, the mob reappeared and smashed everything to bits in the *Turnhalle*, including furniture, gymnastic equipment, and dishes. The police appeared later, and a captain "solemnly" locked the vandalized building. The printing shop of

Sinai suffered a similar fate; they also appeared at the *Wecker* and partially damaged the building, but, by some accounts, were dissuaded by the appearance of the editor's wife Elise Schnauffer standing in the doorway, "with an infant on her arms." She and her husband, Wilhelm Schnauffer, nevertheless fled to York, Pennsylvania, and returned after Union forces occupied the city. Rabbi Einhorn fled to Philadelphia, and became rabbi for a congregation there. Other German language publications were untouched, and no synagogues or churches were attacked.[14]

It might have appeared in April 1861 that Maryland secessionists could have prevailed. But Union reinforcements bypassed Baltimore by sailing to Annapolis and traveling by rail to Washington. With every day, more and more Union troops infiltrated the state and strengthened their grip on Baltimore. On May 13, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment arrived in Baltimore at night in a rainstorm and placed cannon on top of Federal Hill, without encountering any resistance. Governor Hicks, a Unionist, had convened the legislature in Frederick on April 26 (Annapolis being occupied by Union troops), and that body voted that it did not have the authority to pass an act of secession, unanimously in the Senate, and 53–12 in the House.[15] Both houses also resolved that the federal government should recognize the Confederacy, refrain from coercing the South, and order the Union troops to withdraw from Maryland. At this point, however, it was clear that Maryland was lost to the Confederacy. Marylanders who wanted to join the Confederate army had to leave for Virginia and form units there.

As of June 1861, Baltimore was under military rule; the police force was disbanded. The Union military closed eight pro-Southern newspapers and could ban meetings. Lincoln suspended habeas corpus (later confirmed by Congress); the military could arrest anyone and hold that person indefinitely without charging him with a crime. This included the Mayor of Baltimore George Brown, the Chief of Police George Kane, and thirty-one members of the Maryland state legislature. By December 1862, they had all been released after swearing a loyalty oath to the United States.

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON: THE IMMIGRANTS CHOOSE

While it appeared that many in Maryland were sympathetic to the South, it turned out that during the Civil War, twice as many Marylanders joined the Union Army as fought for the South.[16] A survey by the United States Sanitary Commission (forerunner of the Red Cross) after the War reveals that of 28,000 white Union soldiers in Maryland canvassed in their survey, eleven percent were born in Germany and five percent in Ireland. The total foreign-born population in Maryland's white population was fourteen percent, so immigrants served in slightly largely numbers proportionally than their numbers might indicate. Few immigrants served in Confederate units; Dieter Cunz, in his history of Maryland Germans concludes, "If…one examines the troop lists of the [Confederate] Maryland regiments that percentage, as compared with the great participation of Germans in the Northern cause, is strikingly small."[17]

While most immigrants backed the Union side, some Baltimore Germans favored the South. The most socially prominent German club, the Germania Club, was a group of wealthy merchants, half of whom exported tobacco to Germany.[18] They had close ties to Southern planters and identified with Baltimore's elite. Other club members were Unionist, and they agreed to avoid political discussions. However, in 1863, the military shut down all clubs in Baltimore. When Unionist Albert Schumacher took over as President, the Club flew the American flag and declared itself "completely free of all political tendencies,"[19] which allowed them to reopen their club house on West Lombard Street.

The weekly Catholic newspaper, *Katholische Volkszeitung*, ran into trouble with their criticism of Lincoln, and the publisher Joseph Kreuzer was arrested for a few days in 1863. He was released after taking a loyalty oath but continued his anti-Republican stance.

While most of the immigrant revolutionaries of 1848, "the 48ers," as they were called, favored the North and the abolition of slavery, the German-born dentist and 48er Adalbert Volck backed the South. He is known for his anti-Lincoln and pro-Confederate cartoons, which circulated among Southern sympathizers in the North under a reverse pseudonym "V. Blada." After the Civil War, he ceased drawing cartoons, but retained his Southern sympathies while regretting his anti-Lincoln stance.

Volck was a successful dentist with patients from Maryland and the South and could have been influenced by them; he also assimilated into Baltimore high society and could have adopted its pro-Southern attitudes.[20]

More numerous were the German middle and lower classes, which backed the Union and formed organizations to help the cause and give medical help to wounded or sick Union soldiers. Many turned to the Republican Party (which adopted the name of the Union Party during the Civil War), which avoided any taint of nativism, and Lincoln narrowly carried the state in the 1864 presidential election. In Baltimore, the Democrat McClellan polled only seventeen percent of the total vote and had less than twenty percent in the German and Irish immigrant wards. This was indeed a major shift; only three percent of the immigrants voted for Lincoln in 1860 and over eighty percent in voted for him in 1864. The Baltimore immigrant vote for the Democrats in 1860 had been a vote against nativist adversaries, but by 1864 they viewed the Democratic Party as the party of treason.

It is hard to say whether the election of 1864 reflected the genuine political will of Maryland voters. Maryland soldiers in Union regiments voted for Lincoln by 2800 to 321.With the soldier vote, Lincoln won 37,000 to 32,000, but without it Lincoln still had fifty-two percent of the vote. The Democrat Breckinridge had garnered 42,000 votes in 1860—10,000 more than McClellan four years later–but numerous Confederate soldiers and Southern sympathizers were absent. Democrats also stayed home because they disliked McClellan, who had enforced martial law in Maryland from 1861 to 1862, when he commanded the Army of the Potomac. In addition, many Democratic voters did not wish to take the required oath before voting, "to have never given aid to any Confederate or to have expressed the desire for the triumph of the rebels." On the other hand, election judges did not enforce the oath in core Democratic areas, such as in Southern Maryland. Outside of Baltimore, McClellan carried the counties where Breckinridge had strength, while Lincoln ran well where Bell had won.[21] Baltimore was an exception, and the shift in the city helped Lincoln carry the state.

Another demonstration of loyalty to the Union cause took place when the loyal ladies of Baltimore put on a Sanitary Fair from April 18

to May 2, 1864, a fundraiser for wounded and sick Union soldiers and their families. Northern cities had similar events, but the effort in Baltimore was handicapped because a large part of the social elite was sympathetic to the South. Elizabeth Bradford, the wife of the governor, and William Albert, a prominent German merchant, co-chaired the event, which raised $80,000. The President arrived on April 18 and, after giving a speech, mingled with the crowds in Baltimore and spent the night at the Albert residence. Large crowds cheered a military parade. With the departure of numerous rebel Baltimoreans, the city was no longer seen as supporting the Confederacy.[22]

In the North, the Irish and other Catholics tended to oppose Lincoln's policy of emancipation and voted Democratic during the Civil War. In Baltimore, while Irish voted Republican, they were less vocal in their enthusiasm for the Union than were theGermans, and "a smaller share of Maryland's Irish fought for the union than did the Germans."[23] But still more Irish joined the Union ranks than joined the Confederates.

The records of how many Jews from Baltimore served on either side are hard to find, except for anecdotal evidence. The Union army records list "born in ," but does not distinguish between Christians and Jews.[24] Some Jewish families were divided; the Friedenwald and Mendes Cohen families had supporters on both sides. Overall, many Jews wished that they did not have to take sides, at least in the beginning. When Rabbi David Einhorn fled to Philadelphia, his Har Sinai congregation invited him to return if he promised to avoid politics, which he refused. Rabbi Szold of Oheb Shalom followed a policy of neutrality on political issues.

The most notable Jewish Unionist was Leopold Blumenberg; born in Prussia, he rose to the rank of major in a Union Maryland regiment and was wounded at Antietam. With German Jewish and German businessmen, Blumenberg helped found the *Deutscher Unionsverein*, the German equivalent of the Union League, which supported the policies of the Republican Party during the Civil War and afterwards. In May 1863, Lincoln appointed Blumenberg as Baltimore's provost marshal, a military chief of police. Few Jews ran afoul of military rule in Baltimore, but Moses Wiesenfeld, who was a Unionist, was jailed for two years because Confederate buttons, which may have been planted by disgruntled employees were found in his clothing factory.[25] With some exceptions,

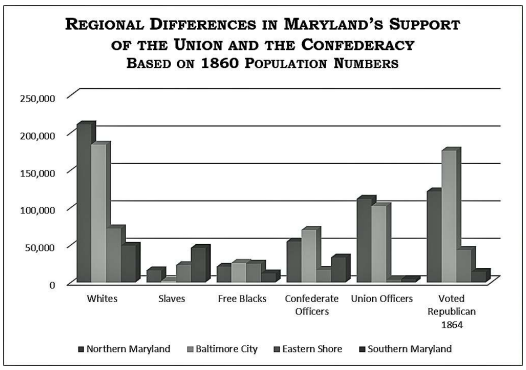
Jews followed the general immigrant and the German-American community; they did not support secession and voted for Lincoln in 1864.

CONCLUSION

Why did Baltimore's immigrants generally refuse to back the Confederacy and support the Union cause? Political sympathies were rooted in social and economical realities. The six counties of Southern Maryland mirrored the Deep South geographically, socially, and economically. The population lived and earned its livelihood on tobacco plantations and farms. The enslaved population almost equaled the white population. The only difference from the Deep South was the relatively large free black population, twenty percent of blacks in Southern Maryland versus five percent in all of the slaving holding states. On the other hand, those on the Eastern Shore and in Northern Maryland lived and worked in ways and places more similar to those in the North. The soil on the Eastern Shore was not conducive to tobacco cultivation, which made slavery less profitable; farmers grew wheat, corn, fruits and vegetables for urban markets in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Northern Maryland stretched from Cecil County westward; slaves made up only seven percent of its population, and its economy resembled that of the North.

The table on the facing page allows one to visualize the differences in the three areas of Maryland, at least as far as they are reflected in the numbers of those from the various areas who served as junior officers, lieutenant and captain, in the Union or Confederate army. The figures are drawn from a survey in Kevin Conley Ruffer's *Maryland's Blue and Gray*, which contains information on more than 140 junior officers on each side, including all of the Confederate units and the four federal regiments of the Maryland Brigade. We do not know if the enlisted men followed the same patterns, but the table does reveal substantial regional cleavages in terms of slave ownership, recruitment for the Confederacy, and votes for McClellan in 1864. It is noteworthy that Southern Maryland supplied thirty-one percent of the Confederate junior officers and only four percent of the Union junior officers. Yet in spite of the Union military presence in the state, McClellan won eighty-seven percent of the vote in 1864.

Slavery was less widespread in the seven counties of the Eastern Shore, and the free black population slightly outnumbered the slaves. Yet the Shoremen did not embrace Lincoln in 1864 with enthusiasm, giving him thirty-six percent of their votes. However, the three-percent share of Union Junior Officers shown in the table is likely unrepresentative, as Ruffner's survey omitted two Eastern Shore Union regiments raised for home defense, one of which saw action at Gettysburg. This is not to say that Union support was overwhelming. One third of the junior officers from that region joined the Confederate ranks, and McClellan won fifty-one percent of the vote.



The old moneyed families of Baltimore and the tobacco counties of Southern Maryland formed the two core groups of Confederate support. The survey of 146 junior officers serving in Confederate Maryland units reveals that they came mainly (64%) from Southern Maryland or from prominent Baltimore families. Many of them were descended from Marylanders who supported the American Revolution and the defense of Baltimore in 1814. They had some wealth, and twenty-five had attended college. They represented old Maryland society, either tobacco-growing families of Southern Maryland or from Baltimore's social elite. Only two were foreign born, both from Ireland, and one of whom deserted to Union forces. Eighty-nine percent had been born in Maryland, and another eight percent came from Virginia.

The social prominence of Baltimore's Southern supporters was illustrated when Francis Key Howard, editor of the Southern-leaning *Daily Exchange* (and grandson of Francis Scott Key), was arrested in Septem-

ber 1861. The military police found among his papers a list of Baltimoreans, "who declared themselves in favor of the South and in favor of Maryland's secession. More than 250 names appeared on the list, and ...they represented practically every old-line family in the city."[26]

The survey of 144 Union junior officers reveals that ten were born in Germany, three in Ireland, two in Britain. Seventy-three percent were born in Maryland, and nine percent in Pennsylvania. They were less educated with only two college degrees, and less wealthy; the largest group was composed of skilled workers, and the second largest were clerks or businessmen. Ninety-three percent of them lived in Baltimore City and the Northern Maryland counties.[27]

One could say that the Confederate officers represented old Maryland society, which had acquired wealth from tobacco and trade, and perhaps felt threatened by the emerging commerce and industry, with its polyglot work force. On the other side, the "Union officers represented a new and different element in Maryland society, one that had little connection to the educated, landowning, slaveholding, tobacco growing society of old Maryland… [they] represented the vanguard of the state's growing white working class, which drew its base from the industrial and commercial development of Baltimore.... This class…symbolized the state's social and economic transformation to a northern- as opposed to a southern-oriented community... a new order, setting itself apart from the rural and urban gentry…Of working and lower-middle class origins, they had little in common with their aristocratic neighbors."[28]

The majority of Baltimore's immigrants simply did not feel part of the old Maryland society; once the war began, they lined up with the Union. Also, as outsiders trying to find a foothold in a new society, immigrants feared that supporting secession could be a huge risk, disruptive to their lives. Having left the land of their birth and adopting a new country, they were unwilling to undergo another wrenching change. According to James Bergquist, "Most immigrants could recognize that, whatever their status in the United States, they were better off than they would have been in the old country, so defending the Union was for them a worthy cause."[29] As newcomers, they identified with the new industrial order which was in the process of superceding the old Maryland economy. Volunteering for the Union Army helped the process of assimilation and

the acceptance by the larger society. The military occupation of Baltimore also may have induced immigrants to go along with the powers that be.

Even though Baltimore's immigrants and the native-born working class had violent street clashes in the 1850s, the secession appeared to them to be a greater evil. They buried their differences and both gave their support to the Union. Maryland indeed was a divided state, but the bulk of immigrants supported the Union, which helped keep the Free State with its Northern sisters.

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND
1886

NOTES

1. See *Germans in the Civil War*, ed. Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 2006), "nearly one-quarter of all Union troops were foreign-born" (xi). See xxxi, on how historians have neglected the role of immigrants. A recent exception is James M. Bergquist, *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1820–1870* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2008)
2. Brend Brunner, *Nach Amerika* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009) 55–79. *Hoffnung Amerika,* ed. Karin Schulz (Bremerhaven: Nordwestdeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994), 51–53. Dirk Schroeder, "Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between the Free Hanseatic Republic of Bremen and Baltimore" (unpublished article, 2003).
3. Moses Aberbach, "The Early German Jews of Baltimore," *The Report* 35:33. Two thirds of Maryland's immigrants settled in Baltimore; most of the rest went to towns; very few lived in the countryside. Jean H. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1977), 135.
4. Frank Towers, *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War* (Charlottesville, VA: U of Virginia Press, 2004), 109–125. L.P. Hennighausen, "Reminiscences of the German-Americans in Baltimore during the years 1850–1860,Part II," *The Report* 11–12 (1897–1898), 1–18. Jean H. Baker, *Politics of Continuity—Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1973), 5. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 134, estimates that probably no more than five percent of the vote in 1856 and 1857 was affected by such strong arm tactics, but the violence was widely reported and perhaps exaggerated.
5. According to Kevin Phillips, *The Cousins War* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 428–440, Republicans made the greatest gains among the German Protestants with a Reformed (or Calvinist, close to Puritanism) orientation. Kamphoefner and Helbich confirm the shift in *Germans in the Civil War*, 4–5.
6. Lawrence M. Denton, *A Southern Star for Maryland*, (Baltimore: Publishing Concepts, 1995), 35–38. Eric Goldstein, "How German were the 'German' Jews in 19th century America?" Unpublished essay (winner of the Arnold Prize in 2013). A recent narrative article by Charles W. Mitchell, "Maryland's Presidential Election of 1860," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Fall 2014), 323, downplays the secessionist sentiment in Maryland in 1860.
7. Mary Ellen Hayward, *Baltimore's Alley Houses* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 2008), 85. See 63–107 for the Irish. Hans-Juergen Grabbe, *Vor der grossen Flut* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 65–72. Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 38.
8. Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1948), 265 and 393. Dean Esslinger, "Immigration through the Port of Baltimore," in Mark Stolarik, ed. *Forgotten Doors* (Philadelphia: Balch Institute, 1988), 67.
9. Cunz, op. cit., 265.
10. Hayward, 119.

11. Aberbach, 27–36. Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971) 93–101. Also, see the Goldstein article.
12. Comprehensive studies of slavery in Baltimore and Maryland include Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port* (Chicago: U of Illinois, 1997); T. Stephen Whitman, *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2007); Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985).
13. Towers,169.
14. Cunz, 305–307. L.P. Hennighausen, "Reminiscences of the German-Americans in Baltimore during the years 1850–1860,Part I," *The Report* 7 (1892–1893), 53–59.
15. All of the states that joined the Confederacy had special elections for a convention which voted on secession. The legislators also believed that only a convention can enact secession.
16. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, (New York, Oxford UP, 1988), 293.
17. Cunz, 307–308
18. Hayward, 119
19. Dieter Cunz, *A History of the Germania Club* (Baltimore: Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 1940), 13.
20. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans,* 109–110, 130–133
21. George McCulloch Anderson, *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck* (Baltimore, private printing)
22. Scott S. Sheads and Daniel Carroll Toomey, *The Civil War in* Baltimore (Linthicum, MD: Toomey Press, 66–68)
23. McPherson, 804. Tower, 169–70. Tower notes than more Irish than Germans were identified in the secessionist mob of April 19.
24. Robert Rosen in *The Jewish Confederate* does not mention any Jews from Baltimore and Maryland serving in the Confederate armies. Simon Wolf in 1895 published lists of more than 7,000 Jews who served in the Civil War, but with only seven names for Maryland, all Union soldiers. It is hard to find information on Maryland Jews serving on both sides.
25. Fein, 93–101.
26. Denton, 155 and 207.
27. Kevin Conley Ruffner, *Maryland's Blue and Gray* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 1997), 42–55 for the Confederate officers, 63–75 for the Union officers.
28. Ruffner, 75
29. Bergquist, 240.