

**Border State Blues:  
A Civil War Scrapbook in Baltimore**

When the Civil War divided the United States into two pieces, the border of separation was left jagged and raw, especially in Baltimore. Cultural, commercial, political, and familial ties complicated geographical secession. At the outset of the Civil War, Baltimore's economic prosperity depended in large part on access to the Southern market. The strong commercial connections Baltimore had established with the Southern states made many Baltimoreans natural sympathizers, if not militant allies of the Confederacy. Bonds of family and friendship reinforced economic ties, while a shared commitment to the institution of slavery further strengthened Baltimore's sense of solidarity with the South. At the same time, however, the city maintained significant economic ties to the industrial North and expanding Western markets. The Marylanders in the south of the state and on the Eastern Shore generally shared the views of the Southern states, whereas central and western Maryland experienced an influx of immigrants from Germany, Ireland, and the states to the north; thus, it generally supported the north.<sup>1</sup> The ideological divisions of the city would result in rebellious violence, the suspension of suffrage, the imprisonment of many prominent Baltimoreans—including Mayor George William Brown—and the military occupation of the city. These extraordinary measures were necessary to ensure the security of the nation's capital and ultimately the loyalty of Baltimore, which was critical to the survival of the Union.

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<sup>1</sup> Harold R. Manakee. *Maryland in the Civil War*. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1961), 17.

A firsthand account of the Civil War in Baltimore lies in six archival boxes housed in the Special Collections and Archives of Goucher College. These boxes contain six mildewed scrapbooks whose pages are covered with a handpicked selection of newspaper articles from 1861 to 1863. The majority of the content comes from the Unionist newspaper, *The Baltimore American*. Articles from New York newspapers are also common inclusions. Clippings from a Philadelphia newspaper are sporadically added as well. The six scrapbooks are of varying sizes, although they are all marked by the deterioration of the last century and a half—the twine bindings have frayed and hardened, and worms and insects have bored tiny Swiss cheese holes into the pages. The covers of the large ledger books have missing corners and discolored blotches. The covers have all lost their spines, leaving the torn paper and twine guts of the scrapbooks to crumble into their acid-free boxes. The contents of these scrapbooks are a testament to the events that warranted their creation as records of a formative era in the history of the United States. Each book contains approximately 100 pages, all of which are covered in information derived from contemporary newspapers. The creator—or creators—of the scrapbooks clipped articles, poetry, and official proclamations from Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia newspapers and then carefully arranged and pasted their selections in three columns on the front and back of each page of the scrapbooks.

The articles that have been preserved in these scrapbooks allow the researcher to isolate one familial, personal thread from the larger fabric of Maryland attitudes during this period. They also contain important information describing the local conditions in Maryland during the Civil War. These articles are often impossible to find in a digitized form, which makes the scrapbooks the best source of this information. My original

research seeks to establish the significance of these scrapbooks by investigating their context and content. Additionally, this analysis will establish their significance as historical resources, and will consider them within the larger tradition of nineteenth century scrapbooks.

This inquiry will begin with a discussion of the source of the scrapbooks, the Miller family, because the background of the scrapbooks' creator is central to understanding their content. Next, this paper will examine the historical context in which the scrapbooks were compiled in order to understand the Miller family's commercial and political allegiances in the larger scheme of Baltimore during the Civil War. After the contextual investigation of the scrapbooks, the content can be examined. Scrapbooking was a widespread practice during the war and these volumes need to be interpreted within the larger scholarship about scrapbooking during the Civil War. The characteristics of these Baltimore scrapbooks will be compared to those that were created in the North and the South. Finally, the unique themes and events must be identified and analyzed, keeping in mind the geographic and ideological positions of the scrapbooker and the newspapers, which were the scrapbooker's primary sources.

### The Miller Family

On the first page of the oldest scrapbook is John Madison Miller's signature, the first identifying trace tying the scrapbooks to the Miller family. John Madison Miller was the oldest son of Daniel Miller, who was the founder of one of the most important dry-goods houses in Baltimore, Daniel Miller & Co. The family left Virginia to move to Baltimore and established the business in 1846. These scrapbooks are one of the few traces of John M. Miller that have survived to today. Unlike his more well-known father

and brothers, little is known of John M. Miller. There is a passing mention of him in the *Baltimore Sun*, in January of 1927, when his widow's obituary, Maria W. Miller, appeared in the paper. The obituary also mentions their son, George Hollins Miller, and stated Maria's address as 1404 Bolton Street.<sup>2</sup> This relative anonymity contrasts sharply with the well-known lives of his father, Daniel Miller, and brothers Theodore Klein, Daniel, and Henry Clay, who are included among the ranks of notable Baltimoreans in John T. Scharf's *History of Baltimore City and County: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*;<sup>3</sup> and George W. Howard's *The Monumental City*.<sup>4</sup> Although John Madison Miller was the oldest son of Daniel Miller, he never joined the family business. The signature in the first scrapbook is the most concrete evidence of his existence to be found in any of the primary sources.

Daniel Miller, the patriarch of the family, was born in Loudon County, Virginia in 1812. Miller was either a first or a second generation American—accounts vary, but his father or grandfather was a teacher who emigrated from Germany. Daniel Miller's father participated in the defense of Baltimore in 1814; at that time Daniel was two years old. By the time he had turned fourteen, his family had fallen into financial hardship and he “resolved to be no longer a burden to his family but to start out in search of his own fortune”; this search took him to Harper's Ferry.<sup>5</sup> Harper's Ferry was home to a prosperous market for business, and the teenaged Miller found work in a country store.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> “Obituary: Mrs. Maria W. Miller” *The Sun*, 14 January 1927, 6.

<sup>3</sup> John Thomas Scharf. *History of Baltimore City and County: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881).

<sup>4</sup> George Washington Howard. *The Monumental City: Its Past History and Present Resources*. (Baltimore: J.D. Ehlers & Co., 1873).

<sup>5</sup> Howard, *Monumental City*, 572.

<sup>6</sup> Scharf, *Baltimore*, 411.

The connections he made during this time in his life led him to his future commercial successes, beginning with an interest in a mercantile house in Lovettsville, Virginia. While he was in Lovettsville he met and married Mary Ann Klein, and it was there that his children were born. He was eventually able to buy out his partners and take control of the business.<sup>7</sup>

By 1842, he had become an important and respected figure in the community because of his status as a successful merchant, and he was elected by a large majority to the Virginia legislature on the Whig ticket. After completing his term in Virginia he moved his business and his family to Baltimore in 1846.<sup>8</sup> By the time of his death in 1870, Daniel Miller's business was worth more than \$2,000,000—nearly \$36,000,000 in modern money—and his passing “threw a gloom over the whole community.”<sup>9</sup>

### The Context

#### **Commercial Ties**

The commercial development of Baltimore in the early nineteenth century was linked to ship building and international trade. Transportation was central to the prosperity of the city, and the changing technology of the nineteenth century led the city to commercial prosperity. Three major railroads linked Baltimore with the North, South, and most importantly, the growing towns and cities of the West. An elite merchant class grew in Baltimore City, as they were able to take advantage of the growing markets throughout the country. During the Civil War, both the North and South laid claim to

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<sup>7</sup> Howard, *Monumental City*, 571.

<sup>8</sup> Scharf, 411.

<sup>9</sup> Scharf, *Baltimore*, 411.

Baltimore. If the city were to ally itself with the South it could become the South's most important commercial and industrial city—"The New York of the Confederacy".<sup>10</sup>

Unionists contended that the raw materials necessary for the city's manufacturing wealth came from the West, which sympathized with the North.<sup>11</sup> Daniel Miller, a former Whig, a merchant who most likely relied on Northern manufacturing and creditors, and a reader of *The Baltimore American* along with Northern newspapers, probably sided with the Unionists.

Daniel Miller's business was part of the dry-goods jobbing trade, which was a rapidly growing branch of Baltimore commerce. Jobbing houses were wholesale suppliers that would often sell on credit—especially before the Civil War—and the backbone of the Millers' business consisted of its trade with Southern farmers. This basis of credit depended on trust and continued relations between the buyer and the seller. The Civil War had a devastating effect on the relation between buyer and seller, and changed the jobbing trade forever as it "interrupted travel and traffic, and in many instances debtor and creditor were separated from each other by walls of steel."<sup>12</sup> Daniel Miller was suddenly unable to collect the debts owed to him in the seceded states, and "all that he had accumulated by the patient toil of years was swept away as it were in a single day...[since] mercantile credit was not worth a rope of sand."<sup>13</sup> Although there is evidence in the scrapbooks of trips at least as far south as Richmond in what we can suppose were attempts to collect debts, for the next five years Daniel Miller would owe considerable sums to his own creditors. "He exacted of his children a solemn obligation

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<sup>10</sup> Manakee, *Maryland*, 22.

<sup>11</sup> Manakee, *Maryland*, 22.

<sup>12</sup> Scharf, *Baltimore*, 410.

<sup>13</sup> Howard, *Monumental City*, 572.

that in the event of his death, they would consider themselves morally and religiously bound to fulfill his work,”<sup>14</sup> and the day that he repaid \$496,000 to his creditors, would be “the happiest day of his life.”<sup>15</sup>

### **Political Relations**

The election of 1860 resulted in a dismal showing for Abraham Lincoln in Maryland. John C. Breckenridge, the Southern Democrat, received the most support with 42,497 votes; he was followed closely by the Constitutional Unionist, John Bell, with 41,777 votes. Lincoln received only 2,294 votes.<sup>16</sup> He traveled through Baltimore to his inauguration in secret because of official fears of an assassination plot.

In the lead-up to the election, on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1860, the Constitutional Union Party held its national convention in Baltimore at the Millers’ home church, the Old First Presbyterian Church on the corner of North and Fayette Streets.<sup>17</sup> In that church, John Bell of Tennessee was nominated for the presidency of the United States. There is no evidence to support or refute the presence of Daniel Miller or any member of his family at the church on May 9<sup>th</sup>. However, it does seem very likely that the Millers would have supported Bell’s campaign.

Daniel Miller had been a Whig. He ran on the party’s ticket to become a state delegate in Virginia and named two of his sons after prominent Whigs: Henry Clay, and “the patron saint of Whiggery,” James Madison.<sup>18</sup> He also read the party’s newspaper in

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<sup>14</sup> Howard, *Monumental City*, 573.

<sup>15</sup> Scharf, *Baltimore*, 411.

<sup>16</sup> Manakee, *Maryland*, 21.

<sup>17</sup> Sheads, Scott Sumpter and Daniel Carroll Toomey. *Baltimore During the Civil War*. (Baltimore: Toomey Press, 1997), 6.

<sup>18</sup> Daniel Walker Howe. “The Political Culture of the American Whigs” (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), 91.

Baltimore, *The Baltimore American*. When the Whig party was disbanded in 1852, Daniel Miller and many others were men without a party. Groups such as the Constitutional Unionists and the Know-Nothings arose to fill that vacuum following the dissolution of the Whigs. In 1860, *The Baltimore American* endorsed Bell. Based on the allegiances of *The Baltimore American*, the jump for former Whigs such as Daniel Miller to the Constitutional Union party seemed to be a natural one.

The Southern Whigs rallied for the last time around John Bell and Edward Everett. The Constitutional Unionists ignored the issue of slavery and pledged to preserve the Constitution and the Union. “Their campaign deplored demagoguery, party politics, territorial expansion, and the spoils system, good Whig issues all, while generally avoiding discussion of slavery.”<sup>19</sup> When the Whig party dissolved in 1852, their former members drifted to different parties during the 1850s, and in the case of Baltimore, the Know-Nothings took hold. In 1854, Baltimoreans elected mayor Samuel Hinks of the Know-Nothing party over the Democratic candidate. The Know-Nothings carried the elections again in 1857, when Governor Thomas Hicks was elected, along with most of the legislators and four of the six Congressmen.<sup>20</sup> The American party, also known as The Know-Nothing party, was a nativist party, opposed to immigrants and foreign influences. The Know-Nothings were also enemies of Catholics and their perceived anti-democratic “popery”. Governor Hicks stated that “it was wrong for an industrious native population to have to support foreign paupers, that foreigners provided a ruinous competition for native labor, and that foreign political influence was dangerous.” Hicks

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<sup>19</sup> Walker, “Whigs”, 252.

<sup>20</sup> Darrell W. Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950), 266.



and the Know-Nothings were also devoted to preserving the Union. “Maryland,” he pledged, “would not listen to suggestions of disunion nor would she countenance anything destructive of state rights”.<sup>21</sup>

It is not clear if any of the Millers were Know-Nothings. The Know-Nothing party was predominately populated by men who claimed English heritage, and the party was militantly antagonistic to German immigrants in Baltimore. The extreme rhetoric of the Know-Nothings does not seem to be in keeping with the political views of the Millers, who, throughout the scrapbooks, appear to be moderates, primarily concerned with political and social stability as a path to prosperity.

The political views of Marylanders and Baltimoreans towards secession were split. The Millers, as former Whigs and later as Constitutional Unionists, favored a moderate political stance and above all wanted the preservation of the Union. After the secession of South Carolina, Know-Nothing Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks deliberated on calling together a special session of the Maryland General Assembly. There was a definite chance that the legislators would pass an act of secession if such a meeting were called. The governor was sent two memorials in 1861 that strongly approved of his refusal to call together the Assembly, “one contained 1,300 signatures of Baltimore individuals and business firms, the other 5,000.”<sup>22</sup> It seems likely that the Daniel Miller would have been in favor of governor’s refusal, and if he had attained socioeconomic importance in Baltimore by 1861—it is unclear how affluent he and his family were with the debts of the war—he would have been one of the Baltimore signatories.

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<sup>21</sup> Overdyke, *Know-Nothing*, 286.

<sup>22</sup> Manakee, *Maryland*, 21.

Eventually Hicks would call the assembly together. In the aftermath of the Baltimore riot against the routing of Union troops through the city, on April 22<sup>nd</sup>, the Governor would call together the Maryland legislature in Frederick, a Unionist city, where the Assembly settled the matter of secession by voting that they had no constitutional authority to secede from the Union.

### Scrapbooking in the Civil War

These scrapbooks are part of a larger trend during the Civil War among Americans, who began to consciously preserve their memories of the war. Ellen Gruber Garvey has written the most comprehensive historical analysis of American scrapbooking. She asserts that scrapbooking became widespread during the Civil War, as thousands of people “preserved the unfolding war by unfolding their newspapers.”<sup>23</sup>

John Madison Miller was one individual out of possibly hundreds of thousands in the American scrapbooking tradition—Garvey states that Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, and General Sherman were all known scrapbookers. Decades later, Mark Twain invented a self-pasting scrapbook. Garvey connects the scrapbook trend to the earlier practice of keeping commonplace books. Readers would transcribe entire passages out of books into their own personal collection in the commonplace book. Newspaper clipping democratized this practice as literacy became widespread. Writing, however, is a different skill than reading. Newspaper clippers did not need mastery of writing, and this meant that scrapbooking was open to people from a variety of educational and economic backgrounds. The creative impulse to organize and preserve information transcended age

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<sup>23</sup>Ellen Gruber Garvey. *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 87.

and class as people cut and pasted for professional, domestic, educational, and political reasons.<sup>24</sup>

The scrapbooking trend in American culture was facilitated by the widespread availability of newspapers during the early decades of the nineteenth century. New printing and paper-making technologies made newspaper production cheaper, and new sources of revenue from advertising allowed publishers to lower their prices. The first one-cent newspaper was printed in 1833, and by the time of the Civil War, newspapers were inexpensive and abundant. “Like present-day users of the web, blogs, Facebook, and Twitter, these readers complained that there was so much to read that they were constantly distracted.”<sup>25</sup> Scrapbooks were one method readers used to engage with the information they were consuming. Clipping newspapers and placing articles in scrapbooks was a system of organizing the news and preserving events; analysis of scrapbooks such as these show what was deemed worthy of remembering and how people interpreted what they read.

During the Civil War, Americans found newspaper content relevant to their lives in a new and immediate way. Garvey states that family members of soldiers and other people living near the battlegrounds became avid newspaper readers, and they would exchange newspapers within families and communities to share the news.<sup>26</sup> Newspapers were the print evidence of common experiences being shared by people throughout the country, and readers sought out newspapers that shared their loyalties, thus reinforcing their attachment to a common cause.

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<sup>24</sup> Garvey, *Scrapbooks*, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Garvey, *Scrapbooks*, 5.

<sup>26</sup> Garvey, *Scrapbooks*, 87

According to Garvey, Northern and Southern scrapbookers highlighted “sectional, political, and ideological divisions,” and their scrapbooks are materially as well as ideologically different.<sup>27</sup> Southern scrapbookers clipped newspapers as a manifestation of a new national identity independent from the United States, and expressed anger at the treatment of the Southern states by Abraham Lincoln and the North. Southerners had fewer resources available to them as paper shortages affected newspaper production and blank books that could contain the clippings became scarce. The chronology of Southern scrapbooks is also often non-linear, instead embracing a turning to the past and a refusal to accept the result of the war.<sup>28</sup> Northern scrapbooks emphasized their connection to early American history and attributed the war to Southern agitation. Northerners had access to several newspapers, along with books and a functioning postal system, and as a result their scrapbooks are often more comprehensive and linear. Northern scrapbooks expressed “scrapbook makers’ personal desire to make sense of the war they were living through, and to save a record of their mediated relationship to it. For many, scrapbook making embodied a feeling of duty to save the nation’s history.”<sup>29</sup>

Materially, the Miller scrapbooks are definitely part of the Northern tradition of thorough scrapbook compilation. The entries almost never skip a date from the first entry on January 23, 1861 to July 7, 1863 and entries that are out of order are set back in chronology by the scrapbook maker’s pencil. The scrapbooker faced no shortage of newspapers, and included clippings from the *Baltimore American*, the *Baltimore Sun*, *The World*, the *New York Herald*, *The Sunday Mercury* and the *Philadelphia Enquirer*.

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<sup>27</sup> Garvey, *Scrapbooks*, 93.

<sup>28</sup> Garvey, *Scrapbooks*, 96.

<sup>29</sup> Garvey, *Scrapbooks*, 99.

However, the unique position of Maryland during the Civil War is illustrated by clippings from *The South* of July 1, 1861, as well as several entries from *The New York Copperhead*.

The creation of the scrapbooks was prompted by the Civil War, but the Miller scrapbooker does not focus solely on the news of the war. Although a slight majority of the content of the scrapbooks consists of reports of battles, troop movements, and official proclamations, a considerable portion of the clippings in these scrapbooks have an editorial focus. There is a pattern to the scrapbooker's selections, and certain columns make regular appearances. The satirical column entitled "A Disbanded Volunteer" is a common inclusion, along with the humorous "sermons", lectures, and poetry of *The Sunday Mercury*'s "Sunday Table-Talk" column. Serious and humorous poetry were both of interest to the scrapbooker, who also occasionally includes maps and illustrations. International views of the American conflict are often reported by newspapers like the *Baltimore American* amongst domestic assessments. Great Britain figures prominently in the international news. However, the scrapbook also contains articles that are not related to the Civil War at all—for example, there is an article about the Italian revolutionary leader Garibaldi situated between two articles about General McClellan, and there are many articles that discuss the Pastry War in Mexico. Finally, the scrapbook maker had an eye for commercial news, and the New York Dry Goods Market is a regular inclusion in the collection of clippings.

### **Maryland Ambivalence**

Garvey's book, *Writing with Scissors*, is a very useful guide and introduction to the practice of scrapbooking in 18<sup>th</sup> century America; however, her analysis of Civil War scrapbooks focuses on clear definitions of North and South. Her examples of scrapbooks come from Boston and Charleston—the partisanship Garvey describes depends on geographical and cultural isolation. The case of Maryland is a peculiar one in the Civil War, as Southerners like Daniel Miller found themselves at the crossroads of North and South in Baltimore, and their identities as Southerners were challenged by their economic ties in the North. So far, research has not uncovered evidence that any member of the Miller family participated militarily in the Civil War. The articles in the scrapbooks overwhelmingly show a reconciliatory view of the conflict, especially in the face of the destruction that war would bring to border states.

On April 13, 1861, before the position of Maryland during the Civil War had been determined, the *Baltimore American* published the editorial, "THE FOLLY OF WAR" which was clipped by the Miller scrapbooker. The letter-writer exhorts Marylanders to remain neutral, and contends that "an overwhelming majority, not only of Marylanders but of Americans, are utterly opposed to civil war upon any conceivable pretext." At this early point in the scrapbooks the war is seen as unnecessary, and the clippings suggest that Maryland would not need to participate in the conflict, and that its participation would be disastrous for the state: "we declare war against the war spirit, and are not to be bullied nor cajoled into the snares that are spread for our feet." Additionally, by refusing to take a side in the Civil War, Marylanders would not have to address the ideological divisions in the state.

This hope to avoid participation in the war was shared by the political leadership in Maryland. The scrapbooker clipped a proclamation published on April 18<sup>th</sup>—the eve of the Pratt street riot— from Governor Hicks, who stated: it is the “duty of every true son of Maryland to do all that they can tend to arrest the threatened evil... [and] withhold their hands from whatever may tend to precipitate us into the gulf of discord and ruin gaping to receive us.”

The Miller scrapbooks attempt to reconcile Southern identity with loyalty to the Union through examples of Union-supporting Southerners. The scrapbooking process, in the case of the Millers, was a way of gathering published attitudes that reflected their own complex set of loyalties and beliefs, as Virginian transplants in Baltimore whose fortunes depended on the preservation of the Union. In June of 1861, a letter written to the *Baltimore American* warned against “Ultraism”, stating “let no one imagine... that in every reasonable demand Maryland is not still with the South. But she is with the Union men of the South.” Southerners who opposed secession made a niche for themselves through publications like the *Baltimore American*, and the scrapbooks collect views similar to those held by the Millers. Early in the scrapbook, soon after the secession of Virginia, a letter to a newspaper from “Many Loyal Men of Loudon,” is pasted. The Virginians write that they “hope that the time is not far distant when the repentant sinner may return to his allegiance to the best and freest Government the world ever saw.” The Millers came from Loudon, and this published letter is important to understanding their experience of the Civil War. The “loyal men of Loudon” found themselves outnumbered in their region, and in the conclusion of the letter they express respect for the views of “the gentlemen who participated in the late election,” stating that they appreciate the

secessionists' motives and do not seek to censure them, but the loyal men remain committed to their own views.

### **The Pratt Street Riot**

Although the article selection pattern in these scrapbooks clearly affiliates the scrapbooker with the Union cause, the scrapbooks do go through some phases of development. Whether this reflects changing attitudes in the contemporary media or in the scrapbooker is not clear. For example, after the Pratt Street Riot of April 19, 1861, the clippings become more impassioned as the feared destruction much discussed in Maryland newspapers was realized. Even the Unionist *Baltimore American* mourned the dead of Baltimore. The telegraph lines of the city's newspapers had been cut by men armed with hatchets, and in the days following the incident, the clippings from the *Baltimore American* ponder the implications of the Pratt Street Riot on the future passage of Union troops through the city and how the response of the federal government would affect the city's role in the war. The *Baltimore American*'s prediction "that Baltimore is to be the battlefield of the Southern Revolution" was partially realized on April 19<sup>th</sup>, when the first bloodshed of the war occurred in the city.<sup>30</sup>

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of April, 1861, the *Baltimore American* reported the telegraph from Governor Thomas Hicks to Lincoln: "A collision between the citizens and the Northern troops has taken place in Baltimore, and the excitement is fearful." Soldiers from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were attacked by a mob while traveling through Baltimore towards Washington D.C. Baltimore City policemen and pro-Union Baltimoreans came to aid the soldiers, and ultimately four soldiers and 12 civilians were

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<sup>30</sup> Sheads, *Civil War*, 14.



killed, with many more wounded. Following the violence, Governor Hicks, Mayor Brown, and the Board of Police Commissioners ordered the burning of the railroad bridges north of Baltimore to prevent the arrival of more Union troops to the city.

Several pages of the scrapbooks are devoted to different newspapers' depictions of the events of April 19th. The *New York Herald's* commentary has been included in the scrapbook, and the reporting includes periodic updates throughout the day. Each entry has a time and a brief update on the situation in Baltimore. At 2:30, the newspaper reported that "Affairs are getting serious" and by 4 o'clock "Several are mortally wounded. Parties of men, half frantic, are roaming the streets armed with guns, pistols and muskets... A general state of dread prevails." Several pages later in the scrapbook, the *Baltimore American* self-consciously reported that "All the interest of the news this morning is concentrated upon the events transpiring in our city."

The *New York Herald* also reported the reactions of the Northern states to the Baltimore riot. The *New York World* warned Maryland that should the state "uphold the mob in stoning the soldiers and tearing up the track, woe, woe to her people! The North would pour within her borders an army equal to her whole population and make her repent in sackcloth and ashes." The *Baltimore American* included in its pages other similarly outraged reactions of Northern newspapers. These inclusions illustrate the siege mentality that was growing in Baltimore after the Pratt Street Riot.<sup>31</sup>

Less than a week after the bloodshed in Baltimore, a critical interview with Abraham Lincoln from *The Sun* is pasted into the scrapbook. This article and others that follow it express resentment of Abraham Lincoln and skepticism of his ability to bring

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<sup>31</sup> Sheads, *Civil War*, 23.

the conflict to an end, especially at the beginning of the Civil War. The interview, published on April 23, 1861, laments: “God have mercy on us, when the government is placed in the hands of a man like this!” The reporter notes Lincoln’s “rude familiarity of manner.” He goes on to say, “And we ask, is it at the behest of such a man as this, and for the support of a party so represented that this country is to be plunged into all the horrors of a civil war?” Although the Millers wanted the Union to survive, they saw Lincoln as an obstacle to that survival.

### **Secessionist Sources**

The vast majority of the clippings are taken from Unionist newspapers based in Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia, but the scrapbooker included some clippings from secessionist sources. There are no Southern newspapers in the Miller scrapbooks, but there are two Northern sources that clearly sympathized with the South. The first example, *The South*, appears in the first scrapbook, on July 1, 1861. The article decries the arrest of Baltimore’s Marshal of Police, George P. Kane, by federal forces. *The South* was affiliated with the secession movement, and the article that the scrapbooker selected expresses a belief that the national government was overstepping its powers.

The scrapbooker clipped from the *New York Copperhead* in 1863. As the name suggests, the excerpts clipped from this newspaper are fiercely secessionist and Democratic. An interesting inclusion from this publication is a short article from May 16, 1863, entitled, “A Fact for our Readers.” The *Copperhead* states that “the *World* is merely a newspaper wolf in sheep’s clothing. Its matter, specifically worded, is neither more nor less than Black Republicanism in disguise.” The scrapbooker was a reader of the *World*, and on May 25, 1863, the *World* appears again in the scrapbook. The *New*

*York Copperhead* and the selection of this article about the *World* is a self-conscious decision that cannot be easily explained by anyone other than the scrapbooker. “A Fact for our Readers” was one of several articles from the *Copperhead*, and so the scrapbooker seems to have been a casual reader of this secessionist newspaper.

The scrapbooks show that the Millers read secessionist as well as Unionist materials and that the scrapbooker deemed them both worthy of preservation. The ideological diversity in these scrapbooks is indicative of the complexity of loyalty during the Civil War and the variety of publications that were available to Americans despite censorship.

### **News of the War**

The scrapbooks include news of the military actions of the war on every page. The news of the war follows troop movements, tallies of supplies and numbers of the enlisted in the Union Army. News of the war throughout the scrapbooks is not limited to local events. The scrapbooker seems to have followed certain stories in the news for weeks as the situations developed. The siege of Charleston and the campaign of the Army of the Potomac are two such inclusions. The news of the war is notable for the extensive editorializing that is undertaken by the writers, praising Union military leadership and deriding the false reports in Southern newspapers of Union losses.

### **Poetry**

The poetry in the scrapbooks includes many different themes. The scrapbooker included explicitly political and nationalistic poetry; tragic poetry depicting the cost of the war; and whimsical, romantic, and humorous poetry that was not related to the war.

The latter form of poetry is included often and is in keeping with the other humorous and satirical clippings in the scrapbooks.

Nationalistic poetry is an important part of the Miller scrapbooks. The most common inclusions in the scrapbookers are attributed to Southern poets who lament secession, and see themselves as Americans. For example, “Song of the Southern Loyalists” expresses love for the flag of the United States: “Sad was the season when it was struck...Guard it now forcefully, touch it remorsefully, Love it the more for all said and done.”

Garvey writes that Northern scrapbookers emphasized a bond with the early history of the United States, and the Miller scrapbooks show that this is not limited to the North, but can also be found in Southern Unionist scrapbooks. “They Call Me A Traitor, Now” was clipped from the *Baltimore American* and attributed by that newspaper to the *Memphis Bulletin*. The description of the poem’s inspiration refers to an old veteran of the Indian Wars and the War of 1812 watching the American flag fly in Memphis. The old man told the *Memphis Bulletin*’s reporter that his father had fought in the Revolution and been one of the first settlers of Tennessee. “But yet, in my heart, I can’t despair—My country, so free and pure, whose toils and triumphs I helped to share, for ages will yet endure. When madmen cease and calm react and reason their minds endow, they’ll then these cruel words retract that make me a traitor now.” This inclusion shows that the scrapbooker and other readers of the *Baltimore American* found grounds to object to secession based upon a historically established identity as Americans.

## **Humor**

The Miller scrapbooker had an eye for humor and often included the column “A Disbanded Volunteer” as well as the humor columns of *Sunday Table Talk*. “A Disbanded Volunteer” was a satire column phonetically written in a rough American vernacular. The “Disbanded Volunteer” supported the Union and this column consisted of satirical letters sent from the “Nayshinal Hottel” in Washington D.C. to “The Eddytyurs of the Sunday Merkary”, a New York newspaper. The Disbanded Volunteer commented on the issues of the day and the condition of President Lincoln. The President was described as a personal friend of the columnist, and the columns often include dialogues between the Volunteer and the President, where Lincoln speaks like the Volunteer—who he calls D.V. The Volunteer writes of a meeting between the President and the War Department: “[Lincoln] used the most forceabul argyments he could think of—setch as ‘Delays is dangerous’, ‘A stitch in time saves nine’, ‘Procrastinashin is the thief of time’, Nuthin venter, nothing win’ ... but his elikwence was like perls cast afore swine.” The column made fun of Lincoln’s perceived provincialism through the character of the Disbanded Volunteer, although the publication identified with the Union cause.

The Sunday Table Talk columns combine satirical discussions of the war with funny short stories and poetry. The Orpheus C. Kerr columns were printed in the *Sunday Mercury*. The name was a play on the words “Office Seeker” and the newspaper described its contents as “humorous and eccentric war burlesques and satires.” Sunday Table Talk did not solely concern itself with the war, and included many humorous stories and poems about daily life.

### **Commercial Clippings**

The Civil War profoundly affected commerce in the United States, and the Miller's dependence on the health of the market made the commercial situation of interest to the scrapbook maker. This is illustrated by "The New York Dry Goods Market", a column that is included several times. It tracks the prices of woolen and cotton goods and domestic manufactures. This column includes the fabric patterns that were in fashion and which ones were on the rise. The dry goods market offers surprising insight into extremely specific questions, like what sort of bows women were buying and wearing, and what colors of gloves sold the least number of pairs in 1862. This column also reveals the state of the market at monthly intervals, and in this way one can track the economic condition of jobbing houses like Daniel Miller & Co.

The scrapbook maker's interest in the New York Dry Goods Market reflects the Miller's business interests, which depended on Northern manufacturing. This commercial link with the North invested the Millers in the future of the Union. The number of New York newspapers included in these scrapbooks suggests that Daniel Miller travelled often to New York, and the most likely explanation of this travel is his business.

A number of articles in the scrapbooks discuss the payment of debts, and these inclusions are in keeping with what is known about the debts in the South owed to Daniel Miller and the debts he owed as a result of the Civil War. In "A NEW WAY OF PAYING OLD DEBTS" a merchant in Richmond suggests that merchants pay their debts due to the North to Governor Letcher, who would give them a receipt to give to Northern creditors.

## **Conclusions**

This research has brought up new questions about the Millers and their scrapbooks. There is no concrete explanation for the sudden end to the scrapbooks in July of 1863. Extensive analysis of the final articles pasted into the last scrapbook could lead to some conclusions about what made the scrapbooker stop, or new contextual information about the Millers could surface and explain the abrupt end of the scrapbooks. The identity of the scrapbooker is one of the main questions that this research leaves unanswered. Although John M. Miller is the most likely candidate, with the placement of his signature in the first scrapbook, it is certainly possible that the creator of the scrapbooks could have been a different family member, or even several people working together.

The Miller scrapbooks are valuable contributions to a complex understanding of Baltimore during the Civil War. These scrapbooks consist of contemporary resources and outlooks, assembled in order to preserve and remember a formative era in American history. There are scarce historical, academic studies of Civil War scrapbooks, but the few that exist are revealing on several levels. The Miller scrapbooks are part of the broader study of historic scrapbooks, and are unique as artifacts of a border state. In this Baltimore scrapbook *The South* appears amongst Maryland Unionist and Northern publications. The numerous ways the Civil War affected the Miller family and many other Baltimoreans are addressed in these scrapbooks, from the commercial struggles and the destruction of property to the reclamation of what it means to be a Southerner and the anxiety towards the uncertain future of the state and the Union. The Miller scrapbooks were created during the Civil War as a way of intentionally and systematically preserving

one family's memory of the time period and these traces of the Millers are part of the larger Baltimorean communal memory of the Civil War.



APPENDIX

Fig. 1: The front of the building of Daniel Miller's business. "Daniel Miller & Co., 32 and 34 Sharp, and 21, 23, and 25 Liberty Sts., Baltimore, MD."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Scharf, 410.

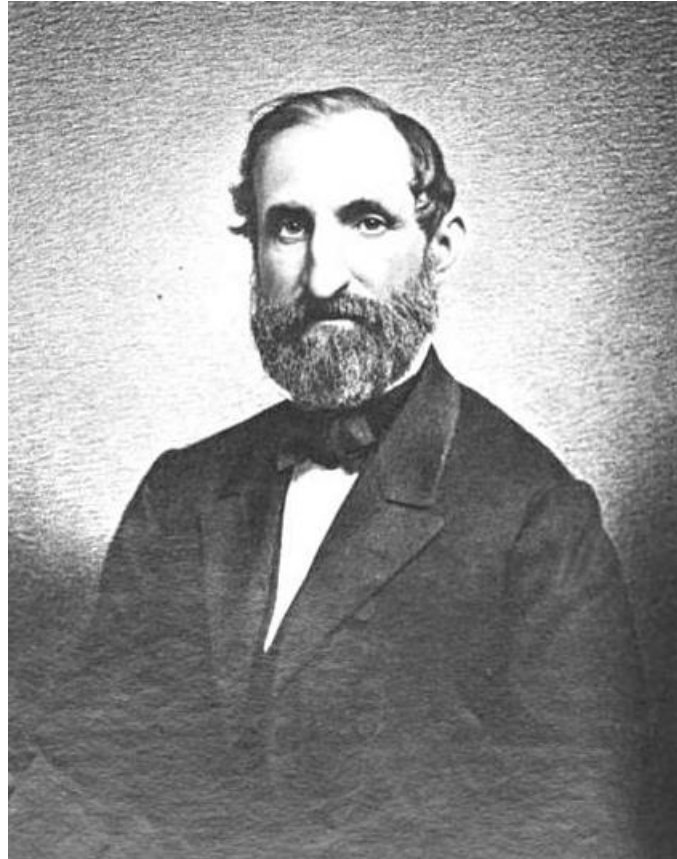


Fig. 2: Portrait of Daniel Miller.<sup>33</sup>

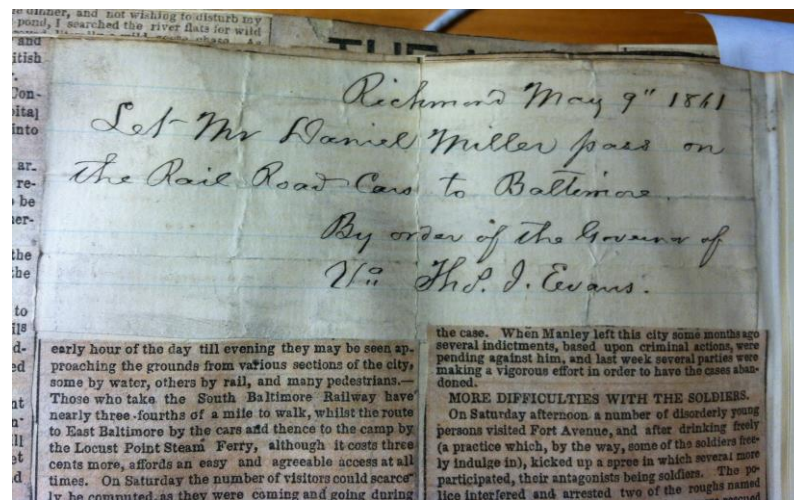


Fig. 3: "Richmond May 9<sup>th</sup> 1861  
Let Mr Daniel Miller pass on the Rail Road Cars to Baltimore.  
By order of the Governor of V<sup>a</sup> Ths. J. Evans."

<sup>33</sup> Brantz Mayer. *Baltimore: Past and Present*, (Baltimore: Richardson & Bennett, 1871) 372.

(Above, Fig. 3.) Evidence of Daniel Miller's travels south to pursue debts owed to him on the South. Found in the first (oldest) scrapbook.

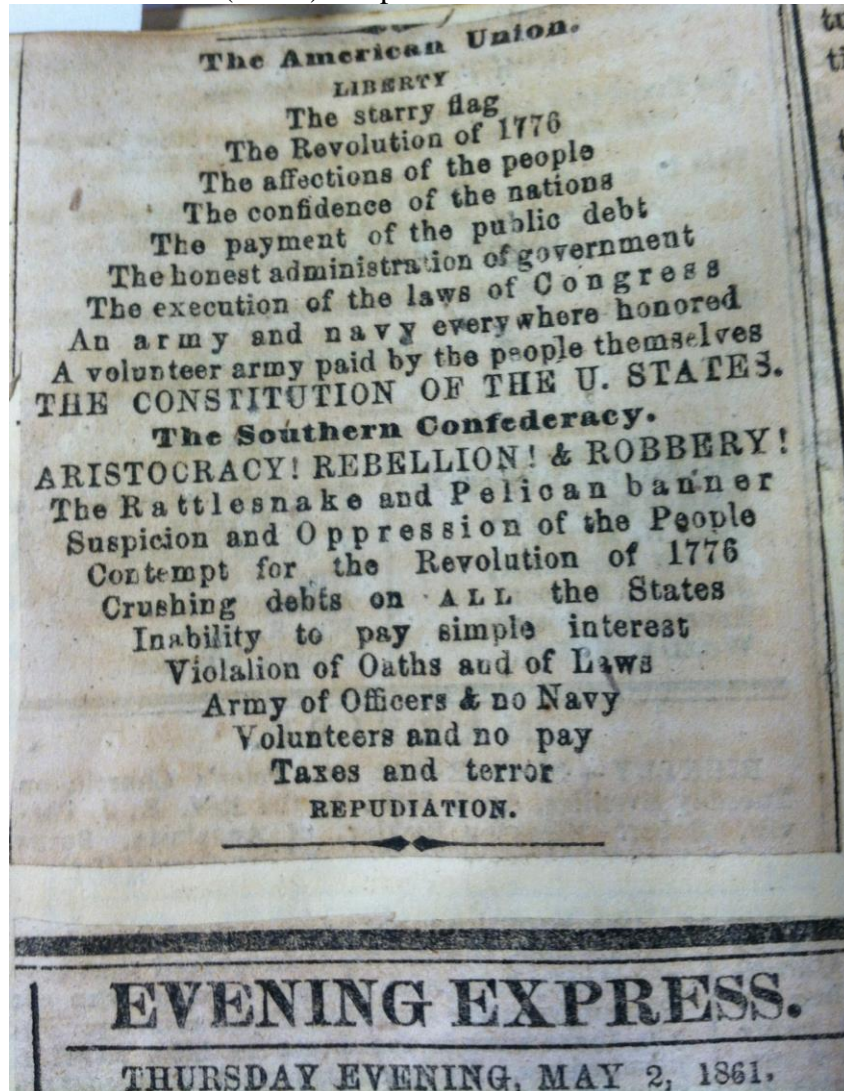


Fig. 4: Unionist poetry from early May of 1861. This piece is notable for its unusual circular form.





Fig. 5: The scrapbooker emphasized the human cost of war. This illustration of an amputee is similar to other, less vivid examples in the scrapbooks. From the sixth (newest) scrapbook.

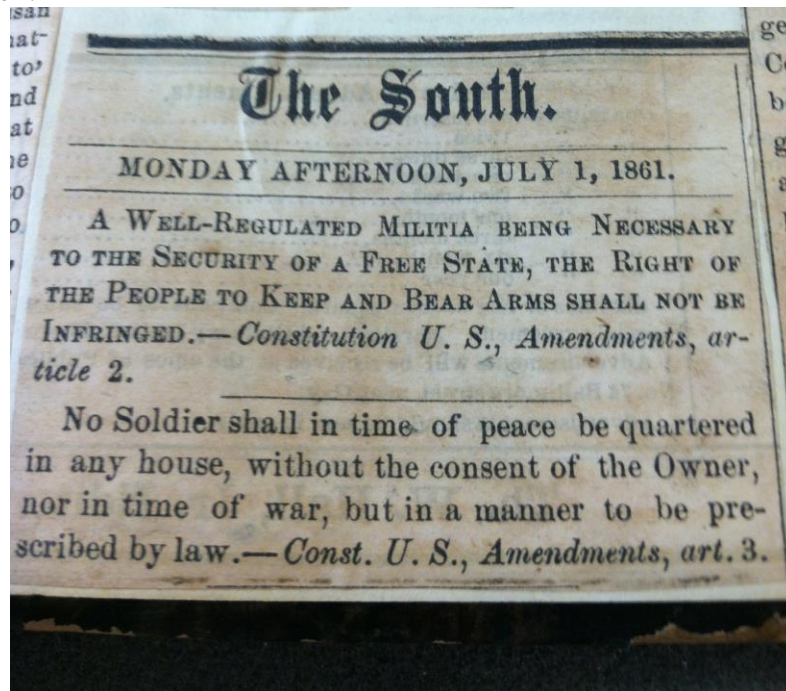


Fig. 6: The secessionist paper *The South* was the last publication included in the first (oldest) scrapbook.

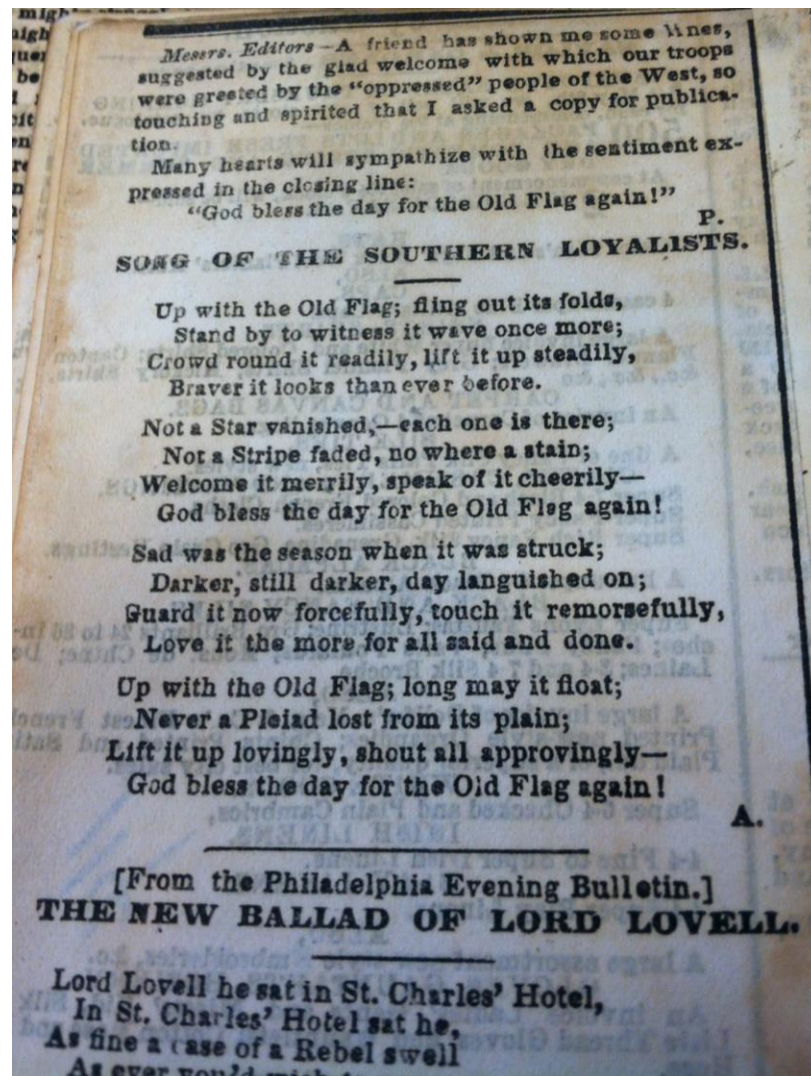


Fig. 7: “Song of the Southern Loyalists” expresses devotion to the Union and its flag. This poem was found in the second scrapbook.

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