

# SUMTER.

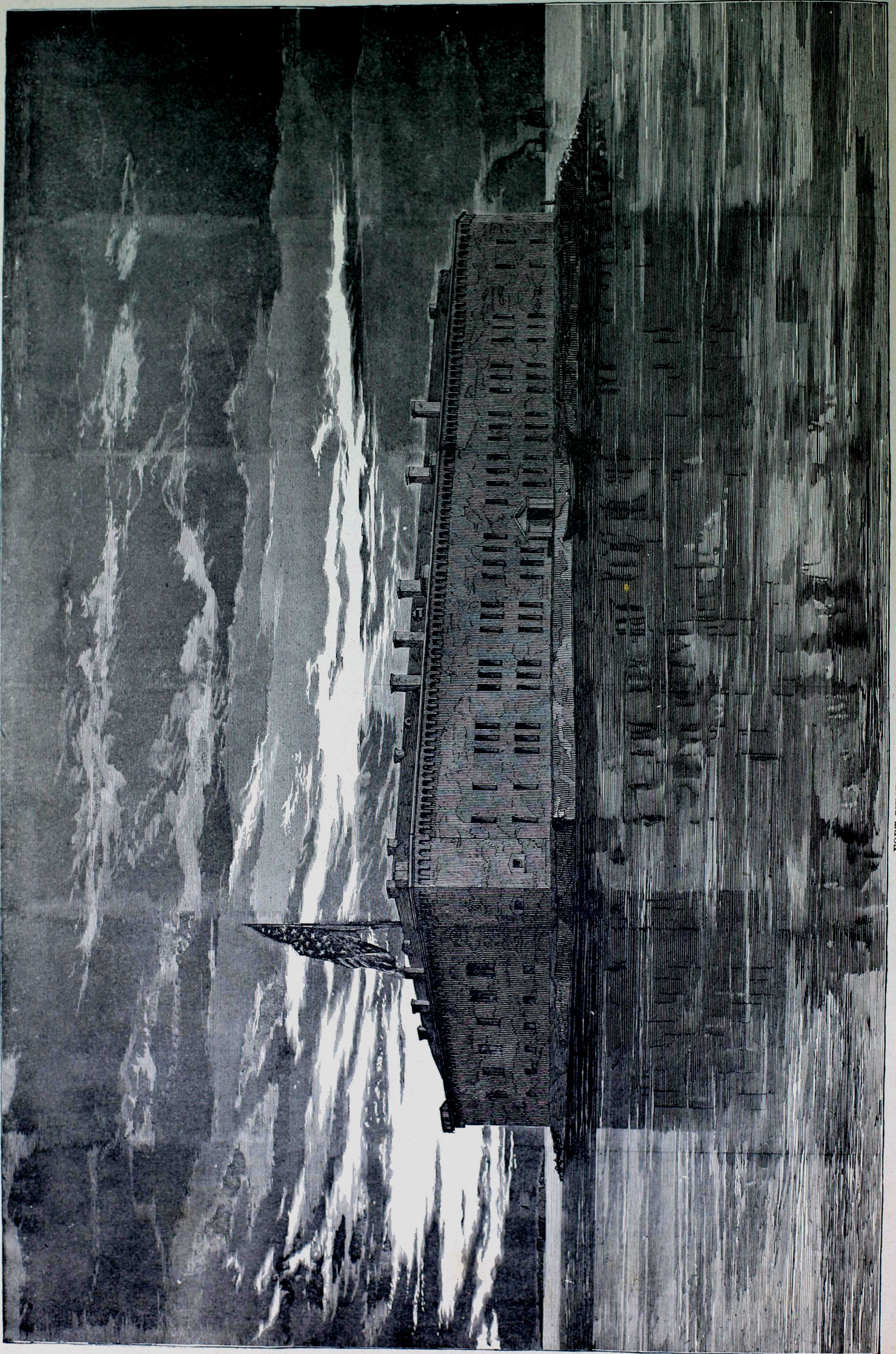


## FORT SUMTER.

Major Anderson at Fort Moultrie.—His Character.—Weakness of his Position.—His Instructions.—He occupies Fort Sumter.—Effect of the Movement throughout the Country.—Authorities of Charleston seize the Arsenal, Custom-house, and Revenue Cutter.—Insulting Letter of the South Carolina Commissioners to President Buchanan.—Defiant Avowal of Secession Principles and Purposes in Congress.—The Government begins to assert itself.—Sagacity and Patriotism of Lieutenant General Scott and of General Wool.—Investment of Fort Sumter.—Underhand Attempt to supply and re-enforce it.—The “Star of the West” fired upon by the Rebel Batteries.—Major Anderson calls Governor Pickens to Account.—The first Flag of Truce.—Efforts of the Insurgent Leaders.—Seizure of Forts and Arsenals throughout the Gulf States.—Events in the Border States.—Formal successive Secession of the Gulf States.—Audacity of the Insurgents, mild Measures of the Government, and placid Patriotism of the People.—Seizure of Arms on their way to Georgia, and Retaliation of the Governor of Georgia.—Resignation of Secretary Thompson.—South Carolina demands the Evacuation of Fort Sumter.—Withdrawal of Senators of the seceded States from Congress.—General Dix’s spirited Action and Order.—Formation of the “Confederate” Provisional Government.—Adoption of a Provisional Constitution, and Election of Officers.—Jefferson Davis, his Character and Career.—Alexander H. Stephens.—Opposition to Secession in Slave States.—Treachery of General Twiggs in Texas.—Jefferson Davis’s Threat to expel the National Troops in Texas.—Mr. Lincoln declared President elect.—Plots against his Life.—Measures taken to discover and defeat them.—Mr. Lincoln’s sudden Appearance at Washington.—Effect upon the Public.—Proposed Compromise Constitutional Amendments.—Inauguration of Mr. Lincoln.—His Inaugural Address.—

Its Effect upon the Country.—General Beauregard takes Command at Charleston.—Numerous Army and Navy Officers resign their Commissions and take Service with the Insurgents.—State Sovereignty their alleged Justification.—Pierre Tontant, who and what.—The “Confederate” Commissioners in Washington.—Can Fort Sumter be re-enforced?—Fort Pickens can.—The Expedition of Relief.—Batteries around Fort Sumter.—Notice: “peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.”—Beauregard ordered to demand an Evacuation.—Major Anderson refuses.—Bombardment and Evacuation of the Fort.

**W**HILE all hearts were thus filled with anxiety and sad foreboding; while loyal men saw only that the great, long-dreaded calamity was about to fall upon the country—that the struggle for the nation’s life must soon begin, and yet did not confess to themselves in what exact form that calamity must come, or conjecture where the first throes of that struggle would be felt; while even the men who were bent on the destruction of the republic, unless they could usurp the control of it in the interests of their class, were certain only of their purpose, uncertain as to the way in which they should accomplish it; while doubt and undefined dread thus brooded over the land, an almost unknown man was about to take a step in the mere exercise of ordinary prudence and the faithful performance of a soldier’s duty, which decided in an hour the question whether the seceders were to accomplish their purpose without resistance, placed at once the relations of



FORT SUMTER, SEEN FROM THE REAR, AT LOW WATER.

the government and those who defied it upon a war footing, and fixed the spot where one party or the other must assert itself by force or be humiliated before the world. Robert Anderson, a major of artillery, was in garrison at Fort Moultrie as commander of the United States military post of Charleston Harbor. He had graduated with honor at West Point in 1825; he had served not only with gallantry, but with distinction, in Florida, and afterward in the Mexican war, having been severely wounded in the attack on El Molino del Rey; he was the author of the text-book of the United States army upon artillery service; and yet, so absorbed had Americans of this and the last generation been in the arts and employments of peace, so regardless of mere military merit, except in a very few eminent cases, that out of the professional circle of the army and that of his own friends and acquaintances, Major Anderson's name was rarely heard. But, wherever known, it was spoken as that of a man of bravery, sagacity, determined purpose, and unblemished honor. Upon all these points Major Anderson was now about to be tested, with the eyes of all nations upon him and the verdict of posterity before him. A native of one slave state, and connected by marriage with the people of another, it was hoped on the one side that he might betray his trust, and feared on the other that he might at least resign it. But hopes and fears alike proved vain. Thoughtless of the world and of posterity, regardless of the ties of family and friendship, he kept a single eye upon present duty, sought only to absolve himself of the responsibility which had been laid upon him, and so won the undying honors which ever fall to faith and firmness shown on great occasions.

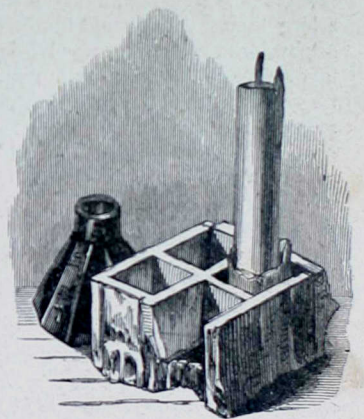
When the secession excitement in South Carolina, and particularly in Charleston, had reached its height, but ten days before the State Convention had taken a final step, he busied himself in strengthening the defenses of Fort Moultrie and Fort Sumter to the best of his ability with the small force under his command. That force, all told, consisted of nine officers, fifty-five men (artillerists), fifteen musicians, and thirty laborers—one hundred and nine men, of whom only sixty-three were combatants, one of the officers being an assistant surgeon. With this little band, among whom all proved true, he determined to defend his flag and maintain his post to the last moment. He began to be watchful of the approaches to Fort Moultrie, which is about four miles from Charleston, upon Sullivan's Island, where, during a generation and a half of peace, a village had sprung up around it. After the 11th of December no one was admitted within the works unless he was known to some officer of the garrison. Events justified this precaution; for within a few days military organizations were set on foot in Charleston, the almost avowed object of which was the occupation of Forts Moultrie, Sumter, and Pinckney. On the 19th of this month Mr. Porcher Miles, in the South Carolina State Convention, said that members might allay any fears which they might have had on account of the forts in Charleston Harbor, because a conversation with the President had convinced him that the post would not be re-enforced, and the garrison of Fort Moultrie was "but seventy or eighty men," while Sumter was an "empty fortress which they might seize and control in a single night." The next day the Ordinance of Secession was passed; and on the 21st, as we have already seen, the Charleston newspapers, with childish precipitancy and petulance about trifles, announced occurrences in the Northern states under the heading "foreign news." Childish and petulant although this was, it showed Major Anderson very clearly the light in which the community which was equipping and drilling troops within sight of his ramparts were determined to regard him—as the officer of a power which they defied, and who held a military position upon their soil which might be made the base of operations against them. He felt the danger and the delicacy of his position. On the 24th of December he wrote a private letter in which he set forth the precarious circumstances in which he was placed: with a garrison of only sixty effective men, in an indifferent work, the walls of which were only fourteen feet high, within one hundred yards of sand-hills which commanded the position and afforded covers for sharpshooters, and with numerous houses within pistol-shot, he confessed that, "if attacked in force by any one but a simpleton, there is scarce a possibility of our being able to hold out long enough for our friends to come to our succor." General Scott, too, saw and declared that the fort could be taken from Major Anderson by five hundred men in twenty-four hours. Meanwhile volunteer troops began to pour into Charleston, and there was much discussion in regard to the policy and possibility of seizing all the national forts in the harbor; and, in fact, under the circumstances, the opportunity was too tempting to warrant a belief that it would be long resisted. As to all this Major Anderson was well informed, for intercourse between the garrison and the city was kept up as usual. Nevertheless, his duty was clear, not only from the general nature of his responsibility to the government, but from special instructions sent to him by the Secretary of War—instructions so manifestly required in the emergency, that even John B. Floyd, false to his country and false to his honor, could not refrain from giving them. They were sent to Major Anderson verbally through Assistant Adjutant General Butler, whose written memorandum was afterward made public. According to this memorandum, Major Anderson was instructed "carefully to avoid any act which would needlessly provoke aggression," and on that reason "not, without necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but," the order continues, "you are to hold possession of the forts in the harbor, and if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts, but an attack on, or attempt to take possession of either of them, will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar

steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act."

Christmas day dawned upon Major Anderson under these circumstances and bound by these instructions. It may be supposed that he was not in a festive mood; but, whatever his apprehensions or his purposes, he kept them to himself, and accepted an invitation to dinner in Charleston. Had his entertainers known the already settled determination of their gentle, placid guest, he would probably never have been allowed to leave the city, certainly he would have been prevented from returning to his post. They parted for the last time as friends that night, which, indeed, was the last occasion on which he set foot in that nest of traitors. Lulled into confidence by a belief that under no circumstances would the President take any steps whatever to assert the authority of the government or protect the national honor in South Carolina, and confirmed in this belief by the manner of Major Anderson, the Charlestonians went on with their preparations, and awaited their own time for effecting their purposes. Meantime Mr. Robert W. Barnwell, Mr. J. H. Adams, and Mr. James L. Orr were sent as commissioners from the "sovereign state" of South Carolina, to "treat with the government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light-houses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, in South Carolina, and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the government of the United States as agent of the Confederate States, of which South Carolina was recently a member," etc., etc. It may be that this commission was appointed with the notion that it could be received by the President; it may be that some of those whom it represented could not perceive the effrontery of sending such a commission to the President of the United States, and actually believed that it would be able to open some kind of negotiation with the national government. Mayhap some citizen of this newly-hatched "sovereignty" saw in his excited imagination the commissioners returning with the deeds of Forts Sumter and Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, the arsenal and the light-houses, in their pockets, given in return for the promises to pay of the treasury of South Carolina. But fancies and visions like these, as well as those of a more modest and reasonable character, were very suddenly dispelled without the aid of the report of the commissioners; for the good people of Charleston, looking seaward on the morning of the 27th of December, saw, instead of the United States flag flying from the flag-staff of Fort Moultrie, only a cloud of smoke rolling upward; and soon the look-outs brought the news that Major Anderson had evacuated and dismantled that fortification, and had retired with his little command to Fort Sumter.



KEY OF THE FORT MOULTRIE MAGAZINE.



MAJOR ANDERSON'S CANDLESTICK.

The news caused great excitement in Charleston. The rebels saw themselves at once defied and baffled. They were thousands, and could soon make themselves tens of thousands; yet here a band of one hundred men had been placed in a position where they could assert, and, for a time at least, maintain the authority of the government, and uphold its flag in the very harbor of the chief city of the seceding state. Fort Sumter commanded the entrance to the port, and, being a very strong work, stood, as it were, sentinel over Charleston, and controlled its commercial exits and entrances. But this was not the chief reason of the turmoil in the town. The rebels were exasperated at finding that they had been outwitted, and that not only was the little garrison which they had calculated upon turning out of Fort Moultrie, civilly if they could, but forcibly if they must, placed safely beyond their reach, but that the empty fortress which they had taken for granted that they could seize and control in a single night, was effectually secured against all attempts except those of siege, bombardment, or storm by overwhelming force.

Major Anderson had kept his secret well, and done his work thoroughly. During the day, the wives and children of the troops were sent away from the fort, on the plea that, as an attack might be made upon it, their removal was necessary. Three small schooners were hired, and the few inhabitants of Sullivan's Island saw them loaded, as they thought, with beds, furniture, trunks, and other luggage of that kind. About nine o'clock in the evening, the men were ordered to hold themselves in marching order, with knapsacks packed, ready to move at a moment's notice. No one seemed to know the reason of the movement, and probably no one but Major Anderson himself and his next in command knew their destination. The little garrison was paraded, inspected, and then embarked on boats which headed for Fort Sumter. The schooners had taken, or then took, all the provisions, garrison fur-



ENTRY OF MAJOR ANDERSON'S COMMAND INTO FORT SUMTER ON CHRISTMAS NIGHT, 1860.

niture, and munitions of war which could be carried away on such short notice, and with such slender means of transportation—enough to enable four-score men to sustain and defend themselves in a strong, sea-girt fortress for a long time. What could not be carried away was destroyed. Not a keg of powder or a cartridge was left in the magazine; the small-arms and military supplies of all kinds were removed; the guns were spiked, the gun-carriages burned, and the guns thus dismounted; partly-finished additions and alterations of the work were destroyed; the flag-staff was cut down; and nothing, in fact, was left unharmed but the round shot which were too heavy to carry off, and which the spiking and dismounting of the guns had made useless. The dawn saw Major Anderson safely established with his com-

mand in Fort Sumter, secure from immediate attack, though Fort Moultrie was occupied only by a corporal's guard, left there to complete the work of destruction. He saw what a responsibility he had assumed, and fully appreciated the delicacy and the importance of the trust committed to him. Perhaps, if he could have looked forward for three months, and foreseen all the consequences of his act during that period, he would have remained at Fort Moultrie until he was summoned to yield by a force too great for him to resist, or until he received orders to yield his post. It is well for the country, as well as for his own reputation, that he was tempted into no such speculations, but did to the best of his ability the duty which lay before him. The step which he took proved of more importance to the permanent safety of the republic than any other which he could have determined upon, had he spent months in deliberation, with the astutest politicians of the country as his counselors. A devout man, and impressed with the importance of his position, he was desirous of awakening in his officers and men the same profound sensations which filled his breast. He marked the occupation of their new position with a little religious ceremony. The flag which they were there to defend as a symbol of their nationality and their government was to be raised, and Major Anderson determined that he would raise it himself, and ask the blessing of Heaven upon their endeavor. So at noon of the 27th of December, all under his command, non-combatants as well as combatants, were assembled round the flag-staff. Major Anderson, with the solemnity of the occasion, needed no orders to assume a reverential position as the chaplain stepped forth in the midst and offered up an earnest prayer—a prayer, says one who was present, which was “such an appeal for support, encouragement, and mercy as one would make, who felt that ‘man’s extremity is God’s opportunity.’” After he had ceased, and the earnest Amen from many lips had died away in the hollow casemates, the commander hauled up the flag, the band saluted it with “Hail Columbia!” the accents of supplication gave way to those of enthusiasm, and cheers broke forth from the lips of all present—cheers which proved to be not only cheers of exultation and confidence, but of defiance; for just then it happened that a boat sent down from Charleston to bring up exact reports of the condition of affairs at Moultrie and Sumter approached the latter fortress, and saw the national standard rise amid the shouts of those who then vowed in their hearts that, while in their hands, it should suffer no dishonor, and who through four weary watchful months and two dreadful days kept well their vow.

In their rage the Charlestonians denounced the President as false to his word and Major Anderson as a wanton provoker of civil war. The accusation against the President was based on his avowed determination not to re-enforce the forts, and on a declaration of four of the representatives of South Carolina—Messrs. John M’Queen, M. L. Bonham, W. W. Boyce, and Lawrence M. Keitt—that it was their “strong conviction that the people of the State of South Carolina would not either attack or molest the forts in Charleston Harbor before negotiating for them, provided no re-enforcements were sent to them, and their relative military status was not disturbed. This declaration was made, and, at the President’s suggestion, put in writing on the 9th of December. This mere announcement of intention on the one part and declaration of opinion on the other, the seceders in South Carolina and in Washington, both in and out of the cabinet, chose to regard as a pledge—an obligation binding upon both parties to it. Mr. War Secretary Floyd immediately, on the 27th of December, formally asserted in the cabinet that “the solemn pledges of the government had been violated by Major Anderson,” and as formally demanded permission to withdraw the garrison from the



MAJOR ANDERSON'S QUARTERS AT FORT SUMTER.

mand in Fort Sumter, secure from immediate attack, though Fort Moultrie was occupied only by a corporal's guard, left there to complete the work of destruction. He saw what a responsibility he had assumed, and fully appreciated the delicacy and the importance of the trust committed to him. Perhaps, if he could have looked forward for three months, and foreseen all the consequences of his act during that period, he would have remained at Fort Moultrie until he was summoned to yield by a force too great for him

harbor of Charleston, as the only alternative by which to vindicate the honor of the government and prevent civil war. Yet this very Secretary of War had, on the 11th of December, two days after the declaration by the four South Carolina delegates, instructed Major Anderson to put his command into either of the forts which he deemed would make it most effective in case he should have tangible evidence of a design on the part of the South Carolinians to proceed to a hostile act, an attempt to take possession of either of the forts being especially indicated.

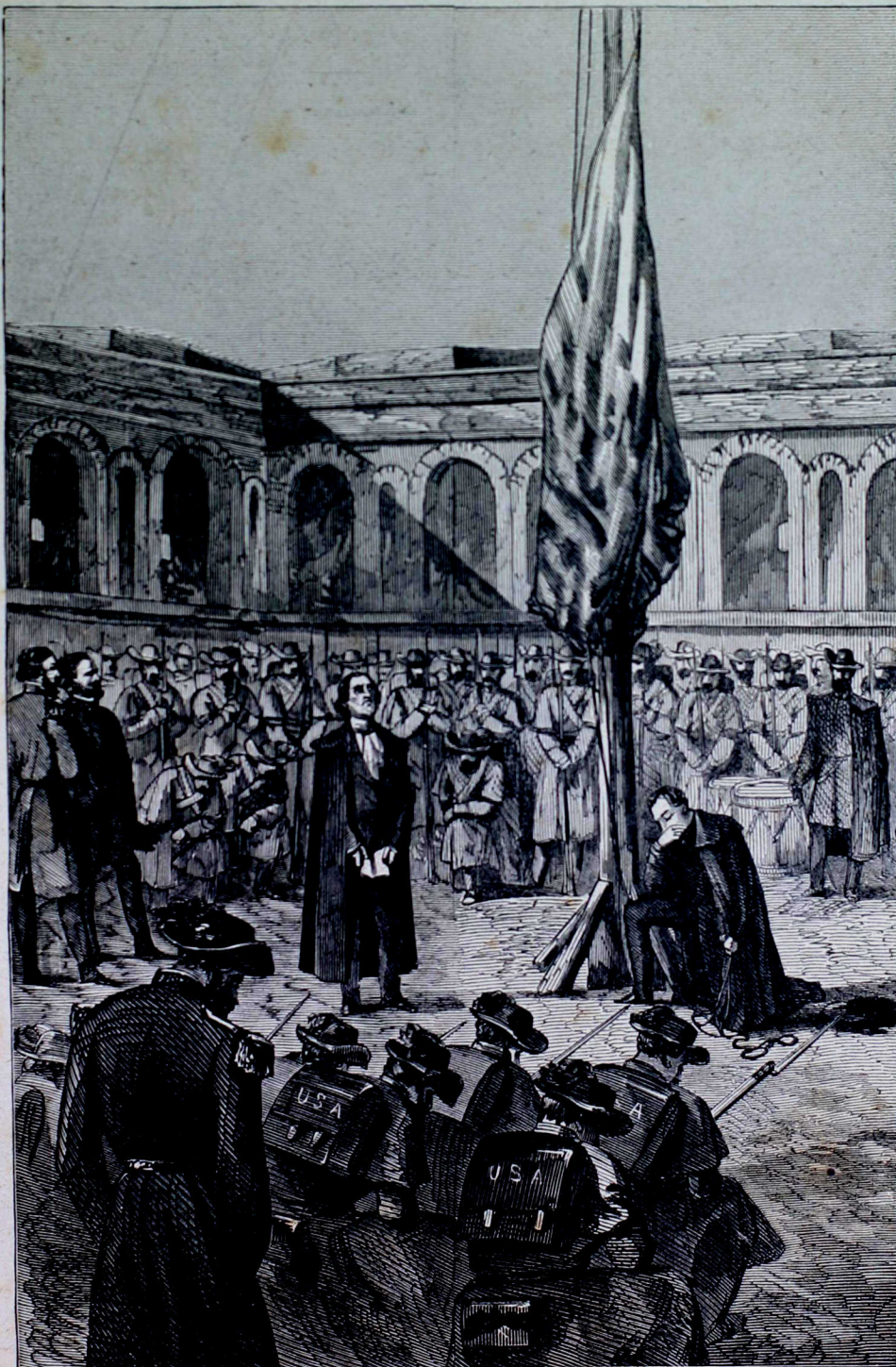
The effect of Major Anderson's change of position was even greater throughout the country at large than at Charleston. It flashed the gleam of arms upon the eager eyes of the people, and men saw suddenly what before they had only imagined. Those who had felt strongly, and talked earnestly of maintaining the national honor and integrity by the sword, had thought vaguely, and perhaps doubtfully, upon the mode in which this dreadful issue should be brought about. But here it was done without violence, without proclamation, at a word, and in the simplest manner. Major Anderson's movement placed the Charlestonians in the attitude of open enemies of the national government, with whom intercourse was thereafter to be upon a war footing. Unless what he had done was disavowed by the President, and he was ordered to retire from Charleston Harbor, or at least to return to Fort Moultrie, his occupation of Fort Sumter was an official declaration to the seceders that they could accomplish even the first of their purposes only by proving too strong in arms for the military force of the United States. His movement, but not himself, accomplished this. The rebels themselves were alone responsible for the grave significance of the fact; for, as commandant of the harbor, he might have his garrison in whichever of the forts he thought best, and no one, save the head of the War Department, have the right to ask a question. If the transfer of fourscore men from one fort to another meant war, it acquired that meaning only by reason of what had been done and planned in Charleston. So the cry of wrath which went up from the rebel city was answered by a voice of admiration, encouragement, and, above all, of confidence, from almost the entire country outside of South Carolina. Among the very people at the North upon whose sympathy the seceders had most surely counted—even in some of the very states at the South whose fortunes South Carolina believed with reason to be indissolubly linked with hers—the occupation of Fort Sumter was regarded as the most prudent and dignified course which could have been taken under the circumstances. It touched the national honor and awoke the national pride wherever patriotism was superior to local prejudices and class interest. It brought the conviction home to every citizen that he had a country and a government to which, although he himself was part of that government, he owed allegiance and support. The man who thus impressed a nation became the hero of the hour. Major Anderson's name and his praises were upon all lips which did not mutter treason. The most influential journals among those which had opposed the party whose success was made the occasion of the rebellion—even those in the states south of the Potomac and the Ohio—the political leaders of which were not already committed to the conspiracy against the republic, vied with their late political

opponents in approbation of the position which Major Anderson had taken, and in showing how important it was to the self-respect of the nation, to its position before the world, and to its very existence, that he should be sustained by the government at Washington. The sensitive test of the money-market indicated the general feeling, and the price of stocks went up.

The pace of treason, rapid before, was quickened by this movement. On the 27th troops were ordered out in Charleston; military aid was proffered to South Carolina by Georgia and Alabama; and Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, bent upon secession, called an extra session of the Legislature of that state. On this day, too, the rebels obtained through treachery the first vessel of their navy. The revenue cutter William Aiken was lying in Charleston Harbor, under command of Captain N. L. Coste, of the revenue service. Two weeks before he had told his second in command, Lieutenant Underwood, that he would not serve under Mr. Lincoln as President; and that, in case the expected secession of South Carolina took place, he should resign and place the cutter in command of Lieutenant Underwood. But, in spite of the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, he remained in command, and on the afternoon of the 27th he hauled down the United States revenue flag, raised the Palmetto standard of revolt, and placed his vessel as well as himself at the disposal of the insurgent authorities. His subordinate officers, true to their oaths, reported themselves for duty at Washington. This trifling incident is worthy of notice at the beginning of our sad story, as indicative of the violation of individual trust which marked this stage of the insurrection.

On the 28th the authorities of Charleston determined to assert their newly-assumed powers to the extent of their ability. They seized the custom-house, the post-office, and on the 30th the arsenal, and raised the state flag upon them, and sent an armed force to occupy Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney. The few soldiers at each of those fortifications yielded, of course, without any resistance, and on those walls also the palmetto-tree replaced the stars and stripes.

The President having refused to withdraw the garrison from Charleston Harbor, on the 29th the Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, resigned his office, closing his resignation with these words: "I deeply regret that I feel myself under the necessity of tendering to you my resignation as Secretary of War, because I can no longer hold it under my convictions of patriotism, nor with honor, subjected as I am to a violation of solemn pledges and plighted faith." These fair phrases sounded well at the end of such a letter; but the truth was, that, in consequence of Mr. Floyd's connection with the Indian Trust Fund fraud, for which he was afterward indicted, the President had intimated to him, through a distinguished statesman, that he deemed it improper that he should longer remain a member of the cabinet. On the twenty-ninth of December, also, the commissioners from South Carolina formally addressed the President, laid their authority before him, sent him an official copy of the Ordinance of Secession, and expressed a desire for such negotiation as would secure mutual respect, general advantage, and a future good-will and harmony; but added that, as Major Anderson, by dismantling one fort and occupying another, had made important changes in the affairs in relation to which they had come



THE PRAYER AT SUMTER, DEC. 26, 1860.

with their late political



BUTLER

WOOL

McCALL ROSECRANS ANDERSON  
McCOOK

McDOWELL

BLENKER  
SICKELS

McCLELLAN

SCOTT

OUR GENERALS



HUNTER SIGEL SPRAGUE MANSFIELD BURNSIDE BANKS FREMONT LANDER DIX  
PRENTISS TYLER HEINTZELMAN CURTIS STONE

S IN 1861.

From Harper's Weekly.

*C. Parsons*

to Washington, they were obliged to suspend all discussion until the movement which they referred to had been satisfactorily explained. They styled the retention of the government troops in Charleston Harbor a standing menace which rendered negotiation impossible, and urged their immediate withdrawal. Mr. Buchanan refused to receive them in an official capacity, but on the 30th replied to their letter. He denied that he, or his Secretary of War by his order, had given any pledge in regard to the garrison of Fort Moultrie, referred the commissioners to a memorandum of the

instructions sent by Mr. Floyd to Major Anderson, and positively refused to withdraw the troops from Charleston Harbor; adding, "Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency." To the President's letter the commissioners the next day sent a rejoinder, polite in terms but so insulting in its implications, and so arrogant and insolent in its tone, that it was returned to them with the indorsement, "This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it," and on the 5th of January they went home, having accomplished nothing.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Correspondence between the South Carolina Commissioners and the President of the United States.

Washington, December 29, 1860.  
SIR,—We have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the full powers from the Convention of the people of South Carolina, under which we are "authorized and empowered to treat with the government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light-houses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, in the limits of South Carolina; and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the government of the United States, as agent of the Confederate States, of which South Carolina was recently a member, and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between this commonwealth and the government at Washington."

In the execution of this trust, it is our duty to furnish you, as we now do, with an official copy of the Ordinance of Secession, by which the State of South Carolina has resumed the powers she delegated to the government of the United States, and has declared her perfect sovereignty and independence.

It would also have been our duty to have informed you that we were ready to negotiate with you upon all such questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of this ordinance, and that we were prepared to enter upon this negotiation, with the earnest desire to avoid all unnecessary and hostile collision, and so to inaugurate our new relations as to secure mutual respect, general advantage, and a future of good-will and harmony, beneficial to all the parties concerned.

But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible. We came here the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston Harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we can not doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here an officer of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against your orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another, thus altering to a most important extent the condition of affairs under which we came.

Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangement by which our mutual interests may be amicably adjusted.

And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances, they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment. We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

R. W. BARNWELL,  
J. H. ADAMS,  
JAS. L. ORR, } Commissioners.

To the President of the United States.

The President's Reply.

Washington City, Dec. 30, 1860.

GENTLEMEN,—I have had the honor to receive your communication of 28th inst., together with a copy of "your full powers from the Convention of the people of South Carolina," authorizing you to treat with the government of the United States on various important subjects therein mentioned, and also a copy of the ordinance, bearing date on the 20th inst., declaring that "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

In answer to this communication, I have to say that my position as President of the United States was clearly defined in the message to Congress on the 3d inst. In that I stated that, "apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the federal government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations hitherto existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that state. This would be to invest a mere executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign states. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign *de facto* government, involving no such responsibility. Any attempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings."

Such is my opinion still. I could, therefore, meet you only as private gentlemen of the highest character, and was entirely willing to communicate to Congress any proposition you might have made to that body upon the subject. Of this you were well aware. It was my earnest desire that such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possess the power, as to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of the federal forts in the harbor of Charleston; and I, therefore, deeply regret that, in your opinion, "the events of the last twenty-four hours render this impossible." In conclusion, you urge upon me "the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston," stating that "under present circumstances, they are a standing menace, which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment."

The reason for this change in your position is, that since your arrival in Washington, "an officer of the United States, acting, as we (you) are assured, not only without, but against your (my) orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another, thus altering to a most important extent the condition of affairs under which we (you) came." You also allege that you came here "the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston Harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we (you) can not doubt, determined to trust to your (my) honor rather than to its power."

This brings me to a consideration of the nature of those alleged pledges, and in what manner they have been observed. In my message of the 3d of December last, I stated, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, that it "has been purchased for a fair equivalent, by the consent of the Legislature of the state, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, etc., and over these the authority 'to exercise exclusive legislation' has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants." This being the condition of the parties, on Saturday, 8th December, four of the representatives from South Carolina called upon me and requested an interview. We had an earnest conversation on the subject of these forts, and the best means of preventing a collision between the parties, for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood. I suggested, for prudential reasons, that it would be best to put in writing what they said to me verbally. They did so accordingly, and on Monday morning, the 10th instant, three of them presented to me a paper signed by all the representatives from South Carolina, with a single exception, of which the following is a copy:

To his Excellency James Buchanan, President of the United States:

In compliance with our statement to you yesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions that neither the constituted authorities, nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of Charleston previously to the act of the Convention, and we hope and believe not until an offer has been made, through an accredited representative, to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the state and the federal government, provided that no re-enforcements shall be sent into these forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present.

JOHN M. QUEEN,  
M. L. BONHAM,  
W. W. BOYCE,  
LAWRENCE M. KEITT.

Washington, Dec. 9, 1860.

And here I must, in justice to myself, remark, that at the time the paper was presented to me, I objected to the word "provided," as it might be construed into an agreement on my part, which I never would make. They said that nothing was farther from their intention—they did not so understand it, and I should not so consider it. It is evident they could enter into no reciprocal agreement with me on the subject. They did not profess to have authority to do this, and were acting in their individual character. I considered it as nothing more, in effect, than the promise of highly-honorable gentlemen to exert their influence for the purpose expressed. The event has proven that they have faithfully kept this promise, although I have never since received a line from any one of them, or from any member of the Convention on the subject. It is well known that it was my determination, and this I freely expressed, not to re-enforce the forts in the harbor, and thus produce a collision, until they had been actually attacked, or until I had certain evidence

that they were about to be attacked. This paper I received most cordially, and considered it as a happy omen that peace might be still preserved, and that time might be thus given for reflection. This is the whole foundation for the alleged pledge.

But I acted in the same manner as I would have done had I entered into a positive and formal agreement with parties capable of contracting, although such an agreement would have been on my part, from the nature of my official duties, impossible. The world knows that I have never sent any re-enforcements to the forts in Charleston Harbor, and I have certainly never authorized any change to be made "in their relative military status." Bearing upon this subject, I refer you to an order issued by the Secretary of War, on the 11th instant, to Major Anderson, but not brought to my notice until the 21st instant. It is as follows:

Memorandum of Verbal Instructions to Major Anderson, First Artillery, commanding Fort Moultrie, South Carolina.

You are aware of the great anxiety of the Secretary of War that a collision of the troops with the people of this state shall be avoided, and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the military force and forts in this harbor which shall guard against such a collision. He has, therefore, carefully abstained from increasing the force at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works, or interfere with their occupancy.

But as the counsel and acts of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the government, he deems it proper that you should be prepared with instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has therefore directed me, verbally, to give you such instructions.

You are carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression, and for that reason you are not, without necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but you are to hold possession of the forts in the harbor, and if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts; but an attack on, or attempt to take possession of either of them, will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.

Fort Moultrie, S. C., Dec. 11, 1860.

This is in conformity to my instructions to Major Bull.

D. P. BUTLER, Assistant Adjutant General.

JOHN B. FLOYD, Secretary of War.

These were the last instructions transmitted to Major Anderson before his removal to Fort Sumter, with a single exception, in regard to a particular which does not in any degree affect the present question. Under these circumstances, it is clear that Major Anderson acted upon his own responsibility, and without authority, unless, indeed, he had "tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act" on the part of South Carolina, which has not yet been alleged. Still he is a brave and honorable officer, and justice requires that he should not be condemned without a fair hearing.

Be this as it may, when I learned that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie and proceeded to Fort Sumter, my first promptings were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in his instructions. This would only have been done with any degree of safety to the command by the concurrence of the South Carolina authorities. But before any step could possibly have been taken in this direction, we received information that the "Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinckney, and a large military force went over last night (the 27th) to Fort Moultrie." Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanations, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but against my orders, on the very next day after the night when the removal was made, seized by a military force two of the federal forts in the harbor of Charleston, and have covered them under their own flag instead of that of the United States.

At this gloomy period of our history, startling events succeed each other rapidly. On the very day, the 27th instant, that possession of these two forts was taken, the Palmetto flag was raised over the federal custom-house and post-office in Charleston, and on the same day every officer of the customs—collector, naval officer, surveyor, and appraiser—resigned their offices; and this, although it was well known from the language of my message that, as an executive officer, I felt myself bound to collect the revenue at the port of Charleston under the existing laws. In the harbor of Charleston we now find three forts confronting each other, over all of which the federal flag floated only four days ago; but now, over two of them, this flag has been supplanted, and the Palmetto flag has been substituted in its stead. It is under all these circumstances that I am urged immediately to withdraw the troops from the harbor of Charleston, and am informed that without this negotiation is impossible. This I can not do; this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No such allusion had been made in any communication between myself and any human being. But the inference is that I am bound to withdraw the troops from the only fort remaining in the possession of the United States in the harbor of Charleston, because the officer there in command of all of the forts thought proper, without instructions, to change his position from one of them to another.

At this point of writing, I have received information by telegraph from Captain Humphreys, in command of the arsenal at Charleston, that "it has to-day (Sunday, the 30th) been taken by force of arms." It is estimated that the munitions of war belonging to this arsenal are worth half a million of dollars.

Comment is needless. After this information, I have only to add, that while it is my duty to defend Fort Sumter, as a portion of the public property of the United States, against hostile attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, by such means as I possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defense can be construed into a menace against the city of Charleston. With great personal regard, I remain yours very respectfully,

To Hon. Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams, James L. Orr.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Second Letter of the Commissioners to the President.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 1, 1861.

SIR,—We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December, in reply to a note addressed by us to you, on the 28th of the same month, as commissioners from South Carolina.

In reference to the declaration with which your reply commences, that your "position as President of the United States was already defined in the message to Congress of the 3d instant;" that you possess "no power to change the relations heretofore existing between South Carolina and the United States," "much less to acknowledge the independence of that state," and that consequently you could meet us only as private gentlemen of the highest character, with an entire willingness to communicate to Congress any proposition we might have to make, we deem it only necessary to say that the State of South Carolina having, in the exercise of that great right of self-government which underlies all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign and independent, we, as her representatives, felt no special solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize us. Satisfied that the state had simply exercised her unquestionable right, we were prepared, in order to reach substantial good, to waive the formal considerations which your constitutional scruples might have prevented you from extending. We came here, therefore, expecting to be received as you did receive us, and perfectly content with that entire willingness of which you assured us, to submit any proposition to Congress which we might have to make upon the subject of the independence of the state. The willingness was ample recognition of the condition of public affairs which rendered our presence necessary. In this position, however, it is our duty, both to the state which we represent and to ourselves, to correct several important misconceptions of our letter into which you have fallen.

You say, "It was my earnest desire that such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possess the power, as to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of the federal forts in the harbor of Charleston; and I therefore deeply regret that in your opinion the events of the last twenty-four hours render this impossible." We expressed no such opinion; and the language which you quote as ours is altered in its sense by the omission of a most important part of the sentence. What we did say was, "But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible." Place that "assurance," as contained in our letter, in the sentence, and we are prepared to repeat it.

Again, professing to quote our language, you say, "Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanation, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but against my orders," etc. We expressed no such



From the time of Major Anderson's transfer of his command, Washington had been in a state of deplorable and even disgraceful excitement. The delegates from the states which were ripe for revolt, but which had not seceded, retained their seats in Congress, and by their open threats and secret intrigues increased the alarm of the country, and crippled the feeble and already bewildered administration. They sat in the chairs to which they were sent for the support of the Constitution of the United States and contrived its overthrow; they lived in Washington upon the pay of the republic while they plotted its destruction; they held their positions only for the purpose of insuring the success of their conspiracy—only that they might counterbalance the votes of loyal men, and keep at dead-lock all the essential functions of the government. These are no general phrases, no vague deductions. The records of treacherous conspiracy show no page more infamous than that written by Senator Yulee, of Florida, in a letter to one of his constituents, in which he revealed the counsels of his fellow-conspirators, the senators of six states, and said that they had all determined to retain their places in the councils of the nation with the deliberate purpose of keeping Mr. Buchanan's hands tied, and depriving Mr. Lincoln, on his accession to office, of the legitimate powers of government. That not the smallest item might be lacking to the sum of its shame and the perfection of its perfidy, this letter was secured a swift and free passage to its destination under the Honorable writer's senatorial frank.<sup>2</sup> While such was the direct course of secret machination, open counsel went darkly groping. In both houses the debates were vague, wordy, colloquial, and from the

purpose. Abstract points were discussed sometimes with acrimony, at others jocosely; but no decisive action was proposed for the maintenance of the authority of the government and the integrity of the republic. The small minority who were already rebels at heart and in purpose, if not in act, were defiant and overbearing; their opponents sought only to pacify and restrain them by proffered concessions; and between these two was a considerable number who waited and watched to trim their course according to the current. On the 27th, in the House Committee of Thirty-three upon the State of the Union, Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, proposed a resolution, "That it is expedient to propose an amendment to the Constitution to the effect that no future amendments of it in regard to slavery shall be made, unless proposed by a slave state and ratified by all the states." This resolution was passed with only three dissenting voices. Coming from a representative of Massachusetts, and proposing terms which would put the question of slavery in the states absolutely and forever out of the reach of the free states, no matter how greatly in the majority, and thus removing the ground of that apprehension for the future which was made the excuse of secession, this resolution might have been the first step toward the much-sought compromise. It was regarded with favor by many delegates from slave states; and after a free conference between all the members of the committee, even Mr. Cobb, of Alabama, declared that the question at issue might now be settled. It might, indeed, had not the politicians of South Carolina, and those of other states, but of their school, been bent upon attaining their purpose, in or out of the Union, by defiance

opinion in reference to the belief of the people of South Carolina. The language which you have quoted was applied solely and entirely to our assurances obtained here, and based, as you well know, upon your own declaration—a declaration which, at that time, it was impossible for the authorities of South Carolina to have known. But, without following this letter into all its details, we propose only to meet the chief points of the argument.

Some weeks ago the State of South Carolina declared her intention, in the existing condition of public affairs, to secede from the United States. She called a convention of her people to put her declaration in force. The Convention met and passed the Ordinance of Secession. All this you anticipated, and your course of action was thoroughly considered in your Annual Message. You declared you had no right, and would not attempt, to coerce a seceding state, but that you were bound by your constitutional oath, and would defend the property of the United States within the borders of South Carolina if an attempt was made to take it by force. Seeing very early that this question of property was a difficult and delicate one, you manifested a desire to settle it without collision. You did not re-enforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston. You removed a distinguished and veteran officer from the command of Fort Moultrie because he attempted to increase his supply of ammunition. You refused to send additional troops to the same garrison when applied for by the officer appointed to succeed him. You accepted the resignation of the oldest and most eminent member of your cabinet rather than allow the garrison to be strengthened. You compelled an officer stationed at Fort Sumter to return immediately to the arsenal forty muskets which he had taken to arm his men. You expressed not to one, but to many, of the most distinguished of our public characters, whose testimony will be placed upon the record whenever it is necessary, your anxiety for a peaceful termination of this controversy, and your willingness not to disturb the military status of the forts, if commissioners should be sent to the government, whose communications you promised to submit to Congress. You received and acted on assurances from the highest official authorities of South Carolina, that no attempt would be made to disturb your possession of the forts and property of the United States, if you would not disturb their existing condition until the commissioners had been sent, and the attempt to negotiate had failed. You took from the members of the House of Representatives a written memorandum that no such attempt should be made, "provided that no re-enforcements should be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present." And although you attach no force to the acceptance of such a paper—although you "considered it as nothing more in effect than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen"—as an obligation on one side, without corresponding obligation on the other—it must be remembered (if we were rightly informed) that you were pledged, if you ever did send re-enforcements, to return it to those from whom you had received it, before you executed your resolution. You sent orders to your officers, commanding them strictly to follow a line of conduct in conformity with such an understanding. Besides all this, you had received formal and official notice from the Governor of South Carolina that we had been appointed commissioners, and were on our way to Washington. You knew the implied condition under which we came; our arrival was notified to you, and an hour appointed for an interview. We arrived in Washington on Wednesday, at 3 o'clock, and you appointed an interview with us at 1 the next day. Early on that day (Thursday) the news was received here of the movement of Major Anderson. That news was communicated to you immediately, and you postponed our meeting until 2 o'clock on Friday, in order that you might consult your cabinet. On Friday we saw you, and we called upon you then to redeem your pledge. You could not deny it. With the facts we have stated, and in the face of the crowning and conclusive fact that your Secretary of War had resigned his seat in the cabinet, upon the publicly avowed ground that the action of Major Anderson had violated the pledged faith of the government, and that, unless the pledge was instantly redeemed, he was dishonored, denial was impossible; you did not deny it. You do not deny it now, but you seek to escape from its obligation on the grounds, first, that we terminated all negotiation by demanding, as a preliminary, the withdrawal of the United States troops from the harbor of Charleston; and, second, that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanation, and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States. We will examine both.

had acted without and against your orders, and in violation of your pledges—that you would restore the status you had pledged your honor to maintain. You refused to decide. Your Secretary at War, your immediate and proper adviser in this whole matter, waited anxiously for your decision, until he felt that delay was becoming dishonor. More than twelve hours passed, and two cabinet meetings had adjourned, before you knew what the authorities of South Carolina had done; and your prompt decision at any moment of that time would have avoided the subsequent complications. But, if you had known the acts of the authorities of South Carolina, should that have prevented your keeping your faith? What was the condition of things? For the last sixty days you have had in Charleston Harbor not force enough to hold the forts against an equal enemy. Two of them were empty—one of those two the most important in the harbor. It could have been taken at any time. You ought to know better than any man that it would have been taken but for the efforts of those who put their trust in your honor. Believing that they were threatened by Fort Sumter especially, the people were with difficulty restrained from securing, without blood, the possession of this important fortress. After many and reiterated assurances, given on your behalf, which we can not believe unauthorized, they determined to forbear, and in good faith sent on their commissioners to negotiate with you. They meant you no harm—wished you no ill. They thought of you kindly, believed you true, and were willing, as far as was consistent with duty, to spare you unnecessary and hostile collision. Scarcely had these commissioners left than Major Anderson waged war. No other words will describe his action. It was not a peaceful change from one fort to another; it was a hostile act in the highest sense, and only justified in the presence of a superior enemy, and in imminent peril. He abandoned his position, spiked his guns, burned his gun-carriages, made preparations for the destruction of his post, and withdrew, under cover of the night, to a safer position. This was war. No man could have believed (without your assurance) that any officer could have taken such a step, "not only without orders, but against orders." What the state did was in simple self-defense; for this act, with all its attending circumstances, was as much war as firing a volley; and war being thus begun, until those commencing it explained their action and disavowed their intention, there was no room for delay; and even at this moment while we are writing, it is more than probable, from the tenor of your letter, that re-enforcements are hurrying on to the conflict, so that when the first gun shall be fired, there will have been on your part one continuous, consistent series of actions, commencing in a demonstration essentially warlike, supported by regular re-enforcements, and terminating in defeat or victory. And all this without the slightest provocation; for, among the many things which you have said, there is one thing you can not say—you have waited anxiously for news from the seat of war, in hopes that delay would furnish some excuse for this precipitation. But this "tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act, on the part of the authorities of South Carolina," which is the only justification of Major Anderson you are forced to admit, "has not yet been alleged." But you have decided, you have resolved to hold, by force, what you have obtained through our misplaced confidence; and by refusing to disavow the action of Major Anderson, have converted his violation of orders into a legitimate act of your executive authority. Be the issue what it may, of this we are assured, that, if Fort Moultrie has been recorded in history as a memorial of Carolina gallantry, Fort Sumter will live upon the succeeding page as an imperishable testimony of Carolina faith.

By your course you have probably rendered civil war inevitable. Be it so. If you choose to force this issue upon us, the State of South Carolina will accept it, and, relying upon Him who is the God of Justice as well as the God of Hosts, will endeavor to perform the great duty which lies before her hopefully, bravely, and thoroughly.

Our mission being one for negotiation and peace, and your note leaving us without hope of a withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumter, or of the restoration of the status quo existing at the time of our arrival, and intimating, as we think, your determination to re-enforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston, we respectfully inform you that we purpose returning to Charleston tomorrow afternoon.

We have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servants,  
 R. W. BARNWELL, }  
 J. H. ADAMS, } Commissioners.  
 JAMES L. ORR, }

To his Excellency the President of the United States.  
 The following is the indorsement upon the document: Executive Mansion, 31 o'clock, Wednesday.

This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it.  
<sup>2</sup> The original of this letter was found by the correspondent of the New York Times among some papers which fell into the hands of the United States forces upon their sudden occupation of Fernandina, Florida. It is here (p. 32) reproduced in fac-simile. The resolutions to which it refers were not distinguished in any way from the rest of the rebellious resolves of the period.

In the first place, we deny positively that we have ever in any way made any such demand. Our letter is in your possession; it will stand by this on record. In it we informed you of the objects of our mission. We say that it would have been our duty to have assured you of our readiness to commence negotiations with the most earnest and anxious desire to settle all questions between us amicably and to our mutual advantage, but that events had rendered that assurance impossible. We stated the events, and we said that until some satisfactory explanation of these events was given us, we could not proceed; and then, having made this request for explanation, we added, "And in conclusion we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances they are a standing menace, which renders negotiation impossible," etc. "Under present circumstances!" What circumstances? Why, clearly the occupation of Fort Sumter and the dismantling of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, in the face of your pledges, and without explanation or practical disavowal. And there is nothing in the letter which would, or could, have prevented you from declining to withdraw the troops, and offering the restoration of the status to which you were pledged, if such had been your desire. It would have been wiser and better, in our opinion, to have withdrawn the troops, and this opinion we urged upon you; but we demanded nothing but such an explanation of the events of the last twenty-four hours as would restore our confidence in the spirit with which the negotiations should be conducted. In relation to this withdrawal of the troops from the harbor, we are compelled, however, to notice one passage of your letter. Referring to it, you say, "This I can not do; this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No allusion to it had ever been made in any communication between myself and any human being."

In reply to this statement, we are compelled to say, that your conversation with us left upon our minds the distinct impression that you did seriously contemplate the withdrawal of the troops from Charleston Harbor. And in support of this impression, we would add, that we have the positive assurance of gentlemen of the highest possible public reputation and the most unswerving integrity—men whose name and fame, secured by long service and patriotic achievements, place their testimony beyond cavil—that such suggestions had been made to and urged upon you by them, and had formed the subject of more than one earnest discussion with you. And it was this knowledge that induced us to urge upon you a policy which had to recommend it its own wisdom and the might of such authority. As to the second point, that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanations, and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States, we would observe: 1. That even if this were so, it does not avail you for defense, for the opportunity for decision was afforded you before these facts occurred. We arrived in Washington on Wednesday; the news from Major Anderson reached here early on Thursday, and was immediately communicated to you. All that day men of the highest consideration—men who had striven successfully to lift you to your great office—who had been your tried and true friends through the troubles of your administration, sought you and entreated you to act—to act at once. They told you that every hour complicated your position. They only asked you to give the assurance that if the facts were so—that if the commander

Joseph C. Inegran Esq,  
 (Sovereignty Convention)  
 Tallahassee  
 Florida

WASHINGTON  
 31st Dec 1860

of the government and disruption of the republic. With these men secession was a foregone conclusion, and delay and vacillation on the part of the supporters of the government only aided the accomplishment of their designs. This was made plain on the 31st by Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, a state which had not yet taken even the preliminary steps to secession. In a speech meant both as a threat and a valedictory, he announced to the Senate that during the next week Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida would separate from the Union; that a week after Georgia would follow them, to be followed shortly by Louisiana and Arkansas. He declared that the day of adjustment was past, and that when the members of that body parted, they would part to meet again as senators in one common council-chamber of the nation no more forever; and, announcing it as his belief that there could not be peaceable secession, he defied the attempt to subdue the revolted people to the authority of the Constitution. Couching this defiance in the phraseology adopted by the conspirators, he closed his speech with these words: "What may be the fate of this horrible contest none can foretell; but this much I will say—the fortunes of war may be adverse to our arms; you may carry desolation into our peaceful land, and with torch and firebrand may set our cities in flames; you may even emulate the atrocities of those who in the days of our Revolution hounded on the bloodthirsty savage; you may give the protection of your advancing armies to the furious fanatics who desire nothing more than to add the horrors of servile insurrection to civil war; you may do this and more, but you never can subjugate us; you never can subjugate the free sons of the soil into vassals paying tribute to your power; you can never degrade them into a servile and inferior race—never, never, never!"

This burst of bombastic prophesying, in which, with equal reason, vindictiveness was assumed as the motive, ruthlessness as the means, and servile subjection as the end in view of those who insisted that all should submit to the Constitution which all had adopted, and all obey the laws which all had had a voice in framing, was received with an uproar of applause in the galleries, which were filled with the sympathizers with disunion, who swarmed then in Washington and for a long time afterward. The outcries and confusion were so disgraceful, that even Mr. Benjamin's friends on the floor of the chamber were ashamed, and Mr. Mason, of Virginia, moved the clearing of the galleries, and the Senate immediately adjourned. Thus the peo-

ple of the United States saw the year close upon them in turmoil, gloom, distress, and weakness, which had opened upon them united, happy, prosperous, and powerful.

With the beginning of a new year a new attitude was assumed at Washington. President Buchanan, no longer daring to stand before the country as an accomplice by default in the conspiracy against the republic, at last made some show of an attempt to preserve the existence and exert the power of the government of which he was the head. It was high time for him to do so. The purposes of the conspirators developed themselves rapidly; and it became clear that they aimed not only at secession, but at usurpation, by the occupation of the national capital, the possession of the archives, and the consequent recognition of their faction as the government of the United States, to the exclusion of the free states, except such as it should suit them to admit to a share of their stolen privileges.<sup>3</sup> And it should be always remembered that they labored constantly under the supposition, at first not entirely unfounded, that there was a large, if not a controlling party in the free states who looked with favor upon their movement, and who would give to them a moral, and perhaps a material, support. They threatened that the President elect should never be inaugurated; and some of them even went so far as to avow a belief that they would be able to reconstruct the Union in their interest, with the omission of the New England states. That they were grievously in error, all their fellow-citizens, except their Northern accomplices, knew in their inmost hearts; but few then knew how deeply that feeling was rooted, and how strongly nourished, which they supposed would wither away in the first heat of adversity; and in forming the plan of a new republic, from which New England should be excluded, they must have left out of their calculation the significant fact that New England had mostly peopled the Northern states, and had entirely given them their moral tone and intellectual character. Such, however, were their plans; and Mr. Buchanan found that it was no longer safe for him to fail to interpose such checks upon their execution as a decent regard for the duties of his high office demanded. Lieutenant General Scott was called into consultation with the cabinet, in which General John A. Dix had replaced Mr. Cobb, and Postmaster General Holt, an able, patriotic, and honorable Democrat, had been charged with the functions of the War office. Measures were taken for the military protection of the capital by the organization of the militia of the District, and the concentration of a few regular companies of artillery; and means were sought of increasing the garrisons of the principal forts in the slave states, and particularly those in the harbor of Charleston. But for the latter object the time had long passed, and even for the former it proved to be almost too late. The steam frigate Brooklyn, just arrived at Norfolk navy yard after a three years' cruise, was almost the only national ship of any consequence manned and equipped, and within reach of the government. She was ordered not to discharge her crew, and to remain in readiness to sail with a smaller vessel at an hour's notice. The purposes of the government got wind immediately, and reached the ears of the secessionists. At Norfolk they prepared to seize the ships should they attempt to sail; at Charleston they removed the buoys, obstructed the channel, and left the light-house darkling. The enterprise was abandoned. But the defense of Washington, and the measures necessary to insure the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, went on as rapidly as possible, under the eye of Captain Charles Stone, of the Ordnance corps, to whom, at General Scott's recommendation, was committed the organization of the District militia, which, though not numerous, was thought sufficient for the emergency. A company of marines was sent to Fort Washington, fourteen miles below the capital, on the Potomac, and the

Washington Day, 1861.

My Dear Mr

On the other side is a copy of resolutions adopted at a consultation of the Convention from the seceding states in which Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi & Florida, were present.

The idea of the meeting was that the states should go out at once, & provide for the early organization of a confederal government not later than 15 days. This time is allowed to enable Louisiana & Texas to participate. I seemed to be of opinion that if we left here force, loan & voluntary bills might be passed, which wd put the Lincoln in immediate condition for hostility - whereas if by remaining in our place until the 4<sup>th</sup> of March, it is thought we can keep the hands of the Buchanan tied, and be able to strengthen the hands of the incoming administration.

The resolutions will be sent by the delegation to the President of the Convention. I do not know where to find the address this morning - Hawkins is in Connecticut. I have therefore thought it best to send you this copy of the resolutions.

In haste

Joseph F. Ingalls Esq

Wm. T. [Signature]

of the militia of the District, and the concentration of a few regular companies of artillery; and means were sought of increasing the garrisons of the principal forts in the slave states, and particularly those in the harbor of Charleston. But for the latter object the time had long passed, and even for the former it proved to be almost too late. The steam frigate Brooklyn, just arrived at Norfolk navy yard after a three years' cruise, was almost the only national ship of any consequence manned and equipped, and within reach of the government. She was ordered not to discharge her crew, and to remain in readiness to sail with a smaller vessel at an hour's notice. The purposes of the government got wind immediately, and reached the ears of the secessionists. At Norfolk they prepared to seize the ships should they attempt to sail; at Charleston they removed the buoys, obstructed the channel, and left the light-house darkling. The enterprise was abandoned. But the defense of Washington, and the measures necessary to insure the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, went on as rapidly as possible, under the eye of Captain Charles Stone, of the Ordnance corps, to whom, at General Scott's recommendation, was committed the organization of the District militia, which, though not numerous, was thought sufficient for the emergency. A company of marines was sent to Fort Washington, fourteen miles below the capital, on the Potomac, and the

<sup>3</sup> From the Charleston Courier, Feb. 12th, 1861.

"The South might, after uniting, under a new confederacy, treat the disorganized and demoralized Northern states as insurgents, and deny them recognition. But if peaceful division ensues, the South, after taking the federal capital and archives, and being recognized by all foreign powers as the government *de facto*, can, if they see proper, recognize the Northern confederacy or confederacies, and enter into treaty stipulations with them. Were this not done, it would be difficult for the Northern states to take a place among nations, and their flag would not be respected or recognized."

volunteer military companies of Washington were paraded, inspected, and furnished with ball cartridges.

General Scott, to whom, for services in peace and war, his country owed more than to any other living man, devoted himself to meeting the military demands of a crisis which he had foreseen, and for which, if his counsels had been regarded, the government would have been fully prepared. There is no doubt of this, sad as it is to believe that all the woes which fell upon the republic might have been warded off if he had been listened to, who, at such a time, had the best right to be heard. The political sagacity and foresight which had made General Scott the great peace-maker, as well as the great captain of the republic, had not deserted him in his advancing years; and he had, as early as October 29th, 1860, addressed a memorandum to the President and the Secretary of War, in which he set forth the almost certain endeavor to destroy the Union upon the election of Mr. Lincoln; among whose supporters he was not, but whose election he could not believe would be followed by "any unconstitutional violence or breach of law." Such violence or breach he, in his integrity and love of country, regarded as the only justification of armed insurrection; but he knew the men of whom he wrote, and he did not believe that they would wait until they had either law or right on their side. In this remarkable paper he pointed out, with singular sagacity, as the event proved, that the Southern people, or those who spoke and acted for them, would seize the United States forts within

#### GENERAL SCOTT'S VIEWS.

Views suggested by the imminent Danger (October 29, 1860) of a Disruption of the Union by the Secession of one or more of the Southern States.

To save time, the right of secession may be conceded, and instantly balanced by the correlative right, on the part of the federal government, against an interior state or states, to re-establish by force, if necessary, its former continuity of territory.—[Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, last chapter.]

But break this glorious Union by whatever line or lines that political madness may contrive, and there would be no hope of reuniting the fragments except by the laceration and despotism of the sword. To effect such result, the intestine wars of our Mexican neighbors would, in comparison with ours, sink into mere child's play.

A smaller evil would be to allow the fragments of the great republic to form themselves into new confederacies, probably four.

All the lines of demarcation between the new Unions can not be accurately drawn in advance, but many of them approximately may. Thus, looking to natural boundaries and commercial affinities, some of the following frontiers, after many waverings and conflicts, might perhaps become acknowledged and fixed:

1. The Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay to the Atlantic. 2. From Maryland, along the crest of the Alleghany (perhaps the Blue Ridge) range of mountains, to some point in the coast of Florida. 3. The line from say the head of the Potomac to the west or northwest, which it will be most difficult to settle. 4. The crest of the Rocky Mountains.

The southeast confederacy would, in all human probability, in less than five years after the rupture, find itself bounded by the first and second lines indicated above, the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, with its capital at say Columbia, South Carolina. The country between the second, third, and fourth of those lines would, beyond a doubt, in about the same time, constitute another confederacy, with its capital at probably Alton or Quincy, Illinois. The boundaries of the Pacific Union are the most definite of all, and the remaining states would constitute the northeast confederacy, with its capital at Albany.

It, at the first thought, will be considered strange that seven slaveholding states and parts of Virginia and Florida should be placed (above) in a new confederacy with Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, etc.; but when the overwhelming weight of the great Northwest is taken in connection with the laws of trade, contiguity of territory, and the comparative indifference to free-soil doctrines on the part of Western Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, it is evident that but little, if any coercion, beyond moral force, would be needed to embrace them; and I have omitted the temptation of the unwashed public lands which would fall entire to this confederacy—an appanage (well husbanded) sufficient for many generations. As to Missouri, Arkansas, and Mississippi, they would not stand out a month. Louisiana would coalesce without much solicitation, and Alabama, with West Florida, would be conquered the first winter, from the absolute need of Pensacola for a naval dépôt.

If I might presume to address the South, and particularly dear Virginia—being "native here and to the manor born"—I would affectionately ask, Will not your slaves be less secure, and their labor less profitable, under the new order of things than under the old? Could you employ profitably two hundred slaves in all Nebraska, or five hundred in all New Mexico? The right, then, to take them thither would be a barren right. And it is not wise to

••• Rather bear the ills we have,  
Than fly to others that we know not of?\*

The Declaration of Independence proclaims and consecrates the same maxim: "Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes." And Paley, too, lays down as a fundamental maxim of statesmanship, "Never to pursue national honor as distinct from national interest;" but adds: "This rule acknowledges that it is often necessary to assert the honor of a nation for the sake of its interests."

The excitement that threatens secession is caused by the near prospect of a Republican's election to the presidency. From a sense of propriety as a soldier, I have taken no part in the pending canvass, and, as always heretofore, mean to stay away from the polls. My sympathies, however, are with the Bell and Everett ticket. With Mr. Lincoln I have had no communication whatever, direct or indirect, and have no recollection of ever having seen his person; but can not believe any unconstitutional violence, or breach of law, is to be apprehended from his administration of the federal government.

From a knowledge of our Southern population, it is my solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession, viz., the seizure of some or all of the following posts: Forts Jackson and St. Phillip, in the Mississippi, below New Orleans, both without garrisons; Fort Morgan, below Mobile, without a garrison; Fort Pickens and M'Rea, Pensacola Harbor, with an insufficient garrison for one; Fort Pulaski, below Savannah, without a garrison; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston Harbor, the former with an insufficient garrison, and the latter without any; and Fort Monroe, Hampton Roads, without a sufficient garrison. In my opinion, all these works should be immediately so garrisoned as to make any attempt to take any one of them, by surprise or coup-de-main, ridiculous.

With the army faithful to its allegiance, and the navy probably equally so, and with a federal executive, for the next twelve months, of firmness and moderation, which the country has a right to expect—moderation being an element of power not less than firmness—there is good reason to hope that the danger of secession may be made to pass away without one conflict of arms, one execution, or one arrest for treason.

In the mean time, it is suggested that exports should remain as free as at present; all duties, however, on imports, collected (outside of the cities\*), as such receipts would be needed for the national debt, invalid pensions, etc., and only articles contraband of war be refused admittance. But even this refusal would be unnecessary, as the foregoing views eschew the idea of invading a seceded state.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

New York, October 29, 1860.

Lieutenant General Scott's respects to the Secretary of War to say, That a copy of his "Views," etc., was dispatched to the President yesterday in great haste; but the copy intended for the Secretary, better transcribed (herewith), was not in time for the mail. General Scott would be happy if the latter could be substituted for the former.

It will be seen that the "Views" only apply to a case of secession that makes a gap in the present Union. The falling off say of Texas, or of all the Atlantic states, from the Potomac south, was not within the scope of General Scott's provisional remedies.

It is his opinion that instructions should be given at once to the commanders of the Barrancas, Forts Moultrie and Monroe, to be on their guard against surprises and coups-de-main. As to regular approaches, nothing can be said or done, at this time, without volunteers.

There is one (regular) company at Boston, one here (at the Narrows), one at Pittsburg, one at Augusta, Georgia, and one at Baton Rouge—in all five companies only, within reach, to garrison or re-enforce the forts mentioned in the "Views."

General Scott is all solicitude for the safety of the Union. He is, however, not without hope

\* In forts or on board ships of war. The great aim and object of this plan was to gain time—say eight or ten months—to await expected measures of conciliation on the part of the North, and the subsidence of angry feelings in the opposite quarter.

their reach even before they had seceded. He recommended the immediate garrisoning of all these forts, and particularly of Forts Moultrie, Monroe, Pickens, and M'Rea, with such a force as to make any attempt to seize them by coup-de-main impossible; and he suggested that, in case of secession, commerce should remain unrestricted, but duties be collected on imports by forces stationed in forts or ships of war. But, alas! he was obliged to admit, in this very memorandum, that for the defense of the nine great forts which he mentioned, the government had, except the small garrisons of Moultrie and Monroe, but five companies of troops within reach, and those scattered at five posts separated hundreds of miles from each other; and, sadder still, he was obliged to send his patriotic warning and his wise counsels to a President who was supinely faithless to his trust, and to a Secretary of War who was one of the most active conspirators against the very government of which he was a member.<sup>4</sup> General Wool, too, one of the ablest and most honorable soldiers of the Union, had, as early as the 6th of December, addressed General Cass, Secretary of State, a letter, in which he set forth the imminent peril of the country, the frightful proportions which a civil war, inevitable upon secession, would assume, and pointed out the way in which to avoid it, by firm, decided, prompt, and energetic measures. Among these he particularly named the immediate increase of the garrison of Fort Moultrie.<sup>5</sup> But General Wool's letter was as little heeded as the

that all dangers and difficulties will pass away without leaving a scar or painful recollection behind. The Secretary's most obedient servant,  
October 30, 1860. W. S.

#### General Wool's Letters.

Troy, December 31, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—South Carolina, after twenty-seven years—Mr. Rhett says thirty years—of constant and increasing efforts by her leaders to induce her to secede, has declared herself out of the Union; and this, too, without the slightest wrong or injustice done her people on the part of the government of the United States. Although she may have seized the revenue cutter, raised her treasonable Palmetto flag over the United States Arsenal, the Custom-house, Post-office, Castle Pinckney, and Fort Moultrie, she is not out of the Union, nor beyond the pale of the United States. Before she can get out of their jurisdiction or control, a reconstruction of the Constitution must be had, or civil war ensue. In the latter case, it would require no prophet to foretell the result.

It is reported that Mr. Buchanan has received informally the commissioners appointed by the rebels of South Carolina to negotiate for the public property in the harbor of Charleston, and for other purposes. It is also reported that the President disapproved of the conduct of Major Anderson, who, being satisfied that he would not be able to defend Fort Moultrie with the few men under his command, wisely took possession of Fort Sumter, where he could protect himself and the country from the disgrace which might have occurred if he had remained in Fort Moultrie. Being the commander in the harbor, he had the right to occupy Fort Sumter, an act which the safety of the Union as well as his own honor demanded. It is likewise stated that apprehensions are entertained that Major Anderson will be required to abandon Fort Sumter and reoccupy Fort Moultrie. There can be no foundation for such apprehensions; for surely the President would not surrender the citadel of the harbor of Charleston to rebels. Fort Sumter commands the entrance, and in a few hours could demolish Fort Moultrie. So long as the United States keeps possession of this fort, the independence of South Carolina will only be in name, and not in fact. If, however, it should be surrendered to South Carolina, which I do not apprehend, the smothered indignation of the free states would be roused beyond control. It would not be in the power of any one to restrain it. In twenty days two hundred thousand men would be in readiness to take vengeance on all who would betray the Union into the hands of its enemies. Be assured that I do not exaggerate the feelings of the people. They are already sufficiently excited at the attempt to dissolve the Union for no other reason than that they constitutionally exercised the most precious right conferred on them, of voting for the person whom they considered the most worthy and best qualified to fill the office of President. Fort Sumter, therefore, ought not, and, I presume, will not be delivered over to South Carolina.

I am not, however, pleading for the free states, for they are not in danger, but for the Union and the preservation of the cotton states. Those who sow the wind may expect to reap the whirlwind. The leaders of South Carolina could not have noticed that we live in an age of progress, and that all Christendom is making rapid strides in the march of civilization and freedom. If they had, they would have discovered that the announcement of every victory obtained by the hero of the nineteenth century, Garibaldi, in favor of the oppressed of Italy, did not fail to electrify every American heart with joy and gladness. "Where liberty dwells there is my country," was the declaration of the illustrious Franklin. This principle is too strongly implanted in the heart and mind of every man in the free states to be surrendered because South Carolina desires it in order to extend the area of slavery. With all christianized Europe and nearly all the civilized world opposed to slavery, are the Southern states prepared to set aside the barriers which shield and protect their institutions under the United States government? Would the separation of the South from the North give greater security to slavery than it has now under the Constitution of the Union? What security would they have for the return of runaway slaves? I apprehend none; while the number of runaways would be greatly augmented, and the difficulties of which slaveholders complain would be increased tenfold. However much individuals might condemn slavery, the free states are prepared to sustain and defend it as guaranteed by the Constitution.

In conclusion, I would avoid the bloody and desolating example of the Mexican states. I am now, and forever, in favor of the Union, its preservation, and the rigid maintenance of the rights and interests of the states, individually as well as collectively. Yours, etc., JOHN E. WOOL.

General Wool to General Cass, before the resignation of the latter.

(Private.) Troy, Dec. 6, 1860.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Old associations and former friendship induce me to venture to address to you a few words on the state of the country. My letter is headed "private" because I am not authorized to address you officially.

I have read with pleasure the President's Message. South Carolina says she intends to leave the Union. Her representatives in Congress say she has already left the Union. It would seem that she is neither to be conciliated nor comforted. I command the Eastern Department, which includes South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. You know me well. I have ever been a firm, decided, faithful, and devoted friend of my country. If I can aid the President to preserve the Union, I hope he will command my services. It will never do for him or you to leave Washington without every star in this Union is in its place. Therefore, no time should be lost in adopting measures to defeat those who are conspiring against the Union. Hesitancy or delay may be no less fatal to the Union than to the President or your own high standing as a statesman.

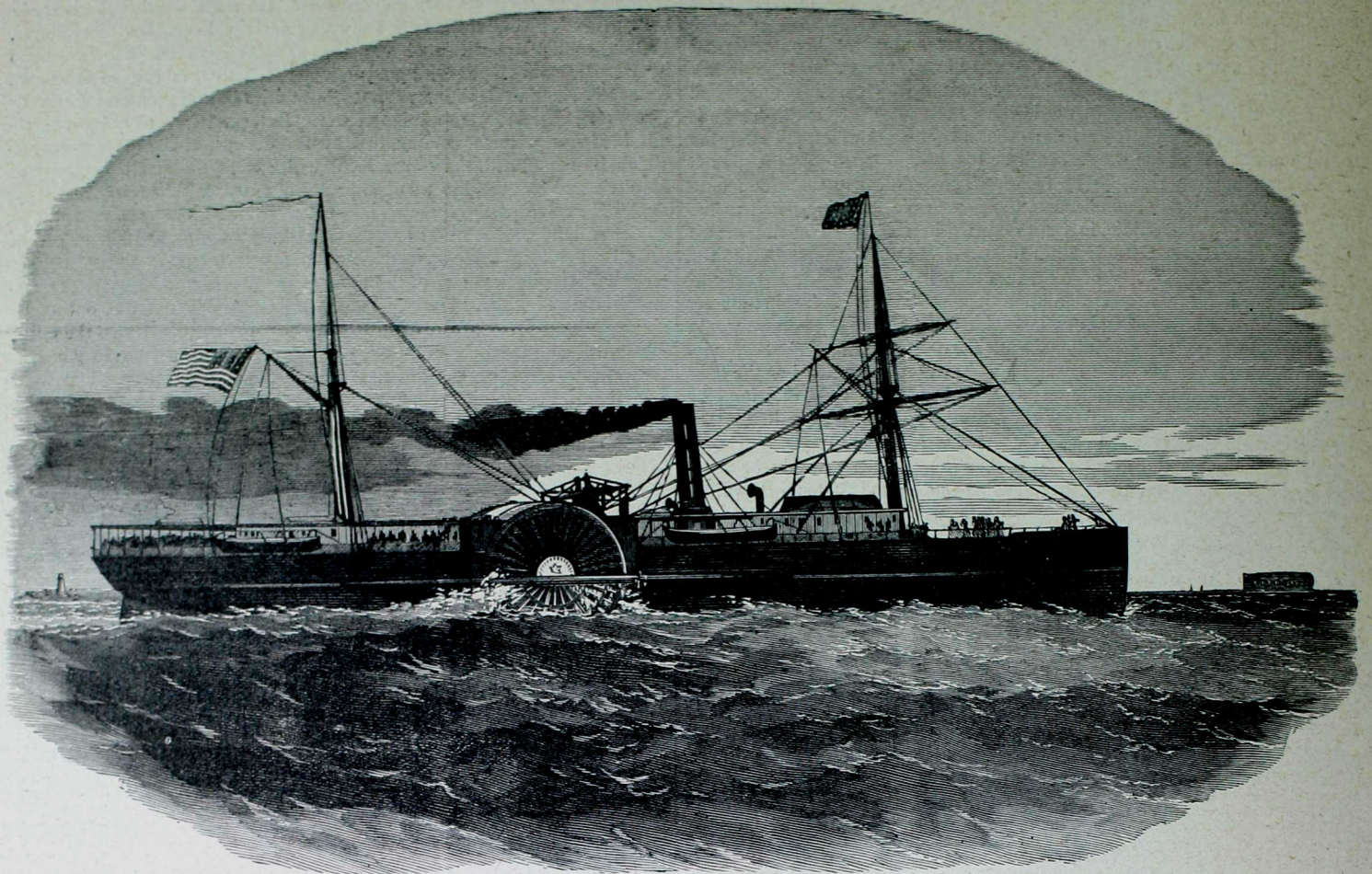
It seems to me that troops should be sent to Charleston to man the forts in that harbor. You have eight companies at Fort Monroe, Va. Three or four of these companies should be sent, without a moment's delay, to Fort Moultrie. It will save the Union and the President much trouble. It is said that to send at this time troops to that harbor would produce great excitement among the people. That is nonsense, when the people are as much excited as they can be, and the leaders are determined to execute their long-meditated purpose of separating the state from the Union. So long as you command the entrance to the city of Charleston, South Carolina can not separate herself from the Union. Do not leave the forts in the harbor in a condition to induce an attempt to take possession of them. It might easily be done at this time. If South Carolina should take them, it might, as she anticipates, induce other states to join her.

Permit me to entreat you to urge the President to send at once three or four companies of artillery to Fort Moultrie. The Union can be preserved, but it requires firm, decided, prompt, and energetic measures on the part of the President. He has only to exert the power conferred on him by the Constitution and laws of Congress, and all will be safe, and he will prevent a civil war, which never fails to call forth all the baser passions of the human heart. If a separation should take place, you may rest assured blood would flow in torrents, followed by pestilence, famine, and desolation, and Senator Seward's irrepresible conflict will be brought to a conclusion much sooner than he could possibly have anticipated. Let me conjure you to save the Union, and thereby avoid the bloody and desolating example of the states of Mexico. A separation of the states will bring with it the desolation of the cotton states, which are unprepared for war. Their weakness will be found in the number of their slaves, with but few of the essentials to carry on war, while the free states will have all the elements and materials for war, and to a greater extent than any other people on the face of the globe.

Think of these things, my dear general, and save the country, and save the prosperous South from pestilence, famine, and desolation. Peaceable secession is not to be thought of. Even if it should take place, in three months we would have a bloody war on our hands. Very truly your friend,

JOHN E. WOOL.

Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.



THE STEAM-SHIP "STAR OF THE WEST."

Lieutenant General's had been, and the consequences were just what both the military patriots had foreseen and foretold. The government would now have gladly followed their counsels, but it was too late.

At Charleston, on the contrary, alacrity as well as audacity characterized all that was done. The return of the South Carolina commissioners from Washington with the announcement that the President had refused to hold any farther communication with them, gave a new stimulus to the pride and the pugnacity of the secessionists. They affected to regard this refusal as an insult, and began to lash themselves into fury, but also to take most vigorous measures against the government by which they chose to regard themselves as insulted. They hastened the repairs and the armament of Fort Moultrie, commenced the erection of batteries upon Sullivan's Island and Morris's Island, two points which commanded both the entrance to the harbor and Fort Sumter; the commander of Castle Pinckney ordered that no boat should approach the wharf-head without permission; the city was put under the protection of a military patrol, look-out boats were stationed in the outer harbor at night, and the telegraph was placed under censorship. All the citizens of Charleston liable to military duty were, without exception, called to arms. The collector of the port, appointed to his office by the United States government, announced that all vessels from and for ports outside of South Carolina must enter and clear at Charleston. The Convention passed an ordinance defining treason against the state, and declaring its punishment, which, with a misunderstanding of an old criminal lawphrase, ludicrous in itself, but horrible in the vengeful purpose indicated by it, was to be "death without benefit of the clergy."<sup>6</sup> Delegates were appointed to attend a convention of seceding states. An appeal was made by the leading newspaper of Charleston to the people of Florida, to seize the national forts at Pensacola and Key West, and the capture of the California treasure-ships bound northward through the Gulf of Mexico was recommended. This appeal was addressed to the people of a commonwealth which had not yet even gone through the form of seceding from the government which had bought and paid for the very soil on which they lived! With a similar disregard of the proprietary rights of that government, the South Carolina authorities forbade the United States sub-treasurer of Charleston to cash any more drafts from Washington. But in this respect their dishonest move received one honest counter-check, which provoked some merriment; for Governor Pickens, writing to the Secretary of the Treasury for a balance of \$3000 due upon his salary as United States minister to Russia, received in reply a draft upon the sub-treasury the payments of which he had assumed to stop.

These bold steps were met only by timidity and hesitation on the part of the government. If Fort Sumter were to be retained, it must needs be re-enforced. An attempt was therefore made to send supplies and men to Major

Anderson, but in such a shuffling way, and with such a pitiful result, that it is a shame to tell the story. A large steam-ship, the *Star of the West*, was chartered, and with a supply of commissary stores and ammunition, and two hundred and fifty artillerists and marines, she sailed from New York on the 5th of January. But, although her destination was Charleston Harbor, she cleared for New Orleans and Havana, and she did not take the troops on board until she was far down the Bay. The attempted deceit entirely failed. The Charleston people were fully informed as to the project by some of their innumerable spies, who swarmed over the country. The vessel arrived off Charleston Bar in the middle of the night of the 9th. She there lay to of necessity; for the lights in the light-houses were all out, and the buoys removed. She put out her own lights, and awaited the dawning. As the day began to break she discovered a small steamer just inshore of her, which, on making the reciprocal discovery, steamed away for the ship channel, burning blue and red signals, and sending up rockets as she went. The *Star of the West* followed, with the national flag at her peak, until she was within about two miles of both Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie, when a battery on Morris's Island, about half a mile off, not noticed until then, opened fire upon her. Another large United States flag was immediately run up at the fore, but still the battery continued its fire. Perhaps this surprised the officers of the vessel, for before she was headed for the harbor the troops were all sent below, so that they could not be seen, no one but the crew being allowed on deck; and it really did seem as if the government of the United States might be allowed to smuggle two hundred and fifty men into one of its own fortresses. But the well-informed seceders thought otherwise; and as to the flag of their country, they were but too glad of an opportunity for insulting it. So the fire was kept up upon the advancing steamer, which soon found herself in a very awkward position. The shot were flying over her deck and through her rigging; she had been hit once. To reach Fort Sumter, she would be obliged to pass within three quarters of a mile of Fort Moultrie, from which already an armed schooner had put off, towed by two steam-tugs. Thus cut off, hemmed in, and fired upon, without the means of returning fire, the commander of the *Star of the West* concluded that, if he persisted, there was no chance of any other event than the loss of his vessel and of many lives; and after remaining under fire for ten minutes, during which seventeen shots were fired at him from the battery, and some from Fort Moultrie, he turned his ship about and headed for New York, where he arrived on the 12th, to the great disappointment and humiliation of all true men, who were hardly less disgusted at this skulking attempt than chagrined at its failure.<sup>7</sup>

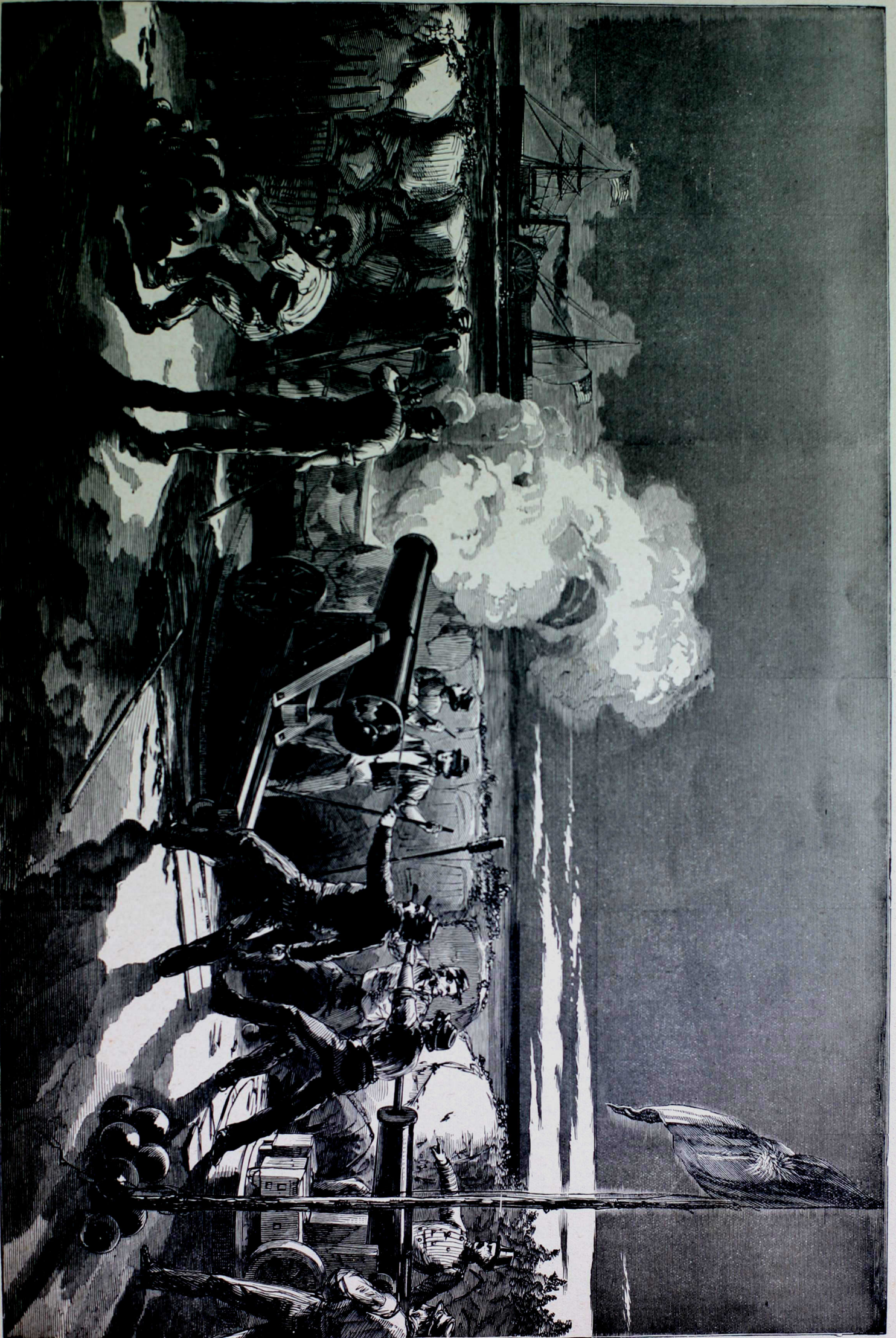
*Report of the Captain of the Star of the West.*

Steam-ship *Star of the West*, New York, Saturday, Jan. 12, 1861.

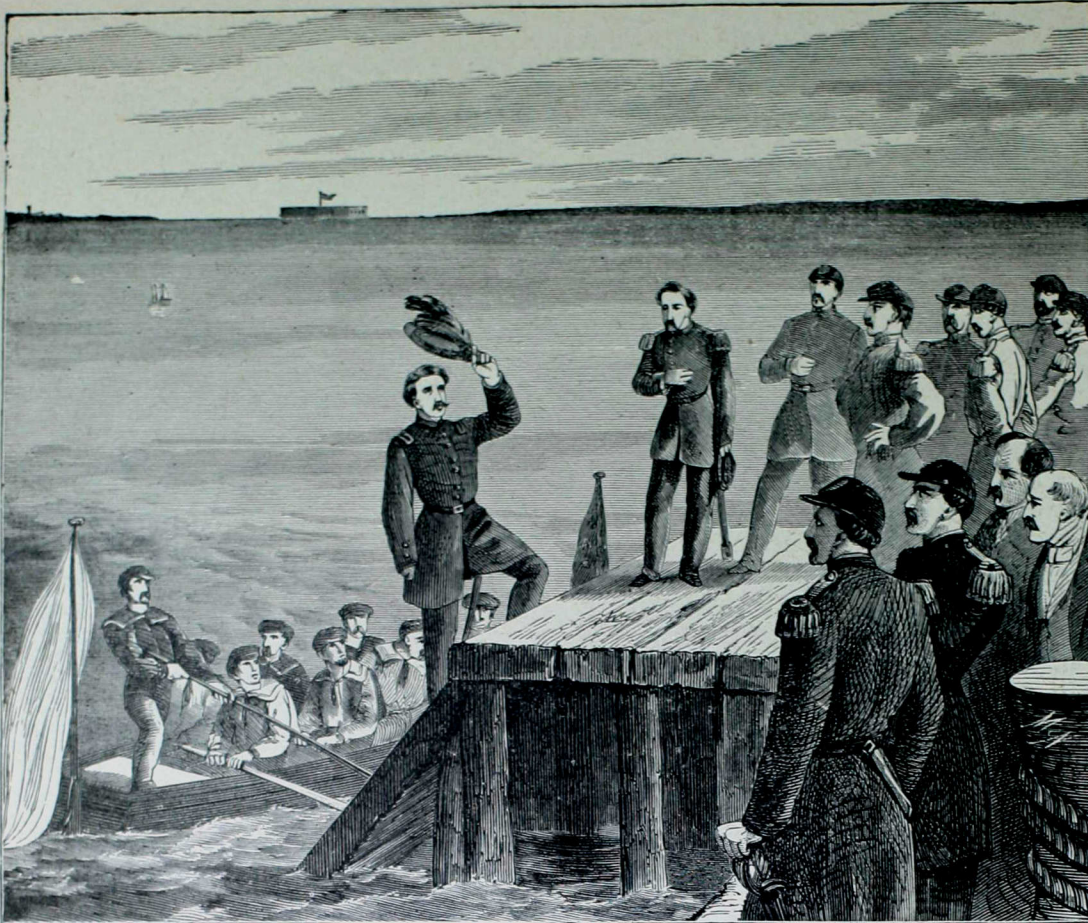
M. O. ROBERTS, ESQ. : SIR,—After leaving the wharf on the 5th inst., at 5 o'clock P.M., we proceeded down the Bay, where we hove to, and took on board four officers and two hundred soldiers, with their arms, ammunition, etc., and then proceeded to sea, crossing the bar at Sandy Hook at 9 P.M. Nothing unusual took place during the passage, which was a pleasant one for this season of the year.

We arrived at Charleston Bar at 1 30 A.M. on the 9th inst., but could find no guiding marks for the Bar, as the lights were all out. We proceeded with caution, running very slow and sounding, until about 4 A.M., being then in four and a half fathoms water, when we discovered a light through the haze which at that time covered the horizon. Concluding that the lights were on Fort Sumter, after getting the bearings of it we steered to the S.W. for the main ship channel,

<sup>6</sup> The old penalty of death without benefit of clergy is now, and, from the changed condition of things, has been, of necessity, long obsolete. It had no reference to the attendance of a clergyman or minister of the Gospel upon the condemned criminal, but was a barbarous sign of the peculiar privileges of the clergy of the Roman Church, which asserted and maintained a right to try its clergy at its own tribunals. When, therefore, a man was condemned and about to be sentenced, he claimed, if he could, that he was a clergyman; and, as proof, offered to show that he could read, then an accomplishment confined to clergymen. But, as learning advanced, it became necessary to do away with this "benefit of clergy."



FIRING ON THE "STAR OF THE WEST" FROM THE SOUTH CAROLINA BATTERY ON MORRIS ISLAND, JANUARY 10, 1861.



THE FIRST FLAG OF TRUCE.

But what did Major Anderson under these circumstances? He behaved with the judgment and firmness which marked his conduct throughout his severe trial. It must be remembered that communication had been cut off between Fort Sumter and the main land, and that Major Anderson knew nothing of the intention of sending him supplies and re-enforcements. When, therefore, the *Star of the West* hove in sight of his battlements, she was to him merely a merchant steamer entering Charleston Harbor, and having no special claim on his protection. His orders were strictly to act upon the defensive; but all the little garrison of the fort were on the alert, and he himself stood, glass in hand, upon the ramparts. To his grief, but perhaps not to his surprise, he sees the first shot fired from Morris's Island, and he orders his shotted guns which bear upon that battery to be run out. A second shot, and up goes another flag at the fore. Is this a signal to him? He can not tell. Shall he fire upon the assailants? He longs to give the word; but he is not attacked; his orders justify him only in self-defense, and to fire begins the horrors of civil war. Still the steamer keeps her course, and shot after shot is fired upon her. The men at the guns begin to fret, and the captain of one begs, "Do let us give them one, sir." "Patient—be patient," was the calm reply. But the battery keeps up its fire; the steamer is hit; Fort Moultrie also opens its guns upon her. It is becoming too much even for that firm and prudent man to bear, and he is about to give the word, when, all at once, the steamer puts about, and makes way out to sea as rapidly as possible, and the puzzled commander's doubt is settled for him. But, although he was relieved from the necessity of opening fire upon the insurgents at that time, the occurrence was of so grave a nature that it could not be permitted to pass unquestioned, or repeated with impunity. Major

where we hove to, to await daylight, our lights having all been put out since 12 o'clock, to avoid being seen.

As the day began to break, we discovered a steamer just inshore of us, which, as soon as she saw us, burned one blue light and two red lights as signals, and shortly after steamed over the Bar and into the ship channel. The soldiers were now all put below, and no one allowed on deck except our own crew. As soon as there was light enough to see, we crossed the Bar and proceeded on up the channel (the outer-bar buoy having been taken away), the steamer ahead of us sending off rockets, and burning lights until after broad daylight, continuing on her course up nearly two miles ahead of us. When we arrived about two miles from Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter being about the same distance, a masked battery on Morris's Island, where there was a red Palmetto flag flying, opened fire upon us—distance about five eighths of a mile. We had the American flag flying at our flag-staff at the time, and soon after the first shot hoisted a large American ensign at the fore. We continued on under the fire of the battery for over ten minutes, several of the shots going clear over us. One shot just passed clear of the pilot-house, another passed between the smoke-stack and walking-beams of the engine, another struck the ship just abaft the fore-rigging and stove in the planking, while another came within an ace of carrying away the rudder. At the same time there was a movement of two steamers from near Fort Moultrie, one of them towing a schooner (I presume an armed schooner), with the intention of cutting us off. Our position now became rather critical, as we had to approach Fort Moultrie to within three quarters of a mile before we could keep away for Fort Sumter. A steamer approaching us with an armed schooner in tow, and the battery on the island firing at us all the time, and having no cannon to defend ourselves from the attack of the vessels, we concluded that, to avoid certain capture or destruction, we would endeavor to get to sea. Consequently we wore round and steered down the channel, the battery firing upon us until the shot fell short. As it was now strong ebb tide, and the water having fallen some three feet, we proceeded with caution, and crossed the Bar safely at 8 50 A.M., and continued on our course for this port, where we arrived this morning, after a boisterous passage. A steamer from Charleston followed us for about three hours, watching our movements.

In justice to the officers and crews of each department of the ship, I must add that their behavior while under the fire of the battery reflected great credit on them.

Mr. Brewer, the New York pilot, was of very great assistance to me in helping to pilot the ship over Charleston Bar, and up and down the channel. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
JOHN M'GOWAN, Captain.

Anderson, therefore, immediately addressed a note to the governor of South Carolina, asking whether this firing upon an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of his government was authorized, and informing him that if it were not disavowed he should regard it as an act of war, and not permit any vessel to pass within range of the guns of Fort Sumter. This letter he sent with a flag of truce to Charleston. Under the circumstances, a flag of truce was perhaps proper, and even necessary, and doubtless, to a military man, the proceeding was a mere formality; but to the people there were gloomy shadows in the folds of that white, peaceful token. To send a flag of truce confessed a state of war—of civil war; it recognized the existence of a second power in the land; and then what humiliation to see an officer of the United States army obtaining audience of the governor of one of the states, and one of the least important of them too, only by virtue of a protection, a safeguard! Governor Pickens, in reply, assumed the responsibility of the firing, informed Major Anderson that attempts to re-enforce him would be regarded as hostile acts, and resisted accordingly, and left him to decide whether he would fulfill his threat as to firing upon vessels coming within range of his guns. The situation proved to be graver, and the case more compli-

cated, than Major Anderson was prepared to meet without superior orders. Of this he informed Governor Pickens, asking permission for the passage of a messenger to Washington, which was granted.<sup>8</sup> This incident added greatly to the excitement throughout the North, where, however, no violence or even vivacity of feeling was yet displayed; but a gloomy, gnawing, fierce unrest pervaded the whole land. It was felt that the government had acted pitifully, and had been publicly caught in the act; but that Major Anderson had borne himself only as became a brave and prudent soldier. In the first sentence of his demand upon the insurgent governor, the words "the flag of my government" touched the sensitive public heart. He had been the first to assert the existence of that government among the insurgents and to support its flag, and he rose higher than before in public favor.

While the South Carolina insurgents were conducting their affairs with such promptitude, such boldness, and such success, and the government was moving with such hesitation into such miserable failure, what was the course of events in the country at large? In the slave states the self-constituted leaders of the insurrection were doing their best, by acts of usurpation without even the shadow or pretense of authority, to bring about a bloody issue.

<sup>8</sup> Correspondence between Major Anderson and Governor Pickens.

To his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina:

SIR,—Two of your batteries fired this morning on an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of my government. As I have not been notified that war has been declared by South Carolina against the United States, I can not but think this a hostile act committed without your sanction or authority. Under that hope I refrain from opening a fire on your batteries. I have the honor, therefore, respectfully to ask whether the above-mentioned act—one which I believe without parallel in the history of our country or any other civilized government—was committed in obedience to your instructions, and notify you, if it is not disclaimed, that I regard it as an act of war, and I shall not, after reasonable time for the return of my messenger, permit any vessel to pass within the range of the guns of my fort. In order to save, as far as it is in my power, the shedding of blood, I beg you will take due notification of my decision for the good of all concerned, hoping, however, your answer may justify a farther continuance of forbearance on my part. I remain, respectfully,

ROBERT ANDERSON.

Governor Pickens's Reply.

Governor Pickens, after stating the position of South Carolina toward the United States, says that any attempt to send United States troops into Charleston Harbor, to re-enforce the forts, would be regarded as an act of hostility; and, in conclusion, adds that any attempt to re-enforce the troops at Fort Sumter, or to retake and resume possession of the forts within the waters of South Carolina, which Major Anderson abandoned, after spiking the cannon and doing other damage, can not but be regarded by the authorities of the state as indicative of any other purpose than the coercion of the state by the armed force of the government; special agents, therefore, have been off the Bar to warn approaching vessels, armed and unarmed, having troops to re-enforce Fort Sumter aboard, not to enter the harbor. Special orders have been given the commanders at the forts not to fire on such vessels until a shot across their bows should warn them of the prohibition of the state. Under these circumstances, the *Star of the West*, it is understood, this morning attempted to enter the harbor with troops, after having been notified she could not enter, and consequently she was fired into. This act is perfectly justified by me.

In regard to your threat about vessels in the harbor, it is only necessary for me to say, you must be the judge of your responsibility. Your position in the harbor has been tolerated by the authorities of the state; and while the act of which you complain is in perfect consistency with the rights and duties of the state, it is not perceived how far the conduct you propose to adopt can find a parallel in the history of any country, or be reconciled with any other purpose than that of your government imposing on the state the condition of a conquered province. F. W. PICKENS.

Second Communication from Major Anderson.

To his Excellency Governor Pickens:

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, and say that, under the circumstances, I have deemed it proper to refer the whole matter to my government, and intend deferring the course I indicated in my note this morning until the arrival from Washington of such instructions as I may receive.

I have the honor also to express the hope that no obstructions will be placed in the way, and that you will do me the favor of giving every facility for the departure and return of the bearer, Lieut. T. Talbot, who is directed to make the journey. ROBERT ANDERSON.

On the 2d of January, Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, took possession of Fort Macon, at Beaufort, the forts at Wilmington, and the United States Arsenal at Fayetteville; and on the same day Fort Pulaski, near Savannah, was seized by the order of Governor Brown, of Georgia. At Mobile, the Alabama secessionists demanded and received possession of the United States Arsenal, thereby securing 1500 barrels of powder, 300,000 cartridges, besides arms and other munitions of war. They also seized upon Fort Morgan, at the entrance of Mobile Bay, and garrisoned it with two hundred Alabama militia. All these forts and arsenals fell into their hands without resistance; for so benign and peaceful was the government against which they revolted, that its very military posts were left entirely without military protection, in the mere keeping of a corporal and his guard. Of this absence of protective force, the secessionists of North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama availed themselves; this trust of the whole nation in the honor of all its constituent parts, they abused before they had even nominally dissolved the bonds which bound them to the government of the United States. Of the border states Virginia alone showed a readiness to swell the ranks of the insurgents. At Norfolk, almost within the very precincts of a great government naval station, a meeting was held on the 5th of January, at which speeches were made and resolutions passed urging resistance to "coercion and invasion"—the favorite phrases by which thoroughly disloyal men designated the maintenance of its power by the government. But this disposition was not yet general even in the eastern part of the state; and the governor, in a message to the Legislature in special session, condemned South Carolina, although he defied the United States.



GOVERNOR PICKENS.

The people of the northern tier of slave states, forming the border line between freedom and slavery, spoke out strongly for the Union, or remained in a state of quiet but anxious expectation. In Baltimore five thousand substantial citizens addressed a letter to Governor Hicks, approving his refusal to convene the Legislature of Maryland, which measure was advocated in the interests of the secessionists; and the governor replied to the commissioner from the State of Alabama, who had solicited the co-operation of Maryland, that he regarded co-operation between the slave states as an infraction of the Constitution, which he, as Governor of Maryland, swore to support. He declared that the people of that state were firm in their friendship for the Union, and would never swerve from it; that they had seen, with mortification and regret, the course taken by South Carolina; because, in their opinion, it was better to use the Union for the enforcement of their rights, than to break it up because of apprehensions that the provisions of the Constitution would be disregarded, and they would cling to it until it should actually become the instrument of destruction to their rights, and peace, and safety. There were then a few secessionists in Maryland at both extremes of the social scale; but the great bulk of the thrifty and intelligent people of the state found their feelings and their opinions expressed for them in this letter of their governor, who also spoke the convictions, at that time, of a large body of conservative men throughout the slave states. A like reply was given by the Legislature of Delaware to the commissioner from Mississippi, who approached them with like proposals. The condemnation of the course of the seceding states by the people of Delaware was prompt and unqualified. But around the Gulf seceders were more numerous, and had obtained absolute control of public affairs. In Georgia, in Florida, in Alabama, and in Mississippi, the Legislatures, or the Conventions which they had called, moved rapidly and steadily on to the business of the disruption of the republic; and in the Senate of Missouri, the Committee on Federal Relations was instructed to report a bill calling a state convention. A series of outrages upon the national military posts and property accompanied these more deliberative movements, and illustrated their spirit. In North Carolina, Forts Caswell and Johnson were taken possession of by the

militia and other persons living near them. On the 11th of January a party of Louisiana militia seized upon the United States Marine Hospital, about two miles below New Orleans, which contained over two hundred patients, all of whom who could leave their beds were turned out immediately. At Pensacola, a body of Florida and Alabama militia appeared before the gate of the navy yard, and demanded possession. The officer in command, having no force to resist the demand, yielded his post of necessity. Fort Barrancas was also taken possession of in like manner. The navy yard contained over one hundred thousand dollars worth of ordnance stores. The perpetrators of this outrage had the assurance to send word to the government, through their senators, that it was the consequence of the re-enforcement of Fort Pickens, and to propose a restoration on both sides of the *status quo ante bellum!* The claims of science, beneficently devoted to the interests of all mankind, were not recognized as a safeguard, and the United States Coast Survey schooner Dana was seized on the 15th, by order of the state authorities of Florida. The freedom of commercial intercourse was equally disregarded by the Governor of Mississippi, who planted artillery at Vicksburg, on the banks of the river, to stop, for examination, all steamers passing southward. This arbitrary interruption of the traffic of that great water highway of the continent did much to open the eyes of the people of the Western and Northwestern country to the consequences of the disruption of the Union. At Augusta, the United States Arsenal was surrendered to the militia of the place upon the demand of the Governor of Georgia.

In most of these cases the forcible seizure of the nation's property on the part of states took place before those states had gone through the formality of passing an Ordinance of Secession. But it was not long lacking, this homemade salve for wounded honor. The Mississippi Convention passed the ordinance on the 9th of January, Alabama on the 11th, Florida on the 12th, Georgia on the 19th, and, to look forward a few days, Louisiana on the 28th, and Texas on the 1st of February. In Mississippi there were fifteen dissenting voices; in Florida, only seven against sixty-two; but in Alabama there were thirty-nine nays to sixty-one yeas; and in Georgia itself, secession was openly denounced and voted against by eighty-nine of the delegates, among whom were Alexander H. Stevens and Herschel V. Johnson, the Democratic candidate for the vice-presidency at the last election, and Judge Linton Stevens, of the Supreme Court. It is important to observe how large a proportion of the people, and what eminent and influential citizens, in some of these states, were so earnestly opposed to secession that, in spite of the attempts by social exclusion, browbeating, deceit, and even actual violence, to bring about unanimity, they boldly declared themselves against it. Of the evidence that the leaders and active instigators of the insurrection would not permit that free expression of public opinion through the ballot-box which alone could have excused, though it would not have justified their acts, some should be placed directly upon the pages in which the story of this woeful time will be told with candor, and with as much good feeling as comports with justice. There is no lack of it. "It is a notable fact" (the "Southern Confederacy," of Atlanta, Georgia, says this), "that, wherever the 'Minute-men,' as they are called, have had an organization" (they were armed vigilance committees), "those counties have voted, by large majorities, for immediate secession. Those that they could not control by persuasion and coaxing, they dragooned and bullied by threats, jeers, and sneers. By this means thousands of good citizens were induced to vote the immediate secession ticket through timidity. Besides, the towns and cities have been flooded with sensation dispatches and inflammatory rumors, manufactured in Washington City for the especial occasion. To be candid, there never has been as much lying and bullying practiced, in the same length of time, since the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as has been in the recent state campaign." The doctrine of state sovereignty, which, in the face of the solemn teachings of the Southern fathers of the republic, the Calhoun school had so long and so ceaselessly poured into the ears of Southern people, now served the purpose for which it was intended, and men submitted to a state ordinance which set at naught the Constitution, and sought to destroy the Union, as they would have obeyed a law with regard to any minor matter of daily life. Only in this manner was this insurrection made possible. But even under these circumstances the leaders of the movement did not dare to submit the Ordinance of Secession to the people for confirmation, except in one state, Texas, which, it is worth while to observe, was the only one of the states which had a sovereign independent political existence before it became merged in the Union. It is needless to notice farther the forcible appropriation of national forts, arsenals, and ships by state authority. But in one instance the exertion of "sovereign" state authority was accompanied by incidents which were marked with the character of the time. To understand this, we must turn our eyes northward, and observe what was passing this while in the loyal free and slave states.

The promptitude and vigor of the insurgents was not imitated more by the people of the loyal states than by the government with which they kept their faith. From the nature of man and man's institutions, this was to have been expected. Revolutionary and destructive forces, unless they fail miserably at the very outset, must always act more quickly and more vigorously than those which protect that which they would overturn and destroy. For an essential element of established power is a *vis inertiae*, the very disturbance of which, even for the purpose of resistance, is not only the first task, but, if accomplished, the first triumph of revolution. Established government rests upon the basis of a strong tranquillity; and revolution, which seeks to displace established government, can accomplish its purpose, even if it controls an equal body, only by adding movement to its weight, thus attaining momentum. The loyal people and the government



A CAVALRY





of the United States wished to allay disturbance and to prevent a struggle; therefore, when they did any thing, they confined themselves to mild, but, as they then thought, firm repressive measures. They did not yet see that the business before them was not one of restraint, but of extinction; that they must destroy the power they feared, or be destroyed by it. So it is even in minor matters of police. Half a dozen riotous, reckless, liquor-maddened men will give employment to twice their number of policemen, acting under the authority of law and under a sense of responsibility, and, if not put down at once by the strong hand, may peril the peace of a neighborhood. The insurgents having openly defied the government, seized its forts, its arsenals, and its armed vessels, and established themselves in force, the people of the loyal states began to think that it was almost time for them to begin to think about beginning to do something. So meetings, decorously enthusiastic, were held in New York, in Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, Portland, Trenton in New Jersey, Wilmington in Delaware, and elsewhere, at which many laudable patriotic sentiments were uttered, and a sense of "the value of the Union" was strongly expressed (as if the existence of the nation and the government was a thing or an interest by itself, which was to be priced like goods or railway shares), and the administration was assured of the willingness of the people to support it against the insurgents. On the other hand, that the purposes of the loyal people might not be misapprehended, abolition demonstrations were interfered with; as at Rochester, in New York, where a meeting of abolitionists was broken up, amid cheers for the Union, General Scott, and Major Anderson; and where a banner, with the inscription "No compromise with slavery," had to be taken down. In Boston, Mr. Wendell Phillips, the apostle of abolitionism, having avowed himself, as he had often done before, "a disunion man," expressed joy at the secession of the Gulf states, and denounced the compromise spirit of Mr. Seward and Mr. Charles Francis Adams, was hissed and hooted, and followed home by a great crowd of excited people, from whom he was protected by policemen. The Legislature of New York, by resolutions, denounced secession, avowed a determination to support the national government, and offered men and money to the President. In the Massachusetts Legislature like resolutions were passed, and with them a bill increasing the militia of the state. On the 15th of January Major General Sanford offered the services of the whole first division of the militia of New York, which was under his command, for the support of the authority of the government. But it is worthy of note that there was some, though very trifling, objection to this offer, and to the general's right to make it.

Thus far, however, though much had been said at the North, nothing had been done as a set-off to the activity and audacity of the insurgents at the South. When, at last, something was attempted, it was not by the government, or even by state authority. The seceders had, from the beginning of their movement, busied themselves in buying arms and munitions of war in Northern cities as well as in Europe. Muskets, sabres, powder, percussion caps, and even cannon, were shipped to them from Northern ports, where the traffic in arms was the only branch of trade not paralyzed by the political disturbances. With this traffic an officer of police, John A. Kennedy, Chief of the Metropolitan District of New York, took the responsibility of interfering. He seized and detained several cases of muskets about to be shipped to Georgia. Information of the seizure was telegraphed to the consignees, and immediately there came back a dispatch from Mr. Toombs to Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York, containing a query as to the act and a threat as to its consequences. The reply of the mayor was one of exculpation and abject submission to the insurgent demagogue, to whom he said that if he had the power he would punish Kennedy.<sup>9</sup> Georgia at once retaliated, and in a most effective manner. The governor seized and held by military possession two barks, two brigs, and a schooner, lying in the harbor of Savannah, and belonging to residents of New York, and sent on word that they would be held until the arms were released. The Governor of New York replied that the seizure had been unauthorized, and that the arms should be given up. The vessels were then re-

*Correspondence between Senator Toombs and Mayor Wood.*

Milledgeville, Jan. 24, 1861.

To his Honor Mayor Wood:  
Is it true that any arms intended for and consigned to the State of Georgia have been seized by public authorities in New York? Your answer is important to us and to New York. Answer at once.

R. TOOMBS.

To this the Mayor returned the following answer:

Hon. Robert Toombs, Milledgeville, Ga.:  
In reply to your dispatch, I regret to say that arms intended for and consigned to the State of Georgia have been seized by the Police of this state, but that the city of New York should in no way be made responsible for the outrage.

As mayor, I have no authority over the Police. If I had the power, I should summarily punish the authors of this illegal and unjustifiable seizure of private property. FERNANDO WOOD.

*Speech of Jefferson Davis on leaving the Senate.*

I rise for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by solemn ordinance in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course, my functions terminate here. It has seemed to be proper that I should appear in the Senate and announce that fact, and to say something, though very little, upon it. The occasion does not invite me to go into the argument, and my physical condition will not permit it, yet something would seem to be necessary on the part of the state I here represent, on an occasion like this. It is known to senators who have served here that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of state sovereignty, the right of a state to secede from the Union. If, therefore, I had not believed there was justifiable cause—if I had thought the state was acting without sufficient provocation—still, under my theory of government, I should have felt bound by her action. I, however, may say I think she had justifiable cause, and I approve of her acts. I conferred with the people before that act was taken, and counseled them that, if they could not remain, they should take the act. I hope none will confound this expression of opinion with the advocacy of the right of a state to remain in the Union, and disregard its constitutional obligations by nullification. Nullification and secession are indeed antagonistic principles. Nullification is the remedy which is to be sought and applied within the Union against an agent of the United States when the agent has violated constitutional obligations, and the state assumes to act for itself, and appeals to other states to support it. But when the states themselves, and the people of the states, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the question of secession in its practical application. That great man who now reposes with his fa-

leased, and made sail quickly from Savannah. But there being some difficulty and delay in releasing the arms, the Governor of Georgia seized three other vessels, a ship, a bark, and a brig, all owned in New York, and detained them until the arms were placed again at the disposal of their Georgia consignees. In these relative attitudes we shall always find the parties to this struggle: on the side of the insurgents, a determination to gain their point by any means, right or wrong, at any cost, and without hesitation; and on the part of the government, a reluctance to violent measures unless driven to them by sheer necessity.

At Washington, the House of Representatives, not until ten days had gone by, passed a resolution approving of Major Anderson's change of position, and assuring the President of support in the enforcement of the laws and the preservation of the Union, but nothing more momentous was attempted. In the cabinet, Secretary Thompson, of the Interior, on learning the attempt to supply and garrison Fort Sumter, resigned his portfolio; and on the 15th of January, Colonel Hayne, a commissioner from South Carolina, and attorney general of the state, demanded the withdrawal of the troops which were in the fort. On being requested to submit the demand in writing, he sent in a proposal to buy the fort, with the declaration that "if not permitted to purchase it, South Carolina would take it by force of arms," a safe threat against a work already engirdled by batteries, and containing not quite fourscore fighting men. On the 20th of January, the senators from Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi, among whom was Jefferson Davis, withdrew from the Senate. The latter made a parting speech, not resigning, but taking leave of the senators, on the ground that, as his state had passed an Ordinance of Secession, he had no longer a right to sit in his seat. Looked upon as one of the ablest men of his party, and as a politician of determined purpose, and little scruple as to the means of attaining a political end, his retirement attracted more attention than that of any other seceding member of Congress. His speech was listened to with profound attention, and at the close of it, all the Democratic senators crowded round him and the other seceding senators, and shook hands warmly with them.<sup>10</sup> Just a week after the withdrawal of the man who was to assume so prominent a part in the rebellion, another, also to be heard of again in the annals of the period, ex-Secretary of War Floyd, was presented for indictment by the grand jury of the District of Columbia on three findings: malversation in office, complicity in the abstraction of the Indian Trust Fund Bonds, and conspiracy against the government. But he had taken himself well out of reach of grand juries and marshals, and he wisely kept so thereafter. The original members of Mr. Buchanan's cabinet, with the exception of General Cass, who retired early, and Mr. Attorney General Black, who was honorable and loyal, brought disgrace upon themselves, upon his administration, and the country; but one of its new ministers, General Dix, Secretary of the Treasury, was the first member of the government to assert its authority, in a manner which met the expectations and called forth the sympathies of the people. The revenue cutters of the United States are, of course, in the keeping of the Secretary of the Treasury, and under his orders. Among those which were exposed to the peculiar practices of the insurgents, with regard to the property of the "common agency," were the Lewis Cass, at Mobile, and the Robert McClelland, at New Orleans. General Dix had not been at the head of the Treasury Department four days when he sent a special agent to those ports to save those vessels by ordering them to New York. Having reached New Orleans, the agent delivered the secretary's order to Captain Breshwood, of the McClelland, who, after consultation with the collector of the port, flatly refused to obey it. Upon this the agent telegraphed for instructions to the secretary, who telegraphed back orders for the arrest of the captain by the lieutenant of the cutter, and his treatment as a mutineer if he offered any resistance, closing the order with the memorable words, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." This dispatch was intercepted both at Mobile and New Orleans, where the insurgent leaders had already placed the telegraph under supervision, and so did not reach the agent of the Treasury Department. The

others, who has been so often arraigned for want of fealty to the Union, advocated the doctrine of nullification because it preserved the Union. It was because of his deep-seated attachment to the Union that Mr. Calhoun advocated the doctrine of nullification, which he claimed would give peace within the limits of the Union, and not disturb it, and only be the means of bringing the agent before the proper tribunal of the states for judgment. Secession belongs to a different class of rights, and is to be justified upon the basis that the states are sovereign. The time has been, and I hope the time will come again, when a better appreciation of our Union will prevent any one denying that each state is a sovereign in its own right. Therefore I say I concur in the act of my state, and feel bound by it. It is by this confounding of nullification and secession that the name of another great man has been invoked to justify the coercion of a seceding state. The phrase "to execute the law," as used by General Jackson, was applied to a state refusing to obey the laws and still remaining in the Union. I remember well when Massachusetts was arraigned before the Senate. The record of that occasion will show that I said, if Massachusetts, in pursuing the line of steps, takes the last step which separates her from the Union, the right is hers, and I will neither vote one dollar nor one man to coerce her, but I will say to her, "God speed!" Mr. Davis then proceeded to argue that the equality spoken of in the Declaration of Independence was the equality of a class in political rights, referring to the charge against George III. for inciting insurrection as proof that it had no reference to the slaves. But we have proclaimed our independence. This is done with no hostility or any desire to injure any section of the country, nor even for our pecuniary benefit, but from the high and solid foundation of defending and protecting the rights we inherited, and transmitting them unshorn to our posterity. I know I feel no hostility to you senators here, and am sure there is not one of you, whatever may have been the sharp discussion between us, to whom I can not now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well. And such is the feeling, I am sure, the people I represent feel toward those whom you represent. I therefore feel I but express their desire when I say I hope and they hope for those peaceful relations with you, though we must part, that may be mutually beneficial to us in the future. There will be peace if you so will it, and you may bring disaster on every part of the country if you thus will have it. And if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the paw of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus putting our trust in God, and our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate and defend the rights we claim. In the course of my long career, I have met with a great variety of men here, and there have been points of collision between us. Whatever of offense there has been to me, I leave here. I carry no hostile feelings away. Whatever of offense I have given, which has not been redressed, I am willing to say to senators in this hour of parting, I offer you my apology for any thing I may have done in the Senate; and I go thus released from obligation, remembering no injury I have received, and having discharged what I deem the duty of man, to offer the only reparation at this hour for every injury I have ever inflicted.



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

cutters were thus lost to the government; but the publication of the intercepted order, a few days afterward, sent an awakening thrill through the public heart in the loyal states, which, after the dull oppression caused by the course of affairs at Washington thus far, was worth ten times the value of the vessels. Dear as his country's flag is to every true-hearted man, it is dearest of all to the citizen of the United States; for it is not only the symbol of his nationality, but the standard under which that nationality was achieved, beneath whose folds the fathers of the Revolution fought, and suffered, and died; and besides, it is the only outward and visible sign with which he, having no hereditary master, can connect his idea of patriotism, to which he can be loyal; it is the representative to him of the government of which he forms a part, of the eternal principles of liberty, and justice, and Divine benevolence upon which that government is founded, and of the noble land of which he ever thinks with love and pride. What the crown, the king, and the flag together are to another man, the flag alone is to the citizen of the republic. It is the rainbow of hope and promise in his sky, and his heart leaps up when he beholds it.<sup>1</sup> So, when Secretary Dix's order was made public, there was an outcry of joy all over the land; it was felt that the honor of the flag had at last found a defender in the government. A second impulse was given to the popular feeling which first broke forth when Major Anderson entered Fort Sumter, and which was to receive its highest exaltation when he was forced to leave it. The shameful fact must needs be recorded here, that both these revenue cutters were purposely brought within the power of the authorities of Alabama and Louisiana, before their secession, by the collectors of Mobile and New Orleans, who were the sworn officers and business agents of the government of the United States.<sup>2</sup> About the same time the Mint and the Sub-treasury of New Orleans, with all the public money they contained, together with private deposits, were seized by the secessionists of that city.

The six Gulf states and South Carolina having now passed Ordinances of Secession, and seized all the national forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, and ships within their reach, a convention of their representatives was held at Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, for the purpose of forming a joint provisional government, or "common agency," to take the place of that from which they had withdrawn themselves and whatever was within their reach. Texas passed its Ordinance of Secession on the 1st of February, and on the 4th the Convention of the seceding states organized itself, with Howell Cobb, only a few months before Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, as president. In four days they had named themselves "The Confederate States of America," adopted a Constitution, and formed a provisional government, of which

Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was president, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, vice-president.

<sup>1</sup> Slavery, secession, and state sovereignty could not eradicate this love. An officer of the United States, taken prisoner after the war had lasted a year, received from a rebel officer, whose quarters he visited, the confession that he had no attachment to the confederate colors which floated above them, and that "the hardest thing about this war was to fire upon the old flag." This incident is known to the writer on private information.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. Hemphill Jones, the special agent of the Treasury Department, made a report to Secretary Dix, from which the following passages are taken:

New Orleans, Jan. 29, 1861.

SIR,—You are hereby directed to get the United States revenue cutter M'Clelland, now lying here, under way immediately, and proceed with her to New York, where you will await the further instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury. For my authority to make this order you are referred to the letter of the Secretary, dated the 19th inst., and handed you personally by me. Very respectfully,  
WM. HEMPHILL JONES, Special Agent.

To Capt. J. G. Breshwood, commanding U. S. Revenue Cutter Robert M'Clelland.

Breshwood conferred with Collector Hatch, of New Orleans, and then returned the following answer, flatly refusing to obey the order:

U. S. Revenue Cutter Robert M'Clelland, New Orleans, January 29, 1861.

SIR,—Your letter, with one of the 19th of January from the Hon. Secretary of the Treasury, I have duly received, and in reply refuse to obey the order. I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
JOHN G. BRESHWOOD, Captain.

To Wm. Hemphill Jones, Esq., Special Agent.

Believing that Captain Breshwood would not have ventured upon this most positive act of insubordination and disobedience of his own volition, I waited upon the collector at the custom-house, and had with him a full and free conversation upon the whole subject. In the course of it, Mr. Hatch admitted to me that he had caused the cutter to be brought to the city of New Orleans by an order of his own, dated January 15, so that she might be secured to the State of Louisiana, although at that time the state had not only not seceded, but the Convention had not met, and, in fact, did not meet until eight days afterward. This, I must confess, seemed to me a singular confession for one who at that very time had sworn to do his duty faithfully as an officer of the United States; and, on intimating as much to Mr. Hatch, he excused himself on the ground that in these revolutions all other things must give way to the force of circumstances. Mr. Hatch likewise informed me that the officers of the cutter had long since determined to abandon their allegiance to the United States, and cast their fortunes with the independent State of Louisiana. In order to test the correctness of this statement, I addressed another communication to Captain Breshwood, of the following tenor:

New Orleans, January 29, 1861.

SIR,—By your note of this date I am informed that you refuse to obey the orders of the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury. As, on accepting your commission, you took and subscribed an oath faithfully to discharge your duties to the government, and, as you well know, the law has placed the revenue cutters and their officers under the entire control of the Secretary of the Treasury, I request you to advise me whether you consider yourself at this time an officer in the service of the United States. Very respectfully,  
WM. HEMPHILL JONES, Special Agent.

To Captain Breshwood.

To this letter I never received any reply. I then repaired again on board the cutter, and asked for the order of the collector bringing her to New Orleans. The original was placed in my possession, of which the following is a copy. And here it may be proper to observe that the order is written and signed by the collector himself:

Custom-house, New Orleans, Collector's Office, Jan. 15, 1861.

SIR,—You are hereby directed to proceed forthwith under sail to this city, and anchor the vessel under your command opposite the United States Marine Hospital, above Algiers. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
F. H. HATCH, Collector.

To Captain J. G. Breshwood, United States Revenue Cutter M'Clelland, Southwest Pass, La.

Defeated at New Orleans, Mr. Jones then took his way to Mobile, to look after the Lewis Cass. Her captain (Morrison) could not be found, but Mr. Jones discovered in the cabin the following letter, which explains the surrender of that vessel:

State of Alabama, Collector's Office, Mobile, January 30, 1861.

SIR,—In obedience to an ordinance recently adopted by a convention of the people of Alabama, I have to require you to surrender into my hands, for the use of the state, the revenue cutter Lewis Cass, now under your command, together with her armaments, properties, and provisions on board the same. I am instructed also to notify you that you have the option to continue in command of the said revenue cutter, under the authority of the State of Alabama, in the exercise of the same duties that you have hitherto rendered to the United States, and at the same compensation, reporting to this office and to the governor of the state. In surrendering the vessel to the state, you will furnish me with a detailed inventory of its armaments, provisions, and properties of every description. You will receive special instructions from this office in regard to the duties you will be required to perform. I await your immediate reply. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
T. SANFORD, Collector.

To J. J. Morrison, Esq., Captain Revenue Cutter Lewis Cass, Mobile, Ala.

Upon Captain Breshwood's refusal to obey the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, the following telegraphic correspondence ensued:

New Orleans, Jan. 29, 1861.

Hon. J. A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury:  
Capt. Breshwood has refused positively, in writing, to obey any instructions of the department. In this I am sure he is sustained by the collector, and believe acts by his advice. What must I do?  
W. H. JONES, Special Agent.

To this dispatch Secretary Dix immediately returned the following answer, before published:  
Treasury Department, Jan. 29, 1861.

W. Hemphill Jones, New Orleans:

Tell Lieut. Caldwell to arrest Capt. Breshwood, assume command of the cutter, and obey the order through you. If Capt. Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieut. Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer, and treat him accordingly. If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.

JOHN A. DIX, Secretary of the Treasury.

Probably no better choice of men for president and vice-president of the rebellious confederacy could have been made if as many months as there were days had been spent in the selection. Jefferson Davis was not a statesman, not even a high-toned politician; but he was a cool, astute, adroit political manager. He was not a man of either great military capacity or acquirement; but he was a good soldier, and a daring, determined commander. His temperament fitted him for such a bad eminence as that to which he had been raised, and it seemed as if his whole life had been but a training to fit him for its functions. Born in Kentucky in 1808, he had been brought up in Mississippi, of which state his father, a planter and a Revolutionary officer, became a resident while it was yet mere territory of the United States. He was thus familiar from his earliest youth with the men of the Southwest, where were gathered the most desperate, lawless, loose-lived of the citizens of the republic. During his youth, and long after he had entered vigorous manhood, New Orleans was the social sink of the Union, and Vicksburg but a by-way to the bottomless pit. Toward that corner of the Union, swept down by the resistless current of commerce, emigration, and adventure flowing between the banks of three mighty rivers, tended all the scum and sediment of an ever-moving population, to seethe and fret, in a vitiated tropical atmosphere, into moral pestilence. Parents in the well-ordered, well-instructed, God-fearing commonwealths of the North and East, whose sons went thither upon commercial ventures, saw not even in rapidly-accumulated wealth a recompense for the contamination of the very few years that sufficed to acquire it; and, parting with them, almost gave them up as lost. There both life and fortune were held by precarious tenure. There gambling was the general occupation, and bloody assault the social distinction of a "gentleman." There drunkenness, in a greater or less degree, was regarded as the normal condition of any creature who had intelligence above the brute; though a lapse into sobriety, when palliated by the temptations of great gain, was looked upon as venial. There a dialect of ingenious and elaborate blasphemy, half-savage slang, and abominable filth was made tolerably intelligible to strangers, who were accustomed only to the ordinary phraseology of the English race, by the occasional introduction of words of which necessity and the idioms of our language compelled the use. There statute law and common law were rarely enforced, except against an oppressed and degraded race; but the judgments of Lynch courts were pronounced with incorruptible austerity, and executed with inexorable certainty and swiftness. Such was the general tone of society in Mississippi and the surrounding country during the first thirty or forty years of this century; but above this general level, yet descending occasionally to it and resting upon it, was a small class of planters, who, with a very few professional men, and merchants of the more honorable sort, possessed all the little moral worth and intellectual culture of the region; and to this Mr. Davis belonged. But in such a community—a community whose moral sense was blunted by the presence of a class whom every member of every other class might oppress with impunity—even the men whose motives were just and whose tastes more or less refined, were obliged to maintain their position by a certain conformity to the social habits, and a certain assumption of the defiant bearing, of the men around them. Few men can live from early youth to mature manhood among desperadoes without acquiring something of their desperation—at least a familiarity with desperate issues. Among such a people Jefferson Davis passed his life until he went in 1824 as a cadet to West Point. Thence he graduated with honor in 1828, and was, at his own request, assigned immediately to active service with Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterward general and president, but then engaged in frontier warfare at the West. On the rough and adventurous battle-field of the borders, the future insurgent leader so quickly distinguished himself that upon the formation of a new regiment of cavalry he obtained in it his commission as first lieutenant, in which position he did good service against the Indians, and, it is said, made a warm friend of the well-known chief Black Hawk while he was held a prisoner of war. After seven years of active frontier service Mr. Davis resigned his commission, and in 1835 became a cotton-planter in Mississippi, diversifying the dull routine of Southern agricultural life with political studies. When the Democratic party nominated Mr. Polk for president, Mr. Davis canvassed, or "stumped" the state on his behalf, was made presidential elector to vote for him, and in 1845 was elected a member of the House of Representatives, where he soon proved himself in debate an active and energetic supporter of the measures of his party. He took his place in the front rank of the extreme advocates of slavery and state sovereignty. Upon the breaking out of the Mexican war he was elected colonel of a Mississippi rifle regiment, and resigned his seat in Congress for a post of honor in the field. Here he again distinguished himself by his coolness and determination, and at the battle of Buena Vista rendered such efficient service at the head of his regiment, where he remained throughout the day, though badly wounded, that General Taylor praised his conduct highly in his dispatches. His term of service having expired, he returned home, but was met on his way by a commission as brigadier general of volunteers, sent to him by President Polk. Almost any other man would have at once accepted such an honor. But here was an opportunity for an exhibition of a sort of perverse, pertinacious consistency in pushing the doctrine of state sovereignty to the last extreme, and of giving a civil rebuff to the government at Washington. Colonel Davis had been commissioned as a Mississippi volunteer; and, although he was in the service of the United States, under command of a general in the regular army of the United States, and paid by the United States, he was yet not to be insulted as a Mississippian by being made a general of brigade by the President of the United States; and so he declined the commission, on the ground that its bestowal was an infraction—well meant and pardonable, perhaps, but still

an infraction—of the sovereignty of the "republic" of Mississippi!—a poor, struggling, debt-repudiating commonwealth, created by an act of Congress of the United States, and sparsely peopled by such emigrants as could best be spared from the older commonwealths of the same great nation. But still, ridiculous as it was, Mr. Davis made his point.

One of Mississippi's senatorial chairs at Washington being casually vacant in 1847, Mr. Davis was appointed by the governor of the state to fill it; and this he did so much to the satisfaction of his constituents that he was twice re-elected to the same position. In the Senate-chamber he attained the reputation of a ready, dexterous, and fearless debater, and a clear-headed, energetic man of business. His views of the superiority of state authority to that of the central government grew stronger as he grew older. It was in the nature of the man that they should. His notions of state responsibility for pecuniary obligation were brought into unpleasant notoriety during his senatorship by the position which he took in regard to the repudiation of her bonds by Mississippi. This he defended, and his sneer at "the crocodile tears which had been shed over ruined creditors" excited sorrow at home and indignation abroad.<sup>3</sup> In 1851 he resigned his seat in the Senate to be nominated Governor of Mississippi as the representative of the party in that state which held his principles; but, having been defeated by Henry S. Foote, the candidate of the Union party, he retired into private life for a year. In 1852 he electioneered for Mr. Pierce, the successful presidential candidate of the Democratic party, who acknowledged his services and his capacity by calling him into his cabinet as Secretary of War. In his new position he showed great activity and energy. He added to the coast defenses, improved the manufacture of arms and ammunition, and introduced the French light infantry tactics—wrongly styled Hardee's—into the army. Leaving the cabinet when Mr. Buchanan entered the White House, he returned to the Senate-chamber, where he remained until the Ordinance of Secession was passed by Mississippi, when, his doctrines of state sovereignty having accomplished the purpose for which they were devised, in compliance with them, he withdrew.

Mr. Davis owes his position purely to intellectual ability and to tenacity of purpose. He is not, like Toombs, a boaster and a bully of the fire-eating school; but he has a cool and almost serene audacity, which accomplishes his ends at least as effectually as noisier methods, and in a manner much better suited to his taste and his temperament. His nature is not rich, his soul not magnanimous, or his mind either strong or subtle. He influences men neither by convincing nor by winning them. His talent is that of clear perception; his power, that of nervous energy; and these are directed by an inflexible will. While other men pause over their scruples, and endeavor to reconcile their purpose and their conscience, he strikes directly at success. Devoid alike of enthusiasm and of sentiment, he yet knows the exaltation of entire commitment to a great purpose. His body is spare; his brain large; his face attenuated and purely intellectual in expression; his manner placid and precise, but decided. He could not have aroused the storm of insurrection, but he is just the man to guide its destructive energies.

In his character and his career, the man who was elected to the second place in the insurgent provisional government is very unlike him who holds the first. Alexander H. Stephens was born in Georgia in 1812, of parents in very humble life. Deprived, alike by the poverty of his family and the polity of his state, of the means of obtaining that grammar-school education which no child in the free states need ever be without, his career might have been obscure (it could not have been dishonorable or mean) had not the quickness of his parts attracted the attention of observant friends, who kindly supported him at school and at college, and during the first struggles of a professional career. He was admitted to the bar, and soon fully justified the judgment of his benefactors. It was not many years before he was able to gratify that love of home which distinguishes the English race no less in America than in Great Britain, and repurchased the small plantation of two hundred and fifty acres on which he was born, and which had necessarily been sold on his father's death. The possessor of such a freehold as Mr. Stephens's father had owned, in almost any other country than the slave states of America, would not have been without the means of sending his boy to school; but there, the children of men who, without capital either in money or in slaves, till so comparatively small a tract, wander about barefooted and bareheaded, and are given up to low associations. From 1837 to 1842 Mr. Stephens was a member of the Georgia Legislature, and in 1848 he was elected to the House of Representatives as a candidate of the old Whig party; but when that party, shaken to its already undermined foundation by the early throes of the convulsion which was to upheave the nation, fell into ruin, he took refuge in the Union wing of Southern Democracy. Of feeble frame, wasted by disease, and with a voice like the shrill pipe of an adolescent lad, which, indeed, he almost seemed to be, he yet soon attained distinction in Congress as a sound thinker, a skillful and eloquent debater, and a clear-headed, hard-working committee-man. His character, both as a politician and a man, is above reproach: the purity of his motives has never been impeached by friend or foe. It was as a lawyer, a legislator, and an orator that he won his reputation. He has no executive ability, or power to lead men into action. The cast of his mind is deliberative and argumentative. As we have already seen, he resisted secession to the very last; but when his state, or the majority of its residents, passed an Ordinance of Secession, he submitted; and, bound hand and foot by the doctrine of state sovereignty, was delivered over into the hands of the very faction whom he had so ably and so courageously opposed. They

<sup>3</sup> See his letter to the *Washington Union*, and the just animadversions upon it in the *London Times* of July 13th, 1849.



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

*Constitution of the Confederate States.*

The Preamble reads as follows:

"We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these states, ordain and establish this Constitution for the provisional government of the same, to continue one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent constitution or confederation between the said states shall be put in operation, whichever shall first occur."

The seventh section, first article, is as follows:

"The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slaveholding states of the United States is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same."

Article second: "Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any state not a member of this confederacy."

Article fourth of the third clause of the second section says:

"A slave in one state escaping to another shall be delivered up, on the claim of the party to whom said slave may belong, by the executive authority of the state in which such slave may be found; and in case of any abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of the slave, and all costs and expenses, shall be made to the party by the state in which such abduction or rescue shall take place."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

*Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, Friends and Fellow-Citizens:*  
Called to the difficult and responsible station of chief executive of the provisional government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned me with a humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people. Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent government to take the place of this, and which, by its greater moral and physical power, will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office to which I have been chosen with the hope that the beginning of our career as a confederacy may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and which, with the blessing of Providence, we intend to maintain.

Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established. The declared compact of the Union, from which we have withdrawn, was to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and when, in the judgment of the sovereign states now composing this confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the

made him vice-president, and he did not feel at liberty to resist their will. By the election of these two men, the insurgent leaders appealed directly to both classes of the people whose fortunes they had taken into their hands. The election of Jefferson Davis satisfied entirely the fire-eaters and uncompromising secessionists; and that of Mr. Stephens attracted to the new government the men of moderate views, who were still attached to the Union. Each man, too, was put into his proper place: the former where his varied experience of life, his military knowledge, and his executive ability would be called into play; the latter into a nominally executive office of all but the highest rank, but where his duties were really to preside over the deliberations of a legislative body. Soon after his elevation to this office he delivered a speech which was even more remarkable than that in which he endeavored to stay the movement toward secession, and to which there will be occasion to refer hereafter. Could reason, sanctioned by the character and upborne by the influence of a blameless and beloved man, have checked the madness of secession, Mr. Stephens's first effort would have checked it; but that proving impossible, he lent the same mental gifts and the same personal beauty of character to the support and adornment of a cause which he had not at heart.

With regard to a Constitution, the labors of the Convention were light and short: they adopted the Constitution of the United States with a very few variations. Of these, two only—the admission of absolute state sovereignty, involving the formation of the new government by states and not by the whole people, and the recognition of slavery as normal throughout the confederation—were the only radical differences between the new Constitution and that from which its framers had revolted.<sup>4</sup> And as to the last, it worked no practical change, because the absolute inviolability of slavery, as of every other local institution not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, was secured by that instrument itself. Thus their very organic law became a witness forever against those men who had undertaken the destruction of that which the vice-president of their confederation himself called "the most beneficent government the world ever saw." It showed that the reason of their rebellion was, not that they were in danger of losing any political right or personal privilege, not that they were in danger of becoming slaves, or even that their slaves were in danger of becoming free men, but merely that the interest of slavery had ceased to be dominant in the republic. Unanimity of feeling and unity of action marked the proceedings of this Convention, and of the government which was formed by it, though not of the people of whose destinies it had assumed control. But the government none the less exhibited immediately that promptness and decision which had marked

the movements of the insurgent leaders from the very first. On the 18th of February Jefferson Davis was inaugurated provisional president;<sup>5</sup>

government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion of its exercise they, as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial, enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit.

The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the states, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the Bills of Rights of the states subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign states here represented proceeded to form this confederacy; and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each state its government has remained. The rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard, on our part, of our just obligations, or any failure to perform every constitutional duty, moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defense which soon their security may require.

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest, and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the Northeastern states of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest would invite good-will and kind offices. If, however, passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those states, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and maintain by the final arbitrament of the sword the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth.

We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern states. We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied

and by the 20th he had formed his cabinet, in which Mr. Toombs had the Department of State, Mr. Memminger that of the Treasury, and Mr. Pope Walker that of War. Thus, in three months and two weeks from the election in which the people of these seven states had taken part, they had been hurried into secession, had been provided, by the summary process of seizure, with fifteen forts, an immense amount of arms and ammunition, large sums of money and several armed vessels, had drilled thousands of troops, had a Constitution and a provisional government bestowed upon them, which government had put its administrative machinery in working order. In fact, nearly all these things were ready at their hand; they had only, as individuals, as states, or through a "common agency," to take them. An insurrection under like favorable circumstances the world never saw before.

The insurgent government found itself, however, not only jealously regarded by some of the most important slave states, but with a large and outspoken opposition in some of the very states by which it had been formed. From the small state of Delaware little aid could have been expected, and hope of that little was entirely given up on account of that state's unqualified devotion to the republic. Maryland and Kentucky were loyal by very large majorities. The former was under loyal rule; and, although the governor of the latter (Magoffin) was a secessionist, his hands were so tied by his constituents that he could not yet give any aid to the insurgent cause. Attempts to force Tennessee into rebellion had failed; and in the eastern part of the state the whole population was devoted to the Union. Of the people of Missouri a large majority also were unwavering in their allegiance to the Constitution and the flag. Virginia was busying herself to bring about a compromise and a restoration of the power of the government by amendments to the Constitution, and to that end she made propositions to South Carolina, who spurned them in a series of resolutions, one of which was, "That the separation of South Carolina from the federal Union was final, and she has no farther interest in the Constitution of the United States." In South Carolina there appeared to be almost an entire unanimity of feeling. There were many who were still loyal, but they comparatively were so few in number that they were quite overborne and practically extinguished. Only one man of them felt that his position warranted him in speaking out his loyalty. The name of John S. Pettigru, a venerable and much-esteemed resident of Charleston, where he gracefully occupied the highest social position, will always be held in honor as the one faithful among the many faithless to the republic in that city. The rector of the Episcopal church at which he was an attendant having, after the act of secession, omitted the President of the United States from the Collect for rulers and all in authority, Mr. Pettigru rose and left the church, thus silently protesting in the face of the congregation against the omission. It is said that only the veneration in which he was held secured him impunity in this opposition to the seceding party; but it is much to be deplored that all who were like-minded with him throughout the slave states were not, like him, bold and constant in their assertion of their loyalty and their love for the republic. The course of events would thereby have been greatly changed. But in other states of the new confederacy there was not only devotion to the Union, but speech and action in its support. When, after the Louisiana Convention had passed the Ordinance of Secession, her senators, John Slidell and Judah P. Benjamin, withdrew from Congress with insult and defiance on their lips, one of her delegates to the House of Representatives, John E. Bouligny, declared in his place that he would not withdraw, and that he would live by and die for the flag under which he was born. In Frankfort, Alabama, the state in which was the capital of the rebel confederacy, a meeting was held at which not only was a resolution passed sustaining the delegates of that district in their refusal to sign the Ordinance of Secession, but it was declared that secession was "inexpedient and unnecessary," that those present were "opposed to it in any form," and that "the refusal to submit the so-called Secession Ordinance to the decision of the people was an outrage upon their rights and liberty, and manifested a spirit of assumption, unfairness, and dictatorship." And, finally, it was resolved, that if the congressional nominee of those who took part in these proceedings were elected, he should represent them "in the United States Congress, and not in the Congress of this so-called 'Southern Confederacy.'"<sup>6</sup> In Georgia itself, and in the very capital of the state, a leading journal, assuming, of course, to speak strongly in

the Southern interest, openly opposed the union of the fortunes of the state to "a confederacy of disorganizing charlatans" and "chimerical schemers;" admitted that the greatest danger to the new confederacy was threatened, not from the North, but from its own people; and warned its readers that indications were daily growing stronger that "organized, if not armed opposition to the new order of things might arise in states or parts of Southern states not vitally interested in the slavery question."<sup>7</sup> Other manifestations of the same kind appeared in various quarters of the confederacy; and on the floor of Congress, in both houses, many members, chiefly from Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, uttered boldly their devotion to the fortunes of the republic. But in the Legislature of North Carolina, where no Ordinance of Secession had yet been passed, and not even a convention called, a most significant resolution was unanimously adopted. It was declared that if reconciliation failed, North Carolina would go with the other slave states. This was a hardly needed indication of the line of policy to be pursued by the insurgent leaders, if they would strengthen their confederation by the accession of all the slave states. So, while within their own states intimidation, intrigue, social exclusion, and all possible moral and physical forces were brought to bear with increased urgency upon those who opposed secession, a belligerent attitude was at once assumed toward the government of the United States, in order, as we shall see, to make reconciliation speedily appear impossible, that thus the movement of the halting Northern slave states toward secession might be quickened. Enticements of a peculiar kind were also spread before the people of those states. The importation of negro slaves, except from the slaveholding states in the Union, was forbidden in the Constitution, which also, in the next section, gave the Confederate Congress power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any state not a member of the confederacy. Thus foreign prejudices were conciliated by the forbidding of the African slave-trade, and the old market was still offered to Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, for the slaves they bred; while, at the same time, the power to exclude any one of them from that market, unless they joined the confederacy, was held up in terror over them. The rebel Congress also immediately passed an act declaring the navigation of the Mississippi free. This was addressed to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, and to the free states upon the great river and the Ohio, in the hope of detaching their interest from that of the Eastern and Middle states, and thus weakening the power of the government at Washington.

Meantime, arming, and the seizing of arms, and the betrayal of forts and armed vessels, went on almost as matters of course in the seceded states, and in some of those which had not seceded. On the 8th of February the United States Arsenal at Little Rock, containing 9000 muskets, 40 cannon, and a large supply of ammunition, was seized in the name of the people of Arkansas, who had not yet declared their separation from the Union. In Texas a more important surrender was accompanied by circumstances much more disgraceful to all concerned in it, and to the cause in the interest of which it was made. The troops in that state were under the command of Brigadier General David E. Twiggs, to whose custody were also committed the forts and all the military property of the United States in that department. General Twiggs had served creditably in Mexico, but with no particular distinction, and had attained his rank in the regular course of promotion. He was supposed to be at least a man of personal honor and integrity; but, availing himself of his position, and the trust which had been placed in him, he, not being threatened by an overwhelming force, delivered all the army posts under his command, together with all the other property in his keeping, into the hands of the rebellious authorities of Texas. Property worth over a million and a half of dollars, exclusive of the forts and public buildings, for which he was responsible as a man, aside from his military oath, was by his treachery lost to the United States. He, of course, expected his connection with the army of the United States to cease; but he was not permitted to resign, as many officers had been before him: an order for his ignominious expulsion from the army was issued immediately upon the receipt of proper information by the government at Washington. But he did not find all his subordinates ready to obey the orders by which he betrayed his trust. Captain Hill, who was in command of Fort Brown, refused to surrender that post; and made preparations to defend it; but, finally, as it appeared that it could not be held by the force under his com-

us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us with firm resolve to appeal to arms, and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause.

As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide a speedy and efficient organization of the branches of the executive department having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and postal service. For purposes of defense the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon their militia; but it is deemed advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed, disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have, doubtless, engaged the attention of Congress.

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well known intent, freed from sectional conflicts, which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that the states from which we have recently parted may seek to unite their fortunes to ours, under the government which we have instituted. For this your Constitution makes adequate provision, but beyond this, if I mistake not, the judgment and will of the people are, that union with the states from which they have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the confederacy, it is requisite there should be so much homogeneity that the welfare of every portion would be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by a desire to preserve our own rights and to promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check, the cultivation of our fields progresses as heretofore, and even should we be involved in war there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of producer and consumer can only be intercepted by an exterior force which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets, a course of conduct which would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad.

Should reason guide the action of the government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern states included, could not be dictated by even a stronger desire to inflict injury upon us; but if it be otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the mean time there will remain to us, besides the ordinary remedies before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

Experience in public stations of a subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred has taught me that care, and toil, and disappointments are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate; but you shall not find in me either want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me the highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction, one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duties required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts, but not the system of our government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning. Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of that instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope, by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectation, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good-will and confidence which will welcome my entrance into office.

It is joyous in the midst of perilous times to look around upon a people united in heart, when one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole, where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, right, liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they can not long prevent the progress of a movement sanctioned by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by His blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity; and with a continuance of His favor ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, to prosperity.

<sup>6</sup> Report in the *North Alabamian*, Tusculumbia.

<sup>7</sup> *Augusta Sentinel*.



DAVID E. TWISS.

mand, he yielded it in a manner entirely honorable to himself both as a man and a soldier. The promptness and direct movement toward success which marked the rebel administration of affairs was shown in regard to the United States soldiers thus left without orders and without barracks in Texas. Mr. Davis, hardly well seated in a presidential chair hardly set up, wrote through his Secretary of War to the Texas Convention that these soldiers should be allowed a reasonable time to leave the territory of the confederacy (of which, it should be observed, Texas was not yet a member, as her Ordinance of Secession was only to go into effect on the 2d of March, after confirmation by the people); but that, should the United States government refuse to withdraw them, "all the powers of the Southern confederacy should be used to expel them."

But it was in another quarter, and under the administration of another president of the United States that Mr. Davis was first to use the powers of his confederacy to expel the troops and the flag of the United States from the borders of a seceded state. The beleaguered, but not yet completely invested fort in Charleston Harbor was still the cynosure of all eyes. Mr. Buchanan did nothing, and was plainly determined to do nothing for its relief; deeming, apparently, the nation's honor and his own abundantly satisfied if he could slink away from Washington while Major Anderson's flag was flying. Major Anderson took care that he should have that satisfaction. But a man was on his way to the capital, all unconscious that his way was sore beset, who could not be so easily contented.

On the 13th of February, in presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, assembled in the chamber of the latter body, John C. Breckinridge, Vice-president of the United States, after opening and reading before them the certificates of election from all the states of the Union, declared that Abraham Lincoln had been duly elected President, and Hannibal Hamlin Vice-president of the United States for the term beginning

March 4th, 1861. Probably no political event ever occurred more significant and peculiar in all its circumstances. The unpracticed politician, and, till then, almost unknown man, who was thus declared the constitutionally elected chief magistrate of the republic, had been raised to that high office by a party which owed its very existence to the opposition awakened by a measure which had been brought forward by his principal opponent as his own stepping-stone to the highest position in the country. By his Kansas Bill Mr. Douglas made Mr. Lincoln President of the United States. The man also who, in the performance of his duty, declared him constitutionally elected, was his next most powerful opponent, as the candidate and representative of a faction who had predetermined to make that election the occasion of breaking in pieces the government of which they had so long had almost absolute control. If Mr. Douglas and Mr. Breckinridge met that day, it must have been as difficult for them as for two Roman augurs to look each other in the face without a smile—a smile no less rueful than subdued.

At this time Mr. Lincoln was in Springfield, Illinois, where his modest and almost humble home had become the shrine of political pilgrimage. He was beset by cabinet-makers, would-be ministers, office-seekers of a lower rank, political meddlers of all kinds, and newsmongers of all grades. Unmasked advice was poured out upon him without stint; and from some quarters came importunate calls for a declaration of the policy of his coming administration. It was thought by many that if he announced a determination not to interfere with slavery, to respect the rights of local law and local custom, and to abide by the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court, the progress of the rebellion would be crippled, if not entirely checked. But these expectations were not well founded. For, as it afterward appeared, such a declaration would have been without effect upon the leaders of secession in the seven states which had declared themselves no longer part of the republic; and the subsequent accession to their force from the remaining slave states was brought about, as we shall see, not by any apprehensions that the new administration would seek to disturb the relations between the negro slaves and their masters, but by a determination to insist upon the extension of slavery, and to defend the preposterous principle of state sovereignty.

Mr. Lincoln issued no declaration, but preferred that his future should be conjectured from his past. He busied himself in preparation for the momentous duties which would be laid upon him in the first hour after he had sworn as President to "defend the Constitution of the United States." Meanwhile steps were taken with the desperate intention of excluding him from the presidential chair, at the cost,

if necessary, of his life and the lives of many others. As the 4th of March approached, some of the most violent of the secessionists (who swarmed in all the principal cities of the North) said, menacingly, that he would never be inaugurated; and bets were offered and accepted that he would never be in power at Washington:—accepted freely; for these threats were looked upon as empty bluster, the spiteful words of men accustomed to talk without restraint, and who were now smarting under a political defeat, and irritated by a prospective loss of power and patronage. They were, in fact, entirely disregarded, because it was not supposed for a moment that people who had declared that they had no connection with the government at Washington, and no interest in it, would think of attacking a place in which they were deprived of no rights, and from which they were not threatened. As to any other mode of preventing the inauguration, none could be thought of in the free states; and the slaveholders sojourning at the North, when asked how Mr. Lincoln could be deterred from assuming the office to which he had been elected, made no definite answer. They knew more than their querists dreamed they did; and the rebellion, still regarded as a passing political turmoil by the larger part of the people at the North, had already assumed a desperate phase and a bloody purpose, almost beyond the comprehension of the peace-loving, law-abiding people against whose constitutional rights and political interests it was directed. From the beginning, the leaders and principal actors in the rebellion added to the great advantages gained by base and wide-spread treachery, that of an entire readiness, if not a foregone determination, to do, with an utter recklessness of all consequences, except their own success, that which the government and the loyal people did not suppose that they would venture to do, or even think of doing. No one save themselves suspected how remorselessly they were in earnest.

But, although such was the general misapprehension of the spirit and the purposes of the rebellion, some men were sufficiently alarmed to take measures of precaution. The chairman of a railway company, over whose road the President elect was sure to pass, was waited upon by a lady who had

traveled through much of the South on a mission of mercy, and who told him that in the course of her journeys she had seen at least twenty thousand men under arms, and that she had become convinced that there was a conspiracy to seize upon Washington and prevent Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. Listened to with incredulity at first, in spite of the respect which her character and experience demanded, her anxiety finally produced such an impression upon the gentleman that he sent a proper messenger to Lieutenant General Scott to put him upon his guard, yet was inclined to apologize for calling his attention to such vague and extravagant apprehensions. What was his surprise to learn in reply from General Scott that he had for some time been quite sure of the existence of some such conspiracy; that he had made the proper representations to President Buchanan and to others, but that he was listened to with incredulity, and was absolutely powerless. Upon this, measures were at once taken to ferret out the truth. Detectives were employed, and placed upon the line of the railway in question near Baltimore and Washington. They soon discovered that the soldier's fears, no less than the lady's, were more than justified. They found volunteer military companies drilling at various points along the road, which they soon saw were composed entirely of men of the extreme slavery-secession faction, although they professed to be strong Union men. To these companies they joined themselves in the assumed character of Southern and Southwestern men of like principles and purposes, and then learned that the object of their formation was the proffer of their services to the directors of the railway as an escort to Mr. Lincoln at some convenient point of the road, where, having secured entire control of it for a sufficient time, they would kill Mr. Lincoln, and, if necessary, the whole party which accompanied him; they being determined and prepared to destroy, at some bridge or other fit place, the whole train in which he was a passenger, should that be needful to the attainment of their object. Similar investigations set on foot in Baltimore, by other persons whose suspicions had been excited, revealed a similar conspiracy in that city. The detectives were engaged three weeks in obtaining a full revelation of the designs of the plotters there. But they discovered, and themselves became seemingly a part of, a body of men well organized with the fell purpose that if the President elect survived to enter Baltimore, he should not leave it alive. They were to mingle with the shouting crowd which would be sure to surround his carriage on his arrival, to prolong and increase the excitement, and, in the confusion, to thrust themselves forward as overeager friends, and thus get near enough to put him surely to death with pistols and hand-grenades. In the first moments of surprise and alarm they could easily escape, and a vessel was to be ready to transport them immediately to safety within the limits of the confederacy in whose interests, if not by whose procurement, the diabolical scheme was concocted. Of course, the immediate actors in this intended slaughter were of the baser sort; but it was discovered that men of wealth, and social position, and political influence countenanced and supported it. The plot was a good one, and, owing to the informal, democratic, and over-confident habits of the country, easy of execution, had it not been detected.

Mr. Lincoln, as unsuspecting as every one of his constituents who was not fully informed, left Springfield on the 11th of February for Washington; and, after the inevitable series of congratulations and speech-makings on the route, arrived at Philadelphia on the 21st of the month. There he first learned the designs upon his life from the detective who had been principally instrumental in discovering them in Baltimore. Late in the evening of the same day a special messenger from General Scott and Mr. Seward—Mr. Seward's son—roused him from his bed with an earnest warning. Deeply impressed as Mr. Lincoln was by such monitions, received through such channels, he yet refused to abandon an engagement to be present at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on the morning of the next day—Washington's birthday—and one to meet the Legislature of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg in the afternoon; but, these fulfilled, he consented to abandon his original plan, and go immediately and privately to Washington. The day passed off without any incident worthy of remark, except that some attention was attracted by Mr. Lincoln's declaration in his speech at Independence Hall that, rather than abandon the principles of the Declaration of Independence, he would be "assassinated upon that spot." But this was regarded merely as a strong and not very happily phrased asseveration. The interview at Harrisburg with the Legislature of Pennsylvania being over, Mr. Lincoln placed himself in the hands of his friends, and retired to his hotel, assuming, by advice, an air of extreme fatigue, which his constant traveling and speaking made very natural. At about 6 o'clock in the evening he was conveyed in a close carriage to a special train, which started instantly for Philadelphia, and at the same time all the telegraph wires leading from the city were cut. With him the president of the road sent a trusty and intelligent confidential agent known as "George," whose authority was recognized by all the servants of the company, and who bore with him a large package of "dispatches," about which he seemed very anxious, and which was the alleged reason of sending the special train. At Philadelphia the party took the regular train, which they found waiting, and into which they quietly stepped just as it was starting. The detective was on the train, but "George" still considered himself in charge, and was astounded and alarmed soon after the train was under way by being accosted reproachfully by the engine-driver for not telling him that "Lincoln was on board." George instantly saw that his only way was to trust his friend, and replied, "Yes, he is on board." "Well," said the other, with a look of serious apprehension and determination, "now we have him, we must put him through." His own observation had led him to suspect the designs of the people along the road, and he felt that he carried Cæsar and his fortunes. Oddly enough, however, the man whom he supposed to

be the President elect was not he, but quite another person. The train passed swiftly through the perils prepared for the morrow, and Mr. Lincoln arrived at Washington about daybreak on the 23d of February. The telegraph wires had been united again, and George sent back the message, "The dispatches have arrived, and are safely delivered."<sup>8</sup>

Although the knowledge of this conspiracy had been confined to those who were concerned in it and those who had detected it, the fact that Maryland was the only slave state through which Mr. Lincoln was obliged to pass on his way to Washington, and the well-known riotous character of the baser part of the people of Baltimore, had made his reception in that city a subject of special interest. The Republicans of the place were counseled by the authorities to abandon their intention of receiving Mr. Lincoln with the honors due to a President elect, which they were told "would certainly produce a disturbance of the most violent and dangerous character to the President and all who were with him." They prudently followed the advice. On the evening of the 22d a Baltimore newspaper published an article calculated to produce an attack on Mr. Lincoln, who was to arrive there on the 23d, and the marshal of the city placed an unusually large body of the police under orders, to be used both as an escort and a general force of observation and restraint. When, therefore, on the day of his expected arrival at that city, it was announced that he was already in the national capital, which he had reached in privacy, in darkness, almost by flight, there was throughout the country a sensation of the liveliest surprise; surprise which was changed to shame and profound humiliation when the cause of this surreptitious entry of the seat of government was revealed. Except on the part of those who felt it their duty to sustain the successful candidate of the Republican party at all hazards, there was a universal and indignant expression of unbelief, and the affair became immediately the subject of a rueful kind of ridicule. The story was widely regarded, and especially in Baltimore and at the South, as trumped up for political effect, and the event for a time degraded Mr. Lincoln in the people's eyes. They refused to accept the alleged conspiracy against his life as any excuse for the ignominious secrecy with which he, the future chief magistrate of the country, made his way through one of its principal cities. They scouted the notion that any of their countrymen could seek to repair a political defeat by assassination. They resented the accusation brought against these Baltimore desperadoes as a national insult. The Anglo-Saxon race, they said, are not assassins; least of all are they so in the United States of America. The affair elicited on almost all sides mingled expressions of incredulity, bitterness, and ridicule. From the point of view of the people of the free states, this judgment was justified, and this feeling was correct. It may be safely said that among their native-born population the formation of such a conspiracy would have been morally impossible. But they forgot to take into account, as elements of their judgment, the debasing and brutalizing influences of slavery as an institution; they did not stop to think of the pitiless infliction of torture and death upon rebellious slaves throughout the South, and of the bloody duels and street-brawls between "gentlemen" so constantly occurring there; they forgot for the moment that the bowie-knife was strictly a slave-state weapon, and that of the bloody assaults and murders committed within their own borders by natives of the United States, the large majority were committed by men born and bred under the malign influence of the worst form of slavery.<sup>9</sup> And last, and perhaps most important omission, they had not yet even begun to conceive that the leaders of this insurrection, set on foot among a people so accustomed to scenes of blood, and in whom a spirit of arrogant domination was bred by the very constitution of their society, were determined, with the determination of the desperate, to carry their point at every hazard. It was long, indeed, before this conviction came effectually home to them.

The excitement caused by this disgraceful occurrence, however, soon gave place to profounder, if less vivid, emotions. On the 28th, the Plan of Adjustment adopted by the Peace Congress was sent to the Senate and the House, where they were followed, on the next day, by the report of the Committee of Thirty-three. It at once became apparent that they would not command the support either of Congress or the mass of the non-slaveholding people, and that, consequently, all hopes of harmony and peace which had been based upon them must be abandoned. Looking back upon these propositions, made after such long consultation among men who were practiced politicians, if not sagacious statesmen, we can but wonder at the failure which they exhibit to comprehend the revolutionary nature of the crisis. That of the Committee of Thirty-three was in the form of a brief amendment to the Constitution, which provided that no amendment should be made to that instrument which would give Congress power over the domestic institutions of any state. But as this was a mere solemn confirmation of a political right which no man denied, or ever had denied, to any or to all the states, it was therefore of no more consequence than the paper on which it was written.<sup>10</sup> The proposals of the Peace Congress were embodied in seven sections, of

<sup>8</sup> Statement of Mr. Thurlow Weed in the *Albany Evening Journal*, and private account of Mr. S. M. Felton, president of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railway Company.

<sup>9</sup> Of the hundreds of cases which I might cite in support of this position, one in which there was no bloodshed seems to me very characteristic. A gentleman well known to me, being in the principal city of a slave state in 1861, was sitting upon the piazza of the best hotel in the place. Near him sat a man, in a dreamy, contemplative mood, having his back turned to the window of a barber's shop which opened with vertical sashes to the floor of the piazza. A light passing gust blew one of these sashes to, when instantly this man sprang up, and, drawing a revolver, fired five shots directly through the window into the barber's shop. Fortunately there were few persons in the shop, and he hit neither of them. But it is significant that he thought, of course, that the noise he heard was a pistol-shot; and, of course, that some person had attempted to shoot him "on sight;" and that, of course, he had a revolver in his pocket, which he drew, of course, and fired recklessly in the direction of the sound which startled him.

<sup>10</sup> "No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give Congress power to abolish or interfere, within any state, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or servitude by the laws of said state."





ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

which the first virtually re-established the Missouri Compromise; the second prohibited the acquirement of any territory by the United States "without the concurrence of a majority of all the senators from the states which allow involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the senators from the states which prohibit that relation;" and the third denied forever to Congress the pow-

*Plan of Adjustment adopted by the Peace Congress.*

SEC. 1. In all the present territory of the United States north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory south of that line, the status of persons held to service or labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed. Nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the Territorial Legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the states of this Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation. But the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the federal courts, according to the course of the common law. When any Territory, north or south of said line, with such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, 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 involuntary servitude, as the Constitution of such state may provide.

SEC. 2. No territory shall be acquired by the United States, except by discovery, and for naval and commercial stations, depôts, and transit routes, without the concurrence of a majority of all the senators from the states which allow involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the senators from the states which prohibit that relation; nor shall territory be acquired by treaty, unless the votes of a majority of the senators from each class of states hereinbefore mentioned be cast as a part of the two-third majority necessary to the ratification of such treaty.

SEC. 3. Neither the Constitution nor any amendment thereto shall be construed to give Congress power to regulate, abolish, or control, within any state or territory of the United States, the relation established or recognized by the laws thereof touching persons bound to labor or involuntary service in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland, and without the consent of the owners, or making the owners who do not consent just compensation; nor the power to interfere with or prohibit representatives and others from bringing with them to the city of Washington, retaining, and taking away persons so bound to labor or service; nor the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States within those states and territories where the same is established or recognized; nor the power to prohibit the removal or transportation of persons held to labor or involuntary service in any state or territory of the United States to any other state or territory thereof where it is established or recognized by law or usage; and the right, during transportation by sea or river, of touching at ports, shores, and landings, and of landing in case of distress, but not for sale or traffic, shall exist; nor shall Congress have power to authorize any higher rate of taxation on persons held to labor or service than on land. The bringing into the District of Columbia of persons held to labor or service for sale, or placing them in depôts to be afterward transferred to other places for sale as merchandise, is prohibited, and the right of transit through any state or territory against its dissent is prohibited.

SEC. 4. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth Article of the Constitution shall not be construed to prevent any of the states, by appropriate legislation, and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the person to whom such service or labor is due.

er to regulate, abolish, or control slavery in any state or territory of the United States, or in the District of Columbia, or any other place belonging to the United States; to prohibit the bringing of slaves into the District, or the transfer of them from one part of the country to another. The remaining sections forever prohibited the slave-trade, secured a more stringent enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, and declared that the foregoing sections should never be amended or abolished without the consent of all the states.<sup>1</sup> Except in the restoration of the line of the Missouri Compromise, this plan placed the republic, bound hand and foot, in the power of slavery. It could not but fail miserably, as it did. The Republicans were against it in a body; and, indeed, they opposed any adjustment other than that which should be effected by a Constitutional Convention of the people of the United States, which Congress had no power to convoke. It was plain that compromise was at an end, and that the government must sustain itself under existing conditions, or else be utterly destroyed.

Meantime the 4th of March came on apace; and in spite of their betting and their threatening, the secessionists on that day saw Mr. Lincoln duly invested with the office to which their own candidate in the contest had declared him constitutionally elected. The provision which General Scott had been able to make for the preservation of order within the District of Columbia, in spite of the small force at his disposal for that purpose, was sufficient to deter any attempt which evil-disposed persons, without as well as within its boundaries, were then prepared for. On the appointed day Mr. Lincoln went in procession to the Capitol, in company with President Buchanan, and, after visiting the Senate-chamber, proceeded to the east front of the

building, where, in the open air, in presence of both houses of Congress, the foreign ministers, and a vast concourse of people, he delivered his inaugural address,<sup>2</sup> and took the oath of office at the hands of Chief Justice Taney.

President Lincoln's inaugural address was scanned with even more anx-

SEC. 5. The foreign slave-trade is hereby forever prohibited; and it shall be the duty of Congress to pass laws to prevent the importation of slaves, coolies, or persons held to service or labor, into the United States and the Territories from places beyond the limits thereof.

SEC. 6. The first, third, and fifth sections, together with this section six of these amendments, and the third paragraph of the second section of the first Article of the Constitution, and the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth Article thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the states.

SEC. 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitives from labor, in all cases where the marshal, or other officer whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation from mobs or riotous assemblages, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of such fugitive. Congress shall provide by law for securing to the citizens of each state the privileges and immunities of the several states.

*Inaugural Address of President Lincoln.*

*Fellow-citizens of the United States:*

In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. 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 public 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. Those who nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, 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 crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too,

icty than the message with which Mr. Buchanan, months before, had so astonished and dissatisfied all men, except the seceders at home and abroad. Mr. Lincoln, on the contrary, satisfied all but the same unconditional secessionists, whom no duly qualified President of the United States could content, except at the cost of treachery. That he expressly disavowed the intention of interfering with slavery, or any other local institution, in the states where it then existed, and denied his right of such interference; that he declared that the Fugitive Slave Law, like all other constitutional laws, should be enforced; that he avowed respect for the constitutional rights of all parts of the Union, and the intention to pursue a peaceful course in his administration—this was really of no moment; for he also declared that no state, upon its own mere motion, could lawfully go out of the Union; that Ordinances of Secession were void; that resistance to the authority of the United States was insurrection; and that his official power should be used to “hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government.” To the leaders of the secession party, and their active, determined supporters,

that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the states when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

“No person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law.

All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause “shall be delivered up,” their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that “the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states?”

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unappealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a president under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties.

A disruption of the federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these states is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of states in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen states expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778; and, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one, or by a part only of the states, be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any state or states against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the states. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this, there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons, in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak, before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this.

Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly-written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly-written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution: it certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case.

All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can antic-

ipately this message was a summons to submission, with the alternative of war. It was susceptible of no other construction. And yet so strangely did a large part, it would seem the greater part, of the loyal people throughout the country mistake the temper and the deliberate purpose of those who were directing the secession movement, that they regarded the address as significant of a peaceful restoration of the Union. This was especially the case with those members of the Democratic party in whom party considerations had not entirely extinguished love of country, and a reverence for the Constitution and the laws. Those who spoke for these men cast aside party considerations at once, and sustained the President in the position which he had taken. They fondly supposed that the members of their party at the South would do the same. How much they overrated the influence of patriotism and a devotion to the republic among the leading slaveholders, how incorrectly they estimated the relative value of slavery and the existence of the republic in the eyes of those men, the sequel sadly showed.

President Lincoln's address made little change in the course of events

pate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by state authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the states to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a majority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we can not separate—we can not remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the federal government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of states, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the states. The people themselves, also, can do this if they choose, but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to “preserve, protect, and defend” it. I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

toward the point to which they were now surely tending, but that little was a quickening of their progress and an increase of their force. Its plump denial of the right of secession, and its avowal of a determination to possess the national mints, arsenals, and military posts, put those in authority in the states which had passed Ordinances of Secession, and appropriated the property of the republic to their own use, upon their mettle; while its peaceful professions did nothing to mitigate to the advocates of state sovereignty, in the slave states which had not seceded, its assertion of the supreme and absolute authority of the central government in all national affairs. In the free states, and in the slave states still under loyal control, it made the idea of an armed struggle for the support of the government more familiar; and, by awakening the generous glow of patriotism, it softened and sundered the rigid bonds by which the Democratic party, the only well-organized and well-disciplined body in the country, had been for more than a generation so strongly bound together.

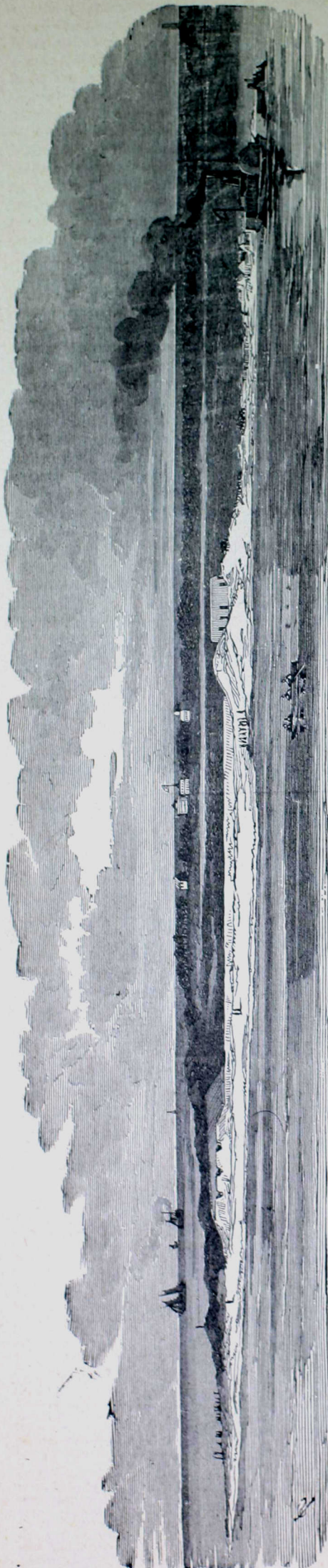
At the South the leaders allowed the people little time for such superfluous business as the consideration of a speech which merely showed that there was no ground of apprehension that their interests would suffer under the new administration of the United States government. They drove them sharply up to the work of rebellion. Military preparation and hostile action against the government had gone on vigorously under state authority during the three months preceding Mr. Lincoln's inauguration; and hardly had that event taken place when the confederate president ordered General Beauregard to Charleston to take command of the forces which had been assembled, and the works which had been erected there, for the investment of Fort Sumter. On the 9th of March the confederate Congress passed an act for the establishment and organization of an army. On the 14th the Legislature of Florida passed an act defining treason, and declaring that, in the event of a collision between the troops of the United States and those of Florida, the holding office under the government of the former by any resident of the latter should be punished with death! Supplies were cut off from the Gulf fleet and from Fort Pickens—an important post, the preservation of which to the government will form an interesting episode in the early part of our narrative. The various states under control of the confederate government ratified the Constitution adopted at Montgomery, and were called upon to furnish their quota of troops for the defense of the insurgent cause. The whole number called for was less than twenty thousand, and these, from a population of five millions, an unusually large proportion of whom were shifting adventurers or local desperadoes, and accustomed to the use of arms upon each other, were soon forthcoming. In certain places the young men of the more respectable and cultivated classes also formed themselves into military companies, and volunteered their services in the insurgent army. The South seemed to be animated with a lively and widespread enthusiasm for the confederate cause. For those whose hearts were in it were outspoken, active, and self-asserting; while those who preserved their allegiance to the old Constitution, their loyalty to the old flag, and their love for the republic, were, with comparatively few exceptions, silent and reserved. To officer the troops mustered under this levy there were more than enough of men well qualified. From the beginning of the commotion it was manifest that many officers of the United States army, professionally educated, and supported during their education by the republic, would, at the bidding of state politicians, disown the flag which they had sworn to defend, and turn their swords against the mother who had cherished them. The event surpassed anticipation. As state after state passed the Ordinance of Secession, officers of the army and navy, West Point cadets, and midshipmen, resigned in rapid succession, under the convenient plea that they were bound to follow the fortunes of their "sovereign" state. So overwhelmed were their minds by this shallow doctrine, or by the deep purpose which it was used to veil, that they did not see that under it their allegiance shifted with their residence, and could be moved about the country from one "sovereignty" to another as easily as a peddler moves his pack. Not one in five of them was born and bred in the state to whose fortunes he chose to regard himself as bound; and some of them, as we shall see, were (like thousands, if not tens of thousands, of the men they were to lead to battle against the flag of the republic) natives of free states. So mildly did the government of the United States use its powers, even in this extremity, that the resignations of these, its sworn defenders, who deserted it in the hour of its peril, were accepted, and they were allowed to retire with nominal honor. In this manner more than one hundred of the officers of the army and navy threw up their commissions, and offered their swords to the insurgent cause before the 4th of March. Let us, however, though we can not justify or even excuse this sad and shameful defection, consider fairly all the circumstances which palliated it. With few exceptions, all these officers had been imbued from their boyhood with the doctrine of state sovereignty. They had heard it insisted upon by the politicians of their part of the country, in the one-sided domestic discussions of the public assembly and the social circle—the very politicians upon whose recommendation they were appointed to their cadetships and their midshipmen's berths. For John C. Calhoun and the men of his school, who had obtained, partly by intrigue and partly by arrogation, the almost absolute control of the politics of the slave states, astutely seeing that the power of those states as units was a far more formidable weapon to wield against the advance of freedom than the power of the people of those states in mass, made the adoption of this dogma a sine-qua-non to political preferment. That the interest of slavery must either control the republic or destroy it was

for thirty years a religion and an aggressive policy to them, and this monster of state sovereignty was both the fetich of their worship and the bugbear of their threats. When men brought up under such teaching saw the government at Washington pass into the hands of a party which they styled "Abolitionist"—when they saw their own states secede from the Union—when the voice of their elders, the spur of ambition, the hopes of social distinction, and the blandishments of women, all incited them to espouse the cause of the insurgents—and when to all this was added the consciousness that, if they fought under the flag of the republic, they must meet their brothers and their friends in battle, what wonder that so many of them, yielding to all these influences, resigned their commissions, often soothing their consciences, at first, with the self-assurance that they would not take up arms either under the old flag or the new one! Nay, considering how men are influenced by interest, by association, and by antagonism, is it not somewhat surprising that so many of them remained faithful to the flag which, if the doctrines taught by modern politicians of their part of the country were true, was the mere sign of "a common agency?" The greater part of the guilt of their defection must be laid upon the shoulders of the men who for so many years had labored to debauch the patriotism and pervert the judgment of the people of the South. To the men of the free states, on the contrary, loyalty to the republic, one and indivisible, was a sentiment, almost an instinct. They were not taught it any more than they were taught to breathe or to see; they debated it no more than they questioned the certain action of the great laws of nature. They imbibed it with their mother's milk, and it became a part of their very being. They had no peculiar abnormal institution to bias their judgments and debase their sentiments, and both their reason and their feelings united in their patriotism. They knew that their states had local rights which they prized; and they loved those states as a man loves his home, and his neighborhood, and his native town, and whatever is nearest to him; but they looked upon all these only as parts of one great whole. They gloried in the great republic; in its wise and humane principles of government, in its power, its wealth, its beneficent institutions, and its marvelous progress; they rejoiced in the prosperity of all parts of it; and their desire to wipe out the blot of slavery, which was one of the causes of the great rebellion, was due to a generous assumption of responsibility in regard to its existence which in no wise belonged to them. As to their country, they looked upon themselves only as citizens of the great American republic; and they inwardly smiled with pity upon men who went about introducing each other as "of South Carolina" and "of Virginia." It was easier for most of these men to stand by their colors than it was for some of those to abandon them.

Prominent among those who resigned their commissions before the breaking out of hostilities was Major Pierre Gustave Toutant, called Beauregard,



GENERAL BEAUREGARD.



Cummings's Point.

Iron-clad Battery.

Battery from which the "Star of the West" was fired upon.

MORRIS'S ISLAND, AS SEEN FROM FORT SUMTER.

Sand Battery, connected by covered gallery with

whom the confederate president placed in command at Charleston, with the rank of brigadier general in the provisional confederate army. This officer, the son of a Louisiana planter, was born near New Orleans in 1819. As his name indicates, he is of French descent, his grandfather having been a French Royalist refugee. The present writer bought at a book-stall, and has now in his possession, a copy of a History of the Life of Louis XVI. of France, with its terrible events and tragic ending, by a French writer, which was printed in Hamburg in 1802, nine years after that weak, but thoroughly good-hearted monarch died by the guillotine. Upon the portrait frontispiece of this volume is written, in a French hand of the last century, "Pierre Toutant à été heureux jusque a '93"<sup>3</sup>—touching evidence of a mistaken fidelity to the cause of aristocratic oppression, which events have shown has descended with the blood and the name of the exiled Royalist. In 1834, Pierre Toutant, the grandson, whose mother was an Italian woman, left his father's plantation for the Military Academy at West Point. That plantation, it is said, was called Beauregard, and the young cadet, introduced as Pierre Toutant de Beauregard, was mistakenly called by the latter name, which, being a territorial designation, gratified his vanity, and he retained it. He passed through his cadetship with much credit, graduated in 1838, and received his second lieutenant's commission in the First Artillery. Soon transferred to the Engineers, in which corps he was made first lieutenant before the expiration of his second year of service, he accompanied the small column of troops at the head of which General Scott, with a daring as much greater than of Cortez as the superiority of his enemy in arts and arms to that of the half savage and nearly overawed foe encountered by the Spanish conqueror, undertook to penetrate Mexico from its shores to its capital.<sup>4</sup> In this expedition he distinguished himself by gallantry and professional skill. At Contreras and Cherubusco he won a captain's brevet, and a major's at Chapultepec. In the final assault upon the city of Mexico he was wounded at the Belen Gate, and, with Lieutenants Gustavus W. Smith and George B. McClellan—of whom, also, we are to hear anon—received the honor of a special mention in General Scott's dispatches. Camp stories are told of his quick penetration and excellent judgment, and also of his somewhat notable self-reliance; and, although these are probably highly colored, if not exaggerated, there can be no doubt of the more than ordinary capacity and acquirements of Beauregard. At the close of the Mexican war his services were rewarded by the appointment of chief engineer for the building of the Mint and the Custom-house at New Orleans, and also of the important fortifications on the Mississippi below that city. Just before the outbreak of the insurrection, Major Beauregard was appointed by President Buchanan to the important and honorable post of superintendent of the Military Academy at which he received his education. He went to West Point, and nominally entered upon the duties of his new position. But he had been in authority less than a week when an order arrived superseding him. The traditions of West Point are that he spoke and acted as became a loyal citizen and soldier, and especially that he dissuaded the Louisiana cadets from resigning their commissions. But the Secretary of War *ad interim*, Mr. Postmaster Holt, distrusted him because of his Louisiana birth, and unwisely, it would seem, put him in disgrace. At all events, the temptation to a States Rights man to soothe his wounded vanity by yielding to the demands of his "sovereignty" to enter its service proved too tempting for him to resist, and he resigned his commission in the United States army. But it is more than probable that, sooner or later, in any case, he would have taken this step, influenced thereto by the associations of all his life, and by the prominent part taken in the conspiracy for the destruction of the republic by his brother-in-law, ex-Senator John Slidell, of New Orleans. Having arrived at Charleston within a few days of the inauguration of President Lincoln, General Beauregard found much already done toward the investment of Fort Sumter by the active zeal of the insurgents of South Carolina. Not only had Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and Fort Johnson been strengthened, but batteries had been erected at various points which either commanded the water-girdled ramparts from which the flag of the republic still floated, or the approaches by which succor could be carried to its defenders. To the completion and increase of these works, which were already so large as to require six hundred men for their garrisons, General Beauregard immediately devoted all his energy and engineering skill. But we must turn our eyes from Charleston to Washington, where maimed negotiations were halting toward the inevitable issue of civil war.

The provisional government at Montgomery had been in power but a few days when it appointed Mr. John Forsyth, former minister of the United States to Mexico; Mr. Martin J. Crawford, late United States senator from Georgia; and Mr. A. B. Rodman, an ex-Governor of Louisiana, as its commissioners to the government at Washington, for the purpose of opening negotiations upon all questions growing out of the revolutionary movement, which their appointment assumed to have been complete. The cabinet which President Lincoln had formed for the administration of the government to which these commissioners were accredited consisted, first, of William H. Seward, whom all the world, including himself, had expected to be president, if the Republican party were victorious, and who magnanimously accepted from his successful rival the appointment of Secretary of State, and thus gave his country, to the extent of his power, the advantage of his statesmanship and his experience. Next in importance at that time was the Department of War, which had been placed in the hands of Simon Cameron, late United States senator from Pennsylvania, who began life as a printer, and who had accumulated a large fortune. His reputation for integrity, however unjustly, was not without blemish; and Mr. Lincoln, when pressed, before his inauguration, to give him a cabinet office, had made objections on this ground, which his friends would seem to have satisfactorily set aside, without the ability, however, of preventing their recurrence. Mr. Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, was made Secretary of the Navy; an appointment which he owed rather to the influence of powerful friends than to any prominence as a politician or a publicist, or to any reputation as a man of affairs. He had been editor of a Hartford paper, and was a Democrat in the administrations of Van Buren and Polk. The Treasury was placed under the direction of Salmon P. Chase, a nephew of the venerated Bishop Chase, of Ohio and Illinois. A lawyer of eminence in Cincinnati, he had distinguished himself in suits which involved constitutional questions in regard to slavery, in which he always appeared against the slaveholding interest. As candidate of the Free-soil party, he had been elected to the Senate of the United States, and afterward was made Governor of Ohio, in which position his sound and wise views of finance at a critical period had done the commonwealth much service. For his Attorney General Mr. Lincoln had selected Edward Bates, a leading lawyer and politician of Missouri, who had done much service to the Re-

<sup>3</sup> "Pierre Toutant was happy until '93"—the year of Louis XVI.'s death.

<sup>4</sup> Cortez had five hundred Spanish troops, but his Tlascalalan allies were numbered by thousands, and treachery served him better than either his own or the native forces. General Scott entered the country at the head of only fifteen thousand men, and the whole force under General Taylor was less than six thousand. The Mexicans fought with skill and desperate valor. Treachery was enlisted only in the councils of their leader, Santa Anna. And General Scott and his little army bore themselves so magnanimously and so wisely, that the Mexicans invited him to remain with them at the head of affairs. Happy would it have been for them had he done so.

publican party, and not a little during the canvass which resulted in Mr. Lincoln's own election. The Department of the Interior was committed to the hands of Caleb Smith, of Indiana; and the Post-office to Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, a graduate of West Point, whose whole life had been passed in the observation, if not in the conduct of public affairs, and who was expected to take, and did take, a much more prominent part in the cabinet counsels than the office which he accepted would have made necessary. To this cabinet the confederate commissioners made their approach almost ere it was well formed. They arrived in Washington on the 5th of March; but it was not until the 12th that Messrs. Crawford and Forsyth, representing the commission, addressed a note to the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, informing him of the character in which they presented themselves at the capital, and asking him to appoint an early day on which they might present their credentials and proceed to negotiations. Their note was couched in those smooth and formal phrases of conventional courtesy with which men of social culture and diplomatic experience can cover even the most offensive assertions and the most injurious assumptions. They claimed that the seven states which they represented had withdrawn from the Union, and formed a confederation, "in the exercise of the inherent right of every free people to change or reform their political institutions," when they knew that the inhabitants of only one of those states—Texas—ever were, in the political sense of the word, a distinct people, and that four other states of the seven—Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida—were the mere creatures of the government and people of the United States, the very soil of two of them—Florida and Louisiana—having been bought and paid for out of the United States Treasury. They claimed recognition and consideration for their government on the ground that it was "endowed with all the means of self-support," when those means consisted largely of the arms, the money, the forts, public buildings, and vessels which it had seized from the very government from whom they demanded recognition. They professed that "amity and good-will" which diplomatic agents always profess until there is an open rupture; and they declared that the people whom they claimed to represent did not wish to do any act to injure their late confederates, when they knew that their very presence in that capital, as commissioners of part of the Union to a government administered by men constitutionally elected to govern the whole, was an evidence that their "late confederates" had already received at their hands the greatest injury in their power. Mr. Seward replied to this note on the 15th by a

*Correspondence between Mr. Seward and the Confederate Commissioners.*

The following is the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Commissioners from the Confederate States:

*Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, to Mr. Seward, opening Negotiation and stating the Case.*  
Washington City, March 12, 1861.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States:  
SIR.—The undersigned have been duly accredited by the government of the Confederate States of America as commissioners to the government of the United States, and in pursuance of their instructions have now the honor to acquaint you with that fact, and to make known, through you, to the President of the United States, the objects of their presence in this capital.

Seven states of the late federal Union having, in the exercise of the inherent right of every free people to change or reform their political institutions, and through conventions of their people, withdrawn from the United States and reassumed the attributes of sovereign power delegated to it, have formed a government of their own. The Confederate States constitute an independent nation *de facto* and *de jure*, and possess a government perfect in all its parts, and endowed with all the means of self-support.

With a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of this political separation, upon such terms of amity and good-will as the respective interests, geographical contiguity, and future welfare of the two nations may render necessary, the undersigned are instructed to make to the government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the government of the United States that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions; that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strictest justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates.

The undersigned have now the honor, in obedience to the instructions of their government, to request you to appoint as early a day as possible, in order that they may present to the President of the United States the credentials which they bear and the objects of the mission with which they are charged. We are, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

JOHN FORSYTH,  
MARTIN J. CRAWFORD.

*The Reply of Mr. Seward.*

(Memorandum.)

Department of State, Washington, March 15, 1861.

Mr. John Forsyth, of the State of Alabama, and Mr. Martin J. Crawford, of the State of Georgia, on the 11th inst., through the kind offices of a distinguished senator, submitted to the Secretary of State their desire for an unofficial interview. This request was, on the 12th inst., upon exclusively public consideration, respectfully declined.

On the 13th inst., while the secretary was preoccupied, Mr. A. D. Banks, of Virginia, called at this department, and was received by the assistant secretary, to whom he delivered a sealed communication, which he had been charged by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford to present the secretary in person.

In that communication Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford inform the Secretary of State that they have been duly accredited by the government of the Confederate States of America as commissioners to the government of the United States, and they set forth the objects of their attendance at Washington. They observe that seven states of the American Union, in the exercise of a right inherent in every free people, have withdrawn, through conventions of their people, from the United States, reassumed the attributes of sovereign power, and formed a government of their own, and that those Confederate States now constitute an independent nation *de facto* and *de jure*, and possess a government perfect in all its parts, and fully endowed with all the means of self-support.

Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, in their aforesaid communication, thereupon proceeded to inform the secretary that, with a view to a speedy adjustment of all questions growing out of the political separation thus assumed, upon such terms of amity and good-will as the respective interests, geographical contiguity, and the future welfare of the supposed two nations might render necessary, they are instructed to make to the government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring this government that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceful solution of these great questions, and that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded in strictest justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates.

After making these statements, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford close their communication, as they say, in obedience to the instructions of their government, by requesting the Secretary of State to appoint as early a day as possible, in order that they may present to the President of the United States the credentials which they bear and the objects of the mission with which they are charged.

The Secretary of State frankly confesses that he understands the events which have recently occurred, and the condition of political affairs which actually exists in the heart of the Union to which his attention has thus been directed, very differently from the aspect in which they are presented by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford. He sees in them, not a rightful and accomplished revolution and an independent nation, with an established government, but rather a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purposes of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the federal government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always must so be exercised, for the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the security, peace, welfare, happiness, and aggrandizement of the American people. The Secretary of State, therefore, avows to Messrs.

memorandum in which he informed them, with the utmost courtesy, that he had no authority to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or enter into correspondence with them. The events which had caused their mission to Washington he regarded, not as a rightful and accomplished revolution, but as a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and authority vested in the federal government. The remedy for the deplorable condition of affairs then existing he expected to find, not in such irregular negotiations as those upon which they desired to enter, but in the regular and considerate action of the people whom they professed to represent, and in a constitutional convention for the amendment of the organic law of the land. In brief, plain phrase, the Secretary of State, speaking for his government, refused to not only recognize the government under which the commissioners acted, but to admit the right to establish it, and told them that they and all their constituents were then, as they had been before, citizens of the United States.

The reply of the insurgent commissioners to this memorandum is one of the curiosities of diplomatic literature. Still studiously preserving the hollow form of diplomatic courtesy, and making almost evangelical declarations of peace and good-will to men, the commissioners, in fact, took a high tone of defiance; read the Secretary and the President a presumptuous lecture upon the first principles of free government; held the innocence of the insurgent government up to the admiration of posterity; and styled the determination of the President to keep his solemn oath of office a determination "to appeal to the sword to reduce the people of the Confederate States to the will of the section or party whose president he is"—a most impudent remark, whether we consider Mr. Lincoln's constitutional position, or the distribution of the popular vote in the election which made him President, or the majorities in that by which secession was carried in any state of the confederation except South Carolina. They denied, too, that they had asked the government of the United States to recognize the independence of their confederation, but merely to adjust with them the relations springing from a manifest and accomplished revolution. In other words, they asked the government, by receiving them, to admit the very point in dispute, and they declared that the innocence, the peacefulness, and the good-will of the confederate government was to endure just so long as it was allowed to have its own way, regardless of the interests, the honor, and, in fact, the very existence of the government in defiance of which it had been set up.<sup>5</sup>

Forsyth and Crawford that he looks patiently but confidently for the cure of evils which have resulted from proceedings so unnecessary, so unwise, so unusual, and so unnatural, not to irregular negotiations, having in view new and untried relations, with agencies unknown to and acting in derogation of the Constitution and laws, but to regular and considerate action of the people at those states, in co-operation with their brethren in the other states, through the Congress of the United States, and such extraordinary conventions, if there shall be need thereof, as the federal Constitution contemplates and authorizes to be assembled.

It is, however, the purpose of the Secretary of State, on this occasion, not to invite or engage in any discussion of these subjects, but simply to set forth his reasons for declining to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

On the 4th of March inst., the newly-elected President of the United States, in view of all the facts bearing on the present question, assumed the executive administration of the government, first delivering, in accordance with an early, honored custom, an inaugural address to the people of the United States. The Secretary of State respectfully submits a copy of this address to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

A simple reference to it will be sufficient to satisfy those gentlemen that the Secretary of State, guided by the principles therein announced, is prevented altogether from admitting or assuming that the states referred to by them have, in law or in fact, withdrawn from the federal Union, or that they could do so in the manner described by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, or in any other manner than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a national convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Of course the Secretary of State can not act upon the assumption, or in any way admit that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign power, with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established.

Under these circumstances, the Secretary of State, whose official duties are confined, subject to the direction of the President, to the conducting of the foreign relations of the country, and do not at all embrace domestic questions, or questions arising between the several states and the federal government, is unable to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford to appoint a day on which they may present the evidences of their authority and the objects of their visit to the President of the United States. On the contrary, he is obliged to state to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he has no authority, nor is he at liberty to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or hold correspondence or other communication with them.

Finally, the Secretary of State would observe that, although he has supposed that he might safely and with propriety have adopted these conclusions without making any reference of the subject to the executive, yet, so strong has been his desire to practice entire directness, and to act in a spirit of perfect respect and candor toward Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, and that portion of the Union in whose name they present themselves before him, that he has cheerfully submitted this paper to the President, who coincides generally in the views it expresses, and sanctions the secretary's decision declining official intercourse with Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

*Confederate Commissioners' final Letter to Secretary Seward.*

Washington, April 9, 1861.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, Washington:

The "memorandum" dated Department of State, Washington, March 15, 1861, has been received through the hands of Mr. J. T. Pickett, secretary to this commission, who, by the instructions of the undersigned, called for it on yesterday at the department.

In that memorandum you correctly state the purport of the official note addressed to you by the undersigned on the 12th ult. Without repeating the contents of that note in full, it is enough to say here that its object was to invite the government of the United States to a friendly consideration of the relation between the United States and the seven states lately of the federal Union, but now separated from it by the sovereign will of their people, growing out of the pregnant and undeniable fact that those people have rejected the authority of the United States, and established a government of their own. Those relations had to be friendly or hostile. The people of the old and new governments, occupying contiguous territories, had to stand to each other in the relation of good neighbors, each seeking their happiness and pursuing their national destinies in their own way, without interference with the other, or they had to be rival and hostile nations. The government of the Confederate States had no hesitation in electing its choice in this alternative. Frankly and unreserved, seeking the good of the people who had intrusted them with power, in the spirit of humanity, of the Christian civilization of the age, and of that Americanism which regards the true welfare and happiness of the people, the government of the Confederate States, among its first acts, commissioned the undersigned to approach the government of the United States with the olive-branch of peace, and to offer to adjust the great questions pending between them in the only way to be justified by the consciences and common sense of good men who had nothing but the welfare of the people of the two confederacies at heart.

Your government has not chosen to meet the undersigned in the conciliatory and peaceful spirit in which they are commissioned. Persistently wedded to those fatal theories of construction of the federal Constitution always rejected by the statesmen of the South, and adhered to by those of the administration school until they have produced their natural and often-predicted result of the destruction of the Union, under which we might have continued to live happily and gloriously together had the spirit of the ancestry who framed the common Constitution animated the hearts of all their sons, you now, with a persistence untaught and unlearned by the ruin which has been wrought, refuse to recognize the great fact presented to you of a complete and successful revolution; you close your eyes to the existence of the government founded upon it, and ignore the

Although Secretary Seward's memorandum was dated March 15th, this reply was not written until the 9th of April, the memorandum itself not having been sent to the commissioners until the 8th, with their own consent, they having been willing to await the result of negotiations still more irregular than those which they themselves had undertaken. These negotiations had reference entirely to the condition of Fort Sumter, and the course which the government meant to pursue in regard to it. This, indeed, was the material question of the day, the first great problem which the government was called upon to solve after the coming in of the new administration. On the 5th of March, President Lincoln's first full day in office, and the day on which the confederate commissioners arrived in Washington, he received through the War Department a letter from Major Anderson, giving his opinion, and that of all the officers in his command, that reinforcements could not be thrown into the fort in time to prevent its capitulation, from want of food, with less than a body of 20,000 good and well-disciplined men. After a full examination of the case thus submitted, General Scott and the army officers at Washington coincided with Major Anderson's judgment. But no such body of men was at the disposal of the government, or could be raised before the garrison at Sumter would be starved out. All that could be done, therefore, under the circumstances, was either to send provisions to the fort, if that would be allowed, or, if not, to evacuate it. But as a peaceful evacuation, unsupported and unexplained by any concurrent act of authority, would justly be regarded by the world as an admission of the incompetency of the government even to resist its own destruction, it was wisely determined to accomplish the re-enforcement of the important post of Fort Pickens, that thus it might be seen that, while the government was obliged to yield to military necessity on the one hand, it none the less asserted its power and maintained its dignity on the other. Orders were dispatched (necessarily by sea) for the transfer of troops from the frigate Sabine, then lying off Pensacola Harbor, to Fort Pickens; but the officer in command, conceiving himself bound by some such sort of armistice or agreement on the part of Mr. Buchanan's administration as was claimed to exist with regard to Major Anderson's force at Fort Moultrie, refused to disembark the troops. The news of this strange and untoward complication reached Washington at such a late period of the time allotted by circumstances for action, that Fort Pickens could not be re-enforced before the garrison at Fort Sumter would be famished. With regard to that garrison, therefore, the problem for the government was either to furnish it with supplies, or to get it out of the fort, as soon as possible, without loss of honor or virtual abdication of authority.

It was during this perplexity of the government that the confederate commissioners awaited a reply to their note to Secretary Seward. Meantime they received assurances from persons of high position, who, to use the mildest phrase, availed themselves of their advantages to act as observers and go-betweens in the interest of the rebellion (and, sad to relate, an associate judge of the Supreme Court was the chief of those who performed these ambiguous functions)—first, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated, and, next, that it would not be supplied or re-enforced without notice to the Governor of South Carolina. Seeing that thus the government would be as nearly as possible tied hand and foot by its own acts, and placed at the mercy of the

high duties of moderation and humanity which attach to you in dealing with this great fact. Had you met these issues with the frankness and manliness with which the undersigned were instructed to present them to you and treat them, the undersigned had not now the melancholy duty to return home and tell their government and their countrymen that their earnest and ceaseless efforts in behalf of peace had been futile, and that the government of the United States meant to subjugate them by force of arms. Whatever may be the result, impartial history will record the innocence of the government of the Confederate States, and place the responsibility of the blood and mourning that may ensue upon those who have denied the great fundamental doctrine of American liberty, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and who have set naval and land armaments in motion to subject the people of one portion of the land to the will of another portion. That that can never be done while a freeman survives in the Confederate States to wield a weapon, the undersigned appeal to past history to prove. These military demonstrations against the people of the seceded states are certainly far from being in keeping and consistency with the theory of the Secretary of State, maintained in his memorandum, that these states are still component parts of the late American Union, as the undersigned are not aware of any constitutional power in the President of the United States to levy war without the consent of Congress upon a foreign people, much less upon any portion of the people of the United States.

The undersigned, like the Secretary of State, have no purpose to "invite or engage in discussion" of the subject on which their two governments are so irreconcilably at variance. It is this variance that has broken up the old Union, the disintegration of which has only begun. It is proper, however, to advise you that it were well to dismiss the hopes you seem to entertain that, by any of the modes indicated, the people of the Confederate States will ever be brought to submit to the authority of the government of the United States. You are dealing with delusions, too, when you seek to separate our people from our government, and to characterize the deliberate, sovereign act of the people as a "perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement." If you cherish these dreams you will be awakened from them, and find them as unreal and unsubstantial as others in which you have recently indulged. The undersigned would omit the performance of an obvious duty were they to fail to make known to the government of the United States that the people of the Confederate States have declared their independence with a full knowledge of all the responsibilities of that act, and with as firm a determination to maintain it by all the means with which Nature has endowed them as that which sustained their fathers when they threw off the authority of the British crown.

The undersigned clearly understand that you have declined to appoint a day to enable them to lay the objects of the mission with which they are charged before the President of the United States, because so to do would be to recognize the independence and separate nationality of the Confederate States. This is the vein of thought that pervades the memorandum before us. The truth of history requires that it should distinctly appear upon the record that the undersigned did not ask the government of the United States to recognize the independence of the Confederate States. They only asked audience to adjust, in a spirit of amity and peace, the new relations springing from a manifest and accomplished revolution in the government of the late federal Union. Your refusal to entertain these overtures for a peaceful solution, the active naval and military preparation of this government, and a formal notice to the commanding general of the confederate forces in the harbor of Charleston, that the President intends to provision Fort Sumter by forcible means, if necessary, are viewed by the undersigned, and can only be received by the world, as a declaration of war against the Confederate States; for the President of the United States knows that Fort Sumter can not be provisioned without the effusion of blood. The undersigned, in behalf of their government and people, accept the gage of battle thus thrown down to them; and appealing to God and the judgment of mankind for the righteousness of their cause, the people of the Confederate States will defend their liberties to the last against this flagrant and open attempt at their subjugation to sectional power.

This communication can not be properly closed without adverting to the date of your memorandum. The official note of the undersigned, of the 12th of March, was delivered to the Assistant Secretary of State on the 13th of that month, the gentleman who delivered it informing him

insurgents, the commissioners were quite willing to leave the Secretary of State's memorandum at the State Department, subject to such modifications as this anticipated military course of the government might compel. But when they learned on the 7th that Fort Sumter was to be provisioned and Fort Pickens re-enforced, if the government had power to do so, they sent their reply to the memorandum, and, solemnly shaking the dust from their feet, turned their backs on Washington.

The expedition for the relief of Fort Sumter was got under way with all possible dispatch; and notice was sent to Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, that a peaceable attempt would be made to provision the fort, and that if this were resisted, force would be used. The fleet was not a very imposing one, considering the important occasion of its dispatch. It consisted of but three armed vessels, three transport ships, and two steam-tugs. The last of these, the Yankee and the Uncle Ben, carried only their ordinary crews; the transports (the mail steamers Atlantic, Baltic, and Illinois) bore eight hundred men, with provisions; and of the armed ships, the steam sloop-of-war Pawnee carried ten guns and a crew of two hundred men; the Powhatan, of like grade, eleven guns and two hundred and seventy-five men; while the third was but a steam revenue cutter, the Harriet Lane, which had hastily assumed the naval colors, and which carried but five small guns and ninety-six men—the military and naval force, all told, consisting of but 1380 men and twenty-six cannon. Yet even this meagre armament was raised with difficulty under pressure of the great emergency. But not even all of these vessels left port with Charleston as their ultimate destination. The Atlantic and the Illinois, with eight hundred and fifty of the troops, were ordered to Fort Pickens; the armed steamers, the Baltic, with one hundred and sixty troops, and the steam-tugs, were instructed to rendezvous off Charleston Harbor, the commander having put to sea with sealed orders as to his farther operations. Those orders were that unarmed boats should be first sent in with provisions to Fort Sumter, and that, if these met with resistance, all means should be used to re-enforce as well as to supply it.

Nearly four months had now elapsed since Major Anderson had hastily sought the protection of this isolated strong-hold for his little band of fifty-five artillerists, nine officers, fifteen musicians, and thirty laborers. When he took up that position, it seemed to people generally as if he was absolutely unassailable, except by a fleet and by hunger. The former, it was well known, the insurgents were without; and it was supposed that the possession of it by the government would deprive them of the assistance of the latter. Fort Sumter was regarded as one of the strongest works within the limits of the republic. Built upon an artificial island in Charleston Harbor, at the cost to the nation of a million of dollars, it had all the advantages of inaccessible position, and the highest resources of engineering skill. Its pentagonal walls of brick and compact concrete were twelve feet thick at the base and eight at the parapet, which rose sixty feet from the foundation. On four of its five sides it was pierced for two tiers of guns, to which were added a third (called *en barbette*), fired from the parapet; but the fifth side, looking southward upon Charleston, was almost without defense, and weakened by the sally-ports and the docks; for the strong-holds of the republic, like its Constitution, were constructed upon the reasonable supposition that

that the secretary of this commission would call at 12 o'clock, noon, on the next day, for an answer. At the appointed hour Mr. Pickett did call, and was informed by the Assistant Secretary of State that the engagements of the Secretary of State had prevented him from giving the note his attention. The Assistant Secretary of State then asked for the address of Messrs. Crawford and Forsyth, the members of the commission then present in this city, took note of the address on a card, and engaged to send whatever reply might be made to their lodgings. Why this was not done it is proper should be here explained. The memorandum is dated March 15, and was not delivered until April 8. Why was it withheld during the intervening twenty-three days? In the postscript to your memorandum you say it "was delayed, as was understood, with their (Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford's) consent." This is true; but it is also true that on the 15th of March Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford were assured by a person occupying a high official position in the government, and who, as they believed, was speaking by authority, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated within a very few days, and that no measure changing the existing *status* prejudicially to the Confederate States, as respects Fort Pickens, was then contemplated, and these assurances were subsequently repeated, with the addition that any contemplated change as respects Pickens would be notified to us. On the 1st of April we were again informed that there might be an attempt to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, but that Governor Pickens should have previous notice of this attempt. There was no suggestion of any re-enforcements. The undersigned did not hesitate to believe that these assurances expressed the intentions of the administration at the time, or, at all events, of prominent members of that administration. This delay was assented to for the express purpose of attaining the great end of the mission of the undersigned, to wit: a pacific solution of existing complications. The inference deducible from the date of your memorandum, that the undersigned had, of their own volition, and without cause, consented to this long hiatus in the grave duties with which they were charged, is, therefore, not consistent with a just exposition of the facts of the case. The intervening twenty-three days were employed in active unofficial efforts, the object of which was to smooth the path to a pacific solution, the distinguished personage alluded to co-operating with the undersigned; and every step of that effort is recorded in writing, and now in possession of the undersigned and of their government. It was only when all these anxious efforts for peace had been exhausted, and it became clear that Mr. Lincoln had determined to appeal to the sword to reduce the people of the Confederate States to the will of the section or party whose president he is, that the undersigned resumed the official negotiation temporarily suspended, and sent their secretary for a reply to their official note of March 12.

It is proper to add that, during these twenty-three days, two gentlemen of official distinction as high as that of the personage hitherto alluded to, aided the undersigned as intermediaries in these unofficial negotiations for peace.

The undersigned, commissioners of the Confederate States of America, having thus made answer to all they deemed material in the memorandum filed in the department on the 15th of March last, have the honor to be,

JOHN FORSYTH,  
MARTIN J. CRAWFORD,  
A. B. ROMAN.

A true copy of the original by me delivered to Mr. F. W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States, at 8 o'clock in the evening of April 9, 1861.

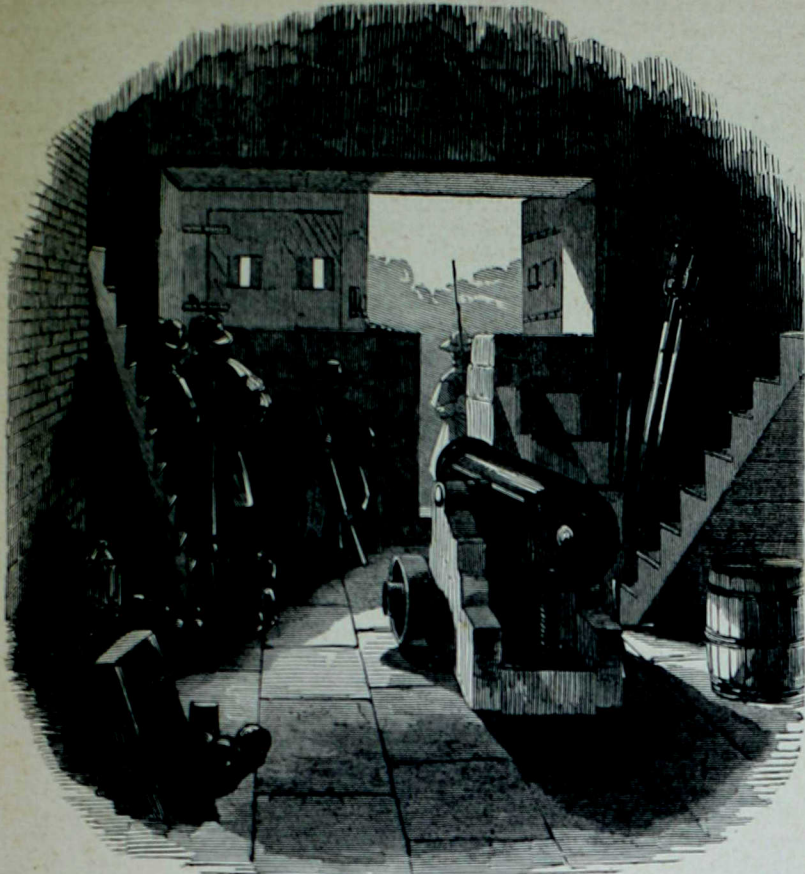
Attest, J. T. PICKETT, Secretary, etc., etc.

Mr. Seward, in Reply to the Commissioners, acknowledges the Receipt of their Letter, but declines to Answer it.

Department of State, Washington, April 10, 1861.

Messrs. Forsyth, Crawford, and Roman, having been apprised by a memorandum which has been delivered to them that the Secretary of State is not at liberty to hold official intercourse with them, will, it is presumed, expect no notice from him of the new communication which they have addressed to him under date of the 9th inst., beyond the simple acknowledgment of the receipt thereof, which he hereby very cheerfully gives.

A true copy of the original received by the commissioners of the Confederate States, this 10th day of April, 1861. Attest, J. T. PICKETT, Secretary, etc., etc.



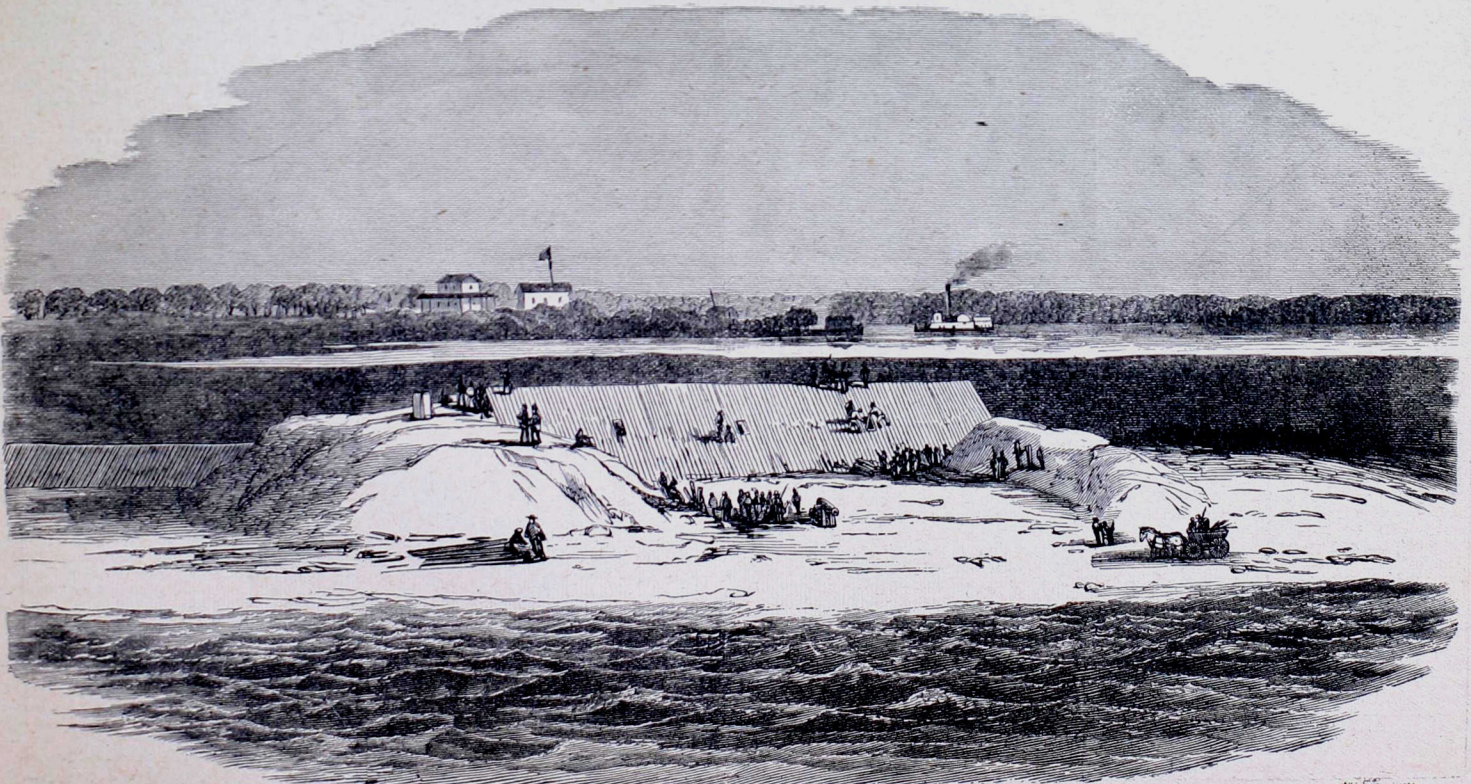
INTERIOR OF THE SALLY-PORT AT SUMTER.

there would be little occasion for defense against domestic violence. Charleston, indeed, being three miles and a half from Fort Sumter, was out of reach of any ordnance in use at the time when it was built, and, in fact, of any among its armament at the time when it was first threatened—threatened by the people whom it was built chiefly to protect. Around it, uniting haste, determination, and ingenuity, they had drawn a nearly complete circle of heavy batteries. The guns which Major Anderson had left maimed in Fort Moultrie had been unspiked; others had been added; the repairs which he had begun were nearly completed; and, strengthened with some traverses, the old fort, though not so large or so strong as Sumter, was yet a very formidable work. It mounted eleven heavy siege-pieces and several mortars, and was a little more than a mile from Sumter. At Fort Johnson—the name retained by the site of an old and long-abandoned and ruined fortification—two large sand batteries had been erected, and armed with heavy guns and mortars. These batteries were distant one mile and a quarter from Fort Sumter, and were the nearest to the city of all the guns which bore upon Major Anderson. Upon Cummings's Point, the part of Sullivan's Island nearest to Fort Sumter, and only three quarters of a mile distant, a

singular battery had been built. It was constructed of heavy yellow pine logs, and was protected from shell by a slanting roof of the same material. But over the logs was laid a mail armor of railway iron, strongly clamped and dovetailed. The port-holes were provided with doors like those of a man-of-war, and these also were covered with iron armor, and fell at the recoil of the guns, thus affording complete protection to the men who served the guns, except at the moment of aiming and firing. This battery mounted three heavy columbiads. Another battery, even more novel and curious, had been built at Charleston itself with an enterprise and mechanical ingenuity altogether unexpected. This was a floating battery, made, like that on Cummings's Point, of pine logs, and covered with a double layer of railway iron. It was a nondescript structure, not at all like either a vessel or a fort. It looked like a large shed, some hundred feet in length and twenty-five in width, and had been much laughed at while it was building. It presented no perpendicular face at the point of attack, only sloping surfaces of heavy iron. The magazine stretched along in the rear below the water-line, and was protected with layers of sand-bags, which helped to balance the weight of the four enormous siege-guns which it mounted. A floating hospital was attached to the stern of this grotesque, but, as it proved, really formidable structure. Other batteries of inferior power spotted the sandy shore within cannon or mortar range of Sumter; and all this preparation for the destruction of his post and the humiliation of his flag Major Anderson had been obliged to see going on unchecked within range of his batteries for four weary months. Strange, unprecedented, absurd, anomalous position! Sorely-trying major of artillery, found faithful in all things—faithful even to what seemed sure-coming death, and what was sure-coming surrender—while life and military honor were both to be saved by one word from your lips, Fire! which would have been answered by cheers over half a continent! Standing, not supine, not with hands tied, but vigilant, with hands free and full of arms, while your enemy dug his pits and set up his engines before your face and within your reach, affronting you each morning with some new device, which you, each morning, could have blown straight into the limbo where all such works deserve to go—will go forever

where the cause of truth, and right, and universal good-will, for which you and your worthy comrades, with patient heroism, endured so much, prevails. Your foes did not quite trust your forbearance; for yonder upon Sullivan's Island, behind that brushwood and those slopes of sand, which, even to your penetrating glass, seem but the common fringing of a barren beach, is a tremendous battery of siege-guns and mortars, of which you will see nothing and hear nothing until you see their fire and hear their roar.

Such preparation had been made in Charleston Harbor for the reduction of Fort Sumter when the news arrived that the mission of the insurgent commissioners to Washington had entirely failed, and also that an expedition for the relief of the fort was about to sail. Immediately there was bustle and excitement of a military sort—the going to and fro of aids-de-camp and orderlies, and marching. Not a little of it superfluous, we may honestly believe; but somewhat may be pardoned to the ardor of such very inexperienced aids, and orderlies, and soldiers, in virtue of their earnestness; for they were in earnest, and actually meant to fight the government of the United States, and, what was worse, believed, and not without some reason, that they could fight it and live. To man the batteries of the insurgents in



THE IRON-CLAD BATTERY ON CUMMINGS'S POINT, AS SEEN FROM FORT SUMTER.



MAP OF CHARLESTON HARBOR, SHOWING FORT SUMTER AND THE CONFEDERATE BATTERIES.



Charleston Harbor a force of one thousand men would have been more than enough; but about seven thousand men were assembled there under the command of General Beauregard, and of these, four thousand were sent to the works, the remaining three thousand being held in reserve at the city.

It was on the 8th of April, 1862, that the issue was presented to the insurgents that they must allow the government to retain peaceful possession of its own fortress or expel its garrison by force. No communication was held with the insurgent administration at Montgomery; but on that day a messenger arrived from Washington to the Governor of South Carolina, informing him that provisions would be sent to Fort Sumter, and that, if they were not permitted to reach it peaceably, force would be used. Such had been the nature of the abnormal negotiations, understandings, or what not, between the representatives, authorized and unauthorized, open and secret, of the insurgents at Washington and the government, that honor, as well as policy, was thought to require the giving of this information. Upon receiving it, General Beauregard immediately communicated it by telegraph to Montgomery, where the question which it presented was considered for twenty-four hours; and on the 10th the confederate commander received an order to demand the evacuation of the fort, and, if this was refused, to commence the attack. He made the demand the next day at noon, in courteous phrase, of course, with the usual expressions of a desire to avoid the effusion of blood, and with a compliment to the constancy of Major Anderson, which came gracefully from a late companion in arms. The terms were the most honorable that could be offered. The abandonment of his post, which they were intended to grace, was promptly refused by Major Anderson as inconsistent with his sense of honor and his obligations to his government. As he bade General Beauregard's messengers farewell, he said to them that he should be starved out in a few days, unless the fort was previously brought about his ears by their fire. This casual remark, natural enough to a military man under all the circumstances, was reported at once all over the country, and seemed as strangely peaceful and superfluous, to say the least, to the multitude, as the good-natured mutual admissions of opposing counsel do to their incensed and mutually glowering clients; and it was even made the occasion of the impeachment of Major Anderson's loyalty. General Beauregard, however, although he did not so misunderstand it, yet immediately telegraphed it, with the refusal, to the confederate government, from whom he as promptly received authority to accept from Major Anderson, as an alternative of an attack, an agreement to evacuate the fort within a few days, and not to use his guns against the insurgent batteries unless they first opened fire on him. Two of General Beauregard's aids arrived at Fort Sumter about midnight of that day, the 11th, with a proposal of this alternative, and the authority to enter at once into the agreement in question. The negotiation was thus hastily pressed through that sleepless night because the relieving flotilla was known to the insurgents to be already in the offing, though he for whose relief it came was ignorant of their presence, and even of the purpose of the government; for communication with him had been cut off for four days, and the last messenger from Washington—Lieutenant Talbot, one of his own garrison—had not been allowed to return to him. In his final summons General Beauregard requested Major Anderson to communicate to his aids an open answer, which they awaited. This he did at half past two, offering to evacuate the fort on the 15th if he did not previously receive controlling instructions or supplies, and agreeing, meantime, not to open fire unless in case of hostile demonstration against the fort, or against the flag of his government. This offer, which was to go out unless he was ordered to remain, and was able to do so, and which secured him the right of defending any vessel which entered the harbor under the United States flag, was not at all what General Beauregard required; and so, at twenty minutes past three o'clock on the morning of the 12th, the aids-de-camp informed Major Anderson that fire would be opened upon him in one hour, and thereupon took final leave.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The following is the correspondence immediately preceding the hostilities:

L. P. Walker, Secretary of War:

An authorized messenger from President Lincoln just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force.

Charleston, April 8.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

Montgomery, 10th.

Gen. G. T. Beauregard, Charleston:

If you have no doubt of the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you the intention of the Washington government to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation, and, if this is refused, proceed in such a manner as you may determine to reduce it. Answer.

L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War.

Charleston, April 10.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

Montgomery, April 10.

Gen. Beauregard, Charleston:

Unless there are especial reasons connected with your own condition, it is considered proper that you should make the demand at an early hour.

L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War.

Charleston, April 10.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, Montgomery:

The reasons are special for 12 o'clock.

Head-quarters, Provisional Army, C. S. A., Charleston, S. C., April 11, 1861—2 P. M.

SIR,—The government of the Confederate States has hitherto forbore from any hostile demonstration against Fort Sumter in the hope that the government of the United States, with a view to the amicable adjustment of all questions between the two governments, and to avert the calamities of war, would voluntarily evacuate it. There was reason at one time to believe that such would be the course pursued by the government of the United States, and under that impression my government has refrained from making any demand for the surrender of the fort.

But the Confederate States can no longer delay assuming actual possession of a fortification commanding the entrance of one of their harbors, and necessary to its defense and security.

I am ordered by the government of the Confederate States to demand the evacuation of Fort Sumter. My aids, Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee, are authorized to make such demand of you. All proper facilities will be afforded for the removal of yourself and command, together with company arms and property, and all private property, to any post in the United States which you may elect. The flag which you have upheld so long and with so much fortitude, under the most trying circumstances, may be saluted by you on taking it down.

Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee will, for a reasonable time, await your answer. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. T. BEAUREGARD, Brigadier General Commanding.

Major Robert Anderson, Commanding at Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, S. C.

Head-quarters, Fort Sumter, S. C., April 11th, 1861.

GENERAL,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication demanding the evacuation of this fort; and to say in reply thereto that it is a demand with which I regret that my sense of honor and of my obligations to my government prevent my compliance.

Thanking you for the fair, manly, and courteous terms proposed, and for the high compliment paid me, I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ROBERT ANDERSON, Major U. S. Army, Commanding.

To Brigadier General G. T. Beauregard, commanding Provisional Army, C. S. A.

Montgomery, April 11.

Gen. Beauregard, Charleston:

We do not desire needlessly to bombard Fort Sumter, if Major Anderson will state the time at which, as indicated by him, he will evacuate, and agree that, in the mean time, he will not use his guns against us, unless ours should be employed against Fort Sumter. You are thus to avoid the effusion of blood. If this or its equivalent be refused, reduce the fort as your judgment decides to be most practicable.

L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War.

Head-quarters, Provisional Army, C. S. A., Charleston, April 11, 1861, 11 P. M.

MAJOR,—In consequence of the verbal observations made by you to my aids, Messrs. Chesnut and Lee, in relation to the condition of your supplies, and that you would in a few days be starved out if our guns did not batter you to pieces, or words to that effect, and desiring no useless effusion of blood, I communicated both the verbal observation and your written answer to my communication to my government.

If you will state the time at which you will evacuate Fort Sumter, and agree that, in the mean time, you will not use your guns against us unless ours shall be employed against Fort Sumter, we will abstain from opening fire upon you. Colonel

FORT JOHNSON, AS SEEN FROM FORT SUMTER.



Without a doubt this issue was expected. It at least found General Beauregard prepared to keep the appointment of his representatives with sufficient punctuality. The hour went slowly by, and the batteries were silent. Five anxious minutes more were counted, and the dark quiet of the night was yet unbroken; but hardly were another five completed when the flash and the dull roar of a mortar came from the battery on Sullivan's Island. The conscious shell went up shrieking and wailing along its fiery curve, and, lingering reluctantly before its downward plunge, burst as it fell directly over the doomed fortress. No meteor of more direful portent ever lit the sky; for this told surely of the beginning of a civil war, compared to which all civil wars before it were as squabbles in a corner—a war in which millions of men were to be engaged, and which was to scatter ruin and want, not only through the country in which it raged, but across the sea, among two of the most powerful nations of the world; which was to convert half a continent into one great battle-ground, and strew it from east to west with the graves of its citizens slaughtered to gratify the base ambition and the disappointed pride of a small factious oligarchy, who justified to themselves their attempt to destroy a government upon the monstrous assumption of the right of one man to own and use another as his property. But to the eager neophytes in war who manned the Charleston batteries, this shell was merely the signal for the beginning of a bombardment in which they expected to run some risk and to gain much glory; for they knew well their overwhelming superiority both in numbers and in weight of artillery, and they knew how wasted, worn, and weary their handful of opponents were with want of food, anxiety, and watching. They expected, too, that after a few such contests—enough to show the government and the people of the free states that they really meant rebellion, they would attain their purposes, and be in a position so to remodel the map of North America as to secure the perpetuation of negro slavery throughout the larger part of its temperate climes, and (what was the real object sought by their insurrection) the political and social predominance of the slaveholding oligarchy. So miserably had politicians been able to cause the citizens of the republic to misunderstand each other! so miserably had some of them deceived themselves! After the firing of this signal mortar, the discharge of which was fitly committed to the hands of Edmund Ruffin, a Virginian, who had grown gray during his untiring efforts to bring about the struggle which he then began, there was a short pause of preparation, and then fire was opened from the whole crescent of batteries which more than half encircled the fort; for the water battery had been towed down two days before, and anchored on the undefended side which looked toward Charleston. From this time the discharge of shot and shell against the fort was kept up without ceasing; but the fort did not reply. The insurgent artillerists could see their balls strike against its sides, splintering the parapet and the embrasures, and their bombs fall within its inclosure, and hear them explode. An hour of this firing passed, and not a shot came back. Time wore on, and the bombardment was kept up until those to whom had been committed the doubtful honor of opening it grew tired with their unaccustomed task, and yielded their places to others, and still the fort was silent. More than two hours had thus passed in this one-sided contest. What could it mean? Did Major Anderson intend to preserve the inoffensive attitude which he had maintained for months, bear without resistance the fierce attacks of the batteries which he had allowed to be constructed around him, and, trusting solely to the endurance of his walls and his men, leave to his assailants, already committed to an inglorious contest, only the contemptible business of a fierce onslaught upon men who refused to fight them? Perhaps it would have been as well had he added that shame to the meed of their two days' labor; but his duty, of course, prevented his thought of such a purpose. He was not politic, he was only prudent.

Upon the departure of General Beauregard's aids from the fort the flag was raised, the posterns closed, the sentinels withdrawn from the parapet, and orders given that the men should not leave the bomb-proofs without special orders. At half past six o'clock the shrill notes of "Peas upon a trencher," piercing the uproar of the bombardment, called the garrison, as usual, to breakfast, which they ate leisurely and calmly. Major Anderson knew that if eighty men (only enough to work nine guns properly) were to do any thing against such a fire as had been opened upon him, it could only be with the careful husbanding of their strength and nervous energy; and therefore he had reserved his fire until he could use his guns in broad daylight, and send his men to their work with the support of the best breakfast his meagre stores could furnish. He then divided his command into three reliefs, assigning officers and men as equally as possible to

each. The great inequality of the contest did not exist only in the numbers of men and the weight of metal which were opposed. The fort, though its magazines were well stored with powder, had a very small supply of cartridges; there were no scales with which to weigh powder, and only six needles with which to sew cartridge-bags; and there were neither tangent scales, nor breech sides, nor any other instrument for pointing a gun. Bread there was none; only salt pork. Under these privations, accurate firing and a long defense were equally impossible. The fire which had now been kept up for two hours and a half was much severer and more extended even than Major Anderson had looked for; for the masked battery of heavy columbiads on Sullivan's Island, the existence of which he had not suspected, enfiladed the fort, and was served with great energy and precision. It proved, too, that there was only one face of the work which was not seen in reverse (that is, open to a fire in the rear) from mortars. It was to such an attack that Major Anderson gave the order to reply soon after seven o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 12th of April. Captain Doubleday, his second in command, fired the first gun, and immediately the fort opened upon all the principal assailing batteries.

How unequal the fight was to be was not discovered in Sumter until after it had well begun; for it had been decided to use but two of the three tiers of guns with which the fort was mounted—those in the lower casemates and those upon the parapet; and the embrasures of the second tier were built up with earth, and brick, and stone. The parapet, or barbette guns, being of the heaviest calibre, capable of crushing even the armor of the iron-plated batteries, and also being, on account of their position, those only from which shells could be thrown, were most relied upon, and, for the protection of the artillerists at these, much labor had been expended since the time when an attack seemed imminent. But the vertical fire of shells from the insurgent batteries was so copious and well directed that this tier of guns had to be abandoned in the very beginning of the contest, and only two or three of them were fired surreptitiously by some of the men, whom neither danger nor command could deter from yielding to the temptation of using these formidable weapons against the enemy. But these stolen delights were merely imaginary; the hasty and careless firing of these great guns proving more dangerous to the fort and its defenders than to its assailants. One of them was not only thrown from its carriage by its own recoil, but dismounted another near it. Thus, in the very beginning, Major Anderson found himself deprived of what he relied upon as his main stay, and confined to the use of his lower tier of casemates. The rebel artillerists thus attained comparative security during almost the entire bombardment; for while they deprived the fort of the service of the only guns which could breach their walls, and, what was of more consequence, of the mortars which could have made havoc in their crowded open batteries, they themselves were able to pour a continuous shower of bursting shells upon every part of the fort which was exposed. This they did with notable skill and regularity of fire; but their direct fire was not nearly so effective. A large proportion of the solid shot missed the fort in the first hours of the bombardment, and those which were better aimed scattered themselves all over its sides, and thus did little injury of immediate importance. Two of the guns upon the parapet were hit, however—one being dismounted, and the other broken; and three of the iron cisterns over the hallways were penetrated by shot, the water pouring in floods upon the quarters below. The parade, where five large columbiads had been arranged for the purpose of throwing shells, was made absolutely untenable by the constant explosion of those dreadful missiles. It was in the midst of such a fire as this that the first relief in the fort went to their work. But they were allowed to fight alone only a very short time. No duty of the soldier is so trying as that of bearing an attack without resistance. Under such circumstances, raw troops in the field almost invariably waver, and, if the trial be continued too long, break and fly: only well disciplined veterans can bear the moral strain which such circumstances put upon them. In the present case, the whole garrison had been wrought up to a high pitch of excitement by a nearly three hours' bombardment without a shot in reply; and soon after the fort first opened fire they broke through the order of the day, and were all engaged heart and soul in the fight, with the tacit consent of their commander. Thus for the first four hours they kept up such a fire that the assailants were astonished, and believed that their watchfulness had been outwitted, and that the fort had been largely re-enforced. Soon the musicians and the workmen, functionally non-combatant, caught the infection. They joined the artillerists in working the guns, and, after a little practice as assistants, went off by themselves and brought new pieces into action. But, although every man of that small band thus did even more than his duty, and did it like a hero, it was soon apparent that they could work little harm to their multitudinous and well-protected assailants. A gun was silenced for a while in Fort Moultrie, the embrasures of which were somewhat injured, and the barracks riddled. One shot penetrated the floating battery, and wounded one man; but from the mailed side of this battery all the other shot which struck it glanced off harmlessly. The much more formidable iron-clad battery on Cummings's Point proved invulnerable to the shot of any piece which could be used against it; and, although the embrasures were hit two or three times, no serious injury was done to the guns or those who manned them. The other batteries seemed to be almost entirely unharmed. Lack of skill was not the cause of this ineffectiveness any more than lack of courage. But it proved that the calibre of the guns in the lower tier of casemates, to the use of which Major Anderson was confined, was too small to make their fire effective on iron-clad batteries, or even on such a strong piece of masonry as Fort Moultrie, at the distances at which they stood.

Four hours had passed since the besieged had opened fire, making, in

Chesnut and Captain Lee are authorized by me to enter into such an agreement with you. You are therefore requested to communicate to them an open answer. I remain, major, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
G. T. BEAUREGARD, Brigadier General Commanding.  
Major Robert Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, S. C.

Head-quarters, Fort Sumter, S. C., 2 30 A. M., April 12, 1861.  
GENERAL.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your second communication of the 11th inst., by Col. Chesnut, and to state, in reply, that, cordially uniting with you in the desire to avoid the useless effusion of blood, I will, if provided with the proper and necessary means of transportation, evacuate Fort Sumter by noon on the 15th inst., should I not receive, prior to that time, controlling instructions from my government, or additional supplies; and that I will not, in the mean time, open my fire upon your forces unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against this fort, or the flag of my government, by the forces under your command, or by some portion of them, or by the perpetration of some act showing a hostile intention on your part against this fort, or the flag it bears. I have the honor to be, general, your obedient servant,  
ROBERT ANDERSON, Major U. S. A., Commanding.

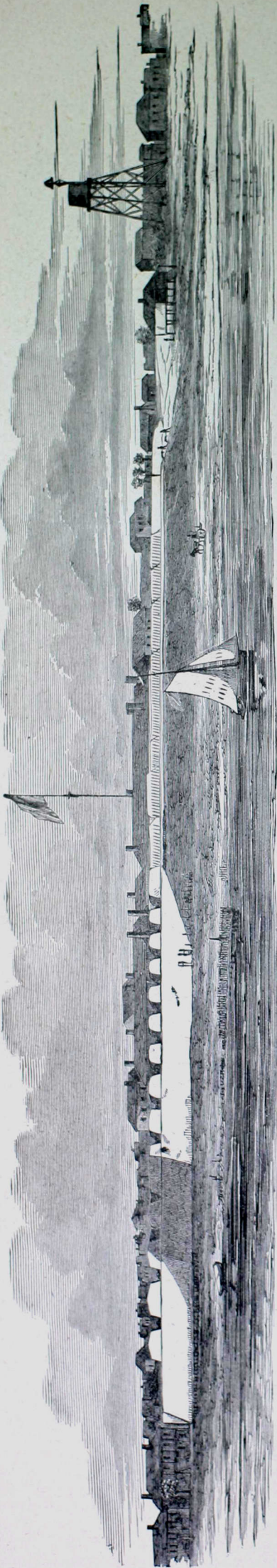
To Brigadier General G. T. Beauregard, commanding Provisional Army, C. S. A.

Fort Sumter, S. C., April 12, 1861, 3 20 A. M.  
SIR.—By authority of Brigadier General Beauregard, commanding the provisional forces of the Confederate States, we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time. We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,  
JAMES CHESNUT, Aid-de-camp.  
STEPHEN D. LEE, Captain C. S. Army and Aid-de-camp.

Major Robert Anderson, United States Army, commanding Fort Sumter.



A 10-INCH COLUMBIAD MOUNTED AS A MORTAR AT FORT SUMTER.



FORT MOULTRIE, AS SEEN FROM FORT SUMTER.

vain, a better fight than they could hope to make again; and now the tremendous converging fire of the assailants was beginning to tell upon the walls and parapet, and their shells made the ramparts and the parade untenable. Still the garrison were all unharmed, for they kept within the casemates as much as possible, and look-outs were stationed at commanding points, who gave warning when a shot was about to strike or a shell to burst. About twelve o'clock, through the port-holes was seen the welcome sight of armed vessels under the old flag. The fleet had arrived off the Bar. They dipped their flags in token of salutation and encouragement, and, although bombs were pouring ceaselessly into the parade of the fort, where the flag-staff stood, Sumter's flag was dipped in answer. In fact, men could not have behaved with more intrepid gallantry than was displayed by the few defenders of this fort. During the first day of the bombardment, the quarters were set on fire three times by the enemy's shells, and put out amid a storm of missiles which made the escape of any of those who thus exposed themselves to it seem almost miraculous. The fire upon one gun was so constant and so close that it was abandoned; but, ere long, fire was renewed from it, and an officer, going to the spot, found a party of laborers engaged in serving it. They had turned it upon the floating battery, and one of them was still watching the effect of the last shot, forgetting his danger in his delight, as he saw the ball take effect in the very middle of the battery.

In the afternoon the fire of the rifled guns in the iron-clad Cummings's Point battery became very accurate and severe. It was aimed at the embrasures, the masonry of which was cut out and scattered among the artillerists at almost every shot, bruising and stunning them often, but, fortunately, killing none. They all kept at their work without respite, and had their meals served to them at their guns. Soon after midday, the number of cartridges, of which it had been possible to prepare only seven hundred, had been so much reduced, and the ability to supply them was so small, that it became necessary to abandon all the guns but six. With these, a regular but not very formidable fire was kept up until darkness fell upon the scene, when the port-holes were closed for the night, and the besieged garrison withdrew to pass the anxious hours in brief alternations of rest, work, and watching.

Thus began one of the strangest contests known to the annals of war—a contest

strange not only in the circumstances under which it was brought about, but in those under which it was carried on. For, thus far, no war had been declared, directly or by implication, between the government of the United States and the confederated insurgents at Montgomery, although an act of insurrectionary violence had been committed by the residents of Charleston in firing upon the *Star of the West*. Intercourse between all parts of the country was still nominally free, and to all the people of the seceding states actually so. The telegraph—that marvelous invention which, more than realizing the fairy gifts that dazzle and delight our wondering childhood, makes every man an enchanted prince, by bestowing upon him eyes that see and ears that hear what is passing at the farthest corners of the earth—still kept, though under supervision, all points of the country in communication. Little restraint was placed upon it in Charleston on this day; and the inhabitants of that decaying, stiff-necked sea-port, who, women as well as men, assembled on its battery-promenade to look at the bombardment, much as similar mixed companies looked in classic days upon bloodier contests in the arena, were hardly more immediate spectators of the fight than the millions of those throughout the land who, whether loyal or disloyal to the old flag which was then assailed, found their dearest interests involved in the issue of that contest. Every stage, every vicissitude of the struggle, was reported all over the land with the speed of lightning. The daily tasks and pleasures of a great nation were thrown aside, and the whole country became one vast amphitheatre, in which the combatants fought out their unequal fight with the eyes of thirty millions full upon them. Night fell upon the thrilling spectacle with the contest undecided, and sent home the spectators of both inclinations, quivering with excitement—the partisans of the rebels, however, full of hope and of defiance, those of the soldiers of the republic doubtful, depressed, and bitter; yet with their hearts full of an inspiring trouble and a noble wrath, born of a love which they had often talked about, but the sweet pangs of which few of them had ever felt before. Throughout the country on that night there was proportionately almost as little sleep as there was within Fort Sumter. The night in Charleston Harbor was dark, wet, and stormy. All through it the insurgents kept up a fire of mortars upon the fort, which provoked no reply, but accomplished the purpose of depriving the weary garrison of any except the most fitful slumber. Expecting both an attack by boats and re-enforcements from the fleet, Major Anderson posted guards at the most exposed points of the fort; but his watchfulness proved to have been unneeded. The insurgent commander saw that the reduction of the fort by bombardment was sure and speedy, and therefore wisely refrained from an assault which must needs be very bloody; and the naval forces found themselves entirely unable to move to the support of Major Anderson. Only the *Pawnee*, 10 guns, the *Harriet Lane*, 5 guns, and the transport *Baltic*, had arrived off the Bar on the 12th, the tug-boats having been detained by rough weather. Without these, the orders under which the expedition sailed could not be carried out. These were, as we have already seen, that unarmed boats should be first sent in with stores, and that, if these were fired upon, an attempt should then be made to send in both re-enforcements and supplies by force. But the *Baltic*, the only unarmed vessel, was too deep to pass the Bar; and, besides, the fort was already under fire. The naval commanders, however, upon consultation, formed a plan for the relief of Major Anderson, which was to hoist out all the boats and launches in the night, load them with the men and stores on board the *Baltic*, tow them in as far as possible, and, in the gray of the dawning, let them pull in to the fort, under cover of the guns of the *Pawnee* and the *Harriet Lane*. A good plan, though a perilous and a daring; but it was entirely frustrated by the nature of the harbor, which did the insurgents in this place such good service throughout the whole war. The *Baltic* got aground in the night, during the preparations for the disembarking of her troops and stores, and the project was necessarily abandoned. Others were formed; but, before they could be put into effect, they proved to be unavailing.

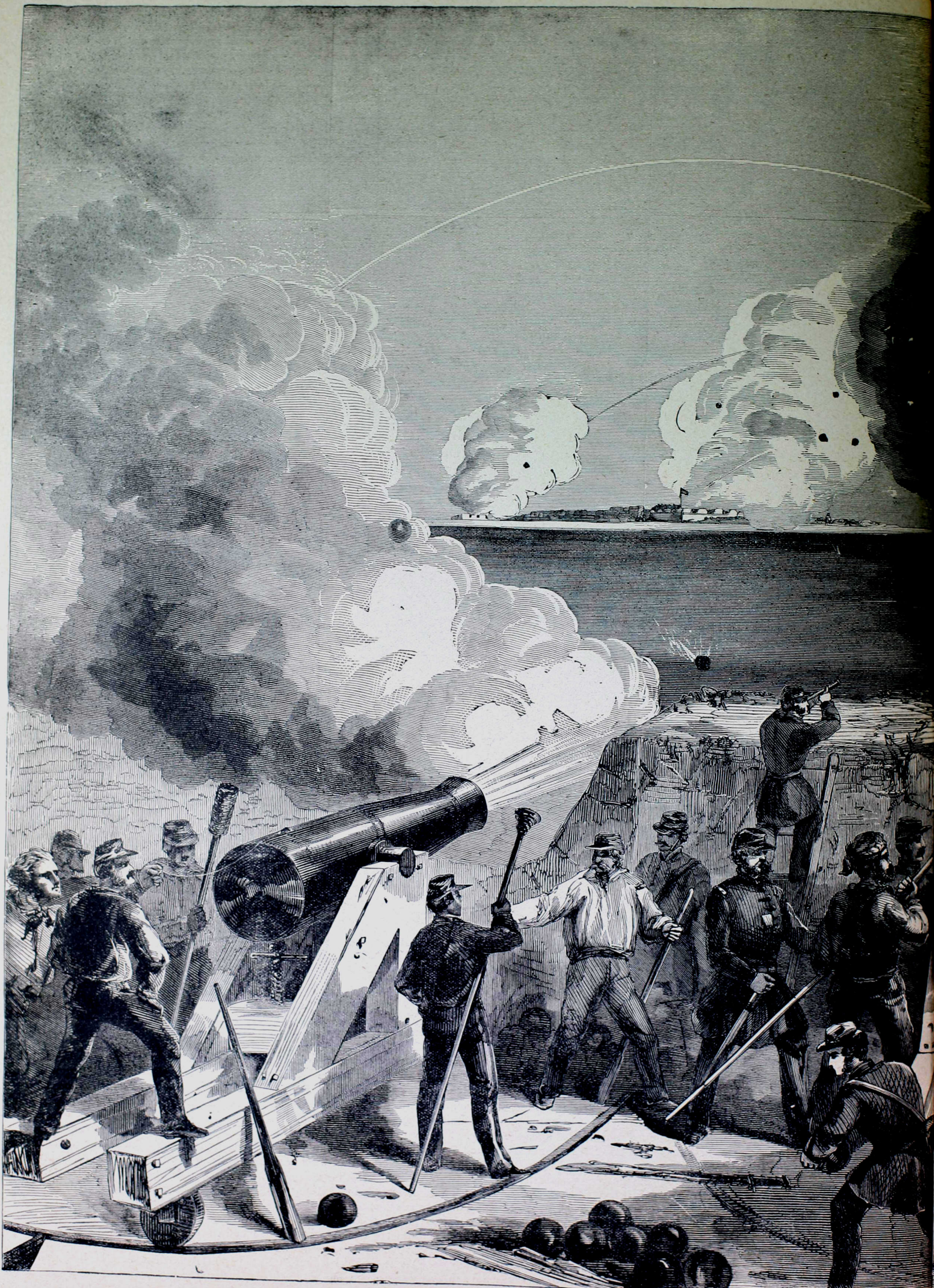
The storm subsided, and the sun rose brightly to usher in the final contest of Saturday. The bombardment was resumed by the insurgents with more vigor than they had shown before; and about nine o'clock the quarters and barracks were for the fourth time on fire. The men who were not actually engaged in serving the few guns in use tried to extinguish the flames. For a short time they worked like heroes, fighting one fire, and enduring another against which they could not fight. Here two non-combatants distinguished themselves in this their maiden battle—Mr. Hall, a musician, who, throughout the whole bombardment, won the admiration of all by his coolness, intrepidity, and energy; and Mr. Peter Hart, a sergeant in the New York Metropolitan Police Force, who visited the fort in company with Mrs. Anderson, and, on her departure, volunteered to remain there. On this occasion the orders of the commander could hardly restrain him from fruitless exposure of his life, and he afterward performed an act of signal daring. The efforts to put out the fire proved to be equally vain and perilous, for the enemy now poured in a steady fire of red-hot shot; and as fast as the flames were extinguished in one place, they broke out in another. The task was necessarily abandoned for another, yet more important and more dangerous—the protection of the magazine, and the securing enough powder to keep up the fight. Nearly a hundred barrels were taken out amid the roar of flames, the crash of falling beams, the flying of red-hot shot, and the explosion of shells, and were thrown into the sea. Meantime men were making cartridges as rapidly as possible in the magazine itself, using for that purpose blankets, sheets, and shirts, and all similar material that the fort could furnish. The supply obtainable in this manner was, however, soon exhausted; and the heat became so great from the blazing quarters and barracks that the magazine could no longer be left open with safety. The



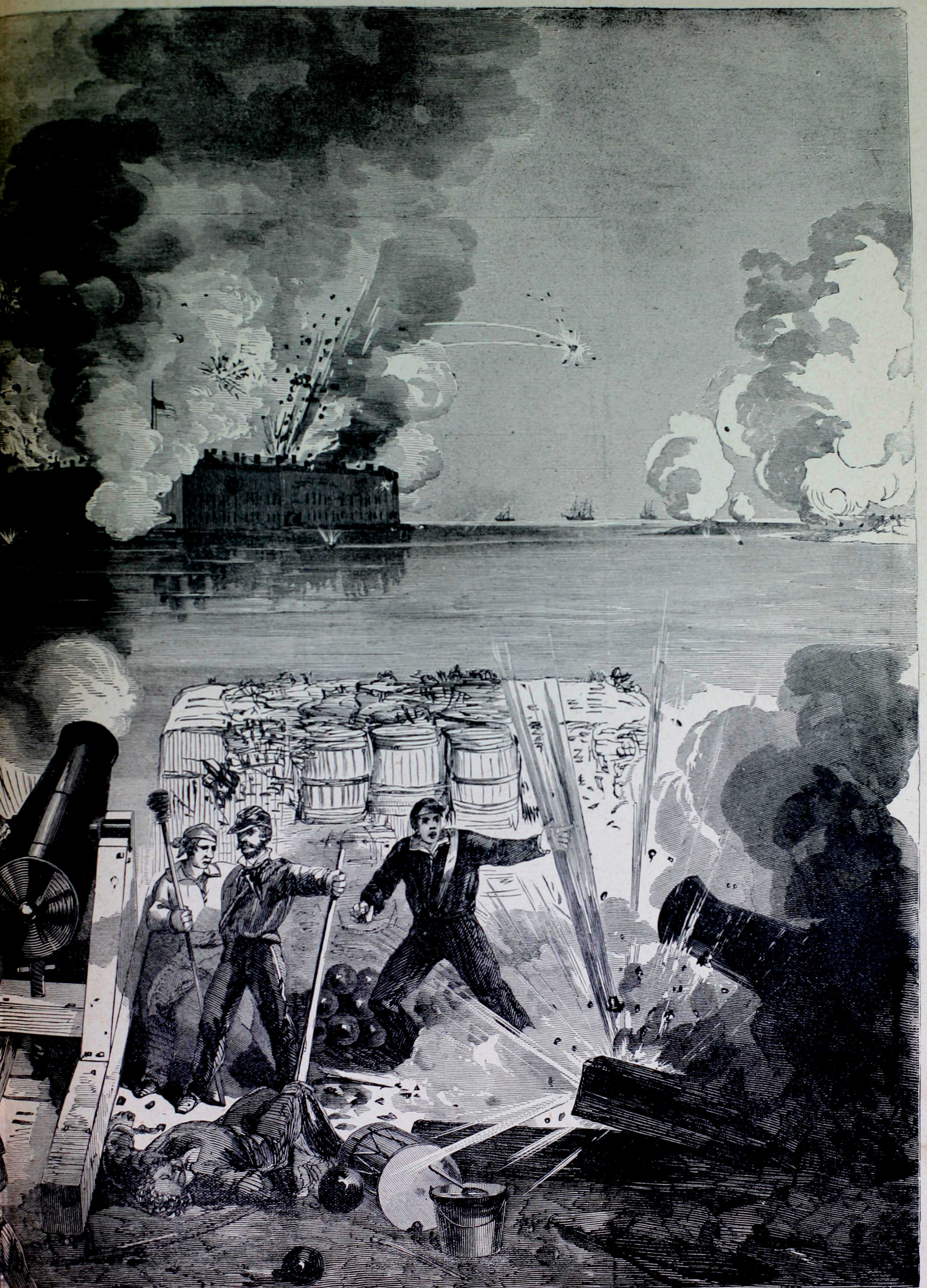
REMOVING POWDER FROM THE MAGAZINE OF FORT SUMTER DURING THE BOMBARDMENT.

doors were, therefore, finally closed and locked, and the fight kept up only in name, by the occasional irregular discharge of a gun. The situation of the garrison, actually desperate from the beginning, was now rapidly approaching the last extremity. The main gates took fire, and were soon destroyed, leaving the fort open to assault from this quarter by overwhelming force. The chassis of the barbette guns were burned upon the gorge. The heat became so intense, and diffused itself so widely, that the shells and fixed ammunition in the upper service magazines exploded, scattering ruin and threatening death. The fire from all the insurgent batteries increased in fury; and the continued thunder of their heavy guns, the roar of the flames inside the fort, the crash of falling masonry and timber, the bursting of the enemy's shells, and the explosion of the ammunition in the service magazines, combined to make a scene in which grandeur rivaled peril. The great extent of the fort, the small number of men within it, and the care with which they were kept inside the casemates, thus far prevented any serious casualties. But it seemed as if the garrison were to escape death by shot and shell only to meet it by suffocation. The day was warm and

sultry, the smoke did not rise freely, and the fort became so filled with it that the men could hardly see or breathe. The heat itself grew stifling, and increased to such a point that it became necessary to protect all the powder left of that which had been taken out of the great magazine—only four barrels—with wet blankets and other bedding. The men themselves were able to get breath only by lying down upon the floors of the casemates, and spreading wet cloths over their faces to exclude the smoke. An eddying gust of wind occasionally dispersed the stifling clouds, and relieved their distress for lack of air, while it revealed to their sight the terrors of their situation. About this time the flag-staff, which, though hit nine times, had thus far escaped with slight injury, was shot away near the top. The look-out cried, "The flag is down," and instantly Mr. Hall sprang out into the flaming, shot-raked parade, and brought the flag away. But the halliards were so entangled that it could not be righted and raised again. What should be done? The flag must float, for, terrible as the situation was, no one had yet spoken of surrender. A temporary staff was rigged upon the ramparts, and Police-sergeant Hart volunteered to climb it and



BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER BY THE BATTER





POLICE-SERGEANT HART NAILING THE FLAG TO THE TEMPORARY FLAG-STAFF.

nail the flag fast. This he did while the enemy's batteries kept up their furious fire of shot and shell, in the face of which he accomplished his perilous undertaking, and descended the staff in safety. The enemy, determined rebels though they were, could not see unmoved this heroic defense of a fortress and a flag for which they felt that only a little while before they would have fought with no less gallantry; and at each of the now rare and irregular discharges of a single gun, they leaped upon their own ramparts and cheered Major Anderson and his men.

Under these circumstances, when the only four barrels of powder out of the magazine were practically inaccessible, when only three more cartridges remained, and they were in the guns, when the tragic interest of the day was at its height, the comic actor of the occasion entered upon the scene, and affairs took a ludicrous turn toward peace. The fall of the flag had, of course, been noticed, and it had been mistaken in one quarter at least for a sign of surrender. Soon after Mr. Hart had nailed it in its new position upon the outer wall, a man appeared at an embrasure with a handkerchief tied upon a sword, symbolic of the semi-military condition of his mind and person in

other respects, and demanded admission. It was allowed, and he scrambled in. He proved to be the Hon. Mr. Wigfall, of Texas, who had been the occasion of much laughter in the Senate-chamber, and who was now volunteer aid to General Beauregard. In a fuss and flurry, which provoked the smiles of the smoke-grimed soldiers whom he addressed, he said that he came from that officer, and asked for Major Anderson. He had gone to the main gate to meet the flag of truce, the approach of which had been observed; and before he could be summoned, Colonel Wigfall (for such was his new title) said, "Your flag is down; you are on fire; let us quit this;" and asked to have his extemporized flag of truce displayed from the ramparts. He was shown the national flag still flying, and told that if he wished his friends to stop firing *he* must display the flag of truce. This he at once did, waving it out of an embrasure, which, nevertheless, was nearly hit by two or three shots. As it was his flag, and not that of the fort, a corporal was then ordered to relieve him; but the firing being still kept up, because of the national flag again floating above the fort, the corporal declined to continue his useless exposure, and leaped back into the casemate, where *the*



excited and de-camp soundly rated him for his cowardice. At this point Major Anderson came up, and the subsequent colloquy is thus reported by an eye-witness to the interview:

"Wigfall said, 'I am Colonel Wigfall, and come from General Beauregard, who wishes to stop this.' Major Anderson, rising on his toes, and coming down firmly upon his heels, replied, 'Well, sir.' 'Major Anderson,' said Wigfall, 'you have defended your flag nobly, sir. You have done all that is possible for men to do, and General Beauregard wishes to stop the fight. On what terms, Major Anderson, will you evacuate this fort?' Major Anderson's reply was, 'General Beauregard is already acquainted with my only terms.' 'Do I understand that you will evacuate upon the terms proposed the other day?' 'Yes, sir, and on those conditions only,' was the reply of the major. 'Then, sir,' said Wigfall, 'I understand, Major Anderson, that the fort is to be ours?' 'On those conditions only, I repeat.' 'Very well,' said Wigfall; 'then it is understood that you will evacuate. That is all I have to do. You military men will arrange every thing else on your own terms.' He then departed, the white flag still waving where he had placed it, and the stars and stripes waving from the flag-staff, which had become the target of the rebels."

But hardly was he half way to the shore when a more formal and numerous deputation from the staff of General Beauregard—Major Lee, Mr. Porcher Miles, ex-Senator Chesnut, and Mr. Roger A. Pryor—appeared with a flag of truce and asked admission, which, of course, was given. They also said that they came from General Beauregard. He had noticed that the flag had been down; that the fort was on fire; and he desired to know if he could render any assistance. As Major Anderson's position was the consequence of General Beauregard's own acts, this was, of course, but a delicate way of asking a surrender. The beleaguered commander was surprised, as well he might be, at this deputation from a man with whom he had already agreed upon general terms of evacuation, and he replied accordingly, to the great discomfiture of the members of the new deputation. These, however, after a few minutes' conference, informed Major Anderson that the extempore Texan colonel had not seen the rebel commander-in-chief for two days. They requested, however, a suspension of hostilities while they bore a written memorandum of Major Anderson's terms to General Beauregard; but, in the midst of this embarrassment, yet a third flag of truce arrived, borne by Major D. R. Jones, the insurgent general's chief of staff, offering the same terms of evacuation, with a single exception, which had been proposed before the bombardment—to wit, the departure of the whole command, with company arms and property, and all private property, and the privilege of saluting and keeping the flag—the exception being the salute to the flag. These terms Major Anderson positively refused then to accept without the salute, but consented that that point should remain open for consideration.

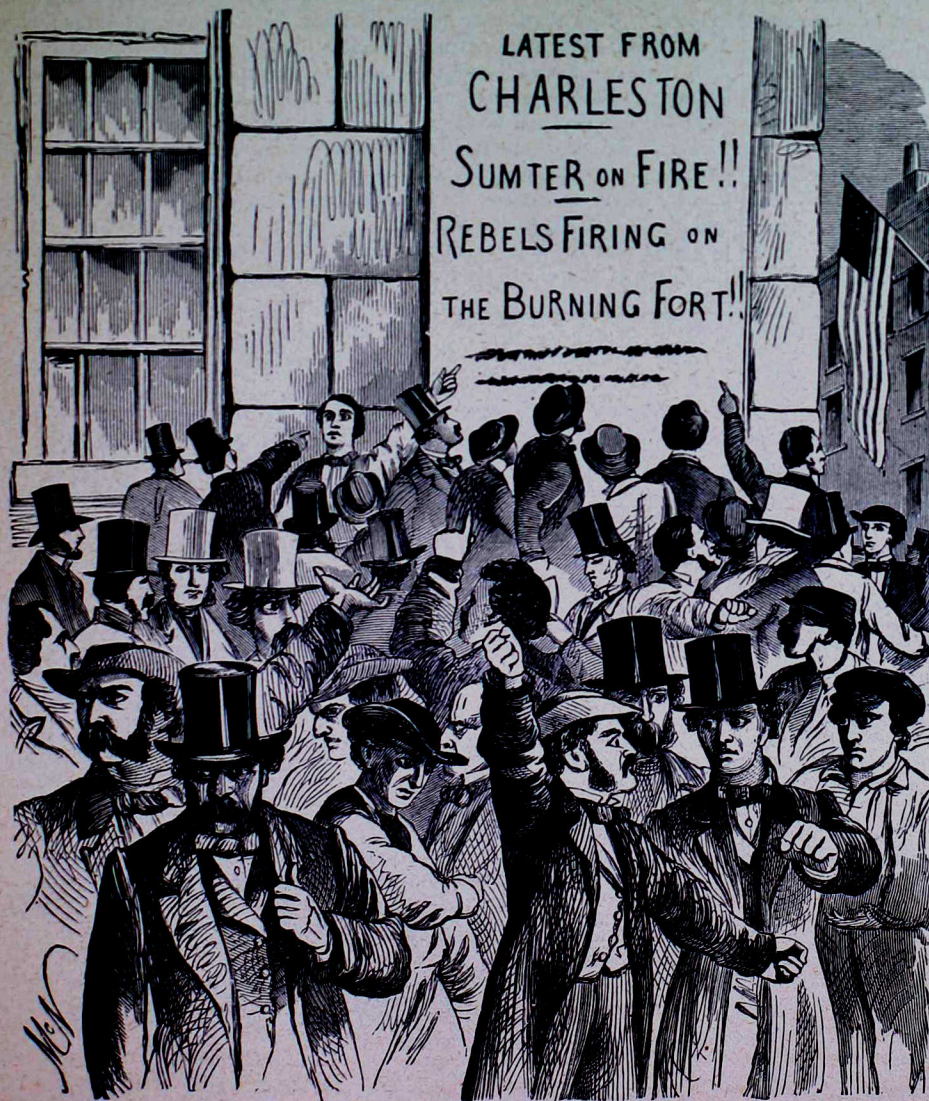
The salute was finally admitted by General Beauregard, who also (with equal courtesy, and regard for the condition of a fort which was about to pass into his possession) proffered assistance for the extinction of the fire, which was declined. The intrepid national commander had no alternative as to the course which he should pursue. He had not lost a man; but the fort had become untenable, and his means of defense were exhausted. Had there been time to let the walls cool so that the magazine might be opened, to blow down the parapet and build up the great gates with stones and rubbish, the defense might have been prolonged, as far as the fort itself was concerned, until the men were exhausted by a diet of sheer salt pork. But, even had these circumstances existed, the lack of cartridges and the means of making them would have made effective offensive operations impossible.

It is said that yet another and still more ludicrous incident lightened the closing scenes of this eventful day within the fort. Mr. Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia, one of the first deputation from General Beauregard (and who seems to have been one of that high (but not highest) style of Southern man who vaunts his good-breeding and his chivalry, but has not yet attained to quiet self-respect and unassuming confidence in himself, united to scrupulous regard for the feelings of others, but maintains his superiority by offensive self-assertion), appeared on this occasion loaded down with arms incisive and explosive, and bore himself in keeping with his personal appearance. Seeing upon a table what appeared to be a glass of brandy, he swallowed it, without pause or ceremony. Surgeon Crawford having caught sight of him as he was turning down the dose, approached quickly, and informed him that what he had drunk as brandy was iodide of potassium, a deadly poison. Instant collapse on the part of the patient followed this announcement; but whether it was due to the poison, or only to the announcement, the Muse of History has not been informed. She records with pleasure, however, that the valiant Virginian, having been seized upon by the benevolent surgeon, was put instantly through such a course of pumping and purgation that his life was saved, to be again, in like manner, devoted to the cause which he had espoused. It may be cruel, but it is human, to suggest that the surgeon, having failed of a single loyal patient through a two days' bombardment, was determined to have one at least from the rebel side, and seized the occasion of an equally thoughtless and harmless drinking to gratify at once his professional craving and his excited patriotism.

Agitating as this day had been in Charleston Harbor, it was none the less so outside the bounds of the insurgent confederacy. Throughout the free states, and the slave states still under loyal rule, the people rose on that Saturday morning with their souls filled with the one anxiety which had prevented or disturbed their rest. The bombardment and the defense would, of course, be renewed; but would Major Anderson be able to hold out until he received the re-enforcements and supplies which lay within sight of his ram-

parts? What of good or ill to the republic would this day bring forth? What of honor or dishonor to the flag? The excitement was not turbulent; it hardly ruffled the surface of society. It was a strong, deep-seated trouble; a sad and almost awful apprehension. It sank deeper and spread wider as the hourly dispatches told how the stirring fight went on. In the great centres of population and business the streets were filled by eager, anxious people, who spoke nervously upon the one great theme; and around the many bulletin-boards the crowds were so great as to impede the public passage. The announcements successively made of the feebleness of Major Anderson's resistance, of the inactivity of the fleet, of the fire, the throwing powder into the water, the explosions, the silencing of the fort, the incomprehensible display of the flag of truce at the same time with the national standard, were received with amazement, indignation, and incredulity. The southern end of the telegraph was, of course, in the hands of the insurgents; and soon these astonishing, and, as it was thought, absurd reports began to be attributed to the malicious perversion of those who sent them. The inactivity of the fleet seemed inexplicable; the story that the fort was on fire was scouted as quite incredible. Fort Sumter was believed to be an almost impregnable mass of solid masonry, as incombustible as the Rock of Gibraltar; and here it was, if the truth were told, burning like a tinder-box. Men turned away in scorn; they could not and would not believe it. And when, in the afternoon, the final dispatch came from Charleston, by way of Augusta, that the fort had surrendered; that the confederate flag floated over its walls, and that none of the garrison or confederate troops were hurt, it was thought that this was the cap-sheaf of malicious invention, and that it was only sure that the fight had gone on during the day with varying fortunes. The effect of the news, however, was to work the public mind up to a terrible pitch of excitement; and the most widely-circulated daily paper in the city of New York, having been thus far the apologist and the advocate of the secessionists, the indignation of the people was so roused against it that an attack upon its office was expected, and would

<sup>7</sup> See the "Engineer Journal of the Bombardment of Fort Sumter," by Capt. J. G. Foster, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., New York, 1861.



SCENE AROUND A BULLETIN-BOARD.

doubtless have been made, except for the prompt and vigorous preventive measures taken by the chief of police.

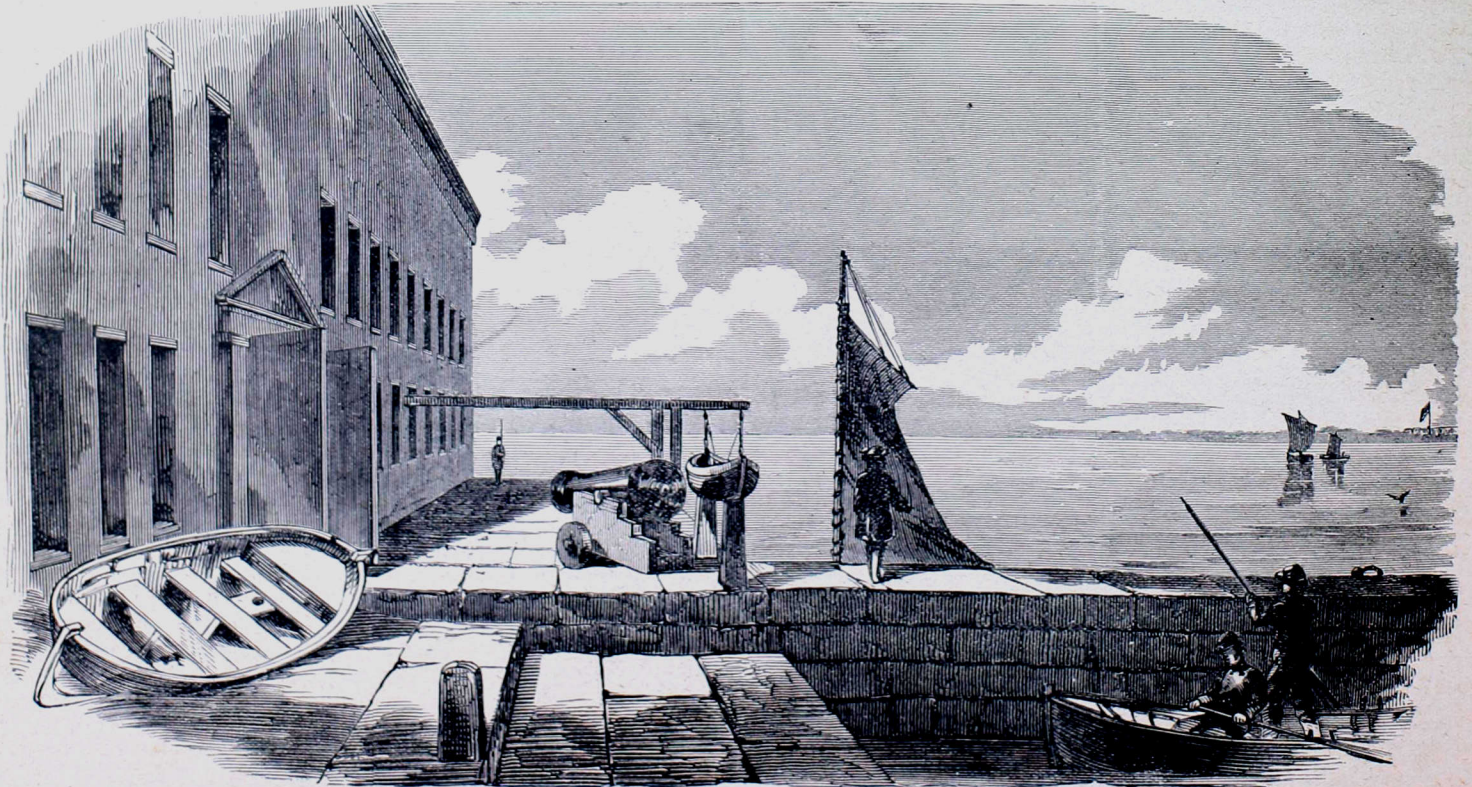
Little of the next day was given wholly to religious duties, for patriotism is an element of piety, not of religion; and the two days' attack upon the national flag was the only subject which really occupied men's minds—the only topic of their conversation. To satisfy the anxiety of the public, the principal newspapers, the publication of which, with one exception, was intermitted, of course, on Sunday, issued a number on this morning; and thus commenced a custom which was continued far into the period of the ensuing war. The dispatches of the previous day proved to be substantially true, and the people found themselves forced to bear the national humiliation with such resignation as they could summon. Here and there a voice was heard denouncing Major Anderson, or at least questioning his patriotism or his determination. But these were the views only of the most headstrong and least considerate folk; the mass of the people felt that he had a right to their entire confidence. At this very time he was evacuating the fort upon terms, and in a manner, creditable alike to himself and to his opponents in the recent contest. Having packed up all company and personal property, and made preparations for saluting his flag, Major Anderson was waited upon by several officers of General Beauregard's staff, Commander Hartstein, formerly of the United States Navy, but who had preferred his state to his country, and Captain Gillis, commander of the *Pocahontas*. The steamer *Isabel*, which the confederate authorities had provided as a transport to the vessels outside the Bar, lay at the wharf behind the gorge. The old battle-torn flag, which had been displayed four months before, amid prayers apparently unheard and hopes doomed to bitter disappointment, was raised to receive the honors which showed that it had fallen without disgrace. Fifty guns were fired, and it was lowered before solemn faces and tearful eyes. But, it would seem, the outraged genius of the republic demanded that some sacrifice of blood, even innocent, should atone for this humiliation, and at the seventeenth gun an accidental explosion of fixed ammunition instantly killed one of the artillerists, and severely wounded several others, one of them mortally. This casualty proved more fatal than the two days' bombardment to either party; for, in spite of reports long circulated to the contrary in regard to the insurgent force, there is no reasonable room for doubting the assertion that neither side lost a single man, while the wounds received were few and trifling. The salute finished, the victim to the honor of his country's flag, Private David Hough, was buried with military honors in the parade of the fort where he had done so gallantly a soldier's duty; and the garrison, in full uniform, were formed in line, and marched out to the air of "Yankee Doodle." The confederate officers present vied with each other in demonstrations of courtesy to their vanquished foes. The flag of Fort Sumter, which Major Anderson took away with him, was raised on board the *Isabel* as she put off, so that he and his command were under no flag but that of their government from the beginning to the end of the memorable series of events in which they bore so prominent a part.

Of the insurgent force in this affair little has been, and little need be said. They were in overwhelming numbers, and the fire of the fort—restricted as Major Anderson proved to be to his guns of smallest calibre—was so ineffective that their performance was little more than artillery practice. Their numbers, and their guns, and the work they did, have been thus precisely stated in an elaborate article written upon the best authority.<sup>8</sup> They had fourteen batteries in action, mounting forty-two heavy guns and mortars. From these there were thrown, during the two days, two thousand three

hundred and sixty shot and nine hundred and eighty shells. The number of men engaged in the confederate works was certainly over three thousand, and between four and five thousand were held in reserve. Of the officers who distinguished themselves—with such distinction as was possible where the officers on one side were three times as many as the men on the other, and no one was hurt—General Beauregard's report mentions Lieutenant Colonel R. S. Ripley, commanding the batteries on Sullivan's Island; Lieutenant Colonel W. G. De Saussure, commanding those on Morris's Island; Major P. F. Stevens, in command of the iron-clad battery at Cummings's Point; Captain Thomas, who commanded the British rifled cannon at this point; and Majors Whiting and Gwin, and Captain Hartstein. Colonel Wigfall comes in for a share of commendation; and let us not forget that, with all his fluster and flurry, and the absurdity of his false position in regard to the capitulation, his motive was a good one, and he showed real fortitude in passing from the shore to the fort in an open boat during a heavy fire of shot and shell. Captain Hartstein, having but to superintend the patrolling of the harbor and carrying of messages in tug-boats, gained more distinction by his courtesy and fraternal kindness after the surrender than by the duties which he had performed before.

It was not to be expected that the official representative of the vaunting and insolent politicians and planters of South Carolina would emulate the honorable consideration shown by Captain Hartstein and the officers who accompanied him to those who had so gallantly defended the flag of the republic—the flag which, not long before, they had all been sworn to uphold at peril of their lives. Governor Pickens, in a speech which he made to the people of Charleston on the evening of the evacuation, exposed without reserve the spiteful, domineering, braggart spirit in which he, and those of his constituents who had really any voice in the direction of affairs, had gone into their rebellion. Alluding to the vast majority of their fellow-citizens, whom they had been told they would find arrayed on the side of the Constitution and the laws, he said: "We have defeated their twenty millions, and we have made the proud flag of the stars and stripes, that never was lowered before to any nation on this earth, we have lowered it in humility before the palmetto and the confederate flags." The humiliation of the national flag, though under circumstances which could bring no honor of any kind to its assailants, was too pleasant a theme to be passed over with one exulting outburst; and thus again the rebellious demagogue rolled the sweet morsel under his tongue: "We have humbled the flag of the United States. I can here say to you, it is the first time in the history of this country that the stars and stripes have been humbled. It has triumphed for seventy years; but to-day, on the thirteenth day of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little state of South Carolina." On the same occasion, and in the same bombastic strain, he spoke of the independence of his constituents as already achieved, and as having been "baptized in blood." Now the twenty millions defeated by the insurgent forces (numbering seven thousand, and having in action forty-two heavy guns and mortars) were one hundred and nine half-famished men, including musicians, laborers, and the surgeon; and the blood in which the Charlestonian independence was baptized was that of four men, slightly wounded. Governor Pickens's speech was received with vociferous applause; and so was one of more significance, made in Montgomery, the confederate capital, the day before, by Mr. Pope Walker, the insurgent Secretary of War: "No man," he said, "can tell where the war this day commenced will end; but I will prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May. Let

<sup>8</sup> Published in the *Charleston Mercury* of May 2d and 3d, 1861.



THE GORGE OF FORT SUMTER.