

them try Southern chivalry and test the extent of Southern resources, and it may float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself."

It was upon a people thus miserably mistaking their countrymen and themselves, thus blind with fury, thus bloated with insolence and besotted with pride, thus bent upon the humiliation and final destruction of the republic in which at last they had ceased to rule, that the heroes of Fort Sumter, defeated but not dishonored, turned their backs, on Sunday, the 14th of April, 1861, and sailed northward, under the very flag which they had so nobly defended, to tell in simple, modest words the story of their struggle.⁹

THE UPRISING AT THE NORTH.

Effect of the Bombardment of Fort Sumter.—War Proclamation of President Lincoln.—Response of the Free States; of the Governors of the Border Slave States.—Measures of the Rebel Government.—Seizure of the Navy Yard and Forts Barrancas and M'Rea at Pensacola.—Occupation of Fort Pickens by Lieutenant Slemmer.—Insolent Propositions for Truce, and degrading Compliance.—Re-enforcement of Fort Pickens.—Washington in danger.—The Convention of Virginia secretly passes a Provisional Ordinance of Secession, and an Ordinance uniting the State to the insurgent Confederacy.—Destruction of the Arsenal and Armory at Harper's Ferry, and its Occupation by the Insurgents.—Incomplete Destruction of the Portsmouth Navy Yard, and its Seizure.—Massachusetts leads the Van.—Reasons for her Promptness.—Attack upon a Massachusetts and a Pennsylvania Regiment in Baltimore.—March of the New York Seventh.—Communication between Washington and the North cut off.—Union Meetings.—The Flag.—Badges.—Show your Colors.—Gifts and Appropriations for the War.—A Blockade.—Rebel Privateers.—Neutral Treason.—Condition of Washington Society.—Spies.—Seizure of Telegraphic Dispatches.—Habeas Corpus practically suspended.—Commotion in Missouri.—Kentucky for the Union.—New Proclamation calling for 48,000 Men for three Years.—Military Preparations at the South.—Seat of the Rebel Government transferred to Richmond.—Nature and Purposes of the impending Conflict.

THE depression which followed the bombardment of Fort Sumter was but momentary. It did not last a single day. The rebound was instantaneous and tremendous. In spite of four months' warning, the event actually came with all the suddenness of surprise. In fact, it was absolutely necessary to the arousing of the loyal men of the republic from a state of mingled confidence and bewilderment, which had almost the seeming, and all the effect, of stupor. A keen and practiced observer, who had visited many parts of the world and many scenes of strife in the service of the most influential journal of Europe, and who had been sent to the United States to observe and report the course of events during the civil troubles, after remaining in New York two weeks, wrote, on the 20th of March, that to his eyes that city was "full of divine calm and human phlegm;" that the commercial queen of the West, in his opinion, "would do any thing rather than fight, her desire is to eat her bread and honey and count her dollars in peace." To him, judging from what he heard as well as what he saw, the disruption of the republic was then already accomplished; for, on the one side, a representative secessionist said to him, "No concession, no compromise; nothing that can be done or suggested shall induce us to join any confederation of which the New England states are members;" and, on the other, an equally eminent Republican, of the extreme school, declared to him on the same day, "If I could bring back the Southern states by holding up my little finger, I should think it criminal to do so."¹⁰ The swift agency of steam could not take the letter containing these statements to London, print it, and send it back again, before the conclusion based upon them was entirely falsified. The secessionist doubtless stood firm in his rebellious determination; but the Abolitionist had found that, whatever might be his feeling upon the subject, the people of the free states did not regard the question of negro slavery in any of its bearings as worthy to be weighed one moment in the scale with that of the maintenance of constitutional government and the perpetuity of the republic; and the divine calm of the city that would do any thing rather than fight had been swept away by an intensely human excitement which strangely united all the heat of fury to all the coolness of resolution. In all this there was no sudden gyration of opinion or change of feeling. The national sentiment of loyal men was not touched to the quick until the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The secessionists might have held conventions

and passed resolutions until the crack of doom, and it would have been regarded as of but little moment. Southern conventions had become a laughing-stock at the North on account of their wordy folly. They had been held for various ostensible objects, but chiefly for that of turning, by preamble and resolutions, the tide of commerce from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia to Norfolk and Charleston. In this they had not been successful; and the discredit which attached to them affected greatly all the preliminary steps taken in the more dangerous designs to which they were in part a cloak. In fact, much as the country had been disturbed by the outbreak at the South upon the election of Mr. Lincoln, it seemed but a continuation or expected consequence of the preceding presidential canvass. It was no new thing. It did not have a beginning; it was merely a going on. It seemed, nay, it was, the last move in the stupendous game of intimidation and braggadocio which had been played for twenty years and more. Much the same turmoil had been heard before, when the slavery propaganda had only feared defeat. What was to be expected upon its actual discomfiture? These men had talked so much about secession if a Republican were elected, that, unless they were willing to be looked upon as the merest braggarts, they must do something to back their words. Their conventions and their ordinances were mere brute thunder, harmful in effect upon the country, but harmless against its government. Their refusal to pay their Northern debts was regarded as far more injurious, and more indicative of hostile determination.

Thus thought and felt too many men throughout the country through the gloomy winter of 1860 and 1861; for even the seizure of forts and arms, and the very establishment of the insurgent government, were looked upon rather as extreme measures of intimidation than as the first steps of a desperate rebellion. The firing upon the Star of the West, strange to say, did not quite open the eyes of all of those who should have seen that it meant absolute defiance. But when, upon the announcement that Fort Sumter was to be provisioned, the insurgents bombarded the garrison out of it, then, with a sudden shock, the loyal citizens of the republic felt what secession really was. Indignation flashed through the astonished land. The whole country quivered with a new emotion. Men lived in the open air, that they might read in each other's faces, eye to eye, the noble wrath, the fixed determination, the lofty purpose that ruled the hour. Two could hardly speak together in the street above their ordinary tone without being surrounded with eager listeners. Every public place was thronged with unbidden crowds, intent upon discourse of the momentous situation. A nation of free-men, each of whom felt, at last, his own responsibility for his country's safety and honor, was pierced through brain and heart with the barbed conviction that that safety was in peril and that honor at stake. The strong barriers of party vanished as by magic, and men became so intensely absorbed in the present that, forgetful of the past, they saw each other for the first time only as fellow-citizens, with one feeling and one purpose. It was a moment of supreme grandeur in the life of the nation. Patriotism, which had been trodden under foot of politicians, which had withered in the arid soil of selfishness under the blazing sun of prosperity, which had been choked with the thorns of care, and wealth, and pleasure, struck at once its roots to the very centre of the nation's being, and in a single night blossomed into fruitfulness. That fruit was a stern resolve to sacrifice life and fortune in defense of the republic.

It was to a people who had passed through this mental experience that President Lincoln addressed a proclamation dated upon the day of the evacuation of Fort Sumter.¹ That was Sunday; and on Monday morning the President's appeal, distributed by telegraph, was read throughout the country. It was remarkably cool and dispassionate. It set forth that the laws of the United States had been for some time defied in the seven seceded states by combinations too powerful to be dealt with by the officers of the law; it called out 75,000 of the militia of the several states for the purpose of suppressing those combinations, and first, if not chiefly, of repossessing the forts which had been seized; it especially, and with great care in the use of words, disavowed any intention of "devastation, destruction, or interference with property in any part of the country." It commanded the insurgents to dis-

herely, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both houses of Congress. The senators and representatives are, therefore, summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at 12 o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the 4th day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 15th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

The following call on the respective state governors for troops was simultaneously issued through the War Department:

STR,—Under the act of Congress for calling out the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, to repel invasion, etc., approved February 28, 1795, I have the honor to request your excellency to cause to be immediately detailed from the militia of your state the quota designated in the table below, to serve as infantry or riflemen for a period of three months, unless sooner discharged. Your excellency will please communicate to me the time at about which your quota will be expected at its rendezvous, as it will be met as soon as practicable by an officer or officers to muster it into service and pay of the United States. At the same time the oath of fidelity to the United States will be administered to every officer and man. The mustering officers will be instructed to receive no man under the rank of commissioned officer who is in years apparently over 45 or under 18, or who is not in physical strength and vigor. The quota for each state is as follows:

Maine	1	Pennsylvania	16	Missouri	4
New Hampshire	1	Delaware	1	Ohio	13
Vermont	1	Tennessee	2	Indiana	6
Massachusetts	2	Maryland	4	Illinois	6
Rhode Island	1	Virginia	3	Michigan	1
Connecticut	1	North Carolina	2	Iowa	1
New York	17	Kentucky	4	Minnesota	1
New Jersey	4	Arkansas	1	Wisconsin	1

It is ordered that each regiment shall consist, on an aggregate of officers and men, of 780. The total thus to be called out is 73,391. The remainder to constitute the 75,000 men under the President's proclamation will be composed of troops in the District of Columbia.

⁹ Major Anderson's Dispatch concerning the Bombardment and Evacuation of Fort Sumter.

Steam-ship Baltic, off Sandy Hook, April 18, 1861.

Hon. S. Cameron, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. :
SIR,—Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation, offered by General Beauregard, being the same offered by him on the 11th instant, prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched out of the fort Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant, with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.
ROBERT ANDERSON, Major First Artillery.

¹⁰ Correspondence of the London Times, April 17th, 1861.

Proclamation of President Lincoln.

Whereas the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by law: now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several states of the Union to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed. The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the state authorities through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and existence of our national Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens of any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date.

Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do

perse within twenty days, and summoned a special session of Congress on the 4th of July. The command was a matter of form, prescribed by act of Congress; the summons, a matter of necessity. On that Monday morning, too, the flag of the republic—how dear to those who were true to it, they never knew till then—was raised by spontaneous impulse upon every staff which stood on loyal ground; and from the Lakes to the Potomac, from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Mississippi, the eye could hardly turn without meeting the bright banner which symbolized in its stripes the union and the initial struggle, and in its stars the consequent growth and glory of the nation and the government which the insurgents had banded themselves together to destroy.²

The response of the free states to the proclamation was so unanimous and so instantaneous that it seemed to be by acclamation. The official responses of the several governors became almost matters of course and of form. They were dignified, calm, and resolute messages. The people in Delaware were equally prompt and hearty in their devotion to the republic; and over the vast extent of country lying north of the Potomac and the Ohio, its intelligent millions, throughout all grades of the social scale, were at once busied in preparing for the coming war, or, at least, in cheering those who were thus engaged. President Lincoln doubtless asked for 75,000 men with some fear and trembling; for, since the nation came into political existence, it had never had half that number of men under arms together. But before a day had passed it was manifest that more than twice as many were ready at his call. The proclamation, however, was not addressed to the free states only; and all those who were not under the control of the insurgent government (except California, Oregon, and Kansas, on account of their remoteness) were called upon to furnish their several quotas. From the governors of all the slave states except Delaware and Maryland there came a flat, and, in some cases, a defiant and an insolent refusal. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, was content with being decided. Governors Ellis, of North Carolina, and Magoffin, of Kentucky, added to their refusal a denunciation of the course of the government as "wicked." Governor Rector, of Arkansas, stigmatized the demand as "adding insult to injury," and talked of defense against "Northern mendacity and usurpation." Governor Harris, of Tennessee, said he had not a man for coercion, but fifty thousand for the defense of the rights of his Southern, *i. e.*, his slaveholding brothers; while Governor Jackson, of Missouri, poured out his wrath in the words "illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman, diabolical."³ The governors

² The feeling of the time when this spontaneous display of the stars and stripes lit up the face of all the North, found a truthful and spirited expression in this fine lyric, which appeared in the *Boston Transcript*:

THE FLAG. BY HOBATIO WOODMAN.
Why flashed that flag on Monday morn
Across the startled sky?
Why leaped the blood to every cheek,
The tears to every eye?
The hero in our four months' woe,
The symbol of our might,
Together sunk for one brief hour,
To rise forever bright.
The mind of Cromwell claimed his own,
The blood of Naseby streamed
Through hearts unconscious of the fire,
Till that torn banner gleamed.
The seeds of Milton's lofty thoughts,
All hopeless of the spring,
Broke forth in joy, as through them glowed
The life great poets sing.
Old Greece was young, and Homer true,
And Dante's burning page
Flamed in the red along our flag,
And kindled holy rage.
God's Gospel cheered the sacred cause
In stern, prophetic strain,
Which makes His rite our covenant,
His Psalms our deep refrain.
Oh, sad for him whose light went out
Before this glory came,
Who could not live to feel his kin
To every noble name!
And sadder still to miss the joy
That twenty millions know
In Human Nature's holiday
From all that makes life low.

³ REPLIES FROM THE DISLOYAL GOVERNORS TO THE REQUISITION FOR TROOPS UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

From Governor Letcher, of Virginia.

"I have only to say, that the militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern states, and a requisition made upon me for such an object—an object, in my judgment, not within the purview of the Constitution or the act of 1795—will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate civil war, and having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the administration has exhibited toward the South."

From Governor Ellis, of North Carolina.

"Your dispatch is received; and, if genuine, which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt, I have to say in reply, that I regard the levy of troops made by the administration for the purpose of subjugating the states of the South as in violation of the Constitution, and a usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina."

From Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky.

"Your dispatch is received. I say emphatically that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern states."

From Governor Harris, of Tennessee.

"Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion, but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defense of our rights, or those of our Southern brethren."

From Governor Rector, of Arkansas.

"In answer to your requisition for troops from Arkansas, to subjugate the Southern states, I have to say that none will be furnished. The demand is only adding insult to injury. The people of this commonwealth are freemen, not slaves, and will defend to the last extremity their honor, lives, and property against Northern mendacity and usurpation."

From Governor Jackson, of Missouri.

"There can be, I apprehend, no doubt that these men are intended to make war upon the seceded states. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and can not be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."

of Delaware and Maryland (Burton and Hicks) answered with bated breath, in the form of proclamation. The former announced that he found himself without power to comply with the requisition from the Secretary of War, but he recommended the raising of a regiment, which he announced would be at liberty to offer its services to the general government. The regiment was immediately raised and mustered into service; and before the year was out, this small state had furnished two thousand more men to the armies of the Union. Governor Hicks's proclamation was little else than a public wringing of the hands and bemoaning himself over the perplexities of his situation, which indeed were great and trying; for, although Maryland was loyal by a large majority, the disloyal men were actually numerous, and made up by their activity and defiant bearing for their inferiority of numbers. Among them, too, were the greater part of the wealthy slaveholders in the state, and the people of high social position. Governor Hicks endeavored to placate his constituents by assuring them that no troops should be sent from Maryland unless for the protection of the national capital, and reminding them that a special election would soon give them an opportunity of expressing their devotion to the Union, or their desire to see it broken up.⁴

The first step of the confederate government to meet this condition of affairs beyond their borders was to issue a call for 32,000 more troops. The governors of the seceded states thereupon issued flaming proclamations, denouncing, exhorting, commanding, and recommending; and in one instance, that of Governor Brown, of Georgia, the command took the needless, but, therefore, none the less dishonorable form of an interdiction of payment of any debt due to a resident of an anti-slavery state, while the recommendation shrewdly suggested that these confiscated funds should be paid into the treasury of Georgia.

These were preparations for future movements. But already the government of the United States had brought an important military operation to the verge of a successful issue. This was the re-enforcement of Fort Pickens—much the strongest fortification at the very important post of Pensacola Harbor in Florida, which it in a great measure commanded. At this post was a navy yard, which was used as a naval station for Gulf cruisers, and which was therefore rich in ammunition and supplies. The bay or harbor was defended first by Fort Pickens, a large and formidable stone casemated work, which stands on the point of Santa Rosa Island, a long and narrow strip of sand which almost closes the bay, and between which and the opposite shore there is a distance of but a mile and a half. Directly opposite Fort Pickens is a water-battery known as Fort M'Rea; and about two miles farther along the shore, and within less than the same distance of Fort Pickens, is a larger work than the former, which is called the Barrancas, or Fort San Carlos. The greedy eyes of the insurgents were early turned upon these important strong-holds and store-houses; and on the 12th of January a band of about five hundred men, led by Captain V. M. Randolph, of the United States Navy, and, it is said, by one Colonel Lomax, whose commission was in the Florida militia, appeared at the gates of the navy yard, and demanded its surrender to the State of Florida, which had that day passed its Ordinance of Secession. It was on this day that the Star of the West returned to New York, with the marks of two rebel cannon upon her hull, after her miserable attempt to re-enforce Fort Sumter. The scene at Pensacola Navy Yard was more shameful, and incomparably more calamitous. There was no attempt at decency on the part of Lieutenants E. Farrand and F. B. Renshaw, who were there in authority; and in their presence, and, it is asserted, by the command of the latter, the flag of the republic was hauled down amid the jeers of a drunken rabble, and the yard, with all its guns, stores, and ammunition, passed at a word into the hands of the insurgents.⁵ On the same day, Commander Armstrong, of the Navy, caused the Barrancas to be abandoned; but he had the grace to spike the guns, and remove some, at least, of the munitions. Farrand and Renshaw were treacherously false to their colors; but Armstrong's plea was inability to cope with the forces which could be brought against him. At little Fort M'Rea, however, was a man of another mould. Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, a young officer of artillery, distinguished thus far only by his proficiency in the scientific branches of his profession, was stationed there; and he determined at once to do all that a brave and able soldier could to save the key to the position. The garrison under his command at Fort M'Rea was very small, but he did not despair. Hastily gathering from the Barrancas and the navy

Proclamation of Governor Hicks, of Maryland.

To the People of Maryland:

The unfortunate state of affairs now existing in the country has greatly excited the people of Maryland.

In consequence of our peculiar position, it is not to be expected that the people of the state can unanimously agree upon the best mode of preserving the honor and integrity of the state, and of maintaining within her limits that peace so earnestly desired by all good citizens.

The emergency is great. The consequences of a rash step will be fearful. It is the imperative duty of every true son of Maryland to do all that can tend to arrest the threatened evil. I therefore counsel the people, in all earnestness, to withhold their hands from whatever may tend to precipitate us into the gulf of discord and ruin gaping to receive us.

I counsel the people to abstain from all heated controversy upon the subject; to avoid all things that tend to crimination and recrimination, in order that the origin of our evil day may be forgotten now by every patriot in the earnest desire to avert from us its fruit.

All powers vested in the governor of the state will be strenuously exerted to preserve the peace and maintain inviolate the honor and integrity of Maryland.

I call upon the people to obey the laws, and to aid the constituted authorities in their endeavors to preserve the fair fame of our state unharmed.

I assure the people that no troops will be sent from Maryland, unless it may be for the defense of the national capital.

It is my intention in the future, as it has been my endeavor in the past, to preserve the people of Maryland from civil war; and I invoke the assistance of every true and loyal citizen to aid me in this emergency.

The people of this state will, in a short time, have the opportunity afforded them, in a special election of members of Congress of the United States, to express their devotion to the Union, or their desire to have it broken up.

T. H. HICKS

Baltimore, April 18, 1861.

⁴ Report of a Select Committee to Congress, Feb. 21, 1861.



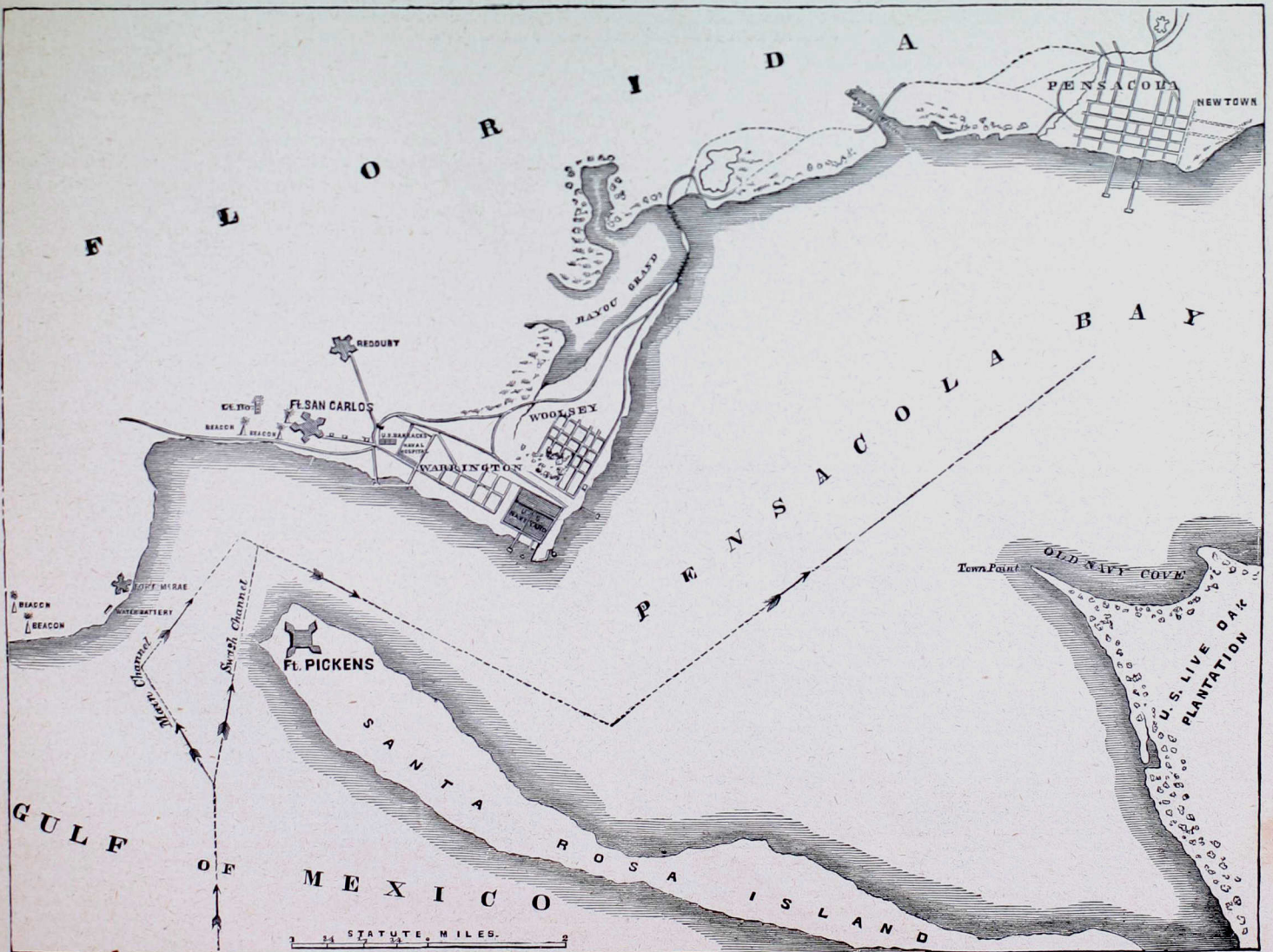
LIEUTENANT A. J. SLEMMER.



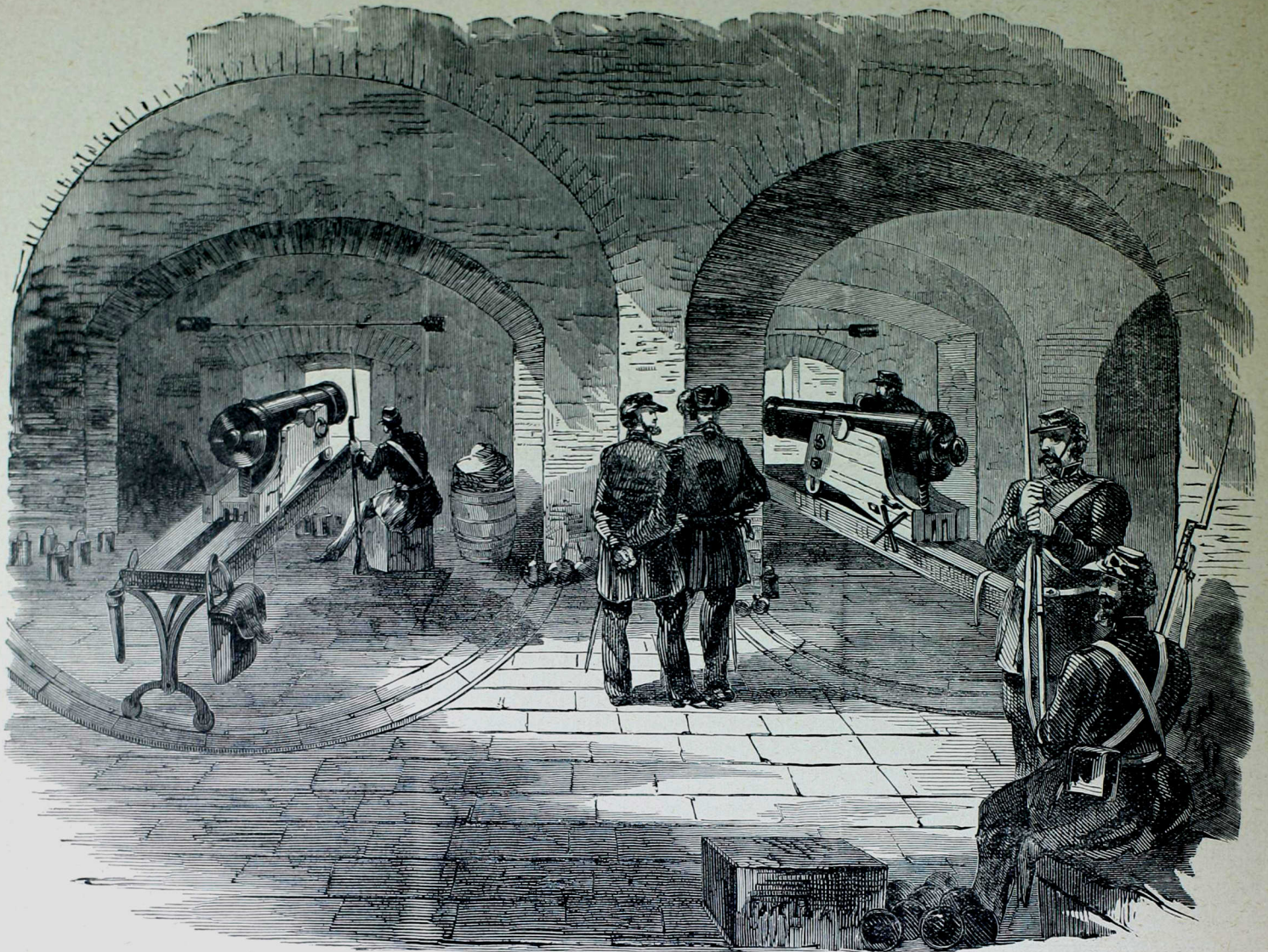
LIEUTENANT J. H. GILMAN.

yard a few troops who had proved faithful among the faithless, and joining to these some marines from the war steamer Wyandotte, then at that station, he threw himself with his little force, numbering in all but about eighty men, into Fort Pickens, where he hoped, and it proved not without reason, that he could hold out until re-enforcements should arrive. He secured himself against immediate attack from Fort M'Rea by destroying all the ammunition not locked up in the magazine, and by spiking the guns and ramming the tompons so firmly into the muzzles that they had to be bored out. All the other works were unimportant compared to Fort Pickens, which commanded every gun upon them; and although the insurgents addressed themselves vigorously to the task of strengthening the old forts, Lieutenant Slemmer, by his bold and spirited move (in which he was ably supported by Lieutenant Gilman), had foiled their main purpose utterly.

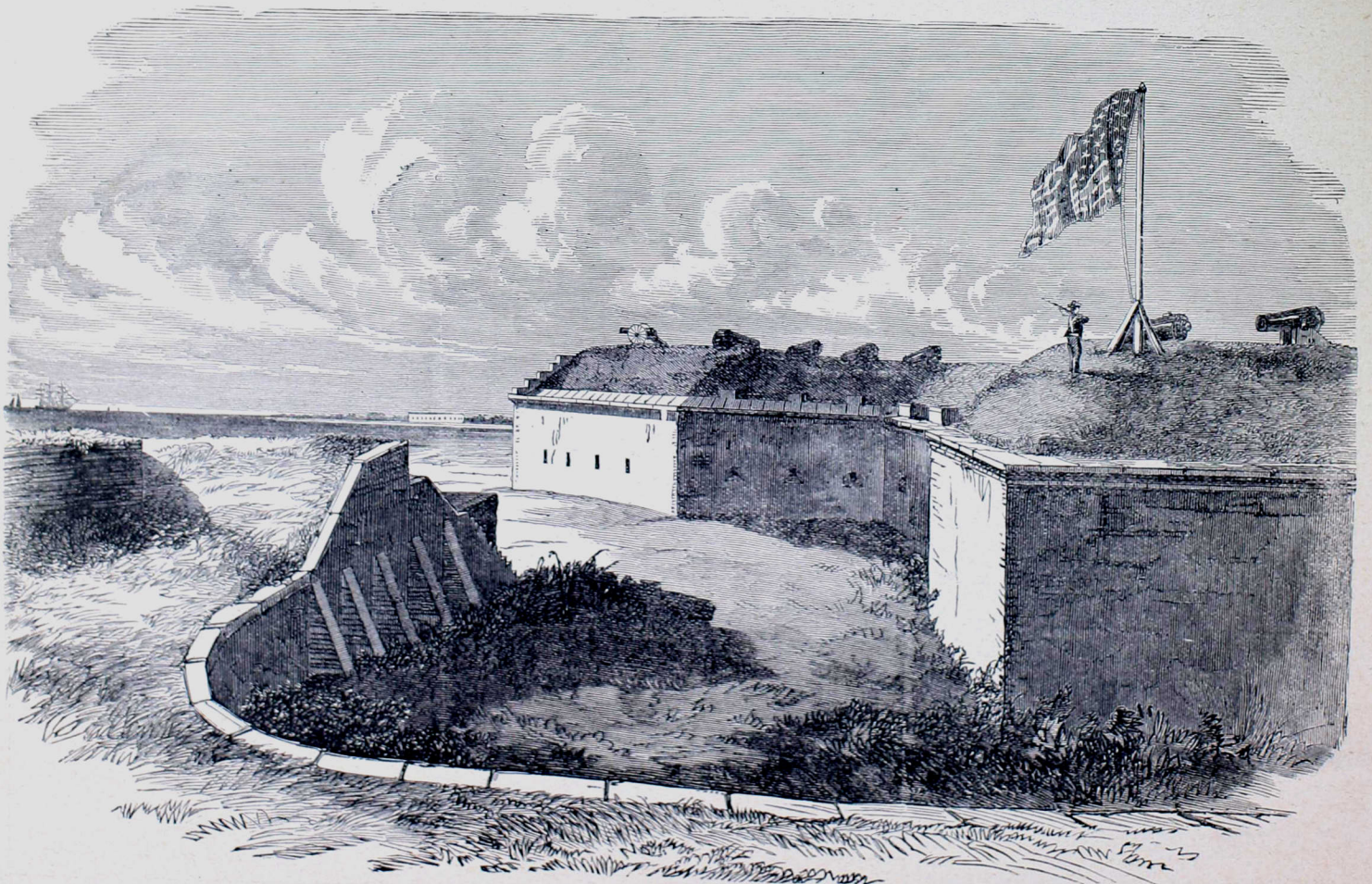
The news of these transactions flew quickly to Washington, for as yet there was no attempt at secrecy of movement, and steps were taken which resulted in a strategic defeat for the rebels. Their attention and the interest of the whole country was mainly concentrated upon Fort Sumter. As a strategical point, this fort was absolutely worthless, owing to the unimportance of the city which it defended, either as a commercial port, a centre of population, or a base of operations. The honor of the flag and humanity to the garrison were the chief, if not the only questions to be considered in regard to the situation at Charleston Harbor. But Fort Pickens was one of the keys of the Gulf of Mexico, and Washington was the capital of the republic. While, therefore, the flag of the Union was flying defiantly from Fort Sumter, the concentration round it of all the available force of the confederated insurgents was enabling the government to secure more easily the



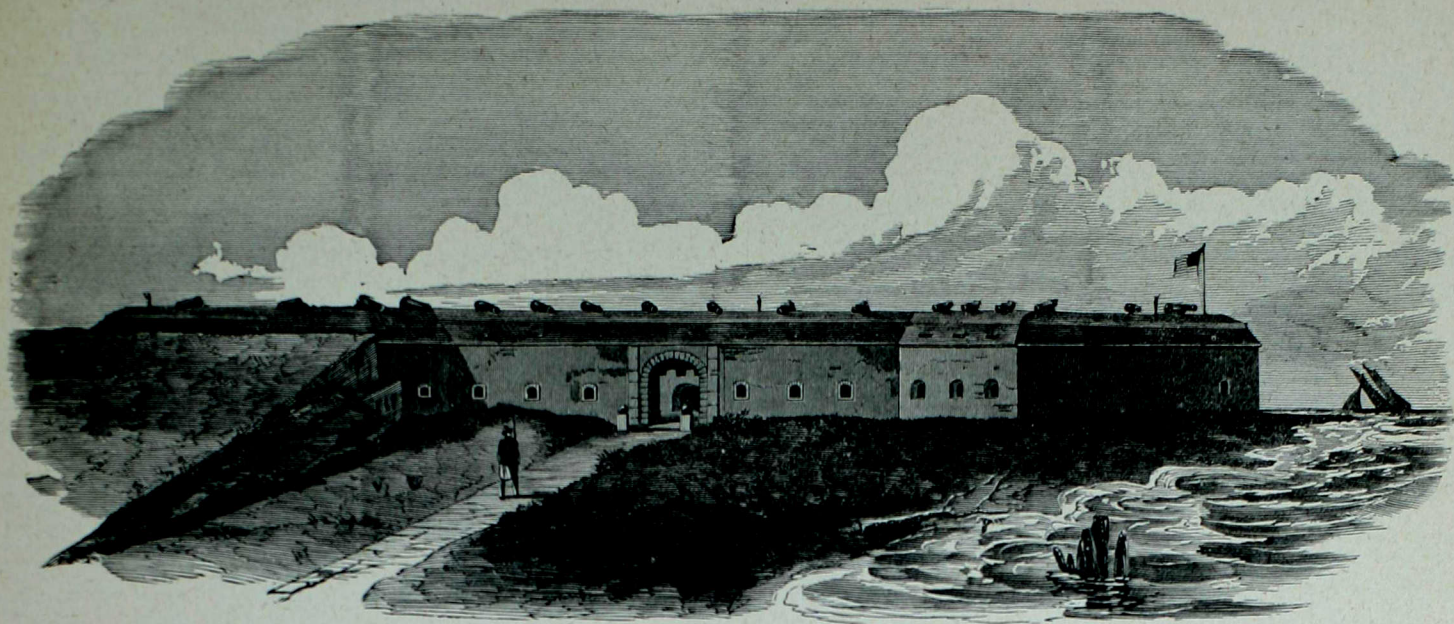
THE HARBOR OF PENSACOLA, FLORIDA, SHOWING THE FORTS, NAVY YARD, ETC.



ONE OF THE TEN FLANK CASEMATE BATTERIES AT FORT PICKENS, FLORIDA.



THE FLAG-STAFF BASTION AT FORT PICKENS, FLORIDA.



FRONT VIEW OF FORT PICKENS, PENSACOLA, SHOWING THE SALLY-PORT AND GLACIS.

immediate safety of the two most important points. On the 24th of January the war steamer *Brooklyn* was dispatched from Fortress Monroe with provisions, military stores, and a company of regular artillery under the command of Captain Vodges. The frigate *Macedonian*, and one or two other smaller vessels, were ordered to rendezvous at Santa Rosa Island; and these, upon an emergency, could have spared some hundreds of men for the defense of the fort. It was feared that this aid would not reach Lieutenant Slemmer in time; but, pending this movement, on the 28th of January a telegraphic dispatch was received at Washington from ex-Senator Mallory, of Florida, not addressed to President Buchanan, but intended for his eye, expressing the usual formal desire for peace, and proffering assurances that no attack would be made upon the fort if the *status quo* was not disturbed. The proposition was sufficiently insolent; but it suited the expectant, temporizing policy of President Buchanan to accept it, in order that the Peace Convention, then, as we have seen, in session, might carry on, without interruption, deliberations of which it was supposed that nothing

could be hoped if they were disturbed by the clash of an armed collision.⁶ For more than two months this little re-enforcement was kept back by the singular course of events which we have heretofore followed at Washington. The *Brooklyn* and her attendant vessels lay wearily off and on the coast at the mouth of Pensacola Harbor. Lieutenant Slemmer kept up good heart and strict discipline; and, on their side, the insurgents undertook to obtain possession of the fort by treachery. A letter was smuggled within the walls addressed to a sergeant, offering him two thousand dollars and a commission in the rebel army to betray the fort, and to every private who would aid him five hundred dollars. The men proved incorruptible, and the sergeant was placed under arrest. This attempt was in itself a treacherous violation of the truce (but treachery, personal bad faith, had marked the insurrection from the very beginning), and would have justified the commander of the *Brooklyn* in throwing his men into Fort Pickens. But he was relieved of the consideration of the question by the immediate receipt of orders from Washington to effect the landing.⁷ This was on the 12th of April; and it

⁶ Extract from Instructions addressed to the Commanders of the *Macedonian*, *Brooklyn*, and other Naval Officers in command, and to Lieutenant Slemmer, commanding at Fort Pickens, Florida.

"In consequence of the assurances received from Mr. Mallory, in a telegram of yesterday to Messrs. Slidell, Hunter, and Bigler, with a request it should be laid before the President, that Fort Pickens would not be assaulted, and an offer of such an assurance to the same effect from Colonel Chase, for the purpose of avoiding a hostile collision, upon receiving satisfactory assurances from Mr. Mallory and Colonel Chase that Fort Pickens will not be attacked, you are instructed not to land the company on board the *Brooklyn* unless said fort shall be attacked, or preparations shall be made for its attack. The provisions necessary for the supply of the fort you will land. The *Brooklyn* and the other vessels of war on the station will remain, and you will exercise the utmost vigilance, and be prepared at a moment's warning to land the company at Fort Pickens, and you and they will instantly repel any attack on the fort. The President yesterday sent a special message to Congress commending the Virginia resolutions of compromise. The commissioners of different states are to meet here on Monday, the 4th of February, and it is important that during their session a collision of arms should be avoided, unless an attack should be made, or there should be preparations made for such an attack. In either event, the *Brooklyn* and the other vessels will act promptly.

"Your right, and that of the other officers in command at Pensacola, freely to communicate with the government by special messenger, and its right, in the same manner, to communicate with yourself and them, will remain intact as the basis on which the present instruction is given."

Letter from General Scott.

The following letter from Lieutenant General Scott was published in the *Washington National Intelligencer* of October 21, 1862:

October 30, 1860, I emphatically called the attention of the President to the necessity of strong garrisons in all the forts below the principal commercial cities of the Southern states, including, by name, the forts in Pensacola Harbor. October 31, I suggested to the Secretary of War that a circular should be sent at once to such of those forts as had garrisons, to be on the alert against surprises and sudden assaults. [See my "Views," since printed.]

After a long confinement to my bed in New York, I came to this city (Washington) December 12. Next day I personally urged upon the Secretary of War the same views, viz., strong garrisons in Southern forts—those of Charleston and Pensacola Harbor at once; those on Mobile Bay and the Mississippi, below New Orleans, next, etc., etc. I again pointed out the organized companies and the recruits at the principal depôts available for the purpose. The Secretary did not concur in any of my views, when I begged him to procure for me an early interview with the President, that I might make one effort more to save the forts and the Union.

By appointment, the Secretary accompanied me to the President December 15, when the same topics, secessionism, etc., were again pretty fully discussed. There being at the moment (in the opinion of the President) no danger of an early secession beyond South Carolina, the President, in reply to my arguments for immediately re-enforcing Fort Moultrie, and sending a garrison to Fort Sumter, said:

"The time has not arrived for doing so; that he should wait the action of the Convention of South Carolina, in the expectation that a commission would be appointed and sent to negotiate with him and Congress respecting the secession of the state and the property of the United States held within its limits; and that if Congress should decide against the secession, then he would send a re-enforcement, and telegraph the commanding officer (Major Anderson) of Fort Moultrie to hold the forts (Moultrie and Sumter) against attack."

And the Secretary, with animation, added:

"We have a vessel of war (the *Brooklyn*) held in readiness at Norfolk, and he would then send three hundred men in her from Fort Monroe to Charleston."

To which I replied, first, that so many men could not be withdrawn from that garrison, but could be taken from New York. Next, that it would then be too late, as the South Carolina commissioners would have the game in their own hands by first using and then cutting the wires; that as there was not a soldier in Fort Sumter, any handful of armed secessionists might seize and occupy it, etc., etc.

Here the remark may be permitted, that if the Secretary's three hundred men had then, or some time later, been sent to Forts Moultrie and Sumter, both would now have been in the possession of the United States, and not a battery below them could have been erected by the secessionists; consequently, the access to these forts from the sea would now (the end of March) be unobstructed and free.

The same day, December 15, I wrote the following note:

"Lieutenant General Scott begs the President to pardon him for supplying in this note what he omitted to say this morning at the interview with which he was honored by the President.

"Long prior to the Force Bill (March 2, 1833), prior to the issue of his proclamation, and in part prior to the passage of the Ordinance of Nullification, President Jackson, under the act of

March 3, 1807, 'authorizing the employment of the land and naval forces,' caused re-enforcements to be sent to Fort Moultrie, and a sloop of war (the *Natchez*), with two revenue cutters, to be sent to Charleston Harbor, in order, 1, to prevent the seizure of that fort by the nullifiers; and, 2, to enforce the execution of the revenue laws. General Scott himself arrived at Charleston the day after the passage of the Ordinance of Nullification, and many of the additional companies were then en route for the same destination.

"President Jackson familiarly said at the time, 'that by the assemblage of those forces for lawful purposes he was not making war upon South Carolina; but that, if South Carolina attacked them, it would be South Carolina that made war upon the United States.'

"General Scott, who received his first instructions (oral) from the President, in the temporary absence of the Secretary of War (General Cass), remembers those expressions well.

"Saturday night, December 15, 1860."

December 28. Again, after Major Anderson had gallantly and wisely thrown his handful of men from Fort Moultrie into Fort Sumter—learning that, on demand of South Carolina, there was great danger he might be ordered by the Secretary back to the less tenable work, or out of the harbor—I wrote this note:

"Lieutenant General Scott (who has had a bad night, and can scarcely hold up his head this morning) begs to express the hope to the Secretary of War—1. That orders may not be given for the evacuation of Fort Sumter. 2. That one hundred and fifty recruits may instantly be sent from Governor's Island to re-enforce that garrison, with ample supplies of ammunition and subsistence, including fresh vegetables, as potatoes, onions, turnips; and, 3. That one or two armed vessels be sent to support the said fort.

"Lieutenant General Scott avails himself of this opportunity also to express the hope that the recommendations heretofore made by him to the Secretary of War respecting Forts Jackson, St. Philip, Morgan, and Pulaski, and particularly in respect to Forts Pickens and M'Rea, and the Pensacola Navy Yard, in connection with the last two named works, may be reconsidered by the Secretary.

"Lieutenant General Scott will farther ask the attention of the Secretary to Forts Jefferson and Taylor, which are wholly national, being of far greater value even to the most distant points of the Atlantic coast and the people on the upper waters of the Missouri, Mississippi, and Ohio Rivers than to the State of Florida. There is only a feeble company at Key West for the defense of Fort Taylor, and not a soldier in Fort Jefferson to resist a handful of filibusters or a row-boat of pirates; and the Gulf, soon after the beginning of secession or revolutionary troubles in the adjacent states, will swarm with such nuisances."

December 30, I addressed the President again as follows:

"Lieutenant General Scott begs the President of the United States to pardon the irregularity of this communication. It is Sunday, the weather is bad, and General Scott is not well enough to go to church.

"But matters of the highest national importance seem to forbid a moment's delay, and, if misled by zeal, he hopes for the President's forgiveness.

"Will the President permit General Scott, without reference to the War Department, and otherwise as secretly as possible, to send two hundred and fifty recruits from New York Harbor to re-enforce Fort Sumter, together with some extra muskets or rifles, ammunition, and subsistence?—It is hoped that a sloop of war and cutter may be ordered for the same purpose as early as to-morrow.

"General Scott will wait upon the President at any moment he may be called for."

The South Carolina commissioners had already been many days in Washington, and no movement of defense (on the part of the United States) was permitted.

I will here close my notice of Fort Sumter by quoting from some of my previous reports.

It would have been easy to re-enforce this fort down to about the 12th of February. In this long delay Fort Moultrie had been re-armed and greatly strengthened in every way by the rebels. Many powerful new land-batteries (besides a formidable raft) have been constructed. Hulks, too, have been sunk in the principal channel, so as to render access to Fort Sumter from the sea impracticable without first carrying all the lower batteries of the secessionists. The difficulty of re-enforcing has thus been increased ten or twelve fold. First, the late President refused to allow any attempt to be made, because he was holding negotiations with the South Carolina commissioners.

Afterward Secretary Holt and myself endeavored in vain to obtain a ship of war for the purpose, and were finally obliged to employ the passenger steamer *Star of the West*. That vessel, but for the hesitation of the master, might, as is generally believed, have delivered at the fort the

⁷ It was not till January 4 that, by the aid of Secretary Holt (a strong and loyal man), I obtained permission to send succor to the feeble garrison of Fort Taylor, Key West, and at the same time a company—Major Arnold's, from Boston—to occupy Fort Jefferson, Tortugas Island. If this company had been three days later, the fort would have been preoccupied by Floridians. It is known that the rebels had their eyes upon these powerful forts, which govern the commerce of the Mexican Gulf, as Gibraltar and Malta govern that of the Mediterranean. With Forts Jefferson and Taylor, the rebels might have purchased an early European recognition.

was decided to make the attempt that very night. Early in the evening the boats were hoisted out, volunteers selected (for, volunteers being called for, the whole ship's crew came forward), the men well armed, and boats also

men and subsistence on board. This attempt at succor failing, I next verbally submitted to the late cabinet either that succor be sent by ships of war, fighting their way by the batteries (increasing in strength daily), or that Major Anderson should be left to ameliorate his condition by the muzzles of his guns—that is, enforcing supplies by bombardment and by bringing to merchant vessels, helping himself (giving orders for payment), or, finally, be allowed to evacuate the fort, which, in that case, would be inevitable.

But, before any resolution was taken, the late Secretary of the Navy making difficulties about the want of suitable war vessels, another commissioner from South Carolina arrived, causing further delay. When this had passed away, Secretaries Holt and Toucey, Captain Ward, of the Navy, and myself, with the knowledge of the President (Buchanan), settled upon the employment, under the captain (who was eager for the expedition), of three or four small steamers belonging to the Coast Survey. At that time (late in January), I have but little doubt Captain Ward would have reached Fort Sumter with all his vessels. But he was kept back by something like a *truce* or armistice (made here), embracing Charleston and Pensacola Harbors, agreed upon between the late President and certain principal seceders of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, etc., and this truce lasted to the end of that administration.

That plan and all others, without a squadron of war ships and a considerable army, competent to take and hold the many formidable batteries below Fort Sumter, and before the exhaustion of its subsistence, having been pronounced, from the change of circumstances, impracticable by Major Anderson, Captain Foster (chief engineer), and all the other officers of the fort, as well as by Brigadier General Totten, Chief of the Corps of Engineers; and, concurring in that opinion, I did not hesitate to advise (March 12) that Major Anderson be instructed to evacuate the fort, so long gallantly held by him and his companions, immediately on procuring suitable transportation to take them to New York. His relative weakness had steadily increased in the last eighteen days.

It was not till January 3 (when the first commissioners from South Carolina withdrew) that the permission I had solicited October 31 was obtained to admonish commanders of the few Southern forts with garrisons to be on the alert against surprises and sudden assaults. (Major Anderson was not among the admonished, being already straitly beleaguered.)

January 3. To Lieutenant Slemmer, commanding in Pensacola Harbor:

"The general-in-chief directs that you take measures to do the utmost in your power to prevent the seizure of either of the forts in Pensacola Harbor by surprise or assault, consulting first with the commander of the navy yard, who will probably have received instructions to co-operate with you." (This order was signed by Aid-de-camp Lay.)

It was just before the surrender of the Pensacola Navy Yard (January 12) that Lieutenant Slemmer, calling upon Commodore Armstrong, obtained the aid of some thirty common seamen or laborers (but no marines), which, added to his 46 soldiers, made up his numbers to 76 men, with whom this meritorious officer has since held Fort Pickens, and performed, working night and day, an immense amount of labor in mounting guns, keeping up a strong guard, etc.

Early in January I renewed, as has been seen, my solicitations to be allowed to re-enforce Fort Pickens, but a good deal of time was lost in vacillations. First, the President "thought, if no movement is made by the United States, Fort M'Rea will probably not be occupied nor Fort Pickens attacked. In case of movements by the United States, which will doubtless be made known by the wires, there will be corresponding local movements, and the attempt to re-enforce will be useless."—(Quotation from a note made by my Aid-de-camp Lay, about January 12, of the President's reply to a message from me.) Next, it was doubted whether it would be safe to send re-enforcements in an unarmed steamer, and the want, as usual, of a suitable naval vessel—the Brooklyn being long held in reserve at Norfolk for some purpose unknown to me. Finally, after I had kept a body of three hundred recruits in New York Harbor for some time—and they would have been sufficient to re-enforce temporarily Fort Pickens and to occupy Fort M'Rea also—the President, about January 18, permitted that the sloop-of-war *Brooklyn* should take a single company, ninety men, from Fort Monroe, Hampton Roads, and re-enforce Lieutenant Slemmer in Fort Pickens, but without a surplus man for the neighboring fort, M'Rea.

The *Brooklyn*, with Captain Vodge's company alone, left the Chesapeake for Fort Pickens about January 22, and on the 29th, President Buchanan, having entered into a quasi armistice with certain leading seceders at Pensacola and elsewhere, caused Secretaries Holt and Toucey to instruct, in a joint note, the commanders of the war vessels off Pensacola, and Lieutenant Slemmer, commanding Fort Pickens, to commit no act of hostility, and not to land Captain Vodge's company unless that fort should be attacked.*

[That joint note I never saw until March 25, but supposed the armistice was consequent upon the meeting of the Peace Convention at Washington, and was understood to terminate with it.]

Hearing, however, of the most active preparations for hostilities on the part of the seceders at Pensacola, by the erection of new batteries and arming Fort M'Rea—that had not a gun mounted when it was seized—during the Peace Convention and since, I brought the subject to the notice of the new administration, when this note, dated March 12, to Captain Vodge, was agreed upon, viz.: "At the first favorable moment you will land with your company, re-enforce Fort Pickens, and hold the same till further orders." This order, in duplicate, left New York by two naval vessels about the middle of March, as the mail and the wires could not be trusted, and detached officers could not be substituted, for two had already been arrested and paroled by the authorities of Pensacola, dispatches taken from one of them, and a third, to escape like treatment, forced to turn back when near that city. Thus those authorities have not ceased to make war upon the United States since the capture by them of the navy yard, January 12.

Respectfully submitted,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Head-quarters of the Army, Washington, March 30, 1861.

Letter from ex-President Buchanan in Reply to General Scott.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer:

On Wednesday last I received the *National Intelligencer* containing General Scott's address to the public. This is throughout an undisguised censure of my conduct during the last months of the administration in regard to the seven cotton states now in rebellion. From our past relations I was greatly surprised at the appearance of such a paper. In one aspect, however, it was highly gratifying. It has justified me, nay, it has rendered it absolutely necessary, that I should no longer remain silent in respect to charges which have been long vaguely circulating, but are now indorsed by the responsible name of General Scott.

I. The first and most prominent among these charges is my refusal immediately to garrison nine enumerated fortifications, scattered over six of the Southern states, according to the recommendation of General Scott in his "views" addressed to the War Department on the 29th and 30th of October, 1860; and it has even been alleged that if this had been done it might have prevented the civil war.

This refusal is attributed, without the least cause, to the influence of Governor Floyd. All my cabinet must bear me witness that I was the President myself, responsible for all the acts of the administration; and certain it is that during the last six months previous to the 29th of December, 1860, the day on which he resigned his office, after my request, he exercised less influence on the administration than any other member of the cabinet. Mr. Holt was immediately thereafter transferred from the Post-office Department to that of War; so that, from this time until the 4th of March, 1861, which was by far the most important period of the administration, he performed the duties of Secretary of War to my entire satisfaction.

But why did I not immediately garrison these nine fortifications in such a manner, to use the language of General Scott, "as to make any attempt to take any one of them by surprise or coup-de-main ridiculous?" There is no answer, both easy and conclusive, even if other valid reasons did not exist. There were no available troops within reach which could be sent to these fortifications. To have attempted a military operation on a scale so extensive by any means within the President's power would have been simply absurd. Of this General Scott himself seems to have been convinced, for on the day after the date of his first "views" he addressed (on the 30th of October) supplemental views to the War Department, in which he states, "There is one (regular) company in Boston, one here at the Narrows, one at Pittsburgh, one at Augusta, Ga., one at Baton Rouge"—in all, five companies only within reach to garrison or re-enforce the forts mentioned in the "views."

Five companies—four hundred men—to occupy and re-enforce nine fortifications in six highly-excited Southern states! The force "within reach" was so entirely inadequate that nothing more need be said on the subject. To have attempted such a military operation with so feeble a force, and the presidential election impending, would have been an invitation to collision and secession. Indeed, if the whole American army, consisting then of only 16,000 men, had been "within reach," they would have been scarcely sufficient for this purpose. Such was our want of troops that General Scott, believing, in opposition to the opinion of the committee raised in the House of Representatives, that the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln might be interrupted by military force, was only able to assemble at Washington, so late as the 4th of March, 653 men, rank and file of the army; and, to make up this number, even the sappers and miners were brought from West Point.

But why was there no greater force within reach? This question could be better answered by General Scott himself than by any other person. Our small regular army, with the exception of a

* It was known at the Navy Department that the *Brooklyn*, with Captain Vodge on board, would be obliged, in open sea, to stand off and on Fort Pickens, and in rough weather might sometimes be fifty miles off. Indeed, if ten miles at sea, the fort might have been attacked and easily carried before the re-enforcements could have reached the beach, in open sea, where alone it could land.

brought up from the Sabine and the St. Louis. The enemy was expected to resist the landing, and was known to have stationed strong coast-guards for that purpose. After the moon had set, between ten and eleven o'clock,

few hundred men, were out of reach, on our remote frontiers, where it had been continuously stationed for years to protect the inhabitants and the emigrants on their way thither against the attacks of hostile Indians. All were insufficient, and both General Scott and myself had endeavored in vain to prevail upon Congress to raise several additional regiments for this purpose. In recommending this augmentation of the army, the general states, in his report to the War Department of November, 1857, that "it would not more than furnish the re-enforcements now greatly needed in Florida, Texas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Washington (T.), Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, leaving not a company for Utah." And again, in his report of November, 1858, he says:

"This want of troops to give reasonable security to our citizens in distant settlements, including emigrants on the plains, can scarcely be too strongly stated; but I will only add, that as often as we have been obliged to withdraw troops from one frontier in order to re-enforce another, the weakened points have been instantly attacked or threatened with formidable invasion."

These "views" of General Scott exhibit the crude notions then prevailing, even among intelligent and patriotic men, on this subject of secession. In the first sentence, the general, while stating that, "to save time, the right of secession may be conceded," yet immediately says, "this is 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." (For this he cites *Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy*, last chapter. It may be there, but I have been unable to find it.) While it is difficult to ascertain his precise meaning in this passage, he renders what he did not mean quite clear in his supplementary "views." In these he says, "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 (the very case which has occurred), was not within the scope of General Scott's "provisional remedies;" that is to say, to establish by force, if necessary, the continuity of our territory. In his "views" he also states as follows: "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." In the general's opinion, "a smaller evil (than these intestine wars) would be to allow the fragments of the great republic to form themselves into new confederacies, probably four." He then points out what ought to be the boundaries between the new unions, and at the end of each goes so far as even to indicate the cities which ought to be the capitals of the three first on this side of the Rocky Mountains, to wit, "Columbia, South Carolina;" "Alton or Quincy, Illinois;" and "Albany, New York," excluding Washington City altogether. This indication of capitals contained in the original now in my possession is curiously omitted in the version published in the *National Intelligencer*. He designates no capital for the fourth union on the Pacific. The reader will judge what encouragement these views, proceeding from so distinguished a source, must have afforded to the secessionists of the cotton states.

I trust I have said enough, and more than enough, to convince every mind why I did not, with a force of five companies, attempt to re-enforce Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the Mississippi; Fort Morgan, below Mobile; Forts Pickens and M'Rea, in Pensacola Harbor; Fort Pulaski, below Savannah; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston Harbor; and Fort Monroe, in Virginia.

These "views," both original and supplementary, were published by General Scott in the *National Intelligencer* of January 18, 1861, at the most important and critical period of the administration. Their publication at that time could do no possible good, and might do much harm. To have published them without the President's knowledge or consent was as much in violation of the sacred confidence which ought to prevail between the commanding general of the army and the commander-in-chief as it would have been for the Secretary of War to publish the same documents without his authority. What is of more importance, their publication was calculated injuriously to affect the compromise measures then pending before Congress and the country, and to encourage the secessionists in their mad and wicked attempt to shatter the Union into fragments. From the great respect which I then entertained for the general I passed it over in silence.

It is worthy of remark that, soon after the presidential election, representations of what these "views" contained, of more or less correctness, were unfortunately circulated, especially throughout the South. The editors of the *National Intelligencer*, in assigning a reason for their publication, state that both in public prints and in public speeches allusions had been made to them, and some misapprehensions of their character had got abroad.

II. and III. General Scott states that he arrived in Washington on the 12th, and, accompanied by the Secretary of War, held a conversation with the President on the 15th of December. While I have no recollection whatever of this conversation, he doubtless states correctly that I did refuse to send three hundred men to re-enforce Major Anderson at Fort Moultrie, who had not then removed to Fort Sumter. The reason for this refusal is manifest to all who recollect the history of the time. But twelve days before, in the annual message of the 3d of December, I had urged upon Congress the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of the same character with those subsequently proposed by Mr. Crittenden, called the "Crittenden Compromise." At that time high hopes were entertained throughout the country that these would be adopted. Besides, I believed, and this correctly, as the event proved, that Major Anderson was then in no danger of attack. Indeed, he and his command were then treated with marked kindness by the authorities and people of Charleston. Under these circumstances, to have sent such a force there would have been only to impair the hope of compromise, to provoke collision, and disappoint the country.

There are some details of this conversation in regard to which the general's memory must be defective. At present I shall specify only one. I could not have stated that on a future contingent occasion I would telegraph "Major Anderson, of Fort Moultrie, to hold the forts (Moultrie and Sumter) against attack," because, with prudent precaution, this had already been done several days before, through a special messenger sent to Major Anderson for this very purpose. I refer to Major Buell, of the army.

The general's supplementary note of the same day, presenting to me General Jackson's conduct in 1833, during the period of nullification, as an example, requires no special notice. Even if the cases were not entirely different, I had previously determined upon a policy of my own, as will appear from my annual message. This was, at every hazard, to collect the customs at Charleston, and outside of the port, if need be, in a vessel of war. Mr. Colcock, the existing collector, as I had anticipated, resigned his office about the end of December, and immediately thereafter I nominated to the Senate, as his successor, a suitable person, prepared at any personal risk to do his duty. That body, however, throughout the entire session, declined to act on this nomination. Thus, without a collector, it was rendered impossible to collect the revenue.

IV. General Scott's statement alleges that "the *Brooklyn*, with Captain Vodge's company alone, left the Chesapeake for Fort Pickens about January 22, and on the 29th President Buchanan, having entered into a quasi armistice with certain leading seceders at Pensacola and elsewhere, caused Secretaries Holt and Toucey to instruct, in a joint note, the commander of the war-vessels off Pensacola, and Lieutenant Slemmer, commanding Fort Pickens, to commit no act of hostility, and not to land Captain Vodge's command unless the fort should be attacked." He afterward states, within brackets, "That joint note I never saw, but supposed the armistice was consequent upon the meeting of the Peace Convention at Washington, and was understood to terminate with it."

These statements betray a singular want of memory on the part of General Scott. It is scarcely credible that this very joint note, presented in such odious colors, was submitted to General Scott on the day it was prepared (January 29), and met his entire approbation. I would not venture to make this assertion if I did not possess conclusive evidence to prove it. On that day Secretary Holt addressed me a note, from which the following is an extract: "I have the satisfaction of saying that on submitting the paper to General Scott, he expressed himself satisfied with it, saying that there could be no objection to the arrangement in a military point of view or otherwise." This requires no comment. That the general had every reason to be satisfied with the arrangement will appear from the following statement:

A revolutionary outbreak had occurred in Florida; the troops of the United States had been expelled from Pensacola and the adjacent navy yard; and Lieutenant Slemmer, of the artillery, with his brave little command, had been forced to take refuge in Fort Pickens, where he was in imminent danger every moment of being captured by a vastly superior force. Owing to the interruption of regular communications, Secretary Holt did not receive information of these events until several days after their occurrence, and then through a letter addressed to a third person. He instantly informed the President of the fact, and re-enforcements, provisions, and military stores were dispatched by the *Brooklyn* to Fort Pickens without a moment's unnecessary delay. She left Fort Monroe on the 24th of January.

Well-founded apprehensions were, however, entertained at the time of her departure that the re-enforcements, with the vessels of war at no great distance from Fort Pickens, could not arrive in time to defend it against the impending attack. In this state of suspense, and while Lieutenant Slemmer was in extreme peril, Senators Slidell, Hunter, and Bigler received a telegraphic dispatch from Senator Mallory, of Florida, dated at Pensacola on the 28th of January, with the urgent request that they should lay it before the President. This dispatch expressed an earnest desire to maintain the peace, as well as the most positive assurance that no attack would be made on Fort Pickens if the present status should be preserved.

This proposal was carefully considered, both with a view to the safety of the fort and to the happy effect which an actual collision, either at that or any other point, might produce on the

the Brooklyn got under way, and moved toward the shore as slowly and as silently as possible. When the soundings showed but seven fathoms of water, she hove to, and the troops were disembarked. Under command of

Peace Convention then about to assemble at Washington. The result was, that a joint dispatch was carefully prepared by the Secretaries of War and Navy accepting the proposal, with important modifications, which was transmitted by telegraph on the 29th of January to Lieutenant Slemmer and to the naval commanders near the station. It is too long for transcription; suffice it to say, it was carefully guarded at every point for the security of the fort and its free communication with Washington.

The result was highly fortunate. The Brooklyn had a long passage. Although she left Fortress Monroe on the 24th of January, she did not arrive at Pensacola until the 6th of February. In the mean time, Fort Pickens, with Lieutenant Slemmer (whose conduct deserves high commendation) and his brave little band, were placed, by virtue of this arrangement, in perfect security until an adequate force had arrived to defend it against any attack. The fort is still in our possession. Well might General Scott have expressed his satisfaction with this arrangement. The general was correct in the supposition that this arrangement was to expire on the termination of the Peace Convention.

V. But we now come to an important period, when dates will be essentially necessary to disentangle the statements of General Scott. The South Carolina commissioners were appointed on the 22d, and arrived in Washington on the 27th of December. The day after their arrival it was announced that Major Anderson had removed from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. This rendered them furious. On the same day they addressed an angry letter to the President, demanding the surrender of Fort Sumter. The President answered this letter on the 30th of December with a peremptory refusal. This brought forth a reply from the commissioners on the 2d of January, 1861, of such an insulting character that the President instantly returned it to them with the following indorsement: "This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it." From that time forward all friendly, political, and personal intercourse finally ceased between the revolutionary senators and the President, and he was severely attacked by them in the Senate, and especially by Mr. Jefferson Davis. Indeed, their intercourse had previously been of the coldest character ever since the President's anti-secession message at the commencement of the session of Congress.

Under these changed circumstances, General Scott, by note on Sunday, the 30th of December, addressed the following inquiry to the President:

"Will the President permit General Scott, without reference to the War Department, and otherwise as secretly as possible, to send two hundred and fifty recruits from New York Harbor to re-enforce Fort Sumter, together with some extra muskets or rifles, ammunition, and subsistence? It is hoped that a sloop-of-war and cutter may be ordered for the same purpose 'to-morrow.'"

The general seems not to have then known that Mr. Floyd was out of office.

Never did a request meet a more prompt compliance. It was received on Sunday evening, December 30. On Monday morning I gave instructions to the War and Navy Departments, and on Monday evening General Scott came to congratulate me that the secretaries had issued the necessary orders to the army and navy officers, and that they were in his possession. The Brooklyn, with troops, military stores, and provisions, was to sail forthwith from Fortress Monroe for Fort Sumter. I am, therefore, utterly at a loss to imagine why the general, in his statement, should have asserted that "the South Carolina commissioners had already been many days in Washington, and no movement of defense (on the part of the United States) was permitted." These commissioners arrived in Washington on the 27th of December; General Scott's request was made to the President on the 30th; it was complied with on the 31st, and a single day is all that represents the "many days" of the general.

Again: General Scott asserts, in the face of these facts, that the President refused to allow any attempt to be made—to re-enforce Fort Sumter—because he was holding negotiations with the South Carolina commissioners. And still again, that "afterward Secretary Holt and myself endeavored in vain to obtain a ship-of-war for the purpose, and were finally obliged to employ the passenger steamer *Star of the West*." Will it be believed that the substitution of the *Star of the West* for the powerful war steamer *Brooklyn*, of which he now complains, was by advice of General Scott himself? I have never heard that doubted until I read the statement.

At the interview already referred to between the general and myself, on the evening of Monday, the 31st of December, I suggested to him that, although I had not received the South Carolina commissioners in their official capacity, but merely as private gentlemen, yet it might be considered an improper act to send the *Brooklyn* with re-enforcements to Fort Sumter until I had received an answer from them to my letter of the preceding day; that the delay could not continue more than forty-eight hours. He promptly concurred in this suggestion as gentlemanly and proper, and the orders were not transmitted to the *Brooklyn* on that evening. My anticipations were correct, for on the morning of the 2d of January I received their insolent note, and sent it back to them. In the mean time, however, the general had become convinced, by the representations of a gentleman whom I forbear to name, that the better plan, as the Secretaries of War and the Navy informed me, to secure secrecy and success, and reach the fort, would be to send a fast side-wheel mercantile steamer from New York with the re-enforcement. Accordingly, the *Star of the West* was selected for this duty. The substitution of this mercantile steamer for the *Brooklyn*, which would have been able to defend herself in case of attack, was reluctantly yielded by me to the high military judgment of General Scott.

The change of programme required a brief space of time; but the *Star of the West* left New York for Charleston on the evening of the 5th of January. On the very day, however, when this ill-fated steamer left New York, a telegram was dispatched by General Scott to Colonel Scott to countermand her departure; but it did not reach her destination until after she had gone to sea. The reason for this countermand shall be stated in the language of Secretary Holt, to be found in a letter addressed by him to Mr. Thompson, the late Secretary of the Interior, on the 5th of March, 1861, and published in the *National Intelligencer*. Mr. Holt says:

"The countermand spoken of (by Mr. Thompson) was not more cordially sanctioned by the President than it was by General Scott and myself; not because of any dissent from the orders on the part of the President, but because of a letter received that day from Major Anderson, stating, in effect, that he regarded himself secure in his position; and yet more from intelligence which late on Saturday evening (January 5, 1861) reached the department, that a heavy battery had been erected among the sand-hills at the entrance to Charleston Harbor, which would probably destroy any unarmed vessel (and such was the *Star of the West*) which might attempt to make its way to Fort Sumter. This important information satisfied the government that there was no present necessity for sending re-enforcements, and that, when sent, they should go, not in a vessel of commerce, but of war. Hence the countermand was dispatched by telegraph to New York; but the vessel had sailed a short time before it reached the officer (Colonel Scott) to whom it was addressed."

A statement of these facts, established by dates, proves conclusively that the President was not only willing, but anxious, in the briefest period, to re-enforce Fort Sumter.

On the 4th of January, the day before the departure of the *Star of the West* from New York, as General Scott in his statement admits, succor was sent to Fort Taylor, Key West, and to Fort Jefferson, Tortugas Island, which reached those points in time for their security. He nevertheless speculates on the consequences which might have followed had the re-enforcements not reached their destination in due time; and even expresses the extraordinary opinion that, with the possession of these forts, "the rebels might have purchased an early recognition."

I shall next advert to the statement that the expedition, under Captain Ward, "of three or four small steamers belonging to the Coast Survey," was kept back by something like a truce or armistice [made here], embracing Charleston and Pensacola Harbors, agreed upon between the late President and certain principal seceders of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, etc. And this truce lasted to "the end of the administration." Things altogether distinct in their nature are often so blended in this statement that it is difficult to separate them. Such is eminently the case in connecting the facts relative to Charleston with Pensacola.

Having already treated of the charge of having kept back re-enforcements from Pensacola, I have now to say something of the charge of having also kept them back from Charleston. Neither a truce, nor quasi truce, nor any thing like it, was ever concluded between the President and any human authority concerning Charleston. On the contrary, the South Carolina commissioners, first and last, and all the time, were informed that the President could never surrender Fort Sumter, nor deprive himself of the most entire liberty to send re-enforcements to it whenever it was believed to be in danger, or requested by Major Anderson. It is strange that General Scott was not apprised of this well-known fact. It was, then, with some astonishment that I learned from the statement of the general that he had, on the 12th of March, 1861, advised that Major Anderson should be instructed to evacuate the fort as soon as suitable transportation could be procured to carry himself and his command to New York. A military necessity for a capitulation may have existed in case there should be an attack upon the fort, or a demand for its surrender, but surely none such could have existed for its voluntary surrender and abandonment.

Probably that to which the general means to refer was not the *quasi*, but the actual truce of arms concluded at Charleston on the 11th of January, 1861, between Governor Pickens and Major Anderson, without the knowledge of the President. It was on the 9th of January that the *Star of the West*, under the American flag, was fired upon in the harbor of Charleston, by order of Governor Pickens. Immediately after this outrage, Major Anderson sent a flag to the governor, stating that he presumed the act had been unauthorized, and for that reason he had not opened fire from Fort Sumter on the adjacent batteries; but demanding its disavowal, and, if this were not sent in a reasonable time, he would consider it war, and fire on any vessel that attempted to leave the har-

Lieutenant Albert N. Smith, they pulled off with swift and steady strokes and made for a point three miles from the fort, from which it was the intention that they should march to their destination. But the surf was found to

be. Two days after this occurrence, on the 11th of January, Governor Pickens had the audacity to demand of Major Anderson the surrender of the fort. In his answer of the same date the major made the following proposition: "Should your excellency deem fit, previous to a resort to arms, to refer this matter to Washington, it would afford me the sincere pleasure to depute one of my officers to accompany any messenger you may deem proper to be the bearer of your demand." This proposition was promptly accepted by the governor, and, in pursuance thereof, he sent, on his part, Hon. J. W. Wayne, the attorney general of South Carolina, to Washington, while Major Anderson deputed Lieutenant Hall, of the United States Army, to accompany him. These gentlemen arrived together in Washington on the evening of the 13th of January, when the President obtained the first knowledge of the transaction. But it will be recollected that no time intervened between the return of the *Star of the West* to New York and the arrival of the messenger bearing a copy of the truce at Washington within which it would have been possible to send re-enforcements to Fort Sumter. Both events occurred about the same time.

Thus a truce, or suspension of arms, was concluded between the parties, to continue until the question of the surrender of the fort should be decided by the President. Until this decision, Major Anderson had placed it out of his own power to ask for re-enforcements, and equally out of the power of the government to send them without a violation of public faith. This was what writers on public law denominate "a partial truce, under which hostilities are suspended only in certain places, as between a town and the army besieging it." It is possible that the President, under the laws of war, might have annulled this truce upon due notice to the opposite party; but neither General Scott nor any other person ever suggested this expedient. This would have been to cast a reflection on Major Anderson, who, beyond question, acted from the highest and purest motives. Did General Scott ever propose to violate this truce during its existence? If he did, I am not now, and never was, aware of the fact. Indeed, I think he would have been one of the last men in the world to propose such a measure.

Colonel Hayne did not deliver the letter which he bore from Governor Pickens, demanding the surrender of the fort, to the President until the 31st of January. The documents containing the reasons for this worrying delay were communicated to Congress in a special message of the 8th of February, to which I refer the reader. On the 6th of February, the Secretary of War, under the instructions of the President, gave a peremptory refusal to this demand, in an able and comprehensive letter, reviewing the whole subject, explaining and justifying the conduct of the President throughout. Its concluding sentence is both eloquent and emphatic:

"If," says Mr. Holt, "with all the multiplied proofs which exist of the President's anxiety for peace, and of the earnestness with which he has pursued it, the authorities of that state shall assault Fort Sumter, and imperil the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut up within its walls, and thus plunge our country into the horrors of civil war, then upon them and those they represent must rest the responsibility."

The truce was then ended, and General Scott is incorrect in stating "that it lasted to the end of that administration."

An expedition was quietly fitted out at New York, under the supervision of General Scott, to be ready for any contingency. He arranged its details, and regarded the re-enforcements thus provided for as sufficient. This was ready to sail for Fort Sumter on five hours' notice. It is of this expedition that General Scott thus speaks:

"At that time, when this (the truce) had passed away, Secretaries Holt and Toucey, Captain Ward, of the Navy, and myself, with the knowledge of the President, settled upon the employment, under the captain, of three or four steamers belonging to the Coast Survey, but he was kept back by the truce."

A strange inconsistency. The truce had expired with Mr. Holt's letter to Colonel Hayne on the 5th of February, and General Scott, in his statement, says, "it would have been easy to re-enforce this fort down to about the 12th of February." Why, then, did not the re-enforcements proceed? This was simply because of communications from Major Anderson. It was most fortunate that they did not proceed, because the three or four small steamers which were to bear them would never have reached the fort, and in the attempt must have been captured or destroyed. The vast inadequacy of the force provided to accomplish the object was demonstrated by information received from Major Anderson at the War Department on the last day of the administration.

I purposely forbear at present to say more on this subject, lest I might, however unintentionally, do injustice to one or more of the parties concerned, in consequence of the brevity required by the nature of this communication. The facts relating to it, with the appropriate accompaniments, have been fully presented in a historical review, prepared a year ago, which will ere long be published. This review contains a sketch of the four last months of my administration. It is impartial; at least such is my honest conviction. That it has not yet been published has arisen solely from an apprehension, no longer entertained, that something therein might be unjustly perverted into an interference with the government in a vigorous prosecution of the war for the maintenance of the Constitution and the restoration of the Union, which was far, very far, from my intention.

After a careful retrospect, I can solemnly declare before God and my country that I can not reproach myself with any act of commission or omission since the existing troubles commenced. I have never doubted that my countrymen would yet do me justice. In my special message of the 8th of January, 1861, I presented a full and fair exposition of the alarming condition of the country, and urged Congress either to adopt measures of compromise, or, failing in this, to prepare for the last alternative. In both aspects my recommendation was disregarded. I shall close this document with a quotation of the last sentences of that message, as follows:

"In conclusion, it may be permitted me to remark that I have often warned my countrymen of the dangers which now surround us. This may be the last time I shall refer to the subject officially. I feel that my duty has been faithfully, though it may be imperfectly, performed; and, whatever the result may be, I shall carry to my grave the consciousness that I at least meant well for my country." Your obedient servant,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Wheatland, near Lancaster, October 28, 1862.

Rejoinder of Lieutenant General Scott.

To the Editors of the *National Intelligencer*: I regret to find myself in a controversy with the venerable ex-President Buchanan. Recently (Oct. 21) you published my official report to President Lincoln, dated March 30, 1861, giving a summary of my then recent connection with our principal Southern forts, which, I am sorry to perceive, has given offense to the ex-President. That result, purely incidental, did not enter into my purpose in drawing up the paper, but, on reflection, I suppose that, under the circumstances, offense was unavoidable.

Let it be remembered that the new president had a right to demand of me—the immediate commander of the army—how it had happened that the incipient rebels had been allowed to seize several of those forts, and from the bad condition of others were likely to gain possession of them also. Primarily, the blame rested exclusively on me. Hence, to vindicate my sworn allegiance to the Union and professional conduct, the report was submitted to President Lincoln at an early day (in his administration), and recently to the world.

To that short paper ex-President Buchanan publishes a reply, of double the length, in *The Intelligencer* of the 1st instant. My rejoinder, from necessity, if not taste, will be short, for I hold the pen in a rheumatic hand, and am without aid-de-camp or amanuensis, and without a printed document and my own official papers.

Unable, in my present condition, to make an analysis of the ex-President's long reply, I avail myself of a substitute furnished by an accidental visitor, who has kindly marked the few points which he thinks may require some slight notice at my hands.

1. To account for not having garrisoned sufficiently the Southern forts named against anticipated treason and rebellion, according to my many recommendations, beginning Oct. 29, 1860, repeated the next day, and again, more earnestly, Dec. 13, 15, 28, and 30, the ex-President says, "There were no available troops within reach."

Now, although it is true that, with or without the ex-President's approbation, the Secretary of War had nearly denuded our whole eastern sea-board of troops in order to augment our forces in Texas and Utah, I nevertheless pointed out, at several of the above dates, the 600 recruits (about) which we had in the harbor of New York and at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, nearly all organized into temporary companies, and tolerably drilled and disciplined—quite equal to the purpose in question—besides the five companies of regulars near at hand, making about 1000 men.

These disposable troops would have given (say) two hundred men to the twin forts Jackson and St. Philip, below New Orleans; an equal number to Fort Morgan, below Mobile; a re-enforcement of one hundred men to Fort Pickens, Pensacola Harbor; and a garrison of the like number to the twin fort M'Rea; a garrison of one hundred men to Fort Jefferson, Tortugas Island, and the same to Fort Pulaski, below Savannah, which, like Forts Jackson, St. Philip, Morgan, and M'Rea, had not at the time a soldier—leaving about two hundred men for the twin forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston Harbor, where there were two weak companies, making less than ninety men. Fortress Monroe had already a garrison of some eight companies, one or two of which might, in the earlier period of danger, have been spared till volunteers could have been obtained, notwithstanding printed handbills were every where posted in Eastern Virginia by an eccentric character, inviting recruits to take that most important work.

Now I have nowhere said that either of those forts, even with the re-enforcement indicated, would have had a *war* garrison. Certainly not. My proposition was to put each in a condition



GUNBOAT "WYANDOTTE."

STORESHIP "SUPPLY."

FRIGATE "SABINE."

THE UNITED STATES FLEET



OFF FORT PICKENS, FLORIDA

U. S. S. SLOOP "BROOKLYN."

GUNBOAT "CRUSADER."

"ST. LOUIS."

be so heavy that Lieutenant Smith regarded the danger from the elements as more to be feared than that from the enemy; and he therefore instantly formed the resolution of passing directly up and landing in front of the fort. It was accomplished without attack; and he had the satisfaction of seeing the gates of the fort close upon the full re-enforcement. The boats returned to the ships, and, taking off the marines from the Brooklyn, placed them safely too in Fort Pickens, and pulled back past Fort M'Rea and the Barrancas in broad daylight unharmed. It will be remembered, however, that this re-enforcement was only the result of a hasty attempt to meet the great emergency of the period immediately succeeding the seizure of the forts, the navy yard, and the arsenal by the insurgents, in the early stages of the movement for secession. The disgraceful truce had intervened. A few days after the Brooklyn had landed her artillery, two large transports, the Atlantic and the Illinois, arrived off Santa Rosa, bringing seven hundred and fifty men, under the command of Colonel Brown; horses for a company of flying artillery, muskets, other munitions of war, and provisions. Under protection of the Sabine, of 50 guns, the Brooklyn, 14 guns, the St. Louis, 22 guns, the Water-Witch, the Wyandotte, the Crusader, and the Mohawk, of 10 guns each, to which was added afterward the Powhatan, a powerful steamer carrying 12 heavy guns, this important re-enforcement was landed—the troops in a single night; the horses, munitions of war, and provisions in the course of three days; and the 20th of April saw Fort Pickens, the most important post upon the Gulf, amply garrisoned and provisioned, and under the

as I expressly said, to guard against a surprise or *coup-de-main* (an off-hand attack, one without full preparation).

That these movements of small detachments might easily have been made in November and December, 1860, and some of them as late as the following month, can not be doubted. But the ex-President sneers at my "weak device" for saving the forts.

He forgets what the gallant Anderson did with a handful of men in Fort Sumter, and leaves out of the account what he might have done with a like handful in Fort Moultrie, even without farther augmentation of men to divide between the garrisons. Twin forts, on the opposite sides of a channel, not only give a cross-fire on the head of an attack, but the strength of each is more than doubled by the flanking fire of the other. The same remarks apply to the gallant Lieutenant Slemmer, with his handful of brave men, in Fort Pickens. With what contempt might he not have looked upon Chase or Bragg in front of him, with varying masses of from 2000 to 6000 men, if Fort Pickens and its twin fort, M'Rea, had had between them only 200 men!

I have thus shown that small garrisons would, at first, have sufficed for the other twins, Forts Jackson and St. Philip also. My object was to save to the Union, by any means at hand, all those works, until Congress could have time to organize a call for volunteers—a call which the President, for such a purpose, might not doubt have made, without any special legislation, with the full approbation of every loyal man in the Union.

2. The ex-President almost loses his amiability in having his neglect of the forts "attributed," as he says, "without the least cause, to the influence of Governor Floyd;" and he adds, "All my cabinet must bear me witness that I was the President myself, responsible for all the acts of the administration."

Now, notwithstanding this broad assumption of responsibility, I should be sorry to believe that Mr. Buchanan specially consented to the removal by Secretary Floyd of 115,000 extra muskets and rifles, with all their implements and ammunition, from Northern repositories to Southern arsenals, so that, on the breaking out of the maturing rebellion, they might be found without cost, except to the United States, in the most convenient positions for distribution among the insurgents. So, too, of the 120 or 140 pieces of heavy artillery which the same secretary ordered from Pittsburgh to Ship Island, in Lake Borgne, and Galveston, Texas, for forts not yet erected! Accidentally learned, early in March, that, under this posthumous order, the shipment of these guns had commenced, I communicated the fact to Secretary Holt (acting for Secretary Cameron) just in time to defeat the robbery.

But on this point we may hear ex-Secretary Floyd himself. At Richmond he expressly claimed the honor of defeating all my plans and solicitations respecting the forts, and received his reward—it being there universally admitted that, but for that victory over me, there could have been no rebellion!

3. Mr. Buchanan complains that I published, without permission, January 18, 1861, my views, addressed to him and the Secretary of War, October 29 and 30, 1860. But that act was caused, as I explained to him at the time, by the misrepresentations of the views in one of the earlier speeches of the same ex-secretary after his return to Virginia.

4. One of my statements, complaining of the joint countermand sent through the Secretaries of War and Navy to prevent the landing at Fort Pickens of Captain Vodges's company unless the fort should be attacked, is cited by the ex-President to prove a "singular want of memory" on my part; and a note from Secretary Holt is added to show that I had entirely approved of the joint countermand the day (Jan. 20) that it was prepared. Few persons are as little liable to make a misstatement by accident as Mr. Holt, and no one more incapable of making one by design; yet I have not the slightest recollection of any interview with him on this subject.

I do remember, however, that Mr. Holt, on some matter of business, approached my bedside about that time, when I was suffering greatly from an access of pain. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Holt, and myself were all landsmen, and could know but little of the impossibility of landing troops on an open sea-beach, with a high wind and surf. Mr. Toncey, Secretary of the Navy, with officers about him of intelligence and nautical experience, ought to have said plumply that if Vodges was not to land except in the case of attack on Fort Pickens, he might as well have remained at Fortress Monroe, as the prohibition placed the fort, so far as he was concerned, at the mercy, or (as the event showed) on the want of enterprise on the part of the rebel commander at Pensacola.

Possibly there are other parts of the reply which a superficial reader may think require comment or elucidation; and, indeed, here is another marked for me by my kind visitor.

5. The ex-President has brought together a labyrinth of dates respecting the arrival and departure of rebel commissioners, armistices, etc., with which, as I had no official connection, I may have made an unimportant mistake or two; but, as I have not by me the means of recovering the clue to those windings, I shall not attempt to follow him.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

New York, Fifth Avenue Hotel, November 8, 1862.

Ex-President Buchanan's Rejoinder to General Scott.

To the Editor of the *National Intelligencer*:

With a few remarks I shall close the controversy with General Scott, into which I have been most reluctantly forced by his voluntary and unexpected attack. This has, nevertheless, afforded me an opportunity of correcting many unfounded reports which I had long borne in patience and in silence. In my answer, I have already furnished clear and distinct responses to all the allegations of General Scott; and in his rejoinder he has not called in question any of my statements with a single exception. Which of us is correct in this particular depends upon the question whether his recollection of an event which occurred more than eighteen months ago, or the statement of Mr. Holt, reduced to writing on the very day, is entitled to the greater credit.

The general, in the introduction of his rejoinder, assigns as an excuse for the criticism on my public conduct, that this was merely incidental to his alleged official report to President Lincoln on the condition of our fortifications, and was not primarily intended for myself. From this statement, one would conclude that he had made such a report. But where is this to be found? For it refers to the *Intelligencer* of the 21st of October; but there I discover nothing but his letter of four points to Mr. Seward, dated on the 3d of March, 1861, advising the incoming President how to guide his administration in the face of the threatened dangers to the country. In the single introductory sentence to this letter he barely refers to his "printed views" (dated in October, 1860), which had been long before the public; but it contains nothing like an official report on the condition of the fortifications.

Whether the introduction of this letter to the public, without the consent of President Lincoln, by one of the general's friends, in a political speech during a highly excited gubernatorial canvass, had influenced him to prepare his criticism on my conduct, it is not for me to determine.

At what period did General Scott obtain the six hundred recruits to which he refers in his rejoinder? This was certainly after the date of his "views," on the 30th of October, 1860; because in these he states emphatically that the forces then at his command were, "in all, five companies only within reach to garrison or re-enforce the (nine) forts mentioned in the 'views.'"

Did he obtain these recruits in November? If so, had he visited Washington, or written and explained to me in what manner the military operation could be accomplished by the four hundred men in the five companies and the six hundred recruits, I should have given his representations all the consideration eminently due to his high military reputation.

command of an officer, Colonel Brown, to whom the firm and gallant Lieutenant Slemmer might cheerfully, both as a soldier and a patriot, yield the precedence due to his superior rank. The batteries upon the hostile shores were under the command of Colonel Bragg, who had won laurels as an officer of artillery under the command of General Taylor in Mexico.

Important as the possession of Fort Pickens was, the position of Washington awakened a far livelier and more immediate interest throughout the country. To attack and gain possession of the national capital was the first impulse which found expression among the insurgents, excited almost to frenzy by the successful bombardment of Fort Sumter and the war-proclamation of the President. To secure its safety was the first care of every patriot. The cry, Washington is in danger, flew from lip to lip over the whole land; and men went about their necessary business with the ever-present apprehension of hearing at any moment of a bloody struggle upon the very steps of the yet unfinished Capitol for its possession. These were no vague fears, excited by the sudden peril of the country; for one of the first effects of the proclamation had been to cause the passage of an Ordinance of Secession in Virginia, and thus virtually to open the way for the march of the insurgent forces directly upon Washington. In January, a resolution had been passed unanimously in the Senate of Virginia declaring that, if the sectional differences of the country could not be reconciled, honor and interest demanded that she should unite her fortunes with those of her sister slaveholding states. At the same time, however, a resolution, bringing up the question of the policy of secession, was refused to be entertained by a vote of nine-

But he informs us he did not arrive in Washington until the 12th of December. His second recommendation to garrison these forts must consequently have been made, according to his own statement, on the 13th, 15th, 28th, or 30th of December, or on more than one of these days. At this period the aspect of public affairs had greatly changed from what it was in October. Congress was now in session, and our relations with the seceding cotton states had been placed before them by the President's Message. Proceedings had been instituted by that body with a view to a compromise of the dangerous questions between the North and the South, and the highest hopes and warmest aspirations were then entertained for their success. Under these circumstances, it was the President's duty to take a broad view of the condition of the whole country, in all its relations, civil, industrial, and commercial, as well as military, giving to each its appropriate influence. It was only from such a combination that he could frame a policy calculated to preserve the peace and to consolidate the strength of the Union. Isolated recommendations proceeding from one department, without weighing well their effect upon the general policy, ought to be adopted with extreme caution.

But it seems from the rejoinder that Secretary Floyd, at Richmond, had claimed the honor of defeating General Scott's "plans and solicitations respecting the forts;" "it being there," says the general, "universally admitted that, but for that victory over me, there could have been no rebellion." This is, in plain English, that the secessionists of the cotton states, who have since brought into the field hundreds of thousands of undoubtedly brave soldiers, would have abandoned in terror their unlawful and rebellious designs, had General Scott distributed among their numerous forts 480 men in October or 1000 men in December! This requires no comment. I have never been able to obtain a copy of the speech of Mr. Floyd at Richmond to which I presume General Scott refers; but I learned, both at the time and since, from gentlemen of high respectability, that in this same speech he denounced me most bitterly for my determination to stand by and sustain the Union with all the power I possessed under the Constitution and the laws.

And here permit me to remark that it is due to General Scott, as well as myself, to deny that there is any portion of my answer which justifies the allegation that "the ex-President sneers at my 'weak device' (the words 'weak device' being marked as a quotation) for saving the forts." This mistake I must attribute to his "accidental visitor."

And in this connection I emphatically declare that the general, neither before nor after the publication of his "views" in the *National Intelligencer* of the 18th of January, 1861, without my consent, assigned any reason to me for making this publication, or ever even alluded to the subject. In this I can not be mistaken from the deep impression which the occurrence made upon my memory, for the reasons already mentioned in my answer.

I should have nothing more to add had General Scott, in his rejoinder, confined himself to the topics embraced in his original letter. He has extended them, and now for the first time, and in a sarcastic and no kindly spirit, refers to the alleged stealing of public arms by Secretary Floyd, and their transportation to the South in anticipation of the rebellion. The most conclusive answer to this allegation is that, notwithstanding the boasting of Mr. Floyd at Richmond, evidently with the view of conciliating his new allies, cited by the general as his authority, no public arms were ever stolen. This fact is established by the report of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, now before me, made by Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, their chairman, on the 18th of February, 1861, and to be found in the second volume of the Reports of Committees of the House for the session of 1860-61. This report, and the testimony before the committee, establish,

1. That the Southern states received in 1860 less instead of more than the quota of arms to which they were entitled by law; and that three of them—North Carolina, Mississippi, and Kentucky—received no arms whatever, and thus simply because they did not ask for them. Well may Mr. Stanton have said in the House "that there are a good deal of rumors, and speculations, and misapprehension as to the true state of facts in regard to this matter."

2. Secretary Floyd, under suspicious circumstances, on the 22d of December, 1860, and but a few days before he left the Department, had, without the knowledge of the President, ordered 113 colubrands and 11 32-pounders to be transported from Pittsburgh to Ship Island and Galveston, in Mississippi and Texas. The fact was brought to the knowledge of the President by a communication from Pittsburgh; and Secretary Holt immediately thereafter countermanded the order of his predecessor, and the cannon were never sent. The promptitude with which we acted elicited a vote of thanks, dated the 4th of January, 1861, from the Select and Common Councils of that city "to the President, the Attorney General, and the acting Secretary of War" (Mr. Holt).

After this statement, how shall we account for the explicit declaration of General Scott that, "accidentally hearing early in March that under this posthumous order (that of Mr. Floyd of the 22d of December) the shipment of these guns had commenced, I communicated the fact to Secretary Holt (acting for Secretary Cameron) just in time to defeat the robbery?" And this is the same Secretary Holt who had countermanded "the posthumous order" in the previous December. And, strange to say, these guns, but for the alleged interposition of General Scott, were about to be sent so late as March from the loyal states into those over which Jefferson Davis had then for some time presided!

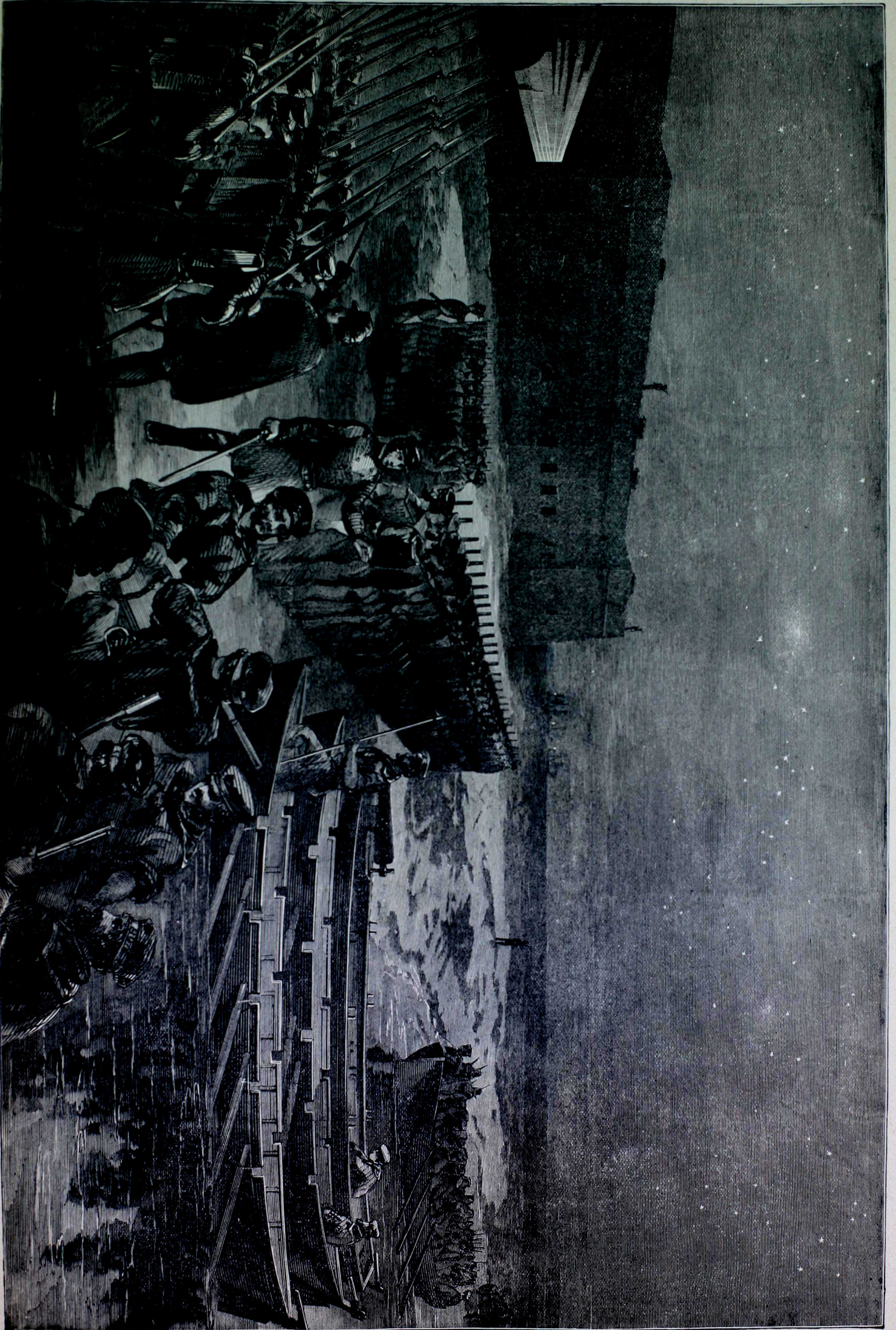
Had General Scott reflected for a moment, he could not have fallen into this blunder. It is quite manifest he was "without a printed document and my (his) own official papers."

3. The government had on hand in the year 1859 about 500,000 old muskets, which had been condemned "as unsuitable for public service," under the act of the 3d of March, 1825. They were of such a character that, although offered both at public and private sale for \$2.50 each, purchasers could not be obtained at that rate, except for a comparatively small number. On the 30th of November, 1859, Secretary Floyd ordered about one fifth of the whole number (105,000) to be sent from the Springfield Armory, where they had accumulated, to five Southern arsenals, "in proportion to their respective means of proper storage." This order was carried into effect by the Ordnance Bureau in the usual course of administration and without reference to the President. It is but justice to say that, from the testimony before the committee, there is no reason to suspect that Secretary Floyd issued this order from any sinister motive. Its date was months before Mr. Lincoln's nomination for the presidency, and nearly a year before his election, and while the secretary was still an avowed opponent of secession. Indeed, the testimony of Colonel Craig and Captain Maynader, of the Ordnance, before the committee, is wholly inconsistent with any evil intention on his part.

And yet these "condemned muskets," with a few thousand ancient rifles of a calibre then no longer used, are transformed by General Scott into "115,000 extra muskets and rifles, with all their implements and ammunition." This is the first time I have heard—certainly there was nothing of the kind before the committee—that ammunition was sent with these condemned and inferior arms to their places of storage—just as though they had been intended, not for sale, but for immediate use in the field. The truth is, that it is impossible to steal arms and transport them from one depository to another without the knowledge and active participation of the officers of the Ordnance Bureau, both in Washington and at these depositories. It may be observed that Colonel Craig, the head of the Bureau at this period, was as correct an officer, and as loyal and as honest a man as exists in the country. Yours very respectfully,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Wheatland, near Lancaster, Nov. 17, 1862.



RE-ENFORCEMENT OF FORT PICKENS BY COMPANY A, FIRST ARTILLERY, ON SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 13, 1861.



THE SECOND RE-ENFORCEMENT OF FORT PICKENS, ON APRIL 16, 1861.

ty-six to thirty-six. A state convention had assembled at Richmond on the 13th of February, and its deliberations had continued up to the time of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. A very decided majority of this body was opposed to any movement toward secession; and, except with a very small minority, there was a purpose and a hope that Virginia should yet act as a mediator between the revolted states and the government. But the members of the extreme slavery party were indefatigably active. They plied the Convention day after day with resolutions and speeches upon the "injury and oppression" which the sisterhood of slavery had suffered from the "federal government," the duty of resisting "coercion," the "sovereignty of the states," and the consequent "right of secession." They procured the appointment of a commission to catechise the President upon "the course he intended to pursue toward the seceded states."⁸ In this body the dogma of state sovereignty again worked out those logical results so fatal to the Union; for coercion, or, in other words, the assertion and maintenance of a supreme government for the execution of the supreme law of the land, was the bugbear that disturbed all concert of action against the seceding faction; and therefore, when, even after the attack upon Fort Sumter, the President called for troops to retake it and the other military posts which had been seized, most of the very Union men in this Virginia Convention felt compelled to declare that, "if the President meant the subjugation of the South," Virginia had but one course to pursue—to make common cause with her sister slave states, and resist. And so Governor Letcher having, on the 16th of April, as we have already seen, refused to furnish Virginia's quota of the troops called for by the President, and threatened resistance,⁹ on the 17th an Ordinance of Secession was secretly hurried through the Convention, receiving, in the excitement of the moment, a vote of eighty-eight against fifty-five. Even this, however, was but a provisional ordinance, which was to take effect only when ratified by the votes of a majority of the people of the state at a poll to be taken on the fourth Thursday of May following.¹⁰ This was the first instance in which the insurgent leaders had ventured to submit an Ordinance of Secession to the votes of the people. But in this very case they pursued their policy of precipitation and usurpation of power with a more guilty recklessness than ever before; for, in spite of this special pro-

vision in the ordinance itself, requiring a vote of the people for its establishment, another ordinance was immediately passed, adopting the Constitution of the Confederate States, and a solemn convention was entered into with commissioners from the government at Montgomery, by which Virginia became a member of the confederacy, submitted her entire military force and military operations to the control of the President of the confederacy, and made over to the insurgent government all the public property, naval stores, and munitions of war, which, in delicate phrase, she might have "acquired" from the United States.¹ This ordinance was passed with indecent haste on the 17th day of April, and the convention was entered into upon the 25th. True, the former was in terms dependent upon the vote to be taken in May upon the Ordinance of Secession. But as the state was meantime placed entirely in the military power of the insurgents, this provision was but the lowest form of external decency. The effect of this action in Virginia was of inestimable advantage to the insurgents. It transferred their frontier from the obscure and remote line of the northern boundary of the Gulf states to the Potomac River, and placed one end of the Long Bridge, which is the southern outlet of Washington, upon hostile soil.

The temper and purposes of the people who had thus usurped control of the most important of the slave states was instantly manifested by hostile movements of the most alarming character. Hardly was the conditional Ordinance of Secession passed, when the custom-house and the post-office at Richmond were seized, and on the evening of the same day, the 18th of April, an attack was made upon Harper's Ferry. At this place, famous for the bold beauty of the scene, where the Potomac receives the waters of the Shenandoah, and pushes its way through a sharply-cut gap in the Blue Ridge, was one of the largest arsenals of the United States, to which was attached a factory of arms of corresponding magnitude. The former usually contained ninety-five thousand stand of arms; and the latter, when in full operation, turned out twenty-five thousand yearly. Here, too, at the outlet of the Shenandoah Valley, which pierces the centre of Virginia, was one of the principal stations of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, by which the great river commerce of the West passed eastward to the sea-coast; and a great and well-stored flour-mill, one of the largest in the country. Around these

⁸ *The President's Speech to the Virginia Commissioners, Messrs. Preston, Stuart, and Randolph.*

GENTLEMEN,—As a committee of the Virginia Convention, now in session, you present me a preamble and resolution in these words:

"Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the federal executive intends to pursue toward the seceded states is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of the pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace; therefore,

"Resolved, That a committee of three delegates be appointed to wait on the President of the United States, present to him this preamble, and respectfully ask him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the federal executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States."

In answer I have to say, that having, at the beginning of my official term, expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and mortification I now learn there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue. Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the inaugural address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document as the best expression I can give to my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat, "The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people any where." By the words "property and places belonging to the government," I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in possession of the government when it came into my hands. But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess it, if I can, like places which had been seized before the government was devolved upon me; and in any event I shall, to the best of my ability, repel force by force. In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as is reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the states which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the government justifies and possibly demands it. I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the states which claim to have seceded as yet belonging to the government of the United States as much as they did before the supposed secession. Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country; not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon the border of the country. From the fact that I have quoted a part of the inaugural address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I reaffirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification.

⁹ *Proclamation of the Governor of Virginia.*

Whereas seven of the states formerly composing a part of the United States have, by authority of their people, solemnly resumed the powers granted by them to the United States, and have framed a constitution and organized a government for themselves, to which the people of those states are yielding willing obedience, and have so notified the President of the United States by all the formalities incident to such action, and thereby become to the United States a separate, independent, and foreign power; and whereas the Constitution of the United States has invested Congress with the sole power "to declare war," and until such declaration is made the President has no authority to call for an extraordinary force to wage offensive war against any foreign power; and whereas, on the 15th instant, the President of the United States, in plain violation of the Constitution, issued a proclamation calling for a force of seventy-five thousand men to cause the laws of the United States to be duly executed over a people who are no longer a part of the Union, and in said proclamation threatens to exert this unusual force to compel obedience to his mandates; and whereas the General Assembly of Virginia, by a majority approaching to entire unanimity, declared at its last session that the State of Virginia would consider such an exertion of force as a virtual declaration of war, to be resisted by all the power at the command of Virginia; and subsequently, the Convention now in session, representing the sovereignty of this state, has reaffirmed in substance the same policy, with almost equal unanimity; and whereas the State of Virginia deeply sympathizes with the Southern states in the wrongs they have suffered and in the position they have assumed, and having made earnest efforts peaceably to compose the differences which have severed the Union, and having failed in that attempt, through this unwarranted act on the part of the President; and it is believed that the influences which operate to produce this proclamation against the seceded states will be brought to bear upon this commonwealth if she should exercise her undoubted right to resume the powers granted by her people, and it is due to the honor of Virginia that an improper exercise of force against her people should be repelled; therefore I, John Letcher, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, have thought proper to order all armed volunteer regiments or companies within the state forthwith to hold themselves in readiness for immediate orders, and upon the reception of this proclamation to report to the adjutant general of the state their organization and numbers, and prepare themselves for efficient service. Such companies as are not armed and equipped will report that fact, that they may be properly supplied.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Commonwealth to be affixed, this 17th day of April, 1861, and in the eighty-fifth year of the Commonwealth.

JOHN LETCHER.

¹⁰ *Ordinance of Secession passed by the Virginia Convention, April 17th, 1861.*

An Ordinance to repeal the Ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America by the State of Virginia, and to resume all the Rights and Powers granted under said Constitution:

The people of Virginia, in the ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America, adopted by them in convention, on the 25th day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, having declared that the powers granted under the said Constitution were derived from the people of the United States, and might be resumed whenever the same should be perverted to their injury and oppression, and the federal government having perverted said powers, not only to the injury of the people of Virginia, but to the oppression of the Southern slaveholding states;

Now, therefore, we, the people of Virginia, do declare and ordain, that the ordinance adopted by the people of this state in convention, on the twenty-fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and all acts of the General Assembly of this state ratifying or adopting amendments to said Constitution, are hereby repealed and abrogated; that the union between the State of Virginia and the other states under the Constitution aforesaid is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Virginia is in the full possession and exercise of all the rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent state. And they do farther declare that said Constitution of the United States of America is no longer binding on any of the citizens of this state.

This ordinance shall take effect and be an act of this day, when ratified by a majority of the votes of the people of this state, cast at a poll to be taken thereon, on the fourth Thursday in May next, in pursuance of a schedule hereafter to be enacted.

Done in convention, in the city of Richmond, on the seventeenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and in the eighty-fifth year of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

A true copy.

JNO. L. EUBANK, Secretary of Convention.

¹ *An Ordinance passed by the Virginia Convention for the adoption of the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America.*

We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, in convention assembled, solemnly impressed by the perils which surround the commonwealth, and appealing to the Searcher of hearts for the rectitude of our intentions in assuming the grave responsibility of this act, do by this ordinance adopt and ratify the Constitution of the provisional government of the Confederate States of America, ordained and established at Montgomery, Alabama, on the eighth day of February, eighteen hundred and sixty-one; provided that this ordinance shall cease to have any legal operation or effect if the people of this commonwealth, upon the vote directed to be taken on the Ordinance of Secession passed by this Convention on the seventeenth day of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, shall reject the same.

A true copy.

JNO. L. EUBANK, Secretary.

Convention between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the Confederate States of America.

The Commonwealth of Virginia, looking to a speedy union of said commonwealth and the other slave states with the Confederate States of America, according to the provisions of the Constitution for the provisional government of said states, enters into the following temporary convention and agreement with said states, for the purpose of meeting pressing exigencies affecting the common rights, interests, and safety of said commonwealth and said confederacy.

1. Until the union of said commonwealth with said confederacy shall be perfected, and said commonwealth shall become a member of said confederacy, according to the constitutions of both powers, the whole military force and military operations, offensive and defensive, of said commonwealth, in the impending conflict with the United States, shall be under the chief control and direction of the President of said Confederate States, upon the same principles, basis, and footing as if said commonwealth were now, and during the interval, a member of said confederacy.

2. The commonwealth of Virginia will, after the consummation of the union contemplated in this convention, and her adoption of the Constitution for a permanent government of the said Confederate States, and she shall become a member of said confederacy under said permanent Constitution, if the same occur, turn over to the said Confederate States all the public property, naval stores, and munitions of war, etc., she may then be in possession of, acquired from the United States, on the same terms and in like manner as the other states of said confederacy have done in like cases.

3. Whatever expenditures of money, if any, said Commonwealth of Virginia shall make before the union, under the provisional government as above contemplated, shall be consummated, shall be met and provided for by said Confederate States.

This convention entered into and agreed to, in the city of Richmond, Virginia, on the twenty-fourth day of April, 1861, by Alexander H. Stephens, the duly authorized commissioner to act in the matter for the said Confederate States, and John Tyler, Wm. Ballard Preston, Samuel M'D. Moore, James P. Holcombe, James C. Bruce, and Lewis B. Harvie, parties duly authorized to act in like manner for said Commonwealth of Virginia, the whole subject to the approval and ratification of the proper authorities of both governments respectively.

In testimony whereof the parties aforesaid have hereto set their hands and seals, the day and year aforesaid, and at the place aforesaid, in duplicate originals.

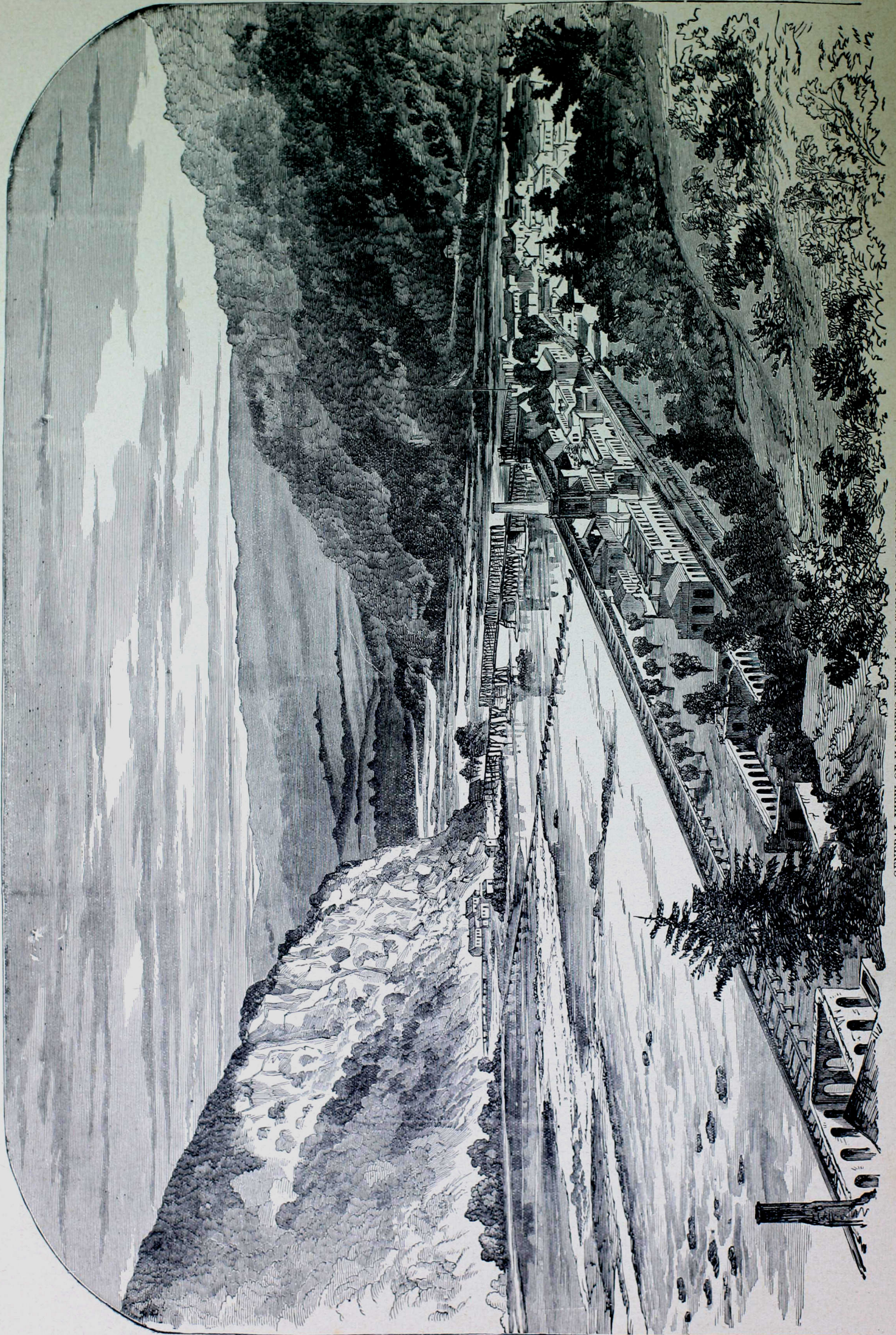
ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, Commissioner for Confederate States.

JOHN TYLER,
WM. BALLARD PRESTON,
S. M'D. MOORE,
JAMES P. HOLCOMBE,
JAMES C. BRUCE,
LEWIS B. HARVIE. } Commissioners for Virginia.

Approved and ratified by the Convention of Virginia, on the 25th of April, 1861.

JNO. L. EUBANK, Secretary.

JOHN JANNEY, President.



GENERAL VIEW OF HARPER'S FERRY AND THE MARYLAND HEIGHTS.



HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA.

points of attraction there had grown up a manufacturing town of between nine and ten thousand inhabitants, which was connected with the Maryland shore by a bridge nine hundred feet in length, the alternate possession and abandonment, destruction and rebuilding of which played a prominent part in the approaching war. The commanding position of the place, and the great value of the arms and the founderies there, made it one of the most important internal military posts of the United States. It was at this time held by Lieutenant Roger Jones, who had under his immediate command only a small company of about forty men. That the post was in danger the government well knew, but there were no means of re-enforcing it sufficiently; and Lieutenant Jones had received orders that, in case of an attack which could not be successfully resisted, it should be destroyed. The peril came sooner than it was expected. But the commander was watchful, and he received information, on the 17th, the very day on which the Ordinance of Secession was passed within closed doors, that preparations were making at Winchester and in the surrounding country for an attack upon him in overwhelming force. He immediately prepared the work of destruction by piling the arms in heaps and surrounding them with combustible matter, and by mining the work-shops and laying trains. He was not an hour too soon. Orders were sent down from Richmond on the morning of the 18th for the seizure of the place, and three thousand men were expected to move upon it. Owing to the suddenness

of the call, however, only two hundred and fifty infantry assembled at the rendezvous, Halltown, a small village about four miles from Harper's Ferry. To these, however, were added a squad of Fauquier County cavalry and a piece of artillery; and thus the force was more than amply strong for the purpose, even without the help of the inhabitants of the town, which it was sure to receive. About nine o'clock in the evening this force moved swiftly and silently upon the Ferry; but they were not able to surprise its little garrison. They were challenged by sentry after sentry, until they began to apprehend that more formidable preparations for resistance had been made than they were able to encounter, and concluded to send in a flag of truce to obtain information from the townspeople. But, while the flag was on its way, and the officers were in consultation during the halt, a sudden flash broke forth in the direction of the armory; it was followed by others in quick succession, accompanied by explosions like the firing of heavy artillery. The cause was instantly suspected, and the cavalry, dashing into the village, soon returned with the information that the arsenal and the work-shops were blown up and on fire, and that the government troops had retreated across the Potomac toward Hagerstown in Maryland. Lieutenant Jones had been prompt, and as thorough as circumstances permitted. Within three minutes from the time of firing the trains, the arsenal and the arms which it contained were destroyed, and the work-shops were all ablaze. But of the arms in the latter many were saved by the insurgents after they had put out the fire. Their way lit by the conflagration which they had kindled, Lieutenant Jones and his little band fled across the Potomac bridge, pursued by a threatening mob, which, however, they easily kept at bay, and, pushing on through the night, arrived, weary and footsore, at Carlisle Barracks, in Pennsylvania, the next afternoon, with the loss of only four men by desertion and straggling. Mr. Jones's faithfulness and his success won him commendation and a captaincy. But in what a situation was that country which esteemed itself fortunate in the escape of its soldiers with their lives from an important post, and the destruction of one of its most considerable arsenals and armories, filled with arms and implements which never could have been more needed!

To the loss of Harper's Ferry there was immediately added another of far more consequence, that of the great naval station at Portsmouth, which lies upon the Elizabeth River, eight miles from the noble harbor of Hampton Roads. The great capacity of this harbor, its safety, and its easy access to ships of the deepest draught, had early pointed it out as the most desirable place south of New York for the naval purposes to which it was appropriated. It was filled with the maritime and military wealth of the nation, and within its limits were the most extensive and complete array of shops, founderies, ship-yards, mills, and docks in the country; among them a dry dock of granite, built at an enormous cost, and capable of the largest vessels. Lying at the navy yard, which was at Gosport, a little suburb of the little



MARCH OF THE VIRGINIANS ON HARPER'S FERRY, 9 30 P.M., APRIL 18, 1861.



BURNING OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL AT HARPER'S FERRY, 10 P.M., APRIL 18, 1861.

town of Portsmouth, which, with the neighboring city of Norfolk, containing only about fourteen thousand inhabitants, were literally kept from decay and death by the business thrown into their hands by the government, were twelve vessels of war of various sizes, from the Pennsylvania, four-decker, of 120 guns, to the brig *Dolphin* of 4. Most of them were of large size; and although all were more or less in need of repairs, or were not quite completed, only one was unfit for service. Among them was the sloop-of-war *Cumberland*, Captain Pendergrast, which was in commission as the flag-ship of the home squadron, and the *Merrimac*, a noble steam frigate of 40 guns, which was launched at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1855, and which, in a voyage over the world, had won universal admiration by her union of speed, power, and weight of metal. Both the *Cumberland* and the *Merrimac* were destined to play, as antagonists, a striking part in the coming war; the latter by affording the first example of a new system of naval warfare; the former by a devotion to the flag and a stubborn resistance which threw the brightest halo of heroism over her destruction. In addition to these vessels there were in the yard nearly two thousand five hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, three hundred of which were Dahlgren guns. The quantity of small arms, ammunition, and other munitions of war in store here was immense; and at old Fort Norfolk, which was used as a magazine, were three hundred thousand pounds of powder, with shot and loaded shell in vast amount. The ships, docks, shops, naval stores, arms, and ammunition at Gosport Navy Yard and its immediate dependencies were worth, at a moderate valuation, thirty-five millions of dollars. This great prize was taken without the sacrifice of a drop of blood by the promptness and audacity of the insurgents, and lost by the cautious, good-natured scruples of the government. The place was entirely without protection. On the land-side, its space of many acres was inclosed only by a low wall, easily scaled or battered down at any point; and as to the ships, there were not on the spot seamen enough to man a single one of them. Though the station and its invaluable contents were thus exposed to attack, of which, from the very accession of President Lincoln to power there had been constant apprehension, no measures, even of prevention, were taken for its preservation. The ever-present fear of exciting animosity and provoking attack, the never-dying hope that some way, which no one could point out, would be found of maintaining the national authority, without asserting it by force, and of restoring the Union to its normal condition with the consent of all its parts, prevented any attempt to retain Portsmouth and the navy yard securely in the hands of the government. This was openly avowed by a member of President Lincoln's administration, of whose loyalty, and of the faithfulness of whose intentions, there can not be the slightest doubt. Secretary Welles, in his report to the President, submitted to Congress in the following July, says: "Any attempt to withdraw the ships, or either of them, without a crew, would, in the then sensitive and disturbed condition of the public mind, have betrayed alarm and distrust, and been likely to cause difficulty."

In this timid and hesitating policy thirty-seven priceless days were passed; and when, at last, in the words of the same officer, he became "apprehensive that action might be necessary," the action taken was of little more

effect than the inaction which it followed. Commodore M'Cauley, who was in command of the yard, was directed to use "extreme vigilance and circumspection;" but this vigilance and circumspection seem, by the terms of the order, which was dated April 10th, to have been quite as much addressed to the avoidance of offense to the disloyal as to the preservation of the nation's property and the maintenance of the authority of the government. He was directed "to put the shipping and public property in condition to be moved and placed beyond danger, but in doing this he was warned to take no steps that could give needless alarm." What a warning, to be solemnly addressed by the representative of the government of a great nation to one of its most important officers in such a crisis of its affairs! As at Charleston, so here at Portsmouth. Could the *Star of the West*, with her re-enforcements and supplies for Fort Sumter, have been promptly sent to Major Anderson, conveyed by the steam frigate *Brooklyn*, or some other sufficient naval force, with orders to demolish any battery that fired a gun upon the national flag, the revolt would almost surely have been crushed in its very birth. Strange, incomprehensible, that after the lesson in that quarter, and after the insurrection had made headway by audacity on the one side and hesitation on the other, it was not seen that the way to save Portsmouth and its dependencies was not to deal tenderly with disaffection, and avoid giving needless alarm, but to lay a frigate or two opposite the place, with orders to open fire with shot and shell upon the first attempt at violence! But matters went on in the same old timid way. At last the engines of the *Merrimac* were reported ready for use, and Commodore M'Cauley received orders from Washington to lose no time in getting her armament on board, in loading her, the *Plymouth*, the *Dolphin*, and the *Germantown* with the more valuable ordnance and other public property, and in putting these vessels in a position to be moved at any moment out of danger. The *Cumberland*, well manned and fully equipped, was placed in a position to command Portsmouth, the navy yard, and Norfolk; and orders were issued to repel by force all attempts to seize vessels or any other property, by whomsoever made, or under whatever pretense of authority. Thus, at the very last moment, the government took the measures it should have taken thirty days before. At the last—at the very last; for this was not done until the 17th of April, the day on which the Ordinance of Secession was passed in secret conclave at Richmond. Yet it might not have been quite too late but for another exhibition of that blind confidence on the one side, and that personal faithlessness on the other, which, in the beginning of this rebellion, brought defeat to the government and dishonorable success to the insurgents.

A large number of the officers under Commodore M'Cauley's command were from slave states—many of them from Virginia. He was betrayed into trusting the loyalty, and, what is more, the personal good faith of these men. They were good officers, and he could not believe that they would at once prove false to the country and the flag of which they were the sworn defenders; he could not insult them and degrade his own profession by acting upon the supposition that a whole body of men would remain in a service in which they had grown up only just so long as they could use their positions for the purpose of deceiving him and betraying their trust; he felt bound to believe that if they meant to abandon the old flag they would do

so at once, and openly like men, and that, like men of honor, they would sedulously avoid an ambiguous position, which made them masters of the secrets, and gave them measurable control over the affairs of a government against which, while wearing its uniform and receiving its pay, they intended to fight when the time arrived. But they were not content with leaving him to these conclusions, so natural to an officer and a gentleman. They went to him with frequent professions of loyalty upon their lips, saying at one time, "You have no Pensacola officers here, commodore; we'll never desert you; we will stand by you to the last, even to the death."² Yet these words were only uttered to lure him into fatal security, as we shall see in the sequel.

The people of Norfolk, true to the feeling which, according to their own journal, required the removal of the bodies of the Northern physicians who died while ministering to them in the time of pestilence,³ were among the earliest and bitterest of the secessionists in Eastern Virginia. Their streets were filled with murmuring and threatening. They paraded their militia companies, and openly declared that if the government attempted to remove any of the ships or the munitions of war, or the commander of the yard made any preparations to defend it, they would attack it instantly. The unreasonableness of such a threat might be a just subject of remark, were it not that the men who made it were thinking and acting far outside the pale of reason. On the night of the 16th of April a band of these people seized two light-ships and sunk them in the shallowest part of the entrance to the harbor. On the next day, it will be remembered, the very day on which the secret but discreetly disseminated Ordinance of Secession was passed, the Merrimac was ready to go to sea; but Mr. Isherwood, the engineer-in-chief, who had been sent expressly from Washington to expedite her preparations, was surprised at receiving the order from Commodore M'Cauley not to get up steam until the day after. On that day the fires were lighted, and again the commodore spoke doubtfully about sending the vessel out, and ordered a delay of a few hours. A remonstrance from the engineer-in-chief, who directed the commodore's attention to the urgent orders of the Navy Department, and the probability that the obstructions in the channel would be increased during the night, elicited only a tardy announcement that the Merrimac would not go to sea that day, and an order to draw the fires; whereupon the engineer started post-haste for Washington. Commodore M'Cauley appears, by his own admission, to have allowed his junior officers to persuade him that still farther delay would be most prudent. On the very morning, the 18th, when he issued the fatal order of procrastination, all of those officers who were from slave states, with one or two honorable exceptions, resigned their commissions; the greater part of the workmen of the yard absented themselves from duty; General Taliaferro, of Virginia, arrived at Norfolk to take command of the military forces there, and Commodore M'Cauley's eyes at last were opened. But they were opened only to see his imminent peril and his utter helplessness; to see that he could not save, but only destroy; and to the work of destruction he at once addressed himself. He ordered all the guns to be spiked—an enormous task. It was but partly performed; and of the pieces which were spiked, only a few were permanently injured. The 19th passed in this and like futile efforts to destroy the property which the commodore had concluded to abandon. On the 20th the tumult outside the yard rose yet higher, and at twelve o'clock an officer was sent out bearing a flag of truce. He was taken to General Taliaferro's quarters, where a consultation was held, the result of which was renewed humiliation and disgrace to the national government. Commodore M'Cauley promised that none of the vessels should be taken from the yard, or a shot fired except in self-defense. But again he decided to destroy what he could not remove, and he gave orders—the last which he issued as commander of the yard—to scuttle all the vessels except the Cumberland.

Meanwhile measures were taken at Washington to supersede him in his command; but they proved to be too late. When the engineer-in-chief reported at the Navy Department the detention of the Merrimac, the secretary saw that the error promised to be well-nigh fatal. Captain Paulding was immediately dispatched to Portsmouth with the powerful steam frigate Pawnee, on which were placed one hundred marines in addition to her regular crew, and three hundred and fifty Massachusetts volunteers, under command of Colonel Wardrop, who were taken on board at Fortress Monroe. With this force Captain Paulding arrived at Portsmouth on the evening of the 20th, under instructions to take command of all the vessels at that station, to repel force by force, and prevent the ships and other property, at all hazards, from falling into the hands of the insurgents—most fitting orders, but, like all others issued by the government since the breaking out of the insurrection (except those in reference to Washington and Fort Pickens), withheld until they were of no avail; for Captain Paulding arrived at Portsmouth only in time to see the scuttled ships settling down into the water, and to witness Commodore M'Cauley's helpless condition before the now overwhelming and partly organized force of the insurgents. What might have been accomplished with the Cumberland, the Pawnee, and the troops in the latter, under such circumstances, we can not, perhaps, rightly judge. It seems, indeed, as if such a force, promptly and vigorously used against a body of men, however large, who were unprotected by works of any kind, and who had little artillery, and that not in position, would have held them completely at bay, and, if necessary, dispersed them with great slaughter, and with the destruction of the towns of Norfolk and Portsmouth. But such an exertion of the strength of the government, it seems, was not to be

put forth; and Captain Paulding used the large discretionary powers with which he was clothed only to make as thorough as possible the destruction which Commodore M'Cauley had begun. He detailed one hundred men to render the heavy ordnance unserviceable by knocking off the trunnions; but they worked for an hour with the heaviest sledges, and produced no effect. The dry dock, the pride of the station, was mined; combustibles were scattered through the scuttled ships, the ship-houses, and barracks, and trains were laid through them, so that they might all be fired at once. It was two o'clock at night before all was reported ready, when all the force, except the few who were to light the trains, took ship on the Pawnee and the Cumberland. At four o'clock the former took the latter in tow and stood down the harbor; and at half past four, a rocket from the Pawnee gave the signal, and in a few minutes Gosport Navy Yard was all ablaze. The conflagration was an awful one, as may be easily imagined. By its terrible splendor the country was lit up for miles around; and the roar of the flames, as they devoured the work of years and the wealth of a nation, was heard with horror far and wide. The burning of the great four-decker Pennsylvania, the largest ship afloat, was in itself a spectacle of destructive grandeur worthy of mention in the naval annals of the republic, of whose fate her disastrous end might, to superstitious minds, have seemed an omen, enhanced as its effect was by the solemn booming of her heavy guns, as the fire reached them, at brief intervals.

While this ruin was going on, its huge proportions and its appalling means made it seem far more destructive than it really was; for when the flames had subsided, and the excited people, to baffle whom they were lighted, rushed into the yard, and began to save what could be saved, it was found that little harm was done except to the ship-houses and to the ships, all of which that were sea-worthy might have been removed from the harbor within the forty-eight hours previous; and even of these, two, the Plymouth and the Merrimac, were afterward raised and made serviceable. But the dry dock, all the various founderies and shops, the ordnance buildings, the tools, provisions, and officers' quarters, were but little injured, and were almost immediately put in use for the manufacture of arms, shot, and shell, and all the other military and naval purposes to which such a large establishment was adapted. Fort Norfolk, with its immense stores of powder, was taken without resistance. From the whole North there went up a cry of mingled grief and wrath at this great loss. The importance of the station for the naval purposes of the government in the coming struggle, and, no less, of the James River, the control of which was by this event virtually lost as an avenue of approach to the interior, and the immense value of the ships and stores which had been destroyed or given up, were instantly appreciated by the country. But the real significance of the capture was in the enormous quantity of heavy ordnance, which was not only lost by the government, but gained by the rebels. A capture of any thing like its importance in this respect is not recorded in history. As far as regarded heavy artillery, it virtually amounted to the disarming of one side and the arming of the other; and, combined with the various seizures which have already been enumerated, it chiefly contributed to produce the result, as we shall see, of an incomparable superiority in arms, on the part of the insurgents, upon the beginning of actual hostilities. We are not left without their own testimony upon this point. Mr. Peters, a commissioner of the State of Virginia, appointed to take an inventory of the property thus abandoned by the United States and seized by the insurgents, says, in a report published in the *Richmond Enquirer* of February 4th, 1862: "I had purposed some remarks upon the vast importance to Virginia, and to the entire South, of the timely acquisition of this extensive naval dépôt, with its immense supplies of munitions of war, and to notice briefly the damaging effects of its loss to the government at Washington; but I deem it unnecessary, since the presence at almost every exposed point on the whole Southern coast, and at numerous inland intrenched camps in the several states, of heavy pieces of ordnance, with their equipments and fixed ammunition, all supplied from this establishment, fully attests the one, while the unwillingness of the enemy to attempt demonstrations at any point, from which he is obviously deterred by the knowledge of its well-fortified condition, abundantly proves the other, especially when it is considered that both he and we are wholly indebted for our means of resistance to his loss and our acquisition of the Gosport Navy Yard."⁴

Within forty-eight hours after Commodore M'Cauley's agreement with General Taliaferro, troops from Virginia and from Georgia, to the number of a thousand men, with fourteen pieces of rifled cannon, had been added to the force already at Portsmouth and Norfolk, and the hull of the old frigate United States had been sunk in the narrowest part of the entrance to the harbor, within easy range of Forts Calhoun and Monroe, which guard the approach; and thus the insurgents were placed in complete possession of this important station, where they remained unmolested many months, while they successfully planned and executed enterprises which had an important influence upon the progress of the war.

Leaving the rebels now virtually masters of the Gulf states and the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies south of the Potomac, we must look northward upon scenes not less exciting and far more encouraging to those whose interest was bound up in the fortunes of the great republic. We have seen

² See the Reply of Commodore M'Cauley to the censure of the Congressional Committee, published in the *National Intelligencer*, May 5, 1862.

³ See Introduction, page 14.

⁴ The authority for this account of the destruction of Harper's Ferry and the Portsmouth Navy Yard will be found in the *Richmond* and *New York* newspapers of the day, in the Virginia correspondence of *Harpers' Weekly* of May 11th, 1861, in the Report of the Select Committee of the Senate for investigating the Facts relative to the Loss of the Navy Yard, etc., submitted by Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, April 18, 1862, and the Reply of Commodore M'Cauley to the censure of the Congressional Committee, published in the *Washington National Intelligencer*, May 5, 1862.

gone but a short distance when their progress was retarded and their lines broken by a small bridge, from which the mob had torn up the planks; but the soldiers jumped from timber to timber, and got over, though in confusion. Many of them had by this time been severely hurt, and now two were struck down and effectually put *hors de combat* by missiles, which came thicker and faster than ever. A shot was at last fired into their ranks, and Captain Follansbee, thinking that the assault had been borne long enough, ordered his men to cap their pieces and defend themselves. The order was instantly obeyed, and with deadly effect; but the fire was returned from guns and pistols as well as with paving-stones. The Mayor of Baltimore now placed himself at the head of the little column, and endeavored to restrain the rioters by a bold exertion of his authority; but the protection which the municipal power of Baltimore had often before failed to afford to its own citizens it could not extend to strangers under these strange circumstances. The mayor's efforts proved futile, his position became dangerous, and he retired baffled, though not dismayed. The mob had now become a vast surging mass of infuriated men. Its numbers were estimated at from eight to ten thousand; but it has been found that in such conjectures numbers are usually exaggerated to three times the truth, and this case was not at all likely to be an exception to the rule. Yet it may be safely assumed that the Massachusetts men, who were little more than one hundred strong (the entire body consisted of eight hundred and sixty, rank and file), were now making their way through three thousand rioters. They kept together, however, in close ranks, opposing obedience and endurance to lawlessness and fury, wheeling upon their assailants and firing only when the attack became too severe to be borne without resistance; and in this manner they fought their way, with patient valor, one mile through the raging throng to the Washington station. But they had not yet escaped the perils of Baltimore. They and the rest of the regiment which had preceded them were enabled, indeed, by the exertions of the police and by their own large and well-armed numbers, to take the Washington cars, and the train was detained for some time, in hopes that the mob would now disperse; but it still increased, and, as it dared not face the muskets of a whole regiment, it turned its energies to the destruction of the train. The crowd dashed off upon the track in such numbers that, in the words of an eyewitness, for a mile it was black with an excited, rushing mass. Great logs and telegraph-poles, which required a dozen men to move them, were now thrown upon the rails, and rocks were rolled down upon the track from the embankment. Attempts were made to tear up the rails, and a cry was raised for pickaxes and crowbars; but only one or two could be found so suddenly. The police, now in large force, went forward and removed the obstructions, and the train, under a discharge of revolvers and stones, steamed slowly after; but the mob kept ahead of the police, continuing its destructive efforts. This dreadful scene covered a space of a mile and more; and the exertions, though not the fury of the rioters, ceased only from physical exhaustion. At last the track was clear; and the citizen soldiers, who had so promptly obeyed the orders of the elected chief magistrate of the nation, were borne swiftly beyond reach of their infuriated countrymen to the defense of their common capital.

At the same time with the Massachusetts regiment, upon the same road, and with the same destination, arrived ten companies of Pennsylvania militia. They were unarmed as well as ununiformed. But their helpless condition and their civil garb failed alike to protect them against the excited passions of the mob. Incapable of any effectual defense, they remained quietly in their cars, and were there stoned unmercifully for two hours. The sides of the cars afforded them protection; but many missiles went through the windows and inflicted serious bruises. Some attempted to escape; but they were attacked furiously, and obliged either to return to the cars or seek refuge in neighboring houses. After a time, the police, aided, it is said, by George P. Kane, United States marshal of that district, and some bold and loyal citizens, succeeded in partly quieting the tumult, and the Philadelphia troops were protected from farther injury, but were obliged to abandon their journey, and return as they came to Philadelphia. Two cars of baggage and munitions, which had been seized by the mob, were also rescued by the police.

In this deplorable and disgraceful affair, by which the pro-slavery faction of Baltimore gained the bad distinction of spilling the first blood shed in the great rebellion, at least thirty-nine men, according to the most trustworthy reports, were killed and wounded, in addition to the larger number who received unreckoned injuries more or less serious. Of the thirty-nine, eight rioters, one offending citizen, and two soldiers were killed outright, and three rioters and twenty-five soldiers were wounded, one of the last mortally. The three men who thus first gave up their lives in the cause of liberty and the republic were Sumner H. Needham, of Lawrence, and Addison O. Whitney and Luther C. Ladd, of Lowell. Their names will ever live in

the memory of their countrymen.⁷ In Massachusetts their fate and that of their wounded comrades excited a profound emotion, in which grief and indignation were tempered, though not abated, by a certain pride that this noble old commonwealth had been the first to offer the blood of her citizens in the defense of the liberties of the country, as she had also been the first to make the same sacrifice in the struggle by which those liberties were won. By a strange, and, it was fondly thought, a significant coincidence, it happened that the same day of the same month saw the sacrifice on both occasions. The skirmish at Lexington in 1775 and the street-fight at Baltimore, eighty-six years afterward, both occurred on the 19th of April. A correspondence by telegraph immediately took place between the Governor of Massachusetts and the Mayor of Baltimore as to the disposition of the bodies of the dead Massachusetts soldiers and the care for the wounded. On both sides it was touching and earnest; on both it showed state pride; but only on one, the Southern, that pernicious feeling of state independence, as if the state were something outside of rather than within the republic, which not even the solemnity of the occasion could repress, and which, no less than the fear for the life of slavery, was the cause of the struggle the first blood in which had been thus ominously shed. The one put forward the passage of armed troops of another state over the soil of his own as a palliation of the onslaught, if not an excuse for it; the other, though at the head of one of the oldest and most honorable commonwealths of the Union, and the one which had originally possessed and exercised the nearest approach to sovereignty, saw in the troops which he had sent and in any state over which they passed only the citizen soldiers and the common soil of the republic.⁸

Not in Massachusetts alone, however, did this attack upon the Massachusetts militia incense the people. The whole North burned with fierce resentment. Had the spirit which then animated the inhabitants of the free states, and even those of Kentucky and Missouri, who did not place the interests of slavery above those of the country, continued through the war, that lack of vindictiveness in them, which was publicly noticed by more than one observer and on more than one occasion, would not have softened the asperities and prolonged the continuance of the struggle.⁹ The very advocates of slavery and apologists of the South, who were so numerous in the North, were profoundly moved at this flagitious attempt to stay the peaceful march of citizen soldiers through one of the United States at the command of the chief magistrate of them all. The demand that Baltimore should be humbled, and, if necessary to the opening of a safe highway to Washington, destroyed, was on every lip. Men whose interests and whose family connections were not only at the South, but in South Carolina, declared that, in this respect at least, the majesty of the nation should be asserted, and old black Federal cockades, exhumed from recesses where they had long been left in oblivion, began to appear on the breasts and hats of men whose blood boiled at the outrage upon the republic, but who were the very Gallios of slavery. Those who before sneered at the story of the attempt to assassinate Mr. Lincoln now believed it; the city which was the scene of the intended crime and of that actually committed was looked upon as an offense to the nation, and the cry, Through Baltimore or over it, went up over the whole Northern country. There was reason in the demand, and honor and justice, though not charity, in the feeling. The road to Washington lay through Baltimore; the people of Maryland had not even attempted to throw off the authority of the government at the former place; and that there was any aggression in the mere passage of their fellow-citizens through their chief town upon the order of their common government could not be for a moment pretended. No semblance of a defense was set up for them, except that strong municipal pride which causes the inhabitants of one place to resent the assertion of authority over them by the armed forces of another—an excellent plea in extenuation, if it were pertinent; but in this case it was entirely from the purpose. The Massachusetts men were in Baltimore, not to assert any authority there, not for the purpose of establishing relations of any kind with its people; they were merely travelers; and it was so plain as to need no demonstration that the passions of



GEORGE P. KANE.

⁷ This account of the Baltimore riot is based upon a published letter of Captain Follansbee, and the reports of the affair in the Baltimore newspapers, and in the correspondence of those of New York.

⁸ CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS AND THE MAYOR OF BALTIMORE.
Governor Andrew to Mayor Brown.
I pray you cause the bodies of our Massachusetts soldiers, dead in battle, to be immediately laid out, preserved in ice, and tenderly sent forward by express to me. All expenses will be paid by this commonwealth.
JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts.

Mayor Brown to Governor Andrew.
The Hon. John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts:
SIR,—No one deploras the sad events of yesterday in this city more deeply than myself, but they were inevitable. Our people viewed the passage of armed troops to another state through the streets as an invasion of our soil, and could not be restrained. The authorities exerted themselves to the best of their ability, but with only partial success. Governor Hicks was present, and concurs in all my views as to the proceedings now necessary for our protection. When are these scenes to cease? Are we to have a war of sections? God forbid. The bodies of the Massachusetts soldiers could not be sent out to Boston, as you requested, all communication between this city and Philadelphia by railroad, and with Boston by steamers, having ceased; but they have been placed in cemented coffins, and will be placed with proper funeral ceremonies in the mausoleum of Greenmount Cemetery, where they shall be retained until farther directions are received from you. The wounded are tenderly cared for. I appreciate your offer, but Baltimore will claim it as her right to pay all expenses incurred.
Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
GEO. W. BROWN, Mayor of Baltimore.

Governor Andrew to Mayor Brown.
To his Honor George W. Brown, Mayor of Baltimore:
DEAR SIR,—I appreciate your kind attention to our wounded and our dead, and trust that at the earliest moment the remains of our fallen will return to us. I am overwhelmed with surprise that a peaceful march of American citizens over the highway to the defense of our common capital should be deemed aggressive to Baltimoreans. Through New York the march was triumphal.
JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts.

⁹ See particularly a speech delivered by the Hon. Joseph Holt, in New York, September 3d, 1861, and the letters of the special correspondent of the London *Times*.

the mob which attacked them were excited, not by any feeling of municipal pride, but by sympathy with the cause the suppression of which was the object of their journey. The New England men were going to sustain a government which the rioters hated because it had fallen under New England influence. Their object clearly was the obstruction of the Northern road to the capital until it could be seized and held by the insurgent army.¹⁰ In this they were foiled by circumstances and the steadiness of the Northern troops.

The Massachusetts militia had escaped to Washington, the Pennsylvanians to Philadelphia; but the rioters did not abandon their designs. They were practically masters of Baltimore. Gun-shops and other stores of arms were broken open and pillaged. Places of business were generally closed. A public meeting was called for the afternoon, and the militia of the city were placed under arms. The preservation of public order was the professed, and, indeed, the actual object of these latter measures; but so strong, and so apparently pervading was the animosity excited by the events of the day, that the municipal and state officers were obliged to seek peace and quiet, not by the assertion and maintenance of the local law and the rights of the national government, but by placing themselves at the head of the insurgents, and giving to their purposes the sanction of constituted authority. This may have been a wise policy. It is by no means certain that if they had directly opposed the turbulent stream of excited popular feeling they would not have been swept away by it, or that, by yielding to and going with it for a while, they did not acquire an influence which enabled them to divert its current. And although events took place in the disturbed city within a few weeks, and in the state within a few months, which justify the belief that the excitement in Baltimore was produced by the efforts of a comparatively small, though energetic and desperate faction, the conclusion is not therefore warranted that the course of the mayor and the governor was not the wisest (it seems certainly to have been the most politic) that could have been pursued. On the afternoon of the collision the Mayor of Baltimore sent a telegraphic dispatch, and on the next morning, by special train, a deputation of three eminent citizens, to the President, imploring him neither to order nor to permit more troops to pass through the city, and assuring him that no more could go through without fighting their way at every step. Governor Hicks, whose sincere loyalty to the Constitution and supreme devotion to the republic there is no reason to doubt, united with him in this request. The President replied instantly, and with tender consideration for the distracting position of his petitioners; and, on the suggestion of General Scott, he assured them that, although troops must continue to come from the North to Washington, they should thenceforward march round Baltimore instead of through it, that thus the people of that city might not find rebellion lying in their way, but be compelled to seek it.¹¹ But it is sad to relate, and it is a most significant evidence of the condition of excitement into which

¹⁰ Extract from a Message of Mayor Brown to the City Council of Baltimore, July 10th, 1861.

After recapitulating the occurrences of the 19th of April last, in which he agrees with Marshal Kane's account of the affair published on May 4, he says:

It is doing bare justice to say that the Board of Police, the Marshal of Police, and the men under his command, exerted themselves bravely, efficiently, skillfully, and in good faith, to preserve the peace and protect life. If proper notice had been given of the arrival of the troops, and of the number expected, the outbreak might have been prevented entirely; and but for the timely arrival of Marshal Kane with his force, as I have described, the bloodshed would have been great. The wounded among the troops received the best care and medical attention at the expense of the city, and the bodies of the killed were carefully and respectfully returned to their friends. The facts which I witnessed myself, and all that I have since heard, satisfied me that the attack was the result of a sudden impulse, and not of a premeditated scheme. But the effect on our citizens was for a time uncontrollable. In the intense excitement which ensued, which lasted for many days, and which was shared by men of all parties, and by our volunteer soldiers as well as citizens, it would have been impossible to convey more troops from the North through the city without a severe fight and bloodshed. Such an occurrence would have been fatal to the city; and, accordingly, to prevent it, the bridges on the Northern Central Railroad, and on the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, were, with the consent of the governor, and by my order, with the co-operation of the Board of Police—except Mr. Charles D. Hinks, who was absent from the city—partially disabled and burned, so as to prevent the immediate approach of troops to the city, but with no purpose of hostility to the federal government. This act, with the motive which prompted it, has been reported by the Board of Police to the Legislature of the state, and approved by that body, and was also immediately communicated by me in person to the President of the United States and his cabinet.

Dispatch of Secretary Cameron to Governor Hicks.

War Department, Washington, April 18, 1861.

To his Excellency Thomas H. Hicks, Governor of Maryland:

SIR,—The President is informed that threats are made and measures taken, by unlawful combinations of misguided citizens of Maryland, to prevent by force the transit of United States troops across Maryland, on their way, pursuant to orders, for the defense of this capital. The information is from such sources, and in such shapes, that the President thinks it his duty to make it known to you, so that all loyal and patriotic citizens of our state may be warned in time, and that you may be prepared to take immediate and effective measures against it.

Such an attempt could have only the most deplorable consequences; and it would be agreeable to the President, as it would be to yourself, that it should be prevented or overcome by the loyal authorities and citizens of Maryland, rather than averted by any other means.

I am very respectfully yours, etc., SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

¹¹ CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND AND THE MAYOR OF BALTIMORE AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown to President Lincoln.

Mayor's Office, Baltimore, April 19, 1861.

To his Excellency the President of the United States:

SIR,—A collision between the citizens and the Northern troops has taken place in Baltimore, and the excitement is fearful. Send no more troops here. We will endeavor to prevent all bloodshed.

A public meeting of citizens has been called, and the troops of the state and the city have been ordered out to preserve the peace. They will be enough. Respectfully,

THOS. H. HICKS, Governor.
Geo. Wm. BROWN, Mayor.

Mayor's Office, Baltimore, April 19, 1861.

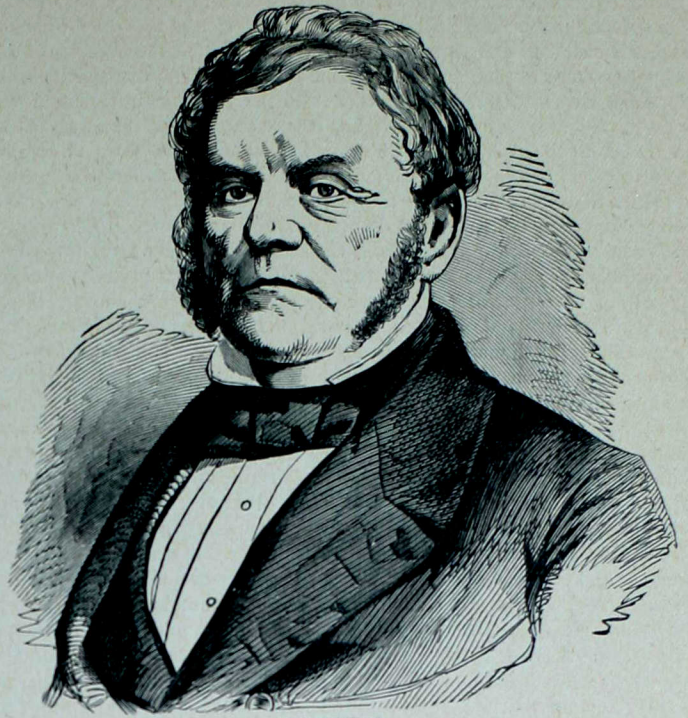
To his Excellency the President of the United States:

SIR,—This will be presented to you by the Hon. H. Lenox Bond, Geo. W. Dobbin, and John C. Brune, Esqrs., who will proceed to Washington by an express train, at my request, in order to explain fully the fearful condition of our affairs in this city. The people are exasperated to the highest degree by the passage of troops, and the citizens are universally decided in the opinion that no more troops should be ordered to come.

The authorities of the city did their best to-day to protect both strangers and citizens, and to prevent a collision, but in vain; and but for their great efforts a fearful slaughter would have occurred.

Under these circumstances, it is my solemn duty to inform you that it is not possible for more soldiers to pass through Baltimore unless they fight their way at every step.

the men of the pro-slavery faction were able to throw a city which, within a fortnight, exhibited an entire and spontaneous reaction of sentiment, that the authorities themselves took steps, before the receipt of the President's reply, to prevent the passage of troops from the North to the defense of Washington. The avenues of approach to the capital from the north and



GOVERNOR HICKS.

east available for the transportation of troops were the Northern and Central Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia and Baltimore Railways. These crossed several deep streams within the boundaries of Maryland, and, on the night of the 19th, the bridges over them were destroyed by order of the authorities of Baltimore.¹² They also suspended the transmission of the mails and the removal of provisions from the city, and detained military stores and equipments belonging to the government sufficient for a thousand men.³

I therefore hope and trust, and most earnestly request, that no more troops be permitted or ordered by the government to pass through the city. If they should attempt it, the responsibility for the bloodshed will not rest upon me.

With great respect, your obedient servant,
GEO. Wm. BROWN, Mayor.
I have been in Baltimore since Tuesday evening, and co-operated with Mayor Brown in his untiring efforts to allay and prevent the excitement and suppress the fearful outbreak as indicated above, and I fully concur in all that is said by him in the above communication.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
THOS. H. HICKS, Governor of Maryland.

President Lincoln to Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown.

Washington, April 20, 1861.

Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown:

GENTLEMEN,—Your letter, by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin, and Brune, is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed. For the future, troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore.

Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning, in the presence of these gentlemen, "March them around Baltimore, and not through it."

I sincerely hope the general, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it.

By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this.

Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace, consistently with the maintenance of the government. Your obedient servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The governor's agitation was not calmed, however, by the good-natured sympathy of President Lincoln and his readiness of concession. On the contrary, each day the disaffected people of Maryland became more threatening and their governor more alarmed. He now begged that no more troops should be sent not only through Baltimore, but through Maryland, while he proposed, with a strange disregard of the dignity of the government to which he claimed to be loyal, that the English ambassador at Washington should be invited to mediate between the United States and its rebellious citizens!

Executive Chamber, Annapolis, April 22, 1861.

To his Excellency A. Lincoln, President of the United States:

SIR,—I feel it my duty most respectfully to advise you that no more troops be ordered or allowed to pass through Maryland, and that the troops now off Annapolis be sent elsewhere; and I most respectfully urge that a truce be offered by you, so that the effusion of blood may be prevented. I respectfully suggest that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties of our country.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
THOS. H. HICKS.

Proclamation of the Governor of Maryland.

Frederick, May 11, 1861.

To the People of Maryland:

A communication from the Mayor of Baltimore to the House of Delegates, published by that body yesterday, is designed to implicate me in the destruction of the railroad bridges near Baltimore on the 19th ultimo; this, too, in face of the fact that I had, in a recent official communication to the Senate, positively denied any complicity in the matter. If the mayor's communication and accompanying certificates have induced any person to doubt my true position in the premises, I respectfully ask a suspension of judgment until a sufficient time be afforded me to collect the necessary proof, and show, as I shall be able to do most conclusively, that the destruction of the bridges was a part of the conspiracy of those acting against the government, and was known and proclaimed in other parts of the state before the destruction was consummated. Whether Mayor Brown did or did not know of this part of the programme, I am unable to say. I am charitable enough to believe that he did not know it. His peculiar surroundings, and agitated condition of mind at the time referred to, may reasonably enough account for his assent to the transaction. But any person who knows my opinion of George P. Kane and Enoch L. Lowe will at once admit that I would be very slow to assent to any proposition emanating from or endorsed by them. Their introduction into my chamber at the late hour of the night to urge my consent to the perpetration of an unlawful act was not calculated to convince me of the propriety or necessity of that act. Men do not readily take counsel of their enemies. So soon as the heavy pressure upon my time shall have somewhat subsided, I will lay before the public a full refutation of this nefarious attempt to involve an innocent person in an unwarranted proceeding. Until that time I request a suspension of public opinion.

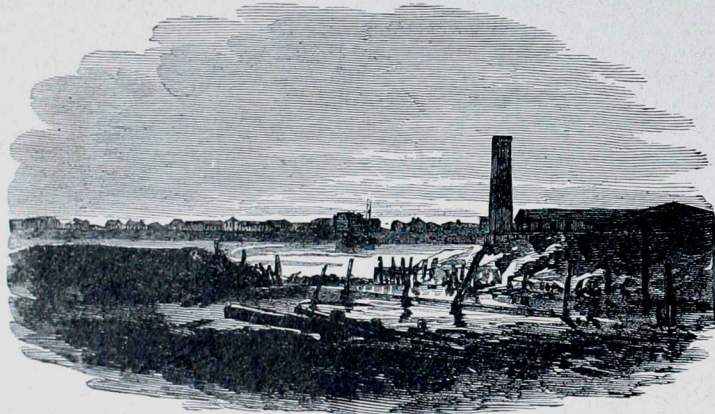
THOMAS H. HICKS.

Embargo at Baltimore.

Baltimore, April 22, 1861.

It is ordered by the Mayor and the Board of Police that no provisions of any kind be transferred

Not only were the militia of the city and the neighborhood kept under arms, but volunteers were enlisted to the number of many thousand men, and an attack upon Fort M'Henry, a national work three miles from the city, was openly threatened. Governor Hicks was swept along with the popular torrent, and on the 22d of April he sent an official advice to the President that no more troops should be allowed to pass, not only through Baltimore, but over the boundaries of Maryland; and to this unreasonable request he added the humiliating recommendation that the President should propose a truce to the insurgents, and ask the British minister at Washington to act as a mediator between them and the government. This communication was of such an extraordinary nature that the President placed it in the hands of the Secretary of State for formal treatment. Mr. Seward, not lowering the government which he represented by a refusal in terms, administered a dignified and considerate rebuke to Governor Hicks for both his proposals, which it was unmistakably, though courteously, intimated could not even be taken into consideration. But the secretary gave just ground of complaint both to the supporters of the government and to the insurgents by telling Governor Hicks that the troops which were coming through Maryland were intended for no other service than the defense of Washington.⁴ The men themselves, and those who sent and contributed to equip and provision them, expected that they were to be used to crush the insurrection; and when, not three months after, some of those very troops crossed into Virginia to give battle to the rebel army, the pledge of the United States cabinet minister to the Maryland governor appeared to have been either unauthorized or violated. But the commotion and turbulence of the distracted times confused so many sober minds, and deranged so many carefully-laid plans, that there was excuse for far graver discrepancies than this. The last violent demonstrations on the part of the Baltimoreans against the government were the seizure on the 24th of Relay House, a station on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, which was held by six hundred picked men and four field-pieces, the object being to cut off the communication of Pennsylvania with Washington by that route; and, after the removal of about twenty-five hundred men, chiefly Pennsylvania militia, from Cockeysville, a village on the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railway, seventeen miles from the former place, the destruction of all the bridges except one upon that line



BURNING OF THE BRIDGE AT CANTON, MARYLAND, BY THE MOB.

within the limits of the state. Meanwhile the carriage-roads leading from Baltimore were thronged with vehicles filled with households and household goods, seeking safety in more peaceful places.

But although Massachusetts, by her promptitude, obtained the post of honor and of danger in these early days of the insurrection, the people of

from the city of Baltimore to any point or place, from this time until farther orders, without special permission.

The execution of this order is intrusted to Colonel I. R. Trimble.

The following order has been issued:

It being deemed necessary for the safety and protection of the city that no steam-boat be permitted to leave our harbor without the sanction of the city authorities, I hereby, by authority of the Mayor and Board of Police, direct that no steam-boat shall leave the harbor without my permit.

I. R. TRIMBLE, Commanding.

Secretary Seward to Governor Hicks.

Department of State, April 22, 1861.

To his Excellency Thomas H. Hicks, Governor of Maryland: SIR,—I have had the honor to receive your communication of this morning, in which you inform me that you have felt it to be your duty to advise the President of the United States to order elsewhere the troops then off Annapolis, and also that no more may be sent through Maryland, and that you have farther suggested that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties in our country, to prevent the effusion of blood.

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of that communication, and to assure you that he has weighed the counsels which it contains with the respect which he habitually cherishes for the chief magistrates of the several states, and especially for yourself. He regrets, as deeply as any magistrate or citizen of the country can, that demonstrations against the safety of the United States, with very extensive preparations for the effusion of blood, have made it his duty to call out the force to which you allude.

The force now sought to be brought through Maryland is intended for nothing but the defense of this capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway which that force shall take in coming to this city to the lieutenant general commanding the army of the United States, who, like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity than for his loyalty, patriotism, and distinguished public service.

The President instructs me to add that the national highway thus selected by the lieutenant general has been chosen by him, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is farthest removed from the populous cities of the state, and with the expectation that it would, therefore, be the least objectionable one.

The President can not but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country when a general of the American Union, with forces designed for the defense of its capital, was not unwelcome any where in the State of Maryland, and certainly not at Annapolis, then, as now, the capital of that patriotic state, and then, also, one of the capitals of the Union.

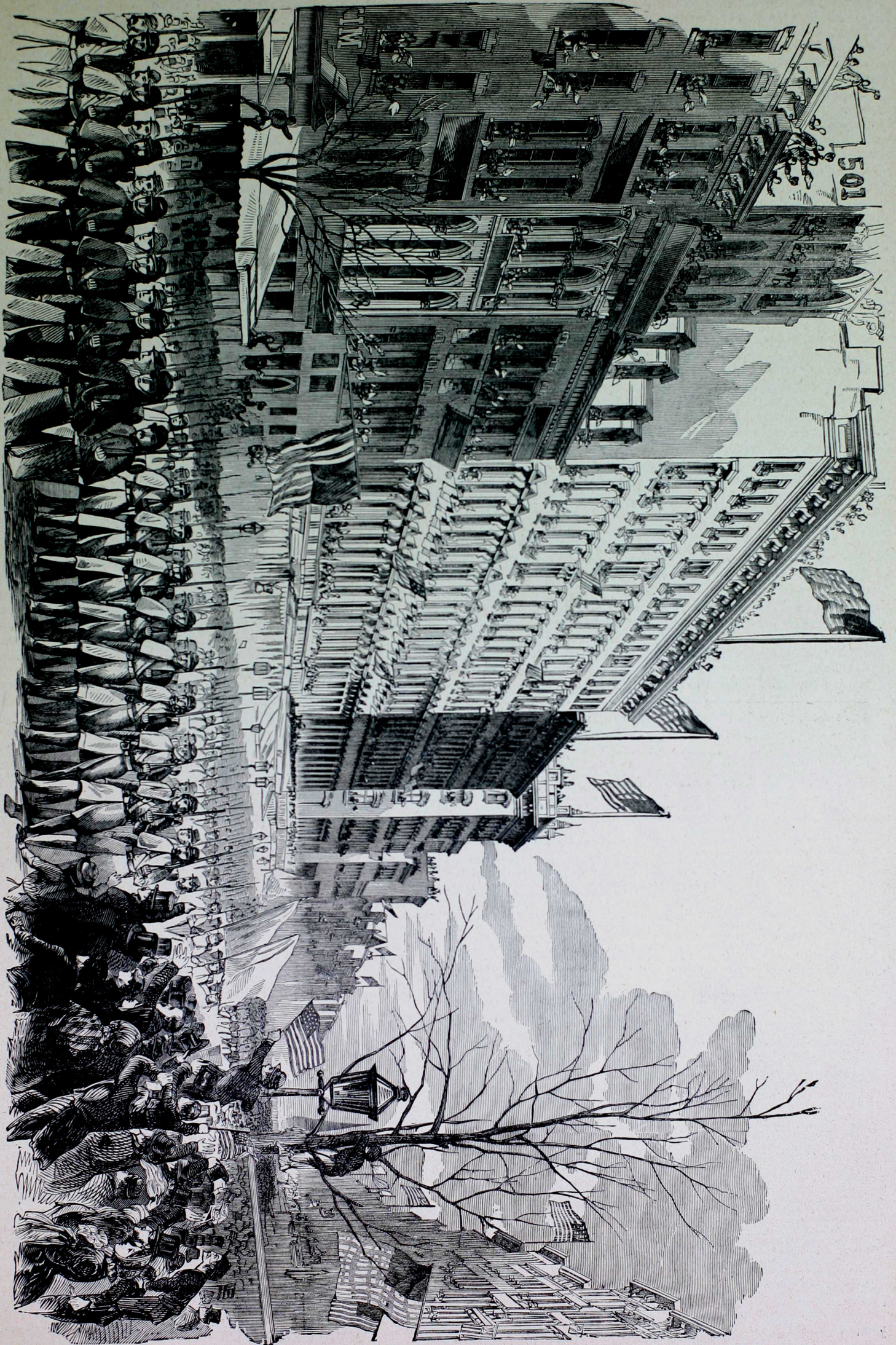
If eighty years could have obliterated all the other nobler sentiments of that age in Maryland, the President would be hopeful, nevertheless, that there is one that would forever remain there and every where. That sentiment is that no domestic contention whatever that may arise among the parties of this republic ought in any case to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of a European monarchy.

I have the honor to be, with distinguished consideration, your excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

the other loyal states were no laggards, and those of New York strove with their brethren of the East in noble emulation. The annals of these days can not be silent upon the march of the New York Seventh Regiment, "National Guard," to Washington, without passing over some of their most interesting incidents. This regiment, which for two generations had represented, more than any other body of militia, the higher social and intellectual culture of the great commercial metropolis, had early attained and steadily preserved an equal distinction in drill and in discipline. And, unlike the other regiments of the same city, its service had not been entirely confined to encountering the perils of Broadway upon parade-days, between the Battery and Union Square. It had been called into service at the time of the Astor Place Riot, on which occasion, after having distinguished itself for hours in the face of the mob by the preservation of discipline, and the patient and even good-natured endurance of injuries from showers of paving-stones, it had obeyed promptly the command to fire, and by three compact and well-delivered volleys had put an end forever to riots in New York. The imbecility of the city government, which needlessly allowed this disturbance to grow to such a terrible issue, could bring no reproach upon the body of citizen soldiers who bore the brunt of it so manfully, and ended it so effectually. At another time, when Fernando Wood, the same mayor of New York whom we have seen so ready to meet the demands of the insurgents of Georgia for their arms, and to follow their example by proposing a secession of the city from the state, forcibly resisted the execution of the Metropolitan Police Law, which secured peace and order to the city and the surrounding district by removing its police from the influence of party politics, this regiment exhibited its *esprit de corps* and its discipline by twice instantly facing about to meet the requirements of the Police Commissioners, though at the apparent loss of formal and long-prepared festivities in honor of the regiment by the citizens of Boston, to join in which it was on its march at the receipt of the order; and such was the reliance upon this body of men, that although, at the time of the second order, it was in Boston, and there were several other regiments in New York, it was summoned by telegraph from the former city. Its reputation, like its name, was national, and, in fact, had extended across the ocean. The whole division, of which this regiment formed a part, had been placed at the service of the government by its major general at a time when there was yet hope that an appeal to arms might be avoided; and now, when the seat of the national government was in hourly peril, the Seventh at once stepped forward to assume a three months' service, and to go immediately on to Washington. The announcement that it was going begat a sort of confidence in those days, when, dark and gloomy though they were, the nature, the extent, and the duration of the coming conflict was entirely unforeseen. It was felt that the presence of the regiment in Washington, in support of the handful of regular troops assembled there, would deter any attack not more formidable and thoroughly organized than the insurgents were supposed to have prepared. The excited patriotic feeling of the city concentrated for the moment upon the movements of this regiment; during the two or three days of preparation an eager throng surrounded its head-quarters, where recently-recruited members, young men of fortune and fashion, and the highest education, were drilling day and night to attain such proficiency as would admit them as privates to the ranks upon the projected expedition. It was on the 19th of April that the Seventh set out for Washington. Its departure from the armory had been delayed for some hours, and meantime the news had come on by telegraph of the attack upon the Massachusetts men in Baltimore. It flew through the city, quickening general apprehension, deepening the general gloom, and stimulating the military ardor of the departing soldiers by the spur of emulation and the hope of distinction. The whole city seemed to pour out its population upon the line of march and the point of embarkation of this specially favored corps. The ranks were full, and more than full; never upon a gala-day had they shown more muskets. The moment of departure at last arrived. Pale with suppressed excitement, the peace-bred soldiers heard the command which ordered them to begin their march toward the enemy; a thousand feet with steady tread at once responded, and the regiment moved swiftly onward. Decked in no holiday garb, but grimly panoplied in gray and steel, with its colonel marching at its head, its serried files wheeled into the great thoroughfare in which its fine discipline and soldierly bearing had so often been objects of admiring comment; and there a spectacle met the eye never seen before in this country, without a doubt never to be seen again. For the occasion gave it its peculiar character. Broadway had been before as crowded (for what is full can not be fuller), but never with a throng so animated, so admiring, so solicitous, so self-sacrificing. The great artery of New York life throbbed and palpitated throughout its length with the big emotions of the public heart. As the head of the column appeared, a shout burst forth that flashed like the fire of a *feu-de-joie* from lip to lip along the line of march, advancing before the regiment and following after, and never ceasing or dying away while a musket remained in sight. Not a cheer, or a succession of cheers, but a great cry that went up continuously to heaven, and bore up with it the unspeakable aspirations of the vast multitude. The sound fell strangely and never to be forgotten upon the ears of all within its reach, for in its tone there was a wild and plaintive yearning which they had never heard before. The Seventh began its service by a march through two miles of such a crowd, uttering ceaseless encouragement and benediction. Thus the great city gave up the flower of its young men freely to the country's cause; though, as their bayonets passed out of sight, they flashed the rays of the setting sun on many eyes all dim with unaccustomed moisture. New York saw in after times hundreds of thousands of brave men march through her streets on like errands and to bloodier business, and gave them all a hearty

THE SEVENTH REGIMENT MARCHING DOWN BROADWAY TO EMBARK FOR THE WAR.



welcome and God-speed; the Seventh itself was cheered and petted by the whole country through which it passed on its way to Washington; but this was the first, and they were felt (though perhaps partially) to be the best; and neither the men who went nor the people who sent them ever knew again the chivalrous enthusiasm of that day, the tender, solemn rapture of that parting.

It was not until six days afterward that the Guard reached Washington; but it will be well to follow them directly to their destination, for their progress thither was immediately involved with some of the many significant occurrences which throng so thickly along this eventful period. They passed swiftly upon the railway through New Jersey, a state which has the reputation of being somewhat sluggish in its sympathies, and yet its people poured out along the track in such numbers, that one member of the regiment, who gave an account of its march, said that he "did not see a rod of ground without its man from dusk till dawn, from the Hudson to the Delaware."⁵ Philadelphia welcomed their coming, but could not speed their parting. All communication by railway between that city and Baltimore was effectually cut off before they reached it on the 20th; and for many hours they trod with fretful steps the formal streets of the hospitable town, which was but to them a station on the road to Baltimore. At last, all other modes of transportation proving hopeless, a steam-boat was chartered, and they started for Washington by way, not of Baltimore, but of Annapolis, the old and drowsy capital of Maryland. In taking this step their colonel (Marshall Lefferts) followed the lead of a man whose position and peculiar talents obtained for him a singular prominence in the drama to which the events which have been thus far recounted were but a prelude.

General Butler, an eminent member of the bar, and an officer of the militia of Massachusetts, had been placed by Governor Andrew in command of the Massachusetts regiments which were sent as part of the contingent of that state, under the President's proclamation, to the relief of Washington. He was a Democrat of the strictest sect, an active and life-long supporter of the party which for years had ruled the country by its alliance with the slaveholders of the South. He had been a member of the presidential nominating convention which met at Charleston; and he had given his hearty support, during the subsequent canvass, to Mr. Breckinridge, the candidate of the extreme slavery faction. But secession had opened his never very closely shut eyes to the policy of the men who ruled that convention, and he had declared at once and with the earnestness of a whole-hearted nature for the nation against his late political associates. In this he was a representative man, and his appearance in the service of the republic against the insurgents had for them and for the country at large a very great significance. It told more unmistakably, perhaps, than any other single event which had taken place, the supreme devotion of the people of the free states to the Union. The presence of such a man at the head of a brigade of Massachusetts troops on the march to put down the slaveholders' insurrection

was made yet the more striking by the fact that he was placed in command by Governor Andrew, who was prominent among the extreme, or, so-called, radical Republicans.

The news of the attack upon one detachment of his command flying northward, passed General Butler at Philadelphia, where he had arrived with the Eighth Massachusetts regiment. With a sagacious perception and prompt decision, which showed at the very first step that he was a leader, he saw that the consequence of the attack would be the destruction of the bridges between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and he determined to move instantly upon the latter place by way of Annapolis, occupying and holding the capital of Maryland; thus, in the words of his dispatch upon the occasion, calling the state to account for the death of Massachusetts men, his friends and neighbors. On the evening of the 20th he transported his command to Havre de Grace, upon the Susquehanna, and, seizing upon the large and powerful ferry-boat Maryland, steamed down the Chesapeake. He arrived at Annapolis on the morning of the 21st, and found there the Governor of Maryland and a body of insurgents—the one powerless in the hands of the other. The disaffected controlled the city, held the grounds of the United States Naval Academy there, and were about to seize upon the school-ship "Old Ironsides," as the superannuated frigate Constitution, the war-worn victor of many fights, had, for more than a generation, been fondly named. General Butler at once called for mariners from his command, and enough stepped forward to man the old ship for the nonce. They were placed on board, and by their aid and that of the Maryland she was towed out into the stream, where her guns were shotted and trained upon the shore; but the Maryland herself, with the troops still on board, ran aground, and remained fast until the next day. Meantime the New York Seventh Regiment, which had left Philadelphia in the steamer Boston, arrived, and was placed by its colonel under the command of General Butler; the Maryland was hauled off, and both regiments landed and took possession of the grounds of the Naval Academy. Against this landing of "Northern troops" upon the soil of Maryland Governor Hicks sent General Butler a formal protest; but the latter persisted—first showing, in reply, that the necessities of his position, the health of the men under his command, and the instructions of his government, made it imperative that he should land and march quickly through Maryland to Washington, respecting private property, outraging the rights of none, but, on the contrary, using his force, if necessary, to preserve the peace of Maryland as well as the authority of the national government, and having issued strict orders as to the drill and discipline of his soldiers, and congratulations upon their saving the Constitution—and the governor could not do otherwise than submit. It is worthy of notice that the Massachusetts general administered a respectful rebuke to the Maryland governor for his "ill-advised designation" of the troops under the general's command. "They are," said he, "not Northern troops; they are a part of the whole militia of the United States, obeying the call of the President."⁶ Thus

⁵ Major Theodore Winthrop, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1861.

⁶ *General Butler to Governor Hicks.*

Off Annapolis, April 22, 1861.

To his Excellency Thomas H. Hicks, Governor of Maryland.

In reply to the communication from you on the 21st, I had the honor to inform you of the necessities of my command, which drew me into the harbor of Annapolis. My circumstances have not changed. To that communication I have received no reply. I can not return, if I desire so to do, without being furnished with some necessary supplies, for all which the money will be paid. I desire of your excellency an immediate reply whether I have the permission of the state authorities of Maryland to land the men under my command, and of passing quickly through the state on my way to Washington, respecting private property and paying for what I receive, and outraging the rights of none—a duty which I am bound to do in obedience to the requisitions of the President of the United States.

I have received some copies of an informal correspondence between the Mayor of Baltimore and the President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and a copy of a note from your excellency, inclosing the same to Captain Blake, commandant of the Naval School. These purport to show that instructions have been issued by the War Department as to the disposition of the United States militia, differing from what I had supposed to be my duty. If these instructions have been in fact issued, it would give me great pleasure to obey them. Have I your excellency's permission, in consideration of these exigencies of the case, to land my men, to supply their wants, and to relieve them from the extreme and unhealthy confinement of a transport vessel not fitted to receive them? To convince your excellency of the good faith toward the authorities of the State of Maryland with which I am acting, and I am armed only against the disturbers of her peace and of the United States, I inclose a copy of an order issued to my command before I had the

honor of receiving the copy of your communication through Captain Blake. I trust your excellency will appreciate the necessities of my position and give me an immediate reply, which I await with anxiety.

I would do myself the honor to have a personal interview with your excellency, if you so desire. I beg leave to call your excellency's attention to what I hope I may be pardoned for deeming an ill-advised designation of the men under my command. *They are not Northern troops; they are a part of the whole militia of the United States, obeying the call of the President.*

I have the honor of being your excellency's obedient servant,

BENJ. F. BUTLER, Brigadier General in the Militia of the United States.

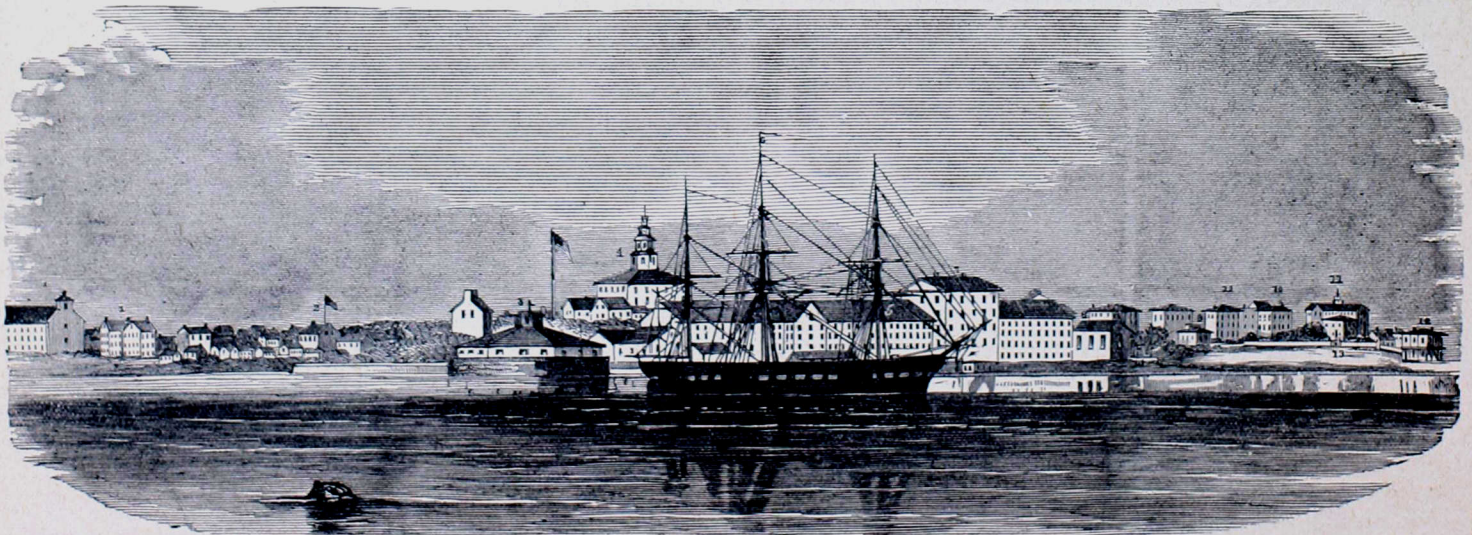
P. S.—It occurs to me that our landing on the grounds at the Naval Academy would be entirely proper, and in accordance with your excellency's wishes.

B. F. B.

Special Brigade Order, No. 37.

Head-quarters Second Division Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, }
on board Steamer Maryland, off Annapolis, April 22, 1861. }

Colonel Munroe is charged with the execution of the following order: At 5 o'clock A. M. the troops will be paraded by company, and be drilled in the manual of arms, especially in loading at will, firing by file, and in the use of the bayonet; and these specialties will be observed in all subsequent drills in the manual. Such drill to continue until 7 o'clock, when all the arms will be stacked on the upper deck, great care being taken to instruct the men as to the mode of stacking their arms, so that a firm stack, not easily overturned, shall be made. Being obliged to drill at times with the weapons loaded, great damage may be done by the overturning of the stack and the discharge of the pieces. This is important. Indeed, an accident has already occurred in the regiment from this cause, and, although slight in its consequences, yet it warns us to increased diligence in this regard. The purpose which could only be hinted at in the orders of yesterday



REFERENCES.—1. Catholic College.—2. City Hotel.—3. Battery.—4. Capitol.—5. Midshipmen's Quarters.—6. Constitution.—7. Recitation Hall.—8. Chapel.—9. Observatory.—10. Officers' Quarters.—11. St. John's (Episcopal) College.—12. Hospital.—13. Monument—the same that was in front of the Capitol at Washington.—14. Naval Monument.

GENERAL VIEW OF ANNAPOLIS, WITH THE "CONSTITUTION" IN THE FOREGROUND.



THE MEN OF THE EIGHTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT REPAIRING THE BRIDGES ON THE RAILROAD FROM ANNAPOLIS TO WASHINGTON.

sharply did this question define, and thus continuously present itself in the earlier stages of the conflict of which it was the great issue, though not the exciting cause. That cause I shall consider more particularly hereafter. But accident furnished General Butler with opportunity of showing how far from his intention was the attempt to change, or even the acquiescence in any violent attempt to change, the relation between master and slave. An insurrection of the slaves around Annapolis was at the time feared, and General Butler offered the governor the services of his troops for its suppression, or that of any other resistance to the laws of Maryland. For this offer he met with a mild though firm rebuke from his Abolitionist govern-

has been accomplished. The frigate *Constitution* has lain for a long time at this port substantially at the mercy of the armed mob, which sometimes paralyzes the otherwise loyal State of Maryland. Deeds of daring, successful contests, and glorious victories had rendered "Old Ironsides" so conspicuous in the naval history of the country, that she was fitly chosen as the school-ship in which to train the future officers of the navy to like heroic acts.

It was given to Massachusetts, and Essex County, first to man her; it was reserved for Massachusetts to have the honor to retain her for the service of the Union and the laws.

"This is a sufficient triumph of right, and a sufficient triumph for us. By this the blood of our friends shed by the Baltimore mob is in so far avenged. The Eighth Regiment may hereafter cheer lustily on all proper occasions, but never without orders. The old *Constitution*, by their efforts, aided untiringly by the United States officers having her in charge, is now safely "possessed, occupied, and enjoyed" by the government of the United States, and is safe from all her foes.

We have been joined by the Seventh Regiment of New York, and together we propose peaceably, quickly, and civilly, unless opposed by some mob or other disorderly persons, to march to Washington, in obedience to the requisition of the President of the United States. If opposed, we shall march steadily forward.

My next order I hardly know how to express. I can not assume that any of the citizen soldiery of Massachusetts or New York could, under any circumstances whatever, commit any outrages upon private property in a loyal and friendly state. But, fearing that some improper person may have by stealth introduced himself among us, I deem it proper to state that any unauthorized interference with private property will be most signally punished, and full reparation therefore made to the injured party to the full extent of my power and ability. In so doing I but carry out the orders of the War Department. I should have done so without those orders.

Colonel Munroe will cause these orders to be read at the head of each company before we march.

Colonel Lefferts's command not having been originally included in this order, he will be furnished with a copy for his instruction. By order of

[Signed],

B. F. BUTLER, Brigadier General.
Wm. H. CLEMENS, Brigade Major.

State of Maryland, Executive Chamber, Annapolis, April 22, 1861.

To Brigadier General B. F. Butler:

SIR,—I am in receipt of your two communications of this date, informing me of your intention to land the men under your command at Annapolis, for the purpose of marching thence to the city of Washington. I content myself with protesting against this movement, which, in view of the excited condition of the people of this state, I can not but consider an unwise step on the part of the government. But I most earnestly urge upon you that there shall be no halt made by the troops in this city. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

TH. H. HICKS.

General Butler to Governor Hicks.

Head-quarters Third Brigade Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, Annapolis, Maryland, April 23, 1861.

To his Excellency Thomas H. Hicks, Governor of the State of Maryland:

I did myself the honor in my communication of yesterday, wherein I asked permission to land the portion of the militia of the United States under my command, to state that they were armed only against the disturbers of the peace of the State of Maryland and of the United States.

I have understood within the last hour that some apprehensions were entertained of an insurrection of the negro population of this neighborhood. I am anxious to convince all classes of persons that the forces under my command are not here in any way to interfere with or countenance any interference with the laws of the state. I am, therefore, ready to co-operate with your excellency in suppressing most promptly and effectively any insurrection against the laws of Maryland.

I beg, therefore, that you announce publicly that any portion of the forces under my command

or; but in turn he defended himself with entire success, on the grounds both of humanity and policy.⁷

The difficulties in the apparently simple and easy task of landing two thousand loyal citizens of the United States, in obedience to the command of the President, upon the soil of one of those states which still acknowledged its old allegiance, having been thus overcome, there remained the not less serious task of moving across its territory. The insurgents had torn up the rails of the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railway, of which General Butler took possession, and to the repairing of which the men of the Eighth Massachusetts at once addressed themselves. Indeed, the various capacity of this

is at your excellency's disposal, to act immediately for the preservation and quietness of the peace of this community.

And I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant,

B. F. BUTLER, General of the Third Brigade.

Correspondence between Governor Andrew and General Butler.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Executive Department, Council Chamber, Boston, April 25, 1861.

GENERAL,—I have received through Major Ames a dispatch transmitted from Perryville, detailing the proceedings at Annapolis from the time of your arrival off that port until the hour when Major Ames left you to return to Philadelphia. I wish to repeat the assurance of my entire satisfaction with the action you have taken, with a single exception. If I rightly understood the telegraphic dispatch, I think that your action in tendering to Governor Hicks the assistance of our Massachusetts troops to suppress a threatened servile insurrection among the hostile people of Maryland was unnecessary. I hope that the fuller dispatches, which are on their way from you, may show reasons why I should modify my opinion concerning that particular instance; but, in general, I think that the matter of servile insurrection among a community in arms against the federal Union is no longer to be regarded by our troops in a political, but solely in a military point of view, and is to be contemplated as one of the inherent weaknesses of the enemy, from the disastrous operations of which we are under no obligation of a military character to guard them, in order that they may be enabled to improve the security which our arms would afford so as to prosecute with more energy their traitorous attacks upon the federal government and capital. The mode in which such outbreaks are to be considered should depend entirely upon the loyalty or disloyalty of the community in which they occur; and in the vicinity of Annapolis, I can, on this occasion, perceive no reason of military policy why a force summoned to the defense of the federal government, at this moment of all others, should be offered to be diverted from its immediate duty to help rebels who stand with arms in their hands, obstructing its progress toward the city of Washington. I entertain no doubt that whenever we shall have an opportunity to interchange our views personally on this subject, we shall arrive at entire concordance of opinion.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. ANDREW.

To Brigadier General Butler.

Department of Annapolis, Head-quarters, Annapolis, May 9, 1861.

To his Excellency John A. Andrew, Governor and Commander-in-Chief:

SIR,—I have delayed replying to your excellency's dispatch of the 25th of April in my other dispatches, because, as it involved disapprobation of an act done, couched in the kindest language, I supposed the interest of the country could not suffer in the delay; and incessant labor up to the present moment has prevented me giving full consideration to the topic. Temporary illness, which forbids bodily activity, gives me now a moment's pause.

The telegraph, with more than usual accuracy, had rightly informed your excellency that I had offered the services of the Massachusetts troops under my command to aid the authorities of Maryland in suppressing a threatened slave insurrection. Fortunately for us all, the rumor of such an outbreak was without substantial foundation. Assuming, as your excellency does in your dispatch, that I was carrying on military operations in an enemy's country, when a war *à l'outrance* was to be waged, my act might be a matter of discussion. And in that view, acting in the light of the Baltimore murderers, and the apparent hostile position of Maryland, your excellency might, without mature reflection, have come to the conclusion of disapprobation expressed in your dispatch. But the facts, especially as now aided by their results, will entirely justify my act, and re-instate me in your excellency's good opinion.

True, I landed on the soil of Maryland against the formal protest of its governor and of the corporate authorities of Annapolis, but without any armed opposition on their part, and expecting opposition only from insurgents assembled in riotous contempt of the laws of the state. Before,

fine body of men, which seemed to be largely composed of skilled artisans, was one of the noteworthy features of their march to Washington. As they had furnished mariners to work the Constitution, so now, upon call, machinists, engineers, and iron-workers stepped forward in great numbers. The rails had not only been torn up, but carried off and hid; but they were unearthed, and even traced to and taken from the bottom of the river as if by instinct. The only engine to be found had been taken to pieces and partly destroyed, and, upon inquiry for a man who could put it in running order, one of the Beverly Light Guard, recognizing in a piece of the machine his own handiwork, promptly and successfully undertook to mend what he had made, some of his companions erecting, and others working, the temporary forges which were required. Cheerfully and thoroughly they did these tasks while they were starving; for, owing to some blunder or accident, few had eaten any thing for twenty-four, and some not for thirty hours. The Seventh found this out, and in a moment their own haversacks were opened, and the hungry men were filled, and furnished for the morrow. Governor Hicks continued to protest—this time against the occupation of the railway, on the ground that by this act the members of the Legislature, which was about to meet at Annapolis, would be prevented from reaching the seat of government. But this plea General Butler extinguished by reminding the governor that he himself had objected to the landing of the troops on the ground that, as the railway was hopelessly destroyed, they could not leave the city by it, and demurely pointing out that, if the troops could not pass one way, the Legislature could not pass the other; adding, with an irony all the keener because its edge was fact, that he only sought means of transportation that he might vacate the capital, and not encumber that "beautiful city" during the session of the Legislature.⁸

The railway repaired, and the engines and cars sufficient for the sick, the small howitzer battery of the Seventh, and the baggage, put in running order, the march to Washington began on the morning of the 24th, and, leaving the good people of Annapolis astonished at the strictly correct behavior, the universal courtesy, and even the open-handed generosity of a body of men whom the disorganizers had led them to believe were but a well-drilled band of ruffians, the Seventh led the column toward the capital. The picture of their patriotic journey would be incomplete were the gallantry which animated them left unillustrated by a declaration made on their behalf as to some of the foes whom they had reason to believe they would encounter. As individuals they had visited residents of Maryland and Virginia, and as a body they had enjoyed the hospitality of some of the military companies of those commonwealths, where they had friends whom they in turn had welcomed and entertained at New York. These men were furious in their denunciations of the Seventh in particular, and in their threats of bloody vengeance on it; but the members of that regiment, expressing their wonder at the hostility thus manifested on occasion of their mere march to the defense of Washington, said, "If, in the performance of duty, we shall be compelled to meet our friends of the Baltimore City Guard and the Richmond Grays in hostile array, we shall receive their first fire with presented arms, but on the second we shall be compelled to defend ourselves." Thus implacably malevolent were the self-styled chivalry of the labor-loathing

slave section; and with such high-toned and truly chivalrous bearing, reminding us of the elaborate courtesy of the French Guard at Fontenoy, were they met by the simple and unpretending citizen soldiers of a commonwealth whose greatness was based on industry, and whose chief glory was in freedom. The march to Washington tried the endurance of the Seventh sorely. Begun in the morning, it was continued through the day under a blazing sun, over ground on which long stretches of hot and shifting sand were varied only by the wooden sleepers of the railway, progress over which was extraordinarily fatiguing. The railway was chosen instead of the turnpike road because it had been discovered that parties of cavalry had been posted along the latter route for the purpose of cutting off the regiment. Needful caution and the difficulties of the way made the march a very slow one; but the men kept steadily on, with an occasional halt at a station for brief rest and refreshment. All suffered greatly from fatigue and heat; and a few broke down and increased the sick-list. Night fell upon the slowly advancing column: it was the fourth which most of them had been obliged to give to service instead of to slumber, and they staggered wearily through the monotonous obstacles of their march, startled at intervals to life and braced to action by the distant dropping shot of an outlying rebel, watching vainly for their blood. In this way, scouting the country round and feeling every rod of the road, they advanced little more than one mile an hour; and, although the last stages of their progress were easy, it was not until the 25th, six days after their departure from New York, that they arrived at the capital. Before them there were only five hundred raw, undrilled men from Pennsylvania, and the Sixth Massachusetts regiment, fresh from its bloody initiation into military life at Baltimore. As they marched up the broad avenue to the White House, the roll of their drums made loyal hearts leap for joy, and sounded like the doom of treachery. But, to look forward, and to dismiss this regiment honorably from our sight, the fortunes of the war decreed that the New York Seventh should see no active service. They remained the full time for which the President's proclamation summoned them, and longer; these New York dandies worked in trenches and lay down to rest in mud; they again returned to the defense of Washington, but they never were under fire as a body. So high, however, was the reputation of the regiment for drill and discipline, that its members, even non-commissioned officers and privates, were eagerly sought as company and field-officers for newly-formed volunteer regiments, and a very large number thus entered the army and served through the war, in many cases with distinction. The composition of the corps, its reputation, the fact that it was regarded as representing the peculiarly conservative classes of the commercial metropolis of the country, and the promptness with which it volunteered to lead what was believed at the time to be the forlorn hope of the republic, have entitled it to a more prominent place in the earlier pages of this history than can be given hereafter to some bodies of men which displayed all its spirit and its patriotism, and which had ten times its numbers.

While these events were taking place near the capital, which had been so suddenly isolated from the loyal millions of the North, they were every where assembling to express, in a formal and solemn manner, their determination to support the government with their lives and their fortunes.

by letter, and at the time of landing, by personal interview, I had informed Governor Hicks that soldiers of the Union, under my command, were armed only against the insurgents and disturbers of the peace of Maryland and of the United States. I received from Governor Hicks assurances of the loyalty of the state to the Union—assurances which subsequent events have fully justified. The Mayor of Annapolis also informed me that the city authorities would in no wise oppose me, but that I was in great danger from the excited and riotous mobs of Baltimore pouring down upon me, and in numbers beyond the control of the police. I assured both the governor and the mayor that I had no fear of a Baltimore or other mob, and that, supported by the authorities of the state and city, I should repress all hostile demonstrations against the laws of Maryland and the United States, and that I would protect both myself and the city of Annapolis from any disorderly persons whatsoever. On the morning following my landing I was informed that the city of Annapolis and environs were in danger from an insurrection of the slave population, in defiance of the laws of the state. What was I to do? I had promised to put down a white mob, and to preserve and enforce the laws against that. Ought I to allow a black one any preference in a breach of the laws? I understood that I was armed against all infractions of the laws, whether by white or black, and upon that understanding I acted, certainly with promptness and efficiency. And your excellency's shadow of disapprobation, arising from a misunderstanding of the facts, has caused all the regret I have for that action. The question seemed to me to be neither military nor political, and was not to be so treated. It was simply a question of good faith and honesty of purpose. The benign effect of my course was instantly seen. The good but timid people of Annapolis, who had fled from their houses at our approach, immediately returned; business resumed its accustomed channels; quiet and order prevailed in the city; confidence took the place of distrust, friendship of enmity, brotherly kindness of sectional hate, and I believe to-day there is no city in the Union more loyal than the city of Annapolis. I think, therefore, I may safely point to the results for my justification. The vote of the neighboring county of Washington, a few days since, for its delegate to the Legislature, wherein 4000 out of 5000 votes were thrown for a delegate favorable to the Union, is among the many happy fruits of firmness of purpose, efficiency of action, and integrity of mission. I believe, indeed, that it will not require a personal interchange of views, as suggested in your dispatch, to bring our minds in accordance; a simple statement of the facts will suffice.

But I am to act hereafter, it may be, in an enemy's country, among a servile population, when the question may arise, as it has not yet arisen, as well in a moral and Christian, as in a political and military point of view, What shall I do? Will your excellency bear with me a moment while this question is discussed?

I appreciate fully your excellency's suggestion as to the inherent weakness of the rebels, arising from the preponderance of their servile population. The question, then, is, In what manner shall we take advantage of that weakness? By allowing, and of course arming, that population to rise upon the defenseless women and children of the country, carrying rapine, arson, and murder—all the horrors of San Domingo, a million times magnified, among those whom we hope to reunite with us as brethren, many of whom are already so, and all who are worth preserving will be, when this horrible madness shall have passed away or be thrashed out of them? Would your excellency advise the troops under my command to make war in person upon the defenseless women and children of any part of the Union, accompanied with brutalities too horrible to be named? You will say, "God forbid!" If we may not do so in person, shall we arm others so to do over whom we can have no restraint, exercise no control, and who, when once they have tasted blood, may turn the very arms we put in their hands against ourselves, as a part of the oppressing white race? The reading of history, so familiar to your excellency, will tell you the bitterest cause of complaint which our fathers had against Great Britain in the war of the Revolution was the arming by the British ministry of the red man with the tomahawk and the scalping-knife against the women and children of the colonies, so that the phrase, "May we not use all the means which God and Nature have put in our power to subjugate the colonies?" has passed into a legend of infamy against the leader of that ministry who used it in Parliament. Shall history teach us in vain? Could we justify ourselves to ourselves? Although, with arms in our hands, amid the savage wildness of camp and field, we may have blunted many of the finer moral sensibilities in letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South, can we

be justified to the Christian community of Massachusetts? Would such a course be consonant with the teachings of our holy religion? I have a very decided opinion upon the subject, and if any one desires, as I know your excellency does not, this unhappy contest to be prosecuted in that manner, some instrument other than myself must be found to carry it on. I may not discuss the political bearings of this topic. When I went from under the shadow of my roof-tree, I left all politics behind me, to be resumed only when every part of the Union is loyal to the flag, and the potency of the government through the ballot-box is established.

Passing the moral and Christian view, let us examine the subject as a military question. Is not that state already subjugated which requires the bayonets of those armed in opposition to its rulers to preserve it from the horrors of a servile war? As the least experienced of military men, I would have no doubt of the entire subjugation of a state brought to that condition. When, therefore—unless I am better advised—any community in the United States, who have met me in honorable warfare, or even in the prosecution of a rebellious war in an honorable manner, shall call upon me for protection against the nameless horrors of a servile insurrection, they shall have it, and from the moment that call is obeyed, I have no doubt we shall be friends, and not enemies.

The possibilities that dishonorable means of defense are to be taken by the rebels against the government I do not now contemplate. If, as has been done in a single instance, my men are to be attacked by poison, or, as in another, stricken down by the assassin's knife, and thus murdered, the community using such weapons may be required to be taught that it holds within its own border a more potent means for deadly purposes and indiscriminate slaughter than any which it can administer to us.

Trusting that these views may meet your excellency's approval, I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
BENJ. F. BUTLER.

Correspondence between Governor Hicks and General Butler.

Executive Chamber, Annapolis, Friday, April 23, 1861.

To Brigadier General B. F. Butler:

SIR,—Having, by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution of Maryland, summoned the Legislature of the state to assemble on Friday, the 26th instant, and Annapolis being the place in which, according to law, it must assemble; and having been credibly informed that you have taken military possession of the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad, I deem it my duty to protest against this step, because, without at present assigning any other reason, I am informed that such occupation of said road will prevent the members of the Legislature from reaching this city.
Very respectfully yours,
THOMAS H. HICKS.

To which General Butler replied as follows:

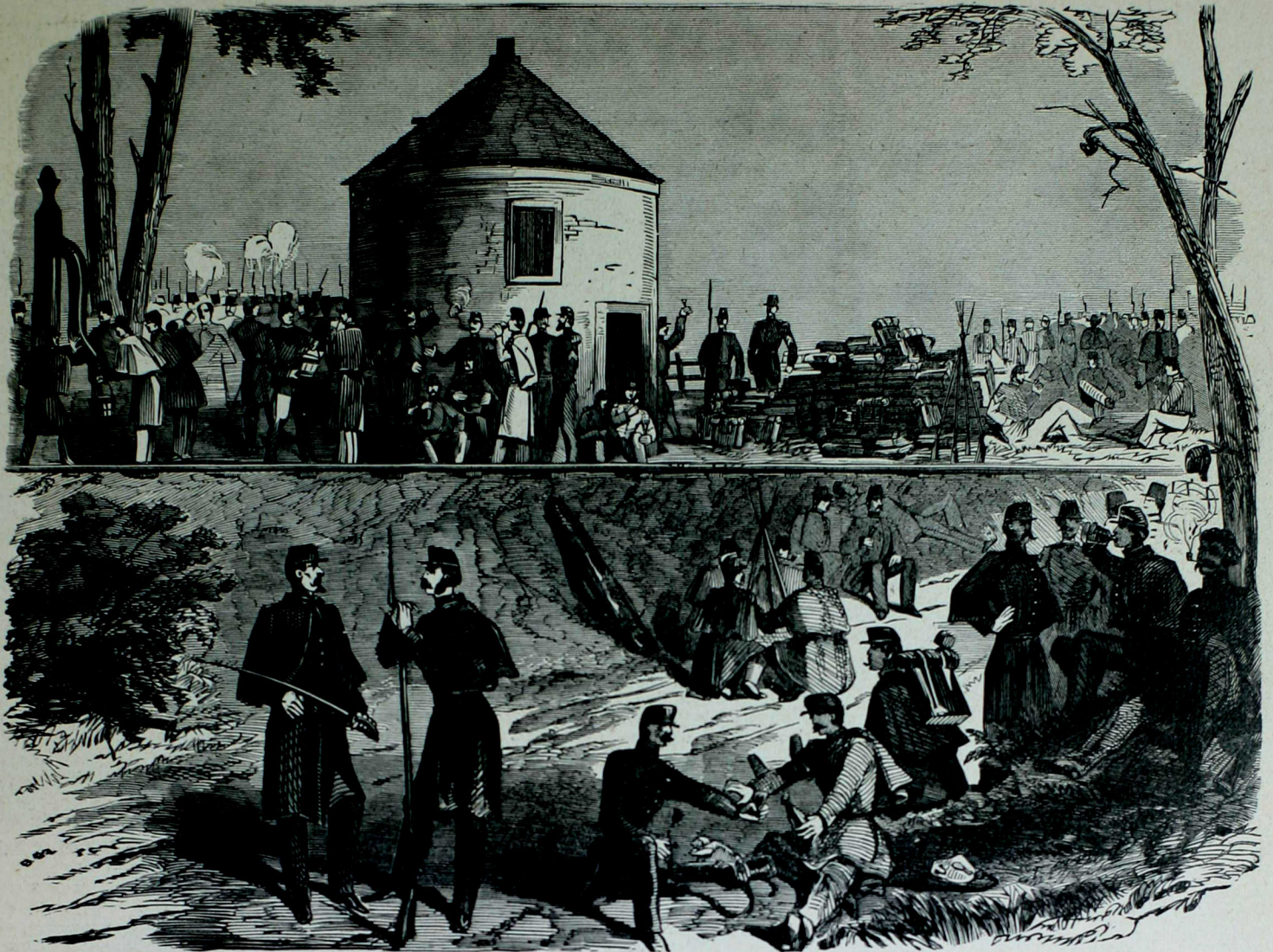
Head-quarters United States Militia, Annapolis, Maryland, April 23, 1861.

To his Excellency Thomas H. Hicks, Governor of Maryland:
You are credibly informed that I have taken possession of the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad. It might have escaped your notice, but at the official meeting which was held between your excellency and the Mayor of Annapolis, and the committee of the government and myself, as to the landing of my troops, it was expressly stated as the reason why I should not land that my troops could not pass the railroad because the company had taken up the rails, and they were private property. It is difficult to see how it can be, that if my troops could not pass over the railroad one way, the members of the Legislature could pass the other way. I have taken possession for the purpose of preventing the execution of the threats of the mob, as officially represented to me by the Master of Transportation of the railroad in this city, "that if my troops passed over the railroad, the railroad should be destroyed."

If the government of the state had taken possession of the road in any emergency, I should have long hesitated before entering upon it; but as I had the honor to inform your excellency in regard to another insurrection against the laws of Maryland, I am here armed to maintain those laws, if your excellency desires, and the peace of the United States, against all disorderly persons whatsoever. I am endeavoring to save and not to destroy; to obtain means of transportation, so that I can vacate the capital prior to the sitting of the Legislature, and not be under the necessity of encumbering your beautiful city while the Legislature is in session.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your excellency's obedient servant,

B. F. BUTLER, Brigadier General.



THE SEVENTH REGIMENT NEW YORK STATE MILITIA HALTING FOR A REST ON THE MARCH TO ANNAPOLIS JUNCTION.

"Union Meetings," as they were called, were held at all the cities and principal towns of the free states; and at all of them there was an expression of the same fervid devotion to the cause of constitutional liberty and the republic, varied only, and not too much, in the form of words in which it was uttered. Of these meetings, that held at New York on the 20th of April deserves notice as of national consequence. The pre-eminence of the place in which it was held made it the most important, the distinction and the various political views and relations of its managers and speakers the most characteristic, and its numbers the most imposing. The city of New York was, of all places in the free states, the one in which there was the least disposition to resist any demands made in the interests of slavery. No insignificant proportion of her inhabitants was directly bound by ties of blood and intermarriage to the people of the slave states; a still larger number were closely connected with them by business relations; and within her walls, chiefly by its command of the votes of naturalized Irish emigrants, the Democratic party, the ever-faithful ally of the slave power, ruled supreme. And in an age and in a country in which commerce, trade, and labor have a social and political consideration which they never before enjoyed, the city, which was at once the great mart, treasure-house, and labor exchange of the land, had acquired an influence whose extent was limited only by the bounds of civilization, and whose power was diminished little by the effect of distance. There was no part of the country the prosperity of which was not more or less involved in her stability and welfare. The vast crops of the West moved to the sea-board upon railways and canals, and those of both West and South were borne to Europe in ships, built chiefly by her capital, which seemed to have no limit except the demands for its employment. Every trader in the country, from the merchant who sold cargoes in the quiet of a luxurious office, to the peddler who painfully bore his little stock upon his bending back, was directly or indirectly her tributary debtor. To her the agriculturist and the manufacturer looked to find at home or make abroad a market for the fruits of his labor. The harbors of the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean filled with her ships, and the expanse of the great interior seas of the North plowed by keels floated from her harbor through canals, showed her the great carrier as well as the great factor and the great negotiator of a continent. Her capital insured the goods and even the lives that her commercial enterprise sent out upon these waters. With this position of command came a corresponding responsibility. Agriculture may flourish upon any field not trodden under foot of hostile armies; but trade thrives only amid general stability, and the sails of commerce must be wafted by the gales of peace. Therefore from the first mutterings of sectional discord the efforts of New York had been to set aside the issue and still the trouble; for she knew that she must provide the bulk of the means for carrying on a war which would at once drain her coffers and cripple her clients. En-

thusiasts, men of extreme views, men of reckless purposes, stigmatized her endeavors as the fruits of a base disposition to compromise with crime and to barter the principles of humanity for the good things of this life; and during the fierce debate of years, many were the sneers at the commercial patriotism of the so-called Union-savers, whose voices were heard only in deprecation. Honest in some cases, in many others this clamor was but a manifestation of that subtle hypocrisy by which the human heart seeks even to deceive itself. Self-sacrifice, conscious, seems heroic. Nothing higher toned, more unselfish, benevolent, patriotic, than to insist on carrying out one's principles without care for consequences. Being jocosely scornful of the meanness of looking after gold and silver in preference to the misty glories of abstract philanthropy is a grand sort of humor, a pipe the music of which costs little to those among whom it finds the readiest, most untiring dancers. For there is this difference between the position of most merchants and that of most enthusiasts in philanthropy—that profound political agitation threatens the former with present pecuniary loss and prospective ruin, while to the latter it generally brings little personal inconvenience, and often increase, if not of gain, at least of influence. Therefore, under such circumstances, the ore is always called upon to sacrifice a tangible personal good in possession to the possible establishment of an abstract principle in which he has no direct interest; while the other has his triumph, gains his glory, sacrifices nothing, and, especially if he is a journalist or a man of letters, perhaps gets money by the very curiosity which he has provoked, the very solicitude which he has awakened. To the former, therefore, any grave disturbance of society is a very serious matter; it touches with inexorable finger that sensitive spot of almost every civilized man's organization, the pocket—a region in which the philanthropic agitator is often equally callous and flaccid. The penniless traveler knows that he can sing before the robber. Nor is the mercantile view of politics, whatever the motives and ends of individuals, narrow or selfish in its actual horizon. For to the great majority of any people serious political disturbance ushers in a troubled present and a cloudy future. It brings anxious days and sleepless nights; it darkens the father's brow with care, and wrings the mother's heart with sorrow; and it may pinch the whole household with the pangs of actual poverty. Without claiming, then, that the commercial scope of politics is taken from the sublimest moral plane, and, on the other hand, recognizing the existence of times when considerations of present material good must be given to the winds, it must be admitted that the merchant may justly claim that the philanthropist should respect his scruples and deal tenderly with his fears, and that the statesman should remember that there may be too great a sacrifice made for an abstraction, or even for a principle, unless national safety or honor is at stake. For such reasons New York could afford to bear the reproach of selfishness and timidity so long as the



DESTRUCTION OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY YARD AT NORFOLK, VA.



United States.

Tag Yankee.

Cumberland.

Merrimac.

DESTRUCTION OF THE UNITED STATES SHIPS AT THE



GINIA, BY FIRE, BY THE UNITED STATES TROOPS, ON APRIL 20, 1861.



ORFOLK NAVY YARD, BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT,

Pennsylvania.

struggle could with any honor be avoided; but when that period was past she took her position instantly and without reserve upon the side of constitutional government, and her prompt movement now was all the more imposing from her foregone caution and reserve.

To the meeting at Union Square, where centred the main avenues of the city, it seemed as if nearly all the male adult population poured in steady streams from an early hour after noon. The vast expanse was packed close with people, and the outskirts of the crowd stretched into the tributary streets. Five platforms were set up for officers and speakers, and, these proving insufficient, the people most remote from them were addressed from the balconies and steps of houses, the windows and even the roofs of which were occupied by ladies drawn thither by the unwonted scene. Major Anderson and the other officers of Fort Sumter had arrived, bringing with them the tattered flag which they had maintained so long and defended so well, and their presence added needless fuel to the patriotic fire which fused into one glowing mass the incongruous political elements of this great gathering. For the men who took prominent parts on this occasion were the leaders of all parties; Democrats and Republicans, Old Whigs and Native Americans, the living and the dead organizations, were all represented; and as the speakers came not only from the city and the State of New York, but from the East and the West, and from the very South, the demonstration assumed a national as well as a municipal importance. The resolutions at this meeting, unlike those passed at meetings in the slave states, were neither defiant nor denunciatory. They calmly set forth the occasion of the coming war, and declared it the duty of all good citizens to uphold with their fortunes and their lives the authority of the government against acts of lawless violence, which, if longer unresisted, would inevitably end in the destruction of the institutions established by the fathers of the republic for the protection of life, liberty, and property, and involve the country in universal anarchy and confusion.⁹ Of the many speeches made in support of these resolutions, nearly all may be passed by as of no permanent interest, though well adapted to the time and the occasion. But three of them were so characteristic of the spirit of the people, and so significant, not only in their terms, but in the sources whence they came, that without them the record of that day would be tame and incomplete.

Six months before, Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, was perhaps one of the very last men in the country, outside the ranks of the raving "fire-eaters," who would have been expected to raise his voice against any movement of the slave states, and in support of any act of a Republican president. He had been through all his manhood an active, and through much of it a leading, member of the Democratic party. For six years he had represented Mississippi as her senator in Congress. As Secretary of the Treasury, he had been one of the most influential of President Polk's cabinet ministers, and had acquired, even among his political opponents, a reputation for sagacity, knowledge of affairs, and administrative ability—three of the chiefest qualifications of a statesman. Bound up not only with the Democratic party, but in the most intimate political and personal relations with the leading men of the Gulf states, the defender of their utmost rights, the apologist of their very excesses, he was selected by President Buchanan as the fourth governor of Kansas Territory; and it is to his enduring honor that he resigned that responsible position as soon as he saw that the course marked out for him by the administration which he served was flagrantly in violation of the principles of liberty and justice. Cautious by nature, schooled by long experience, and prejudiced only in favor of the men whose insurrection was the occasion of his presence, after a brief peroration, he thus coolly exposed their pretenses and condemned their action: "The question is, Shall this Union be maintained and perpetuated, or shall it be broken and dissolved? No question so important has ever occurred in the history of our race. It involves not only the fate of this great country, but the question of free institutions throughout the world. The case of self-government is now on trial before the forum of our country and of the world. If we succeed and maintain the Union, free institutions, under the moral force of our example, will ultimately be established throughout the world; but if we fail, and our government is overthrown, popular liberty will have made its last experiment, and despotism will reign triumphant throughout the globe. Our responsibilities are fearful. We have a solemn duty to perform—we are this day making history. We are writing a book whose pages can never be erased—it is the destiny of our country and of mankind. For

more than seventy years this Union has been maintained, and it has advanced our country to a prosperity unparalleled in the history of the world. The past was great, but the future opened upon prospects beyond the power of language to describe. But where are we now? The world looks on with scorn and derision. We have, it is said, no government—a mere voluntary association of independent states—a debating society, or a moot court, without any real power to uphold the laws or maintain the Constitution. We have no country, no flag, no Union; but each state at its pleasure, upon its own mere whim or caprice, with or without cause, may secede and dissolve the Union. Secession, we are told, is a constitutional right of each state, and the Constitution has inscribed its own death-warrant upon its face. If this be so, we have indeed no government, and Europe may well speak of us with contempt and derision. This is the very question we are now to solve—have we a government, and has it power to maintain its existence? This question is not for the first time presented to the consideration of the American people. It arose in 1832, when South Carolina nullified the revenue laws of the Union, and passed her secession ordinance. In that contest I took a very active part against the doctrines of nullification and secession, and upon that question, after a struggle of three years, I was elected by Mississippi as a senator of the United States. A contest so prolonged and violent had never before been witnessed in this country. It was fought by me in every county of the state under the banner of the Union. The sentiments contained in the many speeches then made by me, and then published, are the opinions I now entertain. They are all for the Union and against secession, and they are now the opinions of thousands of Union men of the South and of Mississippi. These opinions are unchanged; and deeply as I deplore our present situation, it is my profound conviction that the welfare, security, and prosperity of the South can only be restored by the re-establishment of the Union. I see, in the permanent overthrow of the Union, the utter ruin of the South and the complete prostration of all their interests. I have devoted my life to the maintenance of all their constitutional rights, and the promotion of their happiness and welfare; but secession involves them and us in one common ruin. The recognition of such a doctrine is fatal to the existence of any government—of the Union: it is death—it is national suicide. This is the question now to be decided: Have we a Union—have we a flag—are the stars and stripes a reality or a fiction—have we a government, and can we enforce its laws, or must the whole vanish whenever any one state thinks proper to issue the despotic mandate? Is the Union indissoluble, or is it written on the sand, to be swept away by the first angry surge of state or sectional passion which may sweep over it? It was the declared object of our ancestors to found a perpetual Union. The original Articles of Confederation, by all the states, in 1778, declared the Union to be 'perpetual,' and South Carolina (with all the states) then pledged her solemn faith that 'the union of the states shall be perpetual.' And in modifying these articles by the formation of the Constitution in 1787, the declared object of that change was to make 'the Union more perfect.' But how more perfect, if the Union is indissoluble in 1787, but might at any moment be destroyed by any one state after the adoption of the Constitution? No, my countrymen, secession is not a constitutional right of any one state. It is war—it is revolution—and can only be established on the ruins of the Constitution and of the Union. We must resist and subdue it, or our government will be but an organized anarchy, to be surely succeeded, as anarchy ever has been, by military despotism. This, then, my fellow-citizens, is the last great contest for the liberties of our country and of the world. If we are defeated, the last experiment of self-government will have failed, and we will have written with our own hands the epitaph of human liberty. We will have no flag, we will have no government, no country, and no Union; we will cease to be American citizens, and the despots of Europe will rejoice in the failure of the great experiment of republican institutions. The liberties of our country and of the world will have been intrusted to our care, and we shall have dishonored the great trust and proved ourselves traitors to the freedom of our country and of mankind. This is not a sectional question; it is not a Northern or a Southern question; it is not a question which concerns our country only, but all mankind. It is this: Shall we, by a noble and united effort, sustain here republican institutions, or shall we have secession and anarchy, to be succeeded by despotism, and extinguish forever the hopes of freedom throughout the world? God grant you, my dear countrymen, courage, and energy, and perseverance to maintain successfully the great contest. You are fighting the last great decisive

Resolutions at the Union Meeting, New York, April 20th, 1861.

Whereas the union of the states, under the guidance of Divine Providence, has been the fruitful source of prosperity and domestic peace to the country for nearly three quarters of a century; and

Whereas the Constitution, framed by our Revolutionary fathers, contains within itself all needful provisions for the exigencies of the government, and, in the progress of events, for such amendments as are necessary to meet new exigencies; and

Whereas an armed combination has been formed to break up the Union, by throwing off the obligations of the Constitution, and has, in several of the states, carried on its criminal purpose, and, finally, by assaulting Fort Sumter, a fortress of the United States occupied by a slender but heroic garrison, and capturing it by an overwhelming force after a gallant defense, thus setting the authority of the government at defiance, and insulting the national flag; and

Whereas the government of the United States, with an earnest desire to avert the evils of civil war, has silently submitted to these aggressions and insults with a patient forbearance unparalleled in the annals of history, but has at last deemed it due to the public honor and safety to appeal to the people of the Union for the means of maintaining its authority, of enforcing the execution of the laws, and of saving our country from dismemberment and our political institutions from destruction; therefore,

Resolved, That the Declaration of Independence, the war of the Revolution, and the Constitution of the United States have given origin to this government, the most equal and beneficent hitherto known among men; that under its protection the wide expansion of our territory, the vast development of our wealth, our population, and our power, have built up a nation able to maintain and defend before the world the principles of liberty and justice upon which it was founded; that by every sentiment of interest, of honor, of affection and of duty, we are engaged to preserve unbroken for our generation, and to transmit to our posterity, the great heritage we have received from heroic ancestors; that to the maintenance of this sacred trust we devote whatever we possess, and whatever we can do, and in support of that government under which we are happy and proud to live, we are prepared to shed our blood and lay down our lives.

Resolved, That the founders of the government of the United States have provided, by the institution of the Supreme Court, a tribunal for the peaceful settlement of all questions arising under the Constitution and the laws; that it is the duty of the states to appeal to it for relief from measures which they believe unauthorized; and that attempts to throw off the obligations of the Constitution, and to obtain redress by an appeal to arms, can be considered in no other light than as levying war against the United States.

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States, the basis and the safeguard of the federal Union, having been framed and ratified by the original states, and accepted by those which subsequently became parties to it, is binding upon all; and that any resumption by any one of them of the rights delegated to the federal government, without first seeking a release from its obligations through the concurrence of the common sovereignty, is unauthorized, unjust to all the others, and destructive of all social and political order.

Resolved, That when the authority of the federal government shall have been re-established, and peaceful obedience to the Constitution and laws prevail, we shall be ready to confer and co-operate with all loyal citizens throughout the Union, in Congress or in Convention, for the consideration of all supposed grievances, the redress of all wrongs, and the protection of every right, yielding ourselves, and expecting all others to yield, to the will of the whole people as constitutionally and lawfully expressed.

Resolved, That it is the duty of all good citizens, overlooking past differences of opinion, to contribute by all the means in their power to maintain the union of the states, to defend the Constitution, to preserve the national flag from insult, and uphold the authority of the government against acts of lawless violence, which, if longer unresisted, would inevitably end in breaking down all the barriers erected by our fathers for the protection of life, liberty, and property, and involve the country in universal anarchy and confusion.

Resolved, That a committee of twenty-five, to be nominated by the president, be appointed by this meeting to represent the citizens in the collection of funds and the transaction of such other business in aid of the movements of the government as the public interests may require.

battle for the liberties of our country and of mankind; faint not, falter not, but move onward in one great column for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union. Remember it was a Southern man, a noble son of Kentucky, who so gloriously sustained the flag of our country at Fort Sumter, and never surrendered that flag. He brought it with him to New York, and there it is, held in the hands of Washington, in that marble column now before us representing the Father of his Country, and whose lips now open and urge us, as in his Farewell Address, to maintain the Constitution and the Union. And now, while I address you, the news comes that the city of Washington, founded by the Father of his Country and bearing his sacred name, is to be seized by the legions of disunion. Never, never must or shall this disgrace befall us. That capital must and shall be defended, if it requires every Union man in America to march to its defense. And now, then, fellow-citizens, a desperate effort is made to make this a party question—a question between Democrats and Republicans. Well, fellow-citizens, I have been a Democrat all my life, and never scratched a Democratic ticket, from Constable up to President, but say to you this is no party question. It is a question of a maintenance of the government and the perpetuation of the Union. The vessel of state is rushing upon the breakers, and, without asking who may be the commander, we must all aid in her rescue from impending disaster. When the safety of my country is involved, I will never ask who is President, nor inquire what may be the effect on parties of any particular measure. Much as I love my party, I love my country infinitely more, and must and will sustain it at all hazards. Indeed, it is due to the great occasion here frankly to declare that, notwithstanding my earnest opposition to the election of Mr. Lincoln, and my disposition most closely to scrutinize all his acts, I see thus far nothing to condemn in his efforts to maintain the Union. And now, then, my countrymen, one word more before I close. I was trained in devotion to the Union by a patriot sire, who fought the battles of liberty during the war of the Revolution. My life has been given to the support of the Union. I never conceived a thought, or wrote or uttered a word, except in its defense. And now let me say that this Union must, will, and shall be perpetuated; that not a star shall be dimmed or a stripe erased from our banner; that the integrity of the government shall be preserved, and that, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes of the North to the Gulf of Mexico, never shall be surrendered a single acre of our soil or a drop of its waters."

Conclusive, comprehensive, and untemperizing as this speech was, it lacked the fervor which animated the great body of the loyal men in those days, and which found expression in the words of others who spoke for and to that immense multitude. Among these were two who afterward gave their lives in the defense of the republic. Edward Dickinson Baker was born a British subject. A native of London, he came to the United States in his boyhood, and, going to Illinois nearly forty years before these troublous times, he grew to man's estate in and with the rising West. His mind was active and powerful; to his professional reading of the law he added an unusual cultivation of letters; and a remarkable energy of character raised him steadily to distinction. Attracted to political life, he adhered from the beginning to those principles of freedom which it is the glory of the English race on both sides of the Atlantic to have asserted and maintained consistently with the stability of society and the best conditions of human progress; the notable and unmistakable exception being those places in which the perpetuation of slavery produced its inevitable results—oligarchical rule, and a society at once controlled and disturbed by violence. Senator Baker had followed General Scott as colonel of a volunteer regiment in the Mexican war, in which he served with distinction. He lived for some years in the chaotic but rapidly self-organizing society of California, and finally settled in Oregon, from which state he took his seat as senator in 1859. Believing that, although in the states where slavery was already established it was immovable except by the action of the people of those states, the future additions to the great republic should be consecrated to free soil, free speech, and free men, he attached himself to the Republican party, and gave it the zealous and untiring support which sprung from his earnest convictions and energetic character. With this creed and this experience, and with his ardent temperament fired by the outrages at Fort Sumter, Harper's Ferry, Portsmouth Navy Yard, and Baltimore, and his sympathetic nature roused by the excitement of the community in which he found himself, he thus broke forth in burning words, thus pledged the honor which he well maintained, and the life which, ere long, all vainly he gave up:

"The majesty of the people is here to-day to sustain the majesty of the Constitution, and I come, a wanderer from the far Pacific, to record my oath along with yours of the great Empire State. The hour for conciliation has passed, the gathering for battle is at hand, and the country requires that every man shall do his duty. Fellow-citizens, what is that country? Is it the soil on which we tread? Is it the gathering of familiar faces? Is it our luxury, and pomp, and pride? Nay, more than these, is it power, and might, and majesty alone? No, our country is more, far more than all these. The country which demands our love, our courage, our devotion, our heart's blood, is more than all these. Our country is the history of our fathers—our country is the tradition of our mothers—our country is past renown—our country is present pride and power—our country is future hope and destiny—our country is greatness, glory, truth, constitutional liberty—above all, freedom forever! These are the watchwords under which we fight; and we will shout them out till the stars appear in the sky, in the stormiest hour of battle. I have said that the hour for conciliation is past. It may return; but not to-morrow, nor next week. It will return when that tattered flag is avenged. It will return when rebel traitors are taught obedience and submission. It will return when the rebellious confederates are taught that the

North, though peaceable, are not cowardly—though forbearing, are not fearful. That hour of conciliation will come back when again the ensign of the republic will stream over every rebellious fort of every confederate state. Then, as of old, the ensign of the pride and power, and dignity and majesty, and the peace of the republic will return. Young men of New York—young men of the United States—you are told this is not to be a war of aggression. In one sense that is true; in another, not. We have committed aggression upon no man. In all the broad land, in their rebel nest, in their traitors' camp, no truthful man can rise and say that he has ever been disturbed, though it be but for a single moment, in life, liberty, estate, character, or honor. The day they began this unnatural, false, wicked, rebellious warfare, their lives were more secure, their property more secure, by us—not by themselves, but by us—guarded far more securely than any people ever have had their lives and property secured from the beginning of the world. We have committed no oppression, have broken no compact, have exercised no unholy power; have been loyal, moderate, constitutional, and just. We are a majority of the Union, and we will govern our own Union, within our own Constitution, in our own way. We are all Democrats. We are all Republicans. We acknowledge the sovereignty of the people within the rule of the Constitution, and under that Constitution and beneath that flag let traitors beware. In this sense, then, young men of New York, we are not for a war of aggression. But in another sense, speaking for myself as a man who has been a soldier, and as one who is a senator, I say, in the same sense, I am for a war of aggression. I propose to do now as we did in Mexico—conquer peace. I propose to go to Washington and beyond. I do not design to remain silent, supine, inactive, nay, fearful, until they gather their battalions and advance their host upon our borders or in our midst. I would meet them upon the threshold, and there, in the very state of their power, in the very atmosphere of their treason, I propose that the people of this Union dictate to these rebels the terms of peace. It may take thirty millions; it may take three hundred millions. What then? We have it. Loyal, nobly, grandly do the merchants of New York respond to the appeals of the government. It may cost us seven thousand men. It may cost us seventy-five thousand men in battle; it may cost us seven hundred and fifty thousand men. What then? We have them. The blood of every loyal citizen of this government is dear to me. My sons, my kinsmen, the young men who have grown up beneath my eye and beneath my care, they are all dear to me; but if the country's destiny, glory, tradition, greatness, freedom, government, written constitutional government—the only hope of a free people—demand it, let them all go. I am not here now to speak timorous words of peace, but to kindle the spirit of manly, determined war. I speak in the midst of the Empire State, amid scenes of past suffering and past glory: the defenses of the Hudson above me, the battle-field of Long Island before me, and the statue of Washington in my very face—the battered and unconquered flag of Sumter waving in his hands, which I can almost now imagine trembles with the excitement of battle. And as I speak, I say my mission here to-day is to kindle the heart of New York for war—short, sudden, bold, determined, forward war. The Seventh Regiment has gone; let seventy and seven more follow. Of old, said a great historian, beneath the banner of the Cross, Europe precipitated itself upon Asia. Beneath the banner of the Constitution let the men of the Union precipitate themselves upon disloyal, rebellious confederate states. A few more words, and I have done. Let no man underrate the dangers of this controversy. Civil war, for the best of reasons upon the one side and the worst upon the other, is always dangerous to liberty, always fearful, always bloody; but, fellow-citizens, there are yet worse things than fear, than doubt and dread, and danger and blood. Dishonor is worse. Perpetual anarchy is worse. States forever commingling and forever severing are worse. Traitors and secessionists are worse. To have star after star blotted out—to have stripe after stripe obscured—to have glory after glory dimmed—to have our women weep and our men blush for shame throughout generations yet to come—that and these are infinitely worse than blood. People of New York, on the eve of battle allow me to speak as a soldier. Few of you know, as my career has been distant and obscure, but I may mention it here to-day with a generous pride, that it was once my fortune to lead your gallant New York regiment in the very shock of battle. I was their leader, and upon the bloody heights of Cerro Gordo I know well what New York can do when her blood is up. Again, once more, when we march, let us not march for revenge. As yet we have nothing to revenge. It is not much that where that tattered flag waved, guarded by seventy men against ten thousand—it is not much that starvation effected what an enemy could not compel. We have as yet something to punish, but nothing, or very little, to revenge. The President himself, a hero without knowing it—and I speak from knowledge, having known him from boyhood—the President says, 'There are wrongs to be redressed, already long enough endured;' and we march to battle and to victory because we do not choose to endure this wrong any longer. They are wrongs not merely against us; not against you, Mr. President, not against me, but against our sons and against our grandsons that surround us. They are wrongs against our ensign; they are wrongs against our Union; they are wrongs against our Constitution; they are wrongs against human hope and human freedom; and thus, if it be avenged, still, as Burke says, 'it is a wild justice at last,' and we will revenge them. While I speak, following in the wake of men so eloquent, so conservative, so eminent, so loyal, so well known—even while I speak, the object of your meeting is accomplished; upon the wings of the lightning it goes out throughout the world that New York, the very heart of a great city, with her crowded thoroughfares, her merchants, her manufacturers, her artists—that New York, by one hundred thousand of her people, declares to the country and to the world that she will sustain the

government to the last dollar in her treasury—to the last drop of your blood. The national banners leaning from ten thousand windows in your city to-day proclaim your affection and reverence for the Union. You will gather in battalions,

“Patient of toil, serene amid alarms,
Inflexible in faith, invincible in arms;”

and as you gather, every omen of present concord and ultimate peace will surround you. The ministers of religion, the priests of literature, the historians of the past, the illustrators of the present, capital, science, art, invention, discoveries, the works of genius—all these will attend us in our march, and we will conquer. And if, from the far Pacific, a voice feebler than the feeblest murmur upon its shore may be heard to give you courage and hope in the contest, that voice is yours to-day; and if a man whose hair is gray, who is well-nigh worn out in the battle and toil of life, may pledge himself on such an occasion and in such an audience, let me say, as my last word, that when, amid sheeted fire and flame, I saw and led the hosts of New York as they charged in contest upon a foreign soil for the honor of your flag, so again, if Providence shall will it, this feeble hand shall draw a sword, never yet dishonored, not to fight for distant honor in a foreign land, but to fight for country, for home, for law, for government, for Constitution, for right, for freedom, for humanity, and in the hope that the banner of my country may advance, and wheresoever that banner waves, there glory may pursue and freedom be established.”

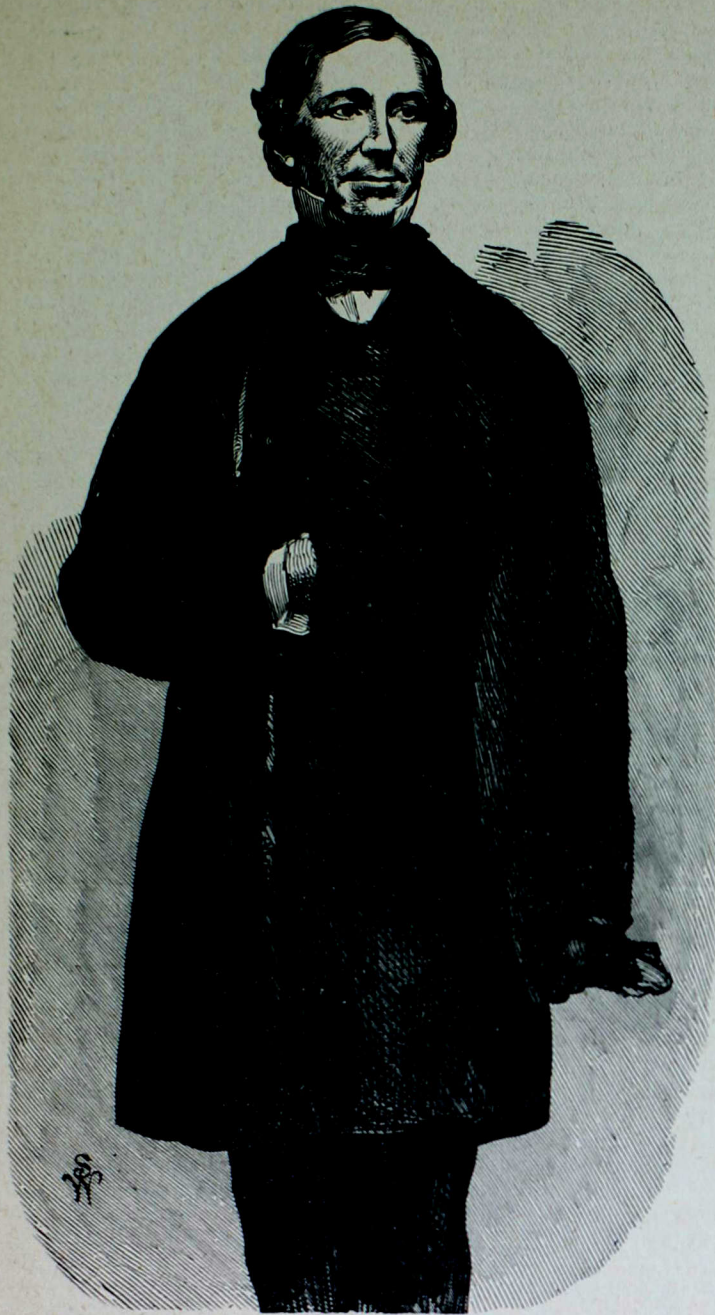
Few among the more intelligent and cultivated of the throng that he addressed did not respect the reputation of Ormsby M'Knight Mitchell; but probably no one of them expected from the eminent mathematician and astronomer, the superintendent of the Dudley Observatory, such an impassioned and stirring appeal as he made to them, such an earnest warning, and such a demand for instant, energetic action. What he was he told himself. A native of one slave state, born of parents who were natives of another, a resident of a free state (like many of his military fellow-students and quondam brother officers who had disowned and deserted the flag of the government which had bred and fed them), loving kindred and neighbors, and honoring the commonwealth of which he was a member, he yet disavowed any allegiance except to the republic, and thus, in his speech and in himself, he was a typical man for the times and the occasion. The hearts of all that great congregation went with him as he spoke these words: “I am infinitely indebted to you for this evidence of your kindness. I know I am a stranger among you. I have been in your state but a little while; but I am with you, heart and soul, and mind and strength, and all that I have and am belongs to you and our common country, and to nothing else. I have been announced to you as a citizen of Kentucky. Once I was, because I was born there. I love my native state as you love your native state. I love my adopted state of Ohio as you love your adopted state, if such you have; but, my friends, I am not a citizen now of any state. I owe allegiance to no state, and never did, and, God helping me, I never will. I owe allegiance to the government of the United States. A poor boy, working my way with my own hands, at the age of twelve turned out to take care of myself as best I could, and beginning by earning but \$4 per month, I worked my way onward until this glorious government gave me a chance at the Military Academy at West Point. There I landed with a knapsack on my back, and, I tell you God's truth, just a quarter of a dollar in my pocket. There I swore allegiance to the government of the United States. I did not abjure the love of my own state, nor of my adopted state, but all over that rose proudly triumphant and predominant my love for our common country. And now to-day that common country is assailed, and, alas! alas! that I am compelled to say it, it is assailed in some sense by my own countrymen. My father and my mother were from Old Virginia, and my brothers and sisters from Old Kentucky. I love them all; I love them dearly. I have my brothers and friends down in the South now, united to me by the fondest ties of love and affection. I would take them in my arms to-day with all the love that God has put into this heart; but if I found them in arms, I would be compelled to smite them down. You have found officers of the army who have been educated by the government—who have drawn their support from the government for long years—who, when called upon by their country to stand for the Constitution and for the right, have basely, ignominiously, and traitorously either resigned their commissions, or deserted to traitors, rebels, and enemies. What means all this? How can it be possible that men should act in this way? There is no question but one. If we ever had a government and Constitution, or if we ever lived under such, have we ever recognized the supremacy of right? I say, in God's name, why not recognize it now? Why not to-day? Why not forever? Suppose those friends of ours from old Ireland—suppose he who has made himself one of us, when a war should break out against his own country, should say, ‘I can not fight against my own countrymen,’ is he a citizen of the United States? They are no countrymen longer when war breaks out. The rebels and the traitors in the South we must set aside; they are not our friends. When they come to their senses, we will receive them with open arms; but till that time, while they are trailing our glorious banner in the dust, when they scorn it, condemn it, curse it, and trample it under foot, then I must smite. In God's name I will smite, and as long as I have strength I will do it. Oh, listen to me, listen to me! I know these men; I know their courage; I have been among them; I have been with them; I have been reared with them; they have courage; and do not you pretend to think they have not. I tell you what it is, it is no child's play you are entering upon. They will fight, and with a determination and a power which is irresistible. Make up your mind to it. Let every man put his life in his hand, and say, ‘There is the altar of my country; there I will sacrifice my life.’ I, for one, will

lay my life down. It is not mine any longer. Lead me to the conflict. Place me where I can do my duty. There I am ready to go, I care not where it leads me. * * * I am ready to fight in the ranks or out of the ranks. Having been educated in the Academy; having been in the army seven years; having served as commander of a volunteer company for ten years, and having served as an adjutant general, I feel I am ready for something. I only ask to be permitted to act; and, in God's name, give me something to do.” The burden which Mitchell solicited was laid upon his shoulders; the sacrifice which he offered was accepted. He died in the service of the republic during the coming struggle, but, as we shall hereafter see, not before he had led its armies to victory in the very heart of the country over which, while he spoke, the rebels, whom he denounced, but whose courage and determination he so justly acknowledged, held undisputed sway. If that be eloquence which, as has been said, produces the effect desired upon those to whom it is addressed, the simple directness of this short speech was eloquence itself. It raised all who heard it to such a pitch of enthusiasm that they gave vent to their feelings in demonstrations rarely seen in public among people of the English race. Tears, sobs, outcries half suppressed, and movements showing the deepest agitation, broke forth all around. Such moments do not last; our nature could not support them; and the emotion, though not the attention, of the assembly subsided under the discourse of speakers less fervid, but perhaps equally patriotic. The presence of certain of the men who took an active part on the occasion was justly regarded as worthy of special note, for they were known to all as the industrious advocates and apologists of secession hardly more than a week before. One of these stands out from among his fellows. The reader has, perhaps, divined his name. As Saul was among the prophets, so Fernando Wood appeared among the patriots. He not only appeared, but spoke. What he said was in itself of little interest or consequence; but it is noteworthy as indicative of the influence of the times upon a man of great sagacity, and boldness, and few scruples, who sought to efface by a successful political career the published records of a criminal tribunal. He declared it to be his official duty to support the Union, the government, the laws, and the flag; as a man, he professed that he threw himself into the coming contest with all his power and all his might, that the authority of the government and the integrity of the republic might be maintained, peaceably if possible, but, if not, forcibly; he spontaneously assumed the responsibility of pledging the corporation of the city for the sum necessary to fit out a brigade of troops; and, alluding to the threats of successful invasion made by the insurgents, he proclaimed that before the confederate flag could fly over Faneuil Hall in Boston, it must be carried over the dead bodies of the citizens of New York.¹⁰ Into such a well-voiced semblance of patriotism was this man startled by the sight of the

10

Mayor Wood's Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS.—The President has announced that Colonel Baker, the gentleman who has so eloquently addressed you to-day, proposes to raise a New York brigade, if the state will bear the expense of outfit; and here, as mayor of this city, so far as I have the power to speak, I pledge for the corporation that sum. When I assumed the duties of the office I have now the honor to hold, my official oath was that I would support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of New York; and I imply from that that it is not only my duty, as it is consistent with my principles and sense of right, to support the Constitution, but the Union, the government, the laws, and the flag. And, in the discharge of that duty, I care not what past political associations may be severed. I am willing to give up all past prejudices and sympathies if in conflict with the honor and interest of my country in this great crisis. I am willing to say here that I throw myself entirely into this contest with all my power and with all my might. My friends, the greatest man next to Washington that this country has ever produced—Andrew Jackson—has said that “the Union must and shall be preserved,” and in that connection he has said, and it is directly pertinent to the present contest, “the Union must and shall be preserved—peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must.” There are those of us who have heretofore held antagonist positions to what is supposed to be the policy and the principles of this administration, who are willing to accept that noble declaration of the sacred Jackson as a resort to force upon this occasion. Why, gentlemen, what is the nature of your government? Ours is a government of opinion expressed through the laws. The laws, being made by the people through their representatives, are simply the expressions of popular sentiment; and the administrators of the laws should be maintained in the exercise of all legal authority. I have always advocated a strong executive power; because, to be efficient, it requires ample authority, and under our form of government, the agent being merely the exponent of the popular will, he should be provided with every means to maintain that will. Thus, in maintaining the government, we maintain ourselves, our inalienable rights, and the basis of free institutions. It is true that individuals retain the right of independent criticism, and at the ballot-box have an opportunity to exercise this right; yet we are all bound to abide by the result. These views are pertinent to the occasion, so far as the people of the city and state of New York are concerned. This city is a portion of the state, and this state retains its position as one of the United States of America; therefore we must stand by the government, we must obey the laws, we must respect official authority, we must respond with alacrity to the calls of patriotism, and, so long as we may have the strength, support the Constitution and the Union. In accordance, then, with these views, I have no hesitation in throwing whatever power I may possess in behalf of the pending struggle. If a military conflict is necessary, and that military authority can be exercised under the Constitution and consistently with the laws, dreadful as the alternative may be, we have no recourse except to take up arms. In times of great peril great sacrifices are required. When the human frame is upon the verge of death, every effort of skill and the most desperate experiments are resorted to to preserve life and prevent dissolution. This may be said to be an apt illustration of the present condition of the body politic. In the expression of these views, which I design to be understood as a public proclamation in favor of maintaining the authority of government as such, “peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must,” I desire also to be understood as taking back no sentiment I have ever uttered on the political issues of the day. If the Presidential election was to be held over again to-morrow, my vote and my sentiments would be unchanged; nor am I to be regarded as countenancing or justifying mob law or violence. The people themselves have elected or established tribunals for the adjudication of offenses against the laws, and all of us are restrained and must conform thereto. Every man's opinion is to be respected; and he who denies to a fellow-citizen the right of independent thought, violates the first principles of republicanism, and strikes a blow at the theory of our government. My friends, it has been said here to-day that your flag has been insulted. Ay! not only has your flag been insulted, but the late Secretary of War, assuming to represent the Confederate States, has said that the confederate flag shall wave over your Capitol before the first of May. And, more than that, that the confederate flag shall wave over Faneuil Hall in Boston. My friends, before that banner can fly over Faneuil Hall in Boston, it must be carried over the dead body of every citizen of New York. In behalf of you I am prepared to say here, and, through the press, to our friends of the South, that before that flag shall float over the national Capitol, every man, woman, and child would enlist for the war. Gentlemen, I have no voice, although the heart, to address you longer. Abler and more eloquent men than myself are here. I can only say, therefore, that I am with you in this contest. We know no party now. We are for maintaining the integrity of the national Union intact. We are for exhausting every power at our command in this great, high, and patriotic struggle; and I call upon every man, whatever may have been his position heretofore, whatever may be his individual sympathy now, to make one great phalanx in this struggle, that we may, in the language of the eloquent senator who preceded me, proceed to “conquer peace.” My friends, it has been already announced by the chairman that the Baltic and other vessels at the foot of Canal Street are ready to take five thousand men to-morrow to the capital of Washington. I urge a hearty response to that call, that New York may speak trumpet-tongued to the people of the South.



HON. FERNANDO WOOD.

uprising North. Ere many months had passed events took place which tested his sincerity. The excitement of the day on which he appeared in such a new character was rendered more profound by the arrival during the meeting of news by telegraph that the Seventh Regiment had been attacked and cut to pieces in Baltimore. The incident and its effect are noteworthy, as showing the disturbed and sensitive state of the public mind, consequent chiefly upon the cutting off of the capital and of Baltimore from communication with the North. The state of apprehension and suspense throughout all the region north of the Chesapeake was such that the wildest rumor obtained belief and awoke alarm. The monster meeting did not dissolve, nor did the excitement immediately subside upon the adjournment. The people clung for a time around the great centre of the day's impression; and as the shades of evening fell, and they separated toward their homes, the waves of popular emotion slowly expanded in widening circles to the remotest bounds of the great city, till in the hush of night they gradually subsided.

But it was not only upon special occasion that awakened patriotism displayed itself. The cause of the republic was ever present to men's minds, and they loved to have some symbol of it ever present to their eyes: they found that symbol in the flag. The spontaneous raising of the national standard immediately after the bombardment of Fort Sumter grandly ushered in the exhibition of the loved emblem in every possible form and upon every possible place. Flag-staffs shot up by magic from public and private buildings, places of business, and dwelling-houses, and even from the towers and spires of churches, upon some of which the advance standard of freedom, justice, human progress, and Christian civilization appeared supported by the cross that glistened on their highest pinnacles. The demand for flags was so great that in one fortnight the price of bunting rose one hundred and fifty per cent. The enthusiasm did not stop here. Tiny flags were made for badges, and worn as a decoration upon the left breast. For a long time hardly a man was seen north of the Potomac and the Ohio without one. The brilliant token of loyalty was easily adapted to the flowing lines and varying hues of woman's costume, and the fairer part of the loyal North, with the accustomed tact of the sex, moulded the humor of the hour into fashions which gave new piquancy to

their beauty, and fresh stimulus to the patriotism of their admirers. In this fancy they were at once followed, if indeed they had not been preceded, by their sisters at the South, who adopted with equal spirit and with almost equal unanimity the emblem of rebellion into their costume; so that from the great Lakes to the Gulf the entire population were decked in the same red, white, and blue, but arranged at the North as to signify devotion to, and at the South alienation from, and, in fact, hatred for, the government, which, with so much blood and toil, Washington and his compeers had so painfully established. Yet throughout the free states, and in the very midst of this outburst of patriotic feeling, the well-wishing friends, the active partisans, the very paid supporters, spies, and emissaries of the insurgents thronged unmolested, and, even when known, almost unheeded. The persecutions by which the insurgent party at the South brought about an appearance of unanimity in the insurrection will hereafter engage our attention; but it may here be appropriately said, once for all, that at the North, Southern birth and connection, and even well-known active sympathy with the revolted slaveholders, brought no man harm or even discomfort. Men from the states under control of the insurgents remained at the North in the absolute enjoyment of all their rights as citizens of the republic. The government at Washington and the people of the North regarded the resident of South Carolina and Massachusetts alike as individual members of the nation; and they remained alike undisturbed by government or people, unless there appeared good reason for believing that they were actually engaged in treasonable service against the United States. The few acts of violence by the people at the North (and they were so few and so trifling as to be almost unworthy of notice) were directed entirely against Northern men who affronted the aroused patriotism of their neighbors by an unblushing support of the cause of the insurgents. Two or three presses in New England and in Pennsylvania were attacked or threatened, and one man was tarred and feathered and ridden on a rail. To this extent only, in a time of war and most intense excitement, did the people of the free states emulate the outrages of their fellow-citizens of the slave states upon those whose political views were offensive to them—outrages committed during a period of thirty years, at intervals of a few days, in some part of the extended territory south of Mason and Dixon's line, sometimes perpetrated upon women, and often ending in the maiming and even the death of their victims. With this great difference, however, between the teacher and the taught, that these few and comparatively unimportant deviations from the respect for law and the rights of the citizen, though the fruits of such an exceptional public disturbance, were checked by the magistrates, and, in one case at least, followed by the trial, condemnation, and punishment of the offenders, and in all by reparation on the part of the county authorities; while the actors in the lynchings and mobbings in the slave states, during the peaceful period of thirty years, went about their outrageous business, as all the world well knows, with absolute impunity. But, with all this restraint in the midst of great agitation, there was a strong, and, under the circumstances, a not unreasonable determination that people in public positions, and particularly the conductors of public journals, should exhibit at least an outward loyalty to the government. Most of the newspaper offices were surmounted with flag-staffs, and upon these, with few exceptions, as upon all others similarly situated, the national colors were raised on the Monday after the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The offices at which this sign of nationality was not displayed were those of papers in New York and Philadelphia, which, during the few months preceding that event, had supported the cause of aggressive slavery. Before these offices crowds assembled, and demanded, with no threats of violence, but with good-natured determination, that they should show their colors. A few at first refused to comply with the demand, but not for many hours. Policy surely counseled them to yield so trivial a point at such a period; and perhaps fear of immediate consequences might have had some effect, though the demand was made by laughing and inoffensive throngs, which, in New York at least, were surrounded by a police force instructed to preserve order and competent to restrain violence.¹ A few private persons in the rural districts audaciously raised the standard of insurrection, more from a mischievous or a party spirit than with any really rebellious purpose. These flags were immediately torn down by the people of the neighborhood when they were not taken down by those who raised them; but no injury was done to the offenders. Had disaffection been more common it might have provoked a warmer resentment; but it was so insignificant that, although the people were determined that it should not be openly flaunted, its few displays were passed by as of little moment.

The leaders of the powerful faction which had obtained control of the seceded states having long preceded the government and the people of the loyal states in the work of preparation, had given at once the challenge and the first blow at Sumter. While these slept, those had worked; and now, with the people and the resources of eleven states practically under its control, and with the larger part of the military material of the republic in its possession, the government at Montgomery, upon the appearance of President Lincoln's war proclamation, had only to maintain the advantage of the initiative and proceed at once to active hostilities. To that proclamation Mr. Jefferson Davis's reply was the issuing of proposals to grant letters of marque and reprisal against the commerce of the United States.² This step

¹ As to the behavior of these crowds in the city of New York I speak from personal observation.

² Proclamation by Jefferson Davis.

Whereas Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, has, by proclamation, announced

did more to provoke the Northern people to wrath than any other which the insurgents had yet taken. In the progress of the world toward a more perfect humanity, privateering, or the subjecting of private property on the sea to capture by any person who for his own advantage chooses to undertake the business upon certain conditions, had come to be regarded as little better than legalized piracy, a relic of barbarism which should be cast aside with the license of pillaging private property upon land, than which it was regarded as even less tolerable, because the object of an army is the destruction of the military power of the enemy, and pillage, even when permitted, is but an accidental concomitant of military movements, while it is the sole purpose of the privateer. The great powers of Europe had agreed by the treaty of Paris to abolish privateering as a means of war, and to this article of that treaty the United States had offered to become a party, if those powers would agree to except all peaceful commerce from the ravages of war. But the government of Great Britain was not yet willing to sacrifice to humanity the advantages accruing from the large naval force which it kept up in the time of peace; and the government of the United States, having a small navy to protect a very large commerce and an extended sea-board, was therefore compelled, in self-preservation, to refuse its adherence to this article of the treaty. Such being the position of civilized Christendom upon this subject, and the people of the United States at the North (where only the people could truly be said to exercise a controlling influence upon the government) being thus, as ever, in advance of all others upon a question of enlarged philanthropy, the assumption by the chief of a junto of rebels of the right to license whoever would to rove the seas for the robbery and destruction of merchant vessels was looked upon as a monstrous outrage, a shameless affront to the intelligence and humanity of the age quite worthy of those who, to secure the perpetuity and the extension of slavery, had attempted the destruction of the republic on which rested the hopes of freedom for all mankind. The rebel privateers of the future were at once stigmatized by the universal voice of the free states as pirates; and, sailing under no recognized flag, such, according to the law of nations, they would have been, had they put to sea only under circumstances then existing. But events were soon to take place, both in America and Europe, which made a change in their prospective position.

Of these events the first was a proclamation, issued on the 19th of April by President Lincoln, declaring a blockade of the ports of the seceded states: the same act pronounced all privateers in the service of the rebels amenable to the laws for the prevention and punishment of piracy. The establishment of a blockade is always a matter of extended international importance, as it involves the interests of commerce, and abridges the rights of neutrals. In the present case the proclamation proved to be unusually momentous, because, according to the code established for themselves by the maritime powers of Europe, the right of blockade pertains only to belligerents, belligerent rights on one side implying the same rights on the other; and therefore, according to European dogmas, by this proclamation of blockade the government of the United States had at one word raised the insurgents to the rank of a belligerent power. It was, indeed, a matter of prime necessity to deprive the rebels of the means of replenishing their coffers by the sale of their cotton and tobacco to Europe, and to cut off their supplies of arms and munitions of war, which end might have been attained, and the international complications consequent upon an extended blockade avoided, by closing the ports of the seceded states to commerce. But the great naval and commercial power of Great Britain, acting as ever, even in foreign affairs, with a single eye to its own interests, and limiting its action only by its strength, had taken the position that, although in times of tranquillity a government may close its ports at pleasure, in time of insurrection it can only close ports in the hands of insurgents by effective blockade;³ or, in other words, that while the people of a certain part of any country are obe-

the intention of invading this confederacy with an armed force, for the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subverting its independence and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power; and whereas it has thus become the duty of this government to repel the threatened invasion, and to defend the rights and liberties of the people by all the means which the laws of nations and usages of civilized warfare place at its disposal;

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this my proclamation, inviting all those who may desire, by service in private armed vessels on the high seas, to aid this government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression, to make application for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States.

And I do further notify all persons applying for letters of marque to make a statement in writing, giving the name and a suitable description of the character, tonnage, and force of the vessel, and the name and place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of the crew, and to sign said statement, and deliver the same to the Secretary of State or to the Collector of any port of entry of these Confederate States, to be by him transmitted to the Secretary of State.

And I do further notify all applicants aforesaid, that before any commission or letter of marque is issued to any vessel, the owner or owners thereof, and the commander for the time being, will be required to give bond to the Confederate States, with at least two responsible sureties not interested in such vessel, in the penal sum of five thousand dollars; or if such vessel be provided with more than one hundred and fifty men, then in the penal sum of ten thousand dollars, with condition that the owners, officers, and crew who shall be employed on board such commissioned vessel shall observe the laws of these Confederate States, and the instructions given to them for the regulation of their conduct, that shall satisfy all damages done contrary to the tenor thereof by such vessel during her commission, and deliver up the same when revoked by the President of the Confederate States.

And I do further specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil and military, under the authority of the Confederate States, that they be vigilant and zealous in discharging the duties incident thereto; and I do, moreover, solemnly exhort the good people of these Confederate States, as they love their country, as they prize the blessings of free government, as they feel the wrongs of the past, and these now threatened in an aggravated form by those whose enmity is more implacable, because unprovoked, that they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and the efficacy of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted for the common defense, and by which, under the blessings of Divine Providence, we may hope for a speedy, just, and honorable peace.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Confederate States to be affixed, this seventeenth day of April, 1861.

By the President,
R. TOOMBS, Secretary of State.

(Signed),

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

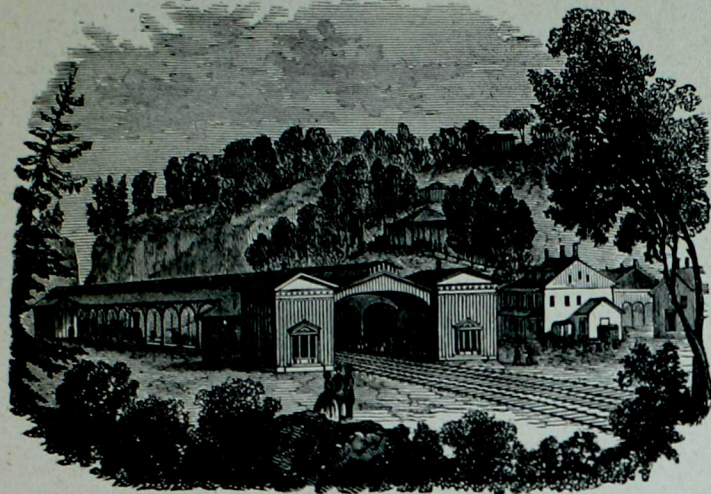
³ Letter of Hon. Charles Francis Adams, United States Minister to Great Britain, to Secretary Seward, June 28, 1861.

dient to their laws and loyal to their government, that government may shut them off from commerce, but if those people should defy the law and resist the government, it can only exercise this function by a proceeding which raises them to the rank of belligerents. By this decision Great Britain, presuming on its naval strength, assumes not only to dictate, in the interests of its manufacturers and shipowners, the means by which alone other governments shall reduce their rebellious citizens to submission, but, in fact, to deprive entirely of one means those nations which do not constantly maintain a sufficient number of vessels of war to establish an effective blockade of all the ports in a rebellious quarter. In such an assumption the government of the United States could not acquiesce: the toleration of it in practice by any government would be a confession of inability to resist an intrusion upon its own sovereign functions; and, to look forward a little, at the extra session of Congress which met in July, an act was passed authorizing the President to close the ports in the seceded states at his discretion. Ports of entry are created in the United States by act of Congress; and the power of closing them, like the power of making war, belongs to Congress. But President Lincoln, in the emergency of the republic, had assumed the power of calling out the militia and commencing hostilities against the rebels; and, as far as the internal relations of government were concerned, he might, with equal certainty of indemnity, have closed the Southern ports. Had the ports been closed, although it was certainly possible that Great Britain might refuse to respect an assumption of power, or even to regard an act of Congress, which interfered with the trade of her citizens, yet it may be reasonably doubted whether, if the government of the United States had boldly asserted its sovereignty in its own affairs, and made active preparation to maintain it, the British government would have defied and insulted that sovereignty with the certain prospect of immediate war. But it was thought better to avoid this complication of difficulty; a temporizing policy again prevailed; and instead of a closing of the ports, a blockade was established. The privateering and the blockade gave to Great Britain welcome opportunity of throwing all her moral influence against the preservation of the republic, as we shall see hereafter.

Active hostilities did not immediately commence, and the attention of both parties was chiefly turned to the attitude of the border states. With a population of five and a half millions, rich, fertile, and extending in a broad belt, nearly two hundred miles wide at its narrowest part, between the insurgent slave states and the free, they held in their hands the immediate fate of the country. Had they all remained heartily and firmly faithful to the cause of the republic, the preponderance of power would have been so overwhelming, the advantage of position so great, that the rebellion would have had but a short life, and would have been strangled upon the soil which gave it birth. They did not take this position; and by their various policies (various in form, but little divergent in purpose) they swelled the proportions and prolonged the duration of the war, and brought its blood and its devastation home to their own fields and firesides. Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri were the debatable ground of the first days, and so of the whole war, of the rebellion. Both parties appreciated their importance, and both sought to secure them; the one, as usual, by a cautious, the other by a daring policy. We have already seen how Virginia, if not the most powerful, from her situation the most important of them all, was, on the first assertion of national authority, and in spite of all her previous denunciations or the course of South Carolina, at once thrown into the hands of the insurgents. North Carolina and Tennessee soon followed her. Kentucky and Missouri, distracted between the loyalty of the large majority of their people and the strong disaffection of their leading politicians, nearly all of whom were heartily in the interests of the rebel faction, wavered and temporized, and fell into civil commotion within their own borders; and Maryland was saved to the Union and from the fate of war only by the patriotism of her governor, and the sagacity and decision of his sometimes seeming opponent, but always actual co-worker, General Butler. Abandoning Virginia hopelessly to the insurgents, and passing her by until the beginning of active hostilities, I follow the immediate fortunes of the insurrection through the other five states upon the border.

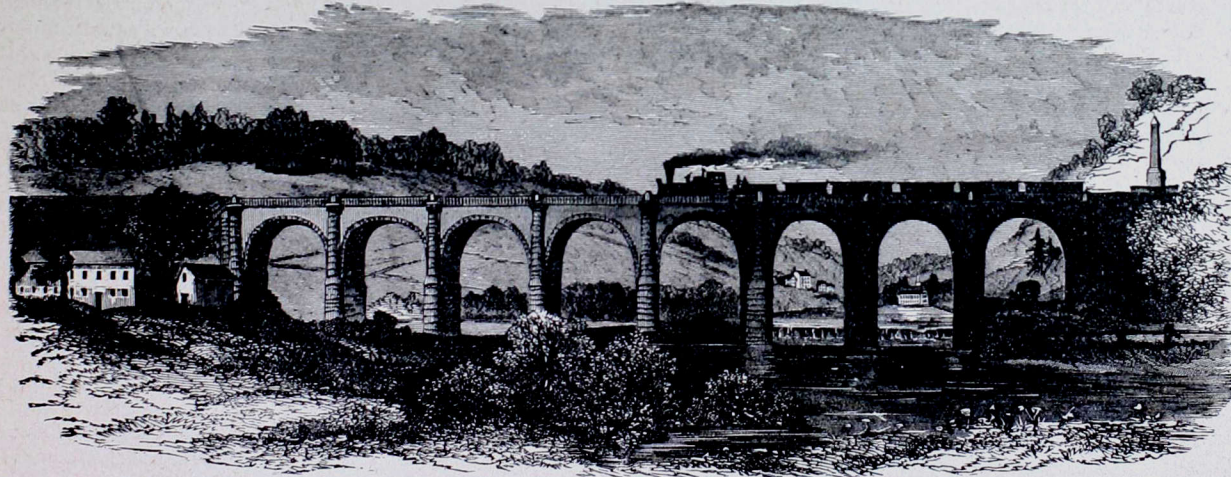
The New England general who had so promptly settled the question of communication between the North and the national capital by moving directly upon Annapolis was immediately honored by being placed in command of a new military department, called the Department of Annapolis, which included the country twenty miles on each side of the railway as far as Bladensburgh. He established his head-quarters temporarily upon the heights commanding the seat of the state government. Whether it was a point of honor for the state Legislature not to meet in a town virtually in possession of the national authorities, or whether the members were in fear that General Butler, who had shown himself to be a man of his word, would carry out a threat which he was said to have made, that if they passed an Ordinance of Secession he would arrest the whole body, the meeting took place on the 27th of April at Frederick City, far westward of the Yankee muskets. In his message the governor opposed secession as unprovoked and unjustifiable, and advised that the state should array itself on the side of Union and peace, that thus it might act as a mediator between the insurgents and the government, and transfer the field of battle to other soil. In spite of the efforts of an active and disaffected minority, the Legislature decided, by the overwhelming vote of fifty-three to thirteen, that that body had not the right to pass an Ordinance of Secession; all efforts to bring about a convention of the people, and to place the military affairs of the state in the

hands of a Board of Safety (both of which measures were pressed by the sympathizers with the insurrection), failed; and no more disloyal measure was extorted than a strong condemnation of a war of subjugation, and a protest against the military occupation of the state.⁴ On the 14th of May the Legislature adjourned. In the mean time troops rapidly concentrated under the command of General Butler, and on the 5th of May he advanced a force within a few miles of Baltimore, and took possession of Relay House, an im-



RELAY HOUSE.

portant railway station, which commanded both the passage southward toward Washington, and that westward toward Harper's Ferry. While here he met constant manifestations not only of a rebellious, but of a bloodthirsty and vindictive spirit. Two of his officers arrested a man who openly justified the murderous onset upon the Massachusetts regiment in Baltimore, and, according to his official statement, he found well-authenticated evidence of an attempt to poison his soldiers by persons who obtained admission to his camp in the disguise of pie-peddlers. Upon this discovery, he threatened the rebels with the swiftest and most condign punishment for such barbarity; and he who had, on the score of humanity, withstood the remonstrance of his own governor against his offer to put down a threatened insurrection of the slaves, reminded his rebellious enemies in a general order that they were teaching him a dangerous lesson, and that with a word he could mingle death in the food of their every household.⁵ His movement toward Baltimore was the signal for a rapid departure of the rebellious Marylanders of that neighborhood westward. They went with such arms as they could command; and, at the same time, an attempt was made to send to Harper's Ferry, then in the possession of the insurgents, a steam gun, invented by a Mr. Winans, of Baltimore, who expected to effect by it an entire change in artillery warfare. But on the 10th General Butler seized this much-talked-of weapon on its passage, arrested those who accompanied it, and placed it among the less pretending, but, as it proved, more efficient batteries with which he commanded the important railway viaduct at what was known as



VIADUCT AT WASHINGTON JUNCTION.

the Washington Junction. On the 14th he entered the city of Baltimore itself with the Eighth New York Regiment, a detachment of the very Sixth Massachusetts which had been attacked three weeks before, and a battery, and, marching through the city, undisturbed by the rebellious and cheered by the loyal, encamped upon Federal Hill, a high point of ground which

Resolution passed in the Maryland Legislature, May 10.

Whereas the war against the Confederate States is unconstitutional and repugnant to civilization, and will result in a bloody and shameful overthrow of our institutions; and while recognizing the obligations of Maryland to the Union, we sympathize with the South in the struggle for their rights—for the sake of humanity, we are for peace and reconciliation, and solemnly protest against this war, and will take no part in it;

Resolved, That Maryland implores the President, in the name of God, to cease this unholy war, at least until Congress assembles; that Maryland desires and consents to the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States. The military occupation of Maryland is unconstitutional, and she protests against it, though the violent interference with the transit of federal troops is discontinued; that the vindication of her rights be left to time and reason, and that a Convention, under existing circumstances, is inexpedient.

⁴ General Orders, Relay House, May 8, 1861.

commanded both Baltimore and Fort M'Henry, where he fixed his headquarters. Having thus obtained quiet and absolute possession of this important city, he issued, on the same day, a proclamation, setting forth to the Baltimoreans that he was among them to sustain the laws, local as well as national; that, preferring to trust to their good faith and loyalty, he had come with little more than the guard suited to his rank; that no attempts to incite sedition or give aid and comfort to the insurgents would be permitted; and that the formation and drill of bodies of men not part of the enrolled militia of the state were forbidden. He invited the citizens to furnish rations for his command at fair prices, and promised that any outrage whatever upon person or property by those under his command should be visited with rigorous punishment. His tone was forbearing, courteous, and kind, but unmistakably firm and earnest.⁶ At this proclamation the small minority of bitter and desperate secessionists muttered threats and treason between their teeth; but there was general acquiescence, and in some quarters outspoken approbation. The course which it marked out was followed with comparative ease; for a great change had taken place in Baltimore and its neighborhood since the attack upon the Massachusetts men. In spite of the activity, the virulence, and the audacity of the secessionists, the loyal citizens found that they were largely in the majority, and that, although the greater part of the wealthy and cultivated people, being all slaveholders and closely connected with the corresponding class in Eastern Virginia, were

General Butler's Proclamation.

Department of Annapolis, Federal Hill, Baltimore, May 14, 1861.

A detachment of the forces of the federal government under my command have occupied the city of Baltimore for the purpose, among other things, of enforcing respect and obedience to the laws, as well of the state—if requested thereto by the civil authorities—as of the United States laws, which are being violated within its limits by some malignant and traitorous men, and in order to testify the acceptance by the federal government of the fact that the city and all the well-intentioned portion of its inhabitants are loyal to the Union and the Constitution, and are to be so regarded and treated by all. To the end, therefore, that all misunderstanding of the purpose of the government may be prevented, and to set at rest all unfounded, false, and seditious rumors; to relieve all apprehensions, if any are felt, by the well-disposed portion of the community, and to make it thoroughly understood by all traitors, their aiders and abettors, that rebellious acts must cease, I hereby, by the authority vested in me as commander of the Department of Annapolis, of which Baltimore forms a part, do now command and make known that no loyal and well-disposed citizen will be disturbed in his lawful occupation or business, that private property will not be interfered with by the men under my command, or allowed to be interfered with by others, except in so far as it may be used to afford aid and comfort to those in rebellion against the government, whether here or elsewhere; all of which property, munitions of war, and that fitted to aid and support the rebellion, will be seized and held subject to confiscation, and, therefore, all manufacturers of arms and munitions of war are hereby requested to report to me forthwith, so that the lawfulness of their occupation may be known and understood, and all misconception of their doings be avoided. No transportation from the city to the rebels of articles fitted to aid and support troops in the field will be permitted, and the fact of such transportation, after the publication of this proclamation, will be taken and received as proof of illegal intention on the part of the consignors, and will render the goods liable to seizure and confiscation.

The government being ready to receive all such stores and supplies, arrangements will be made to contract for them immediately, and the owners and manufacturers of such articles of equipment and clothing, and munitions of war and provisions, are desired to keep themselves in communication with the Commissary General, in order that their workshops may be employed for loyal purposes, and the artisans of the city resume and carry on their profitable occupations.

The acting Assistant Quartermaster and Commissary of Subsistence of the United States here stationed has been instructed to proceed and furnish, at fair prices, 40,000 rations for the use of the army of the United States, and farther supplies will be drawn from the city to the full extent of its capacity, if the patriotic and loyal men choose so to furnish supplies.

All assemblages, except the ordinary police, of armed bodies of men, other than those regularly organized and commissioned by the State of Maryland, and acting under the orders of the governor thereof, for drill and other purposes, are forbidden within the department.

All officers of the militia of Maryland, having command within the limits of the department, are requested to report through their officers forthwith to the general in command, so that he may be able to know and distinguish the regularly commissioned and loyal troops of Maryland from armed bodies who may claim to be such.

The ordinary operations of the corporate government of the city of Baltimore and of the civil authorities will not be interfered with, but, on the contrary, will be aided by all the power at the command of the general, upon proper call being made, and all such authorities are cordially invited to co-operate with the general in command to carry out the purposes set forth in the proclamation, so that the city of Baltimore may be shown to the country to be, what she is in fact, patriotic and loyal to the Union, the Constitution, and the laws.

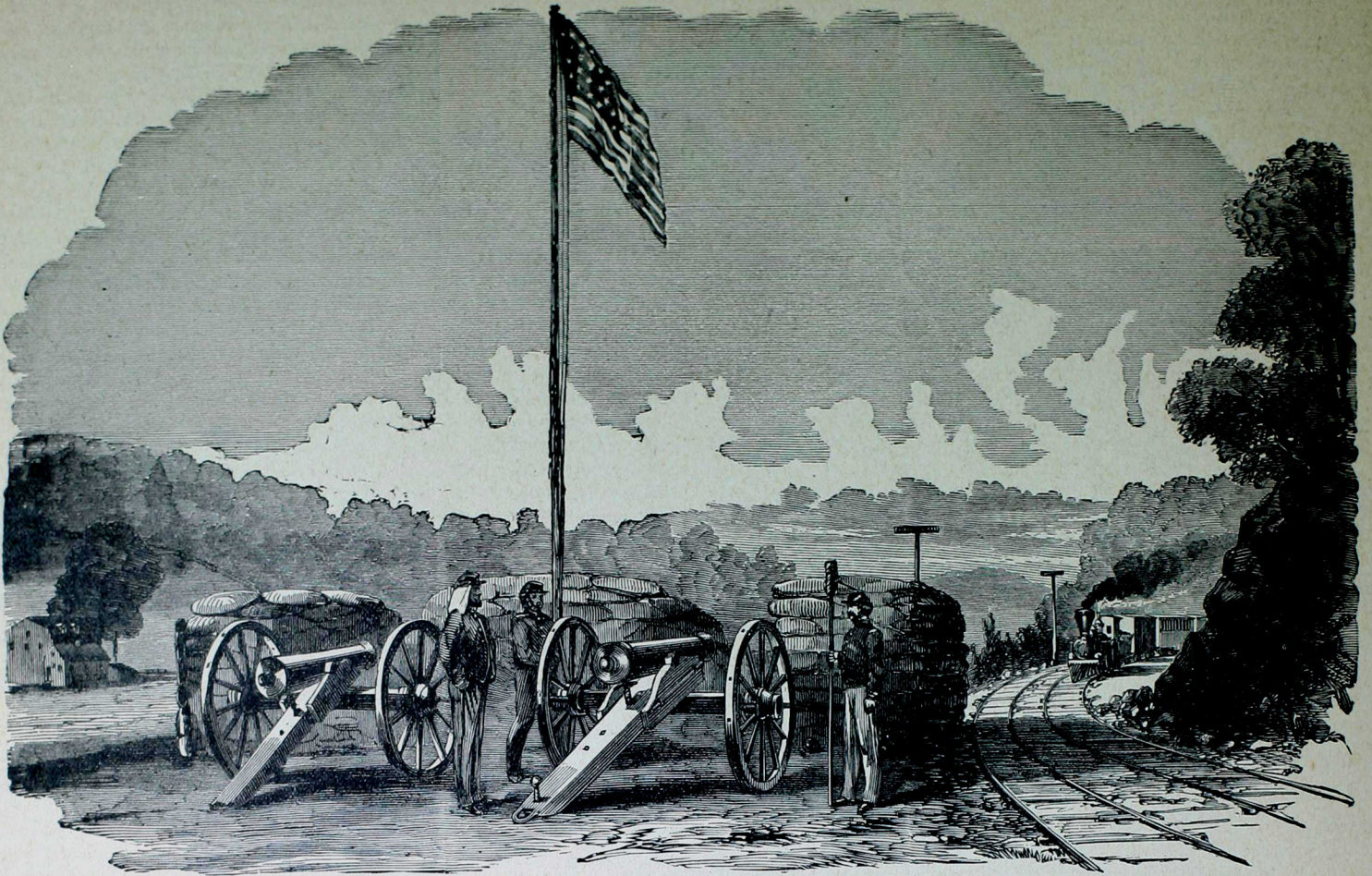
No flag, banner, ensign, or device of the so-called Confederate States, or any of them, will be permitted to be raised or shown in this department, and the exhibition of either of them by evil-disposed persons will be deemed, and taken to be evidence of, a design to afford aid and comfort to the enemies of the country. To make it more apparent that the government of the United States by far more relies upon the loyalty, patriotism, and

zeal of the good citizens of Baltimore and vicinity than upon any exhibition of force calculated to intimidate them into that obedience to the laws which the government doubts not will be paid from inherent respect and love of order, the commanding general has brought to the city with him, of the many thousand troops in the immediate neighborhood, which might be at once concentrated here, scarcely more than an ordinary guard, and, until it fails him, he will continue to rely upon that loyalty and patriotism of the citizens of Maryland which have never yet been found wanting to the government in time of need. The general in command desires to greet and treat in this part of his department all the citizens thereof as friends and brothers, having a common purpose, a common loyalty, and a common country. Any infractions of the laws by the troops under his command, or any disorderly, unsoldierlike conduct, or any interference with private property, he desires to have immediately reported to him, and pledges himself that if any soldier so far forgets himself as to break those laws that he has sworn to defend and enforce, he shall be most rigorously punished.

The general believes that if the suggestions and requests contained in this proclamation are faithfully carried out by the co-operation of all good and Union-loving citizens, and peace and quiet, and certainty of future peace and quiet are thus restored, business will resume its accustomed channels, trade take the place of dullness and inactivity, efficient labor displace idleness, and Baltimore will be in fact, what she is entitled to be, in the front rank of the commercial cities of the nation.

Given at Baltimore, the day and year herein first above written.

BENJ. F. BUTLER, Brig. General Com. Department of Annapolis.
E. G. PARKER, Lieutenant Colonel, Aid-de-Camp.

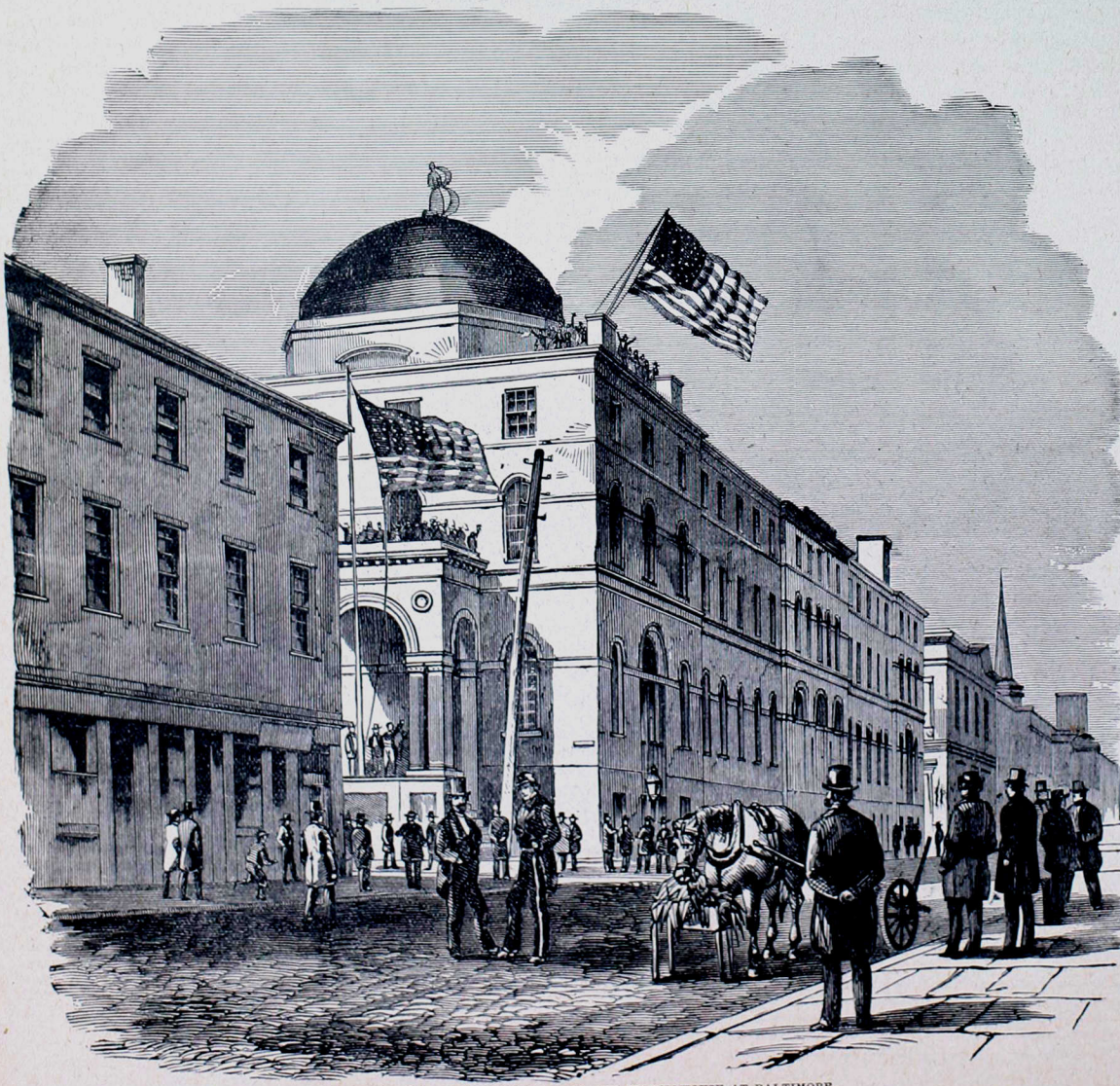


SAND-BAG BATTERY.

disaffected, a very large and influential minority even of these, including men eminent for their talents no less than from their social position, were strenuous upholders of the Constitution and the Union. In Western Maryland the national flag was raised at Frederick City, at Hagerstown, and else-

where, with due honors, and loyal defenders thronged around it. On the 13th of May a train from Philadelphia passed through Baltimore with the flag displayed; and the same token of devotion to the undivided republic was raised upon many public and private buildings.

On the morning of the 14th, the day of General Butler's arrival, a Pennsylvania regiment, in complete array, passed unmolested, and even with some tokens of welcome, over the very route which three weeks before had been the scene of bloody conflict. On this day, too, Governor Hicks issued his proclamation calling for four regiments in compliance with the requirement of the President, to serve for three months; admitting that requirement to be "in the spirit and in pursuance of the law," though setting forth, as a salve to wounded state pride, the assurance of the Secretary of War that these troops should serve "within the limits of the State of Maryland, or for the defense of the capital of the United States." From this day sedition and treason gradually, though slowly, subsided in Baltimore, and lurked in secret places. Violence was suppressed by law, not made for the occasion, though supported by a force required by circumstances. General Butler, who, by his wisdom, his tact, and his activity, had so completely foiled the plans of the violent secessionists, and sustained a loyal state which was in imminent peril of being dragooned into secession, was made a major general, and placed in command of a new military district, including Virginia and the two Carolinas, his head-quarters being at Fortress Monroe; and the Winans steam gun, from which so much had been hoped on the one side and feared on the other, being found



RAISING THE STARS AND STRIPES OVER THE CUSTOM-HOUSE AT BALTIMORE.



THE WINANS GUN.

a harmless monster after all, was fitly sent to Boston—that city so much threatened with the visitation of rebellious arms—a trophy.

At the beginning of the secession movement, hardly less loyal than Maryland, amid the commotion which followed the issuing of the President's proclamation, Tennessee and North Carolina were swiftly swept into the vortex of secession. This was partly because of the larger proportion of their slave property,⁷ but chiefly because to them were not granted a governor like Hicks and a general like Butler. For, at the election which resulted in the choice of President Lincoln, the vote of Tennessee had been given for the conservative nominees, John Bell and Edward Everett; and although not a ballot had been cast for Lincoln, the people acquiesced in his election as the legitimate result of the canvass. But the governor, Isham G. Harris, being of the South Carolina school of politicians, at once began endeavors to carry the state into the hands of the secessionists. He called a special session of the General Assembly, avowedly upon the ground of the election of the Republican candidate, and the triumph of a party whose bond of union he declared to be uncompromising hostility to the rights and institutions of the fifteen Southern States. And here it is well to notice that of the fifteen states thus styled Southern, two, Delaware and Maryland, being north of the Potomac, belong to the Middle, and one, Missouri, to the Western geographical division of the Union. But they were slave states; and, in the mouth of slaveholders like Governor Harris, Southern thus used meant slave, even when applied to persons. To them a man born upon the iciest verge of Maine, if he came to a slave state and sustained slavery, was a Southern man; one born upon the point where Florida pushes itself almost within the tropics, if he had doubts as to the wisdom of perpetuating and diffusing negro bondage, was no Southerner, but a Yankee abolitionist. Governor Harris declared in his message to the Assembly which he had called together that these imperiled Southern rights could only be secured by the extension of a line to the Pacific, all territory south of which should be forever slave territory; by allowing slaveholders to travel and sojourn in the free states with their slaves; by the prohibition of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and all places in slave states under national jurisdiction; and by making these provisions unchangeable, except by con-

⁷ According to the census of 1860, Maryland had a white population of 516,128, and 87,188 slaves; Tennessee a white population of 826,828, and 275,784 slaves; and North Carolina a white population of 631,489, and 331,081 slaves.

Address to the People of Tennessee.

In the perilous times upon which our country is thrown, we trust it will not be deemed presumptuous or improper in us to express to our fellow-citizens our united opinion as to the duty of the state in this dire emergency.

We are threatened with a civil war, the dreadful consequences of which, if once fully inaugurated, no language can depict. In view of such consequences, we deem it the duty of every good citizen to exert his utmost powers to avert the calamities of such a war. The agitation of the slavery question, combined with party spirit and sectional animosity, has at length produced the legitimate fruit. The present is no time to discuss the events of the past. The awful presence is upon us, and the portentous future is hanging over us. There has been a collision, as is known to you, at Fort Sumter, between the forces of the seceded states and those of the national government, which resulted in the capture of the fort by the army of the Confederate States. In view of this event, and of other acts growing out of the secession of seven of the Southern States, the President has issued his proclamation calling out the militia of the states of the Union to suppress what the proclamation designates a "combination too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law."

Tennessee is called upon by the President to furnish two regiments, and the state has, through her executive, refused to comply with the call. This refusal of our state we fully approve. We commend the wisdom, the justice, and the humanity of the refusal. We unqualifiedly disapprove of secession, both as a constitutional right and as a remedy for existing evils; we equally condemn the policy of the administration in reference to the seceded states. But while we, without qualification, condemn the policy of coercion as calculated to dissolve the Union forever, and to dissolve it in the blood of our fellow-citizens, and regard it as sufficient to justify the state in refusing her aid to the government in its attempts to suppress the revolution in the seceded states, we do not think it her duty, considering her position in the Union, and in view of the great question of the peace of our distracted country, to take sides against the government. Tennessee has wronged no state of this Union. She has violated the rights of no state, north or south. She has been loyal

sent of all the slave states. Beyond these there was only one other demand to be made—that the free states should adopt slavery and make it perpetual. But all the governor's constituents did not think with him. The Legislature proved to be strongly conservative, and averse to disunion. A Convention was called, but with sufficient safeguards against the juggling or precipitation of the state into secession. At Nashville a meeting was held in January, at which it was declared by the agitators for secession that the "Constitutional Union party," whose candidate Mr. Bell was, had held the doctrine that the election of Mr. Lincoln would justify the dissolution of the Union. Mr. Bell himself, being present, rose and denied the charge, and his denial called forth cheers from all parts of the hall. At the election, on the 9th of February, of delegates to the Convention, the Union candidates were chosen by a majority of more than sixty-four thousand; and by a majority of nearly twelve thousand it was decided that there should not even be a Convention. This decision was more significant than the very majority of four hundred by which the Union delegates were elected in

Memphis, the strong-hold of the aggressive slavery party, because it showed an unwillingness on the part of the people even to entertain the question of breaking up the Union, or to expose the political fortunes of the state to the chances which they must encounter in an assemblage meeting under circumstances of great excitement, and liable to be hurried into extreme measures, and even diverted from its purpose, by reckless and designing men—a disposition which, in the consideration of after-events, it will become us to remember. The President's proclamation was received with general disfavor, and caused such a change in the current of popular feeling that the secessionists, quick to see and to use their advantage, were enabled to turn the western tide almost entirely in their favor. We have already seen Governor Harris's defiant refusal to the call for troops. He immediately summoned another special session of the Assembly on April 25th; and an address was at the same time issued to the people of the state by some of its most eminent citizens, in which secession was disapproved of and the policy of the administration condemned, a refusal of aid to the government in its attempt to suppress the rebellion justified, assistance to the enemies of the government equally deprecated, and a course of neutrality recommended which should not offend "either party," but leave to the state the grand function of peace-maker between the states of the South and the general government. Strange to say, this policy was advocated on the ground that any other would transfer the war to the soil of Tennessee, and defeat all hopes of reconciliation.⁸ The notion that they could assume a neutral position, and play the part of mediators between the government and the rebellion, took entire possession of such of the leading men of the border states as were not at heart with the rebels at the outset. They trusted that such a course would lead them safely through the difficulties of their position, which, it must be confessed, considering the division of their love and interest between slavery and the Union, were great and perplexing. It led them only into the very disaster which they sought to avoid; and while it brought upon their soil and their people the calamities which they seemed most to dread, it prolonged for the government that attitude of timid hesitation which from the beginning had paralyzed its en-

to all where loyalty was due. She has not brought on this war by any act of hers. She has tried every means in her power to prevent it. She now stands ready to do any thing within her reach to stop it; and she ought, as we think, to decline joining either party; for, in so doing, they would at once terminate her grand mission of peace-maker between the states of the South and the general government. Nay, more; the almost inevitable result would be the transfer of the war within her own borders—the defeat of all hopes of reconciliation, and the deluging of the state with the blood of her own people.

The present duty of Tennessee is to maintain a position of independence—taking sides with the Union and the peace of the country against all assailants, whether from the North or South. Her position should be to maintain the sanctity of her soil from the hostile tread of any party.

We do not pretend to foretell the future of Tennessee in connection with the other states or in reference to the federal government; we do not pretend to be able to tell the future purposes of the President and cabinet in reference to the impending war; but, should a purpose be developed by the government of overrunning and subjugating our brethren of the seceded states, we say unequivocally that it will be the duty of the state to resist at all hazards, at any cost, and by arms, any such purpose or attempt. And, to meet any and all emergencies, she ought to be fully armed, and we would respectfully call upon the authorities of the state to proceed at once to the accomplishment of this object.

Let Tennessee, then, prepare thoroughly and efficiently for coming events. In the mean time, let her, as speedily as she can, hold a conference with her sister slaveholding states yet in the Union for the purpose of devising plans for the preservation of the peace of the land. Fellow-citizens of Tennessee, we entreat you to bring yourselves up to the magnitude of the crisis. Look in the face impending calamities. Civil war—what is it? The bloodiest and darkest pages of history answer this question. To avert this, who would not give his time, his talents, his untiring energy—his all? There may be yet time to accomplish every thing. Let us not despair. The border slave states may prevent this civil war; and why shall they not do it?

NEIL S. BROWN, S. D. MORGAN,
RUSSELL HOUSTON, JOHN S. BRIEF,
E. H. EWING, ANDREW EWING,
C. JOHNSON, JOHN H. CALLENDER,
JOHN BELL, BAILLIE PEYTON,
R. J. MEIGS,

Nashville, April 18, 1861.

ergies and developed those of the insurgents. Such neutrality was both treason and folly. It was treason, because it sought to disqualify the constitutional government of the republic, the paramount authority in all of its affairs, and practically asserted that a commonwealth into which its citizens had formed themselves by its consent upon its soil was not an integral part of it, but an independent and a sovereign power. For a mediator must be independent; a party to a cause can not decide it as a judge; and a declaration of neutrality and the interdiction of the passage of troops are alike the attributes only of absolute sovereignty, the admission of the right to which would have enabled any state of the Union, at any time and upon any issue, to defy with impunity the central authority behind the barrier of a soil declared neutral and impassable by a component part of that very authority. Such pretended neutrality, if not making war upon the United States, would amply fulfill the constitutional conditions of treason by giving aid and comfort to their enemies in the most effective manner, and would make the suppression of insurrection quite impossible. Such neutrality was folly, because it brought upon the states which adopted it the very calamities which they sought to shun. Had the border states, the people of which before the fall of Sumter professed, and even showed, a devotion to the Union, declared boldly for it, for good or ill, the war, which the vacillation of some and the assumed neutrality of others drew inevitably upon their own soil, would instantly have been transferred to that of the Gulf States, to be waged by such an overwhelming superiority of force that it would have briefly ended. An ambiguous course is always perilous; between two great destructive powers it is inevitably fatal; and the neutrality of the border states ended in such mediation as the neutral grain offers between the upper and the nether millstone. In other respects the position assumed by those who first pretended to the direction of these states was no less unreasonable and destructive. They declared secession to be unjustifiable; and yet, in the same breath, denounced the exercise of authority which sought to restrain this unjustifiable act as a coercion which they would not endure themselves or permit to be applied to others. They demanded that the government should wait, and the fate of the nation tremble in the balance, while they debated the question in a Border State Convention. They expected that, in any case, their terms should be accepted, and in this case they would remain in the Union as long as it suited their interests or their inclinations.

Governor Harris, however, advocated no half-way measures. He recommended to the Assembly the passage of an ordinance declaring Tennessee independent of the federal government, and the "reaffirming" each and every function belonging to a separate sovereignty. Thus the governor of a commonwealth, whose imperfect political individuality was the mere creature of the government and the citizens of the republic, and whose very local Constitution declared that its people had their sovereignty and their right of soil only "so far as is consistent with the Constitution of the United States," could with bare face recommend his constituents to reassume a sovereignty which they not only had never possessed, but had never pretended to possess. Such, however, was the resentment provoked by the forcible assertion of its authority by the central government that Governor Harris's recommendation was followed, and the 8th of June was appointed by the Assembly for the vote of the people upon a declaration of independence; but long before that time arrived the state had passed out of the control of the government at Washington and even of its own people. For, as in Virginia,

⁹ *Resolutions of a Meeting at Louisville, Kentucky, April 20th, at which the Hon. James Guthrie presided.*

Resolved, 1. That, as the Confederate States have, by overt acts, commenced war against the United States, without consultation with Kentucky and their sister Southern States, Kentucky reserves to herself the right to choose her own position, and that while her natural sympathies are with those who have a common interest in the protection of slavery, she still acknowledges her loyalty and fealty to the government of the United States, which she will cheerfully render until that government becomes aggressive, tyrannical, and regardless of our rights in slave property.

2. That the national government should be tried by its acts, and that the several states, as its peers in their appropriate spheres, will hold it to a rigid accountability, and require that its acts should be fraternal in their efforts to bring back the seceding states, and not sanguinary or coercive.

3. That, as we oppose the call of the President for volunteers for the purpose of coercing the seceding states, so we oppose the raising of troops in this state to co-operate with the Southern Confederacy when the acknowledged intention of the latter is to march upon the City of Washington and capture the Capitol, and when, in its march thither, it must pass through states which have not yet renounced their allegiance to the Union.

4. That secession is a remedy for no evil, real or imaginary, but an aggravation and complication of existing difficulties.

5. That the memories of the past, the interests of the present, and the solemn convictions of future duty and usefulness in the hope of mediation, prevent Kentucky from taking part with the seceding states against the general government.

6. That "the present duty of Kentucky is to maintain her present independent position, taking sides not with the administration, nor with the seceding states, but with the Union against them both, declaring her soil to be sacred from the hostile tread of either, and, if necessary, to make the declaration good with her strong right arm."

7. That, to the end Kentucky may be prepared for any contingency, "we would have her arm herself thoroughly at the earliest practicable moment," by regular legal action.

8. That we look to the young men of the Kentucky State Guard as the bulwarks of the safety of our commonwealth, and that we conjure them to remember that they are pledged equally to fidelity to the United States and Kentucky.

9. That the Union and the Constitution, being mainly the work of Southern soldiers and statesmen, in our opinion furnish a surer guaranty for "Southern Rights" than can be found under any other system of government yet devised by men.

¹⁰ *To the People of Kentucky.*

Having been elected by you as your delegates to "a Convention of the border slave states and such other slave states as have not passed Ordinances of Secession," with power to meet with delegates from other states in convention, "to consult on the critical condition of the country, and agree upon some plan of adjustment;" and having met at Frankfort, on the 27th of May, in pursuance of the act, we deem it proper to inform you, briefly, of what was done by us in the Convention.

It was a matter of regret to us that, while the call for this Convention originated in Virginia, and had, apparently, the concurrence of all the border slave states, yet there were delegates in attendance from Kentucky and Missouri only. One representative chosen by the counties of M'Ninn and Sevier, in Tennessee, appeared, and, although not coming with such credentials as were necessary to constitute him a delegate, he was invited to participate in our deliberations.

After a continuous session from day to day, during which the condition of the country, and the various causes that led to it, were maturely considered, it was resolved that the Convention should address an appeal to the people of the United States, and the delegates from Kentucky determined to present to you a separate address, in which views of your members should be embodied. In the discharge of this duty we now attempt to address you.

there was a league formed with the insurgents through a commissioner from them; and the whole military force of the state, and all the property and munitions of war which it had "acquired" from the United States, were turned over to the government at Montgomery. Simultaneously with the ratification of this league, an act was passed authorizing the governor to raise a force of fifty-five thousand men. This he proceeded at once to do; and, to look forward a few weeks to the consummation of this scheme, the 8th of June saw the whole state filled with the armed emissaries of the insurgent government; and, except in East Tennessee, denunciation and intimidation had done their work so thoroughly that the very people who had given a majority of more than sixty-four thousand against secession, now gave a majority of more than fifty-seven thousand for it—or seemed to give; for it was openly charged that this result had been brought about not without fraud, and the open acts of those who had obtained control of the state were such as to justify this accusation against their secret practices.

It is needless to follow closely the steps by which North Carolina trod the road of treason to the Constitution. Let the names be changed, and the story of Tennessee's defection is substantially hers also. She pursued with somewhat more celerity the same course with her sister slave state upon her western border, and by the 20th of May she had thrown herself without reserve, for better for worse, into the arms of the insurgent government. Nor would the fate of Kentucky and Missouri, in which the emissaries and the well-wishers of the rebels played the same part which they had assumed with such success in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, be worthy of particular attention, were it not that in those states their machinations were unsuccessful. Kentucky, though of her eleven hundred thousand inhabitants more than two hundred and fifty thousand were negro slaves, and although she was bound by strong ties to Virginia, numbered among her people a large proportion of noble men who were ready to give themselves and all that they then had for the imperiled existence of the republic. It is true that the majority of her political leaders, and perhaps even of her citizens, were so far infected with the poison of state sovereignty that they condemned a policy of coercion, and declared that her duty was to maintain an independent and neutral position between the contending parties, declaring, as they did declare, "her soil to be sacred from the hostile tread of either, and, if necessary, to maintain this neutrality by arms."⁹ But while they were thus distracted by the conflicting claims of divided duty, even the warmest partisans of state sovereignty and slavery deplored the precipitation, while the majority denounced the contumacy, and all resented the arrogance of the South Carolina politicians, by whom this distressing dilemma had been prepared. At the election on the 4th of May for delegates to the Border State Convention, the Union nominees were chosen by a majority of two to one. At the Convention itself, which was held on the 27th of the same month, only Kentucky and Missouri were represented, and an address was issued to the people of Kentucky by her delegates, headed by the venerable Mr. Crittenden, declaring that the crisis presented the grand commanding question, Union or no Union, Government or no Government, Nationality or no Nationality; that the coming war was unnecessary, and resulted from the ambition of a few rather than the wrongs done to the people; and that Kentucky would continue loyal to the Constitution, the government, and the flag of the United States, and refuse alliance with any who would destroy the Union.¹⁰ On the 30th of June the election for representatives to Con-

Your state, on a deliberate consideration of her responsibilities—moral, political, and social—has determined that the proper course for her to pursue is to take no part in the controversy between the government and the seceded states but that of *mediator* and *intercessor*. She is unwilling to take up arms against her brethren residing either north or south of the geographical line by which they are unhappily divided into warring sections. This course was commended to her by every consideration of patriotism, and by a proper regard for her own security. It does not result from timidity; on the contrary, it could only have been adopted by a brave people—so brave that the least imputation on their courage would be branded as false by their written and traditional history.

Kentucky was right in taking this position, because, from the commencement of this deplorable controversy, her voice was for reconciliation, compromise, and peace. She had no cause of complaint against the general government, and made none. The injuries she sustained in her property from a failure to execute laws passed for its protection, in consequence of illegal interference by wicked and deluded citizens in the free states, she considered as wholly insufficient to justify a dismemberment of the Union. That she regarded as no remedy for existing evils, but an aggravation of them all. She witnessed, it is true, with deep concern, the growth of a wild and frenzied fanaticism in one section, and a reckless and defiant spirit in another, both equally threatening destruction to the country, and tried earnestly to arrest them, but in vain. We will not stop to trace the causes of the unhappy condition in which we are now placed, or to criminate either of the sections to the dishonor of the other, but can say that we believed both to have been wrong, and, in their madness and folly, to have inaugurated a war that the Christian world looks upon with amazement and sorrow, and that Liberty, Christianity, and Civilization stand appalled at the horrors to which it will give rise.

It is a proud and grand thing for Kentucky to stand up and say, as she can, truthfully, in the face of the world, "We had no hand in this thing; our skirts are clear." And, in looking at the terrorism that prevails elsewhere—beholding freedom of speech denied to American citizens, their homesteads subjected to lawless visitation, their property confiscated, and their persons liable to incarceration and search—how grandly does she not loom up, as she proclaims to the oppressed and miserable, We offer you a refuge! Here, constitutional law, and respect for individual rights, still exist! Here is an asylum where loyalty to the name, nation, and flag of the Union predominates; and here is the only place, in this lately great republic, where true freedom remains—that freedom for which our fathers fought—the citizen being free to speak, write, or publish any thing he may wish, responsible only to the laws, and not controlled by the violence of the mob.

Is not this an attitude worthy of a great people, and do not her position and safety require her to maintain it? If she deviates from it; if she suffers herself, in a moment of excitement, to be led off by sympathy with one side or the other—to ally herself with either section—inevitable and speedy ruin must fall upon her. What reason can be urged to incline her to such a fatal step? She is still, thank God, a member of the Union, owing constitutional allegiance to it—an allegiance voluntarily given, long maintained, and from which she has derived countless benefits. Can she, by her own act, forfeit this allegiance, and by the exercise of any constitutional power sever herself from that government? In our opinion the statement of the proposition insures its rejection. It is of no more rational force than the argument of the suicide to commit self-slaughter. Secession is not a right. That the right of revolution exists is as true in states as the right of self-defense is true of individuals. It does not exist by virtue of legal enactment or constitutional provision, but is founded in the nature of things—is inalienable and indestructible, and ought to be resorted to only when all peaceable remedies fail. Revolution is an extreme remedy, finds its justification alone in an escape from intolerable oppression, and, hazarding the consequences of failure, as success or defeat makes the movement one of rightful resistance or rebellion, it becomes the stern duty of Kentucky to look not only to the motives that might impel her to revolt, but to the probable results. She must contemplate her condition in a complex character—national and state—and see what must be her fate in the event of a separation.

gress took place, the issue presented being between Union on the one side, and States Rights on the other; when the Union delegates were elected by an overwhelming majority, the State Rights men having polled but a few more than one quarter of the ballots.

Leaving Kentucky thus firmly bound to the fortunes of the republic, though with her patriotism chilled by the affectation of a cold neutrality, we turn our eyes upon Missouri, the state whose political birth forty years before had been ushered in by the inauspicious omens of the tremendous conflict in which she was now summoned to take a part. Were it not that fanaticism, whether in a good cause or a bad, always forgets or disregards the obligations and even the teachings of the past, the people of Missouri could not for a moment have been led by the delusions of state sovereignty into the denial of a paramount allegiance to the constitutional government of the republic; for there were men still living within her borders who could remember that at the time of her admission as one of the commonwealths entitled to a voice in that government, it was at Washington, and not at St. Louis or at Jackson City, that it was decided whether her Constitution should protect the institution of negro slavery. But a population which furnished the border ruffians who undertook to decide, and who, in a struggle of four years, so nearly decided, by the bowie-knife and the revolver, the political and social future of a neighboring community, could not but include a large number of men who would hasten to serve the cause they had most at heart, in the company of the great body of its devotees, and to dignify their former violence by making it appear the first step in a great revolution. These men were not wanting to their faction or to themselves. They took the field at once with the spirit and the audacity which had marked the movements of the insurgents from the beginning; and Claiborne Jackson, governor of the state, was at their head. Governor Jackson came into office on the 4th of January; and in his inaugural message he did not hesitate at taking the extreme ground that Missouri must stand by the other slave states, whatever course they might pursue. A Convention was called; but Union delegates were elected by large majorities; and the usual commissioner from the insurgents having pleaded the cause of the rebellion before it, he was informed by resolution that Missouri refused to join her fortunes with the states represented at Montgomery. In the resolutions, which were the result of the deliberations for which the Convention was called together, it was declared unanimously that the state had no cause for dissolving her connection with the Union; but another was passed by the large majority of eighty-nine to six, recommending, as a means of avoiding civil war, the withdrawal of the federal forces from the forts where collision with the insurgents might be apprehended. Thus, indeed, might civil war have

Under the national government, she has a right to the protection of thirty-three great states, and with them, thus protected, can defy the world in arms. Under it, she becomes prosperous and happy. Deprived of it, she finds herself exposed to imminent danger. She has a border front on the Ohio River of near seven hundred miles, with three powerful states on that border. She has four hundred miles on the south, by which she is separated from Tennessee by a merely conventional line. Her eastern front is on Virginia, and part of her western on Missouri, thus making her antagonistic, in the event of collision, to Virginia, which is our mother, and to Missouri, which is our daughter. Hemmed in thus on every side by powers, each one of which is equal to her own, her situation, and her sense of loyalty to the Union, imperatively demand of her to insist on the integrity of the Union, its Constitution, and government. Peace is of vital consequence to her, and can only be secured to her by preserving the Union inviolate. Kentucky has no cause of quarrel with the Constitution, and no wish to quarrel with her neighbors, but abundant reason to love both. Of the great West she was the pioneer, and became the starting-point of emigration to all around her. There is not a Western or a Southwestern state in which Kentucky families are not settled, and she is bound to all by ties of interest and brotherhood. She has ever been loyal to the government, answering to its requisitions and sharing its burdens. At the command of that government, when war was declared to protect the rights of sailors, although she had no vessels to float on the ocean, yet she offered up her blood freely in the common defense from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Again, when war, growing out of a territorial controversy, far from her own borders, was proclaimed, she was among the foremost in the fight, and Monterey and Buena Vista were made famous in history by the valor of Kentuckians. Never has she faltered in her duty to the Union.

In declining to respond to a call made by the present administration of the government, and one that we have reason to believe would not have been made if the administration had been fully advised of the circumstances by which we were surrounded, Kentucky did not put herself in factious opposition to her legitimate obligations; she did not choose to throw herself in hostile collision with the slave states of Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware, which have not seceded on the one hand, nor the slave states which have and are in process of secession on the other, and shed the blood of brethren and kindred at the very moment when she was striving to be an apostle of peace. Nature herself revolted at the thought, and her conduct in this matter had so much of love to God, and love to man in it, that it will meet the sanction of an approving world. So far from being denounced for this action, it is every where looked upon as an act of purest patriotism, resulting from imperious necessity, and the highest instincts of self-preservation—respected by the very administration that alone could have complained of it, and will, we doubt not, be ratified by it, if not in terms, at least by its future action. That act did not take her out of the Union.

Kentucky, in so grave a matter as this, passes by mere legal technicalities and a discussion of theoretical difficulties of government, poises herself upon her right to do what the necessities of her condition imperatively demanded of her, and relies upon the good sense and magnanimity of her sister states, seeing that there is no parallel in her condition and theirs to do her justice.

In all things she is as loyal as ever to the constitutional administration of the government. She will follow the Stars and Stripes to the utmost regions of the earth, and defend them from foreign insult. She refuses allegiance with any who would destroy the Union. All she asks is permission to keep out of this unnatural strife. When called to take part in it, she believes there is more honor in the breach than in the observance of any supposed duty to perform it.

Feeling that she is clearly right in this, and has announced her intention to refrain from aggression upon others, she must protest against her soil being made the theatre of military operations by any belligerent. The war must not be transferred by the warring sections from their own to her borders. Such unfriendly action can not be viewed with indifference by Kentucky.

Having thus referred to this subject in its general aspects, we would invite your individual attention to its direct bearings upon yourselves.

It is not now a question of party politics, although it may be the interest of some to make it so. The day of mere party platforms has, we trust, gone forever. It has passed from being a mere struggle for place that may gratify personal ambition, to one for the present and future welfare of a whole people, for the safety of homes and firesides. Whatever divisions have heretofore existed should now cease. In times past, in our elections, the questions which divided men related to mere party differences, and the members of all the parties rivaled each other in their expression of devotion to the Union, and were equally clamorous for their rights, in the Union and not out of it. Now these party differences are passed away and forgotten. The direct question is Union or no Union—Government or no Government—Nationality or no Nationality. Before this grand and commanding question every thing else gives way.

All can see that such a state of things can not continue without war, and that such a war was unnecessary. It resulted from the ambition of men rather than from the wrongs done the people. There was a remedy for every thing already provided by the Constitution, which, with wise foresight, provided against the trials to which it might be subjected. There were countervailing powers to check encroachments, whether by a President or by Congress; and it so happened that at this dangerous crisis, when a sectional president had been elected, there was a majority in opposition to him in both houses of Congress, by which he could have been controlled and the people

been avoided; and so might a certain man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho have avoided an unpleasant collision by presenting his purse to certain other men among whom he fell upon the road. To yield what is demanded, irrespective of the justice of the demand, may be at times what the part of discretion; it can never be that of honor, of dignity, or of sovereign power. There was another resolution, recommending a National Convention for the amendment of the Constitution; but on the 27th of the month (it was March) the state Legislature passed a resolution that it was inexpedient to take any steps toward the National Convention, or toward the amendment of the Constitution of the Union which had been recommended by the state Convention. The stirring events of the latter half of April failed to produce in Missouri the effect which followed them in the other border states, and the excitement which they created soon passed away.

But, although the people of Missouri pronounced thus unhesitatingly, thus so decidedly, and by such large majorities for the Union, the restless and reckless men, who loved slavery more than the republic, did not cease their machinations. A secret association had already been formed for the purpose of forcing the state into the ranks of the insurrection; it numbered among its members many influential politicians; and its object, at least, if not its means, were approved by the governor himself. He began at once the organization of a State Guard, ostensibly for the purpose of keeping the peace and protecting the soil of the state against invasion—that term meaning, when so used, the presence of national troops. But the government at Washington had favored the formation of a military organization called Home Guards, composed of loyal Missourians, which, under spirited and determined leadership, soon checked the development of Governor Jackson's plans and those of his co-workers, who began their movement by seizing the United States Arsenal at Liberty, a small town in the extreme western part of the state, and distributing the arms to the malcontents in that neighborhood. The same fate threatened the more important arsenal at St. Louis; but in command there was Captain Nathaniel Lyon, of the United States Army, who had served with honor in Florida and in Mexico, and with discretion and loyalty in Kansas during her early trial. His force was very small, and the Police Commissioners of St. Louis, undertaking to make a little war upon the government, required him to confine the exercise of his authority to the grounds belonging to the United States. The city swarmed with the partisans of the rebels; the governor himself had ordered two thousand men down from Jefferson City, whose purpose could only be to seize the arms in the arsenal. This a Captain Stokes, also of the army, prevented by a daring and energetic movement. Provided by Governor

protected. It was the duty of the opposition to have stood to their posts till the danger of encroachment had passed away. But senators and representatives, following the example of their states, vacated their seats, and placed a president who would have been in a minority at the head of a triumphant majority. It was a great wrong, for which they must answer to posterity. Kentucky remained true to herself, contending with all her might for what were considered to be the rights of the people; and although one after another of the states that should have been by her side ungenerously deserted her, leaving her almost alone in the field, yet she did not surrender her rights under the Constitution, and never will surrender them. She will appear again in the Congress of the United States, not having conceded the least item of power to the government that had not heretofore been granted, and retaining every power she had reserved. She will insist upon her constitutional rights in the Union, and not out of it.

Kentucky is grieved to think that any thing should have been done by her sister states that has made it necessary for her to assume the position she now occupies. It is not one of submission, as it has been insultingly called—it is one of the most exalted patriotism; but, if she had no higher or holier motive—if she were not earnestly for peace among her brethren, the great law of self-protection points out her course, and she has no alternative. Already one section declares that there will be no war at home, but that it shall be in Kentucky and Virginia. Already the cannon and bayonets of another section are visible on our most exposed border. Let these hostile armies meet on our soil, and it will matter but little to us which may succeed, for destruction to us will be the inevitable result. Our fields will be laid waste, our houses and cities will be burned, our people will be slain, and this goodly land be rebaptized "the land of blood;" and even the institution, to preserve or control which this wretched war was undertaken, will be exterminated in the general ruin. Such is the evil that others will bring upon us, no matter which side we take, if this is to be the battle-field. But there is danger at home more appalling than any that comes from beyond. People of Kentucky, look well to it that you do not get to fighting among yourselves, for then, indeed, you will find that it is an ill fight where he that wins has the worst of it. Endeavor to be of one mind, and strive to keep the state steady in her present position. Hold fast to that sheet-anchor of republican liberty, that the will of the majority constitutionally and legally expressed must govern. You have, in the election by which this Convention was chosen, displayed a unanimity unparalleled in your history. May you be as unanimous in the future; may your majorities be so decided that a refusal to obey may be justly called factious. Trust and love one another. Avoid angry strife. Frown upon the petty ambition of demagogues who would stir up bad passions among you. Consider, as wise men, what is necessary for your own best interest, and in humble submission, trust and look to that Almighty Being who has heretofore so signally blessed us as a nation for His guidance through the gloom and darkness of this hour.

J. J. CRITTENDEN, President. C. A. WICKLIFFE,
JAMES GUTHRIE, G. W. DUNLAP,
R. K. WILLIAMS, C. S. MOREHEAD,
ARCH'D DRUXON, J. F. ROBINSON,
F. M. BRISTOW, JOHN B. HUSTON,
JOSHUA F. BELL, ROBT. RICHARDSON

Resolutions reported in the Missouri Convention.

Resolved, That at present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the federal Union, but, on the contrary, she will labor for such an adjustment of the existing troubles as will secure peace, rights, and equality to all the states.

Resolved, That the people of this state are devotedly attached to the institutions of our country, and earnestly desire that by a fair and amicable adjustment the present causes of disagreement may be removed, the Union perpetuated, and peace and harmony be restored between the South and North.

Resolved, That the people of this state deem the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by Mr. Crittenden, with the extending of the same to Territories hereafter to be acquired, a basis of adjustment which will successfully remove the causes of difference forever from the arena of national politics.

Resolved, That the people of Missouri believe that the peace and quiet of the country will be promoted by a Convention to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States; and that this Convention urges the Legislature of this state to take steps for calling such Convention.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the employment of military force by the federal government to coerce the seceding states, or the employment of force by the seceding states to assail the government of the United States, will inevitably plunge the country into civil war, and thereby extinguish all hope of an amicable settlement of the issues now pending.

We therefore earnestly entreat the federal government, as well as the seceding states, to stay the arm of military power, and on no pretense whatever bring upon the nation the horrors of civil war.

Resolved, That, when the Convention adjourns, it adjourn to meet at Jefferson City on the third Monday in December.

Resolved, That a committee be elected, a majority of which shall have power to convene the Convention at such time and place prior to the third Monday in December as the exigencies may require.



FORTIFICATIONS THROWN UP TO PROTECT THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.



A CORNER SCENE IN ST. LOUIS.

Yates, of Illinois, with a requisition from the Secretary of War for ten thousand muskets, he went to St. Louis. With the assistance of Captain Lyon, he managed to deceive a tumultuous mob which surrounded the arsenal by sending off a large quantity of worthless arms in such a manner as to attract attention. They were seized by the watchful multitude; and while these were triumphing in their success, Captain Stokes got on board a steamer not only the ten thousand muskets for which he came, but eleven thousand more, with five hundred rifle carbines, as many revolvers, one hundred and ten thousand cartridges, and some cannon and accoutrements, leaving only seven thousand muskets to arm the St. Louis volunteers. He steamed safely past a battery which the secessionists had erected near St. Louis, and, arriving at Alton, Illinois, sent his valuable prize to Springfield, in that state, thus executing the first successful and important enterprise for the preservation to the government of the material of war of which it was so much in need. Success generally begets success. The organization of the Home Guard went rapidly on, and soon there were five thousand armed and equipped in the vicinity of St. Louis, under the command of Colonels Francis P. Blair and Franz Sigel, the former a brother of President Lincoln's Postmaster General, the latter a German officer who had served with great distinction in the European troubles which had succeeded the French revolution of 1848. On the outskirts of St. Louis a camp of Governor Jackson's State Guards had been established, under the command of General Frost. Captain Lyon, knowing the object with which this encampment was formed, determined to break it up; and, in spite of a specious protest of loyalty on the part of General Frost, on the 10th of May he marched upon him at the head of the full commands of Colonels Blair and Sigel, with some pieces of artillery. The secessionists took the alarm and poured out after the troops, armed with whatever weapons they could seize; and even the townfolk went in crowds to witness the fight. The former were foiled by the military dispositions of Captain Lyon; they could not approach the camp which they would so gladly have re-enforced; and General Frost, finding himself surrounded by a force four or five times as great as his own, surrendered at discretion upon Captain Lyon's summons.² By this prompt movement a dangerous nucleus of rebellion was broken up, about seven hundred prisoners, inclusive of fifty officers, were taken, and a large quantity of small arms, artillery, and ammunition captured. In this camp, which its commanding officer, with the effrontery and duplicity which the partisans of the rebellion so constantly, and often so successfully, practised, had voluntarily declared by letter to Captain Lyon not hostile to the United States, it was found that the two main streets were named Davis and Beauregard; that a part of its occupants were in the rebel uniform; and that the command was in great

² Captain Lyon, U. S. A., to General Frost, Missouri State Guard.

Head-quarters United States Troops, St. Louis, May 10, 1861.

To General D. M. Frost:

Sir,—Your command is regarded as evidently hostile toward the government of the United States. It is, for the most part, made up of those secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the general government, and have been plotting at the seizure of its property and the overthrow of its authority. You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern confederacy, which is now at war with the United States, and you are receiving at your camp from the said confederacy, under its flag, large supplies of material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States. These extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other than the well known purpose of the governor of this state, under whose orders you are acting, and whose purpose, recently communicated to the Legislature, has just been responded to by that body in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities to the general government, and co-operating with the enemy. In view of these considerations, and your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and of the eminent necessity of state policy, and the welfare and obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand of you, an immediate surrender of your command, with no other conditions than that all persons surrendering under this demand shall be humanely and kindly treated. Believing myself prepared to enforce the demand, one half hour's time before doing so will be allowed for your compliance therewith.

N. LYON, Captain Second Infantry, commanding Troops.

measure armed with muskets seized by the Louisiana insurgents at Baton Rouge, and sent surreptitiously up the Mississippi!³ The prisoners having refused to take the oath of allegiance, the only condition proposed for their release, on the ground that they had already taken it, and that to take it again would be to admit that they had been in rebellion, were marched under guard to the arsenal. While they were on the way, preceded and followed by detachments of the Union troops, and shut in on either side by a single file, the front ranks of the guard were pressed upon by a tumultuous crowd, which, after insulting them with the most opprobrious epithets, proceeded to blows, and at last attacked them with stones and pistols. Several of the soldiers, without orders, fired into the crowd. Fortunately, or, as the issue proved, perhaps unfortunately, no person was injured, and the soldiers who had fired were immediately placed under arrest. Quiet and order were hardly restored when the tumult broke out afresh. Encouraged by their impunity, the mob renewed their attack, now in the rear, with stones and pistols. A captain ordered his company to fire, and twenty-five persons were killed or wounded. In a popular tumult, the innocent and the imprudent are always sure to suffer with the guilty, through no fault of those in authority. On this occasion a miscellaneous crowd, including even some women and children, had followed the troops, and it is sad to relate that those who fell were mostly citizens, who, however they might have sympathized with the purposes of the rioters, had not joined them in their attack. The rage of the secessionists, and the excitement of all the people, was tremendous; throughout the night St. Louis was heaving with suppressed tumult. On the following day a large body of the Home Guard, chiefly

Germans, marched into the city from the arsenal, where they had been armed and equipped. The streets were thronged with people, through which they passed for a time unmolested. But at length hooting and hissing began, and finally a revolver was fired from the crowd. A soldier fell dead in the ranks. Firing now began from the windows of the houses, when the leading company of the Germans—not exhibiting the steadiness and self-possession of the Massachusetts militia-men under like circumstances in Baltimore—wheeled and fired down the street with fatal effect. The consternation which ensued was overwhelming; but the fury with which it was accompanied was mitigated by the discovery that of the six persons who were killed four were soldiers. The Germans, in their bewilderment, had fired into their own ranks. The excitement caused by these bloody occurrences was not confined to St. Louis. The news flew rapidly to Jackson City, and stimulated the instant passage of a Military Bill, which before was languishing through the debates. By this bill a military fund was created for the purpose of arming and equipping the militia; and all the money in the treasury, or to be received during the current year, however it had been previously appropriated, was devoted to this purpose. Every able-bodied man in the state was made subject to military duty; and, most important provision of all, this large force was placed under the orders of the governor, and required to take an oath to obey him alone.

Meantime General Harney, an army officer of more experience and vigor than discretion, had been appointed to the command of the Department of the West. He arrived at St. Louis on the 11th, in the midst of the turmoil caused by the bloody scenes of the two previous days. He issued first a curt soldier's proclamation, informing the people that he should discharge his delicate duties with decision; that he had not the power of disbanding the Home Guards, but that he would gratify the prejudices of the Missourians by putting down riotous demonstrations with the soldiers of the regular army.⁴ On the 14th he issued another proclamation, in which he declared the Military Bill an indirect Secession Ordinance, which indeed it was, and pronounced it null and void. He pointed out to the Missourians that, whatever became of the people around the Gulf, their commonwealth must share the destiny of the republic, and that, if necessary, the whole power of the government would be used to enforce obedience to the "supreme law of the land," and to retain Missouri in the Union.⁵ General Harney soon found

³ General Harney's proclamation to the people of Missouri, May 14, 1861.

⁴ General Harney's Proclamation to the People of the State of Missouri and the City of St. Louis.

Military Department of the West, St. Louis, May 11, 1861.

I have just returned to this post, and have assumed the military command of this department. No one can more deeply regret the deplorable state of things existing here than myself. The past can not be recalled. I can only deal with the present and the future.

I most anxiously desire to discharge the delicate and onerous duties devolved upon me so as to preserve the public peace. I shall carefully abstain from the exercise of any unnecessary powers, and from all interference with the proper functions of the public officers of the state and city. I therefore call upon the public authorities and the people to aid me in preserving the public peace.

The military force stationed in this department by the authority of the government, and now under my command, will only be used in the last resort to preserve the peace. I trust I may be spared the necessity of resorting to martial law, but the public peace must be preserved, and the lives and property of the people protected. Upon a careful review of my instructions, I find I have no authority to change the location of the "Home Guards."

To avoid all cause of irritation and excitement, if called upon to aid the local authorities in preserving the public peace, I shall, in preference, make use of the regular army.

I ask the people to pursue their peaceful avocations, and to observe the laws and orders of their local authorities, and to abstain from the excitements of public meetings and heated discussions. My appeal, I trust, may not be in vain, and I pledge the faith of a soldier to the earnest discharge of my duty.

WILLIAM S. HARNEY, Brigadier General U. S. A., commanding Dep't.

General Harney's Second Proclamation.

Military Department of the West, St. Louis, May 14, 1861.

To the People of the State of Missouri:

On my return to the duties of the command of this department, I find, greatly to my astonishment and mortification, a most extraordinary state of things existing in this state, deeply affect-



VOLUNTEERS ATTACKED IN ST. LOUIS.

himself involved in negotiations with Sterling Price, a wary and persistent man, under whose command, as major general, Governor Jackson had placed the forces enlisted under the Military Bill. On the 20th of May General Price brought General Harney to an agreement, by which the former pledged the whole of the force under his command and the whole power of the state to the preservation of order, and the latter consented to make no farther military movement in the state. This specious compromise, which tied the hands of the government and left those of the secessionists free, and, what was of more importance, recognized in effect the right of the state to make terms with the nation as to the treatment of rebellious citizens resident in Missouri, met with no favor outside the pale of the rebellion and the boundaries of Missouri, and with much opposition within the latter. Whether it was thought at Washington that General Harney had been for the first time in his life too cautious in the discharge of his duty, or that he had been overreached, did not appear in the order which, ten days after this concession, relieved him from the command of the Department of the West, and placed it in the hands of Captain, now Brigadier General Lyon. Of Arkansas, hardly a border state, it is only necessary to say that, after once refusing by her Convention to secede, she at last was carried over, on the 6th of May, to her Southern neighbors.

From the spectacle of shaken or subverted loyalty in the border states,

ing the stability of the government of the United States, as well as the governmental and other interests of Missouri itself.

As a citizen of Missouri, owing allegiance to the United States, and having interests in common with you, I feel it my duty, as well as privilege, to extend a warning voice to my fellow-citizens against the common dangers that threaten us, and to appeal to your patriotism and sense of justice to exert all your moral power to avert them.

It is with regret that I feel it my duty to call your attention to the recent act of the General Assembly of Missouri, known as the Military Bill, which is the result, no doubt, of the temporary excitement that now pervades the public mind. This bill can not be regarded in any other light than an *indirect Secession Ordinance, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other states*. Manifestly its most material provisions are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. *To this extent it is a nullity, and can not and ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri.* There are obligations and duties resting upon the people of Missouri under the Constitution and laws of the United States which are paramount, and which I trust you will carefully consider and weigh well before you will allow yourselves to be carried out of the Union, under the form of yielding obedience to this Military Bill, which is clearly in violation of your duties as citizens of the United States.

It must be apparent to every one who has taken a proper and unbiased view of the subject, that, whatever may be the termination of the unfortunate condition of things in respect to the so-called "cotton states," *Missouri must share the destiny of the Union.* Her geographical position—her soil, productions, and, in short, all her material interests, point to this result. We can not shut our eyes against this controlling fact. It is seen, and its force is felt throughout the nation. So important is this regarded to the great interests of the country, that I venture to express the opinion that *the whole power of the government of the United States, if necessary, will be exerted to maintain Missouri in her present position in the Union.* I express to you, in all frankness and sincerity, my own deliberate convictions, without assuming to speak for the government of the United States, whose authority, here and elsewhere, I shall at all times and under all circumstances endeavor faithfully to uphold.

I desire, above all things, most earnestly to invite my fellow-citizens dispassionately to consider

I turn to one yet more unpropitious to the fortunes of the republic—the condition of Washington itself. That which should have been the moral strong-hold and citadel of the nation, was, by its position, the weakest, and, by its political affinities and its social condition, the most disaffected city outside of the seceded states—a place which the government had not only to protect, but to protect itself against. Among the many advantages gained by the slave states in the early days of the republic, not the least was the establishment of the seat of government on the banks of the Potomac. The Eastern and Middle States wished it to be placed on the Susquehanna; but they also much desired the passage of a bill by which the government should assume the debts of the several states contracted during and because of the War of Independence, and thus pay from the common fund an expense incurred for the common benefit. This the Southern States, the people of which owned very few of those debts, opposed. Two causes, of what proved to be a sharp contention, were removed by a compromise of these two interests. The Southern States agreed to the assumption of the debts; the Eastern and Middle States consented to the final establishment of the seat of government upon the Potomac. The price which the Southern States paid for this advantage was small in comparison with its value; for it contributed largely to the preservation of the preponderance which they soon obtained and always kept in the general government; and now that they sought to destroy the republic, and build up a great slaveholding

their true interests as well as their true relation to the government under which we live, and to which we owe so much.

In this connection, I desire to direct attention to one subject, which no doubt will be made the pretext for more or less popular excitement. I allude to the recent transactions at Camp Jackson, near St. Louis. It is not proper for me to comment upon the official conduct of my predecessor in command of this department, but it is right and proper for the people of Missouri to know that the main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of General Frost, had the name of Davis, and a principal street of the same camp that of Beauregard; and that a body of men had been received into that camp by its commander which had been notoriously organized in the interests of the secessionists, the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It is also a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp which were unlawfully taken from the United States Arsenal at Baton Rouge, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked marble.

Upon facts like these, and having in view what occurred at Liberty, the people can draw their own inferences, and it can not be difficult for any one to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the character and ultimate purpose of that encampment. No government in the world would be entitled to respect that would tolerate for a moment such openly treasonable preparations.

It is but simple justice, however, that I should state the fact that there were many good and loyal men in the camp, who were in no manner responsible for its treasonable character.

Disclaiming, as I do, all desire or intention to interfere in any way with the prerogatives of the State of Missouri, or with the functions of its executive or other authorities, yet I regard it as my plain path of duty to express to the people in respectful, but, at the same time, decided language, that, within the field and scope of my command and authority, the "supreme law" of the land must and shall be maintained, and no subterfuges, whether in the forms of legislative acts or otherwise, can be permitted to harass or oppress the good and law-abiding people of Missouri. I shall exert my authority to protect their persons and property from violations of every kind, and I shall deem it my duty to suppress all unlawful combinations of men, whether formed under pretext of military organizations or otherwise.

WILLIAM S. HARNEY, Brigadier General United States Army, Commanding.

oligarchy upon its ruins, they expected and they found in Washington a multitude of co-workers, none the less valuable because they were always secret and generally treacherous. Washington—being without commerce, without manufactures, not even the chief city of a commonwealth or the county town of an agricultural district, not dignified by institutions of science and literature, or graced by galleries of art or places of elegant amusement—was the mere political capital of the country, the place for the transaction of the business of the nation. Thus barren of the chief interests which fill the daily life of men in the highest civilization, surrounded by slave territory and being itself slave ground, it had small attractions and many discomforts for the residents of free states. Few of them sought it except at the call of political duty, or for some advantage to be obtained only through political influence; and those few only in search of recreation or to gratify curiosity during the sessions of Congress. The duty performed, the end attained of profit or of pleasure, the visitor from the North, weary of politics in public, politics in society, and slavery in both politics and society, gladly turned his face homeward toward tranquillity and freedom. But while the residents of the most populous, the wealthiest, and the most cultivated part of the republic were thus strangers, or at most sojourners in its capital, the slave states naturally furnished it nearly the whole of its permanent population. In the appointment of clerks and subordinate officers of the government, it came gradually to pass that places at Washington were mostly given to men from the slave states, and the departments there were filled by incumbents who had received their situations at the hands of the leaders in the insurrection. The Northern and Western States furnished comparatively few men who sought subordinate public employment, except as a temporary resort, or as a step to higher position; but the lack of incentive to honorable exertion in commerce or in manufactures, in arts or in letters, in the slave states, and the concentration of land and slaves in the hands of a few, had for inevitable consequence the production of a numerous class of needy, shiftless, but well-connected men, of a certain degree and kind of social culture, who were glad to settle down at the capital as the recipients of comfortable salaries, which, by the influence of the slave power, they were able to retain through the brief and rare periods during which that power was not absolutely in the ascendant. In Washington the tone of society was given entirely by men and women who had been born and bred under the shadow of slavery; and the bankers, the lawyers, and men of minor occupations, who, for the sake of business, made it their home, soon adopted, if they did not bring with them, a creed and a conduct without which gain was difficult and social enjoyment impossible. Thus even the annual influx of members of Congress from the North came to be regarded much as the Saracens looked upon the stream of unbelieving pilgrims to

Jerusalem—something to be endured while the visitors paid tribute and suffered indignity, but which was resented and resisted when made in force and with a claim to possession. The presence of a president, a vice-president, and a cabinet, neither of whom was a slaveholder or even a Democrat, and who owed their elevation to the avowed opponents of the slave interest, was regarded by the Washingtonians, and particularly by the placemen, with mingled disgust and apprehension. They had come to think that the capital of the nation belonged to them. They trembled alike for their social ascendancy and their salaries. They scorned the new men; they hated those who would replace them; they raged at the sight of abolitionists, and, worst of all, abolitionists in power. Many of the new-comers were rustic in appearance and in manners, and the city placemen felt, or affected to themselves to feel, as the Raubourg St. Germain really felt when the *bourgeoisie* entered *salons* without buckles in their shoes, and began to ask, By what right do you misgovern France? In only one direction was there hope for them, and they looked southward for deliverance. Their feelings were shared by the whole of the ruling faction of the slave states, of which, in fact, they were but representatives. The insurgents shrieked in type (a figure less violent would not express the truth) over what they pretended to regard as the desecration of Washington. In their copious but somewhat monotonous vocabulary of abuse—a vocabulary which hardly supported their continually asserted claims to superior refinement—they compared it, since the 4th of March, to a filthy cage of unclean birds, a wallow of swine, a festering sink of iniquity. They called the members of the new administration dogs and caitiffs, harpies who had come down to defile and brutalize the place; and they clamored frantically for the expulsion of the beast and the Illinois ape (these were the names which they gave to the President) from the desecrated city of Washington. Such was the cry that went up from the press in all quarters of what now in the North had received no worse name than "Secessia." The purpose of attacking Washington, and asserting the power of the insurgent government over all the country south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River, was undoubtedly entertained by the rebel leaders, but was necessarily abandoned on account of the dispositions of General Scott, the course of events in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and especially the tremendous and most unexpected uprising at the North. But still the government lived in constant apprehension. From the 19th (the day of the attack on the Massachusetts men in Baltimore) to the 25th of April, no communication from North or South was received at Washington, and the loyal and the disaffected alike suffered the torture of suspense. The public buildings were guarded, barricaded, and fortified. So lively was the apprehension of a sudden raid upon Washington by a force which, though not large enough to hold, might yet sack it, and carry off the archives

The Capture of Washington.—From the Richmond Examiner of April 23, 1861.

The capture of Washington City is perfectly within the power of Virginia and Maryland, if Virginia will only make the effort by her constituted authorities; nor is there a single moment to lose. The entire population pant for the onset; there never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal, upon any subject, that is now manifested to take Washington, and drive from it every Black Republican who is a dweller there.

From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington City at all and every human hazard. The filthy cage of unclean birds must and will assuredly be purified by fire. The people are determined upon it, and are clamorous for a leader to conduct them to the onslaught. That leader will assuredly arise, ay, and that right speedily.

It is not to be endured that this flight of abolition harpies shall come down from the black North for their roosts in the heart of the South, to defile and brutalize the land. They come as our enemies—they act as our most deadly foes—they promise us bloodshed and fire, and this is the only promise they have ever redeemed. The fanatical yell for the immediate subjugation of the whole South is going up hourly from the united voices of all the North; and for the purpose of making their work sure, they have determined to hold Washington City as the point from whence to carry on their brutal warfare.

Our people can take it—if they will take it—and Scott the arch-traitor, and Lincoln the beast, combined, can not prevent it. The just indignation of an outraged and deeply injured people will teach the Illinois ape to repeat his race and retrace his journey across the borders of the free negro

states still more rapidly than he came; and Scott, the traitor, will be given an opportunity at the same time to try the difference between "Scott's tactics" and the Shanghai drill for quick movements.

Great cleansing and purification are needed and will be given to that festering sink of iniquity, that wallow of Lincoln and Scott—the desecrated City of Washington, and many indeed will be the carcasses of dogs and caitiffs that will blacken the air upon the gallows before the great work is accomplished. So let it be.

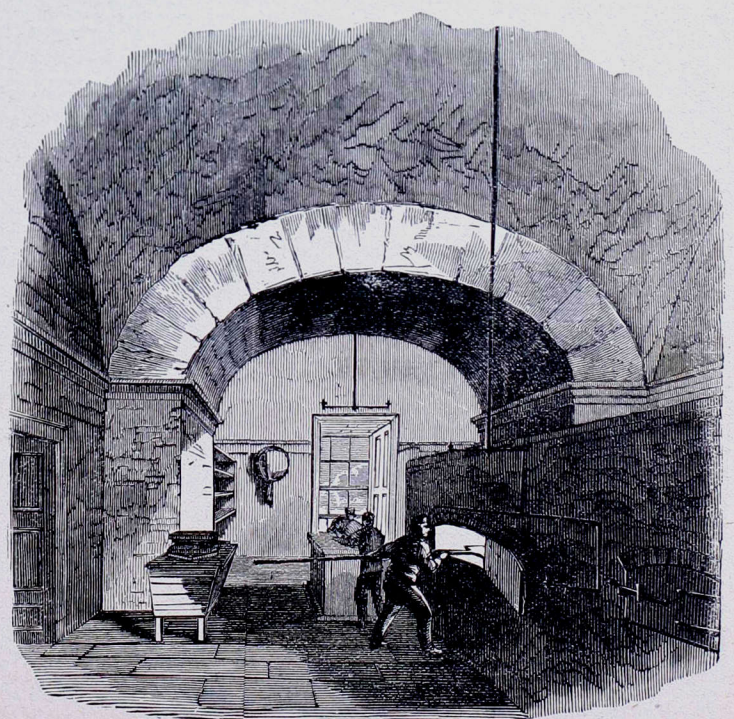
From the Richmond Whig of May 22, 1861.

We are not enough in the secrets of our authorities to specify the day on which Jeff. Davis will dine at the White House, and Ben. McCullough take his siesta in General Sickles's gilded tent. We should dislike to produce any disappointment by naming too soon or too early a day; but it will save trouble if the gentlemen will keep themselves in readiness to dislodge at a moment's notice! If they are not smitten, however, with more than judicial blindness, they do not need this warning at our hands. They must know that the measure of their iniquities is full, and the patience of outraged freedom is exhausted. Among all the brave men from the Rio Grande to the Potomac, and stretching over into insulted, indignant, and infuriated Maryland, there is but one word on every lip—"Washington;" and one sentiment on every heart—vengeance on the tyrants who pollute the capital of the republic!

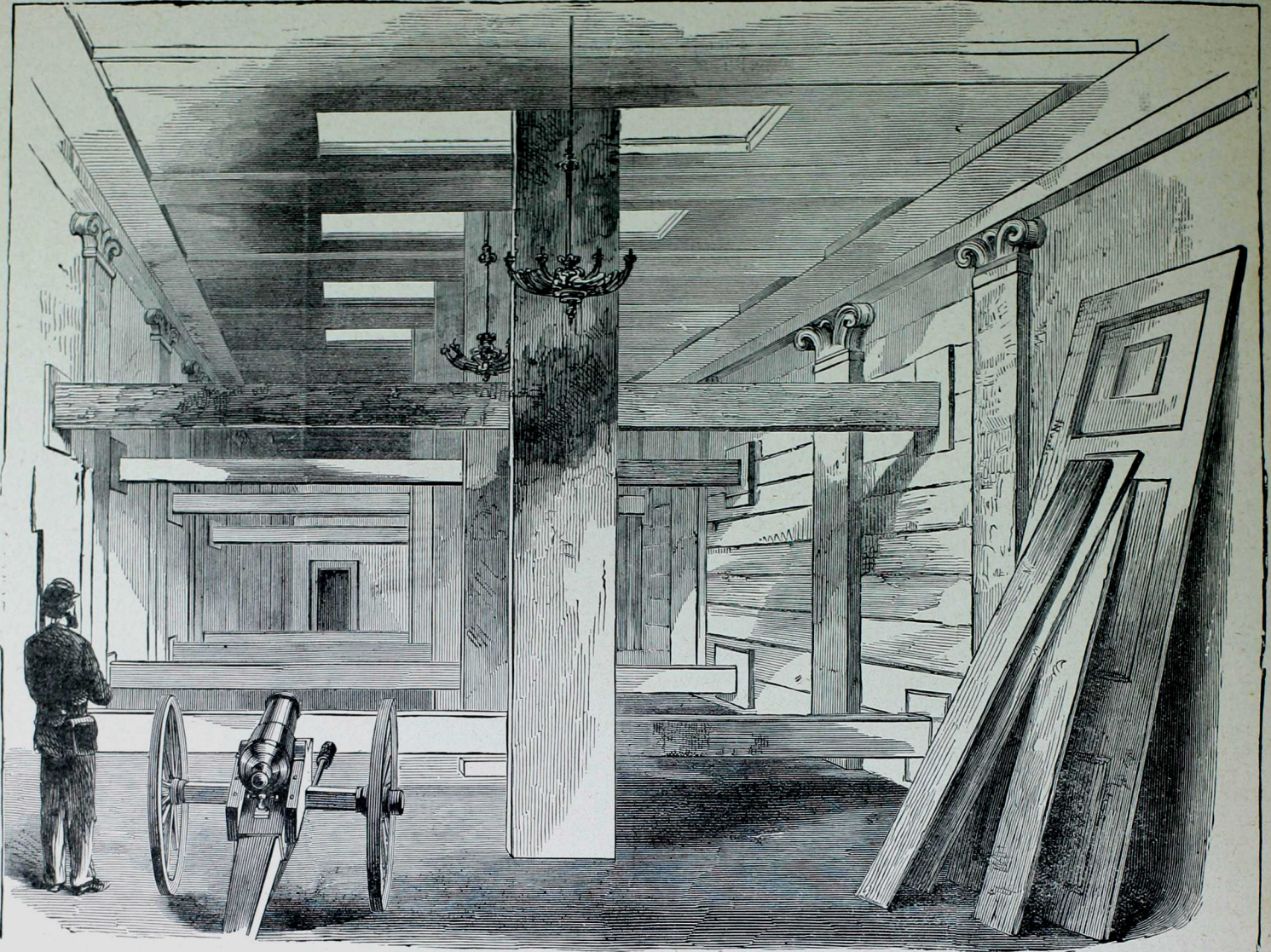
See, also, the *Richmond Enquirer*, the *New Orleans Picayune*, the *Enfaula (Ala.) Express*, the *Goldborough Tribune*, and the *Raleigh Standard*, and various other slave-state newspapers of the same period.



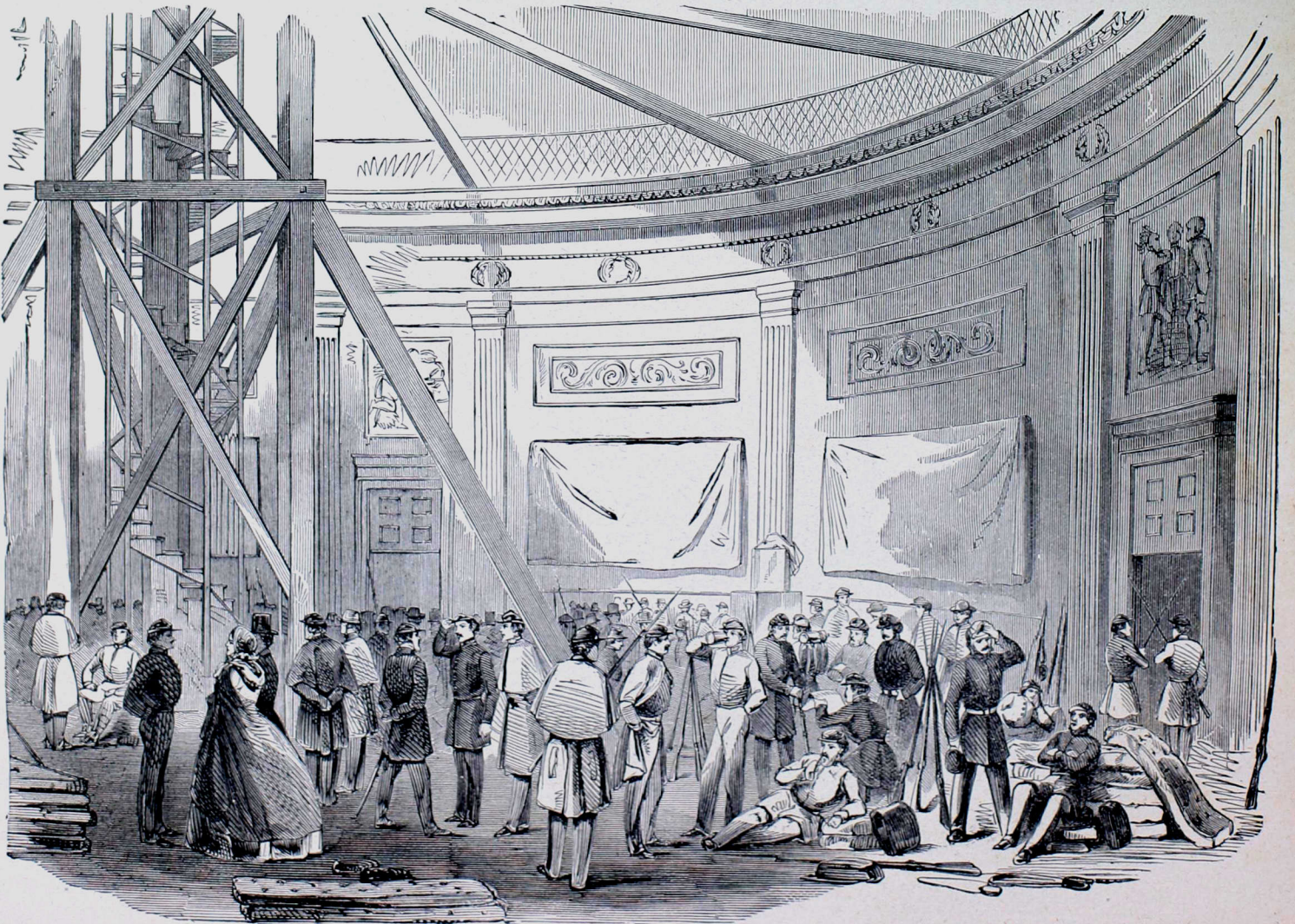
GALLERIES UNDER THE SENATE-CHAMBER



BREAD-OVENS UNDER THE CAPITOL



BARRICADE IN THE TREASURY BUILDING.



THE EIGHTH MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL.

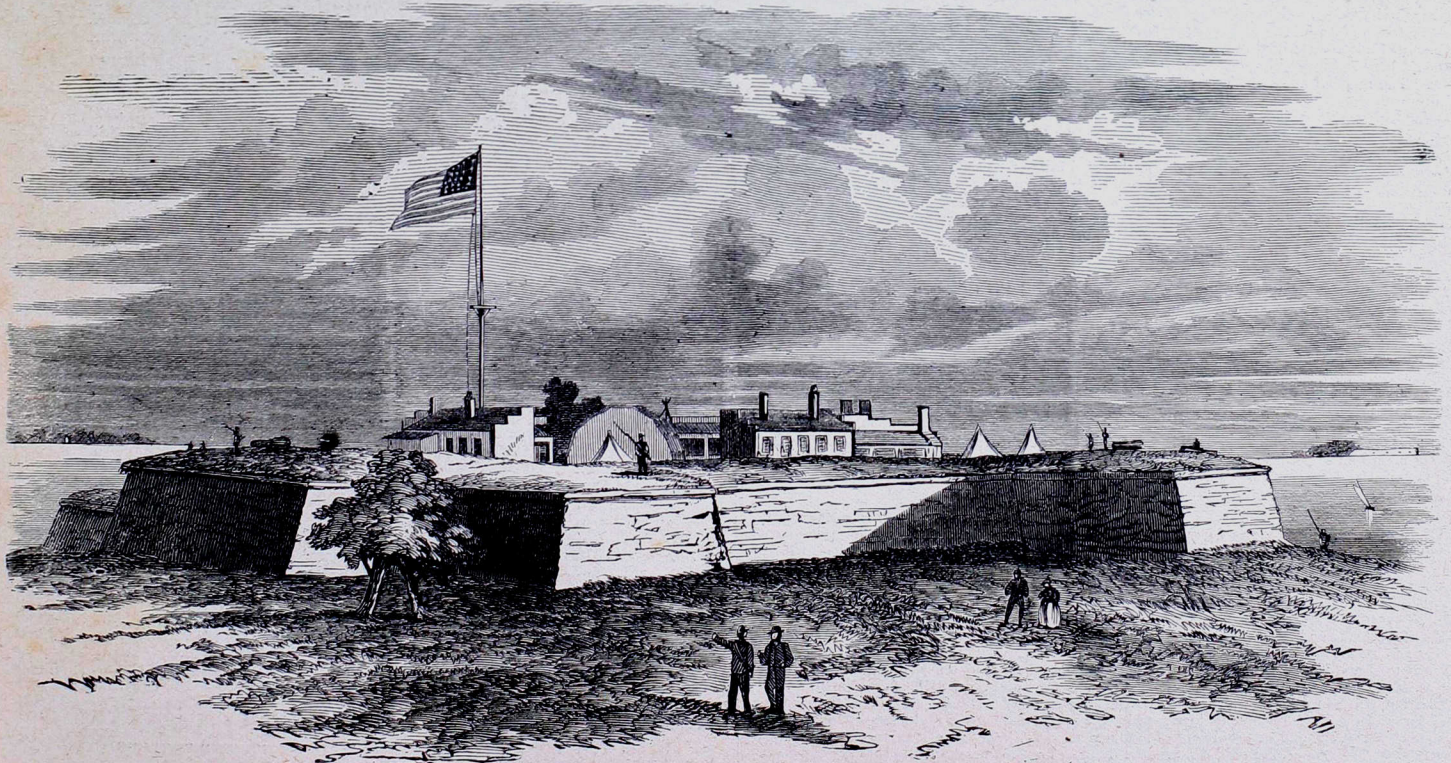
and the treasure of the nation, that the principal passage-ways of the Treasury and the Capitol were defended by howitzers, which raked their length, and by heavy planks, which, stretched across them at short intervals about the height of a man's knee from the floor, made a charge upon the gun impossible. The iron plates cast for the dome of the Capitol were set up as breast-works between its columns, where they were supported by barrels of cement and heaped-up stone and timber. The statuary and the pictures were protected by heavy planking; and the basement of the building was used as a kitchen. But, when the communication was established, and regiments began to pour in, the public buildings were given as quarters to the troops which came to defend them; the basement of the Capitol became first a store-house and then a bakery, and the very chambers of the Senate and the House were turned into barracks. As the hopes of the loyal rose, those of the rebellious fell; and the Washington secessionists, seeing their chances of open attack upon the government diminish, turned their thoughts and their endeavors to treachery. More disheartening and perplexing circumstances than those under which President Lincoln assumed the control of government can not well be imagined. Entirely without administrative experience himself, and arriving at Washington with a cabinet, no member of which had any practical knowledge of the routine of his department, or any official acquaintance with his subordinates, pursued by an army of office-seekers, whose claims demanded at least consideration, and whose pretensions were generally great in proportion as their capacities were small, he and his ministers were obliged to make themselves familiar with the practical condition of the machine of administration, and prepare it instantly for a kind of service to which, even under the most favorable conditions, it was not too well adapted. The new administration was dependent both for information and assistance upon the subordinate officers of the old, in which the very members of the cabinet itself had proved not only politically traitorous, but personally perfidious. Nor, had the case been otherwise, would it have been prudent to chill the ardor and alienate the interests of the Democratic party by a general removal of officers appointed under its auspices. Necessity and policy therefore dictated the retention of a large proportion of the force which had been left in possession of the public offices by the retiring president. Of these, the greater number had declared that they never would hold office under a "Black Republican" administration. But with placement the claims of personal interest are rarely waived in favor of abstract principles; and in this case, interest was seconded by the hope of serving the faction which sought the establishment of a new government in the old capital. The result was that spies swarmed not only in the city, but in the very departments. True, these men professed to be loyal, and had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States; but so had Secretaries Floyd, and Cobb, and Thompson, who betrayed the country while they formed a part of its government; so had Senator Yulee, who sat in the Senate-chamber, and wrote traitorous counsels to a brother-conspirator, while *he* and his yoke-fellows held their positions, that they might cast down the very power which they had sworn to support; so had the naval officers, whose voluntary assurances of patriotism and allegiance beguiled Commodore M'Cauley into the security which cost the country the Portsmouth Navy Yard; so had General Frost, who, from a camp flaunting the names and penetrated with the spirit of Davis and Beauregard, and defended by arms torn by the insurgents from a national arsenal, sent like, though not like trusted, assurances to Captain Lyon at St. Louis. To most of the men who had undertaken the destruction of the republic in the interests of slavery, no oath seemed binding, no obligation sacred; and so the new administration was surrounded with spies and traitors in the very capital. It knew not whom to trust. It could

not ask a question without fearing the revelation of its needs; it could not give an order or send a dispatch without risking the betrayal of its intentions. These apprehensions were fully justified; not only in these early days of the rebellion, but throughout the war, the enemies of the government received early information of its purposes. And the emissaries of the insurgents not only thus filled Washington: as I have before remarked, they pervaded the whole country. While from the states subject to the confederated government, men from the loyal states, and even Union men born on the soil, were mercilessly expelled by those in authority, when they were not hanged or shot by whomever chose to hang or shoot, at the North citizens of all parts of the republic lived as usual, undisturbed and unquestioned, and some time had passed before men who were known to be actively engaged in treasonable practices were arrested. Thus surrounded, thus mainly filled with a hostile population, with the very offices of the government swarming with spies, Washington, which its position upon the very southernmost border of doubtful loyalty would, in any case, have subjected to great and peculiar danger, became a city at once beleaguered and betrayed; and in fact, though not in name, the nation's capital was in the enemy's country. If it could have been immediately abandoned without loss of moral power and position before the world, the benefit to the country would have been great and instant; could its archives have been safely deposited elsewhere, its destruction would have saved enough treasure to rebuild it thrice in marble.

To the knowledge that agents and active sympathizers of the rebellion were spread over the land, that their communication was constant with their fellow-laborers in Washington, and to the rapidly developed fact that the rebellion was no sudden outbreak, but the result of a long-concerted scheme, is to be attributed an arbitrary order, by virtue of which officers of the government seized copies of telegraphic dispatches kept on file at the principal offices. The seizure was made simultaneously throughout the country, at 3 P.M. on the 20th of April; and it included all the dispatches which had been sent for a year. Those which betrayed purposes hostile to the government, or which related to supplies of arms purchased for the Southern rebels, were selected and sent to the capital. This measure, unwarranted by written law, was justified in the eyes of the people by the necessities of the situation. It furnished the government much valuable information; it limited somewhat the freedom of action of the rebel emissaries; and the only excitement which it caused was manifested among those who showed their loyalty by the earnestness with which they insisted that the rebels should have the full benefit of the Constitution which they had set at naught. About the same date citizens in various parts of the country were arrested simply in virtue of a Secretary of State's warrant, without process of law, and confined in Fort M'Henry at Baltimore, Fort Lafayette at New York, or Fort Warren at Boston. On the issuing of writs of *habeas corpus* on behalf of the persons thus imprisoned, the officers in command of those posts refused to produce their prisoners, by the order of the President: but a spirited officer, Major Morris, of the Artillery, in command at Fort M'Henry, had first assumed the responsibility of refusing obedience to the writ.⁷ That the Constitution warranted the suspension of the writ of *habeas*

Major Morris's Letter to Judge Giles, at Baltimore.

⁷ At the date of issuing your writ, and for two weeks previous, the city in which you live and where your court has been held was entirely under the control of revolutionary authorities. Within that period United States soldiers, while committing no offense, had been perfidiously attacked and inhumanly murdered in your streets; no punishment had been awarded, and I believe no arrests had been made for these atrocious crimes; supplies of provisions intended for this garrison had been stopped; the intention to capture this fort had been boldly proclaimed; your most public thoroughfares were daily patrolled by large numbers of troops armed and clothed, at least in part, with articles stolen from the United States; and the federal flag, while waving over the federal offices, was cut down by some person wearing the uniform of a Maryland soldier. To add to the fore-



FORT M'HENRY.

corpus in time of rebellion the people well knew; and as there was doubt only whether the power to do so was vested in the President or in Congress, this important step also was taken with general acquiescence. But Chief Justice Taney, of the Supreme Court, in a case brought before him, denied the right of the President to suspend the privilege of habeas corpus, or to authorize its suspension by any military officer.⁸ Against bayonets and cannon, however, supported by public opinion, the mandates even of a chief justice of the Supreme Court were powerless. The arrests went on; and the writ, having been several times disregarded, soon ceased to be issued.

Although neither the government nor the loyal people of the Union yet suspected how well matured were the plans and how fixed were the purposes of the insurgent leaders, the President now saw—what, indeed, no man of sense could fail to see—that, to cope successfully with the forces which the power at Montgomery had brought or was about to bring into the field, a larger levy was necessary than he had made, and that a longer and severer contest was impending than he had anticipated at the date of his first proclamation. He therefore, on the 3d of May, issued another, by which he called into service forty-two thousand volunteers for three years, directed the increase of the regular army by twenty-two thousand seven hundred men, and added eighteen thousand seamen to the navy.⁹ The first proclamation called the state militia into service, and for only three months—the limit of the period for which their services could be so required; but the volunteers were to take service for three years. Such was the enthusiasm of the loyal people, and such their readiness to do battle for the republic, that volunteers poured in more rapidly than they could be organized, and it was at once apparent that within a few weeks the government would have at its disposal a body of one hundred and forty thousand men. The unanimity of the people of the free states seemed absolute; their patriotism, boundless in its self-sacrifice. Of money as well as men, more was offered than could at first be used, and more than in the raw judgment of a peace-bred people seemed to be required. The men who staid at home thought it their duty to provide in every way for the comfort of those who went into the army. Bounties were large; and the families of the volunteers were placed beyond the reach of suffering. Before the 7th of May, more than twenty-three millions of dollars had been contributed for these patriotic purposes.¹⁰

going, an assemblage elected in defiance of law, but claiming to be the legislative body of your state, and so recognized by the executive of Maryland, was debating the federal compact. If all this be not rebellion, I know not what to call it. I certainly regard it as sufficient legal cause for suspending the writ of habeas corpus. Besides, there were certain grounds of expediency on which I declined obeying your mandate.

1st. The writ of habeas corpus in the hands of an unfriendly power might depopulate this fortification, and place it at the mercy of "a Baltimore mob" in much less time than it could be done by all the appliances of modern warfare.

2d. The ferocious spirit exhibited by your community toward the United States Army would render me very averse from appearing publicly and unprotected in the city of Baltimore to defend the interests of the body to which I belong. A few days since a soldier of this command, while outside the walls, was attacked by a fiend or fiends in human shape, almost deprived of life, and left unprotected about half a mile from garrison. He was found in this situation and brought in, covered with blood. One of your evening prints was quite jocose over this laughable occurrence.

And now, sir, permit me to say, in conclusion, that no one can regret more than I this conflict between the civil and military authorities. If, in an experience of thirty-three years, you have never before known the writ of habeas corpus to be disobeyed, it is only because such a contingency in political affairs as the present has never before arisen. I claim to be a loyal citizen, and I hope my former conduct, both official and private, will justify this pretension.

In any condition of affairs except that of civil war I would cheerfully obey your order, and as soon as the present excitement shall pass away I will hold myself ready not only to produce the soldier, but also to appear in person to answer for my conduct; but, in the existing state of sentiment in the city of Baltimore, I think it your duty to sustain the federal military and to strengthen their hands, instead of endeavoring to strike them down. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. W. MORRIS,

Major Fourth United States Artillery, commanding Fort M-Henry.

May 14.

The Merryman Habeas Corpus.

In the case of John Merryman, a secessionist arrested in Baltimore and detained a prisoner in Fort M-Henry, a writ of habeas corpus was issued by Judge Taney, made returnable in the United States District Court. General Cadwallader declined surrendering the prisoner till he heard from Washington, and an attachment was issued for General Cadwallader.

General Cadwallader having declined acceding to the demand for the body of Merryman until he could hear from Washington, a writ of attachment was issued against him for contempt of court. The marshal reported that, on going to Fort M-Henry to serve the writ, he was refused admittance.

Chief Justice Taney then read the following statement:

"I considered the attachment yesterday, because upon the face of the return the detention of the prisoner was unlawful, upon two grounds:

"First. The President, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, can not suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, nor authorize any military officer to do so.

"Second. A military officer has no right to arrest and detain a person, nor subject him to the Rules and Articles of War for an offense against the laws of the United States, except in aid of the judicial authority, and subject to its control; and if the party is arrested by the military, it is the duty of the officer to deliver him over immediately to the civil authority, to be dealt with according to law.

"I forbore yesterday to state orally the provisions of the Constitution of the United States which make these principles the fundamental law of the Union, because an oral statement might be misunderstood in some portions of it, and I shall therefore put my opinion in writing, and file it in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court in the course of this week."

The judge added that the military authority was always subordinate to civil; that, under ordinary circumstances, it would be the duty of the marshal to proceed with posse comitatus and bring the party named in the writ into court; but, from the notoriously superior force that he would encounter, this would be impossible. He said the marshal had done all in his power to discharge his duty.

During the week he should prepare his opinion in the premises, and forward it to the President, calling upon him to perform his constitutional duty, and see that the laws be faithfully executed, and enforce the decrees of this court.

A Proclamation by the President of the United States.

Washington, Friday, May 3, 1861.

Whereas, existing exigencies demand immediate and adequate measures for the protection of the national Constitution and the preservation of the national Union by the suppression of the insurrectionary combinations now existing in several states for opposing the laws of the Union and obstructing the execution thereof, to which end a military force, in addition to that called forth by my proclamation of the fifteenth day of April in the present year, appears to be indispensably necessary; now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, and of the militia of the several states when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers, to serve for a period of three years, unless sooner discharged, and to be mustered into service as infantry and cavalry. The proportions of each arm, and the details of enrollment and organization, will be made known through the Department of War; and I also direct that the regular army of the United States be increased by the addition of eight regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one regiment of artillery, making altogether a maximum aggregate increase of 22,714 officers and enlisted men, the details of which increase will also be made known through the Department of War; and I further direct the enlistment, for not less than one nor

This devotion to the national cause was not manifested only by the men who would be obliged to do the fighting, or to pay the expenses as well as to bear the losses of a war. The clergy and the women threw themselves with all their souls into the enthusiasm of the hour. The former preached patriotism, and taught their people, in the pulpit as well as out of it, the lesson of self-devotion which they were so ready to learn, and showed them support in the Scriptures for the cause which they were so anxious to sustain. The latter began to make lint and bandages, and garments needful for the sick; they offered themselves as nurses, each one seeing herself the consoler and the savior of at least one defender of his country, the recipient of his gallantry and his gratitude; and they demanded, with sweet clamor, the immediate defeat of General Beauregard and the speedy arrest of Mr. Jefferson Davis. Their simple enthusiasm and their unreasonable expectations, in which they were not very far in advance of the cooler and more calculating patriots of the sterner sex, should not diminish one jot the credit which is due to their devotion. No demonstration could have been more whole-hearted, more encouraging, or more serviceable. In the seceded states, however, exactly the same devotion was exhibited; but its spirit was intensified and all its features heightened. There rebellion raved both in church and parlor: it inspired the prayer at the altar; it was heard in the song by the cradle. The very consecrated cup of the communion-table seemed to be drunk by men as a pledge of undying hostility; and if the sweet nourishment of infants was not curdled by the gall of bitter hatred, it was because the fair and kindred sources whence it should have flowed were closed by the dictates of an unnatural fashion, and that to servile arms and swarthy breasts was committed the tenderest office of maternity. There women not only sighed for the defeat of the armies and the destruction of the government of the republic; they longed for Mr. Lincoln's teeth, and ears, and limbs.¹ The inferior clergy, not content with preaching sedition at home or in the camp, exchanged the sword of the Spirit for the bowie-knife of the flesh; and bishops, rivaling the mail-clad abbots of the Dark Ages, put off the mitre and the lawn for the cocked hat and the epaulettes, and, casting aside the crosier, went out in arms as God's ministers charged with seeing that the curse was well visited upon Canaan. Although these demonstrations did much to heighten the enthusiasm of both sides, they were of little real significance on either. It can not be reasonably denied that if the clergy and the women had with like unanimity and earnestness opposed the action of

more than three years, of 18,000 seamen, in addition to the present force, for the naval service of the United States. The details of the enlistment and organization will be made known through the Department of the Navy. The call for volunteers hereby made, and the direction of the increase of the regular army, and for the enlistment of seamen hereby given, together with the plan of organization adopted for the volunteers and for the regular forces hereby authorized, will be submitted to Congress as soon as assembled.

In the mean time, I earnestly invoke the co-operation of all good citizens in the measures hereby adopted for the effectual suppression of unlawful violence, for the impartial enforcement of constitutional laws, and for the speediest possible restoration of peace and order, and with those of happiness and prosperity throughout our country.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

By the President.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Patriotic Contributions to May 7, 1861.

Table with 4 columns: Location, Amount, Location, Amount. Lists contributions from various states and cities, totaling \$23,277,000.

¹ Mr. William H. Russell's *Diary North and South*.

the North or of the South, much would have been effected toward the triumph of the opposing party; but so monstrous a condition of society as such a course would have revealed is unheard of in the annals of any nation. The occasions are of extremest rarity, if not altogether wanting, on which the clergy have withheld their blessings and their prayers from the cause of the people who honored their office and furnished their living, or women refused to bestow their cares and their smiles upon the men who were, or might hope to be, their husbands. This is right; it is inevitable. Especially is it woman's function to give to those she loves her sympathy and her support in time of trial. She will not, she can not question of the cause. Did she do so, mankind, divided against itself, would cease to be. Regardless of the nature of the issue, she fights, with weak, resistless weapons, her child's, her husband's, lover's battle. It is theirs, and that makes it hers. The wife of an Italian bandit or a Highland robber acts in this respect upon the same heaven-implanted impulse that filled the bosom of a Roman matron. It was

Message of Jefferson Davis, April 29, 1861.

Gentlemen of Congress:—It is my pleasing duty to announce to you that the Constitution framed for the establishment of a permanent government of the Confederate States of America has been ratified by the several conventions of each of those states which were referred to to inaugurate the said government in its full proportions and upon its own substantial basis of the popular will. It only remains that elections should be held for the designation of the officers to administer it. There is every reason to believe that at no distant day other states, identical in political principles and community of interests with those which you represent, will join this confederacy, giving to its typical constellation increased splendor; to its government of free, equal, and sovereign states a wider sphere of usefulness; and to the friends of constitutional liberty a greater security for its harmonious and perpetual existence.

It was not, however, for the purpose of making this announcement that I have deemed it my duty to convoke you at an earlier day than that fixed by yourselves for your meeting. The declaration of war made against this confederacy by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in his proclamation, issued on the 15th day of the present month, renders it necessary, in my judgment, that you should convene at the earliest practicable moment to devise the measures necessary for the defense of the country. The occasion is, indeed, an extraordinary one. It justifies me in giving a brief review of the relations heretofore existing between us and the states which now unite in warfare against us, and a succinct statement of the events which have resulted, to the end that mankind may pass intelligent and impartial judgment on our motives and objects.

During the war waged against Great Britain by her colonies on this continent, a common danger impelled them to a close alliance, and to the formation of a confederation by the terms of which the colonies, styling themselves states, entered severally into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever. In order to guard against any misconception of their compact, the several states made an explicit declaration in a distinct article, that each state retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power of jurisdiction and right which is not by this said confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled under this contract of alliance.

The war of the Revolution was successfully waged, and resulted in the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, by the terms of which the several states were each by name recognized to be independent. The Articles of Confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislatures of every state after being agreed to by the Congress; and in obedience to this provision, under the resolution of Congress of the 21st of February, 1787, the several states appointed delegates for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the states, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government and the preservation of the Union.

It was by the delegates chosen by the several states under the resolution just quoted that the Constitution of the United States was formed in 1787, and submitted to the several states for ratification, as shown by the seventh article, which is in these words: "The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same."

I have italicized certain words in the resolutions just made for the purpose of attracting attention to the singular and marked caution with which the states endeavored in every possible form to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each state was merged into one common government or nation; and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact between independent states—the Constitution of 1787, however, admitting the clause already recited from the Articles of Confederation, which provided in explicit terms that each state reclaimed its sovereignty and independence.

Some alarm was felt in the states, when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principles, and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution placing beyond any pretense of doubt the reservation by the states of their sovereign rights and powers not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange, indeed, must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the government is set above and over the states; an organization created by the states, to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against foreign aggression, has been gradually perverted into a machine for their control in their domestic affairs. The creature has been exalted above its creator—the principals have been made subordinate to the agent appointed by themselves.

The people of the Northern States, whose almost exclusive occupation was agriculture, early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render a common government subservient to their own purposes by imposing burdens on commerce as protection to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful, to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other, and the danger of disruption arising from this cause was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing, by emigration and other causes, more than the population of the South. By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the national Congress, self-interest taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as majority to govern the minority. Without control, they learn to listen with impatience to the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will; and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind, that in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts a maxim which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires, in all cases, that the majority shall govern. And in another memorable instance the same chief magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between states and the United States to those which exist between the county and the state in which it is situated, and by which it was created. This is the lamentable and fundamental error in which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long-continued and deep-seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interests of such transcendent magnitude as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union that its permanence was impossible.

When the several states delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population were imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the fifteen states, negro slavery existed, and the right of property existing in slaves was protected by law; this property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by foreign importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave-trade anterior to a certain date, and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress to authorize it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment, or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave labor, while the reverse being the case at the South, made unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections unfriendly. The Northern States consulted their own interests by selling their slaves to the South and prohibiting slavery between their limits. The South were willing purchasers of property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition, without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were not only in want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States, that prohibited African-slavery within their limits,

not patriotism alone that fired the heart of the bereaved Maid of Saragossa, and nerved the arm of Charlotte Corday; nor was it against the cause of the men of France that the world saw lifted the bloodless sword of the fanatic of Orleans, that noble monster of a heroism female though not womanly. And thus throughout the land women, as ever, proved true women, and loyal men and rebels both found cheer and comfort.

The attitude of the government, and the spirit and unanimity of the people of the free states, astonished and alarmed, though it did not intimidate, the insurgent slaveholders. Mr. Davis hastily summoned a congress of the confederated states, and the delegates met at Montgomery on the 29th of April. His message upon the occasion is one of the most important and significant documents of the time, and one which, perhaps, more than any other, exercised a forming influence upon public opinion abroad.² To this lat-

had reached a number sufficient to give their representation a controlling vote in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated and gradually extended. A series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves. Fanatical organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting among the slaves a spirit of discontent and revolt. Means were furnished for their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to abscond. The constitutional provision for their rendition to their owners was first evaded, then openly denounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty. Men were taught that it was a merit to elude, disobey, and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the performance of the promise contained in the constitutional compact. Often owners of slaves were mobbed and even murdered in open day solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave.

The dogmas of the voluntary organization soon obtained control of the Legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed for the punishment, by ruinous fines, and long-continued imprisonment in jails and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare ask of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property. Emboldened by success, on the theatre of agitation and aggression, against the clearly expressed constitutional rights of the Congress, senators and representatives were sent to the common councils of the nation, whose chief title to this distinction consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was not to promote the general welfare or insure domestic tranquillity, but to awaken the bitterest hatred against the citizens of sister states by violent denunciations of their institutions.

The transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those states which held slaves to a condition of inferiority.

Finally, a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave states from all participation in the benefits of the public domain acquired by all the states in common, whether by conquest or purchase, surrounded them entirely by states in which slavery should be prohibited, thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating in effect property worth thousands of millions of dollars. This party, thus organized, succeeded in the month of November last in the election of its candidate for the presidency of the United States.

In the mean time, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care for the well-being and comfort of the laboring classes, dictated alike by interest and humanity, the African slaves had augmented in number from about six hundred thousand, at the date of the adoption of the constitutional compact, to upward of four millions. In a moral and social condition they had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful religious instruction, under the supervision of a superior race. Their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their own condition, but to convert hundreds of thousands of square miles of the wilderness into cultivated lands covered with a prosperous people. Towns and cities had sprung into existence, and it rapidly increased in wealth and population under the social system of the South. The white population of the Southern slaveholding states had augmented from about 1,250,000, at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000 in 1860, and the productions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, for the full development and continuance of which the labor of African slaves was and is indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three fourths of the export of the whole United States, and had become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperiled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avoid the dangers with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the several states invited the people to select delegates to conventions to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best to be adopted to meet so alarming a crisis in their history.

Here it may be proper to observe that, from a period as early as 1798, there had existed in all of the states of the Union a party almost uninterruptedly in the majority, based upon the creed that each state was, in the last resort, the sole judge as well of its wrongs as of the mode and measures of redress. Indeed, it is obvious that under the law of nations this principle is an axiom as applied to the relations of independent sovereign states, such as those which had united themselves under the constitutional compact.

The Democratic party of the United States repeated, in its successful canvass in 1836, the deduction made in numerous previous political contests, that it would faithfully abide by, and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Legislatures of 1799, and that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed.

The principles thus emphatically announced embrace that to which I have already adverted—the right of each state to judge of and redress the wrongs of which it complains. Their principles were maintained by overwhelming majorities of the people of all the states of the Union at different elections, especially in the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1805, Mr. Madison in 1809, and Mr. Pierce in 1852. In the exercise of a right so ancient, so well established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate States in their conventions determined that the wrongs which they had suffered, and the evils with which they were menaced, required that they should revoke the delegation of powers to the federal government which they had ratified in their several conventions. They consequently passed ordinances resuming all their rights as sovereign and independent states, and dissolved their connection with the other states of the Union. Having done this, they proceeded to form a new compact among themselves by new Articles of Confederation, which have been also ratified by conventions of the several states, with an approach to unanimity far exceeding that of the conventions which adopted the Constitutions of 1787. They have organized their new government in all its departments. The functions of the executive, legislative, and judicial magistrates are performed in accordance with the will of the people, as displayed not merely in a cheerful acquiescence, but in the enthusiastic support of the government thus established by themselves; and but for the interference of the government of the United States, this legitimate exercise of a people to self-government has been manifested in every possible form.

Scarce had you assembled in February last, when, prior even to the inauguration of the chief magistrate you had elected, you expressed your desire for the appointment of commissioners, and for the settlement of all questions of disagreement between the two governments upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith.

It was my pleasure as well as my duty to co-operate with you in this work of peace. Indeed, in my address to you on taking the oath of office, and before receiving from you the communication of this resolution, I had said that "as a necessity, not as a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separating, 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 to peaceably pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will then have been fulfilled."

It was in furtherance of these accordant views of the Congress and the executive that I made choice of three discreet, able, and distinguished citizens, who repaired to Washington. Aided by their cordial co-operation and that of the Secretary of State, every effort compatible with self-respect and the dignity of the confederacy was exhausted before I allowed myself to yield to the conviction that the government of the United States was determined to attempt the conquest of this people, and that our cherished hopes of peace were unobtainable.

On the arrival of our commissioners in Washington on the 5th of March, they postponed, at the suggestion of a friendly mediator, doing more than giving informal notice of their arrival. This was done with a view to afford time to the President of the United States, who had just been inaugurated, for the discharge of other pressing official duties in the organization of his administration, before engaging his attention in the object of their mission. It was not until the 12th of the month that they officially addressed the Secretary of State, informing him of the purpose of

ter end, indeed, it was, like all the more important state papers of the insurgent leader, in a great measure directed, for he had no little skill in the lower arts of state-craft. He could mask an utterly selfish purpose behind a seeming magnanimity; pervert the truth with an air of frank simplicity; throw a veil of courtesy over the most arrogant assumption; and with a certain dignity of manner (sometimes too consciously assumed), and a pretense of wide philanthropy, appeal without a blush to those baser motives which

their arrival, and stating, in the language of their instructions, their wish 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 desired a peaceful solution of these great questions; that it was neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded on the strictest principles of justice, nor to do any act to injure their late confederates.

To this communication no formal reply was received until the 8th of April. During the interval, the commissioners had consented to waive all questions of form, with the firm resolve to avoid war if possible. They went so far even as to hold, during that long period, unofficial intercourse through an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success, and through whom constant assurances were received from the government of the United States of its peaceful intentions—of its determination to evacuate Fort Sumter; and farther, that no measure would be introduced changing the existing status prejudicial to the Confederate States; that in the event of any change in regard to Fort Pickens, notice would be given to the commissioners. The crooked path of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candor, and directness, as was the course of the United States government toward our commissioners in Washington. For proof of this, I refer to the annexed documents, taken in connection with farther facts which I now proceed to relate.

Early in April the attention of the whole country was attracted to extraordinary preparations for an extensive military and naval expedition in New York and other Northern ports. These preparations commenced in secrecy, for an expedition whose destination was concealed, and only became known when nearly completed; and on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April, transports and vessels of war, with troops, munitions, and military supplies, sailed from Northern ports bound southward.

Alarmed by so extraordinary a demonstration, the commissioners requested the delivery of an answer to their official communication of the 12th of March, and the reply dated on the 15th of the previous month, from which it appears that during the whole interval, while the commissioners were receiving assurances calculated to inspire hope of the success of their mission, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had already determined to hold no intercourse with them whatever—to refuse even to listen to any proposals they had to make, and had profited by the delay created by their own assurances in order to prepare secretly the means for effective hostile operations. That these assurances were given has been virtually confessed by the government of the United States, by its act of sending a messenger to Charleston to give notice of its purpose to use force if opposed in its intention of supplying Fort Sumter. No more striking proof of the absence of good faith in the confidence of the government of the United States toward the confederacy can be required than is contained in the circumstances which accompanied this notice.

According to the usual course of navigation, the vessels composing the expedition, and designed for the relief of Fort Sumter, might be looked for in Charleston Harbor on the 9th of April. Yet our commissioners in Washington were detained under assurances that notice should be given of any military movement. The notice was not addressed to them, but a messenger was sent to Charleston to give notice to the Governor of South Carolina, and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th of April, the eve of the very day on which the fleet might be expected to arrive. That this manoeuvre failed in its purpose was not the fault of those who controlled it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the expedition, and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston to ask and receive instructions of the government. Even then, under all the provocation incident to the contemptuous refusal to listen to our commissioners, and the treacherous course of the government of the United States, I was sincerely anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, and directed a proposal to be made to the commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed himself to be nearly out of provisions, that we would abstain from directing our fire on Fort Sumter if he would promise to not open fire on our forces unless first attacked. This proposal was refused. The conclusion was, that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fort and the fleet. The fort should, of course, be at once reduced. This order was executed by General Beauregard with skill and success, which were naturally to be expected from the well-known character of that gallant officer; and, although the bombardment lasted some thirty-three hours, our flag did not waver over the battered walls until after the appearance of the hostile fleet off Charleston. Fortunately, not a life was lost on our side, and we were gratified in being prepared. The necessity of a useless effusion of blood by the prudent caution of the officers who commanded the fleet, in abstaining from the evidently futile effort to enter the harbor for the relief of Major Anderson, was spared. I refer to the report of the Secretary of War, and the papers accompanying it, for farther particulars of this brilliant affair.

In this connection I can not refrain from a well-deserved tribute to the noble state, the eminent soldierly qualities of whose people were conspicuously displayed. The people of Charleston for months had been irritated by the spectacle of a fortress held within their principal harbor as a standing menace against their peace and independence—built in part with their own money—its custody confided with their long consent to an agent who held no power over them other than such as they had themselves delegated for their own benefit, intended to be used by that agent for their own protection against foreign attack. How it was held out with persistent tenacity as a means of offense against them by the very government which they had established for their own protection, is well known. They had beleaguered it for months, and felt entire confidence in their power to capture it, yet yielded to the requirements of discipline, curbed their impatience, submitted without complaint to the unaccustomed hardships, labors, and privations of a protracted siege, and when at length their patience was relieved by the signal for attack, and success had crowned their steady and gallant conduct, even in the very moment of triumph they evinced a chivalrous regard for the feelings of the brave but unfortunate officer who had been compelled to lower his flag. All manifestations or exultations were checked in his presence. Their commanding general, with their cordial approval and the consent of his government, refrained from imposing any terms that would wound the sensibility of the commander of the fort. He was permitted to retire with the honors of war, to salute his flag, to depart freely with all his command, and was escorted to the vessel on which he embarked with the highest marks of respect from those against whom his guns had so recently been directed. Not only does every event connected with the siege reflect the highest honor on South Carolina, but the forbearance of her people and of this government from making any harangue of a victory obtained under circumstances of such peculiar provocation attest to the fullest extent the absence of any purpose beyond securing their own tranquillity, and the sincere desire to avoid the calamities of war.

Scarcely had the President of the United States received intelligence of the failure of the scheme which he had devised for the re-encampment of Fort Sumter, when he issued the declaration of war against this confederacy which has prompted me to convoke you. In this extraordinary production, that high functionary affects total ignorance of the existence of an independent government, which, possessing the entire and enthusiastic devotion of its people, is exercising its functions without question over seven sovereign states—over more than five millions of people—and over a territory whose area exceeds five hundred thousand square miles. He terms sovereign states "combinations too powerful to be suppressed in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law." He calls for an army of seventy-five thousand men to act as the posse comitatus in aid of the process of the courts of justice in states where no courts exist, whose mandates and decrees are not cheerfully obeyed and respected by a willing people. He avows that the first service to be assigned to the forces which have been called out will not be to execute the processes of courts, but to capture forts and strong-holds situated within the admitted limits of this confederacy, and garrisoned by its troops, and declares that this effort is intended to maintain the perpetuity of popular government. He concludes by commanding the persons composing the "combinations" aforesaid, to wit, the five millions of inhabitants of these states, to retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days.

Apparently contradictory as are the terms of this singular document, one point was unmistakably evident. The President of the United States calls for an army of 75,000 men, whose first service was to be to capture our forts. It was a plain declaration of war which I was not at liberty to disregard, because of my knowledge that under the Constitution of the United States the President was usurping a power granted exclusively to the Congress.

He is the sole organ of communication between that country and foreign powers. The law of nations did not permit me to question the authority of the executive of a foreign nation to declare war against this confederacy. Although I might have refrained from taking active measures for our defense if the states of the Union had all imitated the action of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, by denouncing it as an unconstitutional usurpation of power to which they refuse to respond, I was not at liberty to disregard the fact that many of the states seemed quite content to submit to the exercise of the powers assumed by the President of the United States, and were actively engaged in levying troops for the purpose indicated in the proclamation. Deprived of the aid of Congress, at the moment I was under the necessity of confining

influence nations as well as individuals. What he must and could conceal, he concealed adroitly; what he would have concealed, yet must maintain, he did not excuse or even vindicate; he boldly proclaimed it good, and put his adversaries on their defense. Yet, with all this, he was not personally corrupt or false. He was but a cunning politician, thrusting aside scruples in his public which he might cherish in his private life, and directing his course by that immoral law which has too generally been the guide of ruling men in all ages and of all nations. He now told Europe—Great Britain and

my action to a call on the states for volunteers for the common defense, in accordance with the authority you had confided to me before your adjournment.

I deemed it proper farther to issue a proclamation, inviting applications from persons disposed to aid in our defense in private armed vessels on the high seas, to the end that preparations might be made for the immediate issue of letters of marque and reprisal, which you alone, under the Constitution, have the power to grant. I entertain no doubt that you will concur with me in the opinion that, in the absence of an organized navy, it will be eminently expedient to supply their place with private armed vessels, so happily styled by the publicists of the United States the militia of the sea, and so often and justly relied on by them as an efficient and admirable instrument of defensive warfare. I earnestly recommend the immediate passage of a law authorizing me to accept the numerous proposals already received.

I can not close this review of the acts of the government of the United States without referring to a proclamation issued by their president under date of the 19th inst., in which, after declaring that an insurrection has broken out in this confederacy against the government of the United States, he announces a blockade of all the ports of these states, and threatens to punish as pirates all persons who shall molest any vessel of the United States under letters of marque issued by this government. Notwithstanding the authenticity of this proclamation, you will concur with me that it is hard to believe that it could have emanated from a President of the United States. Its announcement of a mere paper blockade is so manifestly a violation of the law of nations, that it would seem incredible that it could have been issued by authority; but, conceding this to be the case, so far as the executive is concerned, it will be difficult to satisfy the people of these states that their late confederates will sanction its declarations—will determine to ignore the usages of civilized nations, and will inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides, by treating as pirates open enemies acting under the authority of commissions issued by an organized government. If such proclamation was issued, it could only have been published under the sudden influence of passion, and we may rest assured that mankind will be spared the horrors of the conflict it seems to invite.

For the details of the administration of the different departments, I refer to the reports of the secretaries of each, which accompany this message.

The State Department has furnished the necessary instructions for those commissioners who have been sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium, since your adjournment, to ask our recognition as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of these powers treaties of amity and commerce. Farther steps will be taken to enter into like negotiations with the other European powers, in pursuance to resolutions passed at your last session. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed since the departure of these commissioners for the receipt of any intelligence from them.

As I deem it desirable that commissioners or other diplomatic agents should also be sent at an early period to the independent American powers south of our confederacy, with all of whom it is our interest and earnest wish to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations, I suggest the expediency of making the necessary appropriations for that purpose. Having been officially notified by the public authorities of the State of Virginia that she had withdrawn from the Union, and desired to maintain the closest political relations with us which it was possible at this time to establish, I commissioned the Honorable Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-president of the Confederate States, to represent this government at Richmond. I am happy to inform you that he has concluded a convention with the State of Virginia, by which that honored commonwealth, so long and justly distinguished among her sister states, and so dear to the hearts of thousands of her children in the Confederate States, has united her power and her fortunes with ours, and become one of us. This convention, together with the ordinance of Virginia adopting the Provisional Constitution of the confederacy, will be laid before you for your constitutional action.

I have satisfactory assurances from other of our late confederates that they are on the point of adopting similar measures; and I can not doubt that, ere you shall have been many weeks in session, the whole of the slaveholding states of the late Union will respond to the call of honor and affection, and, by uniting their fortune with ours, promote our common interests and secure our common safety. * * * *

The Secretary of War, in his report and accompanying documents, conveys full information concerning the forces, regular, volunteer, and provisional, raised and called for under the several acts of Congress—their organization and distribution; also an account of the expenditures already made, and the farther estimates for the fiscal year ending on the 18th of February, 1862, rendered necessary by recent events.

I refer to the report, also, for a full history of the occurrences in Charleston Harbor prior to, and including the bombardment and reduction of Fort Sumter, and of the measures subsequently taken for common defense on receiving the intelligence of the declaration of war against us made by the President of the United States.

There are now in the field at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, St. Philip, and Pulaski, 19,000 men, and 16,000 are now en route for Virginia. It is proposed to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of 100,000 men. If farther force be needed, the wisdom and patriotism of the Congress will be confidently appealed to for authority to call into the field additional numbers of our noble-spirited volunteers, who are constantly tendering their services far in excess of our wants.

The operations of the Navy Department have been necessarily restricted by the fact that sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the purchase or construction of more than a limited number of vessels adapted to the public service. Two vessels have been purchased and manned, the Sumter and M'Rea, and are now being prepared for sea, at New Orleans, with all possible dispatch. Contracts have also been made at that city with two different establishments for the casting of ordnance—cannon, shot, and shell—with the view to encourage the manufacture of these articles, so indispensable for our defense, at as many points within our territory as possible. I call your attention to the recommendation of the secretary for the establishment of a magazine and laboratory for the preparation of ordnance stores, and the necessary appropriation required for that purpose. Hitherto such stores have been prepared at the navy yards and no appropriation was made at your last session for this object. * * * *

In conclusion, I congratulate you on the fact that in every portion of our country there has been exhibited the most patriotic devotion to our common cause. Transportation companies have freely tendered the use of their lines for troops and supplies. The presidents of the railroads of the confederacy, in company with others who control lines of communication with states that we hope soon to greet as sisters assembled in convention in this city, have not only reduced largely the rates heretofore demanded for mail service and conveyance of troops and munitions, but have voluntarily proffered to receive their compensation at their reduced rates in the bonds of the confederacy, for the purpose of leaving all the resources of the government at its own disposal for the common defense.

Requisitions for troops have been met with such alacrity that the numbers tendering their services have in every instance greatly exceeded the demand. Men of the highest official and social position are serving as volunteers in the ranks. The gravity of age, the zeal of youth, rival each other in the desire to be foremost in the public defense; and though at no other point than the one heretofore noticed have they been stimulated by the excitement incident to actual engagement and the hope of distinction for individual deportment, they have borne, what for new troops is the most severe ordeal, patient toil, constant vigil, and all the exposure and discomfort of active service with a resolution and fortitude such as to command the approbation and justify the highest expectation of their conduct when active valor shall be required in place of steady endurance.

A people thus united and resolute can not shrink from any sacrifice which they may be called on to make, nor can there be a reasonable doubt of their final success, however long and severe may be the test of their determination to maintain their birthright of freedom and equality as a trust which it is their first duty to transmit unblemished to their posterity. A bounteous Providence cheers us with the promise of abundant crops. The fields of grain, which will, within a few weeks, be ready for the sickle, give assurance of the amplest supply of food, while the corn, cotton, and other staple productions of our soil afford abundant proof that up to this period the season has been propitious.

We feel that our cause is just and holy. We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honor. In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the states with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist, to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that can not but be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Montgomery, April 29, 1861.



MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA: FIRST SEAT OF THE REBEL GOVERNMENT.

France especially—that the confederate government had been established upon the substantial basis of the popular will; but he was silent as to the violent and insidious means by which that seeming popular unanimity had been brought about. He claimed for his confederacy the sympathy of the friends of constitutional liberty; when he knew that according to no meaning attached to those words was the course of his confederates other than an outrage on that liberty. He asserted that the free states had endeavored to reduce the slave states to a condition of inferiority; when he knew that, from the very construction of the republic, no state could possibly suffer from any other inferiority than that which might be the inevitable consequence of its natural resources, the number and character of its inhabitants, and the nature of its local institutions. He did not hesitate to say that the party whose candidate Mr. Lincoln had been organized with the avowed object of excluding the slave states from all participation in the benefits of the public domain; when he knew that no man had ever proposed that the people of the slave states should have a single right of possession or enjoyment less than those of the free states in the common territory of the republic, but that the former had claimed to have a privilege there in effect peculiar to themselves. He could not conceal the fact that the insurgents were slaveholders, and the loyal men free laborers; but he covered up with cloudy words and euphemisms the other fact, that the sole grievance of the former was that the latter had refused to allow the farther propagation of slavery under the flag and the protection of the republic. He did not hesitate to say that the African slaves had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, supplied with bodily comforts and careful religious instruction; when he knew that not one in a thousand of them had ever been in a country more savage than that into which they, and their ancestors for two generations, and sometimes for six, had been born as slaves; that their docility was a sad and sullen cowering under the lash and the revolver; their intelligence—except among those whose veins flowed mostly with white blood—not one whit above that of their race in Africa; their civilization, with like exceptions, only a compelled and stolid submission to the police of a superior people; their bodily comforts no more than such bare necessities, not including wholesome food, as enabled them to live and labor for their owners;³ and their religious instruction only such a use of the allurements of heaven and the terrors of hell as could be made auxiliary to the whip of the overseer—a religious instruction from which the reading of Christ's Word, and the teaching of the one great doctrine upon which Christianity is founded, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," were solicitously and of necessity excluded. The wily leader told his fellow-confederates that the pro-

ductions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco had become necessary to the wants of civilized man, and that to the continuance of the supply the labor of African slaves was necessary; a statement utterly superfluous when made to them at any time, and entirely foreign to the emergency upon which he had called them together, but which he put forth as a threat to Europe of impending famine and misery, by which the commercial and the manufacturing classes might be driven to encourage a rebellion against a constitutional government in support of African slavery and their own interests. For already, and before a blow had been struck on the side either of the insurgents or the government, the former, as Mr. Davis told the world in this message, had sent commissioners to the British, French, Russian, and Belgian governments, to ask recognition and to make treaties. Assumption and self-assertion, pushed to the verge of absurdity, were weapons upon which the insurgent slaveholders much relied for the triumph of their cause, and in which their armory, not supplied, in this particular, by "acquirements" from the North, was inexhaustible. But men are too often taken at their own valuation; an arrogant, active, and unscrupulous pretender will for a time overbear and sweep away the claims of him who rests quietly in his consciousness of right; and so, as it appeared ere long, the presuming policy of the insurgents accomplished more than they could have expected, if not all that they desired. But it was in the closing sentences of this message that Mr. Davis assumed the position which most won for the rebels the sympathy of which they were so much in need. "In independence," he said, "we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the states with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by force of arms. This we will, this we must resist to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that can not but be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government." The picture which these words presented of an inoffensive, peaceful people seeking but to enjoy their own without detriment to others, and driven to resistance only by an attempt to deprive them of freedom and self-government, and bring them under foreign subjugation, produced a strong impression in Europe, and furnished the ill-wishers of the great republic a welcome text from which to preach against the tyrannical aggressiveness of democracy. That men who only asked to be let alone should not be awarded that small boon did indeed seem wrongful. But at the North, where this change from the insolent bravado which claimed Washington and threatened Boston was attributed to the right cause—the uprising which had so astounded the insurgents—

³ In Cincinnati, the refuse of the immense lard factories is compressed into huge cakes, and this loathsome, indigestible mass is sent southward as food for slaves.

ter end, indeed, it was, like all the more important state papers of the insurgent leader, in a great measure directed, for he had no little skill in the lower arts of state-craft. He could mask an utterly selfish purpose behind a seeming magnanimity; pervert the truth with an air of frank simplicity; throw a veil of courtesy over the most arrogant assumption; and with a certain dignity of manner (sometimes too consciously assumed), and a pretense of wide philanthropy, appeal without a blush to those baser motives which

their arrival, and stating, in the language of their instructions, their wish 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 desired a peaceful solution of these great questions; that it was neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded on the strictest principles of justice, nor to do any act to injure their late confederates.

To this communication no formal reply was received until the 8th of April. During the interval, the commissioners had consented to waive all questions of form, with the firm resolve to avoid war if possible. They went so far even as to hold, during that long period, unofficial intercourse through an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success, and through whom constant assurances were received from the government of the United States of its peaceful intentions—of its determination to evacuate Fort Sumter; and farther, that no measure would be introduced changing the existing status prejudicial to the Confederate States; that in the event of any change in regard to Fort Pickens, notice would be given to the commissioners. The crooked path of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candor, and directness, as was the course of the United States government toward our commissioners in Washington. For proof of this, I refer to the annexed documents, taken in connection with farther facts which I now proceed to relate.

Early in April the attention of the whole country was attracted to extraordinary preparations for an extensive military and naval expedition in New York and other Northern ports. These preparations commenced in secrecy, for an expedition whose destination was concealed, and only became known when nearly completed; and on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April, transports and vessels of war, with troops, munitions, and military supplies, sailed from Northern ports bound southward.

Alarmed by so extraordinary a demonstration, the commissioners requested the delivery of an answer to their official communication of the 12th of March, and the reply dated on the 15th of the previous month, from which it appears that during the whole interval, while the commissioners were receiving assurances calculated to inspire hope of the success of their mission, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had already determined to hold no intercourse with them whatever—to refuse even to listen to any proposals they had to make, and had profited by the delay created by their own assurances in order to prepare secretly the means for effective hostile operations. That these assurances were given has been virtually confessed by the government of the United States, by its act of sending a messenger to Charleston to give notice of its purpose to use force if opposed in its intention of supplying Fort Sumter. No more striking proof of the absence of good faith in the confidence of the government of the United States toward the confederacy can be required than is contained in the circumstances which accompanied this notice.

According to the usual course of navigation, the vessels composing the expedition, and designed for the relief of Fort Sumter, might be looked for in Charleston Harbor on the 9th of April. Yet our commissioners in Washington were detained under assurances that notice should be given of any military movement. The notice was not addressed to them, but a messenger was sent to Charleston to give notice to the Governor of South Carolina, and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th of April, the eve of the very day on which the fleet might be expected to arrive. That this manoeuvre failed in its purpose was not the fault of those who controlled it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the expedition, and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston to ask and receive instructions of the government. Even then, under all the provocation incident to the contemptuous refusal to listen to our commissioners, and the treacherous course of the government of the United States, I was sincerely anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, and directed a proposal to be made to the commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed himself to be nearly out of provisions, that we would abstain from directing our fire on Fort Sumter if he would promise to not open fire on our forces unless first attacked. This proposal was refused. The conclusion was, that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fort and the fleet. The fort should, of course, be at once reduced. This order was executed by General Beauregard with skill and success, which were naturally to be expected from the well-known character of that gallant officer; and, although the bombardment lasted some thirty-three hours, our flag did not wave over the battered walls until after the appearance of the hostile fleet off Charleston. Fortunately, not a life was lost on our side, and we were gratified in being prepared. The necessity of a useless effusion of blood by the prudent caution of the officers who commanded the fleet, in abstaining from the evidently futile effort to enter the harbor for the relief of Major Anderson, was spared. I refer to the report of the Secretary of War, and the papers accompanying it, for farther particulars of this brilliant affair.

In this connection I can not refrain from a well-deserved tribute to the noble state, the eminently soldierly qualities of whose people were conspicuously displayed. The people of Charleston for months had been irritated by the spectacle of a fortress held within their principal harbor as a standing menace against their peace and independence—built in part with their own money—its custody confided with their long consent to an agent who held no power over them other than such as they had themselves delegated for their own benefit, intended to be used by that agent for their own protection against foreign attack. How it was held out with persistent tenacity as a means of offense against them by the very government which they had established for their own protection, is well known. They had beleaguered it for months, and felt entire confidence in their power to capture it, yet yielded to the requirements of discipline, curbed their impatience, submitted without complaint to the unaccustomed hardships, labors, and privations of a protracted siege, and when at length their patience was relieved by the signal for attack, and success had crowned their steady and gallant conduct, even in the very moment of triumph they evinced a chivalrous regard for the feelings of the brave but unfortunate officer who had been compelled to lower his flag. All manifestations or exultations were checked in his presence. Their commanding general, with their cordial approval and the consent of his government, refrained from imposing any terms that would wound the sensibility of the commander of the fort. He was permitted to retire with the honors of war, to salute his flag, to depart freely with all his command, and was escorted to the vessel on which he embarked with the highest marks of respect from those against whom his guns had so recently been directed. Not only does every event connected with the siege reflect the highest honor on South Carolina, but the forbearance of her people and of this government from making any harangue of a victory obtained under circumstances of such peculiar provocation attest to the fullest extent the absence of any purpose beyond securing their own tranquillity, and the sincere desire to avoid the calamities of war.

Scarcely had the President of the United States received intelligence of the failure of the scheme which he had devised for the re-enforcement of Fort Sumter, when he issued the declaration of war against this confederacy which has prompted me to invoke you. In this extraordinary production, that high functionary affects total ignorance of the existence of an independent government, which, possessing the entire and enthusiastic devotion of its people, is exercising its functions without question over seven sovereign states—over more than five millions of people—and over a territory whose area exceeds five hundred thousand square miles. He terms sovereign states "combinations too powerful to be suppressed in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law." He calls for an army of seventy-five thousand men to act as the posse comitatus in aid of the process of the courts of justice in states where no courts exist, whose mandates and decrees are not cheerfully obeyed and respected by a willing people. He avows that the first service to be assigned to the forces which have been called out will not be to execute the processes of courts, but to capture forts and strong-holds situated within the admitted limits of this confederacy, and garrisoned by its troops, and declares that this effort is intended to maintain the perpetuity of popular government. He concludes by commanding the persons composing the "combinations" aforesaid, to wit, the five millions of inhabitants of these states, to retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days.

Apparently contradictory as are the terms of this singular document, one point was unmistakably evident. The President of the United States calls for an army of 75,000 men, whose first service was to be to capture our forts. It was a plain declaration of war which I was not at liberty to disregard, because of my knowledge that under the Constitution of the United States the President was usurping a power granted exclusively to the Congress.

He is the sole organ of communication between that country and foreign powers. The law of nations did not permit me to question the authority of the executive of a foreign nation to declare war against this confederacy. Although I might have refrained from taking active measures for our defense if the states of the Union had all imitated the action of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, by denouncing it as an unconstitutional usurpation of power to which they refuse to respond, I was not at liberty to disregard the fact that many of the states seemed quite content to submit to the exercise of the powers assumed by the President of the United States, and were actively engaged in levying troops for the purpose indicated in the proclamation. Deprived of the aid of Congress, at the moment I was under the necessity of confining

influence nations as well as individuals. What he must and could conceal, he concealed adroitly; what he would have concealed, yet must maintain, he did not excuse or even vindicate; he boldly proclaimed it good, and put his adversaries on their defense. Yet, with all this, he was not personally corrupt or false. He was but a cunning politician, thrusting aside scruples in his public which he might cherish in his private life, and directing his course by that immoral law which has too generally been the guide of ruling men in all ages and of all nations. He now told Europe—Great Britain and

my action to a call on the states for volunteers for the common defense, in accordance with the authority you had confided to me before your adjournment.

I deemed it proper farther to issue a proclamation, inviting applications from persons disposed to aid in our defense in private armed vessels on the high seas, to the end that preparations might be made for the immediate issue of letters of marque and reprisal, which you alone, under the Constitution, have the power to grant. I entertain no doubt that you will concur with me in the opinion that, in the absence of an organized navy, it will be eminently expedient to supply their place with private armed vessels, so happily styled by the publicists of the United States the militia of the sea, and so often and justly relied on by them as an efficient and admirable instrument of defensive warfare. I earnestly recommend the immediate passage of a law authorizing me to accept the numerous proposals already received.

I can not close this review of the acts of the government of the United States without referring to a proclamation issued by their president under date of the 19th inst., in which, after declaring that an insurrection has broken out in this confederacy against the government of the United States, he announces a blockade of all the ports of these states, and threatens to punish as pirates all persons who shall molest any vessel of the United States under letters of marque issued by this government. Notwithstanding the authenticity of this proclamation, you will concur with me that it is hard to believe that it could have emanated from a President of the United States. Its announcement of a mere paper blockade is so manifestly a violation of the law of nations, that it would seem incredible that it could have been issued by authority; but, conceding this to be the case, so far as the executive is concerned, it will be difficult to satisfy the people of these states that their late confederates will sanction its declarations—will determine to ignore the usages of civilized nations, and will inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides, by treating as pirates open enemies acting under the authority of commissions issued by an organized government. If such proclamation was issued, it could only have been published under the sudden influence of passion, and we may rest assured that mankind will be spared the horrors of the conflict it seems to invite.

For the details of the administration of the different departments, I refer to the reports of the secretaries of each, which accompany this message.

The State Department has furnished the necessary instructions for those commissioners who have been sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium, since your adjournment, to ask our recognition as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of these powers treaties of amity and commerce. Farther steps will be taken to enter into like negotiations with the other European powers, in pursuance to resolutions passed at your last session. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed since the departure of these commissioners for the receipt of any intelligence from them.

As I deem it desirable that commissioners or other diplomatic agents should also be sent at an early period to the independent American powers south of our confederacy, with all of whom it is our interest and earnest wish to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations, I suggest the expediency of making the necessary appropriations for that purpose. Having been officially notified by the public authorities of the State of Virginia that she had withdrawn from the Union, and desired to maintain the closest political relations with us which it was possible at this time to establish, I commissioned the Honorable Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-president of the Confederate States, to represent this government at Richmond. I am happy to inform you that he has concluded a convention with the State of Virginia, by which that honored commonwealth, so long and justly distinguished among her sister states, and so dear to the hearts of thousands of her children in the Confederate States, has united her power and her fortunes with ours, and become one of us. This convention, together with the ordinance of Virginia adopting the Provisional Constitution of the confederacy, will be laid before you for your constitutional action.

I have satisfactory assurances from other of our late confederates that they are on the point of adopting similar measures; and I can not doubt that, ere you shall have been many weeks in session, the whole of the slaveholding states of the late Union will respond to the call of honor and affection, and, by uniting their fortune with ours, promote our common interests and secure our common safety. * * * *

The Secretary of War, in his report and accompanying documents, conveys full information concerning the forces, regular, volunteer, and provisional, raised and called for under the several acts of Congress—their organization and distribution; also an account of the expenditures already made, and the farther estimates for the fiscal year ending on the 18th of February, 1862, rendered necessary by recent events.

I refer to the report, also, for a full history of the occurrences in Charleston Harbor prior to, and including the bombardment and reduction of Fort Sumter, and of the measures subsequently taken for common defense on receiving the intelligence of the declaration of war against us made by the President of the United States.

There are now in the field at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, St. Philip, and Pulaski, 19,000 men, and 16,000 are now en route for Virginia. It is proposed to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of 100,000 men. If farther force be needed, the wisdom and patriotism of the Congress will be confidently appealed to for authority to call into the field additional numbers of our noble-spirited volunteers, who are constantly tendering their services far in excess of our wants.

The operations of the Navy Department have been necessarily restricted by the fact that sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the purchase or construction of more than a limited number of vessels adapted to the public service. Two vessels have been purchased and manned, the Sumter and M'Rea, and are now being prepared for sea, at New Orleans, with all possible dispatch. Contracts have also been made at that city with two different establishments for the casting of ordnance—cannon, shot, and shell—with the view to encourage the manufacture of these articles, so indispensable for our defense, at as many points within our territory as possible. I call your attention to the recommendation of the secretary for the establishment of a magazine and laboratory for the preparation of ordnance stores, and the necessary appropriation required for that purpose. Hitherto such stores have been prepared at the navy yards and no appropriation was made at your last session for this object. * * * *

In conclusion, I congratulate you on the fact that in every portion of our country there has been exhibited the most patriotic devotion to our common cause. Transportation companies have freely tendered the use of their lines for troops and supplies. The presidents of the railroads of the confederacy, in company with others who control lines of communication with states that we hope soon to greet as sisters assembled in convention in this city, have not only reduced largely the rates heretofore demanded for mail service and conveyance of troops and munitions, but have voluntarily proffered to receive their compensation at their reduced rates in the bonds of the confederacy, for the purpose of leaving all the resources of the government at its own disposal for the common defense.

Requisitions for troops have been met with such alacrity that the numbers tendering their services have in every instance greatly exceeded the demand. Men of the highest official and social position are serving as volunteers in the ranks. The gravity of age, the zeal of youth, rival each other in the desire to be foremost in the public defense; and though at no other point than the one heretofore noticed have they been stimulated by the excitement incident to actual engagement and the hope of distinction for individual department, they have borne, what for new troops is the most severe ordeal, patient toil, constant vigil, and all the exposure and discomfort of active service with a resolution and fortitude such as to command the approbation and justify the highest expectation of their conduct when active valor shall be required in place of steady endurance.

A people thus united and resolute can not shrink from any sacrifice which they may be called on to make, nor can there be a reasonable doubt of their final success, however long and severe may be the test of their determination to maintain their birthright of freedom and equality as a trust which it is their first duty to transmit unblemished to their posterity. A bounteous Providence cheers us with the promise of abundant crops. The fields of grain, which will, within a few weeks, be ready for the sickle, give assurance of the amplest supply of food, while the corn, cotton, and other staple productions of our soil afford abundant proof that up to this period the season has been propitious.

We feel that our cause is just and holy. We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice save that of honor. In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the states with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist, to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that can not be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government.

Montgomery, April 29, 1861.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.



MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA: FIRST SEAT OF THE REBEL GOVERNMENT.

France especially—that the confederate government had been established upon the substantial basis of the popular will; but he was silent as to the violent and insidious means by which that seeming popular unanimity had been brought about. He claimed for his confederacy the sympathy of the friends of constitutional liberty; when he knew that according to no meaning attached to those words was the course of his confederates other than an outrage on that liberty. He asserted that the free states had endeavored to reduce the slave states to a condition of inferiority; when he knew that, from the very construction of the republic, no state could possibly suffer from any other inferiority than that which might be the inevitable consequence of its natural resources, the number and character of its inhabitants, and the nature of its local institutions. He did not hesitate to say that the party whose candidate Mr. Lincoln was had been organized with the avowed object of excluding the slave states from all participation in the benefits of the public domain; when he knew that no man had ever proposed that the people of the slave states should have a single right of possession or enjoyment less than those of the free states in the common territory of the republic, but that the former had claimed to have a privilege there in effect peculiar to themselves. He could not conceal the fact that the insurgents were slaveholders, and the loyal men free laborers; but he covered up with cloudy words and euphemisms the other fact, that the sole grievance of the former was that the latter had refused to allow the farther propagation of slavery under the flag and the protection of the republic. He did not hesitate to say that the African slaves had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, supplied with bodily comforts and careful religious instruction; when he knew that not one in a thousand of them had ever been in a country more savage than that into which they, and their ancestors for two generations, and sometimes for six, had been born as slaves; that their docility was a sad and sullen cowering under the lash and the revolver; their intelligence—except among those whose veins flowed mostly with white blood—not one whit above that of their race in Africa; their civilization, with like exceptions, only a compelled and stolid submission to the police of a superior people; their bodily comforts no more than such bare necessities, not including wholesome food, as enabled them to live and labor for their owners;³ and their religious instruction only such a use of the allurements of heaven and the terrors of hell as could be made auxiliary to the whip of the overseer—a religious instruction from which the reading of Christ's Word, and the teaching of the one great doctrine upon which Christianity is founded, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," were solicitously and of necessity excluded. The wily leader told his fellow-confederates that the pro-

ductions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco had become necessary to the wants of civilized man, and that to the continuance of the supply the labor of African slaves was necessary; a statement utterly superfluous when made to them at any time, and entirely foreign to the emergency upon which he had called them together, but which he put forth as a threat to Europe of impending famine and misery, by which the commercial and the manufacturing classes might be driven to encourage a rebellion against a constitutional government in support of African slavery and their own interests. For already, and before a blow had been struck on the side either of the insurgents or the government, the former, as Mr. Davis told the world in this message, had sent commissioners to the British, French, Russian, and Belgian governments, to ask recognition and to make treaties. Assumption and self-assertion, pushed to the verge of absurdity, were weapons upon which the insurgent slaveholders much relied for the triumph of their cause, and in which their armory, not supplied, in this particular, by "acquirements" from the North, was inexhaustible. But men are too often taken at their own valuation; an arrogant, active, and unscrupulous pretender will for a time overbear and sweep away the claims of him who rests quietly in his consciousness of right; and so, as it appeared ere long, the presuming policy of the insurgents accomplished more than they could have expected, if not all that they desired. But it was in the closing sentences of this message that Mr. Davis assumed the position which most won for the rebels the sympathy of which they were so much in need. "In independence," he said, "we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the states with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by force of arms. This we will, this we must resist to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that can not but be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government." The picture which these words presented of an inoffensive, peaceful people seeking but to enjoy their own without detriment to others, and driven to resistance only by an attempt to deprive them of freedom and self-government, and bring them under foreign subjugation, produced a strong impression in Europe, and furnished the ill-wishers of the great republic a welcome text from which to preach against the tyrannical aggressiveness of democracy. That men who only asked to be let alone should not be awarded that small boon did indeed seem wrongful. But at the North, where this change from the insolent bravado which claimed Washington and threatened Boston was attributed to the right cause—the uprising which had so astounded the insurgents—

³ In Cincinnati, the refuse of the immense lard factories is compressed into huge cakes, and this loathsome, indigestible mass is sent southward as food for slaves.

where it was known that no other subjugation was purposed than the obedience of all to the supreme law enacted by all, and that freedom, independence, and self-government were insured by the Constitution which the insurgents had defied as completely, and by the very same safeguards and provisions, as by that which they had adopted—where it was also known that a cession of territory would be an absolute demand, and the conquest of Mexico an ultimate and speedy undertaking on the part of the insurgents if they were successful—and where it was felt in men's inmost hearts that the unresisted and accomplished secession of a single state was national ruin, Mr. Davis's peaceful professions, and his airs of injured innocence, were met with merited derision, and the phrase, "All we ask is to be let alone," became the satirical by-word of the day.

Other parts of this document were of even more importance than those to which the above remarks apply, but I postpone their consideration while I recount briefly the events which took place at the South between the meeting and the adjournment of this Congress, and until I attempt to show the nature and the purposes of the impending conflict. The Congress itself devoted its attention solely to the business of resistance. Letters of marque and reprisal were authorized. Authority was also given to Mr. Davis to accept the services of volunteers without regard to the place of their enlistment. The export of cotton during the blockade, except from the sea-ports of the Confederate States and through Mexico, was forbidden under both heavy penalty and imprisonment. A bill was passed authorizing the issue of fifty millions of dollars in bonds payable in twenty years, with interest at eight per cent., or, in lieu of bonds, treasury notes for small sums, without interest, to the amount of twenty millions of dollars. These bonds were offered to planters for their cotton—a politic measure, which sought at once to recruit the treasury, and to bind the planters to the new government by the ties of interest. The payment of debts to any persons or corporations in the loyal states was prohibited, and the loan of the money to the confederate treasury was recommended; but from this scandalous enactment the slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the District of Columbia, were shrewdly excepted, in the vain hope that the proffered bribe might buy a lukewarm patriotism.



RESIDENCE OF MR. JEFFERSON DAVIS AT MONTGOMERY, CALLED "THE WHITE HOUSE."

Meantime the people of the seceded states were inflamed with an unquenchable military ardor. Having been taught to believe that one Southern man was a match for five Northerners, and that the Yankees (as they called the inhabitants of all the free states) would be slow to battle, even for a cause which they had at heart, the slaveholders, and the mean whites who did their bidding, looked for a sudden and an easy victory, and they thronged into the insurgent ranks to share its cheap-bought glory. The bulk of the newly-levied army was poured into Virginia, which was threatened by the forces rapidly accumulating around Washington. General Robert Lee, of Virginia, who had been one of Lieutenant General Scott's military family, and who had grieved the heart of his old chief by deserting for his state the cause of the republic, had been placed in command of the Virginia militia. To prevent confusion of state and confederate authority, on the 10th of May he was directed by the government at Montgomery to take command of all the troops in Virginia. Other officers soon superseded him; but this is the first appearance upon our scene of a man who was destined to exercise a controlling influence upon the fortunes of the war now about to open. On the 22d of May the Congress at Montgomery adjourned to meet on the 20th of July at Richmond. The former parted finally with its short-lived distinction, and the latter became in fact, if not in name, the confederate capital.

Fort Sumter had been attacked before the government had taken any steps for the suppression of the insurrection, and even before the President had issued a formal proclamation commanding the obedience of the insurgents to the constitutional authorities of the republic. In the bombardment of that strong-hold not a life had been lost or a serious wound received on the part either of the assailants or the garrison; and its evacuation was the consequence of a lack of food and a conflagration, both brought about by the means of batteries, the erection of which under his guns its commander, by orders from Washington, had made no effort to prevent. The collisions in Baltimore and St. Louis were produced by mere outbreaks of mob violence; and thus far, therefore, the war ushered in by the attack upon Fort Sumter may be regarded as not having begun. Before entering upon the details of a struggle of which the civil and the moral are far more interesting and significant than the military and the material aspects, it will be well to examine into the causes and the purposes of the conflict, and the means for its prosecution in the hands of each party at its commencement.

War, whether civil or between opposing nations, is always the fruit of aggression. It is resistance to aggression which produces collision of arms, although arms may be first taken up by the aggrieved. Civil wars, when they are not wars of races or religions, or between the partisans of rival claimants to supreme authority, or the results of two or all of these causes, are brought about by the attempts of the party in power to assert or to perpetuate the right of using that power for its own interests, regardless of the principles of justice and of the general good. Thus our ancestors fought King Charles at Naseby, at Worcester, and at Marston Moor, because he attempted to perpetuate the absolute royal prerogative which he blindly thought had come down to him unimpaired from the Tudors, and to rule English men as a father rules a family of children. He did not see that the nation had come to its majority. Thus, again, they fought King George at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Yorktown, because he and his ministers undertook to deny them—they being born on the western side of the Atlantic—their rights as Englishmen, and to tax them by the votes of a body in which they were not represented. And thus the French people swept away, in a storm of blood, the men who were banded together to rule France in the interests of an aristocratic class, and in utter disregard of the well-being of their social inferiors. In the United States there were no distinctions of race, of religion, or, properly, of rank or birth, in which might breed the germs of internal enmity. The homogeneousness of the nation at the time when it came into political existence had been indeed somewhat modified during the lapse of seventy years, but so slightly that this circumstance is not to be taken into consideration in an examination of the causes of the rebellion. For not only were the Irish and German immigrants who poured into the country after the year 1816 rapidly absorbed and assimilated by the Anglo-American people, among whom in the second generation they were lost, but by those of their number who went southward and were subjected to the influences of slavery, the sentiments and prejudices which led to the rebellion were adopted with the greatest facility; and among the recently arrived Irish immigrants in the free states the slaveholders' party found its constant supporters and allies. In the first armies which moved northward to meet the forces of the republic Irishmen and Germans bore a proportion to the whole number about equal to that of their countrymen in the opposing ranks; and amid the planters whom they left behind them there were no more strenuous advocates of progressive slavery and secession than those who were of British birth.⁴ And it was to the Northwestern states, whither had thronged most of the German immigrants, that the insurgent planters, ere many months had passed, looked to find aid in forming a great confederacy, from which the purely English blooded Eastern states were to be excluded. Indeed, from the very beginning, this alliance, and that of the Irish-ruled city of New York, had been counted upon as main elements of strength in the attempted revolution. When to these facts there is added another, greatly significant, that among the strongest supporters and most active agents of the insurrection were a host of men born and bred in the free states, but who had political and personal interests involved in the success of the party of progressive slavery, and who served as officers in the insurgent army, in the civil affairs of the confederacy, or, still more effectively, as its emissaries at the North or in Europe, demoralizing public opinion at home and perverting it abroad; when of the regular army we find thirty officers born and bred in the free states who, in November and December of 1861, resigned their commissions and soon afterward entered the rebel service, and, on the other hand, one hundred and thirty-three officers of that army born and bred in slave states remaining true to their colors, and under sorely trying circumstances fighting the battles of the republic,⁵ it will be seen how shallow was the pretense of the mouthpieces of the insurgent leaders that secession was the consequence of a difference between the people of the slave and free states. Some slight difference there was, but no such difference.

Still less were there opportunities for the development of that hatred which through so many centuries has shown religion and impiety walking hand in hand, inciting Mohammedan to slay Christian, Roman Catholic to burn Protestant, Church of England man to persecute Puritan, and Puritan to hang Quaker. On the contrary, a Christian faith essentially uniform pervaded the land, throughout which nearly all the known sects were harmoniously diffused. Even the slight difference in this regard between the two

⁴ Mr. William Henry Russell's *Diary North and South* gives foreign, unbiased, and partly unwilling support to this statement, which is known to be true by every observant and thoughtful man in the United States.

⁵ See the extracts from the *Army Register* in "Are the West Point Graduates Loyal?" by E. C. Marshall.

sides of the Potomac which had existed in the early years of the country had passed away. A great increase of the Baptists and Methodists in the slave states had deprived the Church of England of its predominance in that quarter; while in the free states, and in New England itself, that sect had grown rapidly, and with a constantly increasing growth, from a period which dated before the War of Independence. Nor were hostile and clashing interests of a normal kind the springs of this rebellion. Various interests, truly, had various preponderance in different parts of the country; but there must be variety of interest in every nation the people of which are not so rude as to have neither commerce, manufactures, arts, nor literature, or the territory not so small as to be monotonous. But such varieties of interest and occupation, so far from producing discord and division, compensate each other, harmonize with each other, and bind together the people among whom they obtain, making of them one complex, highly-developed, self-sustaining individual, while the nation of a single interest is, like an animal of simple organization, a feeble creature of low grade. The isolation and narrowness of view consequent upon exclusive devotion to one employment causes a nation surely to remain in or relapse into a state little above a semi-barbarism. The variety of normal interests in the United States was no greater and no other than comported with the well-being and the progress of a great and powerful nation, either as a whole or in regard to its component parts. Agriculture prevailed in the South, but not more than at the Northwest; and it was a powerful interest in the Northeast, where manufactures and commerce prevailed, and where the spirit of trade, though predominant, was not more active than at New Orleans or at Chicago. The mariners and the shipwrights of the North, who lived by carrying the cotton, the sugar, and the tobacco of the Southern planter, and the grain and pork of the Western farmer, and bringing the produce of other lands within their reach, furnished also the naval force which secured them the quiet possession of their fields, and the safe transhipment of their produce. The Northern forges and furnaces, which chiefly supplied the mills, the engines, and the railways of both South and West, earned whatever the tariff brought them in excess of the cost of like manufacture from Europe by furnishing also the arms which defended them; and, in case of foreign war, the mills of Massachusetts and Rhode Island were able to provide at once a market for the raw cotton of the South, and a full and certain supply of the fabrics into which it had been converted. So that, in fact, at the time of the attempted disruption of the republic, as at that of its formation (I have before remarked the fact, but it can not too constantly be kept in mind), it exhibited a homogeneity in every respect far more nearly absolute than that of the kingdom of Great Britain—like itself a union, but a union of three distinct peoples, ancient, radically diverse, and for centuries inimical—or that of France, not to speak of the small republic of Switzerland, the larger empire of Austria, or the vast domain ruled by the autocrat of Russia. Save for one single point of difference, there was no nation in the world so homogeneous as the great republic; save for one single element of discord, not one so stably built, so strongly buttressed into unity. That point of difference, that element of discord, it is almost superfluous to say, was slavery. Yet slavery was not the cause of the rebellion.

In the introductory part of this history, it has been shown that at the adoption of the Constitution the slaveholders obtained political advantages, seen to be incidental and supposed to be temporary, to the preservation of which as slaveholders they soon began solicitously to devote themselves. It has been remarked but a few sentences above that civil wars, when not of race, religion, or dynasty, are the fruit of an attempt of men in power to keep that power in their own hands for their own selfish interests; and we shall now see that the civil war in the United States was not caused by any attack upon slavery, or by the denial of equal rights to slaveholders and free

laborers either in the government or in the territory of the republic. We shall see, on the contrary, that it was due to the determination of the former not to yield the power conferred upon them by the abnormal social institution which they had preserved; and to their unwillingness to lapse into the condition of simple citizens, having the same rights as their fellow-citizens, and no more. This equality the fathers of the republic supposed that they would, and intended that they should, assume; but they resolved to perpetuate their predominance in the councils of the nation and their oligarchical supremacy in their own commonwealths, and to use this predominance for the purpose of administering public affairs entirely in the interests of their order. Foiled in this by the attitude and the numerical strength of the people of the free states, they determined to destroy the republic, with the hope, at first, of reconstructing it in such a manner as would inevitably and forever secure their object.

The election of Mr. Lincoln put slavery in no peril. Before he became a candidate for the presidency, or had the thought of becoming one, and in the course of an address to the people of a free state, he had avowed, in clear, decided terms, that, whatever might be his feelings and opinions in regard to slavery, he did not believe that the national government had the constitutional power to disturb it where it was established, or to control the local action of the people in its regard, or to deny the slaveholders the benefit of an effective Fugitive Slave Law.⁶ His election found the party of the slaveholders in power. The presidential chair was filled by a man who was their creature, if he was not their tool; and from it he could not be removed for four months. They commanded a majority in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. The bench of the Supreme Court was filled by judges of their appointment, and who had always ruled in their interest; and throughout the country all the executive offices were under their control. Nor, as I have shown by an examination of the votes cast at the presidential election, did the success of Mr. Lincoln indicate any sectional division of the country upon the question of the administration of the national government;⁷ while, on the contrary, the divided vote of the slave states, in consequence of which he was elected, though a plurality of one million of the entire popular vote of the country was given for his opponents collectively, did show that in those very states there was at that time a majority of two hundred thousand voters ready to maintain the paramount importance of the Union. There was, therefore, at the time of the secession of South Carolina, not only no impending danger to the interests of the slave states, but, in the view of the great body of their people (except in South Carolina itself), no such danger threatened in the future as induced them to give their votes in favor of a candidate who represented the party of progressive slavery or disunion. But the five hundred and seventy thousand slaveholders who did so vote,⁸ and the leaders of whom immediately set on foot secession, knew well that the social institution peculiar to their states was in no peril; they were but putting into effect a long-cherished purpose to dissolve the Union when they had ceased to rule it. We are not left to infer this purpose from the furious and frothy outpourings of their provincial presses;⁹ it had been distinctly avowed, though in private, by their representative man, John C. Calhoun. Forty-eight years before the election of Mr. Lincoln, and eight years previous to the agitation which resulted in the Missouri Compromise, he had confessed to Commodore Charles Stewart, an honored and successful commander in the United States Navy, that the leading slaveholders united themselves with the Democratic party in the North in defiance of their tastes and preferences, and only as a means of obtaining political power; adding this memorable declaration: "When we [the slaveholders] thus cease to control this nation through a disjointed democracy, or any material obstacle in that party which shall tend to throw us out of that rule and control, we

tion or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave states into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave state admitted into the Union; but I must add that, if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the Constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave Constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet, as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of endeavoring to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: first, that the abolition should be gradual; second, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and, third, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation."

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here, that as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different states, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am pledged to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different states, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle, as I conceive it akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States is full and explicit within itself, and can not be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose, in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood than the answer which I have placed in writing.

⁶ Deducing from the 874,953 votes cast for Mr. Breckinridge the 276,818 which he received in the free states, we have 571,135 as his party in the slave states.

⁷ See the extract from the Louisville (Ky.) Courier, Introduction, p. 17.

⁶ Remarks of Mr. Lincoln upon a Series of Questions addressed to him by Mr. Douglas during their canvass for the Senatorship of Illinois.

Question 1. I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands pledged, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law?

Answer. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Q. 2. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave states into the Union, even if the people want them?

A. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave states into the Union.

Q. 3. I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make?

A. I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make.

Q. 4. I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

A. I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Q. 5. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different states?

A. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different states.

Q. 6. I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?

A. I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

Q. 7. I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?

A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, according as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not pledged to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me any thing more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly, that I am not pledged at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave Law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive Slave Law farther than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an altera-

shall then resort to the dissolution of the Union."¹⁰ The time and the occasion supposed by Calhoun had come. Slavery was in no peril; but a disjointed democracy had thrown the slaveholders out of control of the nation, and, true to their purpose, that which they ceased to rule they began to ruin. It was by the agitation of the question of slavery that the democracy had become disjointed. But slavery in itself was no bar to the perpetuity of the Union; for, at its formation, slaves were held in every commonwealth but one of those which, under the Constitution, passed from a confederacy into a nation. It is true that in six of the remaining twelve slavery was felt to be wrongful, and was doomed to speedy extinction by irresistible forces both moral and material; but it is no less true that among the majority of the people of the other six which retained it there was at that time a similar estimate both of its justice and its economy, and that their leading statesmen, including those who spoke for them in the formation of the Constitution, expected and desired its abolition by legislative enactment. Washington wrote of slavery, "I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see some plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which this can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, so far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."¹¹ Thomas Jefferson predicted, "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people [the negroes] are to be free."¹² In the debate in the Constitutional Convention on the apportionment of taxes to population, Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, thought that "slaves should be excluded altogether [from the enumeration of taxable inhabitants], as being an encumbrance instead of increasing the ability to pay taxes."¹³ Such being throughout the country the feeling of the people as to slavery at the time of the formation of the Constitution, it was not difficult to effect a compromise upon that subject which safely provided for the existing condition of affairs in regard to it, and which seemed to provide equally well for the future. But, as we have seen, slavery not only brought then unimagined wealth to the slaveholder; it conferred upon him political power and peculiar privileges. In virtue of his slaves, his vote was of more weight than that of his fellow-citizen of the free states; and his superiority in this regard became greater as the number of bondsmen owned by him and his neighbors increased. Slave states became oligarchies, and slaveholders a bastard kind of aristocracy. It was this power, and not his slaves, which the slaveholder saw slipping from his hands, and therefore he rebelled. For power is sweet; and when held by an intelligent and determined body of men, whether rightfully or wrongfully, whether for good or for evil, for selfish ends or for the benefit of mankind, it will not be yielded without a struggle. Most especially is this true of men whose notions of right and wrong have been perverted by the seeking after pleas in justification of the holding of an inferior race in chattel bondage. There had been compromise before, but now the slaveholders saw that no compromise which was not absolute concession would restore and preserve their lost supremacy. On the other hand, the question of slavery was just the one on which the men of the free states could no longer compromise. There the feeling that slavery was moral wrong and political ruin, though not universal, had taken such firm hold of the public mind, that any arrangement which looked toward a spread of the evil would not have endured for half a generation. The leading slaveholders were wise enough to see this; and, therefore, they refused all compromise which was not full concession of their claims in perpetuity, accompanied by the power for their enforcement. These, then, were the causes of the rebellion. First, the determination of the slaveholders to maintain their political supremacy, and not to subside

into the condition of simple citizens of the republic; second, a radical change during the two generations which had passed since the adoption of the Constitution in the attitude of the people, both of the free and the slave states, toward slavery. Among the former this change had been effected by the progress of humanity and Christian civilization, which was unchecked within their borders; among the latter, by the rank-grown lust of riches and of power, and by the perverted moral sense of the people. Slavery was thus not the cause of the rebellion, but it was its indispensable condition. There was one other: the ignorance, the social degradation, and the sordid poverty and pride of the mass of the inhabitants of the slave states, which made the development among them of jealousy, suspicion, unfounded hate, and arrogant defiance of the people of the free states, by the machinations of the leading slaveholders, not only possible, but easy.

Having seen why the faction of progressive slavery, though in the minority in every slave state except South Carolina and perhaps Georgia, brought about the secession of eleven of the thirty-three divisions of the republic, let us now examine the grounds on which the government, supported by the whole people of the free states and a large majority of those in the border slave states, resisted the movement for the dissolution of the Union. Such an inquiry would seem superfluous were it not for the peculiar circumstances which distinguish the origin of this civil war from that of any other known to history. A nation, though ranking among the four great powers of the world, might, indeed, contain the seeds of its own dissolution; the statesmen who planned its Constitution might have been, from their lack of wisdom, of foresight, or of honesty, the architects of its ruin; but that a nation which attained its political independence and its unity by a noble sacrifice of blood, and treasure, and of local interest, and the organic law of whose existence was not extorted from power by peril, but evolved from circumstance and precedent through the cautious and protracted consultation of its own best representatives, should have been deliberately constituted so that it should die at the caprice of any one or two commonwealths formed out of its people and its territory; that its Constitution was purposely so framed that it would crumble to dust at the withdrawal of one of the parties to it, and that the right so to destroy it was carefully protected by its framers, the men who had given their lives to objects which it was intended to secure and perpetuate; that this should be, is morally so monstrous, so inconsistent with all the laws and the motives of human action, that it is difficult to believe that men in their senses could base upon such an assumption a great political and social revolution. And yet it was upon this ground that their action was defended by the insurgent slaveholders. They denied that they were rebels. They claimed that they were not resisting a government and setting at naught a Constitution to which they owed allegiance. They admitted that, until they passed their Ordinances of Secession, they were bound to obey the laws of the republic, and to respect the government at Washington; but they asserted that the right of secession belonged to every state; that its just exercise depended solely upon the will of the people of the state, who alone were to be consulted in the matter; and that by the mere passage of an Ordinance of Secession they were actually and rightfully absolved from all connection with, and responsibility to the government of the Union, and themselves became a sovereign, independent nation. The government at Washington and the people who were loyal to it looked in vain for the foundation of a theory so destructive, of a claim so extraordinary. It was not to be found in the Constitution, the organic law by virtue of which the nation existed. That instrument contained no clause which could be distorted into a justification of this preposterous plea; but, on the contrary, a positive declaration that the Union, even when confined to the states which originally entered into it, should be perpetual, and a provision for the punishment of treason and the putting down of rebellion. Equally vain was the search among the records of the debates and consultations which accompanied the formation of the Constitution, and in which all the differing views of its framers were brought forward, and all the various interests of the people whom they represented were urged, and either maintained, or yielded in a spirit of compromise. Throughout those protracted discussions there was no hint from any quarter of a reserved right of secession; but, on the other hand, from all quarters, and particularly from Virginia and South Carolina, the manifestation of an anxious desire to provide for the ample maintenance of the power of the national government against that of any state which might be tempted to deny or to resist it. Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, in his plan, especially provided that Congress should "call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfill its duty under the articles thereof." Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved "that the national Legislature should have authority to negative all laws of state Legislatures which they should judge to be improper;" and Mr. Madison, of Virginia, "could not but regard an indefinite power to negative legislative acts of the states as absolutely necessary to a perfect system." And in the final discussion of the Constitution itself, treason having been defined in the third Article as "levying war against the United States or any of them," Mr. Morris, of Pennsylvania, objected that "in case of a contest between the United States and a particular state, the people of the latter must, according to the disjunctive terms of the clause, be traitor to one or the other authority," this view prevailed at once, and the words "or any of them" were stricken out. Thus clearly was it seen by the fathers of the republic that national government might be resisted by one or more of the states; thus unmistakably intended that in such case the authority of that government should be maintained; thus explicitly set forth that such resistance was treason and rebellion, to be put down by the whole force of the Union. The pretense of the insurgents that their secession was not resistance was too shallow to deceive the loyal people for a day. The distinction

¹⁰ Extract from a Letter from Commodore Stewart to Mr. G. W. Childs, of Philadelphia.

Bordentown, May 4, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—Agreeably to your request, I now furnish you with the reminiscences of a conversation which passed between Mr. John C. Calhoun and myself in the latter part of December, 1812, after the declaration of war by the Congress of the United States against Great Britain on the 18th of June previous. * * *

Mr. Calhoun's age, I thought, approximated my own, which was thirty-four; and being a man of the highest order of talent, and representing a state in our Union which scarce ever permitted themselves to be represented by inferior ability in the national councils, I could not have commenced my object with one more fitted for the purpose I had in view. He was also a high-minded and honorable man, kind and friendly, as well as open and confiding to those he deemed worthy. We soon formed an intimacy, and I frequently had long conversations with him on the war, the subjects relating thereto, and matters growing out of its existence—the navy being the most prominent—the gunboats, the merchants' bonds then on the tapis in Congress, and other matters of political or minor interest. One evening I struck on the divided views of our sectional interests of the war—stated to him that the opposite feelings on this subject had puzzled me exceedingly, and asked him how it was that the planting states were so strongly and so decidedly in favor of the war, while the commercial states were so much opposed to it. With this latter section of our country it seemed to me that the punishment of England, through the medium of war, ought to meet their highest approbation and call for their greatest efforts, as they were the greatest sufferers, through her instrumentality and power over our commercial affairs, since 1792, which were so arrogantly urged by plunder and impressment on the highway of nations, while the southern portion of the Union had felt but little in comparison. I observed, with great simplicity, "You in the South and Southwest are decidedly the aristocratic portion of this Union; you are so in holding persons in perpetuity in slavery; you are so in every domestic quality; you are in every habit in your lives, living, and actions; so in habits, customs, intercourse, and manners; you neither work with your hands, heads, nor in any machinery, but live and have your living, not in accordance with the will of your Creator, but by the sweat of slavery, and yet you assume all the attributes, professions, and advantages of democracy."

Mr. Calhoun replied: "I see you speak through the head of a young statesman, and from the heart of a patriot, but you lose sight of the politician and the sectional policy of the people. I admit your conclusions in respect to us Southerners. That we are essentially aristocratic I can not deny, but we can and do yield much to democracy. This is our sectional policy; we are from necessity thrown upon and solemnly wedded to that party, however it may occasionally clash with our feelings for the conservation of our interests. It is through our affiliation with that party in the Middle and Western States that we hold power; but when we cease thus to control this nation through a disjointed democracy, or any material obstacle in that party which shall tend to throw us out of that rule and control, we shall then resort to the dissolution of the Union. The compromises in the Constitution, under the circumstances, were sufficient for our fathers; but, under the altered condition of our country from that period, leave to the South no resource but dissolution; for no amendments to the Constitution could be reached through a convention of the people under their three-fourths rule." I laughed incredulously, and said, "Well, Mr. Calhoun, ere such can take place, you and I will have been so long *non est* that we can now laugh at its possibility, and leave it with complacency to our children's children, who will then have the watch on deck." * * *

¹¹ Washington's letter to Robert Morris, April 12th, 1786. *Sparks' Washington*, vol. ix., p. 159.

¹² *Jefferson's Writings*, vol. i., p. 48.

¹³ *Madison Papers*.

between South Carolina's nullification of a law constitutionally passed which displeased her, and her secession upon the constitutional election of a President whom she did not like, was based upon a difference too slight and formal to receive even a respectful consideration from the straightforward, practical common sense of the intelligent and patriotic masses of the free states. Both proceedings had one end and aim—to make void the constitutional sovereignty of the republic, the will of the majority of the people lawfully expressed.

Peaceful national dismemberment, however, though difficult, is possible, and sometimes justifiable. Circumstances might arise under which justice, prudence, and humanity would all demand the severance of one part of a nation from the other. Did, then, justice, prudence, and humanity, or either of them, counsel the dismemberment of the Great Republic at the bidding of the controlling faction in eleven of the thirty-four commonwealths of which it was composed?

To determine the justice of their claim, we have only to consider the nature of the government from which they proposed to absolve themselves by their own action, and the organization of the nation which they proposed to destroy. Had the power or the nation known as the United States been a confederation, there might or might not have been reason in their claim to withdraw from it merely of their own motion. But we have seen that this was not the nature of the government which was formed in 1789. The government which preceded that was a confederacy; but that confederacy proving entirely inadequate to the absolute needs of the country, it was deliberately superseded by a government or national organization which was, and was asserted and recognized to be, not a confederacy, but a Union—a Making One—of the elements of the former confederacy—a fusion of them into one republic, which, admitting, and in fact preserving, the local independence of its various commonwealths in their local affairs, had one supreme government in its national affairs—one sovereign ruler, that sovereign being the will of the majority of its united people. This union was also (as in its very nature a Union—a Making One—must be) not a transient connection for profit or pleasure, but a merging of separate individuals into one, and was, for better for worse, perpetual.

The dictates of justice are absolute, and should be obeyed whatever ruin may ensue; but prudence looks to consequences. What, then, were the inevitable results of the division sought by the secessionists? For our purpose it is necessary to consider but one of them, the partition of a territory which, from its vastness, its fertility, its means of internal communication, its geographical position, and the character of the people by which it was inhabited, was, and must have remained, the dominant power of a continent, and which was united under one benign government, a government hardly felt by those who lived under it, or who rather were the government—the division of this territory among at least three rival powers, whose clashing interests and mutual jealousy must surely produce constant war, or that hardly less ruinous and demoralizing evil, a position of armed watchfulness

* After referring to a few points in which he argued that the Constitution of the Confederate States was an improvement upon that of the United States, Mr. Stephens continued:

"But, not to be tedious in enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow me to allude to one other—though last, not least: the new Constitution has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact; but whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built upon it—when the 'storm came and the wind blew, it fell."

"Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science.

"As I have stated, the truth of this principle may be slow in development, as all truths are, and ever have been, in the various branches of science. It was so with the principles announced by Galileo. It was so with Adam Smith, and his principles of political economy. It was so with Harvey, and his theory of the circulation of the blood. It is stated that not a single one of the medical profession, living at the time of the announcement of the truths made by him, admitted them. Now, they are universally acknowledged. May we not, therefore, look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests? It is the first government ever instituted upon principles in strict conformity to Nature and the ordination of Providence in furnishing the materials of human society. Many governments have been founded upon the principles of certain classes; but the classes thus enslaved were of the same race, and in violation of the laws of Nature. Our system commits no such violation of Nature's laws. The negro by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite—then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by Nature for it, and by experience we know that it is the best, not only for the superior, but for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of His ordinances or to question them. For His own purposes He has made one race to differ from another, as He has made 'one star to differ from another in glory.' The great objects of humanity are best attained, when conformed to his laws and decrees, in the formation of governments as well as in all things else. Our confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these laws. This stone which was rejected by the first builders 'is become the chief stone of the corner' in our new edifice."

How unwillingly Mr. Stephens embarked in the cause of secession is shown by his speeches in the Georgia Convention. We have given (*ante*, p. 19-21) a full report of a speech delivered on the 14th of November. We repeat a few of the leading points. He said:

"That this government of our fathers, with all its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good governments than any other on the face of the earth, is my settled conviction. . . . Where will you go, following the sun in his circuit round the globe, to find a government that better protects the liberties of its people, and secures to them the blessings that we enjoy? I think that one of the evils that beset us is a surfeit of liberty, an exuberance of the priceless blessings for which we are ungrateful. . . . Have not we at the South as well as the North grown great and happy under its operation? Has any part of the world ever shown such rapid progress in the

development of wealth, and all the material resources of power and greatness, as the Southern states have under the general government? . . . These [the civilization and institutions of Greece and Rome] were but the fruits of their forms of government, the matrix from which their grand development sprang; and when once the institutions of a people have been destroyed, there is no earthly power that can bring back the Promethean spark to kindle them here again any more than in that ancient land of eloquence, poetry, and song. And if we shall in an evil hour rashly pull down and destroy those institutions which the patriotic band of our fathers labored so long and so hard to build up, and which have done so much for us and the world, who can venture the prediction that similar results will not ensue? Let us avoid it if we can."

The same opinions were reiterated by Mr. Stephens on the 18th of January, less than a month before he accepted the vice-presidency of the confederacy whose formation he had so persistently opposed. In this speech he says:

"I am frank to say, that if we are to secede for existing causes, without any farther effort to secure our rights under the Constitution in the Union—if a majority of this Convention has lost all hope, and look upon secession as the only remedy left—in my opinion, the sooner we secede the better. Delay can effect no good. How this Convention stands upon that question I do not know. Some claim a large majority for immediate and unconditional secession, while others think there is a majority still looking with hope to redress and conciliation. I, for one, am very desirous of having this point settled and put to rest in good feeling and harmony among ourselves by a test vote. My action hereafter shall be influenced by that vote. . . . My judgment is against secession for existing causes. I have not lost hope of securing our rights in the Union and under the Constitution; that judgment on this point is as unshaken as it was when this Convention was called. . . . I have ever believed, and do now believe, that it is to the interest of all the states to be and remain united under the Constitution of the United States, with a faithful performance by each of all its constitutional obligations; if the Union could be maintained on this basis, and on these principles, I think it would be the best for the security, the liberty, happiness, and common prosperity of all. I do farther feel confident, if Georgia would now stand firm, and unite with the border states, as they are called, in an effort to obtain a redress of those grievances on the part of some of their Northern confederates whereof they have such just cause to complain, that complete success would attend the effort, our just and reasonable demands would be granted. In this opinion I may be mistaken, but I feel almost as confident of it as I do of my existence. . . . If, however," he concludes, "on the test vote, a majority shall be against the line of policy I indicate, then, sir, upon the point of immediate secession, or a postponement to some future day between this and the 4th of March, I am clearly of the opinion that no good can come from any such delay or postponement. . . . This is my view on that point. My judgment, as is well known, is against the policy. It can not receive the sanction of my vote; but if the judgment of a majority of this Convention, embodying as it does the sovereignty of Georgia, be against mine—if a majority of her delegates in this Convention shall, by their votes, dissolve the compact of union which has connected her so long with her confederate states, and to which I have been so ardently attached, and have made such efforts to continue and perpetuate upon the principles on which it was founded, I shall bow in submission to that decision. I have looked, and do look, upon our present government as the best in the world. This, with me, is a strong conviction. I have acted upon it as a great truth. But another great truth also presents itself to my mind, and that is, that no government is a good one for any people who do not so consider it. The wisdom of all governments consists mainly in their adaptation to the habits, the tastes, the feelings, wants, and affection of the people. The best system of government for our people might be the worse for another. If, therefore, the deliberate judgment of the sovereignty of Georgia shall be pronounced that our present government is a bad one, and shall be changed to some other better suited to our people, more promotive of our peace, security, happiness, and prosperity, while my individual judgment shall be recorded against it, yet my action shall conform to the decision made. Nay, more, sir, the cause of the state shall be my cause, her destiny shall be my destiny. To her support, defense, and maintenance all that I have and am shall be pledged. And however widely we of this Convention, as well as the people of the state, may have differed, or may now differ, as to the proper line of policy to be pursued at this juncture, I trust there will be but one feeling and one sentiment here and throughout our limits after the policy shall be adopted, let that be what it may. The cause of Georgia, whether for weal or woe, must and will be the cause of us all. Her safety, rights, interests, and honor, whatever fortunes await her, must and will be cherished in all our hearts, and defended, if need be, by all our hands."

His words found their ready echo in every insurgent's breast throughout the whole disaffected region, where more than two years afterward a leading organ of public opinion still avowed the rebellion "a protest against the mistaken civilization of the age." Is it to be wondered at that, such being the declared purpose of the insurgents, and so clear being their departure from the spirit and purpose of the founders of the republic in this regard, they were forced to admit this antagonism? Every citizen of the United States, in whose breast the love of gain or the love of ease, the lust of power or the canker of party spirit had not eaten out all patriotism and all humanity, should have decided, without a second thought, that they were to be resisted to the death. Such was the decision announced by the spontaneous and almost instantaneous UPRISING AT THE NORTH.