



MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, FEBRUARY 8, 1861.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

CHAPTER I.

THE UNION AND THE CONFEDERACY.

Design of this History.—Materials.—Secession of seven States.—Formation of the Confederacy.—Accession of Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina.—The Ordinances of Secession.—The free Population of the Union and the Confederacy.—The slave Population.—Its military Bearing.—Characteristics of the North and the South.—Towns and Cities.—The South better armed at the Outset.—Its Advantages in Position.—King Cotton.—Unanimity of the People at the South.—State Sovereignty and the Union.—The public and private Property seized by the Confederacy.—Railroad Communication at the South.—The two weak Points of the Confederacy.—Opening of Hostilities.

WE have now traced the origin and described the development of the Great Conspiracy against the Union, fortifying our statements by a copious array of documents. We have shown how, after forty years, it culminated in the Great Rebellion. We have depicted the great Uprising of the North to oppose that rebellion. Henceforth it remains for us to tell the story of the War for the Union. We are to show how a peaceful people, whose armies had for generations numbered only a few thousand men, found itself suddenly transformed into two great military nations, equipping and bringing into the field the greatest armies of modern times. We shall have to tell of many errors and not a few crimes—to speak of living men as freely as though they were dead—to narrate deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice on both sides. We shall have to tell of great victories and of great defeats—of opportunities thrown away and of disasters overcome. We shall unduly praise no man because he strove for the Right; we shall malign no man because he fought for the Wrong. We shall endeavor to anticipate the sure verdict of after ages upon events in which we have the deepest personal interest. Whether we shall in the end have to speak of a nation made stronger by the sharp trial through which it passed, or of that nation broken and shattered, the future must unfold.

The materials for our history are abundant. No war was ever before so waged in the world's eye. Many of the commanders have prepared, or propose to prepare, Commentaries upon their campaigns as minute as those of Cæsar. There is not a regiment, and hardly a company, which does not contain a man capable of describing the events which he saw and a part of which he was; and, above all, the Newspaper—the Fourth Estate in our modern civilization—has sent its ablest representatives into the field to watch and describe events as they occur. The files of any one of our great newspapers will contain more and better materials for the historian of the American War than were comprised in the libraries from which Gibbon elaborated the story of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, or the dusty archives from which Motley wrought out the History of the Rise and Growth

of the Dutch Republic. From these constantly accumulating materials we propose to write the history of the War for the Union.

We may consider this war to have fairly begun on the 8th of February, 1861, when the Southern Confederacy was formally inaugurated. All that had before been done was the isolated action of disaffected individuals and local communities. From that moment these individuals and communities became formidable by the league into which they had entered, and by the farther accessions upon which they might reasonably count. The die was cast when that Confederacy was formed. All previous steps might have been retraced; now, nothing was left but to submit the question to the arbitrament of strength, and to abide the consequences. We propose to pass in rapid review over the events which resulted in the formation of the Confederacy.

South Carolina formally seceded from the Union on the 20th of December, 1860. In the Convention which gave utterance to the feeling of the state there was no dissentient voice. If in the Convention or among the people there were any who opposed the measure, they kept discreet silence. Charleston, which is to South Carolina more than Paris is to France or London to England, was jubilant upon the passage of the ordinance of secession. Every man, young or old, exulted that the Palmetto State had overthrown a great government. A few wiser men looked farther into the future. "We have," said a delegate in the Convention, "pulled down the temple that has been built for three quarters of a century. We must now clear the rubbish away and reconstruct another. We are houseless and homeless. We must shelter ourselves from storms."

A month had hardly elapsed before five other states ranged themselves by the side of South Carolina. Three of these did so almost simultaneously during the second week of January. In Mississippi an effort was made to postpone action; but this proving unavailing, all the delegates in Convention voted for the ordinance of secession on the 9th of the month. In Alabama the opposition was more decided. The ordinance of secession was passed in secret session by a vote of 61 to 39. The minority had vainly striven to have it referred to the people. One delegate affirmed that, unless this was done, the northern section of the state would not submit to the action of the Convention. The impetuous Yancey denounced the people of this section as traitors and rebels who should be forced to submit. The opposition was overawed; some of the delegates pledged their constituents to the support of the ordinance; the others held their peace. In Florida the opposition was merely nominal. A resolution affirming the right of the state to secede passed by a vote of 62 to 5. Upon the question of the adoption of the ordinance, only 7 out of 69 voted against it. In these three states

the ordinances for secession were hurried through within two or three days after the assembling of the Conventions. In Georgia the contest was sharp, and for a while the result seemed doubtful. A fortnight before the secession of South Carolina the Legislature had, by a large majority, passed resolutions declaring that the interests of the slaveholding states were identical, and that they must remain one; affirming the right of any state to secede; denying the right of the federal government to attempt to coerce a state; and pledging Georgia, in case such attempt were made, to support the seceding state. These resolutions were afterward rescinded by a close vote, but were subsequently re-enacted in substance. The Convention met on the 16th of January. A resolution declaring it to be the duty of the state to secede, and appointing a committee to frame an ordinance for that purpose, was passed only by a vote of 165 to 130. But the victory was won. The ordinance, as drawn up, was passed by 208 to 89, and was subsequently signed by all the members. How strenuously those who opposed the measure struggled against it under the able lead of Mr. Stephens, and how unwillingly he, though voting against it, finally gave it his support as a matter of necessity, has been already shown in these pages. The Convention of Louisiana met on the 24th of January, and two days afterward passed an ordinance of secession by a vote of 113 to 17.

Delegates from these six states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina—met at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 4th of February. The hall in which they assembled was adorned with portraits of Washington, Marion, Jackson, and Clay. There was little occasion for debate. The states which they represented had decided upon the formation of a Southern Confederacy. In four days all preliminary arrangements were completed, a Provisional Constitution, almost identical with that of the United States, framed, and Jefferson Davis elected president, and Alexander H. Stephens vice-president of the new nation. To the original six states Texas should properly be added, as her representatives appeared within a week, were admitted to seats, sanctioned all the previous proceedings of the Congress, and took part in those that followed. We have already narrated the early measures of this government. We now propose to glance briefly at the strength which was absolutely at its disposal, and that upon which it might reasonably count from accessions of states which had not yet seceded from the Union.

By the census of 1860 the entire population of the United States was thirty-one and a half millions, of whom twenty-seven and a half millions were free and four millions slaves.¹ The seven seceding states had a little more than two and a half millions of free persons, and a little less than that number of slaves. Leaving the slaves for the present out of view as an element of either strength or weakness, two and a half millions had thrown down the gage of battle to twenty-five millions. But the contest was not to be waged against such odds. Arkansas was, in any case, sure to join the Confederacy. If war ensued, the accession of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee might safely be reckoned upon. The result justified these anticipations.

Virginia was the first to join the Confederacy. We have already narrated the successive steps by which this was accomplished. The ordinance of secession and the ratification of the Provisional Constitution were passed on the 17th of April, subject to the decision of the people at an election to be held six weeks later; but, in the mean while, a compact had been entered into by which the state virtually became at once a member of the Confederacy. The result of the popular vote was a majority of more than a hundred thousand in favor of secession. There were, however, no returns sent in from thirty-four counties. These, with some others, finally organized themselves into the new state of Western Virginia. Virginia became virtually a member of the Confederacy on the 24th of April. In Arkansas a Conven-

¹ In the following paragraphs the estimates have been expressed approximately in round numbers. The succeeding table presents the exact figures, according to the Census of 1860:

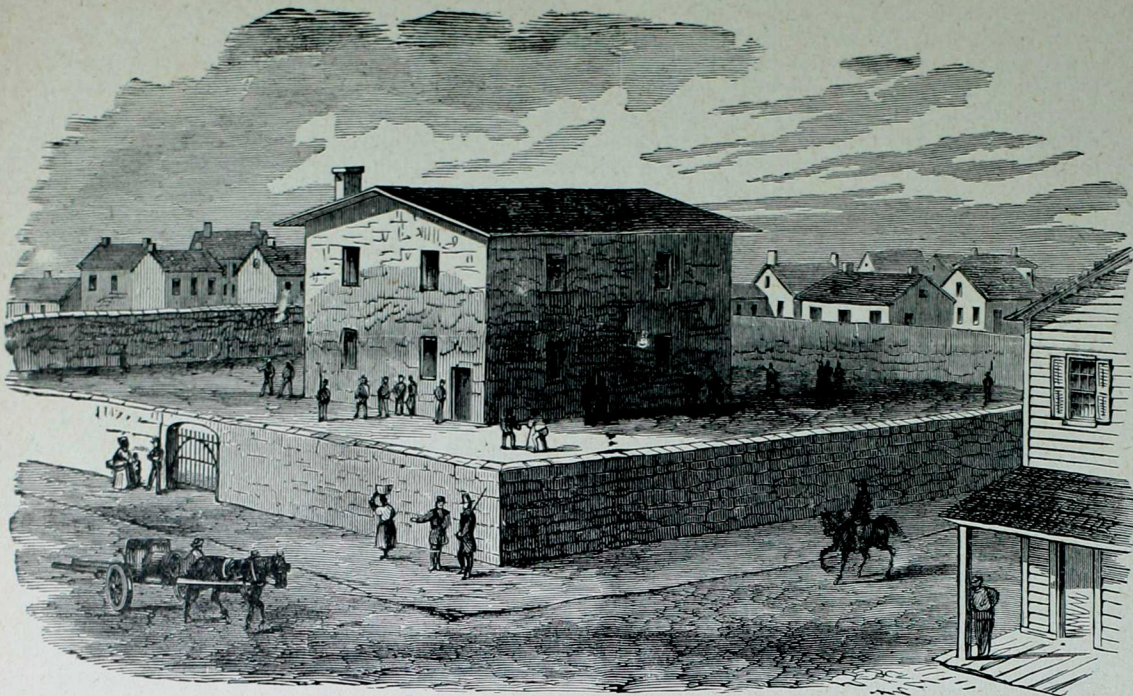
THE UNION.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.
California.....	376,200	3,816		380,016
Connecticut.....	451,609	8,542		460,151
Delaware.....	90,697	19,723	1,798	112,218
Illinois.....	1,704,684	7,069		1,711,753
Indiana.....	1,340,072	10,869		1,350,941
Iowa.....	673,925	1,023		674,948
Kansas.....	106,487	623		107,110
Kentucky.....	920,077	10,146	225,490	1,155,713
Maine.....	627,081	1,195		628,276
Maryland.....	516,128	83,718	87,188	687,034
Massachusetts.....	1,221,611	9,454		1,231,065
Michigan.....	742,289	6,823		749,112
Minnesota.....	171,793	229		172,022
Missouri.....	1,064,369	2,983	114,965	1,182,317
New Hampshire.....	325,622	450		326,072
New Jersey.....	647,084	24,947		672,031
New York.....	3,831,730	49,005		3,880,735
Ohio.....	2,303,374	36,225		2,339,599
Oregon.....	52,343	121		52,464
Pennsylvania.....	2,849,997	56,373		2,906,370
Rhode Island.....	170,703	3,918		174,621
Vermont.....	314,534	582		315,116
Wisconsin.....	774,392	1,481		775,873
District of Columbia.....	60,788	11,107	3,181	75,076
Territories.....	219,781	299	63	220,143
TOTAL UNION.....	21,557,370	350,721	432,685	22,340,776
THE CONFEDERACY.				
Alabama.....	526,534	2,630	435,132	964,296
Arkansas.....	324,186	137	111,104	435,427
Florida.....	77,773	903	61,753	140,439
Georgia.....	591,638	3,439	462,232	1,057,329
Louisiana.....	357,642	18,638	333,010	709,290
Mississippi.....	353,969	731	436,696	791,396
North Carolina.....	631,489	30,097	331,081	992,667
South Carolina.....	291,623	9,648	402,541	703,812
Tennessee.....	826,828	7,235	275,784	1,109,847
Texas.....	421,411	339	180,682	602,432
Virginia.....	1,047,613	57,579	490,887	1,596,079
TOTAL CONFEDERACY.....	5,450,711	131,401	3,520,902	9,103,014

tion met on the 4th of March. A small majority of the members were thought to be opposed to immediate secession. The Convention adjourned until the 6th of May without taking any decided action. During this interval an entire change had come over the popular mind, and an ordinance of secession was passed almost as soon as the Convention reassembled, with only a single dissenting vote, and within a week Arkansas became a member of the Confederacy. Tennessee was at first wholly opposed to the precipitate action of South Carolina. At the presidential election she had voted for Mr. Bell, the candidate of a party whose platform was "the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws." But from the moment when it was apparent that the extreme Southern states would secede, the governor, Isham G. Harris, undertook to urge Tennessee to follow their example. He kept up an active correspondence with the leaders of the secession, and called the Legislature together to deliberate upon the state and the federal governments. The South, he said, should demand concessions which would never be granted. The Legislature were loth to follow the lead of the governor. It indeed passed a bill authorizing the election of delegates to a Convention, but at the same time submitting to the people the question whether they should meet. Out of 106,000 votes, the disunion candidates received only 25,000, and at the same time it was voted by a majority of 12,000 that the Convention should not be held. It seemed that the question of secession was put at rest; but the call of President Lincoln for troops produced intense excitement throughout the state. The Legislature had before declared that if any troops were sent to the South, Tennessee would resist at all hazards and to the last extremity. To the President's call the governor replied that the state would not furnish a man for the purpose of coercion, but would, if necessary, furnish fifty thousand to aid the South. The Legislature was convened, and the governor recommended the passage of an ordinance declaring Tennessee independent of the federal Union, and another adopting the Montgomery Constitution. These ordinances were passed on the 6th of May by a vote of 66 to 25, to be subject to a vote of the people on the 8th of June. On the 7th of May, a compact, entered into by commissioners, was sanctioned, by which the military power of the state was placed under the control of the President of the Confederate States. In Eastern Tennessee, out of 48,000 votes, 33,000 were against separation; but this majority was largely overbalanced by the other parts of the state, 104,913 votes in all being given for separation, and only 47,700 against it. Tennessee became formally a member of the Confederacy on the 8th of June; but her real accession must be dated from the 7th of May, when the Legislature sanctioned the compact placing the whole military force of the state under the control of the President of the Confederate States. North Carolina drifted more slowly, but not less surely, into the confederate vortex. Early in January the forts upon her coast had been seized by mere local authority. The governor disavowed the action, and offered to restore them to the possession of the United States upon condition that they should remain ungarrisoned. This condition was accepted by the feeble Buchanan and his treacherous cabinet. The consequence was that they were soon repossessed by the enemy, now acting under the authority of the governor. After many delays the State Convention assembled, and on the 20th of May passed ordinances for withdrawing from the Union and joining the Confederacy. On that same day, eighty-six years before, had been put forth the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence, in virtue of which the State of North Carolina has always plumed herself upon being the real founder of the United States.

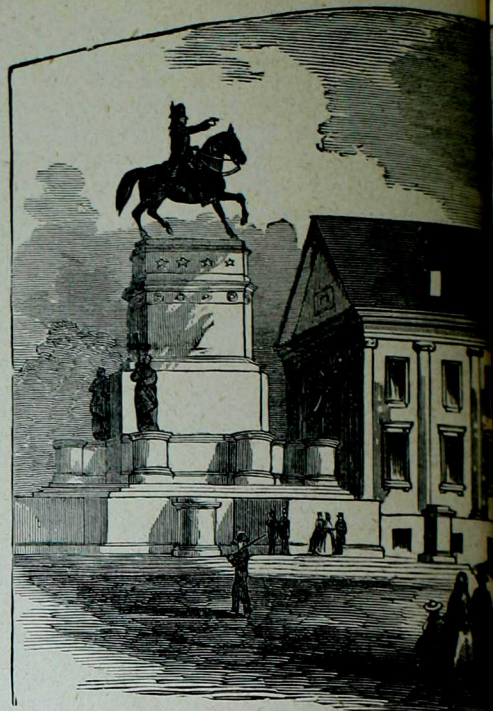
The eleven states which now composed the Confederacy had a free population of five and a half millions, leaving twenty-one and a half millions in the Union. But it was confidently believed at the South, and for a time feared at the North, that Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri would go with the other slaveholding states. This would bring the population of the Confederacy up to eight millions, leaving nineteen millions to the Union. These anticipations and fears have not been realized, although the confederates have received much support from individuals of these states, and Kentucky and Missouri have been nominally admitted as members of the Confederacy, and are represented in the Congress.

But, besides the free population, the Confederate States contain three and a half millions of slaves. There was room for great difference of opinion as to the influence of this class of the population upon the military resources of the nation. The North believed that instead of adding strength it was an element of positive weakness. Not only was society so constituted that from more than three eighths of the able-bodied population not a soldier could be raised for the army or a dollar for the revenue, but they were from their very condition so hostile to their masters that a large part of the whites must remain at home to keep the blacks in subjection. In the war of 1812, it was said, a British force of less than 5000 men, so weary with long confinement on shipboard that they hardly deserved the name of an army, had marched many miles through a populous country, burned our national Capitol, and retired without meeting any serious opposition. Imagine, it was said, 5000 weary and footsore men landing somewhere on the New England coast, marching under a fierce August sun to Albany, doing what damage they pleased, and retiring unmolested. The very women, with their shovels and brooms, would have made prisoners of the whole invading force. The only explanation was that the masters were afraid of their slaves, and thought only of saving their own throats from the knives of their servants. In the slaves the British had good friends and sure means of information. Like causes would always produce like effects. The march of a Union army into the South would be the signal of a general servile uprising.

The South denied all this. They affirmed that their domestic institution gave them power as a military nation altogether beyond their mere population. In every state, they said, there must be men who govern, and if need



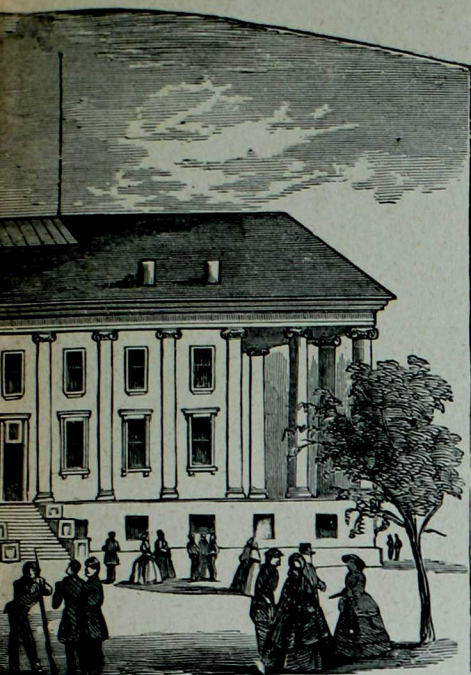
HENRICO COUNTY JAIL, RICHMOND



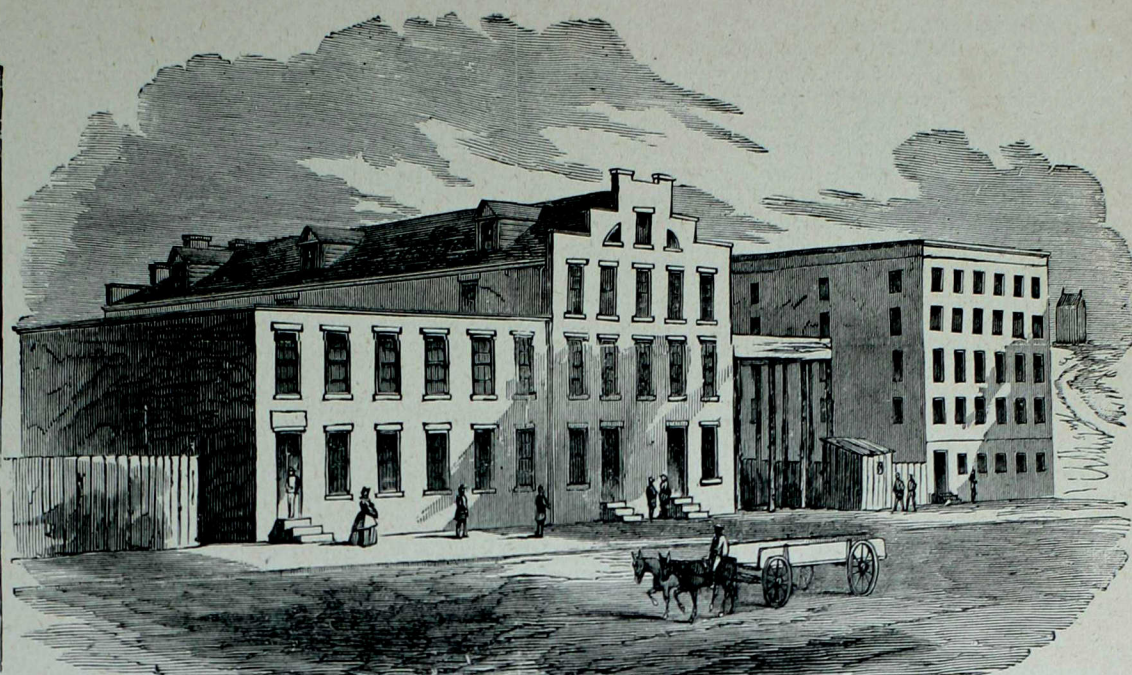
THE CAPITOL



THE CITY OF RICHMOND



RICHMOND.



REBEL PRISONS ON MAIN, NEAR TWENTY-FIFTH STREET, RICHMOND.



MOND, VIRGINIA.

be fight, and others who hold the place of rulers and legislators. Every where else in the civilized world these two classes merge into each other so gradually that no one can draw the line between them. With us the line is clear and palpable. Every black man knows that he is a laborer, and can be nothing more. Every white man feels that he is a ruler to-day, and may be called upon to be a soldier to-morrow. So completely under our institutions are the ordinary labors of the day performed by the slaves, that every able-bodied white man could take the field at a week's notice, and every thing would go on almost as before. Try this at the North: take three fifths of your men of military age from their farms and their workshops, and every thing would come to a stand in a month. There is no danger of an uprising of the slaves. If they were disposed to rise, they have no means of arming themselves or of acting in concert. Besides, they have no disposition to rise. They have been for generations so trained to obedience, that the women, the old men, and the boys, who can not take the field, will be amply able to keep them in subjection.

There was something of truth in both of these representations. For a short war, waged abroad, or even upon the frontiers of the country, slavery, as the event proved, undoubtedly gave great facilities for raising and equipping an army. There is probably no other nation of eight millions who could raise from nothing the armies which the Confederacy has brought into and maintained in the field. The habits of the people furnished a basis for a military organization. The population was almost entirely rural. New Orleans was indeed a great city, with 170,000 inhabitants; next, but at a wide interval, came Charleston, Richmond, Montgomery, and Mobile, each with 30,000 or 40,000; then came half a dozen cities with from 15,000 to 25,000; beyond these there was hardly a town with more than 5000. Of the rural population every man owned a gun, most of them a horse, and there were few who were not to a good degree expert in their use and management. Men living far apart, with abundant leisure, naturally seek occasions of coming together. These, in the South, were mainly afforded by the regular sessions of the courts and by militia musters. The court-houses are usually placed as nearly as possible in the centre of the county. The militia musters were held at the same place. From all the region the people thronged to court and muster. The parade of the militia was the least attraction at these gatherings; but every man was enrolled in some company, and had learned something of discipline. Rude as this militia organization was, it formed a basis for something better, and did good service when the people were summoned to actual warfare. The South, in a few months, was enabled to transform itself into a great military camp, with no serious breaking in upon the routine of its daily life.

At the North, and especially in the East, the case was different. Every man was engaged in some regular occupation. A large proportion were gathered into cities and towns. Besides New York and Philadelphia, whose population exceeded 600,000 each, there were six cities with more than 100,000, averaging 150,000; nearly a score with from 40,000 to 80,000, and fully fifty more with 10,000 each, besides towns almost without number with more than 5000, which were so closely connected with the cities that they might be considered suburban. Nearly one half of the people of the North lived in cities and large villages; nine tenths of the South lived in the country. The tendency of the free states was toward an aggregation of population; that of the South toward segregation. With few exceptions, the urban population of the North increased more rapidly than the rural; with few exceptions, the rural population of the South increased more rapidly than the urban. The consequence of this is inevitable. The man in the country may need to protect himself and his household, and so provides himself with arms; the man in a town is protected by the police, and requires no arms. The rule was, therefore, that the Southern man was armed and the Northern man was not. Our farmers, mechanics, and laborers undoubtedly furnished better materials for an army than the Southern planters and idlers, but it required more time to transform them into soldiers.

For the purpose which they had in view, the South had also the advantage in position. They contemplated only a defensive war; for their meditated capture of Washington was considered merely taking possession of what geographically and politically belonged to them. If the Union would consent to be broken up without a contest, there would be no fighting. The Union must carry the war, if there was to be war, into the confederate territory, and could reach no vital point except by long marches. The difficulties in the way of an invading army increase with every mile. The great master of war was conquered rather by the space and climate of Russia than by her arms. We had equal space to traverse, and a not less unfavorable climate to encounter before we could reach any vital point. Indeed, with the exception of the three or four ports from which her cotton was shipped, the South had no points of such vital importance that a blow reaching any one of them would have been of serious consequence. To the blockade of her ports and the consequent destruction of her commerce she could for a while submit; the more so, as she had plausible reason to believe that the great powers of the world could not suffer this to last long. Favored by climate, soil, and circumstances, the South had gained the monopoly of an article which had come to be a necessity for the world. Europe must have cotton, and she could get it only from the South. A quarter of the people of England, and a considerable part of those of every other civilized country, lived by the manufacture of cotton; without a supply of the raw material they must starve. If, therefore, in consequence of the war, this supply was cut off, the nations must somehow find a pretext for putting an end to the war. Nay, the North itself could not live without cotton. Cotton fed the manufactories of Massachusetts, and freighted the ships of New York. The woollens from England, the wines from Germany, the silks from France,

and the teas from China, were paid for by cotton. Without cotton the industry and commerce of all nations must languish. The world would suffer more from the want of cotton than the South could from the want of an open market for it. For every negro prevented by the war and blockade from raising cotton, five white men would be doomed to idleness and consequent privation from the want of it to manufacture. "Cotton is King" passed into a proverb at the South.

The Confederacy was strong, also, in the entire unanimity of its people. Some of the states hesitated whether they should secede; but, that step once taken, there was no perceptible opposition except in Western Virginia and Eastern Tennessee. Every man felt bound to go with his state, right or wrong. The dogma of the supremacy of the states, inculcated for forty years, had become an absolute article of political faith. The federal government was only an agent created by the states, to be used or discarded at pleasure. A Southerner hardly styled himself an American; he was a Virginian or a Carolinian, a Georgian or a Mississippian. When his state seceded he must follow her fortunes. He might have sworn a thousand civil oaths to be faithful to the Constitution; he might even have taken the military oath—the *sacramentum*, the most sacred obligation known among men—so sacred, that when the founders of our faith needed a term for the obligation which bound a Christian to his Lord, they could only borrow this, and designate the supreme rites of the Church as "sacraments;" he might, like Lee and Davis, like Beauregard and Johnston, have taken this sacramental oath a hundred times, and yet it had no binding force when his state chose to absolve him from it. Many of these men sacrificed much in following their states. Lee had to abandon Arlington House, the spot next after Mount Vernon most closely associated with the memory of the Father of his Country; the two Johnstons gave up posts of honor and profit which it had cost them years to win. There were knaves like Floyd and Thompson, visionaries like Stephens and Jackson, schemers like Davis and Wise, adventurers like Maffit and Semmes; but we can not deny, what future ages will affirm, that not a few of the men who acted prominent parts upon the wrong side in this great war were moved by the sternest sense of what they deemed to be right. In violating their obligations to the Union they acted in obedience to what they deemed the higher law of state sovereignty. If men who had taken upon themselves such obligations thus violated them, it is no wonder that the mass of the people were led away. It was as much as a man's social standing was worth to refrain from joining the army. The women were even in advance of the men. No man who cared to be received in society dared be other than a secessionist. Thus the entire available force of the South was from the outset at the disposal of the confederate leaders.

The North, though vastly superior in numbers and accumulated wealth, showed at first no such unanimity. The ties between the great Democratic party of the North and the South had been so close that many believed the members of this party would yield every thing to their old associates rather than engage in a war to be waged on the platform of their political opponents. The President was not the first choice of a majority even at the North. Many hoped and more feared that he would not be sustained even at home. He was new in public affairs—was unacquainted with most of the men upon whose support he must rely. He could not know whom to trust and whom to suspect. No man ever assumed responsibilities under more trying circumstances than Abraham Lincoln. How he has discharged these responsibilities, the events which we are to relate will show.

The Confederacy, completed by the accession of the Border States, showed a united front. There was every prospect of a Union divided against itself to be opposed to it. It was apparently justified in its first arrogant measures. It could not anticipate the results shown by the great uprising at the North, which proved that love for the Union and a determination to uphold it were paramount to all party considerations. It could not foresee that Democrats would not be behind their old Republican opponents in supporting the war. The Confederacy held firm possession of almost every rood of territory which it claimed. Fortress Monroe in Virginia, Forts Pickens in Florida, Taylor on Key West, and Jefferson on the Tortugas, were all that remained to the Union within the bounds of the Confederate States. With the exception of the few hundred acres within the walls of these fortresses, a narrow strip on the Potomac, and the northwestern corner of Virginia, not a rood remained to the Union of the nearly eight hundred thousand square miles within the eleven seceding states. These four fortresses were, indeed, of inestimable value. Monroe commanded Hampton Roads, the only good harbor on the Atlantic coast south of the Delaware; had that fallen into the hands of the enemy, we should have had no place on the Southern coast for a rendezvous for our naval expeditions. Pickens commanded Pensacola, the only good harbor and naval dépôt on the Gulf of Mexico. Taylor and Jefferson commanded the throat of the Gulf; every vessel entering or leaving it must pass within sight of both. The other forts, a score in number, which had been built by the United States at a cost of ten millions of dollars, and were mounted with more than 1500 guns, had been seized by the states in which they were situated and turned over to the Confederacy. Besides these was the great arsenal at Norfolk, with 2500 great guns in store, and various other arsenals containing some hundreds of cannon, and small-arms sufficient for 150,000 men. There were also mints, hospitals, and custom-houses which had cost fully six millions; stores and supplies worth many millions, and nearly 150 light-houses along the coast from the capes of Virginia to the farther extreme of Texas. Apart from the public lands, it is safe to estimate that national property worth a hundred million dollars was seized by the Confederacy. The South, moreover, had always been a large debtor to the North. Southern merchants and planters made their purchases upon the credit of the cotton crop to be brought to market. The



BALLOON VIEW OF THE SEAT OF WAR.



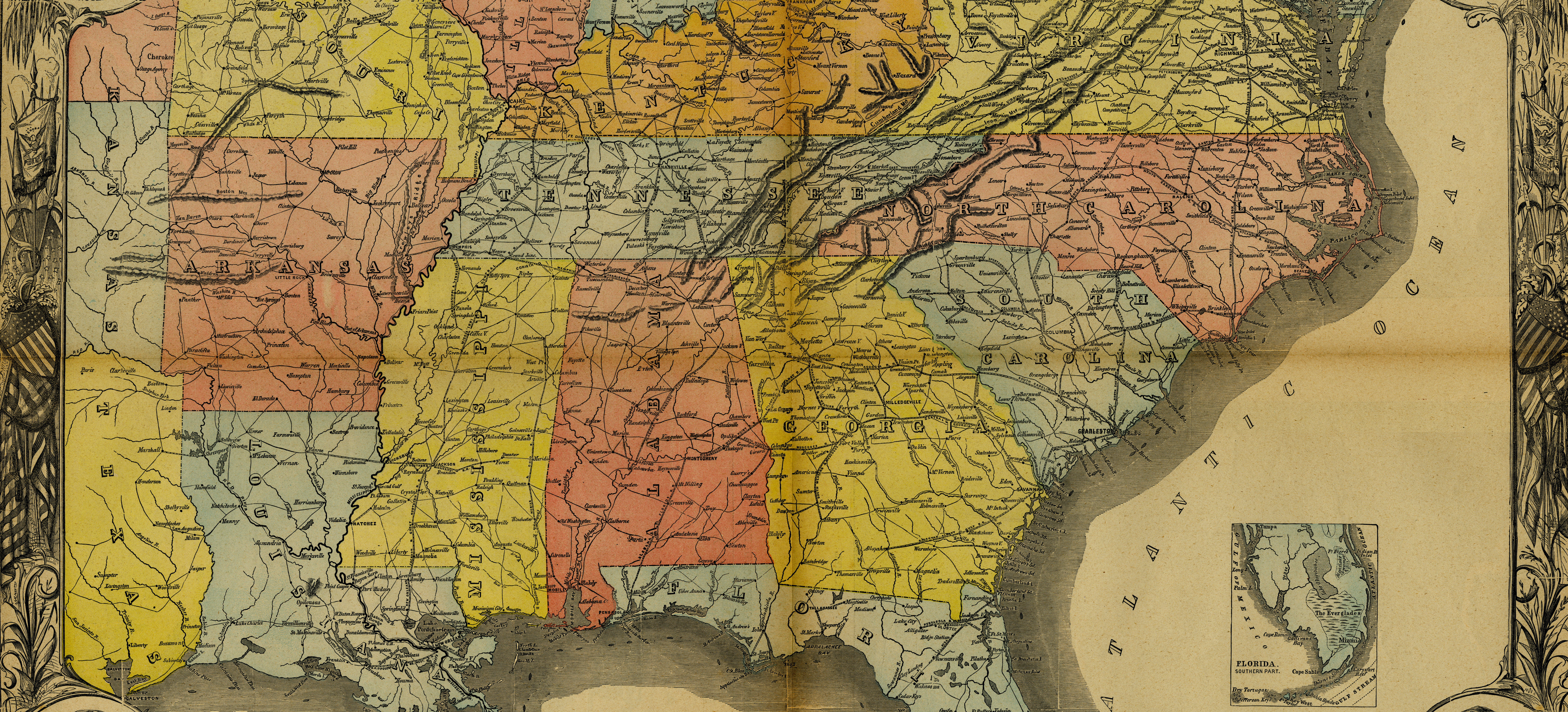
PICTORIAL MAP OF PORTIONS OF DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, AND



NORTH CAROLINA, WITH THE COAST LINE FROM CAPE HENRY TO FORT PICKENS.

MAP OF THE SOUTHERN STATES, INCLUDING

RAIL ROADS, COUNTY TOWNS, STATE CAPITALS, COUNTY ROADS, THE SOUTHER COAST FROM DELAWARE TO TEXAS, SHOWING THE HARBORS, INLETS, FORTS AND POSITION OF BLOCKADING SHIPS.



EXPLANATION
 — Rail Roads
 — Common —
 - - - - - Bonding States
 • Blockading Ships
 • County Towns
 • State Capitals.

SCALE OF MILES.
 0 20 40 60 80 100

PREPARED FOR HARPER'S PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR. DECEMBER, 1863.



BALLOON VIEW OF FORTRESS MONROE AND HAMPTON ROADS.

amount of the debt thus due at the time of secession has been variously estimated at from one hundred to three hundred millions of dollars. The most reliable estimate is framed on the supposition that the cotton crop was in effect mortgaged for half its value. This crop was worth three hundred millions. Southern merchants and planters, therefore, owed one hundred and fifty millions to the North. This was at once confiscated, and the debtors were ordered to pay the amount into the Confederate treasury.

If war was to be waged, it was clearly for the interest of the cotton states that it should be waged on the border. Accordingly, Virginia had hardly joined the Confederacy before the seat of government was removed from Montgomery to Richmond, which then became for a time the centre from which military operations were directed. It was admirably adapted for this purpose. It was so far inland that it could be assailed only by a force vastly superior to its defenders. It had large manufactures of arms and provisions. It was connected by a system of railways with the extreme south and southwest, which would enable the whole force of the Confederacy to be speedily concentrated for its defense. If the system of Southern railways had been constructed especially for military purposes, it could hardly have been better contrived. One line, commencing in Central Georgia, follows the general run of the coast, touches at Savannah and Charleston, then, striking into the interior, reaches Richmond. Another line, starting at New Orleans, runs northward, parallel with the Mississippi, to the neighborhood of Memphis; then, turning almost due east, traverses the very heart of the South, through Tennessee and Virginia, to Richmond. These two great trunk lines are connected by branches reaching into every portion of the Southern States, and from Richmond sending offshoots to the Potomac. Thus, if Richmond were threatened, troops and supplies could be hurried by rail from the far south and southwest. If Charleston or Mobile were threatened, forces from Virginia, Mississippi, and Tennessee could be concentrated there. If Tennessee or Georgia were menaced from Ohio or Kentucky, all the available force of the Confederacy could be dispatched by short routes to the point assailed. A careful study of the general map of the Southern states which we furnish will show that the South had a great advantage in position for carrying on a war of defense. It occupied the centre of a circle, around the circumference of which the North must move. The advantage was hardly less for an offensive movement. If our armies on the Potomac were weakened to support those in the Valley of the Mississippi, the Confederacy could speedily concentrate its armies in Virginia, and hurl them

in a mass upon Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Union had to maintain two great armies, one upon the Potomac, the other upon the Mississippi and its great affluents, which must act in a measure independently of each other, on account of the long distances which separated them, while the Confederacy could at pleasure throw its whole force upon either. Thus it happened that while the armies of the Union in the aggregate far outnumbered those of the Confederacy, the latter might be able, as they did, to confront their opponents at almost any given point with equal or superior strength.

The Confederacy thus entered into the contest with a strength altogether beyond that indicated by its population. It had, indeed, two weak points closely connected with each other. The accumulated capital of the South was mainly invested in slaves. If a Southron gained money, he invested it in negroes. The value of an ordinary field-hand had trebled in a few years in consequence of the regular demand for and high price of cotton. If the production of cotton were permanently suspended, slaves would lose their value. A long war of necessity involved this result, and the finances of the South would become embarrassed. Moreover, the character of property which attached to slaves depended upon positive law. If the federal government should pass an act of emancipation, with the power to enforce its execution, the wealth of the slaveholders would be swept away at a blow. That the government had a right to do this, if it were necessary as a war measure, was undisputed; but the public sentiment of the North was, at the outset, wholly opposed to the exercise of this right, and it was long kept in abeyance.

Thus, during the spring of 1861, the Union and the Confederacy stood fairly opposed to each other; all attempts at conciliation had failed, and the forces of each party were confronting each other. The confederate government had established itself at Richmond, and had pushed its outposts so far northward that they could see the dome of the federal Capitol across the Potomac. The national capital had been secured from the immediate danger which threatened it, but the determination to capture it was the prevailing sentiment of the Confederacy. It was commanded by the heights on the Virginia side of the Potomac, and the occupation of these by the federal forces was absolutely essential to the safety of Washington. Forces were also gathering in Western Virginia and Missouri, and were on the point of coming into collision. We turn to these three regions, so widely separated in space, where the first actual military operations commenced almost simultaneously near the close of May, 1861.¹

THE ORDINANCES OF SECESSION.

The following are the Ordinances of Secession of the several states, arranged in the order in which they were passed. Mere formal expressions and supplementary provisions are omitted or abridged; but the essential portions, which are embraced within quotations, are copied textually. To her brief Ordinance of Secession South Carolina added an elaborate "Declaration of Causes," which will be found at length on page 23 of this History:

SOUTH CAROLINA.—"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1798, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of the state ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of 'The United States of America,' is hereby dissolved."—Passed December 20, 1861.

FLORIDA.—"Whereas all hope of preserving the Union, upon terms consistent with the safety and honor of the slaveholding states, has been fully dissipated by the recent indications of the strength of the anti-slavery sentiment of the free states, therefore be it enacted, that it is the undoubted right of any state to withdraw from the Union when it pleases, and that Florida should now exercise this right; and "the State of Florida hereby withdraws herself from the confederacy of states existing under the name of the United States of America, and from the existing government of the said states; and that all political connection between her and the government of the said states ought to be, and the same is hereby totally annulled, and said union of states dissolved, and the State of Florida is hereby declared a sovereign and independent nation; and that all ordinances heretofore adopted, in so far as they create or recognize said union, are rescinded; and all laws or parts of laws in force in this state, in so far as they recognize or assent to said union, be, and they are hereby repealed."—Passed January 7, 1861.

MISSISSIPPI.—"The people of Mississippi, in Convention assembled, ordain," etc., "That all the laws and ordinances by which the said State of Mississippi became a member of the federal Union of the United States of America be, and the same are hereby repealed; and that all obligations on the part of the said state, or the people thereof, be withdrawn; and that the said state does hereby resume all the rights, functions, and powers which by any of the said laws and ordinances were conveyed to the government of the said United States, and is absolved from all the obligations, restraints, and duties incurred to the said federal Union, and shall henceforth be a free, sovereign, and independent state." The provision of the state Constitution requiring officers to swear to support the Constitution of the United States is annulled; and the state consents to form a union with other seceding states "upon the basis of the present Constitution of the United States, except such parts thereof as embrace other portions than such seceding states."—Passed January 9, 1861.

ALABAMA.—"Whereas the election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin to the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States by a sectional party, avowedly hostile to the domestic institutions and to the peace and security of the people of the State of Alabama, preceded by many and dangerous infractions of the Constitution of the United States by many of the states and people of the northern section, is a political wrong of so insulting and menacing a character as to justify the people of the State of Alabama in the adoption of prompt and decided measures for their future peace and security: Therefore be it declared," etc., that the State of Alabama now withdraws "from the Union known as 'The United States of America,' and henceforth ceases to be one of the said United States, and is, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and independent state;" and all powers heretofore delegated to the United States are "resumed and vested in the people of the State of Alabama." And as it is the wish of the State of Alabama to meet the slaveholding states of the South to form a provisional as well as permanent government, the people of these states are requested to meet by delegates at Montgomery on the 4th of February, 1861, for the purpose of securing "concerted and harmonious action in whatever measures may be deemed most desirable for our common peace and safety."—Passed January 11, 1861.

GEORGIA.—"We, the people of the State of Georgia, ordain," etc., "That the ordinance adopted by the people of Georgia in Convention, in the year 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was assented to, ratified, and adopted, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting the amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated; and we do further declare and ordain that the union now subsisting between the State of Georgia and other states, under the name of 'The United States of America,' is hereby dissolved; and that the State of Georgia is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent state."—Passed January 19, 1861.

TEXAS.—"Whereas the federal government has failed to accomplish the purposes of the compact of union between these states, in giving protection either to the persons of our people upon an exposed frontier or to the property of our citizens; and whereas the action of the Northern states is violative of the compact between the states and the guarantees of the Constitution; and whereas the recent developments in the federal affairs make it evident that the power of the federal government is sought to be made a weapon with which to strike down the interests and property of the people of Texas and her sister slaveholding states, instead of permitting it to be, as it was intended, our shield against outrage and oppression; therefore we the people ordain," etc., "That the ordinance adopted by our convention of delegates on the 4th day of July, A.D. 1845, and afterward ratified by us, under which the republic of Texas was admitted into the Union with other states, and became a party to the compact styled 'The United States of America,' be, and is

hereby repealed and annulled; that all the powers which by the said compact were delegated by Texas to the federal government are resumed; that Texas is of right absolved from all restraints and obligations incurred by said compact, and is a sovereign and independent state, and that her citizens and people are absolved from all allegiance to the United States and the government thereof."—Passed February 7, 1861.

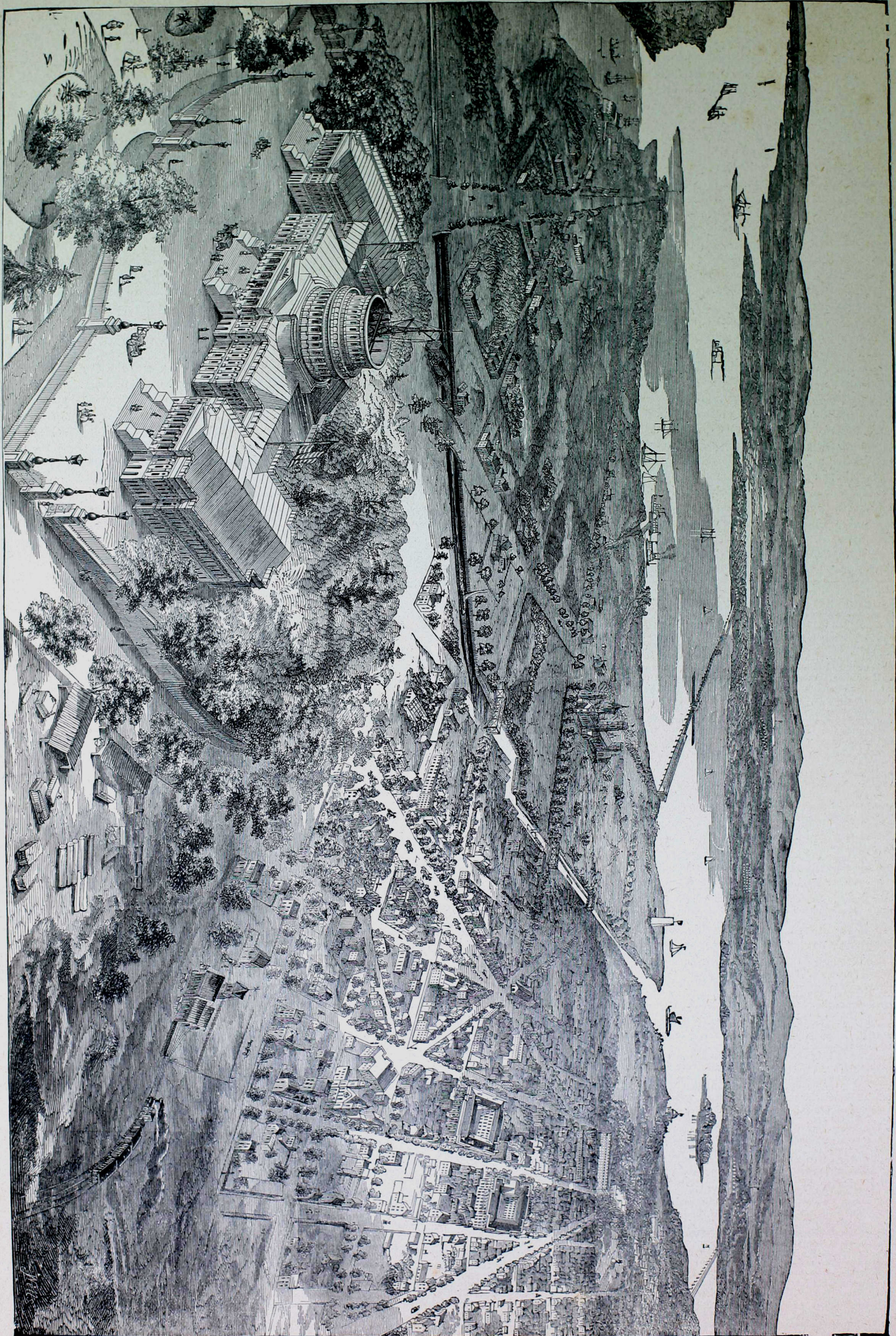
LOUISIANA.—"We, the people of the State of Louisiana, ordain," etc., "That the ordinance passed by us in Convention on the 22d day of November, in the year 1811, whereby the Constitution of the United States, and the amendments of said Constitution, were adopted, and all laws and ordinances by which the State of Louisiana became a member of the federal Union, be, and the same are hereby repealed and abrogated; and that the union now subsisting between Louisiana and other states, under the name of 'The United States of America,' is hereby dissolved. That the State of Louisiana hereby resumes all rights and powers heretofore delegated to the government of the United States of America, and that her citizens are absolved from all allegiance to said government, and that she is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which appertain to a free and independent state."—Passed January 26, 1861.

VIRGINIA.—"The people of Virginia, in the ratification of the Constitution of the United States of America, adopted by them in Convention on the 26th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1788, 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," the people of Virginia ordain that "the ordinance adopted by the people of this state in Convention in the year of our Lord 1788, 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; and 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 rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent state. And they do further declare that said Constitution of the United States of America is no longer binding on any of the citizens of this state."—Passed April 17, 1861.

ARKANSAS.—"Whereas, in addition to the well-founded causes of complaint set forth by this Convention in resolutions adopted on the 11th of March, A.D. 1861, against the sectional party now in power in Washington City, headed by Abraham Lincoln, he has, in the face of resolutions passed by this Convention, pledging the State of Arkansas to resist to the last extremity any attempt on the part of such power to coerce any state that seceded from the old Union, proclaimed to the world that war should be waged against such states until they should be compelled to submit to their rule, and large forces to accomplish this have by this same power been called out, and are now being marshaled to carry out this inhuman design; and to longer submit to such rule, or remain in the old Union of the United States, would be disgraceful and ruinous to the State of Arkansas: Therefore we, the people of Arkansas, ordain," etc., "That the 'Ordinance and Acceptance of Compact,' passed by the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas on the 18th day of October, A.D. 1836 [here follows a minute description of this Compact and other acts], and all other laws, and every other law and ordinance, whereby the State of Arkansas became a member of the federal Union, be, and the same are hereby in all respects and for every other purpose herewith consistent repealed, abrogated, and fully set aside; and that the union now subsisting between the State of Arkansas and the other states, under the name of 'The United States of America,' is hereby forever dissolved." Then follows the usual declaration resuming all rights delegated to the federal government, absolving the citizens from allegiance to that government, and pronouncing Arkansas a "free and independent state."—Passed May 6, 1861.

TENNESSEE.—"We, the people of the State of Tennessee, waiving an expression of opinion as to the abstract doctrine of secession, but asserting the right as a free and independent people to alter, reform, or abolish our form of government in such manner as we think proper, do ordain and declare that all the laws and ordinances by which the State of Tennessee became a member of the federal Union of the United States of America are hereby abrogated and annulled, and that all obligations on our part be withdrawn therefrom, and we do hereby resume all the rights, functions, and powers which by any of the said laws and ordinances were conveyed to the government of the United States, and absolve ourselves from all the obligations, restraints, and duties incurred there-to, and do hereby become henceforth a free, sovereign, and independent state." The provisions of the Constitution of the state requiring civil and military officers to swear to support the Constitution of the United States, making citizenship of the United States a qualification for office, and recognizing the Constitution of the United States as the supreme law of the state, are abrogated and annulled.—Passed May 6, 1861.

NORTH CAROLINA.—"We, the people of North Carolina, ordain," etc., "That the ordinance adopted by the State of North Carolina, in the Convention of 1789, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified and adopted, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated. We do further declare and ordain, that the union now subsisting between the State of North Carolina and the other states, under the title of 'The United States of America,' is hereby dissolved, and that the State of North Carolina is in the full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent state." Another ordinance was passed, ratifying the Montgomery Constitution, and declaring that "North Carolina will enter into the federal association of states upon the terms therein proposed when admitted by the Congress or any competent authority of the Confederate States."—Passed May 20, 1861.



BALLOON VIEW OF WASHINGTON, MAY, 1861.