

History of the Twentieth Tennessee Regiment Volunteer Infantry C.S.A.

by

W.J. McMurray, M.D.

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**W.J. McMurray, M.D.; Deering J. Roberts, M.D.; and Ralph J. Neal
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CAUSES OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

We of the South believe that there were three great primary causes that brought on the war; 1st African Slavery. 2nd-Constant encroachment by the Federal or Northern party upon the reserved rights of the Southern States. 3rd- The right to secede from the Federal Union.

The Southern States claimed that the reserved rights of the States that had never been delegated to the Federal Government gave them this right; which the Federal Government denied.

So it will be seen that when the Southern States believed that their reserved rights had been invaded, their property was about to be destroyed, and their social fabric upturned by the Northern party, the South did attempt to bring into force these reserved rights, which caused the Federal party to bring on a war of invasion and destruction, that has scarcely been equaled in the annals of civilized or barbarous warfare.

Who can deny any State either North or South these rights, when you read the

second and third articles of confederation which say; "Article 2nd-Each State retains its sovereignty -Freedom and independence - and every power jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress." "Article 3rd-The said States hereby severally entered 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 forces offered to or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of their religion, sovereignty, trade or any other pretence whatever."

The compact of 1787 which finally completed the American Union would never have been signed without the 2nd and 3rd articles, which we will show further on; the New England States were great sticklers for the preservation of these reserved rights; afterwards they were for these rights when it was to their interest-and against them when not; So the war was brought on and the South failed, yet, we have not escaped the humiliation of others who have fought and failed. The victors write the history of the vanquished and control public sentiment whether it be true or false, until it finds a lodgment in the public mind and becomes settled as historical facts. Such is the course that our enemies at the close of the war, and since, have attempted to pursue.

We know that we have been the objects of misrepresentation and bitter calumny, emerging as we did from a four years struggle against all enemy nearly five times our numbers and ten times our resources; we had nothing to write and print history with, while we were rich in historical facts.

No nation or people is worthy of a recorded history that is not willing to shed its blood and make sacrifices to sustain established convictions, and surely the South has done this.

Now it behooves us who are living, thirty-eight years after the war, and who participated in it, to write its history as we know it. Let us be all exception to the rule, and write our history as it was made, be it good or bad.

Did the South have sufficient cause to take up arms in defense of her interests as

written in the Federal Constitution from its foundation in 1787 , and held as law, and respected as law, by the supreme court of the United States until 1860 is one of the principal questions that will be asked by the future historian.

We claim that the South lived faithfully under this compact during that period. Our independence was declared on July 4th 1776, but the Federal Constitution was not ratified and signed by the States in convention until 1787 , eleven years after the declaration of independence.

Our first chief magistrate was George Washington, who was elected from a list of twelve candidates, and during his term of office, the people of the young Nation, dividing themselves into two Opposing parties, each striving for office advocating diverse principles.

The New England States were led by John Adams of Massachusetts, who believed in and advocated the concentration of power in the Federal Government, and this was called the Federal party. The Southern States were led by Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, and maintained State's rights as against Federal encroachment, theirs was the Democratic party. (See *Articles of Confederation, Sec, 2.*)

The States' rights party believed that all the powers of the individual States that had not been delegated by their authorized delegates, still remained with each State to do with, in her sovereign capacity as she might see fit. The Federal party denied these rights.

These principles advocated by these two parties, were the first stumbling blocks of the then young nation.

After George Washington's term of office was completed, John Adams of Massachusetts, the leader of the Federal party was elected to the presidency in 1797, and it was during his term that the. "Alien and Sedition Laws" were passed by the Federal Congress, which action was opposed by the statesmen of the South, because in their opinion, these laws invested in the Executive, powers not conferred by the Constitution.

These Alien and Sedition acts were not the only rocks upon which the two parties split during Mr. Adams' term.

The creation of a National Bank was a subject of bitter controversy, the men of the North sustained this measure with great energy, while those of the South opposed it as unconstitutional and of doubtful expediency.

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In 1801, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, the leader of the Democratic party, was elected to the presidency, and it was during his first term of office that the New England States showed such bitter feeling- towards the South, on account of the Southern States refusing to encourage the New England States in their traffic in the slave trade from the African coast.

When President Jefferson proposed the Purchase of Louisiana these same New England States violently opposed it, fearing it would give more slave territory, but still they were willing to bring more slaves from the coast of Africa, pay for them in rum and sell them to the Southerners. How can these religious fanatics who have shown that they loved the God of Mammon more than the God of humanity, reconcile these facts ?

Thomas Jefferson was re-elected in 1805. During this war existed between England and France, and the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, also orders from the British Government interfered with American commerce.

Our vessels were often captured on the high seas and confiscated. This left Jefferson one of two things to do, Viz ; abandon our trade, or go to war to defend it; so he recommended the Embargo Act, which was to put a stop to our foreign trade rather than plunge the nation into war with France or England, or probably both.

This act was passed in Dec. 1807 , and was strongly opposed by the Northern men, because they said it would interfere with their shipping and damage them

materially, and they would not stand it.

So the Eastern States threatened to secede from the American Union and form a Northern Confederacy. Now if the New England States had a right to secede in 1807, to protect their shipping or plunge the whole nation into war to save their commerce, why did not the South have the right to secede in 1861 to protect the slave property that New England had sold to the South for gold, and which they paid for in rum made from molasses?

In 1809 James Madison of Virginia, was ejected president, and the Embargo Act was repealed to satisfy the New England people, and another law was passed in May 1809, known as the , Non-intercourse law. This law prohibited the American people from trading with England or France.

But New England, true to her love for the dollar, in violation of the law, carried on an indirect trade with Europe through Canada. These wildcat vessels were often overtaken and the American flag hauled down, until the people compelled Congress to declare war against Great Britain in May 1812.

In 1813, James Madison was re-elected, the second war with Great Britain came on, and the expenses of the war had to be met by a direct tax upon the States; but the New England States, for the most part, refused to contribute, after they had virtually brought on the war.

At the close of the war in January 1815, the Federal treasury was much depleted, and a new financial policy was adopted, viz ; A high tariff. This suited the New Englander because he had transferred his capital in Negroes to commerce and manufactories, and he wanted it protected. They had also sold most of their Negro slaves to the southern people and put their money into machinery.

Although the South thought this high tariff would not benefit her section, many of her representatives supported the measure in order to appease their threatening secession brethren in the North.

It was at this time that John Calhoun of South Carolina introduced the "Minimum Rate Bill," which was, not to allow duties to fall below a certain rate.

Mr. Monroe of Virginia, was elected president in 1817, and the country was at peace until 1820, when Missouri applied to be admitted into the Federal union as a slave state, which New England opposed, almost to a man, on account of extending slave territory, having by this time sold her slaves to the South and put her money into factories, therefore she had no further interest in the Negro as property.

They did not want the South to carry Negro property, that had been bought from New England into this territory, although the South had expended as much, if not more, in its acquisition than the North.

The Louisiana Purchase was brought about by Thomas Jefferson and his party, while the Eastern men violently opposed it.

Missouri was finally admitted as a slave state, with a compromise, viz ; that hereafter no slave state should be created north of the parallel of latitude, 36.30.

After James Monroe's re-election in 1821, among the first things demanded by New England was more protection for her manufactories; the South opposed this action, as she thought the tariff was high enough, and a further increase would be detrimental to her section which was agricultural.

In 1825, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, was elected president, and during his term the bitter tariff fight was again revived between the two sections, and in 1828 a new tariff act was passed which was so high it was almost prohibitory. The average on imports was 4° per cent.

This act in the eyes of the Southern men was so outrageous, that they called it the Black Tariff.

In 1829, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, the old war horse of the Hermitage, was elected president, and it was during his first term, in March, 1833. that the high

tariff act, so obnoxious to the South was modified, and it was during this controversy that the South Carolina representatives grew SO bitter , saying it was unjust and unconstitutional for the government to pass laws that would enrich one section of the country, and impoverish the other; so they followed the example set by the New England States in 1807, and threatened to secede.

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In 1833, Andrew Jackson entered upon his second term as president, and it was during this term that the National Bank issue came to the front again.

The Northern men said it was necessary for their trade and commerce, as they had now ceased trading in Negroes and had invested in factories and shipping.

The South denied this necessity and its constitutionality, believing that it would become a political machine in the hands of unscrupulous men and politicians, and would do much harm.

The charter of the United States Bank expired in 1836. During the latter part of Jackson's term another trouble sprang up, upon which the two sections could not agree, this was the internal improvement policy. The South opposed it because it favored one section at the cost of the other. The North said that it did not.

Martin Van Buren, a Jackson man, who was elected to succeed 'Old Hickory' in 1837. During his term a great financial distress came upon the country, and the Northern politicians proposed as a remedy, three things, viz :-A New National Bank, as the charter of the old National Bank had expired in 1836. 2nd -A higher tariff. 3rd-A Bankrupt law.

To all three of these measures the South was opposed, and, alleged that they were not necessary, and had a sectional tendency.

The fight went on until 1841, when William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, was elected president and who soon died, when Vice President John Tyler, of Virginia,

succeeded to the presidency.

Although Tyler was a Southern man, Northern policies mostly prevailed; the tariff was raised in 1841, and again in August, 1842.

A bankrupt law was passed in 1841. A law was also passed in July, 1841, dividing the public domain among the respective States according to population; all of these were Northern measures.

The New England people looked at the public domain action this way: by passing it, it would cut off from the Federal treasury the receipts from the public lands, thereby making a higher tariff necessary to insure sufficient revenue for the support of the government.

The new bank act failed, and in eighteen months the bankrupt law was repealed, as was also the public domain act in January, 1842, as it was found necessary to retain these public lands as security for federal loans.

We have now come to the year 1845, when James K. Polk, another son of the old Volunteer State, was promoted to the chief magistracy of the Federal Union.

It was during the early part of his term in July, 1846, that the tariff so sorely oppressive to the South, was modified. The president in a special message to Congress in May, 1846, stated that the Government of Mexico had committed some bellicose acts against the United States Government.

At the reading of this message all sections and all men stopped their internal bickering, and declared war against Mexico, which war lasted until February, 1848, when at the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico ceded to the United States, New Mexico and California.

After the war with Mexico had been fought and won, and General Zachary Taylor of Mississippi, who was one of our most successful Generals, was elected in 1849 to the presidency, the country returned to peace, the old issues between the North and the South were abandoned, viz: A tariff policy, a National Bank, a system of

internal improvements, and the division of public lands.

It looked as if we were going to have a millennium, but not so. The recently acquired land offered the politicians of both sections a bone of contention.

They remind the student of history of the John and Simon factions of Jerusalem, that were always at war with each other, but when a common enemy would approach they would stop their diversions, unite their forces, drive off the enemy; then return to the city and again begin their internecine war. In this way they had so weakened and consumed their strength, when Titus, of Rome, A. D. 72, invaded them, they fell victims to him on account of their own folly.

The North said that no part of this newly ceded territory, viz : California and New Mexico, should be admitted as slave territory; but the South said their joint right of occupancy was incontestable in law and equity; as their blood, valor and money, had done as much as that of the North to win these lands. They proposed as a remedy that Congress extend the old Missouri Compromise line of 36.30 west to the Pacific Coast, and let the portion North of this line be free territory, and that South of it, slave territory.

But the Northern men would not agree to this, they wanted it all, and got it. The feeling was so high then that separation was imminent.

In 1853 Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, became president, and during his term the old slavery question was renewed. A portion of our Western territory, that was called Nebraska, was divided into two portions, one was called Kansas and the other Nebraska. The old Missouri Compromise line of 36.30 ran to the South of this territory.

If this line had been in force the South would not have had any right to ask Congress to allow slavery to enter this territory. But on a proposition from Stephen A. Douglas, a Senator from Illinois, this line was repealed.

So it seems as if this territory was open for slavery or not, to be settled by the

people both North and South, then be organized into a State, and be admitted into the Union, according to the vote of the people. This being especially the state of affairs in Kansas, the territory that lay nearest and adjoining slave territory.

The Anti-slavery people in the New England States lost no time in organizing emigrant societies to settle in Kansas, and they poured men of their faith into Kansas by the thousands.

Armed men from the North paraded the territory, while a number of men from Missouri and other Southern States had moved into it, with equally strong convictions on the other side.

These factions brought on contentions and bloodshed to such an extent that this territory was called "Bleeding Kansas".

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These disturbances were so great that the Federal Government had to interfere, the Anti-slavery party had gone so far as to elect a Governor, form a constitution, and set up a State Government, all in violation of Federal authority, which came along and indicted them for treason and they were compelled to take flight, to keep from being prosecuted by the laws of the land.

In 1857 James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was inaugurated president, and his whole term of office was disturbed by heated discussions between the politicians of the two sections on the subject of slavery, and the extension of slave territory.

Towards the latter part of his term the contest grew so bitter, that the people of the two sections took it up.

At the presidential election in 1860, the Northern States being in the majority elected Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, a known Abolitionist, to the presidency.

Although born on Southern soil, in the State of Kentucky, he afterward moved to the State of Illinois, and imbibed those principles that were so much at variance

with the feelings and interests of his native Southland.

Many of his own, and his wife's relatives, were subsequently in the Confederate State army.

The Southern people after having been in co-partnership with the North for 72 years, and viewing their constant encroachment upon their constitutional rights, thought it was time to separate.

The New Englander had by this time carried the slavery question into his pulpit and religion; many of them had become fanatics. They had saturated their church and society meetings with papers, lectures, sermons, resolutions, memorials and pro- tests, attacking and condemning slavery, until their whole body politic believed that way.

The spirit and methods of the New Englander in and out of his church have been that of agitation.

Listen to what doctrines the Rev. Henry Wright, of Massachusetts taught from his pulpit, he said, "The God of humanity is not the God of slavery, if so, shame upon such a God. I will never bow at his shrine, my head shall go off with my hat when I take it off to such a God as that. If the Bible sanctions slavery, the Bible is a self-evident falsehood, and if God should declare it to be right, I would fasten the chains upon the heels of such a God and let the men go free, such a God Is a phantom."

Now, was not this horrible language of Rev. Henry Wright, , taught by him from the pulpit, when his State, the State of Massachusetts had bought more Negroes on the African coast, paid for them in rum made from molasses, and sold them into slavery , aye, more than all of the United States put together. I say, this was as double, refined quintessence of gall, cheek, and religious fanaticism as could be found in any day.

No language ever threw out more defiance of civil authority and true religion than

this politico-religious harangue.

It is a very common error that has been taught, that the Puritans persecuted themselves for opinion's sake, and sought liberty of conscience in the wilds of America, and there erected their altars.

To Sir George Calvert belongs this glory, of first establishing a Government of Universal tolerance of religious freedom in America, and this was done too, on the shores of Maryland, and strange as it may seem, on the shores of Maryland, in the city of Baltimore, in 1861, the first blood was shed for the extinction of political liberty and against our constitutional compact.

The Puritan said he fled from England on account of violent opposition, which amounted to persecution. The English at that time had an insight to his fanaticisms and tendencies.

Although the Puritans claimed that they were run out of the mother country on account of conscience sake, yet one of the first acts of their new colony was to establish a spiritual despotism and religious intolerance, that would put to shame the cruel and relentless Spanish Inquisition.

They said they were religious refugees, yet they pronounced banishment against all who did not conform to their religious faith.

Every student of American history is familiar with the sad story of Roger Williams.

He too was a fugitive from the Old World, but how different were his teachings from the laws enacted by the Puritans.

He taught that the civil magistrates should restrain crime but never control opinion; should punish guilt but never violate the freedom of the soul.

He contended for the repeal of all laws that punished the non-conformist; he believed in the equal protection of all religious creeds.

He also believed that the peace and dignity of the State was like the vital fluid we breathe, that it should be disseminated alike over Mosque, Synagogue, Cathedral and the humble house of the Protestant, securing to its worshiper unmolested freedom of conscience.

For having this belief and teaching this doctrine, this gifted young minister was cruelly persecuted by the Puritans, forced to leave his home and often compelled to hide himself in the recesses of the wilderness.

See what Bancroft says of him, "Often in the stormy nights he had neither fire nor food, nor company, and wandered about without a guide and had no house but a hollow tree."

This Christian Martyr suffered all this because he would not conform to the religious ideas of men, who they said, left England for conscience sake. Why the savage of the forest, who knew not his God, was more tolerant than these narrow bigots, for they rescued Roger Williams from impending death, when he afterwards found a new home on the banks of the clear waters of the beautiful Narragansett.

A Mrs. Hutchison, a most excellent and pure woman, was treated in the manner as Roger Williams, and she too, was driven from home because she would not conform to some rites of public worship.

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Did these narrow fanatics stop here? No: they hung Mary Dyer simply because she was a Quaker, and she died upon the gallows because she held a faith different from a people who they said, had devoted themselves a sacrifice on the altar of religious liberty.

When we see men exiling and hanging good, pure women because they will not conform to their ideas of religion, we do not believe that the guiding star of returning light of medieval ages has ever shone in their self-sanctified hearts. We

know that in all nations where men respect women, you find gentlemen; and where gentlemen inhabit, woman rules and lifts him above his groveling nature. He in return is her slave, and with life and limb, fortune and honor, he is devoted to her wishes.

Oh, how different when you see a horde of whining New Englanders pelting and driving out a shivering and helpless woman into exile, and another one swung up by the neck until dead, all because they differed in religious faith from men and women who were run out of England for conscience sake.

We have already alluded to the Catholics having settled in Maryland and establishing perfect freedom of speech, but in 1676 some few Puritans emigrated there and were soon elected to office, and among the first of their edicts was one prohibiting public worship to Papists and Prelates.

Many of the men who signed the Constitution soon discovered that the people were not inclined to dwell together in national harmony.

George Washington sincerely desired a perpetuation of the Union, but he died in the belief that in the course of time his tomb would be the property of the South.

John Adams, next to Alexander Hamilton, was perhaps the most influential man in the Federal party. He early had a clear vision of the great rupture that would some day come.

The following from Thomas Jefferson's diary, Dec. 30, 1801, when he was president in 1801, presenting the views of Mr. John Adams, shows what the sectional feeling was at that time: "The Rev. Mr. Coffin of New England, who is now here soliciting donations for a college in Greene County, Tennessee, tells me, that when he first determined to engage in this enterprise, he wrote a paper recommending the enterprise, which he meant to get signed by clergymen, and a similar one by persons in a civil character, at the head of which he wished Mr. Adams to put his name, he then being president."

The application asking only for his name and not for a donation, Mr. Adams reading the paper and considering it, said, "He saw no possibility of continuing the union of the states, that their dissolution must necessarily take place, that he therefore saw no propriety in recommending to New England men to promote a literary institution in the South, that it was in fact, giving strength to those who were to be their enemies, and therefore he would have nothing to do with it".

The above according to the diary, was the language of a man who had taken a solemn oath to be the president of all the people. Now as Mr. Adams had proven himself not the president of the whole people, let us go into some historical facts. At the time of the first confederation, 1778, the amount of territory that the Southern States owned was 647,202 square miles, and the amount owned by the Northern States 164,081 square miles. In 1783, Virginia ceded to the United States for the common benefit, all of her immense territory north of the Ohio River; and in 1787, the Northern States appropriated it to their exclusive use, whereby Virginia and her sister southern States were excluded from using any part of this magnificent gift in the interest of the Negro property they had bought from the New Englander .

When the Louisiana purchase was consummated in 1803, 1,189,112 square miles of territory was added to our domain, every foot of which was, at that time, Slave holding territory, but by the passage of the Missouri Compromise Bill in 1821, 964,667 square miles of this purchase was converted into free territory.

Although the Northern States opposed bitterly the Louisiana purchase, they came in and gobbled all of it for free territory except 224,445 square miles.

Again, with the treaty with Spain in Feb. 1819, Florida, with a territory of 59,268 square miles, and Oregon with an area of 341,463 square miles was added to the American Union. Of this vast amount of new territory, Florida alone was allowed to be slave territory, about one seventh. Again, by the Mexican Cession the United States acquired 526,078 square miles of territory, and the North tried to appropriate the Whole of it under the pretense of the Mexican laws, which was prevented by the compromise of 1850, and this cut off from Texas 44,662 square

miles of slave territory.

Now of all this territory that has been added, which amounts to 2,402,602 square miles, the South was only permitted to enjoy 283, 713 square miles of this immense tract of country, when every foot of it was brought into the American Union while southern men were presidents.

Can any fair minded man witness the constant encroachments upon the southern people in violation of a signed and solemn compact before God and man, and say the Southern Soldier had no cause to fight?

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There are other facts that we propose to rely upon for the justification of our cause. As far back as 1750, New England ships made regular voyages to England with tobacco, rice, rum, and cured fish, two of which were southern products, and there took on English goods for the Gold Coast. Here they would exchange these commodities with the English Governors of her coast colonies for Negroes, and return by way of the West Indies, and trade their cured fish for molasses, and bring the molasses and Negroes to the American Colonies, sell the Negroes to the South, and make the molasses into Yankee rum. They would then prepare for another trip.

This barter of the Yankee began to interfere so with English coast trade that Lord Sheffield in his report to Parliament in 1777, said. "that out of the slavers which periodically left Boston, thirteen of them were loaded with rum only, which was exchanged for 2,888 Negroes with the governors of the Gold Coast Colonies, and these Negroes were carried to the Southern States and sold."

This same report says that during the three years ending 1770, New England had sent to the Gold Coast 270,147 gallons of rum, ,To show that certain Southern States were anxious to stop the slave trade, Thomas Jefferson in 1777 introduced in the Virginia Legislature a bill which became a law, to prevent the importation of slaves; but every law passed by any Southern State, looking to this end,

exasperated the Eastern Yankee, for it interfered with his lucrative slave trade.

Mr. Jefferson at the same time introduced another bill which became a law, for the gradual emancipation of the Blacks, He also in 1784 in Congress, prepared a clause for the prevention of slaves being carried into the ceded territory north of the Ohio River, this was a part of the Southern scheme of emancipation which was meant as a check on the slave trade carried on by Massachusetts. This clause did not pass, but a clause was passed enjoining the restitution of fugitive slaves, and without this the compact of 1787 would never have been signed, and up to this time it never entered the minds of the people of the United States, but that the Negroes were property, and that the master had a legal right to carry them unmolested to any part of the United States. (See constitution. Art. IV, Sec. I.)

The Duke de Rochefoucault Lioncourt in his work on the United States in 1795, said, that "twenty vessels from the North were engaged in importing Negro slaves into Georgia." They would ship one Negro for every ton burden, so we see while Virginia was trying to emancipate the Negro. New England was all the while enslaving him.

In 1793 President Washington recommended to Congress an act compelling the restitution of the fugitive slaves, and the same act provided that they should be taxed as property. In 1783 the treaty of peace with Great Britain contained a provision to pay for slaves and other property carried off during the war, and in the treaty of peace at Ghent in 1814, the British Government paid one and a half million dollars for slaves that had been carried away.

Mr. Andrew Stephenson conducted a negotiation with Great Britain, for slaves that were lost ashore by wrecked American vessels on the shores of Bermuda and set free by her authorities, and had England pay £23,500 indemnity.

In regard to the fugitive slave law, there was no trial by jury and no writ of habeas corpus proceedings, which would have been indispensable had the Negro not been considered property.

It will naturally be asked: Where did the American colonies get their right to own slaves? It does not appear that any laws were ever enacted in Great Britain for the owning or trading in slaves as property. Nevertheless they were so regarded by the opinion of eleven crown judges sitting in council, which extended this privilege to the Navigation Act to the exclusion of Aliens, and this act extended to Great Britain's North American colonies. This is where the Southerner got his authority to own slaves, and this legal right like other common laws of Britain survived our revolution.

If we will take up the histories of our French and Spanish territory, we will find that they as colonies derived the right to own and hold slaves from their church as well as from their State.

The records will show that up to the time of Jefferson's administration, the ownership of the Negro was not profitable, but during his term the invention of the cotton gin took place, which greatly enhanced the value of the cotton staple and gave a broader field for the employment of the Negro, and as the Louisiana purchase took place about this time, these things very much embittered the New England people.

At the same time Governor General Craig of Canada knew this, and in February 1809 sent one John Henry as an agent to Boston to treat with the leading Federalists there, to arrange for a secession convention, when Massachusetts was to declare herself independent and invite a congress of the other New England States, and set up a separate government

Mr. John Adams, in a letter to Mr. Otis in 1828 said, "that the plan had been so far matured as to ask a certain individual to put himself at the head of the military organization."

These schemes went on with these men who were rebels at heart, until this resulted in the Hartford Convention in 1814, which discussed secession in all its bearings, and raised the battle cry "The Potomac as a boundary line and the Negro states to themselves."

Peace with Great Britain soon came and business was good, the Yankee got to making money and this diverted him for a while, and prevented him from breaking up the American Union.

The Hartford secession Convention was held in 1814, and in 1818 a bill was introduced in Congress authorizing the people of Missouri to organize and form their state constitution preparatory to being admitted into the great sisterhood of states.

This Missouri territory was a part of the Louisiana purchase, and when owned by Spain, and by her ceded to France, and by France to the United States, all of this time it was slave territory, and the moment that Missouri applied to be admitted as a slave state, the New Englanders, the very men who enslaved the Negro, went into convulsions at the mere idea of any more slave territory, and the only anti-toxin that could be administered, which was only temporary, was, that there should not be any more slave territory admitted north of 36.30 parallel of latitude. This was the famous Missouri Compromise Bill. New York did not abolish slavery until 1826. About this time Delaware, Maryland and Virginia were all moving in that direction. Also about this time, New Jersey, Ohio and Delaware passed resolutions asking Congress to appropriate the proceeds of the public lands to the gradual emancipation of the Negro. Up to this time it was not thought of emancipating the Negro without paying for him.

About this period of our history nearly all of the Southern States had a leaning that way. Societies in various parts of the South were formed to cooperate with the colonization society, whose duty was to free the Blacks and transport them to Liberia.

Now to sustain the good faith of the Southerners in this emancipation movement, Virginia in March, 1825, passed an act to furnish the colonies in Liberia with implements of husbandry, clothing etc. Alabama, Louisiana and Missouri passed laws about this time prohibiting slaves being brought within their borders for sale, and those that were brought in, should not be sold for two years.

While the good feelings were manifesting themselves strongly in the South: Ohio, Illinois and other Northern States passed acts prohibiting free blacks under any pretense from entering these states: any white person who brought a Negro into their territory was required. to give a \$500 bond. Did not these Yankees love the Negro? They did not regard them as citizens of the United States, and said on account of their idle habits they were a nuisance.

To show still further that the South was in earnest about emancipating her slaves, Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, in 1825 introduced a bill in Congress to set aside the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, as a colony for free blacks, but it failed.

About 1825 the seeds of abolition had begun to be sown in New England. Not gradual emancipation and moderate re- numeration, but straight abolition.

This could not have been from any love the Yankee had for the Negro, for it had been but a few years since Massachusetts was forced to give up her slave trade. The idea of the Yankee falling so desperately in love with the Negroes of the South in so short a time is one of those inconsistencies of his that has followed him ever since he set foot on Plymouth Rock.

The seeds of abolition that were sown in 1825, begun to be cultivated in 1828, when Mr. Arthur Tappan, of Boston, a city that bought and sold more slaves than all the rest of the country, subscribed, with the aid of some friends, enough money to establish a newspaper in New York, called the Journal Of Commerce, and the avowed purpose of the paper was to promote abolition views. The editor was another importation from the self sanctified city of Boston, by the name of David Hale. He was an auctioneer by profession, and a Presbyterian Sunday School Teacher by pretense.

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Soon after this, a paper in Baltimore fell into the hands of William Lloyd Garrison and was called the "Genius of Emancipation." Now, who was Wm. Lloyd Garrison? He was the grandson of a Tory during our revolutionary war, who,

when peace was declared was compelled to flee the country to Nova Scotia, where this grandson was brought up, and in after years came back to Boston to seek a livelihood. The virus of abolitionism took deep in this foreigner who was a young enthusiast. On assuming the editorship of his paper he attacked all of the colonization and emancipation societies as being in the way of the great move of abolitionism, and farther said; "that the union of the States was also an obstacle."

Some people though these sentiments were treason, and others thought they were in accord with the Tory sentiments of his grandfather, who had done all he could to prevent our independence. In the year 1830 this same Garrison founded a new journal in Boston, and called it the Liberator. It was in this bitter sheet that he spread broadcast his most extreme views.

In 1831 the New England Anti-slavery society was formed, and in a short time the American Anti-slavery society was brought into existence under the management of that great triumvirate, Viz, Garrison, Tappan, and Berney.

The Sunday schools of New England now took up the abolition question, and sent out by the thousands their inflammatory appeals and highly colored engravings of blacks, undergoing all kinds of punishments inflicted by the Southern people.

All such stuff as this was sent through the Federal mails, and disciples of these men became so obnoxious in New York In 1832, that the dwelling of Arthur Tappan and the church of Dr. Cox were both demolished by a mob, and this action was approved by Mr. Jas. Watson Webb, in his great paper, The Courier and Enquire.

Garrison was sent by the Anti-slavery Societies to England in 1834, to obtain money for their cause and he soon returned, bringing home with him one Geo. Thompson, who was a member of parliament and a lecturer on abolitionism. This led to such an outcry that Thompson became alarmed for his safety and soon returned to England.

South Carolina had a law to detain all free blacks who came into her ports.

Massachusetts claimed that all those that were detained were her citizens and as such South Carolina had no right to detain them.

While Massachusetts objected to South Carolina detaining her free blacks, she did not say a word about Ohio, Illinois and other Northern States for keeping them out of their territory, or giving a \$500 bond for bringing a Negro into these States.

All of this is in perfect keeping with Puritanical inconsistency.

Mr. Hoar was sent by Massachusetts to Charleston to lay in formal complaints, but was at once dismissed. On his return he expressed great indignation and appealed to the Massachusetts legislature, and in revenge it passed the "Personal Liberty Bill" which was done to obstruct the "Fugitive Slave Law," which was then in force.

Up to this time abolitionism was only discussed as a moral question, but now it had gained such a headway that its leaders had determined to carry it into politics, where they expected to make it a stepping stone to power and emolument.

In 1838 they reckoned their strength and found that they were too weak to form a political ticket of their own in the state of New York for Governor, so they began dickering with leading politicians. At this time Mr. Marcy and Mr. Seward were the candidates for Governor of the opposing parties in the state. Now

the proper thing for the abolitionist to do at that time, would be to see which one of these candidates would commit himself to their doctrine. This, W. H. Seward readily did, and was elected Governor. It so happened that at that time in the State of New York there was a law called the "Sojourment Act" which allowed a slave holder to bring his black servants with him and remain in the State of New York for nine months, without prejudice to his rights.

When Mr. Seward was interrogated about this law in 1838, he sustained it; but in 1840, after he was elected Governor, he changed his mind, and refused to honor a requisition for a fugitive slave from the state of Virginia.

As late as 1840 the state of Ohio passed a resolution by its legislature, to the effect that slavery was an institution recognized by the Constitution, and the unlawful, unwise and un-constitutional interference by the fanatical abolitionists of the North with the institutions of the South were highly criminal.

What could have been plainer, more truthful and more manly, than that resolution, yet twenty years later Ohio sent 317,133. soldiers to overthrow it.

The abolition party of New England was becoming so embittered toward the South, that it forced some of the Southern States to change their sentiments toward emancipation; for instance Alabama had so changed as to pass an act in 1840 en- slaving all free blacks who remained in the State after Aug.1, 1840. In 1838, when the abolitionists met, they concluded that they were too weak to put out a State ticket in New York, but the next year they met at Warsaw , N. Y. I and set on foot a political party with a candidate of their own for president of the United States, and this candidate was Mr. Berney, who received in the presidential election in Nov. 1840, as its first abolition candidate 7000 votes.

The discussion of the slavery question in the campaign in 1840 also received a new stimulus from the Texas revolt.

In 1816 an insurrection headed by Americans broke out and the independence of Texas soon followed, and a scheme was set on foot to annex it to the United States.

At first Daniel Webster favored this scheme, but he was afterwards induced to change his mind, just as Mr. Seward, when Governor of New York changed his mind about the "Sojourment Act," when it was to the interest of his party to do so.

The New Englanders opposed the annexation of Texas as they did the Louisiana case in 1805, more on the ground of jealousy of the South than any thing else.

At this time the leading politicians did not know whether to support annexation or

not. Henry Clay who opposed it lost the presidency in 1844. Martin Van Buren who opposed it failed to be re-nominated by the Democratic party in 1844.

Texas was admitted March 3. 1845, but with the agreement that four States should be formed out of the territory besides the one already in existence. and that the States so formed should be admitted with or without slavery, as their inhabitants might decide. but slavery should not exist north of latitude 36. 3°.

President Van Buren was defeated for a re-nomination for president, in the Democratic convention of 1844, which irritated him very much, so he raised a new party in New York that was called the Free Soil party, which meant no more slave states anywhere. Now this was directly opposed to the agreement that was made with the Southerners on the admission of Texas, which the Democratic party never forgot, but this Free Soil party that Van Buren begot answered its purpose, it divided the Democratic party in the state of New York and elected the opposition.

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This alarmed the people of the South who were not pacified until the compromise act of 1850, which act Mr. Seward violently opposed.

One of the prominent measures of this compromise act of 1850, was the Fugitive Slave Act, yet the anti-slavery people kept up such an agitation that several of the Northern States were induced to pass Personal Liberty Bills. in imitation of the example set by Massachusetts.

In 1852, the abolitionists dropped Mr. Berney and selected David Hale the Boston Auctioneer and Sunday-school teacher as their candidate for the presidency. He received 157,000 votes as against their former candidate Mr. Berney of 7,000 in 1840, and in 1856 Jno. C. Fremont the abolition candidate for president received 1,334,553 votes.

These questions were kept alive at the North by discussion as to citizenship of the

free blacks in several States had bestowed upon them suffrage as a practical proof of their right to rank as citizens. This controversy was settled by the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case.

Dred Scott was a Negro who lived in Missouri, his master being a surgeon in the United States Army from the above state, who moved from Missouri to the state of Illinois, then later to Minnesota, taking the Negro with him. While in Minnesota, this Negro man married a Negro woman owned by the same master and had born to them two children.

Dred was afterwards taken to St Louis and sold, he then brought suit for his freedom. This case went through the channel of the courts until it reached the United States Supreme Court, which rendered its decision in December 1857, which said; "That the Negroes were not citizens of the United States and could not become so under our constitution, they could not sue or be sued and therefore this court has no jurisdiction in the case."

A slave was simply personal property that could be taken from state to state, the same as other property without his master losing ownership in him.

This decision of the highest court in the land was rendered by its Chief Justice Taney with six other members of the court, making a total of seven of the nine judges of a full bench, while only two dissented. This almost unanimous opinion ought to have been conclusive, and was entirely in accord with the fundamental principles of our constitution.

This decision was received by the South with its hearty approval, while at the North it created bitter dissatisfaction, and that high tribunal of justice and learning was scathingly denounced.

The abolitionists of the North said that the "Constitution of the United States was a league with death and a covenant with hell."

It did look as if these people had no respect for law, order or God when any of

these came in contact with their hatred to the Southern people.

The Dred Scott decision was rendered in 1857, and during the winter of 1857- 58 John Brown, who had been a leader and promoter of the troubles in Kansas, put himself at the head of a party (this he acknowledged) , for the purpose of inflaming the public mind on the subject of slavery, and effected an organization to bring about servile insurrection in the slave States.

To accomplish this, he collected a number of young. men including two of his own sons, and with the funds and arms that had been furnished for his Kansas lawlessness, after he had been run out of there by the Federal officers, he placed these young men under military discipline at. Springdale, Iowa. In the spring of 1858 he took them to Chatham, Canada, where on May 8, 1858, he called a convention of his followers and adopted a Provisional Constitution for the people of the United States, the preamble of which began by saying: "Whereas, Slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States, is none other than a most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens upon another portion, Therefore, we citizens of the United States and the oppressed people, who are declared to have no rights, which the white man is bound to respect, do ordain and establish for ourselves the following Provisional Constitution, to better protect our person, property, lives and liberties."

Two days afterwards, after appointing a committee with power to fill all vacancies in their Constitution that the convention had adopted when assembled in a foreign land, they adjourned "sine-die," and Brown then took his party to Ohio and disbanded them subject to his call. However one of them, a Capt. Cook of Connecticut, he sent to Harper's Ferry, Va. to make himself familiar with the surrounding country and its citizens, especially the Negroes, in order that he might inform his leader. John Brown, under the assumed name of Isaac Smith went to the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry about July 1, 1858 and spied out the country for future military operations, going as far up the valley as the little city of Staunton.

He led the people to believe that he was a farmer from New York. He had with

him two of his sons and a son-in-law, all, under the pretense of renting or buying a farm. He soon rented a small farm four and a half miles from Harper's Ferry on the Maryland side of the Potomac. This was known as the Kennedy farm, where he did some work in the farming line to cover his secret, lawless intentions. He also claimed to be an expert in mineralogy, and expected to find valuable deposits in the mountain regions about Harper's Ferry.

In the mean time he kept two of his party at Chambersburg. Pa., who received arms, ammunition and military stores that had been collected for warfare on southern sympathizers in Kansas. to be sent to him at Harper's Ferry when ordered.

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On Oct. 10, 1859 he issued his general order No.1, which was to organize his provisional army into companies, regiments, brigades, and divisions, and signed his name John Brown, Commander in Chief .

This order was issued while at the Kennedy farm, but he soon after moved to an empty schoolhouse near Harper's Ferry, where he stored hundreds of carbines, pistols, spears, sabers, cartridges, caps, powder, and military supplies with which he intended to arm the Negroes when they rose in insurrection in response to his call.

Everything was now ready, and the unsuspecting Virginians were to receive a thunderbolt from a clear sky. , On Sunday night Oct. 16, 1859, about eleven o'clock, John Brown, the assumed Commander in Chief, at the head of four- . teen white men from Connecticut, New York, Ohio, Iowa, Pa, Maine, Indiana, and Canada, with five free Negroes from Ohio, Pa., and New York, in all twenty insurgents fully armed, crossed ~ the Potomac into Virginia at Harper's Ferry; they overpowered the guard at the Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Bridge and also captured the armory and arsenal in the town and the rifle factory on the Shenandoah above the town, and placed guards on the corners of certain streets. Brown established himself in a thick walled brick house at the armory gate, one

room of this house was used for a fire engine. He then sent out six men under Capt. Stephens in the dead hours of the night, to seize a number of leading citizens in the neighborhood, and incite the Negroes to rise and murder their owners.

This party broke into the house of Col. L. W. Washington, five miles out from Harper's Ferry at 1.30 A. M., and forced him and four of his servants to go with them, they also took a farm wagon of the Colonel's.

On their way back at 3 A. M. they captured Mr. Allstadt and six of his Negro men, and armed the latter on the spot.

When they arrived at Harper's Ferry, Cook, the spy, was sent, with five of the captured Negroes and Col. Washington's four horse wagon over to the schoolhouse on the Maryland side, to bring up the ordinance stores that Brown had deposited there.

Brown then halted a railroad train on the Baltimore and Ohio Road, one of his men killing the guard at the bridge.

His men captured the citizens of Harper's Ferry as they appeared upon the streets in the early morn, to the extent of about forty.

He placed Col. Washington and Mr. Allstadt, two of the most prominent citizens, in the engine house room which he had selected to make his point of defense. By this time it was day-light, and the news spread rapid and the citizens of the surrounding country began to flock in, armed as best they could to resist this high handed invasion of their homes. By 1A.M.of the 17th, The Jefferson Guards of Charlestown, Va. arrived.

They were soon followed by other companies, two from Shepardstown and one from Martinsburg. all under the command of Col. R. A. Baylor .

These troops soon forced the invaders within the armory enclosure and had them surrounded. Brown then withdrew his forces to his principal point of defense and

carried ten of the most prominent citizens that he had captured with him.

He called them his hostages, in order to insure the safety of his band.

From the opening that they made in the building they fired on all the whites who came in sight.

This state of affairs continued during the 17th; but after sun- set Capt. B. B. Washington from Winchester arrived and three companies from Frederick City, Maryland, under Col. Shriver , and later came companies from Baltimore under Gen. C. C. Edgerton, and a detachment of U. S. Marines under Lieut. Green and Major Russell, accompanied by Lieut. Col. R. E. Lee of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry, with his Aide, Lieut. J. E. B. Stewart of the 1st U. S. Cavalry.

Col. Lee happened to be at his home at Arlington, Va., when he was ordered to proceed to Harper's Ferry, and take charge of the situation, recapture the U. S. Armory and Arsenal and restore order. This he proceeded to do by crossing the Marines over the Potomac during the night and disposed them on the Armory ground, and then invested the whole situation with the Volunteer troops. He waited for daylight instead of making a midnight attack on Brown's stronghold, to keep from sacrificing the lives of the ten citizens that Brown had forced to remain in there with himself and his band.

By daylight of the 18th, everything was ready for the attack on Brown's stronghold.

Col. Lee under flag of truce sent Lieut. J. E. B. Stewart to John Brown, with a written demand to surrender himself, his associates and the prisoners he had taken, and restore the pillaged property; if he would do this, he and his associates would be kept in safety to await the order of the president of the United States; but if he was compelled to take them by force, he could not answer for their safety.

This offer was spurned by Brown, and in a few minutes Col. Lee ordered twelve Marines under Lieut. Green to attack Brown's stronghold, batter down the doors and bayonet his party, being careful not to injure the citizens or slaves that Brown had as prisoners, unless they should resist.

The attack was made at once, but Brown had so barricaded the doors from the inside with the fire engine ropes etc. , that the sledge hammers were of no avail; so Col. Lee ordered up a portion of the reserve with a ladder as a battering ram, and this knocked a hole in the door by which the assaulting party gained admission.

Up to this time Brown's fire was harmless, but as the Marines dashed through the door, one of their number was killed, but the others in a few minutes ended the contest by bayoneting the insurgents that resisted.

Lieut. Green cut down Brown with his sword, and the entire party was captured except Cook.

A party of marines under Lieut. Stewart was sent to the schoolhouse and the Kennedy farm to take charge of the munitions of war that Brown had stored there, and they were enough for a respectable campaign.

Col. Lee made an official report of the entire affair to Col. Cooper, then Adjutant General of the U. S. Army, in which he reported Brown as having said, that he intended to liberate the slaves of Virginia and the whole South, but he had been disappointed in the expected aid from the blacks and also from the whites in the North as well as the whites in the South.

Not even the Negro men he had captured and armed, and had in his stronghold at the engine house, took any part in the battle and returned home as soon as released. The defeat of his whole purpose showed the result of a fanatic and a madman.

Col. Lee, by order of the Secretary of war, John B. Floyd, turned over to the U. S.

Marshal and sheriff of Jefferson Co., Va., Brown, two white men and two Negroes. Ten white men and two Negroes in Brown's band were killed during the battle. One Negro was never accounted for, and Cook, the spy, escaped, but was afterwards captured and executed.

The insurgents killed in the battle, three white men: Mr. F . Beckham, the mayor of Harper's Ferry Mr. G. W. Turner, and private Quinn of the Marines; also a R. R. porter, and wounded eight white citizens and one marine.

Col. Lee in his report thanked Lieuts Stewart and Green and Maj. Russell for their efficient service, and enclosed a copy of the Provisional Constitution that Brown and his party had prepared for the people of the United States, while they were in Canada.

During the afternoon of the 18th, Gov. Henry A. Wise of Virginia, arrived at Harper's Ferry, and took such precautionary measures as he thought best for the protection of Virginia and the enforcement of the laws.

Brown having been turned over to the civil authorities of Jefferson County, and the regular fall session of the circuit court meeting on the 20th of October, only two days after Brown's capture, he was indicted -by the grand jury for treason and murder.

He was prosecuted by Hon. Andrew Hunter of Va., who made a national reputation by the able manner in which he conducted the case.

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Brown was defended by able counsel from Virginia and other States, including the Hon. Dan W. Voorhees, of Indiana. He was convicted and condemned; his trial lasted nearly a month; and Brown himself, admitted that it was fair and impartial.

He was condemned to be executed on Dec. 2nd, 1859. His counsel asked the Court of Appeals for a stay of execution, but this was refused.

After Brown was convicted and waiting his execution, Madam ! Rumor had it that Northern sympathizers would make an effort to release him, but Gov. Wise had about 1,000 State troops in and about Charleston, and among these were cadets from the Virginia Military Institute under command' of Col. F. M. Smith; Maj. T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson was present in command of the cadet artillery .

After the execution on Dec.2nd, Jackson wrote to his wife and said, that his command was in front of the cadets, all facing South. He also said, "I put a portion of the artillery under Mr. Trueheart, on the left, and I remained with the other on the right, and other troops were in different positions about the scaffold."

"It was a solemn scene, to think that a man in the vigor of health must in a few moments enter eternity. "

"I sent up a petition that he might be saved. I hope he was prepared to die; but I am doubtful."

On the day of Brown's execution, bells were tolled and guns were fired in many places in the North, and public meetings were held for the purpose of glorifying his bloody deeds, and midnight assassin assaults, recognizing him as a martyr to their works and teachings. His name became a slogan to the men who afterwards overran the South.

It is interesting to note the men who were more or less connected with the investigation, capture and execution of JohnBrown and his comrades, and who figured greatly in our civil war as Confederate generals. They were S. Cooper, R. E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, J. E. B. Stewart, John B. Floyd and Henry A. Wise, also Colonels J. C. Faulkner and A. R. Boteler. In : a committee appointed by the U.S. Senate to inquire into the facts concerning the invasion, were Jefferson Davis and J. M. Mason, and they had before them as witnesses Hon. W. H. Seward, J. R. Geddings, Henry Wilson and Andrew Hunter. John A. Andrews, Governor of Massachusetts secured the funds to pay Brown ' s counsel.

About this time appeared one of the most remarkable and dastardly publications that was ever written, in its hatred and malignity towards the Southern people. This was "Uncle Tom's Cabin," written by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. She was a sister of Henry Ward Beecher, the man of God, who, when the Kansas trouble was going on, got up in his church in Brooklyn and subscribed twenty-five Sharpe's rifles to murder the border ruffians, as he called the Southern sympathizers in Kansas, and said, "that he would raise the money to pay for them in his church the next Sunday", which he did.

What an unholy aspect it was to behold a pretended follower of the meek and lowly Jesus, whose teachings have always been "peace on earth, good will towards men," aiding, abetting and advising the shedding of blood, murder, arson and lawlessness, instead of praying to God, the ruler of the affairs of men, to pour oil on the troubled waters.

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"Uncle Tom's Cabin" contained overdrawn and highly colored pictures of the punishment of the Negroes by their masters. This was intended to inflame the minds of the Northern people. It also irritated the Southern people, for they knew its falsity, and this helped to widen the breach between the two sections.

Now, this invasion of Virginia, by John Brown, for the purpose of setting free her slaves, and those of the other slave States, as he himself said, did it not justify Virginia in enforcing her laws and protecting her property? Let us see. Of the sixteen States and territories holding slaves in 1860, Virginia held a commanding position. Of the 384,884 slave-holders in the United States, 52,128 lived in Virginia-about one-seventh. Georgia came next with 41,084; Kentucky, third with 38,654; Tennessee, fourth, with 36,844; now, these four States contained nearly half of all the slave-holders.

Of the 3,953,743 slaves in all the Southern States and territories, Virginia owned 490,865, or about one-eighth of the whole;. Georgia held second place with 462,198; Mississippi third, 436,631; South Carolina fourth, 402,406. These four

States owned nearly one-half of all the slaves at the beginning of the war .

; The Southern States to a great extent, had bought this enormous property from the Northern people, and the money that they paid for these Negroes had been invested in the North, and as the compact of 1787 would never have been signed had it not guaranteed the protection of Negro slavery, Virginia would have been nothing less than a traitor to her people if she had done less than she did, viz: wipe John Brown and his band from the face of the earth.

If there had been an invasion of the North to destroy factories built by money that southern people paid for northern Negroes, a howl of distress would have gone up, that would have been greater than the rebel yell that went up at Chickamauga on the Sunday evening after Snodgrass Hill was taken.

While John Brown was carrying on his bloody work in Virginia in 1859, which was approved by the abolitionists of the North, a book was written to be circulated in the campaign of 1860 called the, "Impending Crisis", This book was to show that the free labor of the North was more profitable than the black labor of the South, therefore, the black labor ought to be abolished.

This book referred to slavery and the Southern people in very unbecoming terms. I will make a few quotations from it, in order that the reader may form his own opinion as to its feelings towards the South .

Page 149. "We are determined to abolish slavery at all hazards, in defiance of all opposition, of whatever nature, it is possible for the Slavocrats to bring against us; of this they may take due notice and govern themselves accordingly."

Page 156. "On our banner is inscribed, No cooperation with slave holders in politics, no fellowship with them in religion, no affiliation with them in society. In fact no recognition of pro- slavery men except as ruffians, outlaws, and criminals."

Page 158. " It is our honest conviction that all the pro- slavery slave-holders

deserve to be at once reduced to a parallel with the basest criminals that lie fettered within our public prisons."

Page 162. "Three quarters of a century hence, if the South retains slavery, which God forbid, she will be to the North what Poland is to Russia, Cuba to Spain, and Ireland to England."

Page 163. "The black God of slavery which the South has worshipped for 237 years."

On page 168 it said, "Slavery is a great moral, social, civil, and political evil, to be rid of at the earliest practical period."

Page 180. "In any event, come what will, transpire what may, the institution of slavery must be abolished."

Page 187. "Our purpose is as firmly fixed as the eternal pillars of heaven, we have determined to abolish slavery; and help us God, abolish it we will."

Page 234. " We believe it is as it ought to be, the desire, the determination, and the destiny of the Republican party to give the death blow to slavery."

Page 329. , "Shall we pat the blood-hound of slavery, shall we fee the curs of slavery, shall we pay the whelps of slavery ? No! Never."

Now these dark and bitter teachings must have been conceived in the brains of iniquity, written with a pen that had been dipped in the blackest and most poisonous of gall, driven by a hand of an infuriated and bloodthirsty demon, who was a stranger to God and justice, spreading its vile sentiments upon sheets soaked in wormwood for its unholy purpose.

The contents of this book, "The Impending Crisis", was endorsed by sixty-eight republican members of Congress. Now what was the South to do, when this was the sentiment that had elected a president in Nov. 1860? Must she sit still and see her property taken from her without remuneration, or should she secede and try to

protect it according to the compact of 1787?

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When the British Government emancipated the Blacks in her colonies she acted with the strictest commercial equity, but the Republican party denied any compensation for the Negroes that they sold to the " curs and whelps II of the South, and threatened to secede from the Union because they were not allowed to continue in the slave trade.

Before we close this article, let us give to some extent a review, First, In forming the Government the thirteen States conferred upon the Federal Government the power to tax slave property, to protect it from foreigners on land and sea, and also from domestic escape, and conferred no other powers.

Second. The Abolitionists of the North clung to the profits of the slave trade as long as they were permitted, and then attacked the slave system when they were deprived of its profits.

Third, At the beginning of our government, all of our territory was slave territory, a large portion of it became free territory by the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slaves north of the Ohio river, and by right of the Northern States abolishing slavery.

Fourth, By the Missouri Compromise of 1820, prohibiting slavery north of 36.30.

Fifth, By the act admitting Texas, re-enacting the Missouri Compromise line of 1820; the above acts show that the North had driven slavery out of half of the territory of the United States.

Sixth, The Constitution of the United States made it the duty of the Federal Government to protect slavery wherever found, until the people could by vote decide whether or not they wanted it in that particular territory .

Seventh, The agitation of the slave question grew out of the chagrin of New

England being deprived of the slave trade and its profits; and the Louisiana purchase.

Eighth, The emancipation idea made steady progress in the Southern States until the abolitionists forced the slave holders. on the defensive.

Ninth, The cry of the free soiler was raised by Martin Van , Buren in 1848 to revenge his failure of re-nomination by the South at Baltimore.

Tenth. The compromise of 1850 was carried by the influence of Henry Clay.

Eleventh. The violation of the different compromises by the. I~ Northern States, and by the passage of the Personal Liberty Bill Acts, which was a direct blow at the Fugitive Slave Act.

Twelfth. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise act in 1854 by the influence of Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois.

Thirteenth. An attempt by the abolitionists to make Kansas a free state without any regard to the teachings of the constitution.

Fourteenth. The violent agitation of the slavery question at the North was soon followed by John Brown's raid into. Virginia.

Fifteenth. The people in the North to justify their over-riding the Constitution and the laws of Congress in violation of the compact of 1787, called it a higher law.

Sixteenth. In 1787 , the South entered into a civil compact with the North on certain conditions and. guarantees, which the North violated time and again, and when the South was forced to secede she only returned to her original sovereignty.

Seventeenth. The South asserted her independence in 1861, as the thirteen colonies did in 1776, and it is an undeniable practice of the European nations to repudiate a government who assails their rights, and sacrifices their best interests.

Eighteenth. The above were the causes of our great civil war , and the writer, as a Confederate soldier, from start to finish, believes it was far better to have fought and lost, than never to have fought at all.

We have now arrived at the year 1860, the year to elect a President and Vice-President to succeed James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge. This year found the political horizon much clouded. Upon the different issues, the people had divided and sub-divided until four parties, instead of two, had candidates in the field for these high offices.

The first of the great parties to step into the arena and shy its castor, by holding its National Convention at Charleston, S. C.; on the 23rd day of April, 1860, was the Democratic party.

After much dissension and bitterness it split into two wings, one of said wings met in convention in Baltimore on the 23rd day of June and nominated Stephen A. Douglass of Illinois, for President, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, for Vice-President, This convention also declared in favor of leaving the slavery question to the voters of each territory, or to Congress. This convention was composed mostly of Northern Democrats.

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The Southern wing of the Democratic Party met in Charleston, S, C" on June 28, and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice President, and they declared that neither Congress nor a territorial legislature had the right to prohibit slavery in a territory, and it was the duty of the Federal Government to protect slavery in a territory when necessary, or until its people could take a vote thereon.

The third .party who called themselves the Constitutional party met in Baltimore, on' May 9, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President, their platform was the "Union, the Constitution and the Enforcement of the Law."

The Republican or Abolition party met in National Convention in Chicago. on May 18. and nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for President. and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice President, and they declared in favor of the abolition of slavery in the territories by congressional action.

Now the candidates of the four parties having been nominated and their platforms defined, a hot political contest followed.

The election was held on November 6, 1860, which elected Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, who received 180 electoral votes out of a total of 313, and everyone of these 180 votes were cast by states north of the Mason and Dixon line. Breckinridge and Lane received 72 votes, all from the Southern states, including Maryland and Delaware.

Bell and Everett received 39 votes from Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia; while Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson received only 12 votes and these from the state of Missouri. So you will see that Lincoln and Hamlin received more votes in the electoral college than all three of the other candidates combined.

We will now investigate the popular vote: There was cast in this election 4,662,170 votes. Of this number Lincoln and Hamlin received only 1,857,610 votes against 2,804,560 cast for the other three candidates, which showed that Lincoln did not get the popular vote by 946,950 votes, this also showed the manifest injustice of the electoral college. , Now the election of a sectional candidate by a purely sectional vote greatly alarmed the Southern people.

A number of Southern states soon called conventions to consult and determine what course they would pursue. Here is what Mr. Lincoln said after he was elected. "I believe this Government can not endure permanently, half slave and half free."

I do not expect the union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other,

either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Mr. Lincoln farther said, "I have always hated slavery as much as any abolitionist, I have always been an old time Whig. I have always hated it and I always believed it in a course of ultimate extinction. If I was in Congress and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision I would vote that it should."

Now with the election of a president who entertained such sentiments as the above, by a party whose mission in life was to abolish slavery, I again ask the question, If the South intended to protect and maintain her self-respect, could she have done otherwise than what she did ?

As the minds of the Southern people were pretty well made up, the different states began to hold secession conventions and to exercise their rights, according to the compact of 1787 , of withdrawing from the Union.

The first State to secede was South Carolina, her ordinance of secession was passed on December 20, 1860.

Mississippi, on January 9, 1861. Florida, January 10, 1861. Alabama, January 11, 1861. Georgia January 19, 1861. Louisiana, January 26, 1861. Texas, February 1, 1861. Virginia, April 17, 1861. Arkansas, May 6, 1861. North Carolina, May 20, 1861. Tennessee, June 8, 1861. Missouri, October 31, 1861, Kentucky, November 20, 1861. On the 4th day of February, 1862, the representatives of seven of these seceded States, that now belonged to no government, but were independent republics, met in Montgomery, Alabama, for the purpose of forming themselves into an allied power, or Confederate Government, for the mutual protection of themselves and their property. The states represented here were the states that had seceded before February 4, 1862.

The following were the seven states and the names of the delegates who represented them.

South Carolina, R. B. Rhett, James Chesnut, Jr., W. P. Miles, T. J. Withers, R. J. Barnwell, C. G. Memminger, L. M. Keith and W. W. Boyce.

Mississippi, W. P. Harris, Walter Brooks, A. M. Clayton, W. L. Barry, T. J. Harrison, J. A. P. Campbell, and W. S. Wilson, Florida. Jackson Morton, James Powers, and J. P. Anderson. Alabama, Richard W. Walker, J. L. M. Curry, Robert H. Smith, C. J. McRae, John Gill Shorter, T. T. Hale, David P. Lewis, Thomas Fearn, and W. P. Chilton.

Georgia, Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb, Benjamin J. Hill, A. H. Stephens, Francis Bartow, M. J. Crawford, E. A. Nisbett, A. R. Wright, T. R. R. Cobb, and A. H. Kenan.

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Louisiana, John Perkins, Jr., D. F. Kenner, C. M. Conrad. Edward Sparrow, Henry Marshall, and A. De Clouet.

Texas, L. T. Wigfall, J. H. Rayan, J. Hemphill, T. N. Waul. John Gregg W. S. Oldham, and W. H. Ochiltree.

These fifty delegates representing seven sovereign States organized themselves into a convention by electing Howell Cobb of Georgia, Chairman, and J. J. Hooper of Alabama, Secretary.

Mr. Cobb was a leading advocate of the compromise of 1850. He was elected by the Union party Governor of Georgia in 1851, and he was later Secretary of the United States Treasury.

Mr. Hooper, the secretary of the convention, was an Alabama editor and author of considerable note.

While the convention was being organized, hanging on the walls of the hall, were the portraits of Andrew Jackson, Marion, Washington, and Henry Clay.

This first convention of the young' Confederacy now being organized proceeded on February 9, 1861, to elect a President and Vice President. The votes were taken by States separately, which resulted in the unanimous choice of Jefferson Davis of Mississippi for President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia a Vice President. When this honor was conferred on Mr. Davis, he was at home on his plantation in Mississippi. He did not prefer to be the civil head of the young nation, but offering himself if needed, to its military service. Mr. Davis was one among the last to give up the hope of a reconciliation of the two sections.

He only withdrew from the United State Senate in obedience to the will of the state. He followed secession instead of leading it.

At the same time he was educated in the school of State sovereignty, and when the time came Jefferson Davis was no traitor to his people, as were some who lived in the South. Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice President elect, was a thorough devotee to the Union under the constitution. He stood to the last moment in Georgia against the secession act, but he was a firm believer in the legal principles of States' rights, and upon the withdrawal of his State from the Federal Union, let it be said to his credit, that he did not hesitate to whom he owed his allegiance.

A committee was appointed to notify these gentlemen of their election, and they were inaugurated on February 18, 1861, as President and Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy.

The president was at once directed to appoint committees on Foreign affairs, Finance, Judiciary, Military and Naval Affairs, Commerce, Postal, Patents and Printing; and all laws that were in force in the United States in November 1860, that were not in conflict with the Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy, were continued in operation.

The following. Cabinet Officers were now appointed by President Davis:

Department of State, Robert Toombs, of Georgia. Department of war, Leroy P. Walker, of Alabama. Treasury, Charles G. Memminger of South Carolina. Post Office, John H. Ragan, of Texas. Navy Department, Stephen R. Mallory, of Florida. Department of Justice, Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana.

The world could now see from the National reputation of these men, that the young nation would be led by intellect and patriotism.

President Davis at once appointed a commission of three, viz.- Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, Mr. John Forsythe, of Alabama, and Mr. A. R. Roman, of Louisiana, to go to Washington and confer with President Buchanan, in regard to the settlement of all matters of joint ownership of property of any kind within the limits of the Confederate States upon principles of right, justice, equity and good faith.

Up to this time it was said that President Buchanan was willing to receive such a commission, but before this commission reached Washington, President Buchanan had change his mind, and said: that he had only three days more of official life left, *(to be continued....)*