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UNION

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AND

SECESSION

IN

MISSISSIPPI,

BY THE

HON. JOHN W. WOOD,

THE UNION MEMBER OF THE MISSISSIPPI STATE CONVENTION WHO
REFUSED TO SIGN THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION, OR
TO COMMIT HIMSELF IN ANY WAY TO THE
SECESSION MOVEMENT.

THE FEDERAL UNION—IT MUST BE PRESERVED.—JACKSON.

MEMPHIS:
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P R E F A C E .

THE great object of the writer in publishing the following pages is, to aid in effecting a re-union in feeling and sentiment between the masses of the people of the United States, for social and commercial advantages, as the only basis of a Union worth preserving. Having argued the questions before the people of Mississippi before secession, and a decision being rendered against me, I simply ask that I may again be heard upon a re-argument of the important issues involved. Whenever the minds of the honest masses of the people are convinced of their errors, they are always ready to correct them and move in the right direction, however obstinate or perverse may be their rules. Born in the old State of Virginia, in sight of Monticello, my ancestors being large slaveholders, and always a slaveholder myself, the tongue of calumny dare not impugn my motives. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the best method of restoring our country to its former prosperous and happy condition, the paramount consideration of every American citizen should be the integrity of the Government and the Union of the States.

NOTE.—The family of the Author have recently arrived in Memphis, under the protection of a flag of truce, bringing through the manuscript of this publication, which was written in the central County in Mississippi, (Attala,) more than twelve months ago. It is now submitted to the public with but slight alterations. His friends in Mississippi have anticipated its publication for some time, but it was impossible to get it through sooner with safety.

TO THE FEW

FAITHFUL UNION MEN OF MISSISSIPPI

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

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UNION AND SECESSION.

CHAPTER I.

The condition of our country two years ago, contrasted with the present condition of the South.

Two years ago, our country presented the most pleasing prospect of general prosperity ever exhibited to the world by any nation upon the globe. Ever since the establishment of our Government, it seemed that He "whose kingdom is over all," has continued to pour forth his blessings upon us. Whithersoever we might look, evidences of peace, plenty and prosperity, were constantly before our eyes. If we glanced at our Western territories, we would there behold the thick-skirted forest tumbling beneath the woodman's axe. If we turned to our rich Southern valleys, we would there see them burthened by the very weight of luxuriance. The exhaustless mines of our newly acquired regions, were pouring out their willing treasures into the cup of awakened industry. The clang of the hammer and the hissing of the forge were borne to us on every breeze from the far distant North. The ships of the world, freighted with the rich productions of other countries, were clinging to our shores, all along our borders upon the East. The patriotic statesman of every State of the Union was accustomed to look upon the increasing grandeur and glory of the United States, with heartfelt emotions of pleasure and delight. He saw a great family composed of thirty-four States and nine territories, containing a population of upwards of thirty millions; of which, more than twenty-five millions were white. Casting his eye along our sea-coast, he saw that it embraced an extent of twelve thousand, six hundred and sixty miles. Following the course of our principal rivers, and estimating their length,

he found ten of them extending twenty thousand miles. Looking upon the surface of our five great lakes upon our Northern border, he saw an area of ninety thousand square miles. Tracing upon the map the railroads in operation, he found twenty-five thousand miles, which cost upwards of one hundred millions of dollars; and among them the longest railroad in the world, (the Illinois Central,) of seven hundred and eighty-four miles. He found five thousand miles of canals, dug out by those hardy sons of Europe, who had come across the blue waters of the broad Atlantic, to seek the protection of our flag, and live in a land of freedom. He was astonished at the annual value of our agricultural productions, which summed up two hundred millions of dollars. He found that the most valuable production was Indian Corn, which yielded annually four hundred millions of bushels. He found the amount of registered and enrolled tonnage was four millions four hundred and seven thousand and ten. The amount of capital invested in manufactures was six hundred millions of dollars. The annual amount of our internal trade was six hundred millions of dollars. The annual amount of the products of labor (other than agricultural) was fifteen hundred millions of dollars. The value of farms and live stock was five hundred millions of dollars. The surface of our coal fields was one hundred and thirty-eight thousand and thirty-one square acres; and within our borders were eighty thousand schools, five thousand academies, two thousand and thirty-four colleges, and three thousand and eight hundred churches. Contemplate the grandeur, glory, magnificence and resources of such a country.

Let us contrast the present condition of our Southern country with its prospects two years ago. The sound of the woodman's axe is no longer heard in our forests. That weapon of industry has been dropped for the weapon of death. The plow has been left standing in the furrow of many a poor conscript's field, and his aged father, or poor little, barefooted sister, left to work out with the hoe the young corn just peeping from the ground. The clang of the hammer and the hissing of the forge have been hushed. The din of commerce no longer enlivens our cities, and the grass has literally grown in the streets of our blockaded ports. The necessaries of life have risen to almost fabulous prices; salt from fifty to sixty dollars per sack; cotton cards from twelve to fifteen dollars; boots and shoes, and many other necessary articles, to such enormous prices as to place them often be-

yond the reach of the poor. Coffee, a beverage of which our Southern people are peculiarly fond, is only found in the houses of the wealthiest, and the poorer classes have to substitute a decoction of toasted cornmeal, bran, potatoes, acorns, or such other substitutes as the ingenuity of the oldest dames can devise. Deserted villages are seen in every county. The few remaining merchants hang idly about their stores, with no customers to buy, and no merchandize to sell. The hotels are virtually closed. Many poor families, whom their richer neighbors had promised to provide for during the absence of their fathers or sons, have been suffered to want for the necessaries of life. The only men of business are the extortioners and tax-gatherers—the former with the quickness and voracity of a shark, are moving about from point to point, buying up the necessaries of life in proportion to their scarcity, and preying upon the wants and misfortunes of their countrymen; the latter, in obedience to the laws of the land, are gathering up the little remnants of gold and silver in the country, which has often to be purchased at a hundred per cent. premium by the tax-payer with the proceeds of his poultry and dairy, to the great deprivation of his family. The rag money of the country is considered good enough for the people, but not good enough to pay the “Military War Tax.” War—desolating war, has swept over the country with a besom of destruction—dragging along the unwilling conscripts to the field, and bathing with tears every mother in the South. Our school-houses are deserted, our churches languish, trade is prostrate, and all the best interests of the country have sickened and died. The planters, neglectful of their crops, linger about the villages, eager to hear the latest news from the war; even nature seems to sympathize with our misfortunes, and the sky has assumed a peculiar hue never before witnessed in this clime. Who are the authors of our calamities? It is time to pause and reflect. It is time for the sober second thought of the people calmly to consider the sources of the aggravated evils and intolerable oppressions which have been heaped upon us, and ask themselves the question, if they could not have been honorably avoided? To the doctrine of secession may be attributed the main-spring of all our woes. It is a doctrine never contemplated by the Constitution of the United States—false in theory, and destructive in its results.

CHAPTER 11.

The origin of the doctrine of Secession—Extract from the speech of Mr. Calhoun, on the Force Bill, in the United States Senate in 1833—The fallacy of the doctrine—The State Rights Democratic party South—The Charleston Convention—Division in the National Democratic party—The result—Meeting of the Mississippi Legislature—Caucass in Mississippi—Circular to the people.

The origin of the doctrine of secession may be traced step by step to the speech of Mr. Calhoun, on the Force Bill, in the United States Senate, in 1833, in which he uses this language: "Is this a Federal Union or Union of States, as distinct from that of individuals? Is the Sovereignty in the several States or in the American people in the aggregate? The very language which we are compelled to use when speaking of our political institutions, affords proof conclusive as to its real character. The terms Union, Federal, United, all imply a combination of sovereignties, a confederation of States. They are never applied to an association of individuals. Who ever heard of the United States of New York, of Massachusetts, or of Virginia? Who ever heard the terms Federal or Union applied to the aggregation of individuals into one community? Nor is the other point less clear—that the Sovereignty is in the several States, and that our system is a Union of twenty-four Sovereign powers under a Constitutional compact, and not of a divided Sovereignty between the States severally and the United States. In spite of all that has been said, I maintain that Sovereignty is in its nature indivisible. It is the supreme power in a State, and we might just as well speak of half a square or half a triangle as of half a Sovereignty. It is a great error to confound the exercise of Sovereign powers with Sovereignty itself, or the delegation of such powers with the surrender of them. A Sovereign may delegate his powers to be exercised by as many agents as he may think proper, under such conditions or with such limitations as he may impose, but to surrender any portion of his Sovereignty to another, is to annihilate the whole."

The fallacy of the fascinating doctrine contained in the foregoing extract consists in a total misconception of the true nature of the structure of our Government. The true doctrine, as fully explained by the great expounder of the Constitution at that time, is that the Government of the United States is a Govern-

ment proper, established by the people of the States—not a compact between sovereign communities—that within its limits it is supreme, and that whether it is within its limits or not, in any given exertion of itself, is to be determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, the ultimate arbiter in the last resort—from which there is no appeal but to revolution. It is not my present purpose, however, to elaborate this question.

From the teachings of Mr. Calhoun, the Southern people very readily embraced the popular doctrine of State Rights, which, becoming blended with the name of Democracy, soon established the State Rights Democratic party. The doctrine of State Rights appealed to the pride and prejudices of the people, and required no investigation to commend it to the hearty approval of the masses. After the doctrines of the Democratic State Rights party had become so popular among the masses of the people, it required but one step further to induce them to embrace the doctrine of Secession. When the National Democratic party met at Charleston, in 1860, they were divided upon a question of no practical utility whatever, at that time, viz: whether Slavery should be protected in the Territories, when really there was no territory whatever, since the settlement of the question in Kansas, where slavery was likely to go. But the leaders of the secession movement then saw what would be the result, and, doubtless, many of them designed to effect a division in the National Democratic party for no other purpose than to elect Abraham Lincoln, and thereby obtain a sufficient pretext for a dissolution of the Union.

Immediately after the result of the Presidential election, in 1860, was known, the leaders of the secession movement went to work calling county meetings, haranguing the people, forming companies of "minute men," and using all of those artful appliances so well understood by them, to get up a great political excitement. The Governors of the different States hastily called the Legislatures together. The Legislature of Mississippi assembled at Jackson on the 26th of November, and passed the following resolutions, introduced by the Hon. A. M. West, of Holmes:

"Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That in the opinion of those who now constitute the said Legislature, that Secession by each of the aggrieved States, for their grievances, is the remedy.

"Resolved, That the Governor be requested to appoint as many Commissioners as in his judgment may be necessary, to visit

each of the slave-holding States, and designate the State or States to which each commissioner shall be commissioned, whose duty it shall be to inform them that this Legislature has passed an act calling a Convention of the people of this State, to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the Confederacy, aggravated by the recent election of a President upon principles of hostility to the States of the South, and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi that those States will co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for their common defence and safety."

The Convention Bill provided that the election be held on the 20th of December, and that the Convention should assemble on the 7th of January, 1861.

Being called upon by the citizens of the central County of Mississippi, (Attala,) called by the Secessionists "the free State of Attala," to become a candidate for a seat in the Convention, I issued a list of appointments and mounted my horse for a canvass of the county, addressing the people nearly every day from two to three hours, and sometimes longer, till the day of the election. The result was, my election by a majority of only thirty-four votes. The Union candidate in 1850 was elected by only one vote. I made the issue upon the direct question of "Union" or "Disunion." Our tickets were printed "Union Ticket." The following extract from a circular in reply to a circular of the Secession candidates will give a glance at some of the views taken by me of the question at that time: "These gentlemen, then, are in favor of breaking up the present National Government, under which we have lived and prospered as no other people ever did, and trying to construct another one out of the State of Mississippi and such other seceding States as are willing to join in this undertaking. This they are in favor of doing without any effort being made to insure our rights in the Union; for no where in their circular do they propose anything else than *Secession* from the General Government. This proposition is infinitely the most momentous one ever submitted to the people of Mississippi; and, if adopted, will involve consequences which no eye can fully see, and no mind fully comprehend. It is REVOLUTION out and out. Whenever Mississippi secedes, she will become a foreign power to the remaining States of the Union. She will no longer have any interest in the General Government, or in the territories; in Congressional provisions for the establishment of Federal Courts,

or in those for carrying the mails, or the establishment of Post Offices; but the remaining States, and the General Government, will be as foreign to her as is Great Britain or France.

“Are you in favor of taking this desperate step, and plunging into the dark abyss now opening at your feet? Have you carefully considered the consequences? Let us briefly glance at some of them.

1. “We shall lose our nationality. We shall cease to be a part and parcel of that great American Republic whose flag floats triumphantly on every sea. We go off to ourselves, without an army, without a navy, without a single vessel, and without any means of constructing a navy, even if one could be built in a day with the proper resources.

2. “We undertake the burdens and responsibilities of an independent government at a time when our State Treasury is bankrupt, and when the State herself cannot possibly borrow a dollar in the money markets of the world; and when, also, our people are already threatened with overwhelming distress from the drouth and hard times. Our State has neither money nor credit. How then is she to carry on an independent government, either by herself, or jointly with the few States who are expected to go with her? Only by TAXATION. These burdens, amounting to many millions of dollars more than we now pay, must be borne by HARD CASH, wrung from the tax-payers by the tax-collectors.

3. “Arms and munitions of war must be provided, and large bodies of men equipped for military service. South Carolina and the other seceding States are making heavy appropriations of money to arm and equip their citizen soldiery; and Mississippi will do the same, when the Legislature shall be again called together, as it is to be in a few weeks. Thus all we have had in the shape of taxation, is but as “the small dust of the ballance” compared with what will be, when the Secession Government shall be inaugurated.

4. “The extensive military preparations now making, and the organizations of companies now going on, show conclusively that those who are urging this revolution onward, do not expect it to be peaceable. They smell the battle afar off, and are marshaling their forces. Questions of boundaries; of the right to navigate our waters; and of the duties on imports, exports, and many others, would be certain, ere long, to rob Secession of its peaceable character, and to light up the flames of civil war.

5. "The depreciation of every species of property, and the most universal bankruptcy of our people, are inevitable, if secession be carried out. Even now, there is no sale of lands or negroes, and many a man, who but a few weeks ago deemed himself the possessor of thousands, cannot pay his just debts. While his property has already fallen one-fourth or one-half, his debts retain all their gigantic proportions, and "stop laws," and bankrupt laws, constitute the relief that is proposed.

6. "Our railroads, and other works of internal improvements, must all stop. The improvements contemplated by our people in their farms, their buildings, their cherished homes, will all have to be abandoned.

7. "While the rich man's property is ruinously depreciated, the poor man will be robbed of the reward of his daily labor—his all. Business of all kinds will be suspended. The mechanic will be thrown out of employment; all credit and confidence will be destroyed, and distress and suffering will overspread the land.

8. "The whole framework of society will be disorganized. The laws will be suspended and disregarded, and lawless violence and anarchy take the place of law and order. Where then will be the security for property or life?

9. "It is far easier to tear down than to build up. When the present Government has been destroyed, are you sure a better one can be constructed out of the ruins? Are you sure that your property, your lives, your liberties, will be any more secure than they now are? Would you not as soon risk the Government formed by Washington, Madison, and their associates, as any that may be formed by those who are for a revolution?"

With arguments like these, I endeavored to convince the minds of the masses of the people of the danger of taking the awful step of secession. Although I succeeded in the central county of the State, a large majority of the people of Mississippi were deluded by false representations and false issues, made before them, some of which I will notice.

CHAPTER III.

The delusions practiced upon the people—Peaceable Secession—Extract from Mr. Webster's last great speech in the Senate—The plan of Mr. Yancey "of precipitating the cotton States into a revolution"—Speech of Mr. Yancey at Montgomery—Foreign interference in the event of war—Cotton was king, and would force England or France to intervene—Mr. Yancey abroad—His letters home—The Telegraph—The "reliable gentleman."

1. One of the greatest delusions which seemed to be all-pervading, notwithstanding the apparent preparations for war, was, that secession would be peaceable. The people could not realize the unwelcome fact that war was inevitable. The dangers of a dissolution of the Union had been so often sounded in their ears, that they had become somewhat accustomed to it. I always endeavored to impress upon them the sentiments of Daniel Webster, in his last great speech in the Senate, on the 7th of March, 1850, in which he said: "Mr. President: I should much prefer to have heard, from every member on this floor, declarations of opinion that this Union could not be dissolved, than the declaration of opinion by anybody, that, in any case, under the presence of any circumstances, such a dissolution was possible. I hear with distress and anguish, the word "Secession," especially when it falls from the lips of those who are patriotic, and known to the country, and known all over the world, for their political services. Secession! Peaceable Secession! Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle. The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the Great Deep without ruffling the surface! Who is so foolish (I beg everybody's pardon) as to expect to see any such thing? Sir, he who sees these States, now revolving in harmony around the common centre, and expects to see them quit their places and fly off, without convulsion, may look the next hour to see the heavenly bodies rush from their spheres and jostle against each other in the realms of space, without causing the wreck of the Universe. There can be no such thing as peaceable Secession. Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. Is the great Constitution under which we live—covering this whole country—to be thawed and melted away by secession, as the snows on the mountain melt under the influence of a vernal sun, disappear almost unobserved, and run off? No, Sir! I will not state what

might produce the disruption of the Union; but, sir, I see as plainly as I see the sun in heaven, what that disruption itself must produce; I see that it must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe in its two-fold character.

“Peaceable Secession! Peaceable Secession! The concurrent agreement of all the members of this great republic to separate! A voluntary separation, with alimony on the one side and on the other? Why, what would be the result? Where is the line to be drawn? What States are to secede? What is to remain in America? What am I to be? An American no longer? Am I to become a sectional man, a local man, a separatist, with no country in common with the gentlemen who sit around me here, or who fill the other house of Congress? Heaven forbid! Where is the flag of the Republic to remain? Where is the eagle still to soar? Or is he to cower and shrink, and fall to the ground? Why, sir, our ancestors, our fathers and our grand-fathers, those of them who are yet living amongst us with prolonged lives, would rebuke and reproach us; and our children and our grand-children would cry out shame upon us, if we of this generation should dishonor these ensigns of the power of the government and the harmony of that Union which is every day felt among us with such joy and gratitude.”

Notwithstanding such lessons of wisdom as these, there were found secession leaders who professed to be willing to do all the fighting themselves, that would have to be done; but when the fighting came on, many of them proved to be very reluctant to redeem their pugnacious promises.

Mr. Yancey had, long prior to the last presidential election, favored the plan of “precipitating the cotton States into a revolution,” at the same time disclaiming that he was a disunionist! In his speech at Montgomery, a few days after the election, he said: “To-night I address a meeting of my fellow-citizens in Montgomery, in which has been witnessed the glorious spectacle of an actual fusion of all parties in our midst for one great purpose—the Union of Southern men in order to a protection of the rights of the South, without the Union. [great applause.] Perhaps the boasted “eighteen millions” may respect those rights when independent of their political power, if not,

“Then welcome be Cumberland’s Steed to the shock.”

“This night two weeks ago, I was asked, while speaking in New York, what course I would advise Alabama to take, in the event

that Lincoln should be elected President? Acting in perfect good faith to the issues presented by the party whose cause I advocated, and which issues contemplated a solution of the political question at the ballot-box only, within the Union, I declined to give utterance to my individual opinions, which could only tend to embarrass my friends, and to encourage their foes, but told the people of New York that I should cheerfully give that advice to my fellow-citizens of Alabama whenever they should see fit to ask it; [applause;] and I redeem that pledge to-night, by saying that in my opinion, the election of Abraham Lincoln to the office of President of the United States by the Black Republican party, taken in connection with his own political utterances, and the views and acts of his party in Congress, and in the several Northern States, is an overt act against the Constitution—[applause,] and as such should be deemed sufficient cause for a withdrawal of the State of Alabama, and a resumption of all the powers she has granted to the Union, by Separate State Secession. [Prolonged applause.] And while giving utterance to this advice, I repudiate as utterly untrue, that in any just sense I am a Disunionist!"

I quote the above extract from the speech of the Ajax Telfam of the secession movement, as well for the purpose of showing that some of the leaders, at least, contemplated the probability of war, as to show the inconsistency of his position. For "separate State secession," and not a "disunionist!" Almost all of them, however, preached before the people the doctrine of "peaceable secession" and "bloodless revolution." The boldness of Mr. Yancey's position was entitled to more respect than those who taught many ignorant people to believe that "there would not be a gun fired!"

2. The next delusion of most importance which was disseminated among the people was, that in the event of war, England or France, or perhaps both, would certainly interpose in our behalf. That "Cotton was King," and that three or four millions of people in Europe were dependent upon our great staple for their daily bread. In this our greatest statesmen were in error, for they certainly knew, when plunging the Southern States into a contest so unequal, it would be impossible to succeed without foreign aid. They doubtless recollected that when Patrick Henry was inaugurating the American revolution in Virginia, and arousing our ancestors to battle, in a just and holy cause, he freely confessed to his intimate friends that he depended upon foreign

assistance for their ultimate success. Our Senators in Congress, when leaving their seats, after the secession of their respective States, menacingly alluded to the assistance of the great powers of Europe. Much of the legislation of the Confederate Congress was based upon the assumed fact, that our Ports would be opened by foreign interference. Mr. Memminger's scheme for raising money by a "Produce Loan" was based upon that presumption. Mr. Yancey had written home that our Ports would be opened prospectively, from time to time, about as often as some of the Northern Statesmen had designated the time of the termination of the "rebellion." The most strained efforts were made during the progress of the revolution to keep up this delusion. The telegraph was subsidized to gain its assistance. The "reliable gentleman" had time and again heard a dispatch read at the head-quarters of such a General, that our independence was to be acknowledged at such a time, and our ports opened.

The position I assumed in the canvass before the people of Mississippi was: That we could not reasonably expect any assistance from foreign nations; that they were opposed to our peculiar institution which underlaid the revolution, and that their sympathies would be against us; that, however much they might rejoice at the dissensions existing here, and would encourage them to weaken us as a great rival, especially of England and France, they would not take part in the conflict. The Commissioners sent to Europe were so well aware of the prejudices of the English people against slavery that Messrs. Yancey, Mann, and Roost, endeavored to place the revolution upon the grounds of the Tariff, and exhibited very great weakness in doing so. Mr. Yancey, in his speech at the Fish-mongers Company dinner, said: "their pursuits, soil, climate and productions are totally different from those of the North. They think it their interest to buy where they can buy cheapest and sell where they can sell dearest. In all this the North differs *toto coelo* from them, and now makes war upon us to enforce the supremacy of their mistaken ideas and selfish interests."

In a letter subsequently written by these gentlemen to Lord John Russel, the cause of the secession movement is attributed to the Tariff and not to Slavery. In this view of the subject those gentlemen were at least thirty years behind the times, and must have had their attention directed to the little nullification movement of South Carolina in 1832. Their great weakness, however,

consisted in flattering themselves that Lord John Russel could be so easily deceived, when he understood, perhaps, a little better than those gentlemen, the true character of the American question.

CHAPTER IV.

The attempt to assimilate the Secession movement to the Revolutionary War—Declaration of grievances—Young Patrick Henrys spring up—The delusion of the great superiority of our Southern soldiers—Direct Trade with Europe—Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans to rival Boston, New York and Philadelphia—Secession of South Carolina—Sudden decline in Cotton—The Money Market the pulse of a Nation.

3. Long prior to the fall of Fort Sumpter on the 13th of April, 1851, the commencement of actual hostilities, a great effort had been made by the leaders of the secession movement to assimilate the revolution they were about to inaugurate, to the revolution of our ancestors, which established American independence. Our pretended grievances were summed up in imitation of the Declaration of Independence. Young Patrick Henrys sprung up in every county, and appeals to the patriotism of the people were made which far excelled all the powers of eloquence ever displayed by "the forest-born—Demosthenes." Many young orators, who had never before appeared upon the stump, made such strained efforts, that the hearer was irresistibly reminded of the young Shanghai rooster, so common in this country, that crows so hard, that he seems to be in imminent danger of crowing himself out of his knee joints!

Unfortunately these appeals to the people sent thousands of the brave young men of the South to the field, who never returned to their once happy homes. Instances might be enumerated of many unfortunate poor widows, who thus lost all of their sons; and were thrown upon the cold charities of the rich, for a bare maintenance. Some young ladies were found simple-minded and silly enough to send aprons and dolls to those young men whose circumstances compelled them to remain at home, till forced off

by that terrible engine of military despotism known as the "Conscript Law." An impression was made upon our young men that unless they took part in the revolution, they would be regarded as the Tories of the Revolutionary War. This had a powerful effect upon the brave and impetuous youth of our country. The recollection of the success which had always attended our arms in all the wars in which we had been engaged—the revolutionary war—the war with England of 1812, and the Mexican war—inspired the belief that we could not engage in any war without success. The masses of the people did not stop to compare the resources of the different sections of the Union; nor pause to reflect upon the inequality of the conflict into which we were about to be plunged. Many of our young men are always ready for a fight, and when it is "a free fight" some care but little upon which side they are engaged, so that they are "in."

4. Another great delusion disseminated among our people was, the great superiority of our Southern soldiers to our Northern men. It was often said, that "one Southern man could whip half a dozen Yankees." This opinion had been formed from the appearance of the many delicate clerks and collectors who had been sent out by their houses, drumming and collecting through the South, and who were more frequently met with the pistol and bowie-knife, than the ready money. It manifested a great ignorance of the history of the Northern Nations of Europe for bravery and endurance when compared with the more Southern tribes. This delusion has already been dispelled, especially in regard to the frontier men of the North-west. They seemed to be ignorant of the fact, that in the United States army would be met some of the best men of every civilized nation. It is undoubtedly true, that for impetuous bravery—the daring charge and dashing onset, the Southern soldier stands unsurpassed before the world; and in a war with any foreign nation, would do prodigies of valor, unequalled upon the pages of military warfare; but when fighting against the old flag, under which our fathers had fought and bled—endeared to them by all the associations of the past, and hopes of the future—under which Washington, Lafayette, Montgomery, Gates, Green, Jackson and Taylor had fought—that waved at King's Mountain, Gilford Court House, Camden, Entaw, Cowpens, Moultrie and Yorktown—against brethren of the same race, and often of the same family; whilst the hearts of many of them were never in the cause in which they were enlisted. it is

wonderful that they displayed the heroism exhibited at Manassas, Leesburg, Belmont and Shiloh.

5. Direct Trade with Europe, was a favorite theme of indulgence by the secession leaders. Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans were to rival Boston, New York and Philadelphia. We were going to sell everything very high and buy everything very cheap. Our opponents told us, "we will have direct trade with Europe. Our commerce will flourish; industry will be amply rewarded. Our revenue from imports, instead of going into the treasury as now, to be expended in warring upon us, will be diverted into the Southern treasury to support our own friendly government. We will then be relieved of our vassalage to New York, and other Northern cities, which now subjects us to a monetary panic whenever there is a stringency in the New York money market, which began to be felt before the late Presidential election. In the present deranged state of the cotton market, we are experiencing the evil effects of this commercial dependence on New York. In our Southern Confederacy we will be free from all this. In withdrawing *we lose nothing and save all.*" This delusion led many into the snare. Loud expressions were heard of the great value that would attach to land and negroes in the event of secession, and some were heard to say that they would sell their lands and negroes at half price if Mississippi did not secede; but Mississippi did secede, and instead of land and negroes advancing, neither will bring half price even in the rag money currency of the State, and if put up for gold and silver, they would not bring one-fourth their usual price. The cities that were to rival the cities of the North have languished every day they have been out of the Union. Instead of selling everything very high and buying everything very cheap, we buy everything very high and sell everything very cheap; instead of direct trade with Europe, we have had no trade at all. We have no commerce; no revenue from imports; no rewards for our industry--none of the golden promises of the secession leaders have been realized. Immediately after the secession of South Carolina, cotton dropped down to six cents, and we were told that it was owing to "a stringency in the New York money market!"

Financial men saw the dark storm that was approaching. That unfailling indication of the condition of a nation, the money market—the pulse of a nation—was disturbed; but its disturbance was produced by the secession of South Carolina. We were told

that a sudden decline in cotton was produced by a stringency in the New York money market, but we were not told what produced that stringency. The first manifestation of any disturbance in England is exhibited by the money market—the decline in Consols. So in France, in the decline of the Rents—the pulse of the nation rises or falls, in proportion to the healthfulness of the nation; so it was with the money market of the United States, after the secession of South Carolina in December, 1860.

CHAPTER V.

Other delusions—Strong attachment to the Union among the old men—An incident in the canvass—Meeting of the Convention of Mississippi—The first and second day's proceedings—The Secession Ordinance reported on the third day.

These delusions and many others—some of which were most preposterous, such as that unless secession succeeded the negroes would be emancipated and the poor would have to do the menial services of the slaves—were most artfully, ingeniously and sometimes powerfully impressed upon the people.

I always found a very strong attachment to the Union among the old men of the State. An incident of the canvass will forcibly illustrate this fact. At a precinct in the county of Attala, known as Crim's Box, where my opponent and myself were to address the "sovereigns" on the day of the Convention Election, I observed an unusual number of very old men, some of whom had fought in the revolutionary war. Seeing a fallen pine near the stand, I requested them all to take their seats together upon the log. In the course of my remarks I took occasion to paint the scenes of the revolution—the struggles of our forefathers—their hardships and sufferings—the character and conduct of Washington and his com-patriots—the principal battles and other reminiscences. When the polls were opened they all went up and voted together, and all voted the Union Ticket but one.

The Convention of Mississippi assembled at Jackson on Monday, January 7th, 1861. I had been requested by several mem-

bers of the convention, before the hour of meeting, to call a conservative member to the Chair, in order that an organization as favorable as possible to the Union cause might be effected. This was anticipated however by an ultra Secessionist, who called the Convention to order more than thirty minutes before the usual time for such bodies to convene, and nominated the Hon. H. T. Ellett, an ultra member, as temporary Chairman.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, Rev. C. K. Marshall, of Vicksburg, opened the Convention with prayer, as follows :

“Oh, Almighty God, we come into Thy presence on this occasion, so solemn, so freighted with high and holy resolves, humbly and earnestly beseeching Thee to be with us in our councils. Send down Thy spirit that these Thy servants may consummate such measures as shall result in the maintainance and propagation of the principles of self-government. Our Heavenly Father, Thou hast seen the malign influence of our sister States, and Thou hast heard, too, the cry of those who sought Thy guidance. Help our Southern country ; protect her in her rights, and teach these, the people’s servants, to carry out Thy law with coolness and dispassionate forgetfulness of self. Help them to bury party animosities, to forget past controversies of party, and go forth in the faithful performance of the high and holy duties which are now their special care. And if the sword of the enemy be drawn against us, Oh, God, be our guide in the bloody contest, and, victorious in peace we shall inscribe Thy great name. And now, Heavenly Father, we commend to Thine especial care, the interests of the world at large. Help us to perform our obligations to each other, and may we never have occasion to regret our actions in this cause. Amen.”

The roll of Counties was then called, the following delegates registering their names: Adams: A. K. Farrar, J. Winchester; Attala: John W. Wood, E. H. Sanders; Amite: D. W. Hurst; Bolivar: Miles H. McGehee; Carroll: W. Booth, J. Z. George; Claiborne: Henry T. Ellett; Coahoma: J. L. Alcorn; Copiah: P. S. Catchings, Ben. King; Clark: S. H. Terrill; Choctaw: W. F. Brantley, W. H. Witty, J. H. Edwards; Chickasaw: C. B. Baldwin, J. A. Orr; Covington: A. C. Powell; Calhoun: M. D. L. Stephens, W. A. Sumner; DeSoto: J. R. Chalmers, S. D. Johnson, Thos. Lewers; Franklin: D. H. Parker; Green: T. J. Roberts; Hinds: W. P. Harris, W. P. Anderson, W. B. Smart; Holmes: W. L. Keirn, J. M. Dyer; Harrison: D. C. Glenn; Hancock: J. B.

Deason; Issaquena: Albert C. Gibson; Itawamba: R. O. Beene, W. H. Tison, M. C. Cummings, A. B. Bullard; Jasper: O. C. Dease; Jackson: A. E. Lewis; Jefferson: J. S. Johnston; Jones: J. H. Powell; Kemper: O. Y. Neely, Thos. H. Wood; Lawrence: Wm. Gwin; Lowndes: Geo. R. Clayton, W. S. Barry; Leake: W. B. Colbert; Lauderdale: J. B. Ramsay, C. F. Simmes; Lafayette: L. Q. C. Lamar, T. D. Isom; Marshall: J. W. Clapp, Samuel Benton, H. W. Walter, A. M. Clayton, Willis M. Lea; Madison: A. P. Hill; Monroe: S. J. Gholson, F. M. Rogers; Marion: Hamilton Mayson; Noxubee: Israel Welsh; Neshoba: J. L. Backstrow; Newton: M. M. Keith; Octibbeha: T. C. Bookter; Perry: P. J. Myers; Pike: J. M. Nelson; Panola: J. B. Fiser, F. A. McGehee; Pontatoc: H. R. Miller, R. W. Flournoy, C. D. Fontaine, J. B. Herring; Rankin: J. J. Thornton, W. Denson; Sunflower: E. P. Jones; Simpson: W. J. Douglas; Smith: W. Thompson; Scott: C. W. Taylor; Tallahatchie: A. Patterson; Tishomingo: A. E. Reynolds, J. A. Blair, T. P. Young, W. W. Bonds; Tunica: Andrew Miller; Tippah: Joel H. Berry, Orlando Davis, D. B. Wright, J. L. Davis; Washington: J. S. Yerger; Wilkinson: Alfred C. Holt; Wayne: W. J. Eckford; Warren: T. A. Marshall, W. Brooke; Winston: W. S. Bolling, John Kennedy; Yazoo: Henry Vaughan, G. B. Wilkinson; Yallahusha: W. R. Barksdale, F. M. Aldridge.

After some unimportant business, necessary for a permanent organization, L. Q. C. Lamar, of Lafayette, offered the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of _____ be appointed to prepare and report, as speedily as possible, an Ordinance providing for the withdrawal of the State of Mississippi from the present Federal Union, with a view to the establishment of a new Confederacy, to be composed of the Seceding States. After some discussion the blank in the resolution was filled by inserting fifteen.

The President appointed the following gentlemen as such committee: L. Q. C. Lamar, of Lafayette; G. R. Clayton, of Lowndes; Wiley P. Harris, of Hinds; S. J. Gholson, of Monroe; J. L. Aleorn, of Coahoma; H. T. Ellet, of Claiborne; W. Brooke, of Warren; H. R. Miller, of Pontatoc; John A. Blair, of Tishomingo; A. M. Clayton, of Marshall; Alfred Holt, of Wilkinson; J. Z. George, of Carroll; E. H. Sanders, of Attala; Benjamin King, of Copiah; Orlando Davis, of Tippah.

The proceedings of the second day all indicated very clearly that the secession of Mississippi was already *fait accompli*.

Mr. Walter, of Marshall offered the following :

Resolved, That the Committee on Constitutional Amendments be instructed to report as soon as practicable, after its appointment, an amendment to the Constitution of this State authorizing it to borrow money *for purpose of military defence*, and to pledge the faith of the State for the repayment of the loan.

“He thought this Convention ought to vote the necessary means for the defence and protection of the State. No one doubted its prompt withdrawal.”

Mr. Gholson in reply to some remarks about dividing the responsibility with the Legislature, said he didn't come here for that purpose. He held the power of the Convention to be omnipotent, and thought it devolved upon this body to borrow the money.

Mr. Chalmers, of De Soto, moved to strike out the words, “an amendment to the Constitution of this State,” and substitute the word “ordinance.”

Mr. Alcorn, of Coahoma, thought that, if the Convention proposed amending the present Constitution, certain difficulties would thereby be raised.

Mr. Hill, of Madison, thought that the Convention should conform itself to the fifth section of the Convention-bill—that it did not possess the power to amend the Constitution. That the Convention was called for the specific object of acting upon the provisions of that bill.

Mr. Ellett, of Claiborne, remarked, that the amendment offered by the gentleman from De Soto was, of necessity, an amendment to the Constitution. He had no scruples about the power of the Convention to amend the Constitution, in any particular.

Mr. Flournoy, of Pontatoc, entirely concerted with the views expressed by gentlemen, that this Convention possessed sovereign and absolute power to amend, alter or abolish, the present Constitution, as it might see proper.

Mr. Chalmers insisted on his amendment.

Mr. Harris, of Hinds, said he had no doubt of the power of the Convention to deal with the Constitution of the State. It was understood throughout the country, however, that we would not touch it except in points necessary *to advance the remedy, to*

which we are determined to resort, in the present emergency. The proposition which is to effect this Constitution, and contemplates the measures necessary to raise money, should be matured in committee; when matured, then it would be reported as an ordinance of the Convention.

Though inclined, at first not to vote for the resolution, because he thought money would be raised by taxation in the first instance, he was disposed to remove all obstacles in the way of every resource at our command. He would, therefore, vote for the original resolution—not deeming the difference between the mover and the gentleman from Pontatoc very material.

Mr. Clayton, of Marshall, spoke to the question.

Mr. Clayton, of Lowndes, held that the Constitution was obligatory upon this Convention until it is altered in the manner provided by the instrument itself. If we proceed, by an ordinance, to pledge the State to raise the necessary means, it would be in direct violation of the organic law. The Constitution should be changed, so as to enable us to pledge the faith of the State legally.

Mr. Alcorn was prepared to go with him who goes farthest to realize money for the defence of the State. The Constitution pointed out the mode in which it should be amended—submitted to and voted upon by the people. He held, however, that this Convention has plenary power—that its ordinances were above the Constitution—that we must stand above it; or, if we undertake to be governed by it, then we must stand by it in all its details. He had no hesitation to vote upon an ordinance *to place the State on a war footing*.

Mr. Welsh, of Noxubee, thought this Convention possessed the power to amend the Constitution. Here are the people? He was in favor of the original resolution.

Mr. Hill, of Madison, explained his position. He would vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from De Soto. He didn't think this Convention was sovereign in every respect, or had illimitable power over the existing Constitution. He was prepared to vote for any measures looking toward the vindication of the sovereignty of the State.

Mr. Glenn said he felt somewhat sensitive as to any difference among the members on any important matter. He was ready to yield, for the sake of harmony. He could not agree with the gentleman from Madison, nor yet with the gentleman from

Coahoma; but he would concede to either, as he believed both looked to *the prompt withdrawal of Mississippi from the Union.*

[Loud applause from the galleries, when the President remarked, that he would not tolerate any further demonstrations in that quarter.

Mr. Fontaine, of Pontatoc, spoke to the question.

Mr. Benton, of Marshall, was in favor of the original resolution. The amendment of his honorable friend from De Soto, if passed, would virtually be an amendment of the Constitution. He thought it better, therefore, to make an amendment in terms. He entertained no doubt of the power of the Convention to amend the Constitution, but thought the exercise of that power should be confined to matters coming within the perview of the general object for which the Convention was called. He thought the matter of arming the State came fully within that object.

Mr. Welsh, of Noxubee, raised a point of order.

Mr. Wright, of Tippah, said the delegates to this Convention were fresh from the people, and they knew the wants of their constituency, and he believed it was the duty of this body to prepare, *by arming, the State* for any emergency, in defence of her rights. He preferred the amendment of the gentleman from De Soto.

The amendment, on a call of the Convention, was lost, and the original resolution was adopted.

The President read a telegraphic dispatch from Georgia, announcing that there was no doubt of the immediate secession of that State.

The reading of this dispatch created great excitement, when the President called the galleries to order, stating that the galleries would be cleared if order was not observed. Mr. Glenn reported himself as having participated in the expression of exultation. [Laughter,—the ladies in the gallery looking smilingly in the direction of Mr. Glenn.]

Mr. Gholson moved to adjourn till to-morrow morning, to allow the Committee on Ordinance time to report.

Mr. Harris, of Hinds, arose to explain, that there was no difference in the Committee on the main point, and he thought they would be prepared to report to-morrow morning.

Mr. Gholson then, at 12 o'clock, renewed his motion to adjourn till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, which was carried.

On the third day of the Convention, Mr. Lamar, Chairman of

the Committee to draft Ordinance of Secession, said the Committee was ready to report. At 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, A. M., the Convention went into secret session, to consider the report, and remained in secret session till half past 4 o'clock, P. M., greatly to the disappointment of the assembled multitude. Never before had such a large assembly of the people of Mississippi been seen at Jackson. All the leading Secessionists of the State, many of them bringing their wives and daughters, had congregated at the Capitol, not that they doubted the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, but to see it "well done." Companies of infantry, cavalry and artillery, made an unusual display for those "piping times of peace."

The sound of the fife and drum was heard in every direction; the hotels were crowded to overflowing; the bars did an extremely flourishing business. Notwithstanding the unfavorable indications, and outside pressure, I determined to make a last effort for the old Flag, more as a protest than with the hope of defeating the passage of the ordinance, by a speech before the Convention, which I will submit to the reader as a part of the history of the times.

CHAPTER VI.

Speech Delivered in the Mississippi Convention on the Ordinance of Secession, January 9th, 1861.

"MR. PRESIDENT: Napoleon I. nor Garibaldi could never successfully carry out a revolution, unless the hearts of the people were in such revolution. I have strong convictions, Sir, that the hearts of the people of Mississippi are not in this revolution. I know that the hearts of my constituents are not, and I shall represent their will upon this floor, if I stand alone in my position. We have been hastily called from among the people, while the excitement of a presidential election has not yet subsided. This excitement will subside, and I am apprehensive that the verdict of the people, upon calm reflection, will be against hastily and rashly tearing down the fairest fabric of Freedom ever erected in the civilized world.

"I have given a calm and patient investigation to the important subject under consideration. I have consulted the Apostles of

our Government, besought the Author of Wisdom for counsel; laid aside all other considerations but the welfare of the people of the South, and only desired to be right. I have no political aspirations to advance, or ambitious designs to gratify. Born in the 'Old Dominion'—my ancestors being large slave-holders, and always a slave-holder myself—my family all native Mississippians, I challenge any member of this body for greater devotion to the true interests of the South.

“Mr President: The old ship of State has stood many severe storms. As early as 1790, a storm of great danger blew over the decks of the old Vessel, arising from a question now almost forgotten—the permanent location of the Capitol. Madison and Ames feared then she would go down, but she weathered it. Again, in 1820, another storm arose in the West, and shook the old Vessel to her centre; but she bravely rode out of it in safety.

“Again, in 1832, when one of the Stars, in our constellation of States, attempted ‘to fly madly from its sphere,’ another storm arose, out of a question not connected with slavery, which seemed for a time to portend inevitable destruction; but she survived that. And still again, in 1850, within the recollection of most of us here, clouds and darkness gathered around her, and some, even then, were for deserting her and giving themselves to the winds and waves; but she rode out of that storm. And now, again, we find the Old Ship enveloped in the blackness of darkness. Shall we desert her? Others, or all, may do as they please; but as for myself, I shall stand upon the Old Ship as long as there is a plank upon her decks, or an inch of canvass fluttering in the breeze.

“Mr. President: Your ears have been lulled by the cry of peaceable secession; but, Sir, there is no such thing as peaceable secession. It is revolution that you are inaugurating—a revolution that may not terminate before the heel of some military despot is placed upon the necks of the people. Peaceable secession! Sir, if ever the sun of this Union goes down, it will sink beneath the horizon bathed in the blood of thousands and tens of thousands of the best men of our country. This day, which has been ushered in with so much enthusiasm, by the assembled thousands here, I fear, will prove the darkest day that ever broke upon the State. Let us pause and reflect, before we plunge into the dark abyss now opening at our feet. Let us carefully consider the consequences that will surely follow the passage of the

Ordinance of Secession. We go off to ourselves, without an army, without a navy, without a single vessel, and without any means of constructing a navy, even if one could be built in a day with the proper resources. We assume the responsibilities of a new government at a time when our State Treasury is bankrupt, and when the State herself cannot possibly borrow a dollar in the money markets of the world. When our State has neither money nor credit, how is she to carry on an independent government, either by herself or with the few States that are expected to go with her? Only by TAXATION. And, Sir, although the people may rest satisfied for a while, under the novelty of the new order of things, when you lay the iron hand of taxation upon them, and the millions of dollars in hard cash are wrung from the tax-payers, by the tax-collectors, a voice of indignation will rise in thunder tones from the masses of the people, which will shake the highest seats of the rulers of the contemplated Confederacy. Arms and munitions of war must be provided, and large bodies of men equipped for military service. The extensive military preparations now making, and the organizations of companies now going on, show, conclusively, that those who are urging this revolution onward, do not expect it to be peaceable. They smell the battle afar off, and are marshaling their forces. Complicated questions of boundaries; of the right to navigate the Mississippi river and its numerous tributaries; of duties on imports, exports, and many other equally difficult and perplexing questions, would soon rob secession of its peaceable character, and light up the flames of civil war. And what right have we to expect that the Government of the United States will peaceably permit its own dissolution?

“We have heard much said about the right of secession—of the Constitutional right of secession—but, Sir, there is no such right. There is not a single word in the Constitution of the United States that recognizes, or can be construed to recognize, the right of secession. Mr. Calhoun claimed the right from facts outside the Constitution, and in contradiction of a fact stated in its preamble. ‘We, the people of the United States,’ made the Constitution; but Mr. Calhoun says: No,—the people did not make it, the States made it. Mr. Calhoun admitted that if the Constitution had, in truth, been made as its preamble recites, by the people, or, in other words, by the whole nation, then there would not be a pretense for the right of secession. An issue of

fact is thus raised between the Constitution of the United States and Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Calhoun claims that, because the people of the several States, through their Conventions, ratified the Constitution, it was a creation and ratification by States; but the whole people created and ratified it, in the only way they could. He claimed the Government of the United States to be a Confederacy of States, each having the right, incident, as he said, to all Confederacies, of seceding when she pleases. His conclusion would not follow his premises, even if they were true; but they are not true. He compared the Union to a partnership of undefined duration between individuals, from which each has a right to withdraw at pleasure; but the cases are not analogous. The Constitution is the great act of incorporation, binding the States, as corporate entities, in a perpetual Union, and their citizens into one common indissoluble nationality. It is like an indissoluble act of incorporation, from which no stockholder has a right to withdraw his funds. It is an agreement between the citizens of the States to fuse themselves into an indissoluble nationality, like that of Aragon and Castile, or England and Scotland. The right of secession is a mere abstraction, about as reasonable as the right of a part owner of a boat to destroy his part. This whole doctrine of Mr. Calhoun is a fallacy, a heresy, a delusion, never to be practically realized, and only to terminate in a bloody revolution. This, Sir, is not the only delusion resting upon this body. We have been taught to believe that 'Cotton is King,' and that England and France will be forced to intervene in our behalf. I fear, Sir, that this is a delusion. I have no confidence in foreign aid. The sympathies, not only of France and England, but of the civilized world will be against us. They are opposed to the institution which underlies this revolution. The great danger is, if our cotton is withheld to force them to our assistance, that when we may again offer it to them, they will tell us they do not want it; that they have made other arrangements. It may cause them a temporary inconvenience, but their gratification at the dissensions in our republic, with the hope of an extinction of slavery, will rather induce them to forego that inconvenience, than to intervene in our favor. We cannot control the commerce of the world. It will seek its wants and necessities in other climes and other countries.

"Mr. President: I do not intend to discuss this important subject further. You and I, and all the members present, have

already fully discussed, before the people, all of the points involved. Let me only warn you and this Convention, that if Secession is carried out, there will be nothing but ruin and desolation follow in its course—war, war, inevitable war, the depreciation of every species of property, stop laws, and bankrupt laws, the neglect of agricultural pursuits, the collection of large bodies of troops, the diseases which will necessarily spread among them; and before the last act in the great drama is closed, not only war, but ‘war, pestilence and famine’ will spread over the land a scene of devastation, desolation and destruction.

“The last words I have to say are, that posterity will hold you, Sir, and this Convention, responsible for the act which you this day commit.”

CHAPTER VII.

Note to the Reporter of the Convention—His Reply—Scene in the Hall of the House of Representatives on the passage of the Ordinance of Secession—Ceremony of Signing—The Ordinance.

Seeing that the Convention had made up their minds to pass the Secession Ordinance I determined to take no further part in their proceedings, although I remained at the Capitol for ten days after the passage of the Ordinance. After my return home, I addressed a note to Mr. J. L. Power, the Reporter of the Convention, requesting the publication of my speech, as a part of the proceedings, in order that my protest might go to the public, with the proceedings of the Convention, and received from him the following reply:

“JACKSON, MISS., February 14th, 1861.

“HON. JOHN W. WOOD—*Dear Sir:*

“Your esteemed favor is at hand. You may send me the speech, though I am not certain as to the propriety of publishing it. The members will recognize it as being delivered in secret session. However, I will consult with proper persons as to the propriety, as one or two other speeches delivered in secret session are in my possession. At any rate, I should be pleased to have the speech. I have, by resolution of

the Convention, the exclusive right, for five years, of publishing the proceedings, (except 20,000 copies by State printer), and if I cannot use your speech in my first edition, I shall in the *next*. Make it as brief as the arguments will admit.

Respectfully, J. L. POWER."

My speech was never published. The passage of the Ordinance was announced by the roar of artillery. The old Flag, which had been so long in the Capitol, was taken down, and a new one, with one star, placed in its stead, amid the shouts of the multitude and applause of the members. The scene in the Hall of the House of Representatives can be better imagined than described.

"On motion, the President was requested to have the Ordinance of Secession written on parchment, and appropriately arranged for the signatures of the members; also, to telegraph the result of this day's proceedings to the Mississippi delegation in Congress, and to the different slave-holding States: At this point, Mr. C. R. Dickson entered the hall, bearing a beautiful silk banner, with a single star in the center, which he handed to the President of the Convention, as a present from Mrs. H. H. Smyth, of Jackson. The President remarked, that it was the first banner unfurled in the young Republic, when the members saluted it by rising—the vast audience present uniting in shouts of applause."

The ceremony of signing the Ordinance took place on Tuesday, January 15th, the 8th day of the session, in presence of the Governor, Senate and House of Representatives, in pursuance of the following resolution :

"On motion of Mr. Clayton, of Marshall.

Resolved, That when the Convention proceeds to sign the Ordinance of Secession, it be first signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary of the Convention; that the counties be then called in alphabetical order, and that the delegates affix their signatures in the order in which their counties and their own names are called.

"*Resolved, also*, That the Governor of this State, and the Senate and House of Representatives, be invited to be present at the time the same is signed."

I was urged by many old friends, some of whom had held high positions in the United States Government, to sign the Ordinance, for the sake of unanimity. Indeed, I was told that it was "a second Declaration of Independence," and that my name should

be upon it, to hand down to my children. My reply was, that I would not sign what my conscience and judgment did not approve; and that I would rather hand down to my children the remembrance of the fact that I was the member of the Mississippi State Convention who refused to sign the Ordinance of Secession.

The Ordinance was carefully written on parchment, beautifully framed, and conspicuously hung in the Capitol. In a few days it might be seen in all the hotels, stores, shops, and other public places; even sold upon the streets, and soon became circulated throughout the State.

The following is the Ordinance :

“ A N O R D I N A N C E

“ To Dissolve the Union between the State of Mississippi and other States united with her under the compact entitled, ‘ The Constitution of the United States of America.’

“The people of the State of Mississippi, in Convention assembled, do ordain and declare, and it is hereby ordained and declared, as follows, to-wit :

SECTION 1st. 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, to observe the same, be withdrawn, and that the said State doth hereby resume all the rights, functions and powers, which, by any of said laws or 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 from henceforth be a free and independent State.

“SEC. 2. That so much of the first section of the seventh article of the Constitution of this State, as requires members of the Legislature, and all officers executive and judicial, to take an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United State, be, and the same is, hereby abrogated and annulled.

“SEC. 3. That all rights acquired and vested under the Constitution of the United States, or under acts of Congress passed, or treaty made, in pursuance thereof, or under any law of this State, and not incompatible with this Ordinance, shall remain in form

and have the same effect as if this Ordinance had not been passed.

"Sec. 4. That the people of the State of Mississippi hereby consent to form a Federal Union with such of the States as may have seceded, or may secede from the Union of the United States of America, upon the basis of the present Constitution of the said United States, except such parts thereof as embrace other portions than such seceding States.

"Thus ordained and declared in Convention, the 9th day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-one.

WILLIAM S. BARRY, PRESIDENT.

F. A. POPE, *Secretary*.

"*In Testimony* of the passage of which, and the determination of the members of the Convention to uphold and maintain the State in the position she has assumed by said Ordinance, it is signed by the President and members of this Convention, this the fifteenth day of January, A. D. 1861.

A. K. Farrar,	Albert C. Gibson,	J. B. Fiser,
J. Winchester,	R. O. Beene,	F. A. McGehee,
E. H. Sanders,	A. B. Bullard,	C. D. Fontaine,
D. W. Hurst,	W. H. Tison,	J. B. Herring,
Miles H. McGehee,	M. C. Cummings,	H. R. Miller,
J. Z. George,	O. C. Dease,	R. W. Flournoy,
W. Booth,	A. E. Lewis,	W. Denson,
Henry T. Ellett,	J. S. Johnston,	E. P. Jones,
J. L. Aleorn,	J. H. Powell,	W. J. Douglas,
P. S. Catchings,	Thos. H. Wood,	W. Thompson,
Ben. King,	Wm. Gwin,	C. W. Taylor,
S. H. Terrill,	Geo. R. Clayton,	A. Patterson,
W. F. Brantley,	W. B. Colbert,	A. E. Reynolds,
W. H. Witty,	J. B. Ramsay,	W. W. Bonds,
J. H. Edwards,	F. C. Simmes,	T. P. Young,
J. A. Orr,	L. Q. C. Lamar,	J. A. Blair,
C. B. Baldwin,	T. D. Isom,	Andrew Miller,
A. C. Powell,	A. M. Clayton,	Orlando Davis,
W. A. Sumner,	J. W. Clapp,	Joel H. Berry,
M. D. L. Stephens,	Samuel Benton,	J. L. Davis,
J. R. Chalmers,	W. H. Walter,	D. B. Wright,
S. D. Johnson,	Willis M. Lea,	J. S. Yerger,
Thos. Lewers,	A. P. Hill,	Alfred C. Holt,
D. H. Parker,	S. J. Gholson,	W. J. Eckford,
T. J. Roberts,	F. M. Rogers,	W. Brooke,
W. P. Harris,	Hamilton Mayson,	T. A. Marshall,
W. P. Anderson,	Israel Welsh,	John Kennedy,
W. B. Smart,	J. L. Backstrom,	W. S. Bolling,
J. M. Dyer,	M. M. Keith,	F. M. Aldridge,
W. L. Keirn,	T. C. Bookter,	W. R. Barksdale,
D. C. Glenn,	P. J. Myers,	Henry Vaughan,
J. B. Deason,	J. M. Nelson,	G. B. Wilkinson."

CHAPTER VIII.

Second Session of the Mississippi State Convention—The question of the mode of ratification of the Constitution—Report of my remarks—Letter to "Chronicle"—The Constitution ratified by the Convention—Indignation of the people.

On the 12th of March, 1861, the Congress of the Confederate States adopted a Permanent Constitution, which was submitted to the Convention of the States for ratification. The President of the Mississippi Convention called that body together for that purpose, on the 25th of March, 1861.

A question of much importance arose in the Convention as to the mode of ratification, whether by the Convention or directly by the people. Not believing that the hearts of the masses of the people of Mississippi were ever in the Secession movement, about three months having elapsed since the election, I doubted whether the people of the State would ever ratify a Constitution containing the objectionable features of the instrument made at Montgomery. Believing too, that it was not the province of the Convention, which had been elected for an entirely different purpose, to pass upon the ratification or rejection of the Constitution, I determined to take a stand in favor of ratification directly by the people and present an Ordinance for that purpose. A meagre report of my remarks upon the subject appeared in the proceedings of Tuesday, March 26th, 1861, as follows:

"Mr. Wood, of Attala, addressed the Convention at length on the Ordinance, which he gave notice before the adjournment of the morning session, he would offer. He cited the action of the Convention of 1851, and quoted the following from the report of the Committee of that body composed of Messrs. W. R. Cannon, Samuel N. Gilliland and W. P. Harris, in support of the duty of referring this matter to the people.

"They hold it to be their duty to submit the action of the Convention to the people of the State. An ordinary degree of respect for the people would seem to call for such a course, justice and fair dealing towards our constituents demand it. We are holding and exercising the sovereignty of the State. Our opinions, our acts, become the sovereign will of the people. It is an universal rule—one never hitherto violated in the practice of any State in the Union—that such should be submitted to the people for their judgment. In ordinary legislative action, no such neces-

sity exists as the same power which makes, can repeal laws. But when the sovereignty of the State has acted it can never be changed without calling into action again the powers of the people through an organized form. Hence the palpable necessity that their opinion should be had, before any supreme rule of action any law, any great principle should be enforced upon them. Distrust of the popular will does not become a popular representative; and we have ever held that system of government the wisest which most frequently seeks an expression of the popular will."

"Two of these distinguished men, who submitted that report, had gone to their long rest; one of them was on this floor, and he hoped to hear him advocating now a policy which he approved in 1851. Mr. Wood also cited Gen. Quitman in support of this principle. In his address to the "Democratic State Rights' party of Mississippi," at that period, on retiring from further contest for gubernatorial honor, Gen. Quitman said:

"It is true that the State has not yet spoken authoritatively; even the acts of the Convention will not be binding until they shall have been ratified by a vote of the people.

"Mr. Wood assailed many of the propositions enunciated by the gentleman from Harrison. The greatest work, said he, that could be submitted to man is the building up of a good government. You are now trying a second experiment. No spot on the face of the earth now affords evidence of the perpetuity of the republican system; and he stated as his humble conviction that unless a course is adopted that will fasten the new government in the affections of the people, it would be of short duration. He thought that the delegates to Montgomery should be the first to desire their actions should be submitted to the people for ratification. There was no pressing necessity for the Constitution to be hastily ratified by this Convention. The very fact that this is a debatable question, proves that it should be submitted to the people. As a naked question, he believed that this Convention had the power, without the right—the power that the despot would exercise. He quoted from the message of Gov. Pettus, convening the extra session of the Legislature, in November last, for the purpose of calling a Convention.

"Embodied in the reserved rights of the States, is the soul of American liberty—the great saving principle to which alone the Southern States can *look and live*. This saving principle must

perish under Black Republican rule. Then go down into Egypt while Herod reigns in Judea; it is the only means of saving the life of this Emanuel of American politics, and when, in after years, it shall be told you, that they who sought the life of this Prince of Peace and fraternity, are dead, you may come up out of Egypt, and realize all the fond hopes of patriots and sages, of peace on earth and good will among men, *under the benign influence of a re-united Government, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.*

"It is dangerous to alienate the affections of the people from this Government. Great is the power of this Convention, but greater, by far greater, is the power of the people. If we are unwilling to submit the Constitution to the people, they *will* ratify it. How easy for the Legislature to call another Convention. He saw no force in the argument that, because Commissioners desire to go to European governments under the auspices of a Permanent Government, we should deprive the people of their right to act upon the organic law. Those governments are aware that a separation has taken place—that this is the cotton region; and if they are disposed to treat with us, we have now a strong Provisional Government, which he regarded as more efficient than the government contemplated by the Permanent Constitution.

"Mr. Wood submitted the following ordinance:

"AN ORDINANCE

"To Provide for Submitting the Permanent Constitution of the Confederate States of America to the People of the State of Mississippi..

"SECTION 1. Be it ordained by the people of Mississippi, in Convention assembled, that the Permanent Constitution of the Confederate States, adopted by the Provisional Congress, at Montgomery, on the day of 1861, shall be submitted to the qualified voters of Mississippi, for their ratification or rejection.

"SEC. 2. That for this purpose an election shall be held at the different election precincts throughout the State, on the day of 1861, which election shall be held and conducted in all respects, and the returns thereof be made in the same manner, as now provided by law for the election of members of the Legislature.

"SEC. 3. That the said Constitution and Ordinance be pub-

lished in the Mississippian, at least thirty days prior to the date of said election.

“SEC. 4. That at least thirty days prior to the day of 1861, the Governor of this State shall issue his proclamation for holding said election.

“SEC. 5. That, at said election, the electors shall endorse on their ballots, ‘Constitution accepted,’ or ‘Constitution rejected;’ and if, from the returns made, it shall appear that a majority, of the qualified voters, of the State have accepted the Constitution, then the Governor shall issue his proclamation, declaring the fact, and shall notify the President of the Confederate States, that said Constitution has been ratified by the people of the State of Mississippi; and, in case of rejection, then the Governor shall immediately notify the President of this Convention of the fact, and the President shall call together this Convention, at as early a day as practicable, with the view of determining upon the best course of action *for the future welfare of the State.*

“SEC. 6. All ordinances, or parts of ordinances, of this Convention, conflicting with this Ordinance, are hereby repealed.”

Conspicuous among the advocates for a ratification by the Convention, were the delegates to the Montgomery Convention, including the President of the State Convention. The debate was marked with a degree of ability and interest far exceeding any other debate in the Convention. The influence of outsiders was brought to bear very heavily upon the result.

I had very little hope of the passage of my Ordinance, as will appear by the following letter addressed to the editors of the “Chronicle,” and published in its issue of March 29th, 1861, which had been the organ of the Union party of my county.

“HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }
“JACKSON, March 27, 1861. }”

“*Editors Chronicle:*

“The Convention has taken no decisive action upon any subject of importance. The question whether the Permanent Constitution shall be ratified by the Convention, or submitted to a direct vote of the people, absorbs all other questions. You will observe, from the proceedings of yesterday, that the question now stands before the Convention upon the report of the Committee to ratify by the Convention, and my ordinance offered, as a substitute, leaving the question to a direct vote of the people, at the ballot-box. Yerger and Clayton’s Ordinances, which you

will find in the first day's proceedings, were rejected, and I am apprehensive that mine will share the same fate, though the vote on mine will be close. A powerful outside influence is being brought to bear on ratifying by this Convention. The truth is, many of them are *afraid* the people will reject the proposed Constitution.

"It is hard to work against a dead majority, but I have some hopes of getting my ordinance passed. Should the majority of the Convention deny to the people the right to say under what kind of a Constitution they are to live, it will raise a shout of indignation from the Mississippi river to the Alabama line, and from the Gulf to Tennessee, which will shake the pillars of the Confederacy to its center, if not cause it to tumble into dust, while many of its aspiring leaders and demagogues will sink beneath the ruins of the fallen temple. The people have the right to say under what kind of government they will live, and no set of politicians have the right to deny them that privilege. *This is really a contest between the politicians and the people.* One or the other must rule, and as the politicians have the sway at present, I think they would move heaven and earth, if possible, to hold on to it. The Convention will possibly continue in session until Saturday, though many of the members are very anxious to get through earlier. Should we remain longer than this week, I will write you more fully. Very respectfully,

JOHN W. WOOD."

I am thus particular in alluding to the proceedings of the Convention upon this subject, as it evidences the fact of the great distrust of the people, on the part of the Convention. Ever since the commencement of the Secession movement, a manifest disposition has been exhibited to hastily seize the reigns of power, and never to let them loose again.

My ordinance was rejected, as I anticipated. The vote being 23 to 56—See Journal of March Session, page 34. The Constitution was then ratified by the Convention, only seven of us finally voting against it. A feeling of great indignation was manifested, in some parts of the State, in consequence of this flagrant outrage upon the rights of the people; but the tocsin of war had been sounded, and a military enthusiasm enkindled, which soon suppressed all exhibitions of feeling, save a loyalty to Jeff. Davis and the Southern Confederacy.

CHAPTER IX.

*Southern Democracy—Extract from the Speech of S. S. Prentiss—
Political Demagogues—State and County Leaders—County papers.*

I have heretofore made some allusions to the influence of Southern Democracy in causing the calamities which have befallen our country. The subject deserves a more particular notice. Thirty-four years ago S. S. Prentiss predicted what would be the result of the course pursued by that party. In a speech, delivered at a public dinner in Vicksburg, in the Fall of 1838, Mr. Prentiss said:

“Southern Democracy, it seems, consists in general abuse of the rest of the Union, a denial of the existence of any common interest with the North, and a bitter denunciation of every man who has the independence to refuse assent to these strange dogmas. Indeed, to such an extent is this brotherly hatred now carried by some, that a man cannot exchange ordinary courtesies, or civilities, with his fellow-citizens of the North, without rendering himself obnoxious to the charge of being an enemy to the South. I had occasion, myself, to travel North, a few months since, on private business. I was treated with great kindness and hospitality—a kindness and hospitality intended entirely as an expression of good feeling towards the State which I represented. Yet have I been most bitterly abused for responding to these courtesies; for daring to break bread, and eat salt, with our Northern brethren; and especially for so far violating Southern policy as to have wickedly visited the cradle of Liberty, and most sacrilegiously entered old Faneuil Hall.

“I could pity these foolish men, whose patriotism consists in treating everything beyond the limited horizon of their own narrow minds, but contempt and scorn will not allow of the more amiable sentiment. It is said against me, that I have Northern feelings. Well, so I have, and Southern, Eastern and Western, and trust that I shall ever, as a citizen of the Republic, have liberty enough to embrace within the scope of my feelings, both its cardinal points and its cardinal interests. I do not accuse those who differ with me, of a desire to dissolve the Union, I know among them as honest and honorable men as belong to any party; *but I do most seriously believe that the Union cannot long survive such kind of argument and feeling as that to which I have alluded.* Indeed,

if such sentiments are well founded, it ought not to continue; its objects and uses have ceased. Still, I do most fervently pray that such a catastrophe may be averted; at least, that my eyes may not witness a division of this Republic. Though it may be a day of rejoicing for the demagogue, it will prove a bitter hour for the good man, and the patriot. Sir, there are some things belonging to this Union, which you cannot divide; you cannot divide its glorious history; the recollections of Lexington and Bunker Hill; you cannot divide the bones of your Revolutionary sires; they would not lie still away from the ancient battle grounds where they have so long slumbered. And the portrait of the Father of his Country, which hangs in the Capitol; how much of it will fall to your share, when both that country and picture shall be dismembered?"

Ever since the time when that purely patriotic citizen of Mississippi, whose bright genius has cast a halo of glory over the State, warned those "foolish men" of the awful consequences of their madness and folly, the political demagogue, under the guise of Democracy, who has been the loudest in his denunciation and vituperation of every person and thing north of Mason and Dixon's line, has been seen to receive the most rapturous applause of the people. Some of these reptiles have thus crawled up to the apices of the topmost pyramids in the State.

A very few individuals are often enabled to control the people of a State. The leaders about the Capitol keep the county leaders "posted," and they have been in the habit of haranguing the people upon Court days, at Barbecues, and upon such other occasions as the "dear people" can be conveniently assembled together. The County papers have been another very efficient means of diffusing the principles of the glorious Southern Democracy. A Democratic County paper has been considered as an "institution" as necessary to the prosperity of one our towns as a hotel or retail grocery. Among the many misfortunes that have befallen our country, it is some little consolation to know that we have been deprived of the means of publishing these pests to the public welfare. When the pitiless storm of misfortune, which has burst with all its fury upon our devoted country, drenching our land with grief and sorrow, shall have passed over us, it is to be hoped that we shall live in a purer political atmosphere, free from the corrupting influence of political demagogues

and partisan papers, whose chief aim, for years, seems to have been to undermine and destroy the best government upon earth.

CHAPTER X.

The Co-operation party—A Confederacy of Fifteen States including Southern Illinois, New Mexico and South California—Still more comprehensive views of the leaders—Rapacious hunt for office.

The leaders of the Secession party, well knowing the strong attachment to the Union of their Fathers, among the people, and the horror with which they had viewed the monster Disunion, devised a scheme of breaking the subject more softly to their ears, by establishing a co-operation party. They professed to be violently opposed to separate State Secession, although their great leader, Mr. Yancey, had boldly announced the doctrine at Montgomery. They were for having a great Southern Confederacy of fifteen States; and many earnestly contended that Southern Illinois would join the list. New Mexico and Southern California would surely follow, and an empire was to be established, which our Statesmen delighted to compare, in extent, with combined empires in Europe. Old Virginia, the mother of States and Statesmen, the blue hills and sweet vallies of Kentucky, the mountainous regions of Tennessee and North Carolina (the Switzerland of America) the cotton and sugar regions of the Gulf States, the great State of Texas, together with Arkansas and Missouri, were only parts of the great Southern Confederacy. A question of serious difficulty arose in the minds of our great Statesmen, upon which very able arguments were adduced, both in the affirmative and negative, viz: Whether we should admit into our Confederacy any of the free States of the North? Many contended that as Southern Illinois was certain to go with us, it would be better not to divide the State, but take in the whole, as

it would be convenient to bring over to the Northern part of the State, the large number of fugitive slaves who had been for years collecting in those portions of her Majesty's dominions known as Upper and Lower Canada. Others were still more comprehensive and statemen-like in their views, and contended that it would not be too great a degree of condescension if we should admit, but not exactly upon an equal footing, that extensive territory known as the Northwestern States, although they were engaged in that homely occupation of raising meat and bread, nothing doubting, that in process of time the whole region of country, formerly known as the United States, would one by one gravitate towards the Southern Confederacy, and become an integral part thereof, excepting always that puritanical portion known as New England, which, with imprecations deep and loud, they swore never should be admitted into the Southern Confederacy. Such speculations as these were rife in the minds of some who had held high positions in the country. It is deeply to be regretted that the fond hopes and expectations of some, who had been Union men in principle, such as the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, (alas! for the frailty of human nature and the love of office,) were to be so soon and so sadly disappointed.

The professed principles and speculations of the co-operationists presented, however, a magnificent theme for the stump orator to illustrate and enlarge upon, before an excited audience; and many were induced to vote the Secession ticket, in that disguised form, who were utterly opposed to separate State Secession; and were never more ready for a fight than when called a disunionist.

Any one who has been a close observer of the Secession movement, could not fail to see the artifices resorted to by the leaders to urge the people along into the channel, by some means or other, in order to get the power out of their hands. Having once seized the reins of power, they knew that they would be enabled to drive them to the last extremity, rather than abandon their nefarious purposes.

When the co-operationists met in the different State Conventions, they proved to be the most ultra Secessionists. The reins were then in their own hands, and they could do as they please; and they never intended to give back to the people the power to control their actions, as was proven by their refusal to permit

them to vote upon the ratification or rejection of the Constitution. They knew that the effort that had been made, in 1851, to stifle their love for the Union, had proven a failure, although led on by military chieftains fresh from the battle fields of Mexico, and now no means was to be spared to get at least the appearance of consent, upon the part of the people, to carry out their purposes. The true intention of the co-operationists proved to have been, not so much that of co-operating with other States and Territories, in forming the great Southern Confederacy, as to co-operate among themselves in getting the high offices in the new Government. By co-operation, this man who never could have attained to the high position of President of the United States, might get to be President of part of the United States, and that certainly would be much better than never to be President at all; by co-operation that man who has never been enabled to obtain a seat in the Congress of the United States, might be enabled to obtain a seat in the Confederate Congress, and that would certainly be much better than never to have been honored with a seat in Congress at all; and by co-operation the other man who has been all his life fondly hoping for the happy period to arrive, when he would be honored with the high position of Envoy extraordinary and Minister plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James, or St. Cloud, but whose sterling merits and high qualifications have been so frequently and so unjustly overlooked, now sees his way clearly and speedily, into the honored presence of her Royal Majesty or Napoleon III. Take out from the leaders of the army of the Southern Confederacy all of the appointed and disappointed office-holders and office-seekers, and there would scarcely be enough left, if fully supplied with artillery, to stop the course of the defenceless "Silver Wave" in any attempt she might have made to pass the city of Vicksburg. Seriously, this rapacious hunt after office has been one of the worst features in the Secession movement. Thousands upon thousands have prostituted their principles, and gone into the army for no other purpose than the gratification of avarice or ambition; while as many others have been compelled to go for a livelihood. For the latter, there is a ready apology, but for the former there is no extenuation. Upon a final reckoning, the righteous judgment of an outraged community will demand equal and distributive justice to all. The verdict of the country will be, "Let justice be done, though the Heavens fall."

CHAPTER XI.

Was the election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, a sufficient cause for Secession?—The feeling in South Carolina when the result of the election was known—The effect on the other Southern States.

I assumed the position, that the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to the high office of President or Vice-President of the United States, was a sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. We ought to stand by and aid still, in maintaining the Constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the Government, to withdraw from it, because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We went into the election as one people, and took the chances of electing our candidate, and then to refuse to abide by the result, was unfair and dishonorable.

But it was said that Mr. Lincoln's policy and principles were against the Constitution, and that if he carried them out, it would be destructive of our rights. We should not have anticipated a threatened evil. If he had violated the Constitution, then it would have been time enough to hold him accountable.

The election of Lincoln and Hamlin was hailed by the Secession papers in the following manner, as appeared in flaming capitals in the "Southron," published at Orangeburg Court House, South Carolina, in its issue of November 14th, 1860. "GLORIOUS AND CHEERING NEWS. LINCOLN AND HAMLIN ELECTED!!! THE STATE CALLS A CONVENTION!!! A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION REDUCED TO A CERTAINTY!!! GRAND DEMONSTRATION!!! MINUTE MEN MOVING!!! TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION!!! NO COMPROMISE!!! THE SOUTH MUST GOVERN THE SOUTH!!!"

With such manifestations of joy, as these, the most ultra Secessionists hailed the election of Lincoln and Hamlin, whom they had just previously denounced as the blackest Republicans and Abolitionists of the North. The cause of their joy is plain. They had long desired a dissolution of the Union, and now they were certain they had a pretext, which would be sufficient, with the people, to carry out their purposes. Some of the members of the South Carolina and Mississippi Conventions boasted that they

had been Secessionists for thirty and forty years! It was, however, far beneath the dignity of those wise, far-seeing and venerable statesmen, to condescend to designate the particular cause or question, whether the protection of slavery, in the Territories or out of the Territories, or what other question, that at that early day, so justly entitled them to the merit of being the founders of the Secession party. The truth is, there was no cause then with them, or anybody else, for Secession, and the claim of those gentlemen was only antedated about a quarter of a century, to give age to their opinions, believing, no doubt, that their opinions, like their beverages, would improve with that commendable qualification.

It is true, that there had been, in the State of South Carolina, a deep-seated dissatisfaction with the general Government, since she had been humored with the compromise of 1832, of the nullification question, and she had been fretting and pouting like a spoiled child, upon every occasion she could find, likely to create a disturbance in the family. Instead of the maternal tenderness exhibited towards that refractory child of the Union, upon that memorable occasion, if she had been given a smacking then, it would have proven far more conducive to the peace and quietude of the family, than anything else. But, having been so long humoured in her tantrums, she believed she could take almost any step, however shocking to decency or common sense, and Uncle Sam dare not say a word.

When the result of the Presidential election was known, if it had been intimated that the State which had been known as the Harry Percy of Chivalry—the game cock of the South,—should live in the Union under the administration of such a "*Monstrum horrendum*" as a big, Black Republican, a rope or a revolver would have been unanimously adjudged the proper desert of the unfortunate wretch who dared such an insinuation.

Before any of the other States had time to assemble their Conventions, the State of South Carolina was clean out of the Union. She passed the Ordinance of Secession, unanimously, on the 20th of December, 1860; one hundred and sixty-nine members voting. The next State was Mississippi, on the 9th of January, 1861, and two days after, on the 11th of January, Alabama and Florida seceded, and on the 19th Georgia went "a kiting," as the expression was familiarly used in our Convention, to cheer up the "weak-

kneed." On the 26th Louisiana seceded, and on the 1st of February Texas "went out," and so on. The effect of the secession of South Carolina was very great in all of the Southern States, known as the Gulf States. Many of those States were settled by citizens of South Carolina, and a feeling of sympathy and State pride induced almost all of such persons readily to endorse the Secession movement. With but few exceptions, whenever a South Carolinian was met, he was sure to be found a Secessionist. It is a remarkable fact, however, that whenever a South Carolinian was found who was a Union man, he was the most thorough going and zealous Union man in the country; and the same may be justly said of those who have stood firmly in Mississippi, for the Union, throughout the whole Secession movement. For nearly two years they have endured a burthen of taunts, indignities, and opprobrious epithets, which have been heaped upon them by the dominant party—the sons of some of them have been arrested for treason, for expressing their feelings of indignation at the passage of the Conscript law—they have been continually reproached for "not going to the war"—such a one "ought to be hung," has been constantly ringing in their ears—the term "abolitionist" has greeted them upon the corners of the streets—craven cowardice, the most degrading charge to a Southern man, has been imputed to them; even their families have not escaped the criminating reflections that have been so freely indulged by their Secession neighbors. It has often been exceedingly difficult for those in whom they had confidence, to restrain the indignation of the people at the countless oppressions under which they labored; and nothing but their defenceless condition, being deprived of arms or ammunition, and the means of obtaining them, has held the people in submission to the tyrannical military despotism of the so-called Southern Confederacy. The fear alone of actual suffering among their families, for the necessaries of life, has kept back thousands, whose impulses would have led them to rush across the lines, and rally under the o'd Flag, under which their fathers fought and bled.

If the authors of our calamities, particularly in South Carolina, were the only sufferers from Secession, it would not be so much to be deplored, but the innocent, as well as the guilty, have had to suffer.

CHAPTER XII.

The Fanaticism of Secession—Political Parsons—Cautious politicians.

One of the greatest difficulties to be encountered in eradicating the Secession sentiment, is with those who religiously believe that Secession is right. These men are honest in their belief, that Providence is on their side, and whether in victory or defeat, they have an ample fund of scriptural quotations at hand, with which either to rejoice or to cheer up the weak and faint-hearted. Within the last few years a set of political parsons have seized upon the subject of slavery as a Divine institution, and have rivaled the most fanatical enthusiasts of the North in their extreme views and zealous exertions. Should a Southern man dare to express the opinions of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, with whom slavery was considered an irremediable evil, he was a fit subject for the end of a rope, on the side of a black-jack. The evil produced by these political preachers illustrates the wisdom of our ancestors in drawing a line of separation between Church and State, for, whenever they have meddled with the affairs of our Government, either as Know-nothings or Secessionists, the result has been marked by the bloody foot-prints of their deluded followers.

If ever, in the Providence of God, it should devolve upon the President of the United States, in "the enforcement of the laws," to deal out even-handed justice to all, it would be "a consummation devoutly to be wished," that this peculiar class of individuals, whose holy calling presumes that they are always ready to be received "into Abraham's bosom," should be the first subjects of the law of treason.

Another misfortune, about as great as the horde of political parsons, with which the South has been cursed, which led more men astray, and turned the heads of more political aspirants and ambitious demagogues than any other event of the revolution, was the battle of Bull Run. If all the buffalo bulls of the Northwestern prairies could have been gathered into one herd, and all the panic-stricken Yankees in McDowell's army placed in their front, and chased throughout the extensive regions of the cotton Confederacy, it would have occasioned a degree of amusement and gratification, not exceeding that occasioned by the news of the

victory which crowned their arms upon the banks of the aforesaid classical stream. Although repeatedly told by the writer, and a few others, that it would have no effect upon the ultimate result, and only occasion a greater slaughter of our people, the masses were too intensely excited to listen to anything short of the extermination of the invaders—the capture of Washington—the reclamation of Maryland—the invasion of the North—the fall of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and the speedy “conquering a peace.”

The calm, cool, calculating politician, who had cautiously looked on the contest, with nervous anxiety for an opportunity on either side, and it was no great matter on which, to distinguish himself, now thought he saw plainly the star that was to lead him on to fortune and to fame. The thunders of Bull Run had completely cleared away the mist that had enveloped his eyes. The grievous oppressions to which the young South had so meekly submitted for so many years of patient endurance, rose up afresh to his mind. His indignation was boiling hot to flesh his maiden sword in the cowardly carcass of some accursed Yankee. He longed for the time when he should

“ Fall like amazing thunder on the casque
Of yon adverse pernicious enemy.”

His only serious difficulty was, whether as commander of a regiment, a brigade, or a division, Nature had designed him for the field; and to decide this perplexing mental controversy, “on to Richmond” was his rapid move. Soon clothed with a commission from His Excellency, the President of the Confederate States of North America, he returns in hot haste to the people to raise a company or regiment, with full assurance that he will soon be promoted to a brigadier. He calls meetings of the people and addresses them—his excited manner and nervous actions speak plainly that,

“ I am the rider of the wind,
The stirrer of the storm,
The hurricane I left behind
Is yet with lightning warm.”

He takes peculiar pleasure, in his speeches, in arraying the Secessionist against the Union man, and very wisely insinuating that certain individuals “ought to be hung as high as Haman.” When his company is made up and ordered to rendezvous at some particular place, he almost always finds important business for the company to attend to in the regions round about home.

His health not unfrequently gives way, under the arduous labors he has to endure for the glorious cause, and he becomes a prey to disease. When a great battle is "imminent," he is sure to be about home, but deeply laments his misfortune in not having the opportunity of correcting the gross errors committed by the commanders. Had he been there, things would have been otherwise. His criticisms are replete with learned historical illustrations. Cæsar nor Hannibal, Napoleon nor Wellington, was ever so familiar with strategical movements. Had his advice been followed, Washington would have been taken long ago; the Potomac, as well as the Ohio, would have been crossed, and their army quartered upon the enemy's country, and they would have been made to feel the desolating effects of the war.

These vipers, in their mean endeavors to crawl up to some high places, have done more to poison the minds of the ignorant and credulous, than any other class of creatures that have cursed the Southern country. Really, regardless of the merits of the controversy, and generally too ignorant to understand the points of difference in the political questions involved, the only inquiry is, how can I make the most out of the troubles of the country? They seek alone to promote their own selfish purposes. Were they north of their lines, they would be equally clamorous for the Union, and for no better purpose.

There is but one other class of beings, engaged in the war, that sinks lower in the scale of human depravity than the one referred to, and that is the speculating extortioner. Whilst the political demagogue seeks to elevate himself, he does not even seek to raise himself above the low level of groveling gain. With wolfish relish, he laps the blood of the helpless innocent, and with tiger ferocity, he plunders the afflictions of age. The cries of the widow and orphan make no more impression upon his callous heart than the rattle of his dollars would upon the cold tombstone of the dead.

CHAPTER XIII.

Webster's Reply to Hayne—The Clearest and Best Refutation of the Right of Nullification, or Secession—Extract from Mr. Webster's Great Speech.

To any one who was a participator in the movements preceding secession, it is obvious, that if the people had believed that

they did not possess the right of secession, but only the common right of revolution, they would never have given their authority to their leaders to inaugurate war. If the great speech of Daniel Webster, delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the 20th of January, 1830, in reply to Mr. Hayne, in which he so clearly refutes the South Carolina doctrine, had been generally read and understood by the people, they would never have voted for secession. It was attempted by the leaders to draw a distinction between the right to nullify and the right to secede, but the South Carolina doctrine of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Hayne, was the foundation for the whole movement. The following extract from that speech should be impressed upon the mind of every American citizen ;

“The great question is, *whose prerogative is it to decide on the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the laws?* On that, the debate hinges. The proposition that, in case of a supposed violation of the Constitution by Congress, the States have a constitutional right to interfere, and annul the law of Congress, is the proposition of the gentleman. I do not admit it. If the gentleman had intended no more than to assert the right of revolution for justifiable cause, he would have only said what all agree to. But I cannot conceive that there can be a middle course, between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution, or rebellion, on the other. I say the right of a State to annul a law of Congress, cannot be maintained, but on the ground of the unalienable right of man to resist oppression ; that is to say, upon the ground of revolution. I admit that there is an ultimate violent remedy, above the Constitution, and in defiance of the Constitution, which may be resorted to, when a revolution is to be justified. But I do not admit that, under the Constitution, and in conformity with it, there is any mode in which a State government, as a member of the Union, can interfere and stop the progress of the general government, by force of her own laws, under any circumstances whatever.

This leads us to inquire into the origin of the government, and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the State Legislatures, or the creature of the people? If the government of the United States be the agent of the State governments, then they may control it, *provided they can agree* in the manner of controlling it; if it be the agent of the people then the

people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough, that the doctrine for which the honorable gentleman contends, leads him to the necessity of maintaining not only that this general government is the creature of the States, *but that it is the creature of each of the States severally*; so that each may assert the power, for itself, of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority. It is the servant of four and twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of this government and its true character. It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government; made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition, or dispute their authority. The States are unquestionably sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the State legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given power to the general government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the government holds of the people, and not of the State governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people. The general government and the State governments derive their authority from the same source. Neither can, in relation to the other, be called primary, though one is definite and restricted and the other general and residuary. The national government possesses those powers which it can be shown the people have conferred on it, and no more. All the rest belongs to the State governments or to the people themselves. So far as the people have restrained State sovereignty by the expression of their will, in the Constitution of the United States, so far, it must be admitted, State sovereignty is effectually controlled. I do not contend that it is, or ought to be controlled farther. The sentiment to which I have referred, propounds that State sovereignty is to be controlled by its own "feeling of justice;" that is to say, it is not to be controlled at all; for one who is to follow his own feelings is under no legal control. Now, however men may think this ought to be, the fact is, that the people of the United States have chosen to impose control on the State sovereignties. There are those, doubtless, who wish they had been left without restraint; but the Constitution has ordered the matter differently. To make

war, for instance, is an exercise of sovereignty; but the Constitution declares that no State shall make war. To coin money is another exercise of sovereign power; but no State is at liberty to coin money. Again, the Constitution says that no sovereign State shall be so sovereign as to make a treaty. These prohibitions, it must be confessed, are a control on the State sovereignty of South Carolina, as well as of the other States, which does not arise "from her own feelings of honorable justice." Such an opinion, therefore, is in defiance of the plainest provisions of the Constitution."

Language could not express more forcibly, or in plainer terms, the true character of our government. I am constrained to say, that at one time my own mind was favorably inclined to the South Carolina doctrine; and it was not until I had carefully read the debate, including Mr. Webster's great speech, that I clearly saw its fallacy; and I indulge the hope that thousands who may read these pages, will be induced to give the same impartial and unprejudiced examination to Mr. Webster's powerful and unanswerable arguments.

If the people of the United States only clearly understood the structure of our government, as it was intended to have been understood by its framers, there would never be any danger of its dissolution.

CHAPTER XIV.

The hypocrisy of the Secessionists—The popular Vote of the Seceded States—The sentiment among Southern women—Dialogue between a Southern Lady and an enroller under the Conscript law.

How any people could expect that Providence would favor a cause that had to be bolstered up by hypocrisy; dissimulation, duplicity, and even downright falsehood, is beyond the comprehension of any ordinary capacity to perceive, or even the brightness of genius to penetrate. The greatest leaders of the movement have used the utmost deception with the people, and in the most artful and fascinating manner. They seemed to possess the

"Smooth dissimulation skilled to grace,
A devil's purpose with an angel's face."

Their daily conversation has been a tissue of the most disgusting fabrications. When in the presence of Union men,

however, they frequently trim their conversation accordingly; and even men of Union sentiments, when in the presence of their Secession neighbors, have been compelled to resort to the same hypocritical course of duplicity, joining in with their tirade of extravagant falsehoods and mendacious exaggerations. Their only excuse is, perhaps, that it is better to follow the advice of Solomon, and "answer a fool according to his folly," for he tells us very truly, that "though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar among the wheat, with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him."

There is one subject upon which there has been more falsehood and misrepresentation, perhaps, than upon any other, and that is the popular vote of the Seceding States. After many calls for the popular vote of Louisiana, it was finally published, and turned out to be a Secession majority of only about three thousand—not as many as there were voters in the State who did not vote at all, and who would have, no doubt, voted against Secession. In Mississippi, the papers represented that the majority was thirty thousand for Secession, when, in fact, if the votes of those who did not vote at all were counted with those who voted the Co-operation ticket, it will be found that the Separate State Secession ticket was in the minority; and it was only by a betrayal of the people that the Secession Ordinance was passed.

During the whole progress of the war, Mississippi has been represented, by the Secession papers, as a unit, when, in truth, in the central county of the State,—“the free State of Attala;”—during the whole contest, the strongest Union sentiment has prevailed; a sentiment that has been bold and out-spoken, despite the taunts and threats of the party in power.

The Southern ladies have been represented as unanimous for Secession. This is equally untrue. The following dialogue between an enroller of the conscripts and a lady, as related by himself, is a pretty fair sample of the sentiments of some, at least, in the country:

Enroller. Good morning, madam; where is your husband this morning?

Lady. He is over in Mr. Jones's field, working out his corn. He promised to tend it for him while he was gone to the war.

Enroller. How old is your husband, madam?

Lady. He is somewhere between forty-two and forty-four. I don't know exactly, how old.

Enroller. You are certain he is over thirty-five?

Lady. Yes sir, he is; but what are you asking me such questions for?

Enroller. I am sent out by the authorities, madam, to enrol the conscripts between eighteen and thirty-five years of age.

Lady. I thought you were out on some such business as that. You are sent out by old Pettis, I reckon. If I had my way with him, I would souse his head in a whisky barrel, and hold it there till he was drowned—an old villian, he is sending off all the men to the war, and leaving us poor women and children here to starve.

Enroller. If you did not souse it too deep, madam, I expect Governor Pettus would as soon have his head in a whisky barrel as anywhere else.

Lady. I would souse it just deep enough to drown him: that's how deep I would souse it.

If the fate of the Secession leaders could be determined by a jury of the mothers of the young men, whose lives have been sacrificed in this most unnecessary, unnatural and unholy war, they would have about as much chance of an acquittal as the most obnoxious specimen of the canine race, upon proof positive of the slaughter of an innocent flock of sheep.



CHAPTER XV.

A Re-union in feeling among the people of the United States, should be the ardent desire of every patriot.

The ardent desire of every American patriot should be to see a re-union in feeling among the people of the United States. Upon no other basis can our country ever be restored to its former prosperity and happiness. Now that the tocsin of war will soon be hushed, and the great family quarrel terminated, all eyes should be turned to peace and reconciliation. As we all have to live together in the same family, let us live together in peace and tranquility. Let us forgive and forget. Let us approach each other in the spirit of conciliation and friendship. Let all those

who have been bound together by the mystic ties of brotherhood, renew their covenants, and meet as friends. Let those of extreme views agree to disagree, and bury their differences. Let each section say to the other, we will

“ Be to your faults a little blind
And to your virtues very kind.”

Let us rather contemplate the good, than the evil, that may result from this deplorable warfare. When re-united our government will stand upon a firmer basis than ever. The strength and power of the nation has been fully tested, and proven equal to any emergency. When re-united and harmonious, we will be the greatest military and maritime power on the globe. Uncle Sam will never be caught napping again.

Our navy has exhibited a power that has astonished all Europe, and now threatens to snatch the trident from old Neptune himself. What the boasted mistress of the seas, aided by the brave veterans of the Peninsula and Waterloo, failed to accomplish, the American sailor and soldier has promptly performed. Of our country it may now truly be said, that,

“ America needs no bulwarks,
No towers along her steep;
Her march is o'er the mountain-wave,
Her home is on the deep.”

The idea that the South is subjugated, seems to be a great obstacle with many of our people. This is not true. It is not the South that is subjugated, but secession that is subjugated; and no one should rejoice so much in its subjugation as the Union men of the South. They have suffered more, during the progress of the war, than any one else. Whilst the starving process has been going on, the secessionists have combined to starve out the Union men. The power which wealth always gives, has been brought to bear most heavily upon the poorer classes, producing a degree of suffering almost incredible in a country professing to be free. The Union men of the South, instead of being subjugated, have been liberated from the tyranny of contemptible, petty officials, and military despots. A love for the Union should be cherished, and renewed upon all suitable occasions. The fourth of July, and the twenty-second of February, should again be celebrated throughout the length and breadth of the country. With the same feeling that Napoleon embraced the eagles of France, the Old Flag should be hailed by every citizen of the United States.

The following patriotic sentiment should receive a ready response in every heart :

“ A Union of hearts, a Union of hands,
A Union that none can sever ;
A Union of Lakes, a Union of lands,
The American Union forever.”

If the time shall ever come when a reunion of fraternal feeling, such as existed among our fathers, shall be all-pervading throughout the length and breadth of this wide-extended country ; when the swords of the warriors shall be turned into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, we may truly realize that millennial period, prophetically foretold, when “ the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid ; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed ; their young ones shall lie down together ; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.”

“ Then peace on earth shall hold her easy sway,
And man forget his brother man to slay ;
To martial arts, shall milder arts succeed ;
Who blesses most shall gain the immortal meed.
The eye of pity shall be pained no more,
With Victory’s crimson banner stained with gore.—
Thou bounteous era come! Hail blessed time!
When *full-orbed freedom* shall unclouded shine,
When the chaste muses cherished by her rays,
In olive groves shall tune their sweetest lays.—
When bounteous Ceres shall direct her car
O’er fields now blasted with the fires of war,
And angels view with joy and wonder joined
The golden age return to bless mankind.”

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