

Davis, Jefferson. Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881

Vol. I

Chapter I African Servitude. — A Retrospect — Early Legislation with Regard to the Slave-Trade. — ^The Southern States foremost in prohibiting it. — A Common Error corrected. — ^The Ethical Question never at Issue in Sectional Controversies. — The Acquisition of Louisiana. — The Missouri Compromise. — The Balance of Power. — Note. — ^The Indiana Case 8

CHAPTER II. The Session of 1849-'50. — The Compromise Measures. — Virtual Abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. — The Admission of California. — The Fugitive Slave Law. — Death of Mr. Calhoun. — Anecdote of Mr. Clay . . . 14

CHAPTER III. Reelection to the Senate. — Political Controversies in Mississippi. — Action of the Democratic State Convention. — Defeat of the State-Rights Party. — Withdrawal of General Quitman and Nomination of the Author as Candidate for the Office of Governor. — The Canvass and its result. — Retirement to Private Life 18

CHAPTER IV. The Author enters the Cabinet — Administration of the War Department. — Survey for a Pacific Railway, — Extension of the Capitol. — New Regiments organized. — Colonel Samuel Cooper, Adjutant-General. — A Bit of Civil Service Reform. — Reelection to the Senate. — Continuity of the Pierce Cabinet. — Character of Franklin Pierce 22

CHAPTER V. The Territorial Question.— An Incident at the White House.— The Kansas and Nebraska Bill. — The Missouri Compromise abrogated in 1850, not in 1854. — Origin of "Squatter Sovereignty." — Sectional Rivalry and its Consequences.— The Emigrant Aid Societies.—"The Bible and Sharpens Rifles." — False Pretensions as to Principle. — The Strife in Kansas. — A Retrospect — The Original Equilibrium of Power and its Overthrow. — Usurpations of the Federal Government. — The Protective Tariff. — Origin and Progress of Abolitionism.— Who were the Friends of the Union ? —An Illustration of Political Morality 26

CHAPTER VI. Agitation continued. — Political Parties: their Origin, Changes, and Modifications. — Some Account of the "Popular Sovereignty," or "Non-intervention," Theory. — Rupture of the Democratic Party. — ^The John Brown Raid. — Resolutions introduced by the Author into the Senate on the Relations of the States, the Federal Government, and Territories ; their Discussion and Adoption 35

CHAPTER VII A Retrospect. — Growth of Sectional Rivalry.— The Generosity of Virginia. — Unequal Accessions of Territory. — ^The Tariff and its Effects. — The Republican Convention of 1860, its Resolutions and its Nominations. — The Democratic Convention at Charleston, its Divisions and Disruption. — The Nominations at Baltimore. — The "Constitutional-Union" Party and its Nominees. — An Effort in Behalf of Agreement declined by Mr. Douglas. — The Election of Lincoln and Hamlin. — Proceedings in the South. — Evidences of Calmness and Deliberation. — Mr. Buchanan's Conservatism and the Weakness of his Position. — Republican Taunts. — The " New York Tribune," etc 47

CHAPTER VIII. Conference with the Governor of Mississippi. — The Author censured as " too slow." — Summons to Washington. — Interview with the President. — His Message. — Movements in Congress. — The Triumphant Majority. — The Crittenden Proposition.— Speech of the Author on Mr. Green's Resolution. — The Committee of Thirteen.— Failure to agree.— The " Republicans " responsible for the Failure. — Proceedings in the House of Representatives. — Futility of Efforts for an Adjustment.— The Old Year closes in Clouds . 57

CHAPTER IX. Preparations for Withdrawal from the Union. — ^Northern Precedents. — ^New England Secessionists.— Cabot, Pickering, Quincy, etc. — On the Acquisition of Louisiana. — The Hartford Convention.— The Massachusetts Legislature on the Annexation of Texas, etc, etc 70

CHAPTER X. False Statements of the Grounds for Separation. — Slavery not the Cause, but an Incident* — The Southern People not ** Propagandists " of Slavery. — Early Accord among the States with Regard to African Servitude. — Statement of the Supreme Court. — Guarantees of the Constitution. — ^Disregard of Oaths. — Fugitives from Service and the ** Personal Liberty Laws.*' —Equality in the Territories the Paramount Question. — The Dred Scott Case. — Disregard of the Decision of the Supreme Court. — Culmination of Wrongs. — Despair of their Redress. — Triumph of Sectionalism . . .77

PART II. THE Constitution.

CHAPTER The Original Confederation. — Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." — Their Inadequacy ascertained. — Commercial Difficulties. — The Conference at Annapolis. — Recommendation of a General Convention. — Resolution of Congress. — ^Action of the Several States. — Conclusions drawn therefrom 66

CHAPTER II The Convention of 1787. — Diversity of Opinion. — ^Luther Martin's Account of the Three Parties. — The Question of Representation. — Compromise effected. —Mr. Randolph's Resolutions.— The Word " National " condemned.— Plan of Government framed. — Difficulty with Regard to Ratification, and its Solution. — ^Provision for Secession from the Union. — Views of Mr. Gerry and Mr. Madison. — ^False Interpretations. — Close of the Convention . 94

CHAPTER III. Ratification of the Constitution by the States.—organization of the New Government. — Accession of North Carolina and Rhode Island. — Correspondence between General Washington and the Governor of Rhode Island .103

CHAPTER IV The Constitution not adopted by one People "in the Aggregate." — A Great Fallacy exposed.— Mistake of Judge Story. — Colonial Relations.— The United Colonies of New England. — Other Associations. — Independence of Communities traced from Germany to Great Britain, and from Great Britain to America. — Mr. Everett's " Provincial People." — Origin and Continuance of the Title " United States."— No such Political Community as the " People of the United States " 114

CHAPTER V.

The Preamble to the Constitution.—" We, the People" 121

CHAPTER VI. The Preamble to the Constitution — subject continued. — Growth of the Federal Government and Accretions of Power. — Revival of Old Errors. — Mistakes and Misstatements. — Webster, Story, and Everett. — Who " ordained and established" the Constitution? 127

CHAPTER VII. Verbal Cavils and Criticisms. — " Compact," " Confederacy," " Accession," etc. — The " New Vocabulary." — The Federal Constitution a Compact, and the States acceded to it — Evidence of the Constitution itself and of Contemporary Records 134

CHAPTER VIII Sovereignty 141

CHAPTER IX. The same Subject continued. — The Tenth Amendment. — Fallacies exposed. — "Constitution," "Government," and "People" distinguished from each other. — Theories refuted by Facts. — Characteristics of Sovereignty. — Sovereignty identified ; never thrown away 146

CHAPTER X. A Recapitulation. — Remarkable Propositions of Mr. Gouverneur Morris in the

Convention of 1787, and their Fate. — Further Testimony. — Hamilton, Madison, Washington, Marshall, etc. — Later Theories. — Mr. Webster : his Views at Various Periods. — Speech at Capon Springs. — State Rights not a Sectional Theory 157

CHAPTER XI The Right of Secession.— The Law of Unlimited Partnerships.— The " Perpetual Union" of the Articles of Confederation and the "More Perfect Union " of the Constitution. — The Important Powers conferred upon the Federal Government and the Fundamental Principles of the Compact the same in both Systems. — The Right to resume Grants, when failing to fulfill their Purposes, expressly and distinctly asserted in the Adoption of the Constitution 108
CHAPTER XII Coercion the Alternative to Secession. — Repudiation of it by the Constitution and the Fathers of the Constitutional Era. — Difference between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hamilton 177

CHAPTER XIII Some Objections considered — ^The New States. — ^Acquired Territory. — Allegiance, false and true--Difference between Nullification and Secession. — Secession a Peaceable Remedy. — No Appeal to Arms. — Two Conditions noted 180

CHAPTER XIV. Early Foreshadowings. — Opinions of Mr. Madison and Mr. Rufus King. — Safeguards provided. — Their Failure. — State Interposition. — The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. — Their Endorsement by the People in the Presidential Elections of 1800 and Ensuing Terms. — South Carolina and Mr. Calhoun. — The Compromise of 1833.— Action of Massachusetts in 1643-'45. — Opinions of John Quincy Adams. — Necessity for Secession . . . 185

CHAPTER XV. A Bond of Union necessary after the Declaration of Independence. — Articles of Confederation. — The Constitution of the United States. — The Same Principle for obtaining Grants of Power in both. — The Constitution an Instrument enumerating the Powers delegated. — The Power of Amendment merely a Power to amend the Delegated Grants. — A Smaller Power was required for Amendment than for a Grant. — The Power of Amendment is confined to Grants of the Constitution. — Limitations on the Power of Amendment 193

PART III. SECESSION AND CONFEDERATION,

CHAPTER I. Opening of the New Year.— The People in Advance of their Representatives.— Conciliatory Conduct of Southern Members of Congress.— Sensational Fictions.— Misstatements of the Count of Paris.— Obligations of a Senator. —The Southern Forts and arsenals. — ^Pensacola Bay and Fort Pickens. — The Alleged Caucus" and its Resolutions.- Personal Motives and Feelings.— The Presidency not a Desirable Office.— Letter from the Hon. C. C. Clay 199

CHAPTER II. Tenure of Public Property ceded by the States.— Sovereignty and Eminent Domain.— Principles asserted by Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and other States.— The Charleston Forts.— South Carolina sends Commissioners to Washington, — Sudden Movement of Major Anderson. — Correspondence of the Commissioners with the President. — Interviews of the Author with Mr. Buchanan. — Major Anderson. — The Star of the West. — ^The President's Special Message. — Speech of the Author in the Senate. — Further Proceedings and Correspondence relative to Fort Sumter. — Mr. Buchanan's Rectitude in Purpose and Vacillation in Action 209

Chapter III Secession of Mississippi and Other States. — Withdrawal of Senators. — Address of the Author on taking Leave of the Senate. — Answer to Certain Objections 220

CHAPTER IV. Threats of Arrest — Departure from Washington. — Indications of Public Anxiety.— "Wm there be War?"— Organization of the "Army of Mississippi" — Lack of Preparations for Defense in the South. — Evidences of the Good Faith and Peaceable Purposes of the Southern People . . 226

Chapter V. Meeting of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States.— Adoption of a Provisional Constitution. — ^Election of President and Vice-President — Notification to the Author of his Election. — His Views with Regard to it — Journey to Montgomery. — ^Interview with Judge Sharkey. — False Reports of Speeches on the Way. — Inaugural Address. — ^Editor's Note . . .229

CHAPTER VI. The Confederate Cabinet 241

CHAPTER VII. Early Acts of the Confederate Congress.— Laws of the United States continued in Force.— Officers of Customs and Revenue continued in Office.— Commission to the United States.— Navigation of the Mississippi.— Restrictions on the Coasting-Trade removed. — Appointment of Commissioners to Washington, 243

CHAPTER VIII The Peace Conference.- Demand for " a Little Bloodletting."— Plan proposed by the Conference. — Its Contemptuous Reception and Treatment in the United States Congress.— Failure of Last Efforts at Reconciliation and Reunion.— Note.— Speech of General Lane, of Oregon 247

CHAPTER IX. Northern Protests against Coercion. — ^The " New York Tribune," Albany " Argus," and " New York Herald."— Great Public Meeting in New York.— Speeches of Mr. Thayer, ex-Governor Seymour, cx-Chancellor Walworth, and Others. — The Press in February, 1861. — Mr. Lincoln's Inaugural. — The Marvelous Change or Suppression of Conservative Sentiment, — Historic Precedents 251

CHAPTER X. Temper of the Southern People indicated by the Action of the Confederate Congress. — The Permanent Constitution. — Modeled after the Federal Constitution. — Variations and Special Provisions. — Provisions with Regard to Slavery and the Slave-Trade. — A False Assertion refuted. — ^Excellence of the Constitution. — Admissions of Hostile or Impartial Criticism . . 258

CHAPTER XI The Commission to Washington City. — Arrival of Mr. Crawford. — Mr. Buchanan's Alarm. — Note of the Commissioners to the New Administration. — Mediation of Justices Nelson and Campbell. — The Difficulty about Forts Sumter and Pickens. — Mr. Secretary Seward's Assurances. — Duplicity of the Government at Washington. — Mr. Fox's Visit to Charleston. — Secret Preparations for Coercive Measures. — Visit of Mr. Lamon. — Renewed Assurances of Good Faith. — Notification to Governor Pickens. — Developments of Secret History. — Systematic and Complicated Perfidy exposed 268

CHAPTER XII Protests against the Conduct of the Government of the United States. — Senator Douglas's Proposition to evacuate the Forts, and Extracts from his Speech in Support of it. — General Scott's Advice. — Manly Letter of Major Anderson, protesting against the Action of the Federal Government. — Misstatements of the Count of Paris. — Correspondence relative to Proposed Evacuation of the Fort. — A Crisis 281

CHAPTER XIII A Pause and a Review. — Attitude of the Two Parties. — Sophistry exposed an Shams torn away. — Forbearance of the Confederate Government. — Who was the Aggressor ? — ^Major Anderson's View, and that of a Naval Officer. — Mr. Horace Greeley on the Fort Sumter Case. — The Bombardment and Surrender. — Gallant Action of ex-Senator Wigfall — Mr. Lincoln's Statement of the Case 289

PART IV. THE WAR.

CHAPTER I. Failure of the Peace Congress. — Treatment of the Commissioners. — Their Withdrawal — Notice of an Armed Expedition. — Action of the Confederate government — Bombardment and Surrender of Fort Sumter. — Its Reduction required by the Exigency of the Case. — Disguise thrown off. — President Lincoln's Call for Seventy-five Thousand Men. — His Fiction of "Combinations." — ^Palpable Violation of the Constitution. — ^Action of Virginia. — Of Citizens of Baltimore. — ^The Charge of Precipitation against South Carolina. — Action of the Confederate Government. — The Universal Feeling 296

CHAPTER II The Supply of Arms ; of Men. — ^Love of the Union. — Secessionists few. — Efforts to prevent the final Step, — Views of the People. — Effect on their Agriculture. — Aid from African Servitude. — Answer to the Clamors on the Horrors of Slavery. — Appointment of a Commissary-General. — His Character and Capacity. — Organization, Instruction, and Equipment of the Army. — Action of Congress. — The Law. — Its Signification. — The Hope of a Peaceful Solution early entertained; rapidly diminished. — Further Action of Congress. — Policy of the Government for Peace. — Position of Officers of United States Army. — ^The Army of the States, not of the Government. — The Confederate Law observed by the Government. — Officers retiring from United States Army. — Organization of Bureaus 301

CHAPTER III Commissioners to purchase Arms and Ammunition. — My Letter to Captain Semmes. — ^Resignations of Officers of United States Navy. — Our Destitution of Accessories for the Supply of Naval Vessels. — Secretary Mallory. — Food-Supplies. — The Commissariat Department. — The Quartermaster's Department. — The Disappearance of Delusions. — The Supply of Powder. — Saltpeter.— Sulphur. — Artificial Niter-Beds. — Services of General G. W. Rains. — Destruction at Harper's Ferry of Machinery. — The Master Armorer. — Machinery secured. — ^Want of Skillful Employees. — Difficulties encountered by Every Department of the Executive Branch of the Government 311

CHAPTER IV. The Proclamation for Seventy-five Thousand Men by President Lincoln further examined. — The Reasons presented by him to Mankind for the Justification of his Conduct shown to be Mere Fictions, having no Relation to the Question.— What is the Value of Constitutional Liberty, of Bills of Rights, of Limitations of Powers, if they may be transgressed at Pleasure f — Secession of South Carolina. — ^Proclamation of Blockade. — Session of Congress at Montgomery. — Extracts from the President's Message. — Acts of Congress. — Spirit of the People. — Secession of Border States. — Destruction of United States Property by Order of President Lincoln 319

CHAPTER V. Maryland first approached by Northern Invasion. — Denies to United States Troops the Right of Way across her Domain. — Mission of Judge Handy. — Views of Governor Hicks. — His Proclamation. — Arrival of Massachusetts Troops at Baltimore. — Passage through the City disputed. — Activity of the Police. — Burning of Bridges. — Letter of President Lincoln to the Governor. — Visited by Citizens. — Action of the State Legislature. — Occupation of the Relay House. — The City Arms surrendered. — City in Possession of United States Troops. — Remonstrances of the City to the Passage of Troops disregarded—Citizens arrested; also, Members of the Legislature. — Accumulation of Northern Forces at Washington.

— Invasion of West Virginia by a Force under McClellan. — Attack at Philippi; at Laurel Hill—
Death of General Garnett 330

CHAPTER VI. Removal of the Seat of Government to Richmond. — Message to Congress at
Richmond. — Confederate Forces in Virginia. — Forces of the Enemy. — Letter to General
Johnston. — Combat at Bethel Church. — Affair at Romney. — Movements of McDowell —
Battle of Manassas 839

CHAPTER VII Conference with the Generals after the Battle. — Order to pursue the Enemy. —
Evidences of a Thorough Rout. — "Sweet to die for such a Cause." — Movements of the Next
Day.— What more it was practicable to do. — Charge against the President of preventing the
Capture of Washington.— The Failure to pursue.— Reflection on the President. — General
Beauregard's Report— Endorsement upon it — Strength of the Opposing Forces.— Ex-
tracts relating to the Battle, from the Narrative of General Early.— Resolutions of Congress. —
Efforts to increase the Efficiency of the Army . . 352

CHAPTER VIII The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-'99.— Their Influence on Political Affairs.—
Kentucky declares for Neutrality. — Correspondence of Governor Magoffin with the President
of the United States and the President of the Confederate States. — Occupation of Columbus,
Kentucky, by Major-General Polk. — His Correspondence with the Kentucky Commissioners.
— President Lincoln's View of Neutrality. — Acta of the United States Government. —
Refugees. — ^Their Motives of Expatriation. — Address of ex- Vice-President
Breckinridge to the People of the State. — The Occupation of Columbus secured. — The
Purpose of the United States Government — Battle of Belmont. — ^Albert Sidney Johnston
commands the Department. — State of Affairs. — Line of Defense. — Efforts to obtain Arms;
also Troops . . 385

CHAPTER IX. --The Coercion of Missouri. — Answers of the Governors of States to President
Lincoln's Requisition for Troops. — Restoration of Forts Caswell and Johnson to the United
States Government. — Condition of Missouri similar to that of Kentucky. — Hostilities, how
initiated in Missouri. — Agreement between Generals Price and Harney. — ^Its Favorable
Effects. — General Harney relieved of Command by the United States Government because of
his Pacific Policy. — Removal of Public Arms from Missouri. — Searches for and Seizure of
Arms. — Missouri on the Side of Peace. — Address of General Price to the People. —
Proclamation of Governor Jackson. — Humiliating Concessions of the Governor to the United
States Government, for the Sake of Peace. — Demands of the Federal Officers. — Revolutionary
Principles attempted to be enforced by the United States Government. — The Action at
Booneville. — ^The Patriot Army of Militia. — Further Rout of the Enemy.— Heroism and
Self-sacrifice of the People. — Complaints and Embarrassments. — Zeal : its Effects. — Action
of Congress. — Battle of Springfield. — General Price. — Battle at Lexington. — Bales of
Hemp. — Other Combats .410

CHAPTER X. Brigadier-General Henry A. Wise takes Command in "Western Virginia. — His
Movements. — Advance of General John B. Floyd. — Defeats the Enemy. — Attacked by
Rosecrans. — Controversy between Wise and Floyd. — General R. E. Lee takes the Command
in West Virginia. — Movement on Cheat Mountain. — Its Failure. — Further Operations. —
Winter Quarters. — Lee sent to South Carolina 432

CHAPTER XI. The Issue. — The American Idea of Government — Who was responsible for
the War? — Situation of Virginia. — Concentration of the Enemy against Richmond. — Our
Difficulty. — Unjust Criticisms. — The Facts set forth. — Organization of the Army. —
Conference at Fairfax Court-House. — Inaction of the Army. — Capture of Romney. — Troops

ordered to retire to the Valley. — Discipline. — General Johnston regards his Position as unsafe. — The first Policy. — Retreat of General Johnston. — The Plans of the Enemy. — Our Strength magnified by the Enemy. — Stores destroyed. — The Trent Affair 488

CHAPTER XII. Supply of Arms at the Beginning of the War ; of Powder; of Batteries; of other Articles. — Contents of Arsenals. — Other Stores, Mills, etc. — First Efforts to obtain Powder, Niter, and Sulphur. — Construction of Mills commenced. — Efforts to supply Arms, Machinery, Field-Artillery, Ammunition, Equipment, and Saltpeter. — ^Results in 1862. — Government Powder-Mills ; how organized. — Success. — ^Efforts to obtain Lead. — Smelting- Works. — Troops, how armed. — Winter of 1862. — Supplies.— Niter and Mining Bureau. — Equipment of First Armies. — Receipts by Blockade-Runners. — Arsenal at Richmond. — Armories at Richmond and Fayetteville. — A Central Laboratory built at Macon. — Statement of (General Gorgas. — Northern Charge against General Floyd answered. — Charge of Slowness against the President answered. — Quantities of Arms purchased that could not be shipped in 1861.— Letter of Mr. Huse 471

CHAPTER XIII Extracts from my Inaugural —Financial System. — Receipts and Expenditures of the First Year. — Resource Loans, and taxes loans authorized. — Notes and Bonds. — Funding Notes; — Treasury Notes guaranteed by the States. — Measure to reduce the Currency. — Operation of the General System. — Currency fundable. — Taxation. — Popular Aversion.— Compulsory Reduction of the Currency. — Tax Law. — Successful Result. — ^Financial Condition of the Government at its Close. — Sources whence Revenue was derived. — Total Public Debt — System of Direct Taxes and Revenue. — The Tariff. — War-Tax of Fifty Cents on a Hundred Dollars. — Property subject to it. — Every Resource of the Country to be reached. — Tax paid by the States mostly. — Obstacle to the taking of the Census. — The Foreign Debt — Terms of the Contract. — Premium. — False Charge against me of Repudiation. — Facts stated. — ^The Tariff: its History and Oppressiveness . 484

CHAPTER XIV. Military Laws and Measures.— Agricultural Products diminished.— Manufactures flourishing.— The Call for Volunteers.— The Term of Three Years.- Improved Discipline.— The Law assailed.- Important Constitutional Question raised. — ^Its Discussion at Length.— Power of the Government over its own Armies and the Militia.— Object of Confederations.— The War-Powers granted. — ^Two Modes of raising Armies in the Confederate States.— Is the Law necessary and proper ?— Congress is the Judge under the Grant of Specific Power.— What is meant by Militia —Whole Military Strength divided into Two Classes.— Powers of Congress.- Objections answered. —Good Effects of the Law.— The Limitations enlarged.— Results of the Operations of these Laws. — Act for the Employment of Slaves.— Message to Congress.— " Died of a Theory."- Act to use Slaves as Soldiers passed.— Not Time to put it in Operation 505

APPENDIXES. APPENDIX B. Speech of the Author on the Oregon Question 621

APPENDIX C. Extracts from Speeches of the Author on the Resolutions of Compromise proposed by Mr. Clay 528 On the Reception of a Memorial from Inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Delaware, praying that Congress would adopt Measures for an Immediate and Peaceful Dissolution of the Union 532 On the Resolutions of Mr. Clay relative to Slavery in the Territories . . 533

APPENDIX D. Speech of the Author on the Message of the President of the United States, transmitting to Congress the " Lecompton Constitution of Kansas . .541

APPENDIX E. Address of the Author to Citizens of Portland, Maine 546

Address of the Author at a Public Meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston with the
Introductory Remarks by Caleb Cushing 550

APPENDIX F. Speech of the Author in the Senate, on the Resolutions relative to the Relations of
the States, the Federal Government, and the Territories . 669

Appendix G. Correspondence between the Commissioners of South Carolina and the President
of the United States (Mr. Buchanan), relative to the Forts in the
Harbor of Charleston 591

APPENDIX H. Speech of the Author on a Motion to print the Special- Message of the President
of the United States of January 9, 1861 608

APPENDIX I. Correspondence and Extracts from Correspondence relative to Fort Sumter,
from the Affair of the Star of the West, January 9, 1861, to the Withdrawal of the Envoy of
South Carolina from Washington, February 8, 1861, 624

APPENDIX K. The Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, adopted February 8,
1861 640

The Constitution of the United States and the Permanent Constitution of the
Confederate States, in Parallel Columns 648

APPENDIX L. Correspondence between the Confederate Commissioners, Mr. Secretary Seward,
and Judge Campbell 675

Volume II

CHAPTER XV. Review of 1861. — Summary of Hostile Acts of United States Government. — Fuller Details of some of them. — Third Session of Provisional Congress. — Message. — Subjugation of the Southern States intended. — Obstinacy of the Enemy. — Insensibility of the North as to the Crisis. — Vast Preparation of the Enemy. — Embargo and Blockade. — Indiscriminate War waged. — Action of Confederate Congress. — Confiscation Act of United States Congress. — Declared Object of the War. — Powers of United States Government. — Forfeitures inflicted. — Due Process of Law, how interpreted. — " Who pleads the Constitution ? " — Wanton Destruction of Private Property unlawful. — Adams on Terms of the Treaty of Ghent. — Sectional Hatred. — Order of President Lincoln to Army Officers in Regard to Slaves. — "Educating the People." — Fremont's Proclamation. — Proclamation of General T. W. Sherman. — Proclamation of General Halleck and others. — Letters of Marque. — Our Privateers. — Officers tried for Piracy. — Retaliatory Orders. — Discussion in the British House of Lords. — Recognition as a Belligerent of the Confederacy. — Exchange of Prisoners. — Theory of the United States. — Views of McClellan. — Revolutionary Conduct of United States Government.— Extent of the War at the Close of 1861. — Victories of the Year. — New Branches of Manufactures. — Election of Confederate States President. — Posterity may ask the Cause of such Hostile Actions. — Answer 1

CHAPTER XVI. Military Arrangements of the Enemy. — Marshall and Garfield. — Fishing Creek. — Crittenden's Report. — Fort Henry ; its Surrender. — Fort Donelson ; its Position. — Assaults. — Surrender. — Losses 15

CHAPTER XVII. Results of the Surrender of Forts Henry and Donelson. — Retreat from Bowling Green. — Criticism on General A. S. Johnston. — Change of Plan necessary. — Evacuation of Nashville. — Generals Floyd and Pillow. — My Letter to General Johnston. — His Reply. — My Answer. — Defense of General Johnston. — Battle of Elkhorn. — Topography of Shiloh 36

CHAPTER XVIII. General Buell's March. — Object of General Johnston. — His Force. — Advance from Corinth. — Line of Battle. — Telegram. — The Time of the Battle of Shiloh. — Results of the First Day's Battle. — One Encampment not taken. — Effects. — Reports on this Failure. — Death of General Johnston. — Remarks 54

CHAPTER XIX. Retirement of the Army. — Remnants of Grant's Army. — Its Reinforcements. — Strength of our Army. — Strength of Grant's Army. — Reorganization. — Corinth. — Advance of General Halleck. — Siege of Corinth. — Evacuation. — Retreat to Tupelo. — General Beauregard retires. — General Bragg in Command. — Positions on the Mississippi River occupied by the Enemy. — New Madrid. — Island No. 10. — Fort Pillow. — Memphis. — Attack at Hatteras Inlet. — Expedition of the Enemy to Port Royal. — Expeditions from Port Royal. — System of Coast Defenses adopted by us. — Fort Pulaski . . 70

CHAPTER XX. Advance of General McClellan toward Centreville; his Report. — Our Forces ordered to the Peninsula. — Situation at Yorktown. — Siege by General McClellan. — General Johnston assigned to Command ; his Recommendation. — Attack on General Magruder at Yorktown. — Movements of McClellan. — The Virginia. — General Johnston retires. — Delay at Norfolk. — Before Williamsburg. — Remark of Hancock. — Retreat up the Peninsula. — Sub-terra Shells used. — Evacuation of Norfolk. — Its Occupation by the Enemy . 66

CHAPTER XXI. A New Phase to our Military Problem. — General Johnston's Position. — Defenses of James River. — Attack on Fort Drury. — Johnston crosses the Chickahominy. — Position of McClellan. — Position of McDowell. — Strength of Opposing Forces. — Jackson's

Expedition down the Shenandoah Valley. Panic at Washington and the North. — Movements to intercept Jackson. — His Rapid Movements. — Repulses Fremont. — Advance of Shields. — Fall of Ashby. — Port Republic, Battle of. — Results of this Campaign . . . 101

CHAPTER XXII. Condition of Affairs. — Plan of General Johnston. — The Field of Battle at Seven Pines. — The Battle. — General Johnston wounded. — Advance of General Sumner. — Conflict on the Right. — Delay of General Huger. — Reports of the Enemy. — Losses. — Strength of Forces. — General Lee in Command . . 119

CHAPTER XXIII. The Enemy's Position. — His Intention. — The Plan of Operations. — Movements of General Jackson. — Daring and Fortitude of Lee. — Offensive-Defensive Policy. — General Stuart's Movement. — Order of Attack. — Critical Position of McClellan. — Order of Mr. Lincoln creating the Army of Virginia. — Arrival of Jackson. — Position of the Enemy. — Diversion of General Longstreet. — The Enemy forced back south of the Chickahominy. — Abandonment of the Railroad 130

CHAPTER XXIV. Retreat of the Enemy. — Pursuit and Battle. — Night. — Further Retreat of the Enemy. — Progress of General Jackson. — The Enemy at Frazier's Farm. — Position of General Holmes. — Advance of General Longstreet. — Remarkable Features of the Battle. — Malvern Hill. — Our Position. — The Attack. — Expedition of General Stuart. — Destruction of the Enemy's Stores. — Assaults on the Enemy. — Retreat to Westover on the James. — Siege of Richmond raised. — Number of Prisoners taken. — Strength of our Forces. — Strength of our Forces at Seven Pines and after. — Strength of the Enemy . 140

CHAPTER XXV. Forced Emancipation. — Purposes of the United States Government at the Commencement of 1862. — Subjugation or Extermination. — The Willing Aid of United States Congress. — Attempt to legislate the Subversion of our Social Institutions. — Could adopt any Measure Self-Defense would justify. — Slavery the Cause of all Troubles, therefore must be removed. — Statements of President Lincoln's Inaugural. — Declaration of Sumner. — Abolition Legislation. — The Power based on Necessity. — Its Formula. — The System of Legislation devised. — Confiscation. — How permitted by the Law of Nations. — Views of Wheaton ; of J. Q. Adams ; of Secretary Marcy ; of Chief- Justice Marshall. — Nature of Confiscation and Proceedings. — Compared with the Acts of the United States Congress. — Provisions of the Acts. — Five Thousand Millions of Property involved. — Another Feature of the Act. — Confiscates Property within Reach. — Procedure against Persons. — Held us as Enemies and Traitors. — Attacked us with the Instruments of War and Penalties of Municipal Law. — Emancipation to be secured. — Remarks of President Lincoln on signing the Bill. — Remarks of Mr. Adams compared. — Another Alarming Usurpation of Congress. — Argument for it. — No Limit to the War-Power of Congress ; how maintained. — The Act to emancipate Slaves in the District of Columbia. — Compensation promised. — Remarks of President Lincoln. — The Right of Property violated. — Words of the Constitution The Act to prohibit Slavery in the Territories. — The Act making an Additional Article of War. — All Officers forbidden to return Fugitives. — Words of the Constitution. — The Powers of the Constitution unchanged in Peace or War. — The Discharge of Fugitives commanded in the Confiscation Act. — Words of the Constitution . 158

CHAPTER XXVI. Forced Emancipation concluded.- Emancipation Acts of President Lincoln.— Emancipation with Compensation proposed to Border States.-Reasons for it.— Its Unconstitutionality.— Order of General Hunter.— Revoked by President Lincoln.-Reasons.— "The Pressure" on him.-One Cause of our Secession.-The Time to throw off the Mask at Hand.—

The Necessity that justified the President and Congress also justified Secession.-Men united in Defense of Liberty called Traitors.-Conference of President Lincoln with Senators and Representatives of Border States.— Remarks of Mr. Lincoln.— Reply of Senators and Representatives.— Failure of the Proposition.— Three Hundred Thousand more Men called for.— Declarations of the Antislavery Press.-Truth of our Apprehensions.- Reply of President Lincoln.— Another Call for Men.-Further Declarations of the Antislavery Press.— The Watchword adopted.— Memorial of So-called Christians to the President.— Reply of President Lincoln.— Issue of the Preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation.— Issue of the Final Proclamation.— The Military Necessity asserted.— The Consummation verbally reached.— Words of the Declaration of Independence.— Declarations by the United States Government of what it intended to do.— True Nature of the Party unveiled.— Declarations of President Lincoln.— Vindication of the Sagacity of the Southern People.— His Declarations to European Cabinets.— Object of these Declarations.— Trick of the Fugitive Thief.— The Boast of Mr. Lincoln calmly considered

CHAPTER XXVII. Naval Affairs.— Organization of the Navy Department.-Two Classes of Vessels.— Experiments for Floating Batteries and Rams.-The Norfolk Navy- Yard.— Abandonment by the Enemy.— The Merrimac Frigate made an Ironclad.— Officers.— Trial-Trip.— Fleet of the Enemy.— Captain Buchanan.—Resolves to attack the Enemy.— Sinks the Cumberland.-Burns the Congress —Wounded.— Executive Officer Jones takes Command.— Retires for the Night.— Appearance of the Monitor.-The Virginia attacks her.-She Retires to Shoal Water.— Refuses to come out.-Cheers of English Man-of- war -Importance of the Navy- Yard.— Order of General Johnston to evacuate -Stores saved.-The Virginia burned.-Harbor Defenses at Wilmington.— Harbor Defenses at Charleston.-Fights in the Harbor.— Defenses of Savannah.-Mobile Harbor and Capture of its Defenses.-The System of Torpedoes adopted.- Statement of the Enemy.-Sub-terra Shells placed in James River.-How made-Used in Charleston Harbor; in Roanoke River ; in Mobile Harbor.-The Tecumseh, how destroyed .

CHAPTER XXVIII. Naval Affairs (continued).-Importance of New Orleans.-Attack feared from up the River.-Preparations for Defense-Strength of the Forts.-Other Defenses.-The General Plan.- Ironclads.-Raft-Fleet of the Enemy.-Bombardment of the Forts commenced. — Advance of the Fleet. — Its Passage of the Forts. — Batteries below the City. — Darkness of the Night. — Evacuation of the City by General Lovell on Appearance of the Enemy. — Address of General Duncan to Soldiers in the Forts. — Refusal to surrender. — Meeting of the Garrison of Fort Jackson. — The Forts surrendered. — Ironclad Louisiana destroyed. — The Tugs and Steamers. — The Governor Moore. — The Enemy's Ship Varuna sunk. — The McRae. — The State of the City and its Defenses considered. — Public Indignation. — Its Victims. — Efforts made for its Defense by the Navy Department. — The Construction of the Mississippi
210

CHAPTER XXIX. Naval Affairs (continued). — Farragut demands the Surrender of New Orleans. — Reply of the Mayor.— United States Flag hoisted. — Advent of General Butler. — Barbarities. — Antecedents of the People. — Galveston. — Its Surrender demanded. — The Reply. — Another Visit of the Enemy's Fleet. —The Port occupied. — Appointment of General Magruder. — Recapture of the Port. — Capture of the Harriet Lane. — Report of General Magruder. — Position and Importance of Sabine Pass. — Fleet of the Enemy. — Repulse by Forty-four Irishmen. — Vessels captured. — Naval Destitution of the Confederacy at first. — Terror of Gunboats on the Western Rivers. — Their Capture. — The most Illustrious Example. — The Indianola. — Her Capture. — The Ram Arkansas. — Descent of the Yazoo

River. — Report of her Commander. — Runs through the Enemy's Fleet. — Description of the Vessel. — Attack on Baton Rouge.— Address of General Breckinridge. — Burning of the Arkansas 230

CHAPTER XXX. Naval Affairs (continued). — Necessity of a Navy. — Raphael Semmes. — The Sumter. — Difficulties in creating a Navy. — The Sumter at Sea. — Alarm. — Her Captures. — James D. Bullock. — Laird's Speech in the House of Commons. — The Alabama. — Semmes takes Command. — The Vessel and Crew. — Goes to Sea. — Banks's Expedition. — Magruder at Galveston. — The Steamer Hatteras sunk. — The Alabama not a Pirate. — An Aspinwall Steamer ransomed. — Other Captures. — Prizes burned. — At Cherbourg. — Fight with the Kearsarge. — Rescue of the Men. — Demand of the United States Government for the Surrender of the Drowning Men. — Reply of the British Government. — Sailing of the Oreto. — Detained at Nassau. — Captain Maffit. — The Ship half equipped. — Arrives at Mobile. — Runs the Blockade. — Her Cruise. — Capture and Cruise of the Clarence. — The Captures of the Florida. — Captain C. M. Morris. — The Florida at Bahia. — Seized by the Wachusett. — Brought to Virginia and sunk. — Correspondence. — The Georgia. — Cruises and Captures. — The Shenandoah. — Cruises and Captures. — The Atlanta. — The Tallahassee.— The Edith 245

CHAPTER XXXI. Naval Affairs (concluded). — Excitement in the Northern States on the Appearance of our Cruisers. — Failure of the Enemy to protect their Commerce. — Appeal to Europe not to help the So-called " Pirates." — Seeks Iron-plated Vessels in England. — Statement of Lord Russell. — What is the Duty of Neutrals ? — Position taken by President Washington. — Letter of Mr. Jefferson. — Contracts sought by United States Government. — Our Cruisers went to Sea unarmed. — Mr. Adams asserts that British Neutrality was violated. — Reply of Lord Russell. — Rejoinder of Mr. Seward. — Duty of Neutrals relative to Warlike Stories. — Views of Wheaton; of Kent. — Charge of the Lord Chief Baron in the Alexandra Case. — Action of the Confederate Government sustained. — Antecedents of the United States Government. — The Colonial Commissions. — Build and equip Ships in Europe. — Captain Conyngham's Captures. — Made Prisoner. — Retaliation. — Numbers of Captures. — Recognition of Greece. — Recognition of South American Cruisers. — Chief Act of Hostility charged on Great Britain by the United States Government. — The Queen's Proclamation : its Effect. — Cause of the United States Charges. — Never called us Belligerents. — Why not? — Adopts a Fiction. — The Reason. — Why denounce our Cruisers as " Pirates " ? — Opinion of Justice Greer. — Burning of Prizes. — Laws of Maritime War. — Cause of the Geneva Conference. — Statement of American Claims. — Allowance. — Indirect Damages of our Cruisers. — Ships transferred to British Registers. — Decline of American Tonnage. — Decline of Coasting Tonnage. — Decline of Export of Breadstuffs. — Advance of Insurance 266

CHAPTER XXXII. Attempts of the United States Government to overthrow States. — Military Governor of Tennessee appointed. — Object. — Arrests and Imprisonments. — Measures attempted. — Oath required of Voters. — A Convention to amend the State Constitution. — Results. — Attempt in Louisiana. — Martial Law. — Barbarities inflicted. — Invasion of Plantations. — Order of General Butler, No. 28. — Execution of Mumford. — Judicial System set up. — Civil Affairs to be administered by Military Authority. — Order of President Lincoln for a Provisional Court. — A Military Court sustained by the Army. — Words of the Constitution. — "Necessity," the reason given for the Power to create the Court. — This Doctrine fatal to the Constitution ; involves its Subversion. — Cause of our Withdrawal from the Union. — Fundamental Principles unchanged by Force. — The Contest is not over ; the Strife

not ended.— When the War closed, who were the Victors ? — Let the Verdict of Mankind decide 285

CHAPTER XXXIII. Further Attempts of the United States Government to overthrow States. — Election of Members of Congress under the Military Governor of Louisiana. — The Voters required to take an Oath to support the United States Government. — The State Law violated. — Proposition to hold a State Convention; postponed. — The President's Plan for making a Union State out of a Fragment of a Confederate State. — His Proclamation. — The Oath required. — Message. — " The War-Power our Main Reliance." — Not a Feature of a Republican Government in the Plan. — What are the True Principles ? —The Declaration of Independence asserts them. — Who had a Right to institute a Government for Louisiana ? — Its People only. — Under what Principles could the Government of the United States do it '? — As an Invader to subjugate. — Effrontery and Wickedness of the Administration. — It enforces a Fiction. — Attempt to make Falsehood as good as Truth. — Proclamation for an Election of State Officers. — Proclamation for a State Convention. — The Monster Crime against the Liberties of Mankind. — Proceedings in Arkansas. — Novel Method adopted to amend the State Constitution. — Perversion of Republican Principles in Virginia. — Proceedings to create the State of West Virginia. — A Falsehood by Act of Congress. — Proceedings considered under Fundamental Principles. — These Acts sustained by the United States Government. — Assertion of Thaddeus Stevens. — East Virginia Government. — Removed to Richmond and upheld by the United States Government. — Such Acts caused Entire Subversion of States. — Mere Fictions thus constituted 295

CHAPTER XXXIV. Address to the Army of Eastern Virginia by the President. — Army of General Pope. — Position of McClellan. — Advance of General Jackson. — Atrocious Orders of General Pope. — Letter of McClellan on the Conduct of the War. — Letter of the President to General Lee. — Battle of Cedar Run. — Results of the Engagement. — Reinforcements to the Enemy. — Second Battle of Manassas. — Capture of Manassas Junction. — Captured Stores. — The Old Battle-Field. — Advance of General Longstreet. — Attack on him. — Attack on General Jackson. — Darkness of the Night. — Battle at Ox Hill. — Losses of the Enemy 311

CHAPTER XXXV. Return of the Enemy to Washington. — War transferred to the Frontier. — Condition of Maryland. — Crossing the Potomac. — Evacuation of Martinsburg. — Advance into Maryland. — Large Force of the Enemy. — Resistance at Boonesboro. — Surrender of Harper's Ferry. — Our Forces reach Sharpsburg. — Letter of the President to General Lee. — Address of General Lee to the People. — Position of our Forces at Sharpsburg. — Battle of Sharpsburg. — Our Strength. — Forces withdrawn. — Casualties 328

CHAPTER XXXVI. Efforts of the Enemy to obtain our Cotton. — Demands of European Manufacturers. — Thousands of Operatives resorting to the Poor-Rates. — Complaint of her Majesty's Secretary of State. — Letter of Mr. Seward. — Promise to open all the Channels of Commerce. — Series of Measures adopted by the United States. — Act of Congress. — Its Provisions. — Its Operation. — Unconstitutional Measures. — President Lincoln an Accomplice. — Not authorized by a State of War. — Case before Chief-Justice Taney. — His Decision. — Expeditions sent by the United States Government to seize Localities. — An Act providing for the Appointment of Special Agents to seize Abandoned or Captured Property. — The Views of General Grant. — Weakening his Strength One Third. — Our Country divided into Districts, and Federal Agents appointed. — Continued to the Close of the War 343

CHAPTER XXXVII. The Enemy crosses the Potomac and concentrates at Warrenton. — Advances upon Fredericksburg. — Its Position. — Our Forces. — The Enemy crosses the Rappahannock. — Attack on General Jackson. — The Main Attack. — Repulse of the Enemy on the Right. — Assaults on the Left. — The Enemy's Columns broke and fled. — Recross the River. — Casualties. — Position during the Winter. — The Enemy again crosses the Rappahannock. — Also crosses at Kelly's Ford. — Converging toward Chancellorsville, to the Rear of our Position. — Inactivity on our Front. — Our Forces concentrate near Chancellorsville and encounter the Enemy. — Position of the Enemy. — Attempt to turn his Right. — The Enemy surprised and driven in the Darkness. — Jackson fired upon and wounded. — Stuart in Command. — Battle renewed. — Fredericksburg reoccupied. — Attack on the Heights. — Repulse of the Enemy. — The Enemy withdraws in the Night. — Our Strength. — Losses. — Death of General Jackson. — Another Account 351

CHAPTER XXXVIII. Relations with Foreign Nations. — The Public Questions. — Ministers abroad. — Usages of Intercourse between Nations. — Our Action. — Mistake of European Nations ; they follow the Example of England and France. — Different Conditions of the Belligerents. — Injury to the Confederacy by the Policy of European Powers relative to the Blockade. — Explanation. — The Paris Conference. — Principles adopted. — Acceded to by the Confederacy with a Single Exception. — These Agreements remained inoperative. — Extent of the Pretended Blockade. — Remonstrances against its Recognition. — Sinking Vessels to block up Harbors. — Every Proscription of Maritime Law violated by the United States Government. — Protest. — Addition made to the Law by Great Britain. — Policy pursued favorable to our Enemies. — Instances. — Mediation proposed by France to Great Britain, and Russian Letter of French Minister. — Reply of Great Britain. — Reply of Russia. — Letter to French Minister at Washington. — Various Offensive Actions of the British Government. — Encouraging to the United States. — Hollow Profession of Neutrality 307

CHAPTER XXXIX. Advance of General E. K. Smith. — Advance of General Bragg. — Retreat of General Buell to Louisville. — Battle at Perryville, Kentucky. — General Morgan at Hartsville. — Advance of General Rosecrans. — Battle of Murfreesboro. — General Van Dorn and General Price. — Battle at Iuka. — General Van Dorn. — Battle of Corinth. — General Little. — Captures at Holly Springs. — Retreat of Grant to Memphis. — Operations against Vicksburg. — The Canal. — Concentration. — Raid of Grierson. — Attack near Port Gibson. — Orders of General Johnston. — Reply of General Pemberton. — Baker's Creek. — Big Black Bridge. — Retreat to Vicksburg. — Siege. — Surrender. — Losses. — Surrender of Port Hudson. — Some Movements for its Relief 323

CHAPTER XL. Inactivity in Tennessee. — Capture of Colburn's Expedition. — Capture of Streight's Expedition. — Advance of Rosecrans to Bridgeport. — Burnside in East Tennessee. — Our Force at Chattanooga. — Movement against Burnside. — The Enemy moves on our Rear near Ringgold. — Battle at Chickamauga. — Strength and Distribution of our Forces. — The Enemy withdraws. — Captures. — Losses. — The ' Enemy evacuates Passes of Lookout Mountain. — His Trains captured. — Failure of General Bragg to pursue. — Reenforcements to the Enemy, and Grant to command. — His Description of the Situation. — Movements of the Enemy. — Conflict at Chattanooga . 426

CHAPTER XLI. Movement to draw forth the Enemy. — Advance to Culpeper Court-House. —

Cavalry Engagement at Beverly's and Kelly's Fords. — Movement against Winchester. — Milroy's Force captured. — Prisoners. — The Enemy retires along the Potomac. — Maryland entered. — Advance into Pennsylvania. — The Enemy driven back toward Gettysburg. — Position of the Respective Forces. — Battle at Gettysburg. — The Army retires. — Prisoners. — The Potomac swollen. — No Interruption by the Enemy. — Strength of our Force. — Strength of the Enemy. — The Campaign closed. — Observations. — Kelly's Ford. — Attempt to surprise our Army. — System of Breastworks. — Prisoners 437

CHAPTER XLII. Subjugation of the States of Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Virginia. — Object of a State Government ; its Powers are " Just Powers " ; how exercised ; its Duty necessarily sovereign ; its Entire Order ; how founded ; how destroyed. — The Crime against Constitutional Liberty. — What is the Government of the United States? — It partakes of the Nature of a Limited Partnership ; its Peaceful Objects. — Distinction between the Governments of the States and that of the United States. — Secession. — The Government of the United States invades the State; refuses to recognize its Government ; thus denies the Fundamental Principle of Popular Liberty. — Founded a New State Government based on the Sovereignty of the United States Government. — Annihilation of Unalienable Rights. — Qualification of Voters fixed by Military Power. — Condition of the Voter's Oath. — Who was the Sovereign in Tennessee? — Case of Louisiana. — Registration of Voters. — None allowed to register who could not or would not take a Certain Oath ; its Conditions. — Election of State Officers. — Part of the State Constitution declared void. — All done under the Military Force of the United States Government 450

CHAPTER XLIII. Subjugation of the Border States, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. — A Military Force invades Maryland and occupies Baltimore. — Martial Law declared. — A Military Order. — Banishment from the State. — Civil Government of the State suspended. — Unalienable Rights of the Citizens invaded. — Arrests of Citizens commenced. — Number. — Case of John Merryman. — Opinion of Chief-Justice Taney. — Newspapers seized. — Houses searched for Arms. — Order of Commanding General to Marshals to put Test to Voters. — The Governor appeals to the President. — His Reply. — Voters imprisoned. — Statement of the Governor. — Result of the Election. — State Constitutional Convention. — Emancipation hardly carried. — First Open Measures in Kentucky. — Interference at the State Election by the United States Government. — Voters excluded. — Martial Law declared. — Soldiers keeping the Polls. — The Vote. — Statement of the Governor. — Attempt to enroll Able-bodied Negroes. — The Governor visits Washington. — The Result. — Arrests, Imprisonment, and Exile of Citizens. — Suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus by President Lincoln. — Interference with the State Election. — Order to the Sheriffs. — Proclamation of the Governor. — Enlistment of Slaves. — Emancipation by Constitutional Amendment. — Violent Measures in Missouri. — The Governor calls out the Militia. — His Words. — The Plea of the Invader. — " The Authority of the United States is Paramount," said President Lincoln. — Bravery of the Governor. — Words of the Commanding General. — Troops poured into the State. — Proceedings of the State Convention. — Numberless Usurpations. — Provisional Governor. — Emancipation Ordinance passed 460

CHAPTER XLIV. Subjugation of the Northern States. — Humiliating Spectacle of New York. — " Ringing of a Little Bell." — Seizure and Imprisonment of Citizens. — Number seized. — Paper Safeguards of Liberty. — Other Safeguards. — Suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus absolutely forbidden with One Exception. — How done. — Not able to authorize another. —

Abundant Protective Provisions in New York, but all failed. — Case of Pierce Butler. — Arrest of Secretary Cameron. — The President assumes the Responsibility of the Crime. — No Heed given to the Writ of Habeas Corpus issued by the Court. — The Governor passive. — Words of Justice Nelson. — Prison overflowing. — How relieved. — Oath required of Applicants for Relief. — Oath declined by some. — Reasons. — Order forbidding the Employment of Counsel by Prisoners. — Victims in almost Every Northern State. — Defeat at the Elections. — Result. — Suit for Damages commenced. — Congress interferes to protect the Guilty. — State Courts subjugated. — How suspend Habeas Corpus. — Congress violates the Constitution. — What was New York ? — Writ suspended throughout the United States. — What is " Loyalty " ? — Military Domination. — Correspondence between General Dix and Governor Seymour. — Seizure of Newspapers. — Governor orders Arrest of Offenders. — Interference with the State Election. — Vote of the Soldiers. — State Agents arrested. — Provost-Marshals appointed in Every Northern State. — Their Duties. — Sustained by Force. — Trials by Military Commission. — Trials at Washington. — Assassination of the President. — Trial of Henry Wirz. — Efforts to implicate the Author. — Investigation of a Committee of Congress as to Complicity in the Assassination. — Arrest, Trial, and Banishment of Clement C. Vallandigham. — Assertions of Governor Seymour on the Case 477

CHAPTER XLV. Inactivity of the Army of Northern Virginia. — Expeditions of Custer, Kilpatrick, and Dahlgren for the Destruction of Railroads, the Burning of Richmond, and Killing the Officers of the Government. — Repelled by Government Clerks. — Papers on Dahlgren's Body. — Repulse of Butler's Raid from Bermuda Hundred. — Advance of Sheridan repulsed at Richmond. — Stuart resists Sheridan. — Stuart's Death. — Remarks on Grant's Plan of Campaign. — Movement of General Butler. — Drury's Bluff. — Battle there. — Campaign of Grant in Virginia 504

CHAPTER XLVI. General Grant assumes Command in Virginia. — Positions of the Armies. — Plans of Campaign open to Grant's Choice. — The Rapidan crossed. — Battle of the Wilderness. — Danger of Lee. — The Enemy driven back. — Flank Attack. — Longstreet wounded. — Result of the Contest. — Rapid Flank Movement of Grant. — Another Contest. — Grant's Reinforcements. — Hanover Junction. — The Enemy moves in Direction of Bowling Green. — Crosses the Pamunkey. — Battle at Cold Harbor. — Frightful Slaughter. — The Enemy's Soldiers decline to renew the Assault when ordered. — Loss. — Asks Truce to bury the Dead. — Strength of Respective Armies. — General Pemberton. — The Enemy crosses the James. — Siege of Petersburg begun . . . 515

CHAPTER XLVII. Situation in the Shenandoah Valley. — March of General Early. — The Object. — At Lynchburg. — Staunton. — His Force. — Enters Maryland. — Attack at Monocacy. — Approach to Washington. — The Works. — Recrosses the Potomac. — Battle at Kernstown. — Captures. — Outrages of the Enemy. — Statement of General Early. — Retaliation on Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. — Battle near Winchester. — Sheridan's Force routed. — Attack subsequently renewed with New Forces. — Incapacity of our Opponent, — Early falls back. — The Enemy retires. — Early advances. — Report of a Committee of Citizens on Losses by Sheridan's Orders. — Battle at Cedar Creek. — Losses, Subsequent Movements, and Captures. — The Red River Campaign. — Repulse and Retreat of General Banks. — Capture of Fort Pillow . . . 527

CHAPTER XLVIII. Assignment of General J. E. Johnston to the Command of the Army of Tennessee. — Condition of his Army. — An Offensive Campaign suggested. —

Proposed Objects to be accomplished. — General Johnston's Plans. — Advance of Sherman. — The Strength of the Confederate Position. — General Johnston expects General Sherman to give Battle at Dalton. — The Enemy's Flank Movement via Snake-Creek Gap to Resaca. — Johnston falls back to Resaca. — Further Retreat to Adairsville. — General Johnston's Reasons. — Retreat to Cassville. — Projected Engagement at Kingston frustrated. — Retreat beyond the Etowah River. — Strong Position at Alatoona abandoned. — Nature of the Country between Marietta and Dallas. — Engagements at New Hope Church. — Army takes Position at Kenesaw. — Senator Hill's Letter. — Death of Lieutenant-General Polk. — Battle at Kennesaw Mountain. — Retreat beyond the Chattahoochee. — Results reviewed. — Popular Demand for Removal of General Johnston. — Reluctance to remove him. — Reasons for Removal. — Assignment of General J. B. Hood to the Command. — He assumes the Offensive. — Battle of Peach-tree Creek. — Death of General W. H. T. Walker. — Sherman's Movement to Jonesboro. — Defeat of Hardee. — Evacuation of Atlanta. — Sherman's Inhuman Order. — Visit to Georgia. — Suggested Operations. — Want of Cooperation by the Governor of Georgia. — Conference with Generals Beauregard, Hardee, and Cobb, at Augusta. — Departure from Original Plan. — General Hood's Movement against the Enemy's Communications. — Partial Successes. — Withdrawal of the Army to Gadsden and Movement against Thomas. — Sherman burns Atlanta and begins his March to the Sea. — Vandalism. — Direction of his Advance. — General Wheeler's Opposition. — His Valuable Service. — Sherman reaches Savannah. — General Hardee's Command. — The Defenses of the City. — Assault and Capture of Fort McAlister. — The Results. — Hardee evacuates Savannah 460

CHAPTER XLIX. Exchange of Prisoners. — Signification of the Word " loyal." — Who is the Sovereign ? — Words of President Lincoln. — The Issue for which we fought. — Position of the United States Government. — Letters of Marque granted by us. — Officers and Crew First Prisoners of the Enemy. — Convicted as " Pirates." — My Letter to President Lincoln. — How received. — Act of Congress relating to Prisoners. — Exchanges, how made. — Answer of General Grant. — Request of United States Congress. — Result. — Commissioners sent. — Agreement. — Disputed Points. — Exchange arranged. — Order to pillage issued. — General Pope's Order. — Proceedings. — Letter of General Lee relative to Barbarities. — Answer of General Halleck. — Case of Mumford. — Effect of Threatened Retaliation. — Mission of Vice-President Stephens. — A Failure. — Excess of Prisoners. — Paroled Men. — Proposition made by us. — No Answer. — Another Arrangement. — Stopped by General Grant. — His words, " Put the Matter offensively." — Exchange of Slaves. — Proposition of Lee to Grant. — Reply of Grant. — Further Reply. — His Dispatch to General Butler. — Another Proposition made by us. — No Answer. — Proposition relative to Sick and Wounded. — Some exchanged. — The Worst Cases asked for to be photographed. — Proposition as to Medicines. — No Answer. — A Final Effort. — Deputation of Prisoners sent to Washington. — A Failure. — Correspondence between Ould and Butler. — Order of Grant. — Report of Butler. — Responsibility of Grant for Andersonville. — Barbarities of the United States Government. — Treatment of our Men in Northern Prisons. — Deaths on Each Side 580

CHAPTER L. Subjugation the Object of the Government of the United States. — The only Terms of Peace offered to us. — Rejection of all Proposals. — Efforts of the Enemy. — Appearance of Jacques and Gilmore at Richmond. — Proposals. — Answer. — Commissioners sent to Canada. — The Object. — Proceedings. — Note of President Lincoln. — Permission to visit Richmond granted to Francis P. Blair. — Statement of my Interview with him. — My Letter to him. — Response of President Lincoln. — Three Persons sent by me to an Informal

Conference. — Their Report. — Remarks of Judge Campbell. — Oath of President Lincoln. — The Provision of the Constitution and his Proclamation compared. — Reserved Powers spoken of in the Constitution. — What are they, and where do they exist ? — Terms of Surrender offered to our Soldiers 608

CHAPTER LI. General Sherman leaves Savannah. — His March impeded. — Difficulty in collecting Troops to oppose him. — The Line of the Salkehatchie. — Route of the Enemy's Advance. — Evacuation of Columbia. — Its Surrender by the Mayor. — Burning the City. — Sherman responsible. — Evacuation of Charleston. — The Confederate Forces in North Carolina. — General Johnston's Estimate. — General Johnston assigned to the Command. — The Enemy's Advance from Columbia to Fayetteville, North Carolina. — "Foraging Parties." — Sherman's Threat and Hampton's Reply. — Description of Federal " Treasure-Seekers" by Sherman's Aide-de-Camp. — Failure of Johnston's Projected Attack at Fayetteville. — Affair at Kinston. — Cavalry Exploits. — General Johnston withdraws to Smithfield. — Encounter at Averysboro. — Battles of Bentonville. — Union of Sherman's and Schofield's Forces. — Johnston's Retreat to Raleigh 625

CHAPTER LII. Siege of Petersburg. — Violent Assault upon our Position. — A Cavalry Expedition. — Contest near Ream's Station. — The City invested with Earthworks. — Position of the Forces. — The Mine exploded, and an Assault made. — Attacks on our Lines. — Object of the Enemy. — Our Strength. — Assault on Fort Fisher. — Evacuation of Wilmington. — Purpose of Grant's Campaign. — Lee's Conference with the President. — Plans. — Sortie against Fort Steadman. — Movements of Grant farther to Lee's right. — Army retires from Petersburg. — The Capitulation. — Letters of Lee 637

CHAPTER LIII. General Lee advises the Evacuation of Richmond. — Withdrawal of the Troops. The Naval Force. — The Conflagration in Richmond. — Telegram of Lee to the President. — The Evacuation complete. — The Charge of the Removal of Supplies intended for Lee's Army. — The Facts. — Arrangement with General Lee. — Proclamation. — Reports of Scouts 661

CHAPTER LIV. Invitation of General Johnston to a Conference. — Its Object. — Its Result. — Provisions on the Line of Retreat. — Notice of President Lincoln's Assassination. — Correspondence between Johnston and Sherman. — Terms of the Convention. — Approved by the Confederate Government. — Rejected by the United States Government. — Instructions to General Johnston. — Disobeyed. — Statements of General Johnston. — His Surrender. — Movements of the President South. — His Plans. — Order of General E. K. Smith to his Soldiers. — Surrender. — Numbers paroled. — The President overtakes his Family. — His Capture. — Taken to Hampton Roads, and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe 678

CHAPTER LV. Number of the Enemy's Forces in the War. — Number of the Enemy's Troops from Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee. — Cruel Conduct of the War. — Statements in 1862. — Statements in 1863. — Emancipation Proclamation. — Statements in 1864. — General Hunter's Proceedings near Lynchburg. — Cruelties in Sherman's March through South Carolina . . . 705

CHAPTER LVI. Final Subjugation of the Confederate States. — Result of the Contest. — A Simple Process of Restoration. — Rejected by the United States Government. — A Forced Union. — The President's Proclamation examined. — The Guarantee, not to destroy. — Provisional Governors. — Their Duties. — Voters. — First Movement made in Virginia. — Government set up. — Proceedings. — Action of So-called Legislature. — Constitutional

Amendment. — Case of Dr. Watson. — Civil Rights Bill. — Storm brewing. — Congress refuses to admit Senators and Representatives to Seats. — Committee on " Reconstruction." — Freedmen's Bureau. — Report of Committee. — Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. — Extent of Ratification. — Another Step taken by Congress. — Military Commanders appointed over Confederate States, with Unlimited Powers. — Reconstruction by the Bayonet. — Course of Proceedings required. — Two Governments for Each State. — Major-Generals appointed. — Further Acts of Congress. — Proceedings commenced by the Major-General at Richmond. — Civil Governor appointed. — Military Districts and Sub-districts. — Registration. — So-called State Convention. — So-called Legislature. — Its Action. — Measures required by Congress for the Enfranchisement of Negroes adopted by the So-called Legislature. — Assertion of Senator Garret Davis. — State represented in Congress 607

CHAPTER LVII. Final Subjugation of the Confederate States (continued). — Slaves declared free by Military Commanders in North Carolina. — Provisional Governor. — Convention. — Military Commander. — Governor-elect turned out. — His Protest. — Members of Congress admitted. — Proceedings in South Carolina. — Arrest of Judge Aldrich. — Military Reversal of Sentence of the Court. — Post Commanders. — Jurors. — Proceedings in Georgia. — President's Plan. — Plan of Congress enforced. — Other Events. — Proceedings in Florida. — Rival Conventions. — Plan of Congress enforced. — Proceedings in Alabama. — Suspension of Bishop Wilmer by the Military Commander. — Military Authority. — Action of Congress. — Proceedings in Mississippi. — Constitutionality of the Act of Congress before the Supreme Court. — Remarks of Chief-Justice Chase. — Military Arrests. — Removals. — The Chief-Justice of the State resigns. — The So-called Constitution rejected. — Ames appointed Governor. — Proceedings in Louisiana. — Plan of Congress enforced. — Other Measures. — Arkansas. — Texas. — Opinion of the United States Attorney-General on Military Commanders. — Consequences that followed the Measures of Congress. — Increase in State Debts. — Increase in Frauds and Crimes. — Examples. — Investigating Committees of Congress. — The Unalienable Rights of Man. — The Sovereignty of the People and the Supremacy of Law gone . 737