

themselves. As the candidate of the Free Soil or People's party, John C. Fremont of California was brought forward. The exclusion of slavery from all the Territories of the United States by congressional action was the distinctive principle of the Free Soil platform. Meanwhile, an American or Know-Nothing party had arisen in the country, the leaders of which, anxious to ignore the slavery question and to restrict foreign influences in the nation, nominated Millard Fillmore for the presidency. But the slavery question could not be put aside; on that issue the people were really divided. A large majority decided in favor of Mr. Buchanan for the presidency, while the choice for the vice-presidency fell on John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky.

CHAPTER LX.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION, 1857-1861.

JAMES BUCHANAN was a native of Pennsylvania, born on the 13th of April, 1791, educated for the profession of law. In 1831 he was appointed minister to Russia, was afterward elected to the Senate of the United States, and from that position was called to the office of secretary of state under President Polk. In 1853 he received the appointment of minister to Great Britain, and resided at London until his nomination for the presidency. As secretary of state in the new cabinet, General Lewis Cass of Michigan was chosen.

A few days after the inauguration of the new chief magistrate, the Supreme Court of the United States delivered the celebrated opinion known in American history as THE DRED SCOTT DECISION. Dred Scott, a negro, had been held as a slave by Dr. Emerson of Missouri, a surgeon in the United States army. On the removal of Emerson to Rock Island, Illinois, and afterwards, in 1836, to Fort Snelling, Minnesota, Scott was taken along; and at the latter place he and a negro woman, who had been bought by the surgeon, were married. Two children were born of the marriage, and then the whole family were taken back to St. Louis and sold. Dred thereupon brought suit for his freedom. The cause was heard in the circuit and supreme courts of Missouri, and, in May of 1854, was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. After a delay of nearly three years a decision was finally reached in March of 1857. Chief-Justice Taney, speaking

for the court, decided that negroes, whether free or slave, were not citizens of the United States, and that they could not become such by any process known to the Constitution; that under the laws of the United States a negro could neither sue nor be sued, and that therefore the court had no jurisdiction of Dred Scott's cause; that a slave was to be regarded in the light of a personal chattel, and that he might be removed from place to place by his owner as any other piece of property; that the Constitution gave to every slave-holder the right of removing to or through any State or Territory with his slaves, and of returning at his will with them to a State where slavery was recognized by law; and that therefore the Missouri Compromise of 1820, as well as the compromise measures of 1850, was unconstitutional and void. In these opinions six of the associate justices of the supreme bench—Wayne, Nelson, Grier, Daniel, Campbell, and Catron—concurred; while two associates—Judges McLean and Curtis—dissented. The decision of the majority, which was accepted as the opinion of the court, gave great satisfaction to the ultra slave-holding sentiments of the South, but excited in the North thousands of indignant comments and much bitter opposition.

In the first year of Buchanan's administration there was a Mormon rebellion in Utah. The difficulty arose from an attempt to extend the judicial system of the United States over the Territory. Thus far Brigham Young, the Mormon governor, had had his own way of administering justice. The community of Mormons was organized on a plan very different from that existing in other Territories, and many usages had grown up in Utah which were repugnant to the laws of the country. When, therefore, a Federal judge was sent to preside in the Territory, he was resisted, insulted and driven violently from the seat of justice. The other officials of the Federal government were also expelled, and the Territory became the scene of a reign of terror. The Mormons, however, attempted a justification of their conduct on the ground that the character of the United States officers had been so low and vicious as to command no respect. But the excuse was deemed insufficient, and Brigham Young was superseded in the governorship by Alfred Cumming, superintendent of Indian affairs on the Upper Missouri. Judge Delana Eckels of Indiana was appointed chief-justice of the Territory; and an army of two thousand five hundred men was organized and despatched to Utah to put down lawlessness by force.

But Young and the Mormon elders were in no humor to give up their authority without a struggle. The approaching American

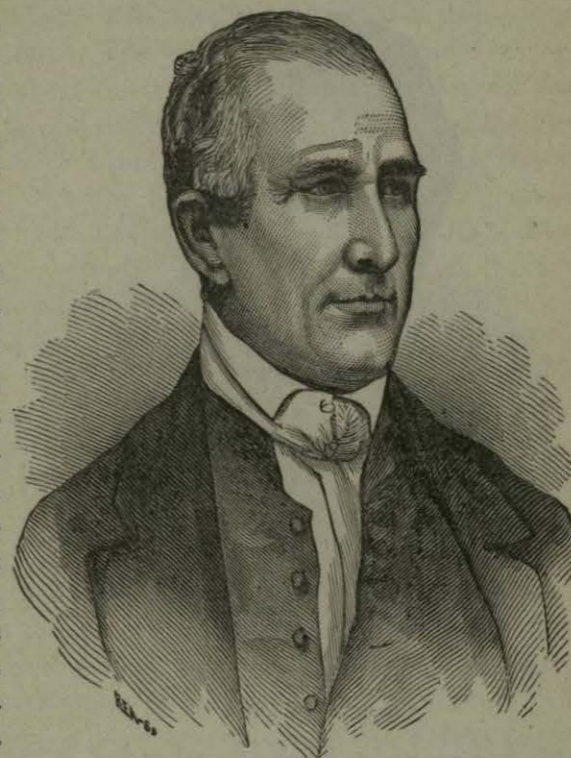
army was denounced as a horde of barbarians, and preparations were made for resistance. In September of 1857 the national forces reached the Territory; and on the 6th of October a company of Mormon rangers made good the threats of Young by attacking and destroying most of the supply trains of the army. Winter came on, and the Federal forces, under command of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, were obliged to find quarters on Black's Fork, near Fort Bridges. Meanwhile, however, the President had despatched Thomas L. Kane of Pennsylvania with conciliatory letters to the Mormons. Going by way of California, he reached Utah in the spring of 1858, and in a short time succeeded in bringing about a good understanding between Governor Cumming and the insurgents. In the latter part of May, Governor Powell of Kentucky and Major McCulloch of Texas arrived at the quarters of the army, bearing from the President a proclamation of pardon to all who would submit to the national authority. The passions of the Mormons had by this time somewhat subsided and they accepted the overture. In the fall of 1858 the army proceeded to Salt Lake City, but was soon afterwards quartered at Camp Floyd, forty miles distant. The Federal forces remained at this place until order was entirely restored, and in May of 1860 were withdrawn from the Territory.

Early in 1858 an American vessel, while innocently exploring the Paraguay River, in South America, was fired on by a jealous garrison. When reparation for the insult was demanded, none was given, and the government of the United States was obliged to send out a fleet to obtain satisfaction. A commissioner was sent with the squadron who was empowered to offer liberal terms of settlement for the injury. The authorities of Paraguay quailed before the American flag, and suitable apologies were made for the wrong which had been committed.

The 5th of August, 1858, was a memorable day in the history of the world. On that day was completed the laying of THE FIRST TELEGRAPHIC CABLE across the Atlantic Ocean. The successful accomplishment of this great work was due in a large measure to the energy and genius of Cyrus W. Field, a wealthy merchant of New York. The cable, one thousand six hundred and forty miles in length, was stretched from Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, to Valentia Bay, Ireland. Telegraphic communication was thus established between the Old World and the New, and the fraternal greetings of peaceful nations were for the first time transmitted through the depths of the sea.

In 1858 Minnesota was added to the Union. The area of the new State was a little more than eighty-one thousand square miles, and its population at the date of admission a hundred and fifty thousand souls.

In the next year Oregon, the thirty-third State, was admitted, with a population of forty-eight thousand, and an area of eighty thousand square miles. On the 4th of the preceding March General Sam Houston of Texas bade adieu to the Senate of the United States and retired to private life. His career had been marked by the strangest vicissitudes. He was a Virginian by birth, but his youth was hardened among the mountains of Tennessee. He gained a military fame in the Seminole War, then rose



GENERAL SAM HOUSTON.

to political distinction, and was elected governor of his adopted State. Overshadowed with a domestic calamity, he suddenly resigned his office, left his home, and exiled himself among the Cherokees, by whom he was made a chief. Afterward he went to Texas, joined the patriots, and became a leading spirit in the struggle for independence. It was he who commanded in the decisive battle of San Jacinto; he who became first president of Texas, and also her first representative in the Senate of the United States. Through all the misfortunes, dangers and trials of his life his character stood like adamant.

In the fall of 1859 the people of the United States were called to mourn the death of WASHINGTON IRVING, THE PRINCE OF AMERICAN LETTERS. For full fifty years the powers of his sublime genius had been unremittingly devoted to the great work of creating for his native land a literature that should adorn and glorify his own and

after ages. On both sides of the Atlantic, in every civilized country, his name had become familiar as a household word. He it was, first of all, who wrung from the reluctant and proscriptive reviews of



WASHINGTON IRVING.

England and Scotland an acknowledgment of the power and originality of American genius. The literature of the New World was no longer a scoff and a by-word when Murray, the bookseller of London, was obliged to pay for the manuscript of "Bracebridge Hall"—which he had not yet seen—the sum of a thousand guineas. Except Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron no other author of Irving's times received such a munifi-

cent reward for his labor—no other was so much praised and loved. Whether as humorist or writer of prose fiction, historian or biographer, his name ranks among the noblest and brightest of the world. When the petty revolutions of society and the bloody conflicts of the battle field are forgotten, the monument which the affections of his countrymen have reared to the memory of the illustrious Irving shall stand unshaken and untarnished, transmitting to all after times the record of his virtues and achievements.

From the beginning the new administration had stormy times. The slavery question continued to vex the nation. The Dred Scott Decision, to which the President had looked as a measure calculated to allay the excitement, had only added fuel to the flame. In some of the Free States the opposition rose so high that PERSONAL LIBERTY BILLS were passed, the object of which was to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave law. In the fall of 1859 the excitement was still further increased by the mad attempt of John Brown of Kansas to excite a general insurrection among the slaves. With a

party of twenty-one men as daring as himself, he made a sudden descent on the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, captured the place, and held his ground for nearly two days. The national troops and the militia of Virginia were called out in order to suppress the revolt. Thirteen of Brown's men were killed, two made their escape, and the rest were captured. The leader and his six companions were given over to the authorities of Virginia, tried, condemned and hanged. In Kansas the old controversy still continued, but the Free Soil party gained ground so rapidly as to make it certain that slavery would be interdicted from the State. All these facts and events tended to widen the breach between the people of the North and the South. Such was the alarming condition of affairs when the time arrived for holding the nineteenth presidential election.

The canvass was one of intense excitement. Four candidates were presented. The choice of the People's party—now called Republican—was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. The platform of principles adopted by this party again declared opposition to the extension of slavery to be the vital issue. In the month of April the Democratic convention assembled at Charleston. The delegates were divided on the question of slavery, and after much debating the party was disrupted. The Southern delegates, unable to obtain a distinct expression of their views in the platform of principles, and seeing that the Northern wing was determined to nominate Mr. Douglas—the great defender of popular sovereignty—withdraw from the convention. The rest continued in session, balloted for a while for a candidate, and on the 3d of May adjourned to Baltimore, where the delegates, reassembling on the 18th of June, chose Douglas as their standard-bearer in the approaching canvass. The seceding delegates adjourned first to Richmond, and afterwards to Baltimore, where they met on the 28th of June and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The American party—now known as Constitutional Unionists—chose John Bell of Tennessee as their candidate. The contest resulted in the election of Mr. Lincoln. He received the electoral votes of all the Northern States except those of New Jersey, which were divided between himself and his two opponents. The support of the Southern States was for the most part given to Breckinridge. The States of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee cast their ballots, thirty-nine in number, for Mr. Bell. Mr. Douglas received a large popular but small electoral vote, his supporters being scattered through all the States without the concentration necessary to carry any. Thus after controlling the destinies of the Republic for sixty years, with only

the temporary overthrow of 1840, the Democratic party was broken into fragments and driven from the field.

The result of the election had been anticipated. The leaders of the South had openly declared that the choice of Lincoln would be regarded as a just cause for the dissolution of the Union. The Republicans of the populous North crowded to the polls, and their favorite was chosen. As to the government, it was under the control of the Douglas Democracy; but a majority of the cabinet and a large number of senators and representatives in Congress were supporters of Mr. Breckinridge and the advocates of disunion as a justifiable measure. It was now evident that with the incoming of the new administration all the departments of the government would pass under the control of the Republican party. The times were full of passion, animosity and rashness. It was seen that disunion was now possible, and that the possibility would shortly be removed. The attitude of the President favored the measure. He was not himself a disunionist. He denied the right of a State to secede; but at the same time he declared himself not armed with the constitutional power necessary to prevent secession by force. The interval, therefore, between the presidential election in November of 1860 and the inauguration of the following spring was seized by the leaders of the South as the opportune moment for dissolving the Union.

The actual work of secession began in South Carolina. On the 17th of December, 1860, a convention assembled at Charleston, and after three days of deliberation passed a resolution that the union hitherto existing between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the United States of America, was dissolved. It was a step of fearful importance. The action was contagious. The sentiment of disunion spread with great rapidity. The cotton-growing States were almost unanimous in support of the measure. By the 1st of February, 1861, six other States—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas—had passed ordinances of secession and withdrawn from the Union. Nearly all of the senators and representatives of those States, following the action of their constituents, resigned their seats in Congress and gave themselves to the disunion cause.

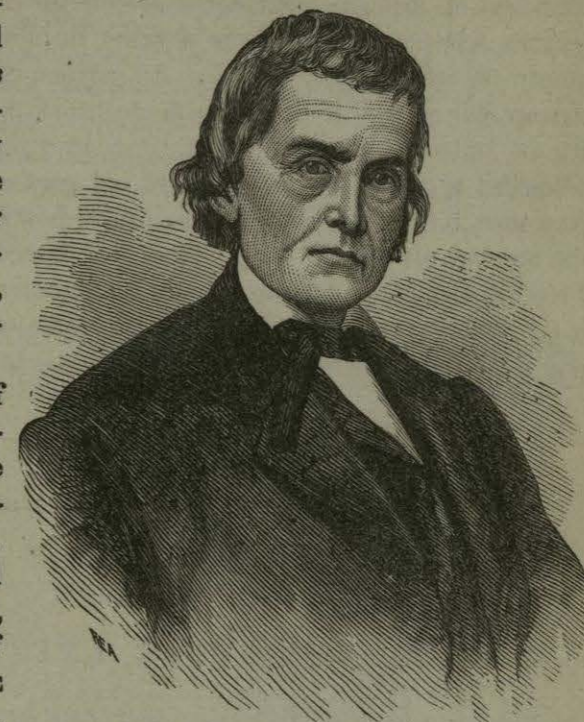
In the secession conventions there was but little opposition to the movement. In some instances a considerable minority vote was cast. A few of the speakers boldly denounced disunion as bad in principle and ruinous in its results. The course of Alexander H. Stephens, afterward Vice-President of the Confederate States, was peculiar. In the convention of Georgia he undertook the task of preventing the secession of his State. He delivered a long and powerful oration in which he de-

fended the theory of secession, advocated the doctrine of State sovereignty, declared his intention of abiding by the decision of the convention, but at the same time spoke against secession, on the ground that *the measure was impolitic, unwise, disastrous*. Not a few prominent men at the South held similar views; but the opposite opinion prevailed, and secession was accomplished.

On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from six of the seceded States assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a new government, under the name of THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

On the 8th of the month the government was organized by the election of Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President. On the same day of the meeting of the Confederate Congress, at Montgomery, a peace conference assembled at Washington. Delegates from twenty-one States were present; certain amendments to the Constitution were proposed and laid before Congress for adoption, but that body gave little heed to the measures suggested, and the conference adjourned without practical results.

The country seemed on the verge of ruin. The national government was for the time being paralyzed. The army was stationed in detachments on remote frontiers. The fleet was scattered in distant seas. The President was distracted with hesitancy and the adverse counsels of his friends. With the exception of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in Charleston Harbor, Fort Pickens near Pensacola, and Fortress Monroe in the Chesapeake, all the important posts in the seceded States had been



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

seized by the Confederate authorities, even before the organization of their government. All this while the local warfare in Kansas had continued; but the Free State party had at last gained the ascendancy, and the early admission of the new commonwealth, with two additional Republican senators, was foreseen. Early in January the President made a feeble attempt to reinforce and provision the garrison of Fort Sumter. The steamer *Star of the West* was sent with men and supplies, but in approaching the harbor of Charleston was fired on by a Confederate battery and compelled to return. Thus in gloom and grief, and the upheavals of revolution, the administration of Buchanan drew to a close. Such was the dreadful condition of affairs that it was deemed prudent for the new President to approach the capital without recognition. For the first time in the history of the nation the chief magistrate of the republic slipped into Washington city by night.

CHAPTER LXI.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION, AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, sixteenth President of the United States, was a native of Kentucky, born in the county of Larue, on the 12th of February, 1809. His ancestors had emigrated thither from Rockingham County, Virginia: both father and mother were Virginians by birth. The childhood of the future President was passed in utter obscurity. In 1816 his father removed to Spencer County, Indiana—just then admitted into the Union—and built a cabin in the woods near the present village of Gentryville. Here was the scene of Lincoln's boyhood—a constant struggle with poverty, hardship, and toil. At the age of sixteen we find him managing a ferry across the Ohio, at the mouth of Anderson Creek—a service for which he was paid *six dollars per month*. In his youth he received in the aggregate about one year of schooling, which was all he ever had in the way of education. In the year of his majority he removed with his father's family to the north fork of the Sangamon, ten miles west of Decatur, Illinois. Here another log-house was built and a small farm cleared

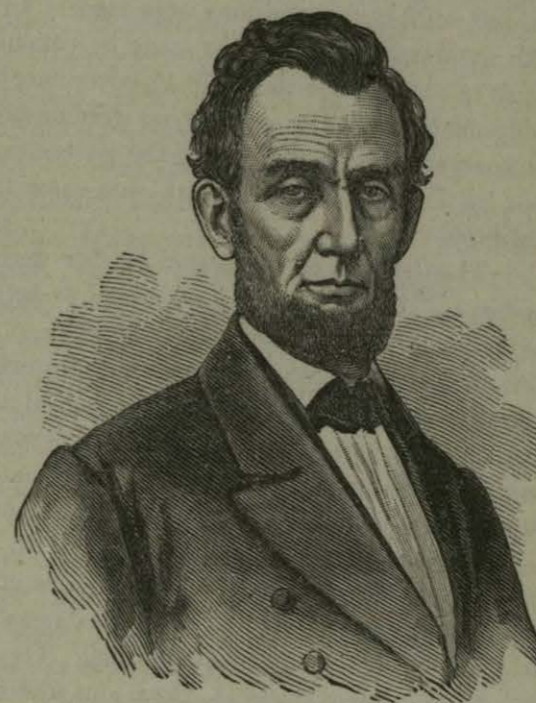
and fenced; and here Abraham Lincoln began for himself the hard battle of life.

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear;—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train—
Rough culture!—but such trees large fruit may bear,
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain!

After serving as a flatboatman on the Mississippi, Lincoln returned to New Salem, twenty miles from Springfield, and became

a clerk in a country store. Then, as captain of a company of volunteers, he served in the Black Hawk war. From 1833 to 1836 he was engaged in merchandising, but a dissolute partner brought him to bankruptcy. Turning his attention to the practice of the law, for which profession he had always had a liking, he gradually gained the attention of his fellow-men and soon rose to distinction. His peculiar power—manifested at all periods of his life—



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

of seizing the most difficult thought and presenting it in such quaint and homely phrase as to make the truth appreciable by all men, made him a natural leader of the people. As candidate for the office of United States senator from Illinois he first revealed to the nation, in his great debates with Senator Douglas, the full scope and originality of his genius. Now, at the age of fifty-two, he found laid upon him

such a burden of care and responsibility as had not been borne by any ruler of modern times. On the occasion of his inauguration he delivered a long and thoughtful address, declaring his fixed purpose to uphold the Constitution, enforce the laws, and preserve the integrity of the Union.

The new cabinet was organized with William H. Seward of New York as secretary of state. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio was chosen secretary of the treasury, and Simon Cameron secretary of war; but he, in the following January, was succeeded in office by Edwin M. Stanton. The secretaryship of the navy was conferred on Gideon Welles. In his inaugural address and first official papers the President indicated the policy of the new administration by declaring his purpose to repossess the forts, arsenals and public property which had been seized by the Confederate authorities. It was with this purpose that the first military preparations were made. In the mean time, on the 12th of March, an effort was made by commissioners of the seceded States to obtain from the national government a recognition of their independence; but the negotiations were unsuccessful. Then followed a second attempt on the part of the government to reinforce the garrison of Fort Sumter; and with that came the beginning of actual hostilities.

The defences of Charleston Harbor were held by Major Robert Anderson. His entire force amounted to seventy-nine men. Owing to the weakness of his garrison, he deemed it prudent to evacuate Fort Moultrie and retire to Sumter. Meanwhile, Confederate volunteers had flocked to the city, and powerful batteries had been built about the harbor. When it became known that the Federal government would reinforce the forts, the authorities of the Confederate States determined to anticipate the movement by compelling Anderson to surrender. Accordingly, on the 11th of April, General P. T. Beauregard, commandant of Charleston, sent a flag to Fort Sumter, demanding an evacuation. Major Anderson replied that he should hold the fortress and defend his flag. On the following morning, at half-past four o'clock, the first gun was fired from a Confederate battery. A terrific bombardment of thirty-four hours' duration followed; the fort was reduced to ruins, set on fire, and obliged to capitulate. The honors of war were granted to Anderson and his men, who had made a brave and obstinate resistance. Although the cannonade had been long continued and severe, no lives were lost either in the fort or on the shore. Thus the defences of Charleston Harbor were secured by the Confederates.

The news of this startling event went through the country like a flame of fire. There had been some expectation of violence, but the actual shock came like a clap of thunder. The people of the towns poured into the streets and the country folk flocked to the villages to gather the tidings and to comment on the coming conflict. Gray-haired men talked gravely of the deed that was done, and prophesied of its consequences. Public opinion in both the North and the South was rapidly consolidated. Three days after the fall of Sumter President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve three months in the overthrow of the secession movement. Two days later Virginia seceded from the Union. On May 6th Arkansas followed the example, and then North Carolina on the 20th of the same month. In Tennessee—especially in East Tennessee—there was a powerful opposition to disunion, and it was not until the 8th of June that a secession ordinance could be passed. In Missouri, as will presently be seen, the movement resulted in civil war, while in Kentucky the authorities issued a proclamation of neutrality. The people of Maryland were divided into hostile parties, the disunion sentiment being largely prevalent.

On the 19th of April, when the first regiments of Massachusetts volunteers were passing through Baltimore on their way to Washington, they were fired upon by the citizens, and three men killed. This was the first bloodshed of the war. On the day before this event a body of Confederate soldiers advanced against the armory of the United States at Harper's Ferry. The officer in command hastily destroyed a portion of the vast magazine collected there, and then escaped into Pennsylvania. On the 20th of the month another company of Virginians assailed the great navy yard at Norfolk. The officers commanding fired the buildings and ships, spiked the cannon and withdrew their forces. Most of the guns and many of the vessels were afterward recovered by the Confederates, the property thus captured amounting to fully ten millions of dollars. So rapidly was Virginia filled with volunteers and troops from the South that, for a while, Washington city was in danger of being taken. But the capital was soon secured from immediate danger; and on the 3d of May the President issued another call for soldiers. This time the number was set at eighty-three thousand, and the term of service at three years or during the war. Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott was made commander-in-chief. As many war ships as could be provided were sent to blockade the Southern ports. On every side were heard the notes of preparation. In the seceded States there was boundless and incessant activity. Already the Southern Congress had adjourned from Montgomery, to meet on the 20th of July at Richmond, which was

chosen as the capital of the Confederacy. To that place had already come Mr. Davis and the officers of his cabinet, for the purpose of directing the affairs of the government and the army. So stood the antagonistic powers in the beginning of June, 1861. It was now evident to all men (how slow they had been to believe it!) that a great war, perhaps the greatest in modern times, was impending over the nation. It is appropriate to look briefly into THE CAUSES of the approaching conflict.

CHAPTER LXII.

CAUSES.

THE first and most general cause of the civil war in the United States was the *different construction put upon the national Constitution by the people of the North and the South*. A difference of opinion had always existed as to how that instrument was to be understood. The question at issue was as to the relation between the States and the general government. One party held that under the Constitution the Union of the States is indissoluble; that the sovereignty of the nation is lodged in the central government; that the States are subordinate; that the acts of Congress, until they are repealed or pronounced unconstitutional by the supreme court, are binding on the States; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is due to the general government, and not to his own State; and that all attempts at nullification and disunion are in their nature disloyal and treasonable. The other party held that the national Constitution is a compact between sovereign States; that for certain reasons the Union may be dissolved; that the sovereignty of the nation is lodged in the individual States, and not in the central government; that Congress can exercise no other than delegated powers; that a State feeling aggrieved may annul an act of Congress; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is due to his own State, and afterward to the general government; and that acts of nullification and disunion are justifiable, revolutionary and honorable.

Here was an issue in its consequences the most fearful that ever disturbed a nation. It struck right into the vitals of the government.

It threatened with each renewal of the agitation to undo the whole civil structure of the United States. For a long time the parties who disputed about the meaning of the Constitution were scattered in various sections. In the earlier history of the country the doctrine of State sovereignty was most advocated in New England. With the rise of the tariff question the position of parties changed. Since the tariff—a congressional measure—favored the Eastern States at the expense of the South, it came to pass naturally that the people of New England passed over to the advocacy of national sovereignty, while the people of the South took up the doctrine of State rights. Thus it happened that as early as 1831 the right of nullifying an act of Congress was openly advocated in South Carolina, and thus also it happened that the belief in State sovereignty became more prevalent in the South than in the North. These facts tended powerfully to produce sectional parties and to bring them into conflict.

A second general cause of the civil war was the *different system of labor in the North and in the South*. In the former section the laborers were freemen, citizens, voters; in the latter, bondmen, property, slaves. In the South the theory was that the capital of a country should own the labor; in the North that both labor and capital are free. In the beginning all the colonies had been slaveholding. In the Eastern and Middle States the system of slave-labor was gradually abolished, being unprofitable. In the five great States formed out of the North-western Territory slavery was excluded by the original compact under which that Territory was organized. Thus there came to be a dividing line drawn through the Union east and west. It was evident, therefore, that whenever the question of slavery was agitated a sectional division would arise between the parties, and that disunion and war would be threatened. The danger arising from this source was increased and the discord between the sections aggravated by several subordinate causes.

The first of these was the invention of THE COTTON GIN. In 1793, Eli Whitney, a young collegian of Massachusetts, went to Georgia, and resided with the family of Mrs. Greene, widow of General Greene, of the Revolution. While there his attention was directed to the tedious and difficult process of picking cotton by hand—that is, separating the seed from the fibre. So slow was the process that the production of upland cotton was nearly profitless. The industry of the cotton-growing States was paralyzed by the tediousness of preparing the product for the market. Mr. Whitney undertook to remove the difficulty, and succeeded in inventing a gin which astonished the beholder by the rapidity and excellence of its work. From being profitless, cotton became the most profitable of all the staples. The industry of the South was revolution-