

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nation is lodged in the central government; that the States are subordinate; that the acts of Congress, until they are repealed or pronounced unconstitutional by the supreme court, are binding on the States; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is due to the general government,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-

ized. Before the civil war it was estimated that Whitney's gin had added a thousand millions of dollars to the revenues of the Southern States. The American crop had grown to be seven-eighths of all the cotton produced in the world. Just in proportion to the increased profitability of cotton slave-labor became important, slaves valuable and the system of slavery a fixed and deep-rooted institution.

From this time onward there was constant danger that the slavery question would so embitter the politics and legislation of the country as to bring about disunion. The danger of such a result was fully manifested in THE MISSOURI AGITATION of 1820-21. Threats of dissolving the Union were freely made in both the North and the South—in the North, because of the proposed enlargement of the domain of slavery; in the South, because of the proposed rejection of Missouri as a slave-holding State. When the Missouri Compromise was enacted, it was the hope of Mr. Clay and his fellow-statesmen to save the Union by removing for ever the slavery question from the politics of the country. In that they succeeded for a while.

Next came THE NULLIFICATION ACTS of South Carolina. And these, too, turned upon the institution of slavery and the profitability of cotton. The Southern States had become cotton-producing; the Eastern States had given themselves to manufacturing. The tariff measures favored manufactures at the expense of producers. Mr. Calhoun and his friends proposed to remedy the evil complained of by annulling the laws of Congress. His measures failed; but another compromise was found necessary in order to allay the animosities which had been awakened.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, with the consequent enlargement of the domain of slavery, led to a renewal of the agitation. Those who opposed the Mexican War did so, not so much because of the injustice of the conflict as because of the fact that thereby slavery would be extended. Then, at the close of the war, came another enormous acquisition of territory. Whether the same should be made into free or slave-holding States was the question next agitated. This controversy led to the passage of THE OMNIBUS BILL, by which again for a brief period the excitement was allayed.

In 1854 THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA bill was passed. Thereby the Missouri Compromise was repealed and the whole question opened anew. Meanwhile, the character and the civilization of the Northern and the Southern people had become quite different. In population and wealth the North had far outgrown the South. In the struggle for territorial dominion the North had gained a considerable advantage. In 1860 the division of the Democratic party made certain the election of Mr. Lincoln

by the votes of the Northern States. The people of the South were exasperated at the choice of a chief-magistrate whom they regarded as indifferent to their welfare and hostile to their interests.

The third general cause of the civil war was *the want of intercourse between the people of the North and the South*. The great railroads and thoroughfares ran east and west. Emigration flowed from the East to the West. Between the North and the South there was little travel or interchange of opinion. From want of acquaintance the people, without intending it, became estranged, jealous, suspicious. They misjudged each other's motives. They misrepresented each other's beliefs and purposes. They suspected each other of dishonesty and ill-will. Before the outbreak of the war the people of the two sections looked upon each other almost in the light of different nationalities.

A fourth cause was found in *the publication of sectional books*. During the twenty years preceding the war many works were published, both in the North and the South, whose popularity depended wholly on the animosity existing between the two sections. Such books were generally filled with ridicule and falsehood. The manners and customs, language and beliefs, of one section were held up to the contempt and scorn of the people of the other section. The minds of all classes, especially of the young, were thus prejudiced and poisoned. In the North the belief was fostered that the South was given up to inhumanity, ignorance and barbarism, while in the South the opinion prevailed that the Northern people were a selfish race of mean, cold-blooded Yankees.

11. *The evil influence of demagogues* may be cited as the fifth general cause of the war. It is the misfortune of republican governments that they many times fall under the leadership of bad men. In the United States the demagogue has enjoyed special opportunities for mischief, and the people have suffered in proportion. From 1850 to 1860 American statesmanship and patriotism were at a low ebb. Many ambitious and scheming men had come to the front, taken control of the political parties and proclaimed themselves the leaders of public opinion. Their purposes were wholly selfish. The welfare and peace of the country were put aside as of no value. In order to gain power and keep it many unprincipled men in the South were anxious to destroy the Union, while the demagogues of the North were willing to *abuse* the Union in order to accomplish their own bad purposes. Such, in brief, were the causes which led to the civil war, one of the most terrible conflicts of modern times.

CHAPTER LXIII.

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

ON the 24th of May the Union army crossed the Potomac from Washington city to Alexandria. At this time Fortress Monroe, at the mouth of James River, was held by twelve thousand men, under command of General B. F. Butler. At Bethel Church, in the immediate vicinity,



SCENE OF OPERATIONS IN WEST VIRGINIA, 1861.

was stationed a detachment of Confederates commanded by General Magruder. On the 10th of June a body of Union troops was sent to dislodge them, but was repulsed with considerable loss. Meanwhile the conquest of West Virginia had been undertaken by General George B. McClellan. In the last days of May General T. A. Morris moved forward from Parkersburg to Grafton with a force of Ohio and Indiana troops, and on the 3d of June came upon the Confederates stationed at Philippi. After a brief engagement the Federals were successful; the Confederates retreated toward the mountains. General McClellan now arrived, took command in person, and on the 11th of July gained a victory at Rich Mountain. General Garnett, the Confederate commander, fell back with his forces to Carrick's Ford, on Cheat River, made a stand, was again defeated and himself killed in the battle. On the 10th of August General Floyd, commanding a detachment of Confederates at Carnifex Ferry, on Gauley River, was attacked by General Rosecrans and obliged to retreat. On the 14th of September a division of Confederates under General Robert E. Lee was beaten in an engagement at Cheat Mountain—an action which completed the restoration of Federal authority in West Virginia. In the mean time, other movements of vast importance had taken place.

In the beginning of June General Robert Patterson marched from Chambersburg with the intention of recapturing Harper's Ferry. On the 11th of the month a division of the army commanded by Colonel

Lewis Wallace made a sudden and successful onset upon a detachment of Confederates stationed at Romney. Patterson then crossed the Potomac with the main body, entered the Shenandoah Valley, and pressed back the Confederate forces to Winchester. Thus far there had been only petty engagements, skirmishes and marching. The time had now come when the first great battle of the war was to be fought.

After the Union successes in West Virginia the main body of the Confederates, under command of General Beauregard, was concentrated at Manassas Junction, on the Orange Railroad, twenty-seven miles west of Alexandria. Another large force, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, was within supporting distance in the Shenandoah Valley. The Union army at Alexandria was commanded by General Irwin McDowell, while General Patterson was stationed in front of Johnston to watch his movements and prevent his forming a junction with Beauregard. On the 16th of July the national army moved forward. Two days afterward an unimportant engagement took place between Centreville and Bull Run. The Unionists then pressed on, and on the morning of the 21st came upon the Confederate army, strongly posted between Bull Run and Manassas Junction. A general battle ensued, continuing with great severity until noonday. At that hour the advantage was with McDowell, and it seemed not unlikely that the Confederates would suffer a complete defeat.



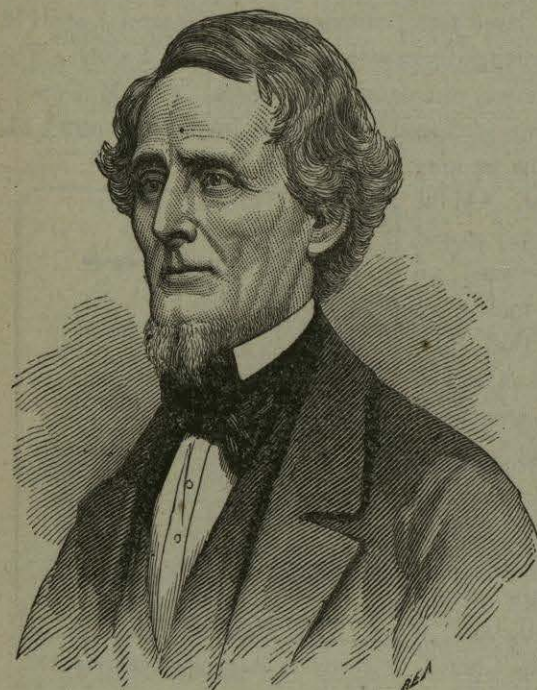
VICINITY OF MANASSAS JUNCTION, 1861.

But in the crisis of the battle General Johnston arrived with nearly six thousand fresh troops from the Shenandoah Valley. The tide of victory turned immediately, and in a short time McDowell's whole army was hurled back in utter rout and confusion. A ruinous panic spread through the defeated host. Soldiers and citizens, regulars and volunteers, horsemen and footmen, rolled back in a disorganized mass into the defences of Washington. The Union loss in killed, wounded and prisoners amounted to two thousand nine hundred and fifty-two; that of the Confederates to two thousand and fifty.

Great was the humiliation of the North, and greater the rejoicing of the South. For a while the Federal government was more concerned about its own safety than about the conquest of Richmond. In that city, on the

day before the battle, the new Confederate government was organized. In the Southern Congress and cabinet were many men of distinguished abilities. Jefferson Davis, the President, was a far-sighted man, of wide experience in the affairs of state, and considerable reputation as a soldier. He had led the troops of Mississippi in the Mexican War, had served in both houses of the national Congress, and as a member of President Pierce's cabinet. His talents, decision of character and ardent advocacy of State

rights had made him a natural leader of the South.



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

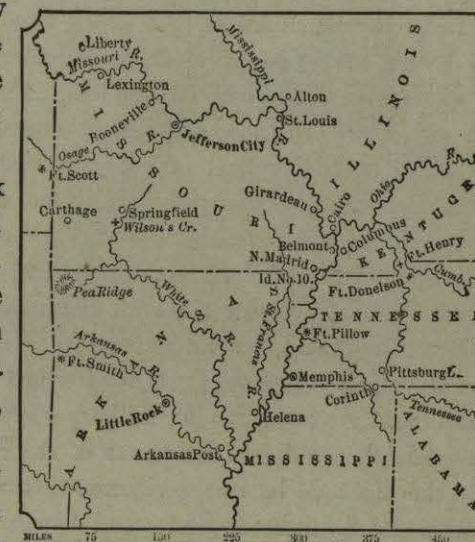
The next military movements were made in Missouri. That commonwealth, though slaveholding, still retained its place in the Union. A convention, called by Governor Jackson in accordance with an act of the legislature, had in the previous March refused to pass an ordinance of secession. The disunionists, however, were numerous and powerful; the governor favored their cause, and the State became a battle-field for the contending

parties. Both Federal and Confederate camps were organized, and hostilities began in several places. By capturing the United States arsenal at Liberty, in Clay county, the Confederates obtained a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. By the formation of Camp Jackson, near St. Louis, the arsenal in that city was also endangered; but by the vigilance of Captain Nathaniel Lyon the arms and stores were sent up the river to Alton, and thence to Springfield. Camp Jackson was soon afterward broken up by the exertions of the same officer.

The lead-mines in the south-west part of the State became an object of great importance to the Confederates, who, in order to secure them,

hurried up large bodies of troops from Arkansas and Texas. On the 17th of June Lyon encountered Governor Jackson with a Confederate force at Booneville, and gained a decided advantage. On the 5th of July the Unionists, led by Colonel Franz Sigel, were again successful in a severe engagement with the governor at Carthage. On the 10th of August the hardest battle thus far fought in the West occurred at Wilson's Creek, a short distance south of Springfield. General Lyon made a daring but rash attack on a much superior force of Confederates under command of Generals McCullough and Price. The Federals at first gained the field against heavy odds, but General Lyon was killed, and his men retreated under direction of Sigel.

General Price now pressed northward across the State to Lexington, on the Missouri River. This place was defended by a force of Federals two thousand six hundred strong, commanded by Colonel Mulligan. A stubborn defence was made by the garrison, but Mulligan was soon obliged to capitulate. Price then turned southward, and on the 16th of October Lexington was retaken by the Federals. General John C. Fremont, who had been appointed to the command of



SCENE OF OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTH-WEST, 1861.

the Union forces in Missouri, followed the Confederates as far as Springfield, and was on the eve of making an attack, when he was superseded by General Hunter. The latter, after retreating to St. Louis, was in turn superseded by General Halleck on the 18th of November. It was now Price's turn to fall back toward Arkansas. The only remaining movement of importance was at Belmont, on the Mississippi.

The Confederate general Polk, acting under orders of his government, had, notwithstanding that State's neutrality, entered Kentucky with an army, and had captured the town of Columbus. Batteries planted here commanded the Mississippi. The Confederates gathered in force at Belmont, on the opposite bank. In order to dislodge them Colonel Ulysses S. Grant, with a brigade of three thousand Illinois troops, was sent by way of Cairo into Missouri. On the 7th of November he made a vigor-

ous and successful attack on the Confederate camp; but General Polk sent reinforcements across the river, the guns of Columbus were brought to bear on the Union position, and Grant was obliged to retreat.

The rout at Bull Run had the effect to quicken the energies of the North, and troops were rapidly hurried to Washington. The aged General Scott, unable to bear the burden resting upon him, retired from active duty, and General McClellan was called from West Virginia to take command of the Army of the Potomac. By the middle of October his forces had increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men. On the 21st of that month a brigade, numbering nearly two thousand, was thrown across the Potomac at Ball's Bluff. Without proper support or means of retreat, the Federals were attacked by a strong force of Confederates under General Evans, driven to the river, their leader, Colonel Baker, killed, and the whole force routed with terrible loss. Fully eight hundred of Baker's men were killed, wounded or taken prisoners.

During the summer of 1861 the Federal government sent to sea several important naval expeditions. One of these, commanded by Commodore Stringham and General Butler, proceeded to the North Carolina coast, and on the 29th of August captured the forts at Hatteras Inlet. On the 7th of November a second armament, under command of Commodore Dupont and General Thomas W. Sherman, entered the harbor of Port Royal, and captured Forts Walker and Beauregard. Hilton Head, a point most advantageous for military operations against Charleston and Savannah, thus fell into the power of the Federals. Around the whole coast the blockade became so rigorous that commerce and communication between the Confederate States and foreign nations were almost wholly cut off. In this juncture of affairs a difficulty arose which brought the United States and Great Britain to the very verge of war.

The Confederate government had appointed James M. Mason and John Slidell, formerly senators of the United States, to go abroad as ambassadors from the Confederate States to France and England. The envoys went on board a blockade runner, and escaping from Charleston Harbor, reached Havana in safety. At that port they took passage on the British mail steamer *Trent*, and sailed for Europe. On the 8th of November the vessel was overtaken by the United States frigate *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes. The *Trent* was hailed and boarded; the two ambassadors and their secretaries were seized, transferred to the *San Jacinto*, carried to Boston, and imprisoned. The *Trent* proceeded on her way to England; the story of the insult to the British flag was told, and the whole kingdom burst out in a blaze of wrath.

At first the people of the United States loudly applauded Captain

Wilkes, and the government was disposed to defend his action. Had such a course been taken, war would have been inevitable. The country was saved from the peril by the adroit and far-reaching diplomacy of William H. Seward, the secretary of state. When Great Britain demanded reparation for the insult and the immediate liberation of the prisoners, he replied in a mild, cautious and very able paper. It was conceded that the seizure of Mason and Slidell was not justifiable according to the law of nations. A suitable apology was made for the wrong done, the Confederate ambassadors were liberated, put on board a vessel and sent to their destination. This action of the secretary was both just and politic. The peril of war went by, and Great Britain was committed to a policy in regard to the rights of neutral flags which she had hitherto denied and which the United States had always contended for. So ended the first year of the civil war.



WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHAPTER LXIV.

CAMPAIGNS OF '62.

THE Federal forces now numbered about four hundred and fifty thousand men. Of these nearly two hundred thousand, under command of General McClellan, were encamped in the vicinity of Washington. Another army, commanded by General Buell, was stationed at Louisville,