CONFEDERATE STATES

ALMANAC,

AND

Repository of Useful Anowledge,

FOR 1862.

COMPILED AND PUBLISHED BY H. C. CLARKE, VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI.

FOR SALE BY ALL BOOKSELLERS IN THE CONFEDERACY.

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Entered, according to act of Congress, in the year 1861, by H. C. CLARKE, In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Confederate States for the District of Mississippi.

PREFACE.

THE first volume of the Confederate States Almanae is introduced to the people of the South. The work is designed to be published yearly. The leading object of the publication is to make it the repository of the largest possible amount of useful information; embracing annual statistics from all States in the Confederacy, showing our progress in population, manufactures, commerce, wealth, and all the elements of prosperity. We intend to be able to make the work from year to year a complete manual of reference and general information.

This first edition of the Almanac is not near so complete as the publisher could wish From the short time in which the work was compiled, and the impossibility (owing to the present state of the eountry) of obtaining the exact information, much valuable matter intended for this edition was left out. The contents of this volume have been gathered from authentic sources, and compiled with great care.

THE COMPILER.

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JANUARY,

1862.

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1	S 27 5 13 6 42	4 12 1st Sunday after Easter.	[[5	18 6	37	4 16		21
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1	W 30 5 10 6 45	8 4311	5	15!6	39	8 35		26

	MOON'S PHASES.	CHARLESTON.	NASHVILLE.	NEW ORLEANS.	S. FRANCISCO.	or Noon mark.
	First Quar. 7	н. м. 6 41 ev.	н. м. 6 14 mo.	н. м.	ж. м. 3 51 mo.	D. H. M. S.
١	Full Moon. 14				1	9 12 1 37
ļ	(Last Quar. 21			0 11 me.	10 1 ev.*	17 11 59 32
ĺ	New Moon. 28		5 40 ev.	5 27 ev.	3 17 ev.	25 11 57 52

^{* 20}th day.

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DAY OF WEEK.	DAY OF MONTH.	Ten Caro gin tuc sour sas	SHVI an., Notina uta, H cky, iri, Ai s, Kan alifor	Nortl , Vii Ken- Mis- rkan nsas	h r- n- s,	SUN 21 d.	3 h.			b:	TO C: Geo: am Mis Lo)N, arc rgi a,E ssi	, Soli ia, Flo issi sia xa	oricippiana	th la- da,	200	MOON'S PLACE
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S M T W T F S	13 14 15	4 58 4 57 4 56 4 55 4 54	6 55 6 55 6 56 6 57 6 58	3 3 rises 8 2 9 2 10 2	36 [3	Sun. after ade of Cl Full M	harle	_	, 1861.	5 5 5 5 5 5	$egin{array}{c} 4 \ 3 \ 2 \end{array}$	6 4 6 4 6 5 6 5	49 50	7 rise 8 9 10	7 42 ses. 15 17 13	I 13	16 1 16 2 16 1 15
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6th I	Ionth,	JUNI	E,		18	862.
OF WEEK. OF MONTH.	ASHVILLE, enn., North rolina, Vir- jinia, Ken- incky, Mis- uri, Arkan- as, Kansas, California.	SUN ENT 21 d. 12		CHARI TON, Son Caroli Georgia, bama, Flo Mississ Louisia Texa	onth na, Ala- orida, ippi, ana,	MOON'S PLACE.
S 1 4 4 7 3 4 4 7 5 4 5 F 6 4 4	M. D. M. H. M.	Battle of Aquia Jeff. Davis b., 18 [Phillippa, V First Q. B Pat. Henry	Creek begun, 1861. 4 08. Bat. at V Va., '61. 4 at. at Pig's [Pt., '61, 4	1 54 7 1 1 53 7 2 1 53 7 3 1 53 7 3 1 53 7 4	0 19	s. ° 55 23 9. 5 18 18 13 27
M 9 4 4 T 10 4 4 W 11 4 4 T 12 4 4 F 13 4 4	14 7 14 1 2 9 14 7 14 2 6 13 7 15 2 52 13 7 16 rises. 13 7 16 8 55 13 7 16 9 38	Bat. of Great Be St. Barnabas. Gov.Jackson,of [his proclam	Mo., issues	1 52 7 5 1 52 7 6 1 52 7 6 1 52 7 6 1 52 7 7	2 12 2 59 3 58 rises. 8 48	10 25 10 25 10 25 10 25 19 23
T 17 4 4 W 18 4 4 T 19 4 4 F 20 4 4	3 7 17 10 50 4 7 17 11 21 4 7 18 11 49 14 7 18 morn.	Battle at Vienns Last Quarte R. H. Lee 6 H. S. Legaré d.,	r. l., 1861. 4	53 7 8 53 7 8 53 7 9 53 7 9 53 7 9	10 12 10 48 11 21 11 50 morn. 0 18 0 47	** 8 23 X 6 19 Y 2 15 26
M 23 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	$egin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Nativity of St.Jo	$hn\ Baptist. egin{bmatrix} 4 \ 4 \ 4 \ 4 \end{bmatrix}$	1 54 7 10 1 54 7 10 1 55 7 10 1 55 7 10	1 21 1 57 2 38 3 23 4 17 sets. 8 7	8 8 21 12 15 27 25 8 20
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7tl	1 Mont	th,	JUL	Y,				-11	18	36	2.
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T 15 W 16 T 17 F 18	$egin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	6 9 14 6 9 44 5 10 12 5 10 42	Sunday after Last Quarte Last Bull			3 4 4 5	7 6	8 9 10 10 11 11	32 13 45 15 46 19 54	γ Υ	17 0 14 27 11 23 5
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M 28 F 29	$ \begin{array}{ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	8 7 21 6 <i>th</i> 8 7 55 6 8 25 6 6 8 53 9 23	Sunday after	Ç	5 5 5 5 5	11 12 13 13 14 14 14 15 15 15 15 15	7 0 7 0 3 59	8	17 53 24 51 26	SL my	$ \begin{array}{c} \hline 11 \\ 24 \\ 7 \\ 20 \\ 4 \end{array} $
Moon	's Phases.	CHARLESTON.	NASHVILLE.	NEW ORLEANS.	s.	FRAN	cisco.		on N		

Moon's Phases.	CHARLESTON.	NASHVILLE.	NEW ORLEANS.	S. FRANCISCO.	Sun on Meridian or Noon mark.
D First Quar. 4	н. м. 5 29 ev.	н. м. 5 2 ev.	н. м. 4 49 ev.	н. м. 2 39 ev.	1 12 3 26
O Full Moon. 11	8 19 mo.	7 52 mo.	7 39 mo.	5 29 mo.	9 12 4 49
C Last Quar. 18 New Moon. 26					

NASHVILLE. Tenn., North Carolina, Virginia, Ken- tincky, Mis- sonri, Arkan- sas, Kansas, California.	23 d. 5 h., mo.	CHARLES- TON, Sonth Carolina, Georgia, Ala- bama, Florida, Mississippi, Lonisiana, Texas.	MOON'S PLACE.
- RISES. SETS. SETS. H. M. H. M.	MISCELLANEA. First Quarter.	H. M. SETS. SETS. H. M. H. M	
S 3 5 9 7 2 11 19 M 4 5 10 7 1 morn. T 5 5 11 7 0 0 15 W 6 5 12 6 59 1 15 T 7 5 12 6 58 2 21 F 8 5 13 6 57 3 34	7th Sunday after Trinity.	5 16 6 56 11 27 5 17 6 55 morn. 5 17 6 54 0 24 5 18 6 53 1 24 5 19 6 52 2 29 5 19 6 51 3 41 5 20 6 50 rises.	15 29 13 28 12 26 26 26
S 10 5 15 6 55 7 12 M 11 5 16 6 54 7 43 T 12 8 17 6 53 8 13 W 13 5 17 6 52 8 43 T 14 5 18 6 51 9 13 F 15 5 19 6 49 9 45 S 16 5 20 6 48 10 22	8th Sun. after Trinity. Bat. [of Oak Hill, Mo., 1861.]		8 1
S 17 5 21 6 47 11 5 M 18 5 21 6 46 11 53 T 19 5 22 6 45 morn. W 20 5 23 6 43 0 45 T 21 5 24 6 42 1 41 F 22 5 25 6 41 2 41 S 25 5 25 6 39 3 42	[after Trinity.		13 25
S 24 5 26 6 38 4 43 M 25 5 27 6 37 sets. T 26 5 28 6 35 6 59 W 27 5 29 6 34 7 30 T 28 5 29 6 38 8 4 F 29 5 30 6 31 8 42 S 30 5 31 6 30 9 25	-	5 30 6 34 4 47 5 31 6 33 sets. 5 32 6 32 7 0 5 32 6 30 7 33 5 33 6 29 8 8 5 34 6 28 8 48 5 34 6 27 9 33	20 m 3 17 ≏ 0 14 28 m 11
S 31 5 32 6 29 10 15	11th Sunday after Trinity.		
	ESTON. NASHVILLE. NEW ORLEANS	.	n mark.
© Full Moon. 9 4 33 © Last Quar. 17 4 2	Bev. 11 6ev. 10 53 ev. 4 6ev. 3 53 ev. 4 0 mo. 3 50 mo. 3 37 mo.	8 43 ev. 1 12 1 43 ev. 9 12 1 37 mo. 17 1 27 mo. 25 12	5 16 3 53 1 56

(9tl	n M	lor	ıth	,	Sugar	S	EF	TI	EM	BI	ER,		·		AND THE	18	362	2.
DAY OF WEEK.	DAY OF MONTH.	Can gi tu son sa	nu roli ini ack uri as, l	IVI I., N ina, a, E iy, j Ky, Kai for	Vort Ven Ken Mis rka nsa	th ir- ir- s- in- is,			d. 2		, mo) .	b	TO Carrier ama Mis Lo	N, S crol cgia cgia isiss uisi Cexa	lori sipp ana as.	h a- da, i,		MOON S PLACE.
M T W T F S	1 2 3 4 5	5 3	я. в н 3 6 3 6 4 6 5 6	$26 \\ 24 \\ 23 \\ 21$	H. 11 mo 0 1 2 3	13 orn. 17 26 36	Bat.	Firs	ous b	uarte Scott	er. t, M	Io.,'61.	т 5 5 5 5 5	36 37 38 38	SEN SETS. H. M. 6 2: 6 2: 6 2: 6 2: 6 1: 6 1: 6 1: 8	H. 11 mo	м. 22 тв. 22 тп. 25 33 42 51	1 13	10 24 8 22 6 20
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MOON'S PHASES. CHARLESTON. NASHVILLE. NEW ORLEAMS. S. FRANCISCO. Or Noon mark. D. H. M. H. M. H. M. H. M. D. H. M. S.	M T W T F	$ \begin{vmatrix} 24 & 6 \\ 25 & 6 \\ 26 & 6 \\ 27 & 6 \\ 28 & 6 \end{vmatrix} $	48 4 49 4 49 4 50 4 51 4	46 46 45 45 45	8 17 9 26 10 34 11,39 morn.	Z. T	aylor bor	n, 1784.		6 40 6 41 6 42 6 43 6 43	4 54 4 54 4 53 4 53 4 53	8 9 10 11 mo	24 32 38 43 rn.	_	10 24 9 23 7
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Moon's Phases.	CHARLESTON.	NASHVILLE.	NEW ORLEANS.	S. FRANCISCO.	Sun on Meridi or Noon mar	
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MOON'S PHASES.	CHARLESTON.	Nashville.	NEW ORLEANS	S. Francisco.	Sun on Meridian or Noon mark.
O Full Moon. 6 C Last Quar. 14 New Moon. 20 First Quar. 27	5 14 mo. 11 44 ev.	4 47 mo. 11 17 ev.	4 34 mo. 11 4 ev.	11 27 ev.* 2 24 mo. 8 54 ev.	$\begin{vmatrix} 9 & 11 & 52 & 32 \\ 17 & 11 & 56 & 20 \end{vmatrix}$

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^{* 5}th day.

HISTORY

OF THE

Formation of the Southern Confederacy.

THE independence of the Southern Confederate States, commenced by the withdrawal of the State of South Carolina from the old Federal Union of the United States. The ordinance of secession was passed on December 20th, 1860, by a unanimous vote. The withdrawal of South Carolina from the old Union was followed successively by the States of Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana. A convention of delegates from the six seceding States assembled in Congress at Montgomery, Alabama, to organize a Provisional Government, on the 4th day of February, 1861. The Hon. R. M. Barnwell, of South Carolina, was appointed temporary chairman.

A. R. Lamar, Esq., of Georgia, was then appointed temporary Secretary, and the deputies from the several States represented, presented their credentials in alphabetical order, and signed their names to the roll of the Convention.

The following is the list:

ALABAMA.
R. W. Walker,
R. H. Smith,
J. L. M. Curry,
W. P. Chilton,
S. F. Hale Colon,
J. McRae,
John Gill Shorter,
David P. Lewis,
Thomas Fearn.
9

Howell Cobb,
F. S. Bartow,
M. J. Crawford,
E. A. Nisbet,
B. H. Hill,
A. R. Wright,
Thomas R. R. Cobb,
A. H. Kenan,
A. H. Stephens.

MISSISSIPPI.
W. P. Harris,
Walter Brooke,
N. S. Wilson,
A. M. Clayton,
W. S. Barry,
J. T. Harrison.
SOUTH CAROLINA.
R. B. Rhett,
R. W. Barnwell,
(17)

 2

SOUTH CAROLINA. FLORIDA. LOUISIANA. L. M. Keitt, John Perkins, Jr., James B. Owens, James Chesnut, Jr., J. Patten Anderson, A. Declonet. C. G. Memminger. Jackson Morton, (not Charles M. Conrad, W. Porcher Miles, D. F. Kenner, present.) G. E. Sparrow, Thomas J. Withers, GEORGIA. Robert Toombs, Henry Marshall. W. W. Boyce.

The Constitution of the Confederate States was adopted on Friday, February the 8th. On Saturday, February the 9th, Congress proceeded to the election of a President and Vice-President. The Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, President, and the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President, were elected by a unanimous vote. On February the 18th, President Davis was inaugurated President of the Confederate States, and delivered the following address:

Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, Friends and Fellow-citizens:

Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people. Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent government to take the place of this, and which by its greater moral and physical power will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office to which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career as a confederacy may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and which, with the blessing of Providence, we intend to maintain.

Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they were established. The declared compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn, was to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and when, in the judgment

of the sovereign States now composing this confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this, they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion of its exercise, they as sovereigns were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial, enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct; and He who knows the hearts of men will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit.

The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the bills of rights of the States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States here represented, proceeded to form this confederacy; and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained. The rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present confederacy, has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of our just obligations or any failure to perform every constitutional duty, moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of dcfence which soon their security may require.

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the north-eastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest would invite goodwill and kind offices. If, however, passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and maintain by the final arbitrament of the sword the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth.

We have entered upon a career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States. We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and obtain respect for the rights to which we were entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the confederacy which we have formed. If a just perceptien of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us with firm resolve to appeal to arms, and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause.

As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide a speedy and efficient organization of the branches of the Executive department having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and postal service. For purposes of defence, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon their militia; but it is deemed advisable in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well instructed, disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have, doubtless, engaged the attention of Congress.

With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well known intent, freed from sectional conflicts, which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that the States from which we have recently parted may seek to unite their fortunes to ours, under the government which we have instituted. For this your Constitution makes adequate provision, but beyond this, if I mistake not, the judgment and will of the people are, that union with the States from which they have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the Confederacy, it is requisite there should be so much homogeneity that the welfare of every portion would be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered, which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by a desire to preserve our own rights, and to promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check, the cultivation of our fields progresses as heretofore, and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of producer and consumer, can

only be intercepted by an exterior force which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets, a course of conduct which would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad.

Should reason guide the action of the government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even a stronger desire to inflict injury upon us; but if it be otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime, there will remain to us, besides the ordinary remedies before suggested, the well known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

Experience in public stations of a subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care and toil and disappointments are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate; but you shall not find in me either want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me the highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction, one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duties required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts, but not the system, of our government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning. Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of that instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectation, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good will and confidence which will welcome my entrance into office.

It is joyous, in the midst of perilous times, to look around upon a people united in heart, when one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole, where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance, against honor, right, liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent the progress of a movement sanctioned by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which by his blessing they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity; and with a continuance of His favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, to prosperity.

On February 1st, 1861, the State of Texas declared her independence, by withdrawing from the Union, and uniting

her destinies with the new Confederacy. Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Missouri, also resumed their original sovereignty, and were admitted into the Confederacy.

The Provisional Government of the Confederate States is now drawing to a close. On the 22d day of February, 1862, the Southern Confederate States of America will throw off the last vestige of its provisional character, and will stand before the world in all the aspects and with all the attributes of a distinct and sovereign Confederacy; in outward form, a nation—within, a league of independent and coëqual sovereignties. Before that day, our right to admittance among the recognized nationalities will have been conceded by the principal European powers.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

The Presidential term of one year of the Provisional Government, under the Constitution, began on the 18th day of February, 1861, and will expire on the 22d day of February, 1862. The first election, under the Confederate Constitution, for President and Vice President for the first regular Presidential term of six years, was held on the 6th day of November, 1861, in each State throughout the Confederacy.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

JEFFERSON DAVIS, of Miss., President.
ALEX. H. STEPHENS, of Ga., Vice-President.
Col. JOSEPH DAVIS, of Miss., Aid to the President.
Capt. R. JOSSELYN, of Miss., Private Secretary of the President.

R. M. T. HUNTER, Va., Secretary of State. Wm. M. Browne, Assistant Secretary of State. P. P. Dandrige, Chief Clerk.

C. G. MEMMINGER, S. C., Secretary of the Treasury. P. Clayton, Ga., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. H. D. Capers, Chief Clerk of the Department. Lewis Cruger, S. C., Comptroller and Solicitor. Bolling Baker, Ga., 1st Auditor. W. H. S. Taylor, La., 2d Auditor. Robert Tyler, Va., Register. E. C. Elmore, Ala., Treasurer.

- J. P. BENJAMIN, La., Secretary of War. A. T. Bledsoe, Va., Chief Clerk of the Department. S. Cooper, Va., Adjutant and Inspector General of the C. S. Army. Lieut Col. B. Chilton and Capt. J. Withers, S. C., Assistants Adjutant and Inspector General. Col. R. Taylor, Ky., Quartermaster General. Col. A. C. Myers, S. C., Assistant Quartermaster General. Lieut. Col. Northrop, S. C., Commissary General. Col. J. Gorgas, Va., Chief of Ordnance. Col. S. P. Moore, (M.D.,) S. C., Surgeon General. Capt. C. H. Smith, (M.D.,) Va., Assistant Surgeon General. Capt. Leg. G. Capers, (M.D.,) S. C., Chief Clerk of the Medical Department. Maj. D. Hubbard, Ala., Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
- S. R. MALLORY, Fla., Secretary of the Navy. Com. E. M. Tidball, Va., Chief Clerk of the Department. Com. D. N. Ingraham, S. C., Chief of Ordnance, Construction, and Repair. Capt. George Minor, Va., Inspector of Ordnance. Com. L. Rosseau, La., Chief of Equipment, Recruiting Orders and Detail. Capt. W. A. Spotswood, (M.D.,) Va., Chief of Medicine and Surgery. Capt. John Debree, Chief of Clothing and Provisions.

Ex-Gov. BRAGG, N. C., Attorney General. Wade Keys, Ala., Assistant Attorney General. R. R. Rhodes, Miss., Commissioner of Patents. G. E. W. Nelson, Ga., Superintendent of Public Printing. R. M. Smith, Va., Public Printer.

JOHN H. REAGAN, Texas, Postmaster General. H. S. Offut, Va., Chief Contract Bureau. B. N. Clements, Tenn., Chief Appointment Bureau. J. L. Harrell, Ala., Chief Finance Bureau. W. D. Miller, Texas, Chief Clerk of Department.

POPULATION, RESOURCES, DATES OF SECESSION, ETC., OF THE SOUTHERN STATES AND TERRITORIES.

South Carolina.—Area, 29,385 Square Miles.

The State was first settled by colonies of French, German, and Irish, in 1670; adopted the Federal Constitution, 1780. Population in 1850, 668,507, including 384,984 slaves. Value of exports in 1850, \$16,924,250; imports, \$2,071,139. Population in 1860, 715,371, including 407,185 slaves.

Passed ordinance of secession from the Federal Union, December 20th, 1860.

FLORIDA.—Area, 59,268 Square Miles.

This State was settled by Spain in 1516; was ceded to Great Britain, by Spain, in 1763; retaken by the Spanish in 1781, and ceded, by Spain, to the United States in 1819; was admitted into the Union in 1845. The Seminole Indian War commenced in 1818, and ended in 1842. Value of ex-

ports for 1858, \$1,877,960; imports, \$105,998. Population in 1850, 87,445, including 39,310 slaves; population in 1860, 145,694, including 63,809 slaves.

Passed ordinance of secession, dissolving connection with the Federal Union, January 8th, 1861.

MISSISSIPPI.—Area, 47,156 Square Miles.

Was first settled by the French, at Natchez, in 1716. This State, together with part of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, formed the "Mississippi Territory," in 1816; admitted into the Union as a State in 1817. Population in 1850, 606,326, including 309,878 slaves; population in 1860, 887,158, including 479,647 slaves. Mississippi is now the largest cotton-growing State in the South. The crop of 1850 amounted to 485,293 bales; the crop of 1860 was estimated at 670,000 bales, valued at \$27,000,000.

Ordinance of secession passed January 9th, 1861.

Alabama.—Area, 50,722 Square Miles.

This State was included in the Mississippi Territory in 1817; admitted into the Federal Union as a State in 1820. The chief agricultural product of Alabama is cotton. Extensive canebrakes once existed, but they have been greatly cleared away. Sugar-cane grows on the south-west neck, between Mobile and the Mississippi. Many of the rich alluvial tracts yield rice abundantly. Tobacco, also, is produced. Indian corn, oats, sweet potatoes, buckwheat, barley, flax, and silk, are much cultivated, besides many other grains, fruits, and vegetables, and large supplies of live stock of all descriptions.

Mineral Products.—Alabama is rich in great deposits of coal, iron, variegated marbles, limestone, and other mineral treasures. Gold mines, too, have been found and worked. Salt, sulphur, and chalybeate springs abound.

Value of imports in 1850, \$619,964; exports, \$24,790,585. Population in 1850, 771,625, including 343,844 slaves; population in 1860, 935,917, including 435,473 slaves.

Passed ordinance of secession from the Union, January 11th, 1861.

GEORGIA.—Area, 58,000 Square Miles.

This State was settled by Gen. Oglethorpe in 1733; was made a royal colony in 1752; adopted the Federal Constitution in 1798. Population in 1850, 906,185, including 381,622 slaves; population in 1860, 1,082,797, including 467,461 slaves. Imports for 1850, \$473,716; exports, \$9,543,519.

The Comptroller-General of the State of Georgia for the last fiscal year, stated that the Western and Atlantic railroad, owned exclusively by the State, paid into the State treasury, of net earnings, in 1859, \$420,000; in 1860, \$450,000; and in 1861, \$438,000. Independent of the above valuable property, Georgia owns in bank stock and bonds, the amount of \$958,400.

The income of the State, from its several sources of revenue, including the cash balance in the treasury on the 21st of October, 1861, \$324,106, is \$2,279,857 The disbursements in the same time amount to \$1,955,731.

The State withdrew from the Federal Union, January 19th, 1861.

Louisiana.—Area, 41,436 Square Miles.

This State was settled by the French in 1699; was eeded to Spain in 1762; was purehased by the Federal Union in 1803; admitted into the Federal Union as a State in 1812. Population in 1850, 517,762, including 244,809 slaves. Value of exports in 1850, \$88,367,962; imports, \$22,900,821. Population in 1860, 666,431, including 312,186 slaves

The wealth of Louisiana has rapidly augmented, and an immense area of fertile land is annually taken into cultivation, reclaimed from the swamps and the prairies. New Orleans, meanwhile, has advanced with prodigious strides, and will now, without a doubt, fulfil the destiny which seemed in the past to belong to New York. We confidently expect and predict this. Cotton and sugar-cane are the great products of this State.

Passed ordinance of secession from the Federal Union, January 26th, 1861.

Texas.—Area, 237,504 Square Miles—Acres, 152,002,560.

Was first settled by the Spaniards, in 1690; was made part of the Mexican Republic in 1826; war with Mexico for independence commenced in 1833, and ended in 1836; as an independent State, was admitted into the Federal Union in 1845. Her geological survey has developed the existence of iron ore, coal, lead, copper, lignite, gypsum, limestone, marble, potters', pipe, and fire clay, etc. The iron and coal promise to be of great future value.

The revenue of the State, by a recent statement, as derived from the *ad valorem* and poll tax, was \$309,726. The total school fund reached \$3,426,168. Assessment statistics:

44,233,658	acres land,	valued	at	\$83,392,720
42,362	town lots,	"	***************************************	
136,853	negroes,	"		, ,
284,714	horses,	44	******	
2,617,122	cattle,	"	***************************************	

A comparison will at once show the increase in the value of each species of property, the aggregate increase of the whole being over thirty millions of dollars, namely: the increase in negroes, \$12,774,820; increase in land, \$9,477,542; increase in cattle, \$2,739,421; increase in horses, \$2,617,502; increase in town lots, \$1,388,894; increase in money loaned.

\$513,047: increase in miscellaneous property, \$1,208,812. Total increase of all taxable property, from 1858 to 1859, \$30,721,438. We should here remark that only one hundred and eleven counties are returned, and that the nine counties not returned would probably add several hundred thousand to this total amount of increase.

Total taxable property for 1856, \$161,304,025; for 1857, \$183,504,205; for 1858, \$193,636,818; for 1859, \$224,353,266.

Total ad valorem and State tax for 1856, \$265,382; for 1857, \$301,126 54; for 1858, \$269,755 95; for 1859, \$309,726 60.

Increase in taxable property from 1856 to 1857, \$22,200,180; from 1857 to 1858, \$10,132,613; from 1858 to 1859, \$30,716,448.

Average value of land per aere in 1856, \$1 41; in 1857, \$1 47; in 1858, \$1 65; in 1859, \$1 88.

The total area of Texas is estimated at one hundred and seventy-five millions aeres of land, of which one hundred millions are public domain, held by the State.

Population 212,592, including 58,161 slaves. Value of exports in 1858, \$2,428,475; imports, \$120,095. Population in 1860, 600,955, including 180,956 slaves.

Passed act of secession from the Federal Union February 1st, 1861.

VIRGINIA.—Area, 61,352 Square Miles.

First settled in 1607. Adopted the Constitution of the United States in 1776. Population in 1850 was 1,141,661, including 472,528 slaves. Value of exports in 1858 was \$7,262,765; imports, \$1,079,067. Population in 1860, 1,593,190, including 495,826 slaves.

Tobacco is the principal product of the State.

Passed an act of separation from the Federal Union April 18th, 1861.

TENNESSEE.—Area, 45,600 Square Miles.

First settlement was made in 1757 The territory was ceded to the United States in 1790. Admitted into the Union as a State in 1796. Population in 1850 was 1,002,717, including 239,459 slaves; population in 1860, 1,146,640, including 287,112 slaves.

Passed ordinance of separation from the Federal Union May 2d, 1861.

ARKANSAS.—Area, 52,198 Square Miles.

This State was part of the Louisiana purchase. Was made into a separate Territory in 1819; joined the Federal Union in 1836. Value of annual products for 1858, \$994,722. Population in 1850, 209,897, including 47,100 slaves. Population in 1860, 440,775, including 109,065 slaves.

The progress of this State has been astounding in the past few years, and she possesses so many resources, that her position ere long will be among the first States of the South.

Productions.—The rich, black alluvion of the river yields Indian corn in great luxuriance. This product, with cotton, tobacco, rice, many varieties of grain, wool, hops, hemp, flax, and silk, are the staples.

The forest trees include great quantities of the cotton wood, gum, ash, and cypress, in the bottom lands, and the usual vegetation of the North in the uplands. The sugar maple, yielding large supplies of sap, is found here.

Minerals.—Coal, iron, zinc, lead, gypsum, manganese,

salt, and other mineral products exist here. Gold, too, it is said, has been found. "There is," says a writer, "manganese enough in Arkansas to supply the world; in zine, it exceeds every State except New Jersey, and has more gypsum than all the other States put together; while it is equally well supplied with marble and salt."

Dissolved connection with the Federal Union May 6th, 1861.

NORTH CAROLINA.—Area, 50,704 Square Miles.

Was first settled by emigrants from Virginia, in 1660. The country was divided into two Territories, in 1720, (North and South Carolina.) North Carolina adopted the Federal Constitution in 1790. Population in 1850, 869,039, including 228,548 slaves. Value of exports in 1858, \$16,955,057; imports, \$2,071,519. Population in 1860, 1,008,342, including 328,377 slaves.

North Carolina possesses one million and a half acres of swamp lands, which are at present uncultivated, and are owned by the State. Professor Emmons, State geologist, in his report now before us, does not hesitate to say that he regards these lands as two-fold more valuable than the upland, and well adapted to the growth of eotton. Here is a great future source of wealth.

Dissolved connection with the Federal Union May 21st, 1861.

MISSOURI.—Area, 67,380 Square Miles.

Settled by the French, in 1764. Territorial Government was formed in 1804. Admitted into the Union as a State in 1821. Population in 1850, 682,044, including 87,422 slaves. Population in 1860, 1,310,209, including 115,619 slaves.

Passed an act of separation from the Federal Union October 28th, 1861.

Kentucky.—Area, 37,680 Square Miles.

First white settlement was made in 1775. Made into a Territory in 1782. Admitted into the Union in 1796. Population in 1850 was 982,405, including 210,981 slaves. Population in 1860, 1,145,567, including 224,490 slaves.

MARYLAND.—Area, 11,121 Square Miles.

First settlement was made by Catholies, in 1634. Adopted the Federal Constitution in 1776. Population in 1850 was 583,034, including 90,368 slaves. Value of exports in 1855 was \$10,395,984; imports, \$7,788,949. Population in 1860, 731,565, including 85,826 slaves.

Delaware.—Area, 2,120 Square Miles.

The smallest of the Southern States, was first settled in 1630, by the Swedes and Fins. Adopted the United States Constitution in 1787 Population in 1850, 71,169 white, and 2,290 slaves. Population in 1860, 112,363, including 1,805 slaves.

TERRITORIES.

NEW MEXICO.—Area, 200,000 Square Miles.

Was eeded, by treaty with Mexico, to the United States in 1848. Population in 1850 was 61,547; population in 1860, 93,024.

ARIZONA.—Area, 100,000 Square Miles.

The Territory of Arizona is bounded west by the Rio Colorado, south by Sonora and Chihuahua, on the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, and from the

Rio Grande, on the 32d parallel of latitude in Texas, to the 104° of longitude; east by a line on the 104° of longitude to the 34th parallel of latitude, thence north on the 34th parallel to the Colorado River. It has an area of about 100,000 square miles. The population is from 8,000 to 10,000. Nine-tenths are Mexicans, and they are chiefly in the valley of the Rio Grande. There is an abundance of mineral wealth, but very little agricultural land.

Population of the Confederate States, according to the census of 1860.

States.	White.	Slaves.	Total.
Virginia	1,097,373	495,826	1,593,100
North Carolina	697,965	328,377	1,008,342
South Carolina	308,186	407,185	715,371
Georgia	615,336	467,461	1,082,797
Florida	81,865	93,809	145,694
Alabama	520,444	435,473	935,917
Mississippi	407,551	497,607	887,158
Louisiana	354,245	312,186	666,431
Arkansas	331,710	109,065	440,775
Texas	515.999	184,956	600,955
Tennessee	859,528	287,112	1,146,640
Missouri	1,185,590	115,619	1,301,209
	6,867,239	3,644,676	10,510,915

Population of the Southern States and Territories, not yet in the Confederacy.

States.	White.	Slaves.	Total.
Delaware Maryland Kentucky	110,548 646,183 920,077	1,805 85,382 225,490	112,853 731,565 1,145,567
-	1,676,808	312,677	1,989,485

Population of the Territories.

Territories.	Population in 1850.	Population in 1860.
New Mexico	61,547	93,024
Arizona		9,000

Population of some of the Principal Cities in the Southern States.

Cities.	States.	1850.	1860.
Baltimore	Maryland.	169,054	238,645
New Orleans	Louisiana.	116,375	137,245
St. Louis	Misssouri.	77,860	123,262
Louisville	Kentucky.	43,194	69,630
Charleston	S. Carolina.	37,989	58,320
Richmond	Virginia.	27,570	39,860
Savannah	Georgia.	15,312	28,739
Mobile		20,515	24,720
Nashville	Tennessee.	18,478	32,872
Memphis	Tennessee.	10,841	29,830
Montgomery	Alabama.	8,728	12,243
Augusta	Georgia.	8,225	16,490
Natchez	Mississippi.	4,439	7,321
Petersburg	Virginia.	14,610	18,213
Norfolk		14,336	18,965
Wilmington	N. Carolina.	7,268	12,362
Falveston		5,210	10,112

THE ORIGIN OF SECESSION.

At the late Pilgrim Landing Anniversary, held in the Astor House, New York, Mr. Seward declared in his speech, that the men of New England invented the greatest political discovery in the world—the confederation of Republican States; and that the people of South Carolina invented the doctrine of secession. Mr. Seward, in his eager efforts to attach blame to South Carolina, falls into a great error concerning the origin of secession. The first disunion speech ever made in the United States House of Representatives,

was by Josiah Quiney, of Massachusetts, in regard to the Louisiana Enabling Act, January 14, 1811. He said:

I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation—amicably, if they can; violently, if they must.

A Southern member of the Senate, Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, considered this declaration of "the right of all, as it was the duty of some, to prepare for separation—peaceably, if they could; foreibly, if they must," as very nearly akin to treason, and called the New England inventor to order.

The inventor of disunion repeated his assertion, committed it to writing, and left the matter to the Speaker, who decided it out of order. Mr. Quiney appealed from the decision of the Speaker, and was sustained by a vote of 56 to 63 in his right, as the Representative of New England, to invent disunion.—See Abridgment of Debates of Congress, vol. iv., p. 237

PAY OF VOLUNTEER OFFICERS AND PRIVATES.

Pay, per month, of officers and privates, accepted into the Confederate States Army:

Colonel\$175	00	Second Licutenant	\$80	00
Lieutenant-Colonel 170	00	First Sergeants	21	00
Major 150	00	Other Sergeants	17	00
Captain 108	00	Corporals and Artificers	13	00
First Lieutenant 90	00	Privates	11	00

They have a yearly allowance for clothing, also, and one

ration per day.

The volunteers are expected to furnish their own uniforms, and will be paid for the same in money by the Confederate States Government, when mustered into service. Each regiment has a Quartermaster, with the rank of Captain, and a Commissary, with equal rank, a Surgeon and Assistant Surgeon.

STATE GOVERNMENTS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

Alabama Montgomery. Arkansas Little Rock.		dover more.	Term Expires.	Salary.	Salary. Legislature Meets.	General Election.
Alabama Mont Arkansas Little						
Arkansas Little	gomery.	J. H. Shorter.	December, 1863.	\$4000	2nd Monday Nov.	December, 1863. \$4000 2nd Monday Nov. 1st Monday Aug.
-	Bock.	Hen. M. Rector.	Hen. M. Rector. November, 1864.	2500	1st Monday Nov.	2500 1st Monday Nov. 1st Thursday Sept.
Georgia Milledgeville.	dgeville.	Jos. E. Brown. November, 1863.		4000 1st	1st Monday Nov.	1st Monday Oct.
Louisiana Baton Rouge.	n Rouge.	Thos. O. Moore. January, 1864.	January, 1864.	4000	4000 3rd Monday Jan.	1st Monday Nov.
Mississippi Jackson.	son.	John J. Pettus. November, 1863	November, 1863.	4000	4000 1st Monday Nov.	1st Monday Oct.
N. Carolina Raleigh	igh.	Henry T. Clark. + January, 1863.	January, 1863.	3000 3rd	3rd Monday Nov.	
S. Carolina Columbia	mbia.	F. W. Pickens. December, 1862	December, 1862.	3800 4th	4th Monday Nov.	
Tennessee. Nashville.	ville.	Isham G. Harris. October, 1863.	October, 1863.	3000 1st	lst Monday Oct.	1st Thursday Aug.
Texas Austin.	in.	F. R. Lubbock. December, 1864.	December, 1864.	3000 1st	lst Monday Nov.	
Virginia Richmond.	mond.	John Letcher.	January, 1864.	$5000 \mathrm{1st}$		
Florida Tallahassee.	hassee.	John Milton.	October, 1865.	2500 4th		Monday Nov. 1st Monday Oct.
Missouri Jefferson City.		Claib. F. Jackson December, 1864.	December, 1864.	3000 1	3000 1st December.	1st Monday Aug.
		į				
σΩ ·····	OUTHER	IN STATES (1	NOT YET IN	THE	SOUTHERN STATES (NOT YET IN THE CONFEDERACY.)	CY.)
Maryland Annapolis.		Thom. II. Hicks.	January, 1862.	3600 1	lst Wednes. Jan.	Thom. II. Hicks. January, 1862. 3600 1st Wednes. Jan. 1st Wednes. Nov.
Kentucky. Frankfort.		Beriah Magoffin.	Septemb'r, 1863.	2500 1	lst Monday Dec.	Beriah Magoffin. Septemb'r, 1863. 2500 1st Monday Dec. 1st Monday Aug.

* The following States hold their regular Legislative Sessions biennially: Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessec, and Missouri.

CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY, AS NOW ORGANIZED. NOVEMBER, 1861.

The army in Virginia has been reorganized by the War Department. The army of the Potomae is under the supreme command of Gen. J E. Johnston. It embraces three grand divisions: the largest and most important, at Manassas, being commanded by Gen. P. T. G. Beauregard, and those at Aquia Creek and Shenandoah Valley, by Brigadiers General T. H. Holmes, of North Carolina, and Thomas J. Jackson, of Stone Wall Bridge, respectively. General Beauregard's command is subdivided into four divisions, eommanded respectively by General Gustavus W Smith, Major General Edmund Kirby Smith, Earl Van Dorn, and James Longstreet. Under these officers are the numerous brigades composing the army, each composed as nearly as possible of regiments belonging to the same State, and eommanded by their own Brigadiers General. The Department of the Northwest remains under command of Gen. Lee; that of the Yorktown Peninsula, under Major General Magruder; that of Norfolk, under Major General Huger; that of Eastern Virginia, South of the James river, under Brigadier General Pemberton; and that of Riehmond, under Brigadier General Winder. The eoast defenses of North Carolina are under command of Brigadier General Gatlin, assisted by Brigadiers General J. R. Anderson and D. H. Those of South Carolina are in charge of Brigadier General Ripley; those of Georgia, of Brigadier General Lawton; those of Alabama, of Brigadier General Withers; those of Louisiana, of Major General Lovell; and those of Texas, of Brigadier General Hebert. Until his death, Brigadier General Grayson commanded in East Florida. The supreme command in Kentucky, is vested in General A. S. Johnston; and in Tennessee, in Major General Polk.

ARMY WAGES.

The following is a statement of the monthly pay of officers and privates in the service of the Confederate States:

Rank.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.
Colonels	\$180 00	\$210 00	\$210 00
Lieutenant-Colonels	180 00	185 00	185 00
Majors	150 00	162 00	152 00
Captains	130 00	140 00	130 00
First Lieutenants	90 90	100 00	90 00
Second Lieutenants	80 00	90 00	80 00
Orderly Sergeants	20 00	20 00	20 00
Other Sergeants	17 00	17 00	17 00
Corporals and Artificers	13 00	13 00	13 00
Musicians		12 00	12 00
Privates	11 00	11 00	11 00

The monthly pay of Generals of Divisions, or Brigades, is \$301. Privates and non-commissioned officers receive one ration a day, and a yearly allowance for clothing. Commissioned officers are not allowed to draw rations.

REPRESENTATION AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, IN THE FIRST CONGRESS.

The first Congress of the Confederate States, under the permanent Constitution, will be composed of twenty-two Senators and eighty-seven Representatives.

The representation will be as follows, being in the ratio of one member for every 90,000 of population, on the Federal basis, counting three-fifths for slaves.

We add, in a separate column, the Electoral vote of each State in the Confederacy:

	Representation.	Votes.
Virginia	. 16	18
North Carolina	. 10	12
South Carolina	6	8
Georgia	10	12
Florida		4
Alabama		11
Louisiana	. 6	8
Texas	6	8
Arkansas	4	6
Mississippi	7	9
Tennessee		13
	 87	109

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a permanent federal government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity—invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God—do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein delegated shall be vested in a Congress of the Confederate States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall be citizens of the Confederate States, and have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; but no person of foreign birth, not a citizen of the Confederate States, shall be allowed to vote for any officer, civil or political, State or Federal.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and be a citizen of the Confederate States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that

State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and Direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Confederacy, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined, by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all slaves. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the Confederate States, and within every subsequent term of ten years.

in such manner as they shall, by law, direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every fifty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of South Carolina shall be entitled to choose six—the State of Georgia, ten—the State of Alabama, nine—The State of Florida, two—the State of Mississippi, seven—the State of Louisiana, six—and the State of Texas, six.

- 4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill
- such vacancies.
- 5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment; except that any judicial or other federal officers resident and acting solely within the limits of any State, may be impeached by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature thereof.

SECTION III.

- 1. The Senate of the Confederate States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen for six years by the Legislature thereof, at the regular session next immediately preceding the commencement of the term of service; and each Seuator shall have one vote.
- 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.
- 3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and be a citizen of the Confederate States; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State for which he shall be chosen.
- 4. The Vice-President of the Confederate States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they shall be equally divided.
- 5. The Senate shall choose their other officers; and also a President pro tempore in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the Confederate States.
- 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on eath or affirmation. When the President of the Confederate States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.
 - 7. Judgment in eases of impeachment shall not extend further

than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor or profit, under the Confederate States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

1. The time, place, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, subject to the provisions of this Constitution; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the times and places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall, by law, appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of

two-thirds of the whole number, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the Confederate States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the Confederate States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the Confederate States shall

be a member of either House during his continuance in office. But Congress may, by law, grant to the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments a seat upon the floor of either House, with the privilege of discussing any measures appertaining to his department.

SECTION VII.

- 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.
- 2. Every bill which shall have passed both Houses, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the Confederate States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journals, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the persons voting for or against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law. The President may approve any appropriation and disapprove any other appropriation in the same bill. In such case he shall, in signing the bill, designate the appropriations disapproved; and shall return a copy of such appropriations, with his objections, to the House in which the bill shall have originated, and the same proceedings shall then be had as in case of other bills disapproved by the President.
- 3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of both Houses may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the Confederate States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or, being disapproved by him, may be repassed by two-thirds of both Houses, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power-

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defence, and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the treasury; nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry; and all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederate States:

- 2. To borrow money on the credit of the Confederate States:
- 3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes; but neither this, nor any other clause contained in the Constitution, shall ever be construed to delegate the power to Congress to appropriate money for any internal improvement intended to facilitate commerce, except for the purpose of furnishing lights, beacons, and buoys, and other aids to navigation upon the coasts, and the improvement of harbors, and the removing of obstructions in river navigation, in all which cases, such duties shall be laid on the navigation facilitated thereby, as may be necessary to pay the costs and expenses thereof:

4. To establish uniform laws of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the Confederate States; but no law of Congress shall discharge any debt contracted before the passage of the same:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin,

and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities

and current coin of the Confederate States:

- 7. To establish post offices and post routes; but the expenses of the Postoffice Department, after the first day of March, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-three, shall be paid out of its own revenues:
- 8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

- 10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:
- 11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:
- 12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

- 14. To make rules for government and the regulation of the land and naval forces:
- 15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Confederate States, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:
- 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the Confederate States; reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:
- 17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of one or more States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the Confederate States; and to exercise like authority over all the places purchased by the consent of the

legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the crection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful build-

ings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the Confederate States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

1. The importation of negroes of the African race, from any foreign country, other than the slaveholding States or Territories of the United States of America, is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same:

2. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of, or Territory not belonging

to, this Confederacy.

3. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

4. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, or law denying or im-

pairing the right of property in negro slaves, shall be passed.

5. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

6. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State, except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses.

7. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or

revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.

8. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

9. Congress shall appropriate no money from the Treasury, except by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, taken by yeas and nays, unless it be asked and estimated for by some one of the heads of the Department, and submitted to Congress by the President; or for the purpose of paying its own expenses and contingencies; or for the payment of claims against the Confederate States, the justice of which shall have been judicially declared by a tribunal for the investigation of claims against the Government, which it is hereby made the duty of Congress to establish.

10. All bills appropriating money shall specify in Federal currency the exact amount of each appropriation, and the purposes for which it is made; and Congress shall grant no extra compensation to any public contractor, officer, agent, or servant, after such con-

tract shall have been made or such service rendered.

11. No title of nobility shall be granted by the Confederate States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall,

without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, cmoluments, office, or titles of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

12. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

13. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not

be infringed.

14. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

15. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the

place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

16. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

17. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

18. In suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact so tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the Confederacy, than according to the rules of the common law.

19. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed, nor cruel and unjust punishments be inflicted.

20. Every law, or resolution having the force of law, shall relate to but one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title.

SECTION X.

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation;

grant letters of marque and reprisal; eoin money; make anything but gold and silver eoin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of

contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts, or duties on imposts or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any Stato on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the Confederate States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, except on sea-going vessels, for the improvement of its rivers and harbors navigated by the said vessels; but such duties shall not conflict with any treaties of the Confederate States with foreign nations; and any surplus or revenue, thus derived, shall, after making such improvements, be paid into the common treasury; nor shall any State keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay. But when any river divides or flows through two or more States, they may enter into compacts with each other to improve the navigation thereof.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

- 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the Confederate States of America. He and the Vice-President shall hold their offices for the term of six years; but the President shall not be re-eligible. The President and Vice-President shall be elected as follows:
- 2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the Confederate States, shall be appointed an elector.
- 3. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the government of the Confederate States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of

the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the vote shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death or other Constitutional disability of the President.

4. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list of the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

5. No person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the Confederate States.

6. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the Confederate States.

7. No person except a natural born citizen of the Confederate States, or a citizen thereof, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, or a citizen thereof born in the United States prior to the 20th of December, 1860, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the limits of the Confederate States, as they may exist at the time of his election.

8. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

9. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not

receive within that period any other comlument from the Confederate States, or any of them.

10. Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear—or affirm—that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Confederate States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution thereof."

SECTION II.

1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the Confederate States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the Confederate States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices: and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the Confederate States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the Confederate States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the heads of Departments.

3. The principal in each of the Executive Departments, and all persons connected with the diplomatic service, may be removed from office at the pleasure of the President. All other civil officers of the Executive Department, may be removed at any time by the President, or other appointing power, when their services are unnecessary, or for dishonesty, incapacity, inefficiency, misconduct, or neglect of duty; and when so removed, the removal shall be reported to the Senate, together with the reasons therefor.

4. The President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session; but no person rejected by the Senate shall be re-appointed to the same office during their ensuing recess.

SECTION III.

1. The President shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Confederacy, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such

time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the Confederate States.

SECTION IV.

1. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the Confederate States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

1. The judicial power of the Confederate States shall be vested in one Superior Court, and in such Inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time order and establish. The judges, both of the Superior and Inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

- 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under this Constitution, the laws of the Confederate States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the Confederate States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State, where the State is plaintiff; between citizens claiming lands under grants from different States; and between the State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects; but no State shall be sued by a citizen or subject of any foreign State.
- 2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases beforementioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and facts, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.
- 3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crime shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

1. Treason against the Confederate States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason un-

less on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States, and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of the Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime against the laws of such State, shall, on the demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No slave, or other person held to service or labor, in any State or Territory of the Coufederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or lawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belougs, or to whom such labor or service may be duc.

SECTION III.

1. Other States may be admitted into this Confederacy by a vote of two-thirds of the whole House of Representatives, and two-thirds of the Senate, the Senate voting by States; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations concerning the property of the Confederate

States, including the lands thereof.

3. The Confederate States may acquire new territory; and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States, lying without the limits of the several States; and may permit them, at

such times, and in such manner, as it may by law provide, to form States to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory, the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress, and by the Territorial Government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such territory any slaves, lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.

4. The Confederate States shall guarantee to every State that is or hereafter may become a member of this Confederacy, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature (or of the Executive, when the Legislature is in session,) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

SECTION I.

1. Upon the demand of any three States, legally assembled in their several conventions, the Congress shall summon a convention of all the States, to take into consideration such amendments to the Constitution as the said States all concur in suggesting at the time when the said demand is made; and should any of the proposed amendments to the Constitution be agreed on by the said convention—voting by States—and the same be ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, or by conventions in two-thirds thereof—as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the general convention—they shall thenceforward form a part of this Constitution. But no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. The Government established by this Constitution is the successor of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, and all the laws passed by the latter shall continue in force until the same shall be repealed or modified; and all the officers appointed by the same shall remain in office until their successors are appointed and qualified, or the offices abolished.

2. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the Confederate States under this Constitution as under the Provisional Govern-

 $\mathbf{ment.}$

3. This Constitution, and the laws of the Confederate States, made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the Confederate States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

4. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the Confederate States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the Confederate States.

5. The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people

of the several States.

6. The powers not delegated to the Confederate States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people thereof.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The ratification of the conventions of five States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so

ratifying the same.

2. When five States shall have ratified this Constitution in the manner before specified, the Congress under the Provisional Constitution shall prescribe the time for holding the election of President and Vice-President, and for the meeting of the Electional College, and for counting the votes, and inaugurating the President. They shall, also, prescribe the time for holding the first election of members of Congress under this Constitution, and the time for assembling the same. Until the assembling of such Congress, the Congress under the Provisional Constitution shall continue to exercise the legislative powers granted them; not extending beyond the time limited by the Constitution of the Provisional Government.

Adopted, unanimously, March 11, 1861.

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT DAVIS

DELIVERED AT MONTGOMERY, APRIL 29, 1861.

Montgomery, April 30.—The Congress of the Confederate States of America assembled at noon vesterday, Hon. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, President. in the Chair.

After the usual preliminaries of organization had been gone through with, the following Message of his Excellency, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, was received and read:

Gentlemen of Congress:-It is my pleasing duty to announce to you that the Constitution framed for the establishment of a permanent Government of the Confederate States of America, has been ratified by the several conventions of each of those States which were referred to inaugurate the said Government in its full proportions and upon its own substantial basis of the popular will.

It only remains that an election should be held for the designation of the officers to administer it.

There is every reason to believe that at no distant day other States, identified in political principles and community of interests with those which you represent, will join this Confederacy, giving to its typical constellation increased splendor, to its government of free, equal, and sovereign States, a wider sphere of usefulness, and to the friends of constitutional liberty a greater security for its harmonious and perpetual existence.

It was not, however, for the purpose of making this announcement that I have deemed it my duty to convoke you at an earlier

day than that fixed by yourselves for your meeting.

The declaration of war made against this Confederacy, by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in his proclamation, issued on the 15th day of the present month, renders it necessary, in my judgment, that you should convene at the earliest practicable moment to devise the measures necessary for the defence of the country.

The occasion is, indeed, an extraordinary one. It justifies me in giving a brief review of the relations heretofore existing between us and the States which now unite in warfare against us, and a succinct statement of the events which have resulted, to the end that mankind may pass intelligent and impartial judgment on its motives and objects.

During the war waged against Great Britain by her colonies on this continent, a common danger impelled them to a close alliance, and to the formation of a Confederation, by the terms of which the colonies, styling themselves States, entered severally into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

In order to guard against any misconstruction of their compaet, the several States made an explicit declaration in a distinct article—that each State retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power of jurisdiction and right which is not by this said Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled under this contract of allianec.

The war of the Revolution was successfully waged, and resulted in the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, by the terms of which the several States were each by name recognized

to be independent.

The articles of confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislatures of every State, after being agreed to by the Congress, and in obedience to this provision, under the resolution of Congress of the 21st of February, 1787, the several States appointed delegates for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Government, and the preservation of the Union.

It was by the delegates chosen by the several States under the resolution just quoted, that the Constitution of the United States was formed in 1787, and submitted to the several States for ratification, as shown by the seventh article, which is in these words: "The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be suffieient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

I have italieized certain words in the resolutions just made for the purpose of attracting attention to the singular and marked caution with which the States endeavored, in every possible form, to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each State was merged into one common government or nation; and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact between independent States—the Constitution of 1787, however, admitting the clause already recited from the articles of confederation, which provided in explicit terms that each State reclaimed its sovereignty and independence.

Some alarm was felt in the States, when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principles, and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation by the States of their sovereign rights and powers not expressly delegated to

the United States by the Constitution.

Strange indeed must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true, that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government created by the States, to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against foreign aggression, has been gradually perverted into a machine for their control in their domestic affairs.

The creature has been exalted above its Creator—the principals have been made subordinate to the agent appointed by themselves.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive occupation was agriculture, early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render a common Government subservient to their own purposes by imposing burthens on commerce as a protection to their manufacturing and shipping interests.

Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful, to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other, and the danger of disruption arising from this cause, was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing by immigration and other causes faster than the popula-

tion of the South.

By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, self-interest taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as a majority to govern the minority. Without control they learn to listen with impatience to the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will, and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind that, in the inaugural address of President Lincoln in March last, he asserts as a maxim, which he deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires, in all cases, that the majority shall govern. And in another memorable instance the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between States and the United States to those which exist between the county and the State in which it is situated, and by which it was created.

This is the lamentable and fundamental error in which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States—in addition to the long continued and deep-seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of carriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South.

There has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interests of such transcendent magnitude as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many

devoted lovers of the Union that its permanence was impossible. When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population were imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the fifteen States, negro slavery existed, and the right of property existing in slaves was protected by law: this property was recognized by the Constitution, and provision was made

The increase in the number of slaves by foreign importation from Africa, was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date, and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress to authorize it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment, or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Covernment.

The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave labor, while the reverse being the case at the South made unrestricted free intercourse

between the two sections unfriendly.

against its loss by the escape of the slave.

The Northern States consulted their own interests by selling their slaves to the South, and prohibiting slavery between their limits. The South were willing purchasers of property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were not only in want of Constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States that prohibited African slavery within their limits had reached a number sufficient to give their representation a controlling vote in the Congress, a

persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated and gradually extended. A series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves.

Fanatical organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and revolt. Means were furnished for their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed

to entice them to abscond.

The constitutional provision for their rendition to their owners was first evaded, then openly denounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty. Men were taught that it was a merit to clude, disobey, and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the performance of the promise contained in the constitutional compact. Often owners of slaves were mobbed and even murdered in open day, solely for applying

to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave.

The dogmas of the voluntary organization soon obtained control of the Legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed for the punishment, by ruinous fines and long continued imprisonment in jails and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare ask aid of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property. Emboldened by success, on the theatre of agitation and aggression, against the clearly expressed constitutional rights of the Congress. Senators and Representatives were sent to the common councils of the nation, whose chief title to this distinction consisted in the display of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was not to promote the general welfare, or ensure domestic tranquillity, but to awaken the bitterest hatred against the citizens of sister States by violent denunciation of their institutions.

The transaction of public affairs was impeded by the repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of the property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of in-

feriority.

Finally, a great party has organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain, acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase, surrounding them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited, thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating in effect property worth thousands of millions of dollars.

This party, thus organized, succeeded in the month of November last in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care for the well-being and comfort of the laboring classes, dictated alike by interest and humanity, the African slaves had augmented in number from about six hundred thousand, at the date of the adoption of the

constitutional compact, to upwards of four millions.

In a moral and social condition they had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful religious instructions under the supervision of a superior race. Their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their own condition, but to convert hundreds of thousands of square miles of the wilderness into cultivated lands, covered with a prosperous people. Towns and cities had sprung into existence, and it rapidly increased in wealth and population under the social system of the South.

The white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about 1,250,000 at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000 in 1860, and the productions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, for the full development and continuance of which the labor of African slaves was and is indispensable, had swollen to the amount which formed nearly three-fourths of the export of the whole United States, and had become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperiled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avoid the dangers which were openly menaced. With this view the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to conventions, to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best to be adopted to meet so

alarming a crisis in their history.

Here it may be proper to observe that, from a period as early as 1798, there had existed in all of the States of the Union a party almost uninterruptedly in the majority, based upon the ereed that each State was, in the last resort, the solo judge as well of its wrongs as the mode and measures of redress. Indeed, it is obvious that under the law of nations this principle is an axiom as applied to the relations of independent sovereign States, such as those which had united themselves under the constitutional compact.

The Democratic party of the United States repeated in its suc-

cessful canvass in 1836, the deductions made in numerous previous political contests, that it would faithfully abide by, and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Legislatures in 1799, and that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed.

The principles thus emphatically announced, embrace that to which I have already adverted—the right of each State to judge of and redress the wrongs of which it complains. Their principles were maintained by overwhelming majorities of the people of all the States of the Union at different elections, especially in the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1805, Mr. Madison in 1809, and Mr. Pierce in 1852. In the exercise of a right so ancient, so well established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate States, in their conventions, determined that the wrongs which they had suffered, and the evils with which they were menaced, required that they should revoke the delegation of powers to the Federal Government which they had ratified in They consequently passed ordinances their several conventions. resuming all their rights as sovereign and independent States, and dissolved their connection with the other States of the Union. Having done this, they proceeded to form a new compact amongst themselves by new articles of confederation, which have been also ratified by conventions of the several States, with an approach to unanimity far exceeding that of the conventions which adopted the constitutions of 1787. They have organized their new Government in all its departments. The functions of the executive, legislative, and judicial magistrates, are performed in accordance with the will of the people, as displayed not merely in a cheerful acquiescence, but in the enthusiastic support of the Government thus established by themselves, and but for the interference of the Government of the United States, this legitimate exercise of a people to self-government has been manifested in every possible ${
m form.}$

Scarce had you assembled in February last, when, prior even to the inauguration of the Chief Magistrate you had elected, you passed a resolution expressive of your desire for the appointment of commissioners, and for the settlement of all questions of disagreement between the two Governments, upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith.

It was my pleasure, as well as my duty, to cooperate with you in this work of peace. Indeed, in my address to you on taking the oath of office, and before receiving from you the communication of this resolution, I had said that "as a necessity, not as a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separating, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have

formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us to peaceably pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will then have been fulfilled."

It was in furtherance of these accordant views of the Congress and Executive, that I made choice of three discreet, able, and distinguished citizens, who repaired to Washington. Aided by their cordial coöperation, and that of the Secretary of State, every effort compatible with self-respect and the dignity of the Confederacy, was exhausted before I allowed myself to yield to the conviction that the government of the United States was determined to attempt the conquest of this people, and that our cherished hopes of peace were unobtainable.

On the arrival of our Commissioners in Washington, on the 5th of March, they postponed, at the suggestion of a friendly intermediator, doing more than giving informal notice of their arrival. This was done with a view to afford time to the President of the United States, who had just been inaugurated, for the discharge of other pressing official duties in the organization of his administration, before engaging his attention to the object

of their mission.

It was not until the 12th of the month that they officially addressed the Secretary of State, informing him of the purpose of their arrival, and stating, in the language of their instructions, their wish to make to the government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the government of the United States that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States, desired a peaceful solution of these great questions—that it is neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded on the strictest principles of justice, nor to do any act to injure their late confederates.

To this communication no formal reply was received until the 8th of April. During the interval the Commissioners had consented to waive all questions of form, with the firm resolve to avoid war if possible. They went so far even as to hold, during that long period, unofficial intercourse through an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success, and through whom constant assurances were received from the Government of the United States of peaceful intentions—of its determination to evacuate Fort Sumter; and further, that no measure changing the existing status prejudicially to the Confederate States was in contemplation; that in the event of any change in regard to Fort Pickens, notice would be given to the Commissioners.

The erooked path of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candor, and directness, as was the course of the United States Government towards our Commis-

sioners in Washington. For proof of this, I refer to the annexed documents marked, taken in connection with further facts, which

I now proceed to relate.

Early in April, the attention of the whole country was attracted to extraordinary preparations for an extensive military and naval expedition in New York and other Northern ports. These preparations eommeneed in secrecy, for an expedition whose destination was concealed, and only became known when nearly completed; and on the 5th, 6th and 7th of April, transports and vessels of war, with troops, munitions, and military supplies, sailed from Northern ports bound Southward.

Alarmed by so extraordinary a demonstration, the Commissioners requested the delivery of an answer to their official communication of the 12th of March, and the reply dated on the 15th of the previous month, from which it appears that during the whole interval, whilst the Commissioners were receiving assurances calculated to inspire hope of the success of their mission, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had already determined to hold no intercourse with them whatever—to refuse even to listen to any proposals they had to make, and had profited by the delay created by their own assurances.

operations.

That these assurances were given, has been virtually confessed by the Government of the United States, by its act of sending a messenger to Charleston to give notice of its purpose to use force

in order to prepare secretly the means for effective hostile

if opposed in its intentions of supplying Fort Sumter.

No more striking proof of the absence of good faith in the confidence of the Government of the United States towards the Confederacy can be required than is contained in the circum-

stances which accompanied this notice.

According to the usual course of navigation, the vessels composing the expedition, and designed for the relief of Fort Sumter, might be looked for in the Charleston harbor on the 9th of April. Yet our Commissioners in Washington were detained under assurances that notice should be given of any military movement.

The notice was not addressed to them, but a messenger was sent to Charleston to give notice to the Governor of South Carolina, and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th of April, the eve of the very day on which the fleet might be

expected to arrive.

That this manœuvre failed in its purpose was not the fault of those who controlled it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the expedition, and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston to ask and receive instructions of the Government. Even then, under all the provocation ineident to the contemptuous

refusal to listen to our Commissioners, and the treacherous course of the Government of the United States, I was sincerely anxions to avoid the effusion of blood, and directed a proposal to be made to the commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed himself to be nearly out of provisions, that we would abstain from directing our fire on Fort Sumter if he would promise to not open fire on our forces unless first attacked. This proposal was refused. The conclusion was that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fleet. The fort should, of course, be at once reduced. This order was executed by Gen. Beauregard with skill and success, which were naturally to be expected from the well-known character of that gallant officer; and, although the bombardment lasted some thirty-three hours, our flag did not wave over the battered walls until after the appearance of the hostile fleet off Charleston,

Fortunately not a life was lost on our side, and we were gratified in being prepared. The necessity of a useless effusion of blood by the prudent caution of the officers who commanded the fleet in abstaining from the evidently futile effort to enter the harbor for the relief of Major Anderson, was spared.

I refer to the report of the Secretary of War, and the papers accompanying it, for further particulars of this brilliant affair.

In this connection I cannot refrain from a well-deserved tribute to the noble State, the eminent soldier qualities of whose people were conspicuously displayed. The people of Charleston for months had been irritated by the spectacle of a fortress held within their principal harbor as a standing menace against their peace and independence—built in part with their own money its custody confided with their long consent to an agent who held no power over them other than such as they had themselves delegated for their own benefit, intended to be used by that agent for their own protection against foreign attack. How it was held out with persistent tenacity as a means of offence against them by the very Government which they had established for their own protection, is well known. They had beleaguered it for months, and felt entire confidence in their power to capture it, vet vielded to the requirements of discipline, eurbed their impatience, submitted without complaint to the unaccustomed hardships, labors, and privations of a protracted siege, and when at length their patience was relieved by the signal for attack, and success had crowned their steady and gallant conduct, even in the very moment of triumph, they evinced a chivalrous regard for the feelings of the brave but unfortunate officer who had been compelled to lower his flag.

All manifestations of exultations were checked in his presence.

Their commanding General, with their cordial approval, and the eonsent of his Government, refrained from imposing any terms that would wound the sensibility of the commander of the fort. He was permitted to retire with the honors of war, to salute his flag, to depart freely, with all his command, and was escorted to the vessel on which he embarked, with the highest marks of respect from those against whom his guns had so recently been directed.

Not only does every event connected with the siege reflect the highest honor on South Carolina, but the forbearance of her people, and of this Government, from making any harangue of a victory, obtained under circumstances of such peculiar provocation, attest to the fullest extent the absence of any purpose beyond securing their own tranquillity, and the sincere desire to avoid the calamities of war.

Searcely had the President of the United States received intelligence of the failure of the scheme, which he had devised for the reinforcement of Fort Sumter, when he issued the declaration of war against this Confederacy, which has prompted me to convoke you. In this extraordinary production, that high functionary affects total ignorance of the existence of an independent Government, which, possessing the entire and enthusiastic devotion of its people, is exercising its functions, without question, over seven sovereign States—over more than five millions of people—and over a territory whose area exceeds five hundred thousand square miles.

He terms sovereign States "combinations too powerful to be suppressed in the ordinary courts of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law."

He calls for an army of seventy-five thousand men to act as the posse comitatus in aid of the process of the courts of justice in States, where no courts exist whose mandates and decrees are not cheerfully obeyed and respected by a willing people.

He avows that the first service to be assigned to the forces which have been called out, will not be to execute the processes of courts, but to capture forts and strongholds, situated within the admitted limits of this Confederacy, and garrisoned by its troops, and declares that this effort is intended to maintain the perpetuity of popular Government.

He concludes by commanding the persons composing the "combinations" aforesaid, to wit: the five millions of inhabitants of these States, to retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days.

Apparently contradictory, as are the terms of this singular document, one point was unmistakably evident: The President of the United States calls for an army of 75,000 men, whose first

service was to capture our forts. It was a plain declaration of war, which I was not at liberty to disregard, because of my knowledge that, under the Constitution of the United States, the President was usurping a power granted exclusively to the

Congress.

He is the sole organ of communication between that country and foreign powers. The law of nations did not permit me to question the authority of the Executive of a foreign nation to declare war against this Confederacy. Although I might have refrained from taking active measures for our defence, if the States of the Union had all imitated the action of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, by denouncing it as an unconstitutional usurpation of power, to which they refused to respond, I was not at liberty to disregard the fact that many of the States seemed quite content to submit to the exercise of the powers assumed by the President of the United States, and were actively engaged in levying troops for the purpose indicated in the proclamation. Deprived of the aid of Congress at the moment, I was under the necessity of confining my action to a call on the States for volunteers, for the eommon defence, in accordance with the authority you had confided to me before your adjournment.

I deemed it proper, further, to issue a proclamation inviting applications from persons disposed to aid in our defence, in private armed vessels on the high seas, to the end that preparations might be made for the immediate issue of letters of marque and reprisal, which you alone, under the Constitution, have the

power to grant.

I entertain no doubt that you will concur with me in the opinion that, in the absence of an organized navy, it will be eminently expedient to supply their place with private armed vessels, so happily styled, by the publicists of the United States, the militia of the sea, and so often and justly relied on by them as an efficient and admirable instrument of defensive warfare.

I earnestly recommend the immediate passage of a law authorizing me to accept the numerous proposals already received.

I cannot close this review of the acts of the government of the United States, without referring to a proelamation issued by their President, under date of the 19th inst., in which, after declaring that an insurrection has broken out in this Confederacy, against the government of the United States, he announces a blockade of all the ports of these States, and threatens to punish as pirates all persons who shall molest any vessels of the United States, under letters of marque issued by this Government. Notwithstanding the authenticity of this proclamation, you will concur

with me that it is hard to believe that it could have emanated from a President of the United States.

Its announcement of a mere paper blockade is so manifestly a violation of the law of nations, that it would seem incredible that it could have been issued by authority; but conceding this to be the case, so far as the Executive is concerned, it will be difficult to satisfy the people of these States that their late confederates will sanction its declarations—will determine to ignore the usages of civilized nations, and will inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides, by treating as pirates open enemies acting under the authority of commissions issued by an organized government.

If such a proclamation was issued, it could only have been published under the sudden influence of passion, and we may rest assured that mankind will be spared the horrors of the conflict it seems to invite.

For the details of the administration of the different departments, I refer to the reports of the Secretaries of each, which accompany this message.

The State Department has furnished the necessary instructions for those Commissioners who have been sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium, since your adjournment, to ask our recognition as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of these powers treaties of amity and commerce.

Further steps will be taken to enter into like negotiations with the other European Powers, in pursuance to resolutions passed at your last session.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed since the departure of these Commissioners for the receipt of any intelligence from them.

As I deem it desirable that commissioners, or other diplomatie agents, should also be sent at an early period to the independent American Powers south of our Confederacy, with all of whom it is our interest and earnest wish to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations, I suggest the expediency of making the necessary appropriations for that purpose.

Having been officially notified by the public authorities of the State of Virginia, that she had withdrawn from the Union, and desired to maintain the closest political relations with us which it was possible at this time to establish, I commissioned the Hon. Alex. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States, to represent this Government at Richmond.

I am happy to inform you that he has concluded a convention with the State of Virginia, by which that honored Commonwealth, so long and justly distinguished among her sister States, and so dear to the hearts of thousands of her children in the Confederate States, has united her power and her fortunes with ours.

and become one of us. This convention, together with the ordinance of Virginia adopting the Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy, will be laid before you for your constitutional action.

I have satisfactory assurances from others of our late confederates, that they are on the point of adopting similar measures, and I cannot doubt that ere you shall have been many weeks in session, the whole of the slaveholding States of the late Union will respond to the call of honor and affection, and by uniting their fortunes with ours, promote our common interests and secure our common safety.

In the Treasury Department, regulations have been devised and put into execution for carrying out the policy indicated in your legislation, on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi river, as well as for the eollection of the revenue on the frontier.

Free transit has been secured for vessels and merchandise passing through the Confederate States, and delay and inconvenience have been avoided as far as possible.

In organizing the revenue services for the various railways entering our territory, as fast as experience shall indicate the possibility of improvement in these regulations, no effort will be spared to free commerce from all unnecessary embarrassments and obstructions.

Under your act authorizing a loan, proposals were issued inviting subscriptions for five millions of dollars, and the call was answered by the prompt subscription of eight millions by our own citizens, and not a single bid was made under par.

The rapid development of the purpose of the President of the United States to invade our soil, capture our forts, blockade our ports, and wage war against us, induced me to direct that the entire subscription should be accepted. It will now become necessary to raise means to a much larger amount, to defray the expenses of maintaining our independence and repelling invasion.

I invite your special attention to this subject; and the financial condition of the Government, with the suggestion of ways and means for the supply of the treasury, will be presented to you in a separate communication.

To the department of Justice you have confided not only the organization and supervision of all matters connected with the courts of justice, but, also, those connected with patents and with

the bureau of the public printing.

Since the adjournment, all the courts, with the exception of those of Mississippi and Texas, have been organized by the appointment of marshals and district attorneys, and are now prepared for the exercise of their functions. In the two States just named the gentlemen confirmed as judges declined to accept

the appointment, and no nominations have yet been made to fill the vacancies.

I refer you to the report of the Attorney General, and concur in his recommendation for immediate legislation, especially upon the subject of patent rights. Early provision should be made to secure to the subjects of foreign nations the full enjoyment of their property in valuable inventions, and to extend to our own citizens protection, not only for their own inventions, but for such as may have been assigned to them, or may hereafter be assigned by persons not alien enemies.

The patent office business is much more extensive and important than had been anticipated. The applications for patents, although eonfined under the laws exclusively to citizens of our Confederacy, already average seventy per month, showing the necessity for the prompt organization of a bureau of patents.

The Secretary of War, in his report and accompanying documents, conveys full information concerning the forces, regular, volunteer, and provisional, raised and called for under the several acts of Congress—their organization and distribution, also an account of the expenditures already made, and the further estimates for the fiscal year ending on the 18th of February, 1862, rendered necessary by recent events.

I refer to the report, also, for a full history of the occurrences in Charleston harbor, prior to, and including the bombardment and reduction of Fort Sumter, and of the measures subsequently taken for common defence on receiving the intelligence of the declaration of war against us, made by the President of the United States.

There are now in the field at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, St. Philip, and Pulaski, 19,000 men, and 16,000 are now en route for Virginia. It is proposed to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of 100,000 men. If further force be needed, the wisdom and patriotism of the Congress will be confidently appealed to for authority to eall into the field additional numbers of our noble spirited volunteers, who are constantly tendering their services far in excess of our wants.

The operations of the Navy Department have been necessarily restricted by the fact that sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the purchase or construction of more than a limited number of vessels adapted to the public service. Two vessels have been purchased and manned, the Sumter and McRae, and are now being prepared for sea, at New Orleans, with all possible dispatch. Contracts have also been made at that city, with two different cstablishments, for the casting of ordnance—cannon, shot, and shell—with the view to encourage the manufacture of

these articles, so indispensable for our defence, at as many points within our territory as possible. I call your attention to the recommendation of the Secretary, for the establishment of a magazine and laboratory for the preparation of ordnance stores, and the necessary appropriation required for that purpose.

Hitherto such stores have been prepared at the navy yards, and no appropriation was made at your last session for this object.

The Secretary also calls attention to the fact that no provision has been made for the payment of invalid pensions to our citizens. Many of these persons are advanced in life—they have no means of support—and by the secession of these States have been deprived of their claim against the government of the United States.

I recommend the appropriation of the sum necessary to pay these pensioners, as well as those of the army, whose claim can

scarcely exceed \$20,000 per annum.

The Postmaster-General has already succeeded in organizing his Department to such an extent as to be in readiness to assume the direction of our postal affairs on the occurrence of the contingency contemplated by the act of 15th March, 1861, or even sooner if desired by Congress.

The various books and circulars have been prepared, and measures taken to secure supplies of blanks, postage stamps,

stamped envelopes, mail-bags, locks, keys, etc.

He presents a detailed elassification and arrangement of the clerical force, and asks for its increase.

An Auditor of the Treasury for this department is necessary,

and a plan is submitted for the organization of his bureau.

The great number and magnitude of the accounts of this department, require an increase of the clerical force in the accounting branch of the treasury. The revenues of this department are collected and distributed in modes peculiar to itself, and require a special bureau to secure a proper accountability in the administration of its finances.

I call your attention to the additional legislation required for this department—to the recommendation for changes in the law fixing the rates of postage on newspapers, and sealed packages of certain kinds, and specially to the recommendation of the Secretary, in which I concur, that you provide at once for the assumption by him of the control of our entire postal service.

In the military organization of the States, provision is made for Brigadier and Major-Generals, but in the army of the Confederate States the highest grade is that of Brigadier-General; hence it will no doubt sometimes occur that where troops of the Confederacy do duty with the militia, the General selected for the command, and possessed of the views and purposes of this Government, will be superseded by an officer of the militia not

having the same advantages.

To avoid contingencies in the least objectionable manner, I recommend that additional rank be given to the General of the Confederate army, and concurring in the policy of having but one grade of Generals in the army of the Confederacy, I recommend that the law of its organization be amended, so that the grade be that of General.

To secure thorough military education, it is deemed essential that officers should enter upon the study of their profession at an early period of life, and have elementary instruction in a military school.

Until such school shall be established, it is recommended that cadets be appointed and attached to companies, until they shall have attained the age, and shall have acquired the knowledge to fit them for the duties of lieutenants.

I also call your attention to an omission in the law organizing the army, in relation to military chaplains, and recommend that

provision be made for their appointment.

In eonclusion, I congratulate you on the fact, that in every portion of our country there has been exhibited the most patriotic devotion to our common cause. Transportation companies have freely tendered the use of their lines for troops and supplies.

The Presidents of the railroads of the Confederacy, in company with others, who control lines of communication with the States that we hope soon to greet as sisters, assembled in convention in this city, have not only reduced largely the rates heretofore demanded for mail service, and conveyance of troops and munitions, but have voluntarily proffered to receive their compensation at their reduced rates in the bonds of the Confederacy, for the purpose of leaving all the resources of the Government at its own dis-

posal for the common defence.

Requisitions for troops have been met with such alacrity, that the numbers tendering their service have in every instance greatly exceeded the demand. Men of the highest official and social position are serving as volunteers in the ranks. The gravity of age, the zeal of youth, rival each other in the desire to be foremost in the public defence; and though at no other point than the one heretofore noticed have they been stimulated by the excitement incident to actual engagement, and the hope of distinction for individual deportment, they have borne, what for new troops is the most severe ordeal, patient toil, constant vigil, and all the exposure and discomfort of active service with a resolution and fortitude such as to command the approbation and justify the highest expectation of their conduct, when active valor shall be required in place of steady endurance.

A people thus united and resolute eannot shrink from any sacrifice which they may be called on to make; nor can there be a reasonable doubt of their final success; however long and severe may be the test of their determination to maintain their birthright of freedom and equality as a trust which it is their first duty to transmit unblemished to their posterity.

A bounteous Providence cheers us with the promise of abundant

crops.

The field of grain which will, within a few weeks, be ready for the sickle, gives assurance of the amplest supply of food; whilst the corn, cotton, and other staple productions of our soil, afford abundant proof that up to this period the season has been propitious.

We feel that our eause is just and holy.

We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire

peace at any sacrifice, save that of honor.

In independence we seek no eonquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us, shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist, to the direct extremity.

The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial.

So long as this pretension is maintained, with firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent rights to freedom, independence, and self-government.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Montgomery, April 29, 1861.

COTTON AND ITS SUPPLY.

The manufacturing and commercial communities are deeply exercised at present, respecting the supply of cotton for manufacturing purposes. Very large meetings have been held recently in England, and active measures taken to encourage the cultivation and development of cotton in several of the British colonies; and in private, as well as public, cotton has been the universal theme of discussion. The whole cotton crop of America, in 1860, was 4,675,770 bales; and of this, 3,697,727 bales were exported, and 978,043 bales used at home. England alone took 2,582,000 bales, which amounted to about four-fifths of her entire consumption. It is no wonder that this question causes considerable excitement at present, and especially in England, where four millions of persons are stated to be connected with, and dependent for support on, the cotton manufacture.

The great desire of eotton manufacturers is to increase the supply of cotton in many different parts of the world, so that they may not be so dependent upon one particular section of the globe. Several erroneous views have lately been propagated on this subject. The growers of any material are just as dependent upon consumers as the latter are upon the former. The laws of trade regulate these things, and there is no earthly mode of controlling the influence of the cotton-growing region of the Gulf of Florida but by raising as good qualities of cotton, at lower prices, in other sections of the world. Now the question arises: "Can this be accomplished?" So far as we have knowledge of the various

climates, we think it cannot, without new agencies being brought into requisition. Cotton requires a warm, moist climate; it is as sensitive to droughts as to frosts, and so far as we know, the warm breezes of the Gulf of Florida supply that moisture to the plant in America, which cannot be obtained in any other warm climate without artificial irrigation. Cotton is raised in Egypt, the land of no rain; but the plants are watered by artificial agencies, from the Nile, at a great cost for such labor. In India, Africa, and China, wet and dry seasons prevail; there are no gentle showers of frequent recurrence, as in the Southern States; therefore, the droughts in those countries are unfavorable to the cultivation of cotton, as compared with America. The development of the American cotton trade affords evidence of great natural advantages. The cotton fields of the Southern States embrace an area of 500,000 square miles, and the capital invested in the cultivation of the plant amounts to \$900,000,000. Seventy years ago, the exports of our cotton were only 420 bales—not one-tenth of the amount furnished by several countries to England. Now the South furnishes five-sevenths of the surplus cotton product of the entire world; it has increased, while other cotton countries have decreased. There must be a reason for this, as the best American herbaceous cotton is not indigenous to the soil; the seed was first imported. We can only attribute these results to great care in its culture, and the natural advantages of climate, which we have described.

COTTON CROP OF THE UNITED STATES.

Statement and Total Amount for the year ending 31st August, 1861.

,, 2002.	T. 1	m
LOUISIANA.	Bales.	Total.
Export from New Orleans,		
To Foreign nerts	1 500 050	
To Foreign ports	1,783,673	
To Coastwise ports	$132,\!179$	
Burnt at New Orleans	3,276	
Stock, 1st September, 1861	10,118	
		1,929,246
Deduct,		-,,
Received from Mobile	48,270	
Received from Montgomery, etc	11,551	
Received from Florida		
Received from Marca	13,279	
Received from Texas	30,613	
Stock, 1st September, 1860	73,934	
		
	177,647	1,751,599
ALABAMA.	,	, ,
Export from Mobile,		
To Foreign ports	456,421	
To Coastwise ports.		
Manufactured in Mobile, (estimated)	127,574	
Stook lot Sontember 1001	2,000	
Stock, 1st September, 1861	2,481	
T) - 1		588,476
Deduct,		
Stock, 1st September, 1860	41,682	546,794
TEXAS.		,
Export from Galveston, etc.,		
To Foreign ports	62 200	
To Construige norts	63,209	
To Coastwise ports	84,254	
Stock, 1st September, 1861	452	
TO 1 4		147,015
Deduct,		
Stock, 1st September, 1860	3,168	144,747
FLORIDA.		, -
Export from Apalachicola, St. Mark, etc.,		
To Foreign ports	00.070	
To Foreign ports	28,073	
To Coastwise ports	85,953	
Burnt at St. Mark's	150	
Stock, 1st September, 1861	7,860	
		122,036
Deduct,		,
Stock, 1st September, 1860	846	121,172
. ,	010	141,114

	Bales.	Total.
GEORGIA.		
Export from Savannah,		
To Foreign ports—		
Uplands	293,746	
Sea Islands	8,441	
To Coastwise ports—	Í	
Uplands	170,572	
Sea Islands	11,512	
Stock in Savannah, 1st September, 1861	4,102	
Stock in Augusta, etc., 1st August, 1861	5,991	
		494,364
Deduct,		
Received from Florida—		
Sea Islands	1,033	
Uplands	6,188	
Stock in Savannah, September 1st, 1860	4,307	
Stock in Augusta, etc., 1st Sept., 1860	$\tilde{5,}252$	
5 , · · , · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
SOUTH CAROLINA.	16,780	477,584
Export from Charleston and Georgetown, S.	C	111,001
To Foreign ports—	·.,	
Uplands	199,345	
Sea Islands	15,043	
To Coastwise ports—	10,010	
Uplands	121,663	
Sea Islands	8,355	
Burnt at Charleston	564	
Stock in Charleston, 1st September, 1861	2,899	
brook in Charleston, 150 beptember, 1001	2,000	347,869
Deduct,		011,000
Received from Florida and Savannah—		
Sca Islands	255	
Uplands	2,378	
Stock in Charleston, 1st September, 1860	8,897	
block in Charleston, 1st September, 1000	0,001	
NORTH CAROLINA.	11,530	336,339
Export,	11,000	000,000
To Foreign ports	195	
To Coastwise ports	56,100	
To Coastwise ports	50,100	56,295
WID COM A		50,255
VIRGINIA.	870	
To Foreign ports	61,129	
To Coastwise ports	16,933	
Manufactured, (taken from the ports,)	2,000	
Stock, 1st September, 1861	4,000	80 022
Dodnat		80,932
Deduct,	2,800	78,132
Stock, 1st September, 1860	2,000	10,104

	Bales.	Total.
TENNESSEE, ETC.		
Shipments from Memphis, Tenn	369,857	
Shipments from Nashville, Tenn	16,471	
Shipments from Columbus and Hickman, Ky.	5,500	
Stock at Memphis, 1st September, 1861	1,671	
1 , 1 ,		393.499
Deduct,		,
Shipments to New Orleans	196,366	
Manufactured on the Ohio, etc	52,000	
Stock, 1st September, 1860	1,709	
, x-r		
	250,075	143,424
	250,075	140,424

Trade and Shipping of the Seceded States, for the year ending June 30, 1859.

Principal Ports.	Reg. Tonnage.	En. Tonnage.
Charleston, S. C	. 36,496	25,087
Savannah, Ga		12,757
Mobile, Ala	22,935	22,836
New Orleans, La		86,982

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1858, the American and foreign tonnage and number of vessels which entered all the ports in the seceded States, including Texas, were as follows:

Cotton States.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
Alabama	227	149,415
Georgia	200	90,156
Louisiana	1,129	758,371
Florida	290	58,638
North Carolina	288	42,735
Texas	39	17,728
South Carolina	395	153,834
Total	${2,563}$	${1,254,882}$

The value of exports and imports at the ports in the above States, was as follows, for the years named:

Imports.	Exports.
1858\$23,165,457	1858\$141,267,372
185929,124,538	1859 171,618,814
Total \$52,289,905	Total\$312,886,186

The ports most prominent for their value of exports, were New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston. For the year ending June 30, 1859, they stand as follows:

Exports	of Domestic Produce.	Imports.
New Orleans	\$100,890,689	\$18,109,516
Mobile	28,933,652	788,164
Savannah	15,372,696	624,599
Charleston		1,438,535
Total	\$163,099,081 21,200,814	\$21,200,814
Excess of exports over imports		\$141,898,217
The total value of exports from the United States for the year ending June 30, 1859, of all kinds of foreign and domestic produce, with bullion and specie, (\$63,-		
887,411,) amounted to		338,763,130
four ports above		163,099,031
Balance	•	\$175,669,109

Thus showing that the domestic exports of these four ports of the seeeding States alone, nearly equalled one-half of the entire exports of the United States, of every description.

A Statement of the Supply and Consumption of Cotton in Europe and the United States, for the ten years ending with 1860.

YEAR.	U. States Crop.	Foreign Supply.	TOTAL.	Cons'mp- tion in Europe.	Cons'mp- tion in U. States.	TOTAL.
1851 1852 1853 1854 1855 1856 1857 1858 1859 1860	3.015,000 3,263,000 2,930,000 2,847,000 3,529,000 2,940,000 3,114,000 3,851,000	680,000 739,000 882,000 630,000 783,000 843,000 1,096,000 925,000 1,018,000 884,000	3,035,000 3,754,000 4,145,000 3,560,000 4,372,000 4,036,000 4,036,000 4,036,000 5,560,000	3,112,000 3,013,000 3,116,000 3,316,000 3,673,000 3,079,000 3,516,000	603,000 671,000 610,000 593,000 694,000 702,000 596,600 928,000	3,022,000 3,715,000 3,684,000 3,726,000 3,909,000 4,367,000 3,781,000 4,112,000 4,579,000 5,290,000
	32,520,000	8,480,000	41,000,000	33,415,000	6,779,000	40,194,000

SUGAR CROP OF LOUISIANA FOR 1860.

And Annual Statement of the Sugar Market of N. Orleans.

The crop, according to Mr. Champonier's annual sugar statement, amounted to 228,753 hhds, averaging 1150 lbs, and making an aggregate weight of 263,065,000 lbs. This embraced 195,490 hhds of Brown Sugar, made by the old process, and 33,263 refined, clarified, etc., including cistern bottoms, the whole being the product of 1292 Sugar Houses, of which 1009 were worked by steam, and 283 by horse power. The crop of the preceding year amounted to 221,840 hhds, weighing 255,115,750 lbs, showing an increase for the last year of over 6900 hhds, or about 7,950,000 lbs.

According to our calculations, the price of the entire crop has averaged 5½, against 7½c last year. At this average, and taking the estimate of 1150 fbs to the hogshead, the aggregate value of the crop of 228,753 hhds is \$14,468,627, against \$18,190,880, the product of 221,840 hhds last year; or a decrease of \$3,722,253. The receipts at the levec since the 1st of September have been 174,637 hhds and 5976 tierces and bbls, against 175,776 hhds and 4808 tierces and bbls last year.

The estimated stock on hand at the close of last season was 1000 hhds, and this amount, added to the crop, would make a supply of 229,753 hhds, and including the exports from Attakapas, 42,163 hhds; consumption of the city and neighborhood, 30,000 hhds; taken for refining, in the city and other parts of the State, including cistern bottoms, 10,000 hhds; estimated quantity taken to fill up hhds for shipment, 15,000 hhds; stock now on hand in the State, estimated at 5,000 hhds; leaving as the quantity taken for the West, etc., 127,590 hhds, against 133,423 hhds last year, or a decrease of 5833 hhds. The quantity shipped to Atlantie

ports is 32,323 hhds, against 33,553 hhds last year; showing a decrease of 1230 hhds.

According to a statement annually made up by the New-York Shipping and Commercial List, the total imports of foreign Sugar, into the United States, for the year ended December 31st, 1860, were 341,532 tons, (equal to 637,526 hogsheads of 1200 fbs each,) against 262,829 tons, or 490,614 hogsheads in 1859; and the quantity of this description taken for consumption in 1860, was 296,950 tons, against 239,034 tons in 1859; or an increase of about $24\frac{1}{2}$ \$\mathrm{\psi}\$ ct. The consumption of both foreign and domestic cane-Sugar in 1860, was 415,281 tons, against 431,184 tons in 1859; or a decrease in the total consumption of nearly $3\frac{3}{4}$ \$\mathbb{P}\$ ct. Besides the above, it is estimated that there entered into the consumption 13,392 tons of Sugar made from foreign and domestic Molasses, which, with the consumption of California and Oregon, estimated at 8000 tons, would give a grand total for the consumption of the United States, in 1860, of 464,673 tons, against 478,737 in 1859. This amount is equal to 1,040,867,520 lbs, or 867,389 hogsheads of 1200 ths each, giving an average (estimating the whole population at 30,000,000) of nearly 343 lbs to each man, woman, and child, including slaves.

We have compiled from our records the annexed Statement of the Sugar Product of Louisiana for the past twenty-seven years, showing the amount of each year's crop in hogsheads and pounds, with the gross average value \$\mathbb{\text{\text{H}}}\$ hogshead and total, the proportions taken by Atlantic ports and Western States, and the date of the first receipt of each crop. By this statement, it will be seen that the total product of Louisiana, from 1834 to 1860, inclusive, a period of twenty-seven years, was 5,065,302 hhds, valued at \$280,789,767, and that of this quantity the Atlantic ports took

1,551,529 hhds, and the Western States 2,575,467 hhds. The crops from 1828 (which is as far back as our estimates extend) to 1833, summed up 281,000 hogsheads, which would make the total product, in a period of thirty-two years, 5,346302 hogsheads, or 5,718,347,450 pounds. We would here remark, that up to 1848, the product in hogsheads is estimated, and 1000 pounds taken as the average weight \$\mathbb{P}\$ hogshead; but for the crops since that date, we have taken the figures of Mr. P A. Champonier, as we find them in his Annual Statements.

	TO	FAL CROP.	Av. Price		
YEAR.	Hhds.	Pounds.	Hhd.	Total Value.	
1834	100,000	100,000,000	\$60 00	\$6,000,000	
1835	30,000	30,000,000	90 00	2,700,000	
1836	70,000	70,000,000	60 00	4,200,000	
1837	65,000	65,000,000	62 50	5,062,500	
1838	70,000	70,000,000	62 50	4,375,000	
1839	115,000	115,000,000	50 00	5,750,000	
1840	87,000	87,000,000	55 00	4,785,000	
1841	90,000	90,000,000	40 00	3,600,000	
1842	140,000	140,000,000	42 50	4,750,000	
1843	100,000	100,000,000	60 00	6,000,000	
l844	200,000	200,000,000	45 00	9,000,000	
1845	186,650	186,650,000	$55 \ 00$	10,265,750	
1846	140,000	140,000,000	70 00	9,800,000	
847	240,000	240,000,000	40 00	9,600,000	
.848	220,000	220,000,000	40 00	8,800,000	
849	247,923	269,769,000	50 00	12,396,150	
850	211,303	231,194,000	60 00	12,678,180	
[851	236,547	257,138,000	50 00	11,827,350	
852	321,931	368,129,000	48 00	15,452,688	
1853	449,324	495,156,000	35 00	15,726,340	
854	346,635	385,726,000	52 00	18,025,020	
855	231,427	254,569,000	70 00	16,199,890	
856	73,976	81,373,000	110 00	8,137,360	
857	279,697	307,666,700	64 00	17,900,608	
1858	362,296	414,796,000	69 00	24,998,424	
859	221,840	255,115,750	82 00	18,190,880	
1860	228,753	263,065,000	63 25	14,468,627	
Cotal	5,065,302	5,437,347,450		280,789,767	

YEAR.	Exported to Atlantic Ports. Hogsheads.	Exported to Western States. Hogsheads.	First Receipts of New Crop.
1834	45,500	44,500	October 15.
1835	1,500	23,590	November 5.
1836	26,300	35,000	November 1.
837	$\frac{26,500}{24,500}$	32,500	November 1.
1838	26,500	32,500	October 17.
839	42,600	58,000	October 17.
1840	38,500	46,500	October 13.
841	28,000	50,000	October 14.
1842	63,000		
242		60,000	October 12.
18 4 3	34,000	52,000	October 22.
844	101,000	70,000	October 3.
.845	79,000	75,000	October 4.
846	45,500	70,000	October 7.
847	84,000	115,000	October 2.
848	90,000	108,000	October 5.
849	90,000	125,000	October 11.
850	45,000	123,000	October 17.
1851	42,000	149,000	October 19.
1852	82,000	206,000	October 9.
[853	166,000	185,000	October 6.
[854	122,000	143,000	October 4.
855	39,133	131,027	October 10.
856	1,850	39,576	November 3.
857	73,885	153,012	September 29
858	93,885	187,339	September 20.
859	88,553	133,423	October 8.
860	32,323	127,590	September 27.
Total	1,551,529	2,575,467	

EXTENT OF THE TOBACCO INTEREST.

An able memorial, addressed by a leading and well-known eitizen of Riehmond to the Macon Convention, furnishes some valuable and interesting statistics on the tobaceo interest. We have been put at liberty to use some of these statistics, gathered from the manuscript of the writer.

The annual revenue from tobacco in England is about twenty-five millions of dollars; the consumption being, for

1858, 33,739,133 pounds; in 1859, 34,459,864 pounds; and in 1860, 35,306,846 pounds. In 1858, our exports to England and her colonies were twenty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-four hogsheads, four thousand two hundred and twenty-three boxes, and one thousand four hundred and fifty-seven bales—their whole value in dollars, as declared at the custom-houses of the United States, was four millions three hundred and ninety-nine thousand three hundred and sixty-one dollars. In 1859, the official returns make our exports 37,906 hogsheads, 2,068 boxes, 3,891 bales, valued at \$6,000,234; in other words, the value of this article shipped to England by us, when grown and placed on shipboard, is, on an average, five millions; and, allowing the consumption of Great Britain to be four-fifths of American tobacco, the crop of our tobacco yields to her exchequer four times as much as it does to our planters, without any charge for that which she exports, or for that which goes to her colonies direct. The duty is three shillings sterling on each pound of leaf tobacco, and five per cent. on the manufactured, labout nine shillings and sixpence-say seventy-five cents on leaf, and two dollars and twenty-five cents on the manufactured, per pound.

In France, in the year 1791, the Regie and Farmers General were abolished, and a duty of 20 francs on 100 pounds imported by foreign vessels, and three-fourths of that sum, if on French vessels, was substituted; and, in 1799, it was increased to sixty-six francs on that in foreign vessels, and on that in French vessels to forty-four francs, with an exeise tax of forty centimes (about eighty cents) on the kilogramme (2 20-100 pounds) was imposed on the manufacturer, and twenty-four centimes (about five cents) the kilogramme on leaf or smoking tobacco. Under this system the revenue amounted to only \$1,129,708. In 1804, the whole subject

was entrusted to the general administration of the customs, the fullest rigor was exercised, and domiciliary visits were made to both sellers and manufacturers. The revenue was brought up to \$12,600,000; the duties were doubled in 1804, and again in 1806, with all possible appliances of the most rigid surveillance. The revenue only reached, in 1811, \$16,000,000. From this period, the sale and manufacture became a government monopoly. By this system, the revenue was brought up to \$25,000,000, in 1820. The sales that year, by government, were 12,645,277 kilogrammes, producing \$64,027,137 Deducting expenses of cost of tobacco, and of the manufacture, the net revenue was 42,219,604 francs. In 1830, the sales were 11,169,554 kilogrammes; proceeds, \$81,366,947; the costs of tobacco, and manufacture, \$22,338,035; net revenue, \$59,028,912. In 1838, tobacco, purchased chiefly in America, was 6,520,569 kilogrammes, valued at \$14,497,309. The consumption of all tobacco in France, in 1858, was 21,981,096 kilogrammes; in 1859, 24,099,837 kilogrammes. In 1826, the declared value of American, and all other tobacco, per pound, was about nineteen cents, (or, to use French terms,) two francs thirty centimes for the kilogramme. In 1859, \$145 per kilogramme, or about twelve cents per pound, was the declared value of the tobacco, as received at the ports of France. Of the receipts, American tobacco constituted 19,846,198 kilogrammes, say 43,661,635 pounds—about thirty thousand hogsheads in all. The revenue for 1860 was the enormous sum of \$36,000,000, say 180,000,000 francs, and employed thirty thousand persons in its culture, manufacture, and sale. On this subject, an argument addressed to the French Government, through the Court dc Vergennes, by Mr. Jefferson, dated at Paris, August 15th, 1785, is full of argument, and we may at once recognize that it had produced its impres-

sion for six years afterwards. The ports were thrown open to tobacco, at very low dutics, comparatively. On the 22d of June, 1848, M. Thouret laid a proposition before the French Assembly, "that the sale of tobaeco and snuff should no longer be exclusively in the hands of the Govern-The proposition did not receive twenty-five votes of an assembly of more than six hundred members, and thus fell to the ground-that number of assenting votes being required before any proposition can come before the Chambers, even for consideration. This vote would seem to show that public opinion in France was in favor of the monopoly, when we consider that the members have been so recently chosen by universal suffrage throughout all parts of France." These extraets are from Mr. Rush's late work, page 481. This is the care which the late Government bestowed on our commercial interests. Mr. Jefferson not only wrote down his conversations on the subject, but he submitted faets and considerations worthy of the great interests at stake. The indifferent memorandum by Mr. Rush was enough for him and the interests he represented in France. The article of tobaeeo is a monopoly in Sardinia, and all Italy, and in Austria, and also in Spain. A very valuable note on the last principle, page 179, taken from Jefferson's report in 1799, and a report on commercial relations of the United States, 34th Congress, first session, will be used by those who would wish to investigate the subject further. We may affirm that, upon the export of two hundred millions of pounds of manufactured and leaf tobaceo, which is below the average exports annually, the foreign governments of the world eolleet, at the least, seventy-five to one hundred millions dollars of revenue.

THE TOBACCO TRADE OF VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, October 30, 1861.

The following tables will show, at a glance, the receipts, inspections, exports, and stocks for five years past:

	Receipts.	Inspections.	Exports.	Stocks.Oct. 1.
1860-'61	36,324	31,676	19.469	16,300
1859='60	53.498	46,633	20.474	17.331
1858='59		41,797	22.713	9.711
1857-'58	61.868	44,616	33.153	7,900
1856-'57	38.718	30,534	20.143	3,924

The figures showing the exports in 1856-57 do not include coastwise shipments, no available record having been kept for that season.

FOREIGN—The exports of leaf tobacco from Richmond, direct to foreign ports, from October 1st to June 1st, (when the blockade precluded further shipments,) are exhibited in the following table, in connection with the exports for the full term of the preceding four "tobacco years:"

ļ	1860-1.	I\$59-*60.	1858-*9.	1857-*8.	1856-7.
To Antwerp				1,847	
To Bordeaux	600	1,756	931	1,145	1,556
To Bremen	2,962	2,475	1.942	4,685	3,360
To Bristol	230	411	656	937	538
To Brit. Am. Prov	47				
To Dublin		520		521	
To Genoa	2,190	2,913	458	240	700
To Gibraltar			765		
To Glasgow			352		
To Havre	750	2,166	5,811	2.785	2,162
To Leith		361			
To Liverpool	3,113	2.389	3,754	5.832	4,253
To London	420	2,461	2.543	1,901	1,722
To Marseilles	270	690	835	693	550
To Porto Rico	•••••				6
To Rotterdam		1,131	255	581	
To Venice		1,525	472	5.962	5,296
Total hogsheads	10,582	18,793	18,774	27,129	20,143

The exports to France in 1860-'1, were only 1,620 hhds., against 4,612 hhds. in 1859-'60, and 7,577 hhds. in 1858-'9. The exports to Great Britain and Ireland in 1860-'1 were 3,763 hhds., against 6,142 hhds. in 1859-'60, and 7,305 hhds. in 1858-'9. The net decrease of the shipments to all ports in 1860-'1, as compared with 1849-'60, is 8,216 hhds.

The value of the tobacco and stems exported from Richmond, for the past four years, is as follows:

Quarter Ending.	1857-'8.	1858-'9.	1859-'60.	1860-'61.
December 31st March 31st June 30th September 30th	68,182 812,943	533,071 53,917 576,999 1,900,493	762,632 193,714 171,942 1,553,401	620,557 148,468 347,551
Total	\$4,348,600	3,064,480	2,681,489	1,116,586

COASTWISE.—Export of leaf tobacco to New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and of stems to Baltimore, for four years past, as follows:

	To N. Y.	To Pa.	To Balt.	Total.	Stems to B.
1860-'1 1859-'60 1858-'9 1857-'8	$1,645 \\ 1,172$	46 32 44 115	4,267 2,539 1,006 2,192	$\begin{array}{c} 6,360 \\ 4,216 \\ 2,222 \\ 4,522 \end{array}$	1,418 2,937 4,208 1,952

In the registration of exports, by packets, from the dock, there is no discrimination between leaf and stems. The combined coastwise shipments during the past twelve months, were 2,927 hlds., against 4,660 linds, the previous season, and 2,417 hlds. in 1858-'9. The shipments of the past season include 150 hlds, sent to City Point, in July, to be forwarded (as was believed,) to the North Carolina coast for shipment to Europe.

RECAPITULATION.

	1858-'9.	1859-'60.	1860-'1.
Exports from dock	2,417 700	4,660 1,200	2,927 400
Exports of leaf by stcamers	$\frac{-}{1,717}$ $2,222$	$\begin{bmatrix} \\ 3,460 \\ 4,216 \end{bmatrix}$	$\frac{-}{2,527}$ $6,360$
Total coastwise exports of lcaf Total foreign exports of leaf	${3,939}$ $18,774$	${7,676}$ $18,798$	${8,887}$ $10,582$
Aggregate exports of leaf	22,713	26,474	$\overline{19,469}$

MANUFACTURED TOBACCO.

We annex our annual statistics of the business in manufactured tobacco:

RECEIPTS.—The receipts at Richmond, during the past four seasons, from the factories at Lynchburg, Danville, etc., were as follows:

	Packages.		Packages.
1857–'8	119,290	1859–'60	159,035
1858='9	154,896	1860–'61	50.251

EXPORTS.—The exports from Richmond, by steamers, during the past four seasons, were as follows:

	To New-York.	To Philadel.	To Baltimore.	Total.
1857-'58	108,352	36,277	$\begin{array}{c} 86,393 \\ 123,761 \\ 126,868 \\ 49,010 \end{array}$	230,962
1858-'59	149,945	41,435		315,141
1859-'60	114,041	34,366		275,275
1860-'61	33,112	12,430		94,552

The exports from the dock, for the same four seasons, were as follows:

F	ackages.	F	ackages.
1857–'8	$49, \overline{4}93$	1859='60	-60,820
1858–'9	59,858	1860–'61 ·····	24,856

The business of the year just closed compares with that of the previous season, as follows:

	1 859= ' 60,	1860-'61.
Total exports from dock, [packages] Total exports by steamers, "	$\begin{array}{c} 60,820 \\ 275,275 \end{array}$	24.856 $94,552$
Aggregate coastwise exports	336.095 159,035	$ \begin{array}{r} \hline 119,408 \\ 50,251 \end{array} $
Products of city factorics exported	175,060	69,157

RATES OF POSTAGE IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

RATES OF POSTAGE BETWEEN PLACES WITHIN THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.—On Letters.—Single letters, not exceeding half an ounce in weight, for any distance under 500 miles, 5 cents; for any distance over 500 miles, 10 cents; an additional single rate for each additional half ounce or less. Drop letters, 2 cents each. In the foregoing cases, the postage to be prepaid by stamps or stamped envelopes. Advertised letters, 2 cents each.

On Packages—Containing other than printed or written matter—money packages are included in this class—to be rated by weight, as letters are rated, and to be charged double the rates of postage on letters, to wit: For any distance under 500 miles, 10 cents for each half ounce or less; for any distance over 500 miles, 20 cents for each half ounce or less. In all cases to be prepaid by stamps or stamped envelopes.

On Newspapers sent to regular and bona fide subscribers from the office of publication, and not exceeding 3 ounces in weight:

Within the State where Published.—Weekly paper, 6½ cents per quarter; semi-weekly paper, 13 cents per quarter; tri-weekly paper, 19½ cents per quarter; daily paper, 39 cents per quarter. In all cases the postage to be paid quarterly in advance, at the offices of the subscribers.

Without the State where Published.—Weekly paper, 13 cents per quarter; semi-weekly paper, 26 cents per quarter; tri-weekly paper, 39 cents per quarter; daily paper, 78 cents per quarter. In all cases the postage to be paid quarterly in advance, at the offices of the subscribers.

On Periodicals sent to regular and bona fide subscribers

from the office of publication, and not exceeding 1½ ounce in weight:

Within the State where Published.—Monthly, 3 cents per quarter, or 1 cent for each number; semi-monthly, 6 cents per quarter, or 1 cent for each number—an additional cent each number for every additional ounce or less beyond the first 1½ ounce; bi-monthly, or quarterly, 1 cent an ounce. In all cases, the postage to be paid quarterly in advance, at the offices of subscribers.

Without the State where Published.—Not exceeding $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounce in weight:

Monthly, 6 cents per quarter, or 2 cents for each number; semi-monthly, 12 cents per quarter, or 2 cents for each number—two cents additional for every additional ounce or less beyond the first $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounce; bi-monthly, or quarterly, 2 cents an ounce. In all cases the postage to be paid quarterly in advance at the offices of the subscribers.

On Transient Printed Matter.—Every other newspaper, pamphlet, periodical, and magazine, each circular not sealed, hand-bill, and engraving, not exceeding three ounces in weight, 2 cents, for any distance—two cents additional for each additional ounce or less beyond the first 3 ounces. In all cases, the postage to be prepaid by stamps or stamped envelopes.

Franking Privilege.—The following persons only are entitled to the franking privilege, and in all cases strictly confined to official business: Postmaster-General, his Chief Clerk, Auditor of the Treasury for the Postoffice Department, and Deputy Postmasters.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS AND DIARY OF THE PRESENT REVOLUTION.

December 20, 1860.....Sudden evacuation of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, United States army. He spikes the guns, burns the gun-carriages, and retreats to Fort Sumter, which he occupies.

December 27......Capture of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney by the South Carolina troops. Captain Coste surrenders the revenue-cutter Aiken.

January 3, 1861......Capture of Fort Pulaski by the Savannah troops.

January 3......The arsenal at Mount Vernon, Ala., with 20,000 stand of arms, seized by the Alabama troops.

January 4......Fort Morgan, in Mobile Bay, taken by the Alabama troops.

January 9......The steamship Star of the West fired into and driven off by the South Carolina batteries on Morris' Island. Failure of the attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter.

January 10......Forts Jackson, St. Philips and Pike, near New Orleans, captured by the Louisiana troops.

January 13......Capture of the Pensacola Navy-Yard, and Forts Barraneas and McRae. Major Chase shortly afterwards takes command, and the siege of Fort Pickens commences.

January 13......Surrender of the Baton Rouge arsenal to the Louisiana troops.

January 31.....The New Orleans Mint and Custom-House taken.

February 2......Seizure of the Little Rock arsenal by the Arkansas troops.

February 4.....Surrender of the revenue-cutter Cass to the Alabama authorities.

February 16......General Twiggs transfers the public property in Texas to the State authorities. Colonel Waite, U.S. A., surrenders San Antonio to Colonel Ben. McCulloch and his Texas Rangers.

February 18......Inauguration of President Davis at Montgomery, Alabama.

March 2.....The revenue-cutter Dodge seized by the authorities of Texas.

March 5......General Beauregard assumes command of the troops besieging Fort Sumter.

March 12......Fort Brown, in Texas, surrendered by Captain Hill to the Texas Commissioners.

April 12-13......Battle of Fort Sumter. Brilliant victory gained by General Beauregard and the South Carolina troops. After thirty-four hours' bombardment, the fort surrenders to the Confederate States.

April 14..... Evacuation of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson and his command.

April 14......Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, issues a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers to put down the "Southern rebellion."

April 15......Colonel Reeves, U. S. A., surrenders Fort Bliss, near El Paso, to Colonel J. W. McGriffin, the Texas Commissioner.

April 16......Seizure of the North Carolina forts and the Fayetteville arsenal by the State troops.

April 17.....Capture of the steamship Star of the West by Colonel Van Dorn, C. S. A.

April 19.....The Baltimore massacre. The citizens of Baltimore attack with missiles the Northern mercenaries passing through their city en route for the South. The Massachusetts regiment fires on the people, and many are killed. Two mercenaries are also shot. Great excitement follows,

and the Maryland people proceed to burn the railroad bridges and tear up the track.

April 20......Capture of the Federal army at Indianola, Texas, by Colonel Van Dorn, C. S. A. The Federal officers released on parole.

April 20.....Attempted destruction of Norfolk Navy-yard by the Federal authorities. The works set on fire and several ships scuttled and sunk. The Federal troops retreat to Fortress Monroe. The Navy-yard subsequently occupied by the Virginians.

April 20......Harper's Ferry evacuated by the Federal troops under Lieutenant Jones, who attempts the destruction of the armory by fire. The place occupied by Virginia troops.

April 28......Fort Smith, Arkansas, captured by the Arkansas troops under Colonel Solon Borland.

May 9.....The blockade of Virginia commenced.

May 10.....Baltimore occupied by a large body of Federal troops under General B. F. Butler.

May 10.....A body of 5,000 Federal volunteers, under Captain Lyon, U. S. A., surround the encampment of 800 Missouri State troops, near St. Louis, and oblige them to surrender.

May 10.....The St. Louis massacre. The German volunteers, under Colonel Francis P Blair, Jr., wantonly fire upon the people in the streets of St. Louis, killing and wounding a large number.

May 11.....The St. Louis massaere: repetition of the terrible scenes of May 10. The defenceless people again shot down. Thirty-three citizens butchered in cold blood.

May 11.....The blockade of Charleston harbor commenced by the United States steamer Niagara.

May 19, 20, 21.....Attack on the Virginia batteries at Sewell's Point, near Norfolk, by the United States steamer

Monticello, aided by the steamer Minnesota. The assailants driven off with loss. No one hurt on the Virginia side.

May 24......Alexandria, Virginia, occupied by 5,000 Federal troops, the Virginians having retreated. Killing of Colonel Ellsworth by the heroie Jaekson.

May 25......Hampton, Va., near Fortress Monroe, taken by the Federal troops. Newport News occupied.

May 27.....New Orleans and Mobile blockaded.

May 29.....President Davis arrives in Riehmond.

May 31.....Fight at Fairfax Court-House between a company of United States eavalry and a Virginia eompany. The gallant Captain Marr killed; several Federal troops killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

June 1, 2, 3......Engagement at Aquia Creek, between the Virginia batteries and the United States steamers Wabash, Anaeosta, and Thomas Freeborn. The enemy withdrew, greatly damaged.

June 3.....Battle of Phillippa, in Western Virginia. Colonel Kelly, eommanding a body of Federal troops and Virginia tories, attacks an inferior force of Southerners at Phillippa, under Col. Porterfield, and routes them. Colonel Kelly severely wounded, and several on both sides reported killed.

June 5.....Fight at Pig's Point Battery, between the Confederate troops and the United States steamer Harriet Lane, resulting in the discomfiture of the enemy. The Harriet Lane badly hulled.

June 10......Battle of Great Bethel, near Yorktown, Va. This splendid victory was gained by eleven hundred North Carolinians and Virginians, commanded by Colonel J. Bankhead Magruder, over four thousand five hundred troops, under Brigadier General Pierce. The Federal troops attacked the Southern entrenehments, and after a fight of four hours,

were driven back and pursued to Hampton. Southern loss, one man killed and seven wounded. Federal loss believed to be several hundred. They confess to thirty killed and one hundred wounded.

June 12.....Governor Jaekson, of Missouri, issues a proelamation, ealling the people of that State to arms. He eommenees to eoneentrate troops at Jefferson City, burning the bridges on the route to St. Louis and the East.

June 15......Harper's Ferry evacuated by General Joseph E. Johnston and the Confederate troops.

June 16.....Skirmish at Vienna, Va., between Colonel Gregg's South Carolina regiment and the 5th Ohio regiment. The enemy routed, with the loss of several killed. General Robert Sehenek, the Federal leader, unfortunately not among the number. This was represented as a trivial affair, but was important in the chain of events, and indicative of after results.

June 17.....Gen. Butler demanded 15,000 additional troops at Fortress Monroe. The Southerners burn seventy locomotives on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. An order from Gov. Magoffin that no Tennessee troops shall occupy any portion of Kentucky. The thermometer at Alexandria 105° in the shade. Wise moving opposite McClellan's advance. Sawyer's cannon mounted at Rip Raps.

June 18.....Seott boasts of the evacuation of Harper's Ferry as in perfect accordance with his plans, and that no Southern movements can in the slightest degree affect his programme. Aquia Creek defenses increased. At St. Louis, the Federal soldiers fire on the people, killing seven and wounding a large number. The battle of Boonville, where Gov. Jackson was compelled to retire before Gen. Lyon.

June 19.....Andy Johnson spoke three hours at Lexing-

ton, Ky. Frank Pierpont appointed Governor of Western Virginia. The Virginia ordinance passed 73 to 3, and a State seal ordered.

June 20.....Gen. Lyon occupies Boonville. The Federal force, 5000, at Vienna. Gen. McClellan and staff leave Cincinnati for Virginia.

June 21.....Southerners erecting masked batteries opposite Rip Raps. Rosseau has authority to raise two Kentucky regiments, with blank commissions in his hands. Surveyor Cotton orders that permits shall be obtained for freights over the Louisville and Nashville railroad. A battle between McDowell's division and Beauregard, at Vienna, anticipated—the main blow, with 45,000 men, to be struck from Washington, intending to effect a surprise.

June 23.....Mississippi Sound blockaded by Federal warvessels. Coasting schooners fired on by the fleet: no damage done.

June 24......Serious Bank riot in Milwaukie, Wis. Military ordered out, and fire on the people, killing nearly 100.

June 25......Harper's Ferry evacuated by the Federals.

June 28.....Skirmish near Cumberland, Va., in which the Federals took to inglorious retreat.

June 29.....The jury, with regard to the late bloody tragedy in St. Louis, brought in a verdict that the shooting of citizens by the Federal troops was done without provocation.

July 1.....Mouth of the Mississippi river blockaded by the Federal fleet. The eity authorities of Baltimore arrested on charge of treason against the Federal Government. Martial law proclaimed.

July 2.....Ship St. Nieholas taken possession of by Com. Hollins, of Confederate Navy.

July 3.....The Lincoln Cabinet decides a grand advance

of the Federal army towards Richmond, Va. Fremont commissioned as Major General in the Federal army.

July 5.....Battle of Carthage, Mo., between the State troops, under command of Gov. Jackson, and the Federals, under Gen. Siegel. The battle was a bloody one; Siegel's forces were nearly surrounded and cut to pieces. The Federal loss, 700 killed and wounded; Southern loss, 270 killed and wounded.....Federal forces, under Gen. Patterson, take possession of Martinsburg, Va. Patterson advances and attacks the Confederate forces, under command of Gen. Johnston. The Federals are defeated, with great slaughter, and forced back to Martinsburg.....A heavy skirmish occurred near Newport News, between a body of Federals and a Louisiana battalion, under command of Lieut. Col. Drew Col. Drew was killed in leading the attack. The Federals were forced to retreat, after suffering a loss of 50 killed and wounded.

July 8......Gen. Johnston's army near Martinsburg was reinforced, and he prepares to move his forces to effect a junction with Gen. Beauregard, near Manassas......General Lyon marching towards Boonville, Mo.; he compels the people to take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government, as he advances.

July 10.....McClcllan marching on Beverly, Va.; constant skirmishing occurring between the Federals and Southerners.

July 11.....Rich Mountain fight, between a regiment of Virginians, under command of Col. Pegrim, and a large body of Federals. After a hard-fought battle, Col. Pegrim was forced to retreat before a greatly superior number. Virginians lost 142 killed and wounded; Federal loss, 110 killed and wounded.....Laurel Hill evacuated by Gen. Garnett and the Confederate forces.

July 12.....A peace petition, gotten up by the citizens of New York City, is seized by the city marshal.....McClellan pursues Gen. Garnett, and attacks the rear of his retreating forces. Gen. Garnett, in covering the rear of his forces, was killed. The forces under McClellan numbered 20,000 men; Garnett's force was small. The main body of Garnett's forces made a safe retreat.

July 17......Battle of Scary Creek, Kanawha Valley, between a body of Federals, 2800 strong, and a body of Virginians, (700,) under Gcn. Wise. The Virginians achieved a signal victory over the Federals, and took many prisoners. Loss not known.....The Federal Grand Army, under the command of Gen. McDowell, advances in three divisions towards Manassas.

July 18......Battle of Bull Run, Va. A great and decisive victory was achieved, by Gcn. Beauregard, over the Federal forces. Federal loss, 450 killed and wounded; Confederate loss, 20 killed and 65 wounded. First defeat for Grand Army......Battle of Bull Creek, Va. The Grand Army makes another advance toward Bull Creek, with a force of 10,000 men, and attacks the Confederate forces, (7000,) under Gen. Bonham. After four hours hard fighting, the Federals were repulsed, with great slaughter. Federal loss, 245 killed and wounded; Confederate loss, 68 killed and wounded.

July 20......Provisional Congress (3d session) of the Confederate States met in Richmond, Va.

July 21.....Battle of Manassas, Va.—the largest and most severe battle ever fought on the American Continent. The battle began at 4 o'clock in the morning, and lasted until nearly 9 o'clock at night. The Federal forces, under command of Gen. McDowell, numbered 45,000 men. The Confederate army, under Gen. Beauregard, Gen. Johnston,

and President Davis, numbered 27,900, but only 20,000 of the Confederates were actually engaged in the battle. The Federals suffered a great and signal defeat; their army made the most disgraceful and cowardly retreat that ever took place in the annals of war. Federal loss, 3500 killed and wounded, and 700 taken prisoners; Confederate loss, 393 killed, and 1300 wounded.

July 22.....J W Tompkins was shot dead, while cheering for Jeff. Davis, by a city officer of Louisville, Ky.

July 24......Battle of Mesilla, Arizonia Territory. The Confederate forces, under Lieut. Col. Baylor, attacked a large body of the Federals at Fort Fillmore. After a desperate fight, the Federals were severely defeated, and compelled to evacuate the Fort. Federal loss, 32 killed and 500 taken prisoners.

July 25......Federal army retreats to Alexandria and Washington City......Gen. McClellan takes command of the remnant of the Grand Army at Washington.

July 30.....Gen. Pillow occupies New Madrid, Mo. The Confederate army concentrating in Southern Missouri.

August 3......Skirmish near Cassville, Mo. A body of 75 Southrons, after a sharp contest, defeated and routed a detachment of 123 Federals......The Federal war-steamer, Dart, made an attempt to bombard the city of Galveston, Texas. The attack was unsuccessful; the steamer was compelled to retire......The Federal forces, under command of Major Lynde, desert all the Federal forts in Arizonia, after destroying property and provisions. The forts taken possession of by Lieut. Col. Baylor, of the Confederate Army.

August 6......Fight at Dug Springs, Mo. An action took place to-day, between the Southerners, under Gen. McCulloch, and the Federals, under Gen. Lyon. The fight was brought on by McCulloch endeavoring to draw out Gen. Lyon in open

field. The Federals lost 40 killed and wounded; Confederate loss, 43 killed and wounded.

August 8.....The Southerners erecting batteries on the Potomac river, at Aquia Creek.....Fight at Rich Spring, Western Virginia. Another victory was achieved to-day. The Southerners, under Gen. Lee, encountered a body of the enemy, under Gen. Rosencranz, which resulted in the repulse and defeat of the Federals, who lost 50 killed and wounded. Confederate loss very light.

August 10.....Battle at Oak Hill, near Springfield, Mo. The Federal forces, under Gens. Lyon and Siegel, attack the Southerners, under Gen. McCulloch. After a desperate fight, the Federals were completely routed, and suffered a severe defeat in the death of Gen. Lyon. Federal loss, 2000 killed and wounded; Confederate loss, 365 killed, and 417 The Confederate forces amounted to 12,000 men; the Federal forces amounted to 10,000. The battle was fought under great disadvantages to the Southerners, only onc-half of whom were armed......Fight at Edina, Mo., between a body of Southerners and the Home Guards. latter were completely routed. Loss, 50 killed and wounded, on each side.....The newspaper-office of the Democratic Standard, at Concord, N. H., demolished by a mob, for reflecting on the cowardice of the returning three-months' volunteers.

August 12......Skirmish at Leesburg, Va. A large force of Federals crossed the Potomac on a marauding expedition. The Southerners attacked the expedition, and compelled the Federals to make a cowardly retreat.

August 16..... The Grand Jury of the Federal District of New York, presented the following newspapers, for expressing sympathy with the Southern cause: Journal of Commerce, New York News, Day-Book, Freeman's Journal, and Brooklyn Eagle.

August 17.....Lincoln's proclamation forbidding trade and travel with the seceding States.

August 20.....Gen. Jeff. Thompson occupies Commerce, Missouri, and ercets batteries on the river. Steamers City of Alton and Hannibal City fired on and sunk by the Confederate batteries; 400 Federals taken prisoners. Riot in Philadelphia. The newspaper office of the Pennsylvania Sentinel destroyed by the mob, for advocating a peace policy. Jeffersonian printing-office destroyed by the mob. A. S. Kimbal, editor of the Essex County Democrat, is tarred and feathered for opposing the war policy of the North. The Louisville Courier suppressed by Federal authority for espousing the cause of the South.

August 21......Fight at Charleston, Missouri; Confederates defeated with a small loss.

August 25......Commencement of the Reign of Terror throughout the Northern States. Men and women arrested and imprisoned for sympathizing with the Southern cause. Newspapers friendly to the South suppressed by order of the Federal Government. Citizens compelled to take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government.

August 26.....Battle of Cross-Lanes, Western Virginia. The Confederate forces, under General Floyd, attacked and surrounded a large body of Federals. The Federals were repulsed and defeated after a severe fight; losses not known.

August 31......Capture of Fort Hatteras by the Federal fleet under General Butler; after a gallant defence, Captain Barron, who commanded the forts, had to surrender to an overwhelming force of the enemy. General Butler's force amounted to eight war frigates and several smaller vessels, manned by 4,000 men. Captain Barron had only a defensive force of 330 men.

August 31.....Gen. Fremont, commander of the Federal

forces in St. Louis, issues his infamous proclamation, ordering all persons found in arms against the Federal Government, to be shot, and also declaring the slaves of persons sympathizing with the Southern cause, to be manumitted.

September 4.....Fight at Fort Scott, Mo. The Confederate force, under Gen. Price, and the Federals, under Lane and Montgomery; a severe battle was fought, which resulted in a fine victory for the Southerners. Losses not known.

September 5......Gov. Magoffin proclaims the neutrality of Kentucky.

September 6.....Battle of Shuter's Hill. The Confederate forces made a successful attack on Shuter's Hill; the Federal loss was 380 killed and wounded, and 300 taken prisoners; Confederate loss, 120 killed and wounded.

September 6.....Engagement at Hickman, Ky., between two Federal gun-boats, and one Confederate steamer. After firing several ineffectual shots, the Federals were forced to retire.

September 7......The seizure and occupation of Paducah, Ky., by the Federals under Gen. Grant. He fortifies the city.

September 8.....The occupation of Columbus, Kentucky, by the Confederate forces, under Generals Polk and Pillow.

September 10.....The Confederate forces take possession of Munson's Hill, Va. Skirmishes constantly occuring in the neighborhood of Arlington Heights, between Federals and Southerners.

September 10.....Fight at Carnifax Ferry, Western, Va. The Federal forces, under Gen. Rosencrans, attacked a detachment of Gen. Floyd's forces. After a severe and brisk engagement, which lasted for several hours, Gen. Floyd fell back.

September 12.....The Dubuque (Iowa) Herald suppressed for being friendly to the cause of the South.

September 18......Battle and siege of Lexington, Mo. The Confederate forces, under Gen. Price, attacked the city of Lexington, which was in possession of the Federals, under Col. Mulligan; the siege lasted three days, when the Federals were forced to surrender. Federal loss, 190 killed, 163 wounded, and 2,500 taken prisoners. Confederate loss, 145 killed and wounded.

September 21......Fight at Barboursville, Ky., between a body of 900 Confederates and 1,700 Federals. The Federal force suffered severely, and were forced to retreat.

September 25......Battle of La Mosa, Arizona Territory. A splendid victory was gained by the Southerners at La Mosa. The Federals were driven from the country. Losses not known.

October 2.....The Confederate forces, under Gen. Zollicoffer, take possession of Manchester, Kentucky.

October 3......Battle of Green-Brier River, Virginia. A splendid victory was gained by the Confederates. The Federals, under Gen. Reynolds, attacked the Confederate forces, under Gen. Jackson. After a close fight, the enemy fell back repulsed with a heavy loss.

October 4.....The Potomac river effectually blockaded by the Confederates.

October 8......Expedition to Chicamahcomico Creek, coast of North Carolina. Three Confederate steamers, under command of Commodore Lynch, made a successful attack on the Federal defences, and captured one Federal steamer, and took a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

October 8.....Fight on Santa Rosa Island, Gulf of Mexico. A small body of Confederates, under the command of General Anderson, planned and executed a successful attack on a large encampment of Federal "roughs," under the notorious "Billy Wilson." The Federals were completely routed, and cut to pieces.

October 12......Expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi River. Commodore Hollins, of the Confederate Navy, accomplished a splendid victory, by attacking the Federal blockading fleet, at the head of the Passes, sinking one Federal steamer, and driving the remainder of the flect out of the river.

October 16......Fight at Bolivar, near Harper's Ferry. Colonel Ashby, with a small body of Virginians, succeeded in repelling an attack of the Federals, in large force.

October 21......Battle at Leesburg, Virginia. The Confederate forces, under command of General Lee, attacked the Federals, under General Baker. The Federals were severely defeated, with great loss. General Baker was killed, and immense numbers of the Federals were drowned in retreating across the Potomac River. Federal loss, 732 killed and wounded, and 659 taken prisoners; Confederate loss, 147 killed and wounded.

October 22.....Fight in Carroll county, Missouri. A large body of Federals made an attack on a small force of Confederates. The Federals were severely repulsed.

October 24.....Fight at Romney, Western Virginia. The Federal forces, under General Kelly, made an attack on the Confederate defences at Romney. The Federals were forced to retire several times, and finally returned with a superior force. The Confederate forces, under Colonel McDonald, were compelled to withdraw from their defences. Losses unknown.

October 24.....Fight at Rock Castle Ford, Tennessee. The Confederate forces, under General Zollicoffer, attacked the Federals, and drove them from their entrenchments. Federal loss not known; Confederate loss, 30 killed and wounded.

October 29.....Fight at Fredericktown, Missouri. The

Confederate forces, under General Jeff. Thompson, were attacked by a large force of Federals. The Confederates gallantly defended their positions for several hours, when they were forced to retire before a superior force.

Oetober 29.....The great Federal armada sails for the Southern eoast.

Oetober 29......Fight on the Centreville road, near Leesburg. A Mississippi regiment, under Colonel Barksdale, encountered a large body of Federals; after a spirited fight, the Federals were badly repulsed.

November 2......Skirmish near Springfield, Missouri. A Federal force of mounted men attacked a body of Confederate eavalry; after a sharp encounter, the Federals were completely routed, with a severe loss.

November 5......Naval attack on Port Royal. Fifteen war vessels, from the Federal armada, attacked Forts Walker and Bay Point. The Confederate forces, after gallantly defending the forts, were forced to evacuate their positions before a greatly overwhelming force.

November 7......Battle of Belmont, Missouri, one of the hardest fought battles of the present war. The Federal forces, under Generals McClernand and Bowlin, attacked the Confederates, under General Pillow and General Polk. After a hard fought battle, the Federals were defeated, with heavy losses. Federal loss, 695 killed and wounded; Confederate loss, 465 killed and wounded, and 117 missing.

November 8......Battle of Pikeville, Kentucky. The Federal forces, under General Nelson, attacked the Confederates, under Colonel Williams. After a close fight, the Federals were repulsed, with a heavy loss......Mason and Slidell, Confederate States Ministers, arrested on the high seas, by Lieut. Wilkes, of the Federal Navy.

November 10......Fight at Guyandotte, Va. Resulted in

a complete victory for the Southerners. The Federal forces were surrounded and cut to pieces......Several skirmishes occurred at Bristol, Tenn., between the Union men and the Southerners. The Union men were completely routed, and great numbers of them captured.

November 13......The Great Northern Expedition ("The Wildcat Brigade,") to the Cumberland Gap, meets with a signal failure. The expedition, after accomplishing nearly one-half of their journey, took fright, when commenced a retreat which ended in a disgraceful stampede.

November 14......Fight at McCoy's Mill, Western Virginia, between the Federal forces, under Gen. Benham, and a detached force of Gen. Floyd's Brigade. The Federals had every advantage, in numbers, artillery, and position. The Confederates had no artillery. After a gallant fight, the Confederates were compelled to fall back. The most serious loss to the Confederates was in the death of Col. Croghan.

November 18......Skirmish at Fairfax Court House. A heavy skirmish took place at Fairfax Court House, between a large force of Yankees and a detachment of Virginians. The Yankees were driven from the field, after losing 10 men killed, and 8 wounded.....Fight at Jacksonboro', Tennessee River. Two Federal gun-boats attacked the Confederate battery. After a brisk engagement, the boats withdrew; quite a number of the enemy were killed, and one boat disabled.....A force of Federals, 8000 strong, invades and takes possession of Accomac county, Eastern Virginia. The Confederate forces, being small, and nearly without arms and ammunition, were compelled to give way to an overwhelming force.....Skirmish near Falls Church, Va., between advanced forces of the Federals and Southerners. A brisk fight took place, which ended in a total rout of the Federals.

November 20......Kentucky prepares to seek admission into the Confederate States. Provisional Constitution formed; G. W Johnson elected Governor.

November 22......Fight at Pensacola, Fla. The Federals in command at Fort Pickens opened their batteries on two small Confederate steamers in the bay. Gen. Bragg, of the Confederate forces, promptly replied by opening his batteries. A general engagement commenced between the Federals and Confederates. Incessant firing was kept up by both parties for nearly two days, when the Federal batteries suddenly ceased firing. Little or no damage was sustained by the Confederate forts or batteries. The Federals must have suffered very seriously, as they have not since been able to renew their unfinished attack. The Confederate loss was 16 killed and wounded.

November 26......Missouri admitted into the Confederacy. November 30......Crisis at hand. Reasons now exist which go to show that the last remnants of the old Federal Union are preparing their final and most desperate efforts, to crush out of existence our young giant Confederacy. The Federal Grand Army, under Gen. McClellan, is preparing for its second onward march toward Manassas. The long talked of expedition down the Mississippi river is nearly ready to start. Two new naval expeditions are about starting for the Southern coast. Another attack is looked for at Columbus, Ky. A heavy force is expected to attack Bowling Green, Ky. All of the above contemplated raids are the last death-throes of the expiring enemy of the South.

THE BATTLE OF MANASSAS.

THE Muse of History, as she writes the record of the past month, will incorporate therein one chapter, devoted to American Annals, more intensely interesting in its revelations, than any that has ever yet chronicled the changeful doom of empire. That glowing chapter might be fitly headed, after the picturesque fashion of olden illuminated titles,

"THE BATTLE OF MANASSAS,"

in letters of crimson and gold, as indicative, at once, of the gory fate of Northern vandalism, and the brilliant blazonry of Southern prowess, on the eventful 21st.

As our present recital of facts will quite probably be referred to by the future historiographer of our noble Confederacy, we must not omit to mention the very important and successful engagement of Bull Run, on the 18th July, which was so inspiriting a prelude to the splendid achievement of Stone Bridge; and in order that the (perhaps unborn) explorer among the now formative archives of our separate Nationality may have accurate data upon which to proceed, it may not be amiss to specify the distinct localities, which will, for all time to come, invest Prince William county with an interest not surpassed, if equaled, by that of any battle-field of the first American Revolution.

Bull Run constitutes the northern boundary of that county, which it divides from Fairfax; and on its now classic banks, about three miles to the northwest of the junction of the Manassas Gap with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, was fought the gallant action of the 18th July; in which the

Confederate troops, under the intrepid Beauregard, in a fierce contest which lasted several hours, and extended throughout the length of our line, three times triumphantly repulsed the enemy, who had advanced in full force from Fairfax Court House and attempted to cross the stream, but were compelled, at last, to retreat in great confusion.

About four miles from this memorable spot, and, of course, one mile from the junction of the two railroads above mentioned, is Manassas, recently a mere station on the latter named road, but which, since its occupation by the Confederate troops, has almost grown into the proportions of a village; while its name has become hallowed in the affections of eight million Southrons, in whose ears the exultant shouts of an unparalleled victory yet ring; although it must be confessed, with strict regard to historic truth, that the event we are now recording, might be more appropriately termed the battle of Stone Bridge, where was posted the main body of the Confederate Army; the line, however, extending between six and seven miles up and down the Run, and minor engagements occurring at various fords.

General Joseph E. Johnston, Commander of the army of the Shenandoah, who had been watching, with a lynx's eye, the movements of the cowardly Patterson, had no sooner ascertained the night retreat of the latter from the vicinity of Winchester across the Potomac, with the rightly conjectured design of uniting his forces with those of McDowell, than he hastened his own march from Winchester, with four thousand of his division, to Manassas Junction, to reinforce General Beauregard. Leaving the remainder of his troops, except a sufficient force to hold the town, to join him on the following day, he reached the Junction on Friday the 19th, and immediately assumed chief command, as he was entitled to do by superior rank; although, with the amiable modesty

characteristic of the man, he assured General Beauregard that his plans, which had been admirably devised and well matured, would, in the main, be followed.

Early in the morning of the ever-memorable 21st, the advancing column of the "Grand Army" of the North, comprising not only twenty-five thousand volunteers, but also all the regulars east of the Rocky Mountains, to the number of ten thousand, collected since February last in the city of Washington, from Jefferson Barracks, from St. Louis, and from Fortress Monroe, together with a body of marines, was brought in one precipitate charge upon our left flank, which, under command of General Johnston in person, was posted at the Stone Bridge and protected by almost impregnable works. This distinguished chieftain was not to be deceived by the numerous active feints against the right wing, but, at once penetrating the flanking design of the foe, completely frustrated the movement by a bold march from his strong position at the Bridge directly to the front, where he met, in open field and fair encounter, the heavy odds of the invading forces. Against this fearful odds of nearly double his own numbers, did he make good his determined resistance for seven well-fought hours, and maintained his advanced position, although his loss of men was terrific. Seizing the colors of a Georgia regiment, the hero of Manassas rallied them to the charge, throwing himself into the very thickest of the fight. Opportunely, the centre of the column, under General Beauregard, who chivalrously led the Hampton Legion into action, after the gallant Colonel Hampton had been severely wounded in the eye, and Lieut, Col. Johnson had been killed, advanced to the support of General Johnston's division. The tide of battle was at length turned in our favor by the arrival on the ground-as if in Providential answer to the wishful exclamation of General Johnston to

General Coeke, at this critical juncture, "O, for four regiments!"—of the four thousand men he had left in Winchester.

General Kirby Smith, who was in command of the reinforcement, heard the din of battle above the clatter of the cars on the Manassas Gap railroad, over which he was hurrying to the scene of conflict; and stopping the train, marched his eager troops at "double-quick" across the fields, and came into the action at the precise spot where his aid was most needed. Their arrival at that point of the field was wholly unexpected, and at first they were supposed to be a portion of the Northern reserve; but their prompt alignment with the almost exhausted division of General Johnston speedily dissipating the error, the now hurricd columns of the enemy gave way, and a sudden panic seized them, which rendered their defeat a perfect rout.

Such a battle has never been waged upon the American continent; nor do we think it likely another ever will be, at least during the present war. Say what they may, in extenuation of their disgraceful flight before the magnificent body of cavalry commanded, in the galling pursuit, by Lieut. Col. Stuart, and joined by President Davis, who had barely time to gallop to the field from the train that bore him to its vieinage, the proverbial phrase, "a Waterloo defeat," but illy serves to express the total discomfiture of the "Grand Army" on the really red-letter day, July 21, 1861. To say it was panic-strieken-routed-demoralized-but half conveys an idea of that long, toilsome, phrensied stampede towards Washington, among the mined walls of whose desecrated Capitol, Presidential mansion, and departmental offices, hundreds of the horrified fugitives sought refuge from the valorous foe, whose nearing footfall they imagined was heard, like the clattering tramp of the "Pale Horse and his Rider,"

close upon their rear; while the less agile, or the more unfortunate wounded, were crushed down among the mass of train-wagons, gun-carriages, well-munitioned caissons, sumptuous ambulances, and spectators' vehicles, all either driven with loosened reins and eracking whips, by terrified Jehus, or deserted by their former occupants and teamsters to the greed of the captors; the roadways and footpaths—nay, the trampled plains and wooded hills being strewn for miles with cast-away arms, cartridge-boxes, canteens, haversacks, caps, knapsacks, over-coats, blankets, etc.; but the sight most piteous of all, was the heaps of mangled dead, apparently straining their glazed eyes to catch the farewell beams of the setting Sabbath sun; and the most appalling sounds that voiced the ruin of that fatal day, were the gurgling prayers of the dying for a single draught of water.

Is it too much to hazard the belief, that, after such havoe made in an army numbering over 90,000, of whom 35,000 were at one time in the engagement, by a force not exceeding 50,000, of whom not more than 15,000 participated in the brilliant action, another such battle will hardly ever again lend thrilling interest to the pages of American history? France, it is true, on the field of Waterloo, lost the day and the prestige of empire; but even then her Marshals maintained the dignity of their rank, and her veteran soldiery the honor of their military character; but on the disastrous Plains of Manassas, officers and privates, regulars and volunteers, forgot alike discipline and chivalry, and gave themselves over, as with a lust of ignominy, to a demoralization almost utterly beyond the power of military redemption; their vaunted stripes and stars, once the honored flag of the brave, now trailed in the dust beneath the feet of their victors, or raised in the blood-tainted breeze only to signal the flight of abject fear.

While recording the heroic deeds of other chieftains, we must not neglect the name of General Jackson, who, with indomitable eourage, for three mortal hours, sustained the deadly assaults of the enemy, and thus proved one of the main agents in achieving the triumph of our arms. Although narrators of the startling events we are recounting studiously avoid, or carelessly omit, special mention of his invincible prowess, the late lamented General Bee, who fell at the head of his column, mortally wounded, just as victory was about to crown the lofty emprise of the Confederates, eordially aeknowledged his gallant bearing, even at the very instant of the eharge which cost him his own valuable life. A moment before, General Bee had been well-nigh overwhelmed by superior numbers, who kept up a fire that swept everything in its range; and when his brigade was reduced to a mere handful, every field officer being either killed or disabled, he approached General Jackson with the pathetic exclamation, "General, they are beating us back;" to which the latter promptly replied, "Sir, we'll give them the bayonet." General Bee immediately rallied his overtasked troops to the eharge, with the words, "There is Jackson standing like a stone wall. Let us determine to die here, and we will con-Follow me!" Nor was the noble South Carolinian the only leader on that field of carnage and of fame, who pointed to the bright example of General Jackson as an ineentive to further deeds of bravery; and it is but sheer justice to the patriot and the hero, that his illustrious name should be registered with the annals of that glorious day.

While we mourn the loss of from three to four hundred killed, and assiduously apply all our therapeutic resourses for the relief of the six or seven hundred of our wounded, it was befitting the oceasion—the fearful, but successful, birth-struggle of our new Nationality—that the Confederate Con-

gress, at the pious suggestion of Sccretary Memminger, should recommend the observance of the succeeding Sabbath as a season of thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God, for the interposition of His Providence in our behalf. Not all the wise strategy of our skillful commanders, nor the daring courage and unflinching fortitude of our patriotic soldiery, could have saved us from the ruin of defeat by the overwhelming array, disciplined troops, formidable batteries, and well-arranged tactics of the "Grand Army," which left between seven and eight thousand of its slain upon the field, and counts among its wounded and missing near ten thousand more-without the special benison of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe upon our self-defensive efforts. With His protection afforded us, not all the satanic sophistry of Seward's statesmanship—not all the flagrant falsehoods of Lincoln's lying messages—not all the studied programmes of Scott's traitorous experience-not all the batteries and bayonets, balls and bombs, of regulars or volunteers, marines or militia, though hurtling never so thick, swift, and near, could scare or scatter our valiant ranks: nay, nor handeuffs, nor halterswoe betide the baseness and barbarity that necessitate their mention in this connection!—deprive us of liberty or life. To God, therefore, be all the glory that is written in the blood of Manassas!

APPENDIX

TO THE

Confederate States Almanac.

ABOLITIONISM FROM 1787 TO 1861:

A COMPENDIUM OF HISTORICAL FACTS, SHOWING

The Causes that have led to a Dissolution of the Union.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY,

AND

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED THE FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL INDEPEND-ENCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

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COMPILED AND PUBLISHED BY H. C. CLARKE, VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI.

APPENDIX

POLITICAL REVIEW OF THE OLD UNION.

THE movement that threw off the rule of the mother country, began in the New England Colonies. These were settled by those Puritans who effected the Revolution of 1620, and decapitated Charles I. The Southern Colonies were occupied by a more loyal class. To the noble family of Baltimore was granted, by Royal Charter, the province of Maryland. To other staunch adherents of the crown were accorded grants and privileges in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia.

With antecedents so opposite, both North and South joined heartily in the War of Independence, making equal sacrifices and dividing fairly its triumphs. In 1781, the struggling States formed a Confederation, and essayed self-government. The written Charter of 1789 followed the form and usages of the British Constitution. Supreme power was divided between the executive and legislative branches; but all were elective. The executive power was vested in one person for a term of four years, with special duties assigned. The Legislature was divided, as in England, into two Houses, with separate prerogatives. All power not positively delegated to this Federal Government was reserved to the States.

George Washington was the first Federal magistrate, chosen from a list of twelve candidates.

Up to this period, the politicians of the country had, first, contended in a body against the supremacy of the mother

country; and, next, had united their energies in the structure of a Republican Constitution.

During President Washington's term, they divided into two hostile parties, each striving for office through the profession of opposite principles. The New England States, led by John Adams, advocated the power of the Federal Government, even to straining the Constitution. This was the Federal party. The Southern States, led by Thomas Jefferson, maintained State rights against Federal encroachment. This was the Democratic party.

In 1797, John Adams, of Massachusetts, was elected President of the Confederacy. During his term, the Alien* and Sedition† laws were passed by the Federal Congress. These enactments were opposed by the statesmen of the South, since, in their opinion, they invested the Executive with powers not conferred by the Constitution and inimical to popular rights. The creation of a National Bank was also a subject of keen controversy. The public men of the North sustained it with energy, while those of the South opposed it as unconstitutional and of doubtful expediency.

In 1801, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, was elected President. During this term, the New England States displayed a bitter animosity to the South, which arose, chiefly, from the South having put a limit to the slave-trade, in which these States were profitably engaged. When, therefore, President Jefferson proposed the purchase of Louisiana from France, the Eastern States violently resisted, because it increased the

^{*} By the Alien law, June, 1800, the President might order all such aliens as he deemed dangerous to quit the country, on pain of three years' imprisonment and civil disability.

[†] By the Sedition law, any person who should libel the President, or either House of Congress, should be fined \$2,000, and be imprisoned for two years.

territory and power of the South. Congress empowered the purchase, April, 1803.

In 1805, Thomas Jefferson was reëlected to the Presidency. His second term was troubled by the war between England and France. The Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, and the Orders in Council of the British Government, equally assailed American interests. Our vessels, bound either to English or French ports, incurred capture and confiscation. This left but one alternative, either to abandon our trade with Europe, or go to war to protect it. To escape the latter, President Jefferson recommended an Embargo Act, to put a temporary stop to all our foreign trade. This was vehemently opposed by the New England States, because their interests, being chiefly commercial, were seriously damaged. The Embargo Act was passed by Congress in December, 1807; whereupon the Eastern States threatened to secede from the Union and form a Northern Confederacy.

In 1809, James Madison, of Virginia, was elected President. Soon after his accession, March, 1809, the Embargo Act was repealed, to appease the New England States; and a less stringent law, the Non-intercourse Act, was passed by Congress, May, 1809, which prohibited trade with England and France. New England, however, carried on an indirect trade with Europe, through Canada. In spite of all these precautions by the Government, our interests and dignity were incessantly outraged by England. Finally, the indignation of the country compelled Congress to declare war, May, 1812.

In 1813, James Madison was reëlected President. During the war, the Government was supported by direct taxes and requisitions upon the States; but the New England States refused, for the most part, to contribute.* The war closed,

^{*} Niles' Register.

January, 1815. To resuscitate the Federal treasury, a new financial policy was inaugurated. A tariff of high duties was passed by Congress, April, 1816. New England advocated this law, because, during the war, she had transferred her capital from commerce to manufactures, for which she desired protection. The South was injured by the tariff, but she supported it from patriotic motives. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, went so far as to introduce a minimum rate for ad valorem duties, that is, a rate below which the duties should not fall. A new National Bank act was also passed, April, 1816; the old one having expired in 1811.

In 1817, James Monroe, of Virginia, was elected President. During this term, the interests of the country prospered. No struggle occurred between the politicians of New England and the South, till 1820, when Missouri applied for admission into the Union as a Slave State. The Eastern States opposed it violently, on the ground of extending slavery. The Union was in danger of dissolution, when, finally, Missouri was admitted by Congress as a Slave State, on the compromise that thereafter no Slave States should be created north of 36° 30′ parallel of latitude.

In 1821, James Monroe was reëlected President. During this term, a new conflict arose between the politicians of New England and those of the South, on the subject of the Tariff policy inaugurated at the peace. New England demanded more protection for her manufactures. This the South opposed, on the ground that her manufactures had protection enough, and next, because an increase of the Tariff was seriously detrimental to the interests of the South.

In 1825, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, was elected President.* During this term, a heated contest was

^{*} This election was made by the House of Representatives, as provided in the Constitution, in default of an election by the people.

carried on between New England and the South, on the Tariff policy. In 1828, a new act was passed by Congress, which raised the duties to an almost prohibitory standard. The average was 40 per cent. on imports. The South designated this act as the "Black Tariff.

In 1829, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, became President. During this term, the extreme Tariff policy of New England led to violent remonstrance in South Carolina, whose interests were seriously injured. She alleged that a policy to enrich one section of the country at the expense of another was unjust and unconstitutional. She threatened to resist this policy by force. A compromise was effected, March, 1833, by which the obnoxious Tariff was modified by Congress.

In 1833, Andrew Jackson was reëlected President. During this term, an acrimonious struggle was carried on between the politicians of the North* and South, on the National Bank, created at the peace. The former maintained it was necessary to their trade and commerce; the latter, while denying its constitutionality and expediency, also avowed their fears of its becoming a political machine, that might, in the hands of unscrupulous politicians, do much harm. The charter was allowed to expire in 1836. A policy known under the name of "Internal Improvements," was also discussed in this term. It had the support of the North, but the South opposed it, as favoring one section at the cost of the others.

In 1837, Martin Van Buren, of New York, was elected President. During this term, great financial disorder prevailed in the country. The Northern politicians proposed, as a panacea, a new National Bank, a higher Tariff, and a

^{*} The Northern politicians dropped the title of "Federalist" in 1824, and assumed that of "Whig" in 1828.

Bankrupt Law. The South opposed them all, as unnecessary and sectional in their tendency.

In 1841, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, was elected President. He died soon after his accession to office. Presidency was then administered by the Vice-President, John Tyler, of Virginia, as provided by the Constitution. During this term, Northern policy mostly prevailed. The Tariff was augmented, September, 1841, and August, 1842. A Bankrupt Law was passed, August, 1841.* A law was earried through Congress, July, 1841, dividing the public domain among the respective States, in proportion to their population. The effect of this was favorable to the manufacturing States of New England; for, by cutting off from the Federal treasury the receipts from the public lands, it made a higher Tariff imperative, to insure a sufficient revenue. The new bank charter failed. At the end of eighteen months, the Bankrupt Act was repealed, 1843. A new Slave State, Texas, was admitted to the Union, March 3, 1845. The act for dividing the public lands was repealed, January, 1842, as it was found necessary to retain them as security for Federal loans.

In 1845, James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was inaugurated President. During his term, the Tariff, which was pressing heavily on the interests of the South, was modified, July, 1846. The President, in a special message to Congress, May, 1846, announced that the Government of Mexico had committed an act of war against the Confederacy. On this occasion, all sections of the country, North and South and West, united in declaring war against Mexico. The war closed, February, 1848. The treaty of Gaudalupe-Hidalgo,

^{*} By this act, private debts to the amount of \$440,000,000, (£88,-000,000) were cancelled.

which followed, ceded California and New Mexico to the United States.

In 1849, Zachary Taylor, of Mississippi, became President. During this term, the old issues between the politicians of the North and South were abandoned, to wit: the Tariff policy, a National Bank, a system of Internal Improvements, a Division of the Public Lands. The recent acquisitions of territory, however, afforded the public men of both sections a fertile field of discussion. The North contended against admitting slavery into the new territory. The South declared that its right to joint occupation was incontestible, both in law and equity, and proposed that the compromise of 1820 should be renewed, by extending the Missouri line of 36° 30' to the Pacific Ocean. This the politicians of the North refused. The controversy became so violent, that a separation of the North and South seemed imminent. A compromise, however, took place in 1850, which stopped the discussion, but did not settle the main point in dispute, namely: the right of the South to joint occupation of all new territory.

In 1853, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, became President. During this term, the discussion on slavery was renewed. A portion of western territory, named Nebraska, was divided into two territories. One of these was called Kansas, and the other Nebraska. The compromise line of 36° 30′ ran to the south of these territories, which would have given Kansas as well as Nebraska, the largest, to the North. On the proposition of the Senator from Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas, the compromise line was repealed by Congress. Emigrant societies were established in Massachusetts and Connecticut, in 1854, to furnish pecuniary aid to settlers in Kansas. In consequence, a hostile population from the North poured into Kansas. Bands of armed men

from the North paraded the territory. The Federal Government, whose jurisdiction extended over this distant country, was finally forced to interfere. The leaders of the antislavery propaganda, having violated the Federal prerogative by passing a constitution* and electing a Governor, were indicted for treason, and obliged to take flight.†

In 1857, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was inaugurated President. The whole of this term was disturbed by a heated contest between the politicians of the North, on the subject of slavery in the territories. Towards the close of this Presidency, the prolonged strife between the politicians, on the topic of slavery, was taken up by the people of the two sections, in an election for a new President, November, 1860. The Northern States, being in the majority, pronounced in favor of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, the exponent of their sectional views. Under these circumstances, the Southern States have dissolved their connection with the Union. The civil compact they made with the Northern States, in 1789, guaranteeing equal rights to both, and equal protection to all, had been violated. Being in a minority in the Confederacy, they could oppose no legal barrier to the anti-slavery sentiments of the North, which, carried into legislation, would confiscate their property, and even involve their lives.

^{*} Called the Topeka Constitution, after the village where the Convention met.

[†] The Northern politicians, during this term, dropped the appellation of "Whig," and assumed that of "Republican," better known as "Black Republican."

History of ABOLITIONISM IN THE NORTHERN STATES.

AGGRESSIONS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS AND FANATICS OF THE NORTH ON THE RIGHTS AND PROPERTY OF THE SOUTH.

Abolitionism, under the guise of philanthropic reform, has pursued its course with energy, boldness, and unrelenting bitterness, until it has grown from "a cloud no bigger than a man's hand" into the dimensions of the tempest which is to-day lowering over the land, charged with the elements of destruction. Commencing with a pretended love for the black race, it has arrived at a stage of restless, uncompromising fanaticism, which will be satisfied with nothing short of the consummation of its wildest hopes. It has become the grand question of the day at the North—of politics, of ethics, of expediency, of justice, of conscience, and of law, covering the whole field of human society and divine government.

In this view of the subject, and in view also of the surrounding circumstances of the country, which have their origin in this agitation, we give below a history of abolitionism, from the period it commenced to exist, as an active element in the affairs of the nation, down to the present moment.

ABOLITIONISTS AND THEIR OBJECTS.

The real ultra abolitionists, who comprise the larger body of the people of the North—the "reformers," in the lan-

guage of Henry Clay, are "resolved to persevere at all hazards, and without regard to any consequences, however calamitous they may be. With them, the rights of property are nothing; the deficiency of the powers of the general government is nothing; the acknowledged and incontestable powers of the States are nothing; civil war, a dissolution of the Union, and the overthrow of a government, in which are concentrated the fondest hopes of the civilized world, are nothing. They are for the immediate abolition of slavery, the prohibition of the removal of slaves from State to State, and the refusal to admit any new State comprising within its limits the institution of domestic slavery—all these being but so many means conducive to the accomplishment of the ultimate end at which they avowedly and boldly aim-so many short stages, as it were, in the long and bloody road to the distant goal at which they would ultimately arrive. Their purpose is abolition, 'peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must.' ''

Utterly destitute of Constitutional, or other rightful power; living in totally distinct communities, as alien to the communities in which the subject on which they would operate resides, as far as concerns political power over that subject, as if they lived in Asia or Africa, they nevertheless promulgate to the world their purpose to immediately convert, without compensation, four millions of profitable and contented slaves into four millions of burdensome and discontented negroes.

This idea, which originated, and still generally prevails, in New England, is the result of that puritanical frenzy which has always characterized that section of the country, and made it the natural breeding-ground of the most absurd "isms" ever concocted. The Puritans of to-day are not less fanatical than were the Puritans of two centuries ago.

In fact, they have progressed, rather than retrograded. Their god then was the angry, wrathful, jealous god of the Jews-the Supreme Being, now, is the creation of their own intellects, proportioned in dimensions to the depth and fervor of their individual understandings. Then, the Old Testament was their rule of faith. Now, neither old nor new, except in so far as it accords with their consciences, is worth the paper upon which it is written. Their creeds are begotten of themselves, and their high-priests are those who best represent their peculiar "notions." The same spirit which, in the days of Robespierre and Marat, abolished the Lord's day and worshipped Reason, in the person of a harlot, yet survives to work other horrors. In this age, however, and in a community like the present, a disguise must be worn; but it is the old threadbare advocacy of human rights, which the enlightcoment of the age condemns as impracti-The deerec has gone forth which strikes at God, by striking at all subordination and law, and under the specious cry of reform, it is demanded that every pretended evil shall be corrected, or society become a wreek—that the sun must be stricken from the heavens if a spot is found upon his disc.

The abolitionist is a practical atheist. In the language of one of their congregational ministers—Rev. Henry Wright, of Massachusetts:

"The God of humanity is not the God of slavery. If so, shame upon such a God. I scorn him. I will never bow to his shrine; my head shall go off with my hat when I take it off to such a God as that. If the Bible sanctions slavery, the Bible is a self-evident falsehood. And, if God should declare it to be right, I would fasten the chain upon the heel of such a God, and let the man go free. Such a God is a phantom."

The religion of the people of New England is a peculiar morality, around which the minor matters of society arrange

themselves like ferruginous particles around a loadstone. All the elements obey this general law. Accustomed to doing as it pleases, New England "morality" has usually accomplished what it has undertaken. It has attacked the Sunday mails, assaulted Free Masonry, triumphed over the intemperate use of ardent spirits, and finally engaged in an onslaught upon the slavery of the South. Its channels have been societies, meetings, papers, lectures, sermons, resolutions, memorials, protests, legislation, private discussion, public addresses; in a word, every conceivable method whereby appeal may be brought to mind. Its spirit has been agitation!—and its language, fruits, and measures, have partaken throughout of a character that is thoroughly warlike.

"In language no element ever flung out more defiance of authority, contempt of religion, or authority to man. As to agency, no element on earth has broken up more friendships and families, societies and parties, churches and denominations, or ruptured more organizations, political, social, or domestic. And as to measures! What spirit of man ever stood upon earth with bolder front and wielded fiercer weapons? Stirring harangues! Stern resolutions! Fretful memorials! Angry protests! Incendiary pamphlets at the South! Hostile legislation at the North! Underground railroads at the West! Resistance to the Constitution! Division of the Union! Military contribution! Sharpe's rifles! Higher law! If this is not belligerence enough, Mohammed's work and the old Crusades were an appeal to argument and not to arms."

It is a very common error that the Puritans persecuted themselves for opinion's sake, sought liberty of conscience in the wilderness of America, and there erected its altar. To Sir George Calvert belongs the imperishable glory of first establishing a government of which universal toleration and

religious freedom were the chief foundation stones. It is a remarkable fact that the same spot—the shores of Maryland—which was thus embalmed in the affections of freemen, should, after the lapse of a little more than two centuries and a quarter, be the first territory of the great republic desecrated by the foot of the tyrant, and the extinction of political and civil liberty.

It is true that the Puritans fled from England on account of violent opposition, amounting to persecution. In thus expatriating these schismatics, the English of that day, as subsequent developments have demonstrated, exhibited a thorough insight into the nature and tendencies of their principles and character. One of their first acts, after their colony had assumed some form and substance, was the establishment of a spiritual despotism and religious intolerance as cruel and relentless as the Roman Inquisition in Spain. Professing to be themselves religious refugecs, they denounced a dreary banishment against all heretics and nonconformists. Every student of American history is familiar with the sad but ever-glorious story of Roger Williams. was a fugitive from the persecutions of the old world, but, unlike his fellow-sufferers, comprehended the nature and wrong of intolerance, and proposed the true remedy. He taught that "the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul." He contended for the abolition of all laws punishing non-conformists, requiring the performance of religious duties, enforcing pecuniary contributions to the support of the church; and that equal protection should be extended to every religious belief-the peace of the State, like the vital fluid we breathe, surrounding and gathering alike over mosque, synagogue, cathedral, and the humble "house of God" of the Protestant, securing to their re-

spective worshippers unmolested sanctity of conscience. For holding and advocating these just and truly sublime doctrines, now fully recognized and enforced by the free Constitution of the Confederate States, this "young minister, godly and zealous, having precious gifts," and whose opinions and teachings we have given in almost the identical language of a Yankee historian, was most cruelly persecuted by the Puritans, and forced to hide himself in the recesses of the howling wilderness "in winter snow and inclement weather, of which he remembered the severity even in his late old age." "Often," says Bancroft, "in the stormy night he had neither fire, nor food, nor company; often he wandered without a guide, and had no house but a hollow tree." The savage of the forest, more tolerant than these narrow bigots, and who knew not his God at all, kindly rescued him from the dread doom to which he had been consigned, to find a new home, and found a new State, by the undisturbed waters of the Narragansett. Mrs. Hutchinson, a most pure and excellent woman, for the same crime, suffered the same miserable persecutions. There is no more infallible criterion of the tone of a people than the position occupied by the weaker sex. Gallantry was the guiding-star of returning light in the mediæval agcs. Devotion to women makes gentlemen. And where gentlemen inhabit, there woman "rules the court, the eamp, the grove;" her refined presence elevates him above his more grovelling nature; and in return he is in very truth her slave, and with life and limb and manly honor devoted to her service. The historical fact which we last mcntioned, therefore, truly illustrates Yankee character. Heavens! what a spectacle! A horde of mean-spirited, whining Yankees pelting a shivering, defenceless woman into a rigorous exile, for entertaining a peculiar opinion, or not conforming to some rite of public worship. And with what unutterable

indignation does the Southern blood boil at the hanging of Mary Dyer, simply because she was a Quaker. This was her only offence. She died, and died upon the gallows, because she held a faith different from those people who had devoted themselves a sacrifice on the altar of religious liberty. The ferocious and bloody fanaticism of the witchcraft persecutions is too revolting for statement. It is enough to recur to it.

"And what man, seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush,
And hang his head, to think himself a man!"

Glance for a moment at the Puritans in power in the colony of Maryland, in the year 1676. We have already alluded to the fact that the Roman Catholics had there established perfect freedom of conscience, and opened an asylum for the persecuted and proscribed of every faith. Availing themselves of this liberality of religious jurisprudence, many Puritans from New England entered the colony, and in the course of a revolution, in the year we have named, mounted into political power. The earliest exercise of sovereignty by this new and godly regime was an edict prohibiting the freedom of public worship to all papists and prelatists. Here we see manifested the same despicable spirit that now animates the Lincoln government. Indeed, the Yankee is the same animal in all ages, and in all situations. He is "universal."

The great fathers of the State were convinced that the heterogeneous peoples, whom they had bound together, would not long dwell in peace. Washington sincerely desired the perpetuation of the Union, but he died in the belief that, in the course of time, his tomb would become the exclusive property of the South. And John Adams, perhaps the next man to Alexander Hamilton, among the Northern patriots,

had a clear and unclouded vision of the great rupture, though he was somewhat deceived as to its proximity to his own day. The following passage from Mr. Jefferson's diary, presents the views of Mr. Adams upon this subject, and is also interesting as another illustration of the supreme meanness of Yankee sentiment, even in its most exalted type.

"December the 30th, 1803. The Rev. Mr. Coffin, of New England, who is now here, soliciting donations for a college in Green county, in Tennessee, tells me that when he first determined to engage in this enterprise, he wrote a paper, recommendatory of the enterprise, which he meant to get signed by clergymen, and a similar one for persons in a civil character, at the head of which he wished Mr. Adams to put his name, he being then President, and the application going only for his name, and not for a donation. Mr. Adams, after reading the paper and considering, said 'he saw no possibility of continuing the union of the States; that their dissolution must necessarily take place; that he, therefore, saw no propriety in recommending to New England men to promote a literary institution in the South; that it was, in fact, giving strength to those who were to be their enemies, and therefore he would have nothing to do with it.'"

What was philanthropy in our forefathers has become misanthropy in their descendants, and compassion for the slave has given way to malignity against the master. Consequences are nothing. The one idea preëminent above all others is abolition!

It is worthy of notice in this connection that most abolitionists know little or nothing of slavery and slaveholders beyond what they have learned from excited, caressed, and tempted fugitives, or from a superficial, accidental, or prejudiced observation. From distorted facts, gross misrepresentations, and frequently malicious caricatures, they have come to regard Southern slaveholders as the most unprincipled men in the universe, with no incentive but avarice, no feeling but selfishness, and no sentiment but cruelty.

Their information is acquired from discharged seamen, runaway slaves, agents, factious politicians, and scurrilous tourists; and no matter how exaggerated may be the facts, they never fail to find willing believers among this class of people.

In the Church, the missionary spirit with which the men of other times and nobler hearts intended to embrace all, both bond and free, has been crushed out. New methods of Scriptural interpretation have been discovered, under which the Bible brings to light things of which Jesus Christ and his disciples had no conception. Assemblings for divine worship have been converted into occasions for the secret dissemination of incendiary doctrines, and thus a common suspicion has been generated of all Northern agency in the diffusion of religious instruction among the slaves. Of the five broad, beautiful bands of Christianity thrown around the North and the South-Presbyterian, old school and new, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist, to say nothing of the divisions of Bible, tract, and missionary societies—three are already ruptured-and whenever an anniversary brings together the various delegates of these organizations, the sad spectacle is presented of division, wrangling, vituperation, and reproach, that gives to religion and its professors any thing but that meekness of spirit with which it is wont to be invested.

Politically, the course of abolition has been one of constant aggression upon the South.

At the time of the Old Confederation, the amount of territory owned by the Southern States was 647,202 square miles; and the amount owned by the Northern States, 164,081. In 1783, Virginia ceded to the United States, for the common benefit, all her immense territory northwest of the river Ohio. In 1787, the Northern States appropriated

it to their own exclusive use, by passing the celebrated ordinance of that year, whereby Virginia and all her sister States were excluded from the benefits of the territory. This was the first in the series of aggressions.

Again, in April, 1803, the United States purchased from France, for fifteen millions of dollars, the territory of Louisiana, comprising an area of 1,189,112 square miles, the whole of which was slaveholding territory. In 1821, by the passage of the Missouri Compromise, 964,667 square miles of this was converted into free territory.

Again, by the treaty with Spain, of February, 1819, the United States gained the territory from which the present State of Florida was formed, with an area of 59,268 square miles, and also the Spanish title of Oregon, from which they acquired an area of 341,463 square miles. Of this cession, Florida only has been allowed to the Southern States, while the balance—nearly six-sevenths of the whole—was appropriated by the North.

Again, by the Mexican cession, was acquired 526,078 square miles, which the North attempted to appropriate under the pretence of the Mexican laws, but which was prevented by the measures of the Compromise of 1850. Of slave territory cut off from Texas, there have been 44,662 square miles.

To sum this up, the total amount of territory acquired under the Constitution has been, by the

Northwest cossion	286,681	square	miles.
Louisiana cession			
Florida and Oregon cession	400,731	"	"
Mexican cession			
Total	2,402,602	"	"

Of all this territory, the Southern States have been permitted to enjoy only 283,713 square miles, while the Northern

States have been allowed 2,083,889 square miles, or between seven and eight times more than has been allowed to the South.

The following are some of the invasions that have been, from time to time, proposed upon the Constitution, in the halls of Congress, by these agitators:

1. That the clause allowing the representation of threefifths of the slaves shall be obliterated from the Constitution; or, in other words, that the South, already in a vast and inereasing minority, shall be still further reduced in the seale of insignificance, and thus, on every attempted usurpation of her rights, be far below the protection of even a Presidential veto.

Next has been demanded the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the forts, arsenals, navy yards and other public establishments of the United States. What object have the abolitionists had for raising all this elamor about a little patch of soil ten miles square, and a few inconsiderable places, thinly scattered over the land—a mere grain of sand upon the beach—unless it be to establish the precedent of Congressional interference, which would enable them to make a wholesale incursion upon the constitutional rights of the South, and to drain from the vast ocean of alleged national guilt its last drop? Does any one suppose that a mere microscopic concession like this would alone appease a conscience wounded and lacerated by the "sin of slavery?"

Another of these aggressions is that which was proposed under the pretext of regulating commerce between the States—namely, that no slave, for any purpose and under any circumstances whatever, shall be carried by his lawful owner from one slaveholding State to another; or, in other words, that where slavery now is there it shall remain forever, until,

by its own increase, the slave population shall outnumber the white race, and thus by a united combination of causes—the fears of the master, the diminution in value of his property, and the exhausted condition of the soil—the final purposes of fanaticism may be accomplished.

Still another in the series of aggressions, was that attempted by the Wilmot Proviso, by which Congress was called upon to prohibit every slaveholder from removing with his slaves into the territory acquired from Mexico—a territory as large as the old thirteen States originally composing the Union. It appears to have been forgotten that whether slavery be admitted upon one foot of territory or not, it cannot affect the question of its sinfulness in the slightest degree, and that if every nook and corner of the national fabric were open to the institution, not a single slave would be added to the present number, or that, if excluded, their number would not be a single one the less.

We might also refer to the armed and bloody opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, to the passage of Personal Liberty Bills, to political schemes in Congress and out, and to systematic agitation everywhere, with a view to stay the progress of the South, contract her political power, and eventually lead, at her expense, if not of the Union itself, to the utter expurgation of this "tremendous national sin."

In short, the abolitionists have contributed nothing to the welfare of the slave or of the South. While over one hundred and fifty millions have been expended by slaveholders in emancipation, except in those sporadic cases where the amount was capital invested in self-glorification, the abolitionists have not expended one cent.

More than this: They have defcated the very objects at which they have aimed. When Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, or some other border State has come so near to the

passage of gradual emancipation laws that the hopes of the real friends of the movement seemed about to be realized, abolitionism has stepped in, and, with frantic appeals to the passions of the negroes, through incendiary publications, dashed them to the ground, and producing a reaction throughout the entire community that has crushed out every incipient thought of future manumission.

Such have been the obvious fruits of abolition. Church, State, and society!—nothing has escaped it. Nowhere pure, nor peaceable, nor gentle, nor easily entreated, nor full of mercy and good fruits; but everywhere forward, scowling, uncompromising, and fierce, breaking peace, order, and structure, at every step, crushing with its foot what would not bow to its will; defying government, despising the Church, dividing the country, and striking Heaven itself, if it dared to obstruct its progress; purifying, pacifying, promising nothing, but marking its entire pathway by disquiet, schism, and ruin.

We come now to the train of historical facts upon which we rely in proof of the foregoing assertions.

From what I have already stated, it may be seen that during the colonial existence of this country, African Slavery had been introduced and overspread its whole surface. The Southern Colonies had, from the fertility of the soil and the value of their productions, become the most profitable mart for Black labor; but the influx gradually outstripped their productive powers, and began, as elsewhere, to inspire the leading men of this section with serious alarm.* They devised what means they could to check it, but commercial rapacity eluded or overpowered their remonstrances. While the Southern Colonies were thus suffering, at this early date, both inconvenience and detriment from the Blacks who were

^{*} On account of the immense number of Slaves imported by the North.

forced upon them, the Northern, or New England Colonies, were driving a brisk and profitable business upon the solitary basis of the African Slave Trade. The principal occupations of these Colonies consisted of Commerce and the Fish-The New England ships made the voyage to England with tobacco, rice, and other Southern products, and then took in British manufactures for the Gold Coast, which exchanging for Blacks, they returned with them to the Southern Colonies, sold them, and reloaded with tobacco, etc., for the North and Europe, as before, thus completing the round The fisheries employed a considerable number of persons, and the cured fish found sale chiefly in the Catholic countries of Europe, mostly in exchange for coin,* which was always in demand for England. Large quantities of these fish were sold in the West Indies for sugar and molasses. The latter was distilled into rum, which, in the changing character of the Slave Trade on the Coast under the British Governors, rapidly became a favorite article of barter for Blacks, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the English manufacturers of coast-goods. Lord Sheffield, in his report to the Parliamentary Committee of 1777, states, that "out of the Slavers which periodically left Boston, thirteen of them were loaded with rum only, and that having exchanged this for 2.888 Negroes with the governors of the Gold Coast, they carried them thence to the Southern Colonies." same report mentions that during the three years ending with 1770, New England had sent 270,147 gallons of rum to the Gold Coast. Thus, from what I have stated, the startling fact will be elicited, that the Northern and Southern Colonies, long before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, were engaged in a lively controversy on the subject of

^{*} These were almost the only coins that circulated in those Colonies at that time, and consisted of Joes, Half-Joes, Pistoles, etc.

slavery; the South resisting the excessive flow of Blacks into their section, and New England persisting in the importation for the profits of the trade. The South was anxious to stop the Slave Trade and manumit their Blacks, but New England, like the mother country, was not disposed to listen to them, and abandon so lucrative a traffic.

Mr. Jefferson, of Virginia, seems to have been one of the most earnest advocates of the Southern sentiment. In 1777, being then a member of the Virginia Legislature, he brought in a bill which became a law, "to prevent the importation of slaves." He also proposed a system of general emancipation, as a preliminary to which he introduced a bill to authorize manumission, and this became a law. In these efforts he had the support and sympathy of the Slaveholding States, who were overrun with slaves, that returned no adequate remuneration. At this period their numbers reached some 600,000, a part of whom were employed in raising tobaeco and riee. The majority of them, however, were occupied in domestie farm-labor, producing no exportable values. Hence there was no profit in slavery at the South, while at the North it was even a greater burden. Massaehusetts found it so unproductive that, in 1780, she abolished it in her own borders, but she did not cease for that reason to force it, by her importations, on the South.

In the Congress of the Confederation, the views of the North and South on the subject of slavery, founded on interests so antagonistic, frequently came into eollision. It was at this epoch, too, that Virginia, Georgia, and other Southern States, eeded to the Federal Government, for the common benefit of all the States, their immense Western Territories. All the States were then Slaveholding, and the idea that a man could not hold his slaves in any part of the territory of the United States, had never yet been broached.

On the contrary, the right to carry them everywhere was un-The policy of Virginia, however, was manumisdoubted. sion; and Mr. Jefferson, in 1784, prepared in the Congress of the Confederation a clause preventing slaves being carried into the said territories ceded to the United States, north of the Ohio River. This was a part of the Southern scheme of manumission, which was meant as a check to the trading in Negro slaves, carried on by Massachusetts with unabated activity. This clause did not pass at the time, but, in 1787, it was renewed by Nathan Dane, in the Federal Convention. The clause enjoining the restitution of fugitive slaves was then added, and it passed unanimously. By a unanimous vote it became a vital part of the Federal Constitution, and without it this compact could never have gone into effect. The Slave Trade carried on by the North became, also, the theme of much sharp discussion in the Convention. The North was not disposed, of course, to give it up, but with the South it had become an intolerable grievance. They had long and earnestly protested against it when carried on by the mother country, but their minds were now made up to break with the North rather than submit further to this traffic. North then demanded compensation for the loss of this very thriving trade, and the South readily conceded it by granting them the monopoly of the coasting and carrying trade against all foreign tonnage. In this way it was settled that the Slave Trade should be abolished after 1808.* Without

^{*} In corroboration of the above, I append the following extract from the sermon of Rev. Dr. N. Adams, of the Essex Street Church, Boston, delivered on Fast Day, January 4, 1861:

[&]quot;We at the North are certainly responsible before God for the existence of slavery in our land. The Committee of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States consisted of Messrs. Rutledge, of South Carolina, Randolph, of Virginia, and

this important clause, the South would never have consented to enter into a Confederacy with the North. The Federal Constitution, with these essential clauses, having passed into operation, it became, henceforth, a certainty that the Slave Trade would finally expire in the United States at the close of 1808. This left it still a duration of nincteen years, and the North seemed determined to reap the utmost possible advantage from the time remaining. The Duke de Rochefoucault-Liancourt, in his work on the United States, 1795, states, that "twenty vessels from the harbors of the North are engaged in the importation of slaves into Georgia; they ship one Negro for every ton burden." Thus we see, that while New England was vigorously engaged in buying and selling Negro slaves, Virginia, on the other hand, was steadfastly pursuing her theory of manumission.

In 1793, Congress, on the recommendation of President Washington, passed an act to put in force the clause of the Constitution enjoining the restoration of fugitive slaves. It seems evident they were regarded by the Constitution in the light of property only. It likewise provided for taxing them,

three from Free States, viz.: Messrs. Wilson of Pennsylvania, Gorham, of Massachusetts, and Ellsworth, of Connecticut. They reported as a section for the Constitution, that no tax or other duty should be laid on the migration or importation of such persons as the several States should think proper to admit; not that such migration or importation should be prohibited. This was referred by the Convention to a committee, a majority of whom being from the Slave States, they reported that the Slave Trade be abolished after 1800, and that a tax be levied on imported slaves. But in the Convention, the Free States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, voted to extend the trade eight years, and it was accordingly done; by means of which it is estimated there are now at least three hundred thousand more slaves in the country than there would otherwise have been."

and ordained that three-fifths of their number should be a basis of representation. This was, certainly, the view taken by the framers of the Constitution, in their intercourse with John Adams, afterwards President, and foreign nations. Doctor Franklin signed, in 1783, the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, which contained provision for payment of "Slaves and other Property" carried away during the War. These Treaties were examined and approved by the Government, composed also of the very men who had taken the leading part in drafting the Constitution. In the Treaty of Peace at Ghent, in 1815, the same clause recurred, and the British Government paid a million and a half of dollars for Slaves that had been carried off by the enemy. The aecounts of Hon. Richard Rush, when Secretary of the Treasury, contain the various sums paid by the United States Government to the "Owners of Slaves and other Property." Our Government has also made frequent demands for the payment of Slave-property since the Peace. Some twenty years since, the American Minister, Mr. Andrew Stevenson, conducted a negotiation with England for the payment of sundry slaves that had been cast ashore from wreeked American vessels, and set free by the authorities of Bermuda. The demand was finally acknowledged, and the sum of £23,500 was paid as an indemnity. In a word, the action of the Federal Government has been uniform and consistent in asserting and protecting the rights of our Slave-owners against all Foreign Powers. The right to this property has been just as positively recognized in our domestic relations. In all the State Conventions held to discuss the Federal Constitution prior to adopting it, the right of property in slaves was never contested. The law at that time for recovering that property was of a summary nature. The owner might seize his property wherever he found it, and on making

an affidavit before a Federal Judge, a warrant was issued for the removal of it. There was no provision for trial by jury, or for writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which would be indispensable if Black Slaves were considered as persons.

In 1797, John Adams, who signed the Treaty of Peace, and was the leader of the New England or Federal Party, succeeded Washington in the Presidential chair. At this period, the Slavery question was frequently agitated by the Democratic Party of the South, with a view to its modification. In 1800, January 2, Mr. Waln, of Philadelphia, presented a petition to Congress, from the free Blacks of Philadelphia, praying for a revision of the Fugitive Slave Law. On this occasion, Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, a leader of the Federal party, thus expressed himself: "Although he possessed no slaves himself," he said, "yet he saw no reason why others might not; and that their owners, and not Congress, were the fittest persons to regulate that species of property." Mr. Brown, of Rhode Island, on the same occasion, declared "that the petition was not from Negroes, but was the contrivance of a combination of Jacobins, (meaning the Democratic party), who had troubled Congress for many years, and he feared would never cease to do so. He therefore moved that the petition be taken away by those who had brought it there." The motion being supported by Messrs. Gallatin, Dana, and other Northern members, the petition was withdrawn. In this debate, the Northern members who represented the Slave-trading interests, naturally adhered to the Property in Blacks, although the new doctrinc of the British Abolitionists began to make converts in this country, outside of the body of Quakers, who had always opposed slavery.

It may be as well to remark here, that it does not appear any laws were ever enacted in Great Britain authorizing the

trading in, or possession of, Black Slaves as property. Nevertheless, that they were so regarded, is evident from the opinion of the Eleven Crown Judges, given in pursuance of an Order in Council, and in consequence of which the Navigation Act was extended to the Slave Trade, to the exclusion of Aliens. The laws by which England allowed the holding of slaves, extended, of course, to the Colonies; and all those of North America held slaves, without any special enactments for that purpose. The right was inherent, like that to any property; and when the separation of the Colonies from the mother country took place, that legal right, like the Common Law of England, survived the Revolution, and remained in force in all parts of the country.

It is claimed by the Anti-slavery party that slavery exists by local law only, and cannot exist out of the State sanctioning it. Whereas, it is maintained by their opponents that it originally existed all over the land, whether as Colonies or States, and that it required a special law to exclude it. This fact is beyond cavil.* It should be also recollected that the Spanish and French Colonies, that afterwards became a part of the United States, derived the right to hold slaves from the head of the Church, as well as from the State.

To return to the record of events. During Mr. Jefferson's first term of office, the State of Virginia proposed to the Federal Government that the proceeds of the public lands that had been ceded to it should be appropriated to the manumission and removal of slaves, with the sanction of the respective States. This movement was not successful.

^{*} Among other authorities on this question of the day, may be cited that of Chief Justice Parker, of Massachusetts, the leading Abolition State. In 2 Pickering, he says: "We thus, in making the Constitution, entered into an agreement that slaves should be considered as property," etc.

It is necessary to notice two very important events that occurred during the administration of Mr. Jefferson, which wholly changed the destiny of Black Slavery in the United States. The first was the invention of the cotton-gin,* which gave great additional value to this staple, and hence opened a broader field to the employment of the Blacks. The next was the purchase of Louisiana, which added new and valuable territory to the South and its special products. These two events revolutionized completely the value of Slave labor at the South, and the Blacks, instead of continuing a burden, as hitherto, became henceforward a source of profit.

On the other hand, the approaching termination of the Slave Trade, which had profitably employed for so many years the commercial interests of New England, rendered that section not only indifferent to the prolongation of slavery, but even out of chagrin from having been forced by the opposition of the South to give it up, they began to nourish a species of spite against it, and which has since manifested itself with uninterrupted bitterness.

The cessation of the Slave Trade, and the purchase of Louisiana, both of which were so distasteful to the North, were followed, as already stated by the Embargo Act, in Mr. Jefferson's administration; and all this together, gave nearly a quietus to the commercial interests of New England. The exasperation which followed these measures, that seemed to threaten ruin to this section, led shortly to a desire to break up the Confederacy. In February, 1809, the Governor-General of Canada, Craig, deputed his agent, John Henry, to go to Boston and treat with the leading Federalists there; and by the

^{*} This admirable machine for separating the seed from the cotton, with extreme celerity, was the invention of Eli Whitney.

arrangement then made, Massaehusetts was to declare itself independent, and invite a Congress to erect a separate Government. Mr. John Q. Adams, Ex-President, in a letter to Mr. Otis, 1828, states that the plan had been so far matured, that proposals had been made to a certain individual to put himself at the head of the military organization. These schemes went on until they resulted in the Hartford Convention, 1814, where the subject of a Northern Confederacy, in all its bearings, underwent discussion. The sentiment of the North at that time may be seen in the party cry: "The Potomae for a boundary-The Negro States to themselves." This was the favorite phrase of the day all over the Eastern States. The peace with Great Britain soon afterwards oceurred, and the stimulus this gave to business of all kinds, together with the eonciliatory eonduet, as stated of Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, diverted New England from her resolute menaee to break up the Union.

While this irritation was still lingering in the Northern mind, a bill was introduced into Congress, 1818, to authorize the people of Missouri to form a Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union. This territory was a portion of that same Louisiana whose purehase had been so vehemently resisted by New England. During its ownership by Spain, and afterwards by France, slavery had existed in the whole of this territory, and it remained undisturbed after its purehase by the United States; nevertheless its admission into the Union as a Slave State, was violently opposed by the Eastern States. An ardent political struggle ensued, that threatened the safety of the Confederacy, but which was, finally, allayed by admitting Missouri as a Slave State, but on the condition that no more Slave States should exist north of the 36° 30′ parallel of latitude. This is the well-known Missouri Compromisc. It was at this time, also, that the

Slave Trade was declared to be Piracy, and punishable with death.

Meanwhile, slavery had become so manifestly unprofitable at the North, that most of these States abolished it. New York did so in 1826, and many other States, even Delawarc, Maryland, and Virginia, were moving in the same direction. New Jersey, Ohio, and Delaware, passed resolutions desiring Congress to appropriate the proceeds of the Public Lands to the manumission of slaves, with the consent of the Slave In 1825, Rufus King, of New York, made the same proposition in Congress, where it had been originally introduced by Virginia. At this period, in the Southern States the utmost favor was extended to Emancipation. for this purpose were formed to eoöperate with the Colonization Society, then in full vigor, and whose object was to free Blacks and transport them to Liberia. In March, 1825, Virginia passed an act to furnish the Colonists in Liberia, under the direction of the "Riehmond and Manchester (England) Colonization Society," with implements of husbandry, clothing, etc. The emancipation of Blacks to be sent to Liberia, were frequent all over the Southern States, and on a liberal scale. Alabama, Louisiana, and Missouri, passed laws prohibiting slaves to be brought within their borders for sale, and further enacting that those brought in by settlers should not be sold under two years.

The sentiment of Emancipation was making steady progress; but, at the same time, a decided repugnance to free Blacks began to manifest itself. Ohio, Illinois, and other Northwestern States, forbade by law free Blacks coming into the State, under any pretence; and a white person who brought one in, was required to give bonds in \$500. They were not regarded as citizens of the United States, and from their idle habits, were considered as a nuisance everywhere.

The Southern States also enacted that free Blacks arriving there as seamen, should be under surveillance while in port. In consequence of this general antipathy to free Blacks, and in view of the difficulty of deporting them, Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, proposed in Congress, 1825, to set off the territory west of the Rocky Mountains as a Colony for free Blacks. This effort failed; but all the leading statesmen of the South, Mr. Mangum, Mr. McDuffie, etc., urged the adoption of some scheme of emancipation.

About this time, a new movement was initiated in New The doctrine of Abolition was then at the zenith of its popularity in England, where it was already proposed to transplant it to our Southern States, which would then be converted into a great free Black cotton-growing country. This utterly impracticable idea was seized upon by various individuals of the New England States, who forthwith began to sow the seeds of agitation. It is impossible to attribute to them any very philanthropic motive; for only twenty years had elapsed since Massachusetts had been forced to give up her slave-trading, and it is not at all credible that the tastes thus acquired should, in so short a time, have been supplanted by so ardent a love for the Negro of the South as to desire his manumission at the risk of breaking up the Confederacy. No; it really looked more like the renewed expression of that old grudge which the Eastern States have for so many years nourished against the South.

In 1828, a Mr. Arthur Tappan subscribed, with the aid of friends in Boston, sufficient funds to establish a newspaper in New York, called the "Journal of Commerce," whose object was to promote the borrowed English theory of Abolition. Its editor was a certain David Hale, an auctioneer of Boston, and a teacher in the Presbyterian Sunday-school there. At the same juncture, the Baltimore "Genius of Emancipation" fell into the hands of another Abolitionist, named W Lloyd

This individual was the grandson of what was known as a "Tory" during our Revolutionary War, and who, at the Peace, was compelled to fly the country to Nova Scotia, whence his widowed daughter and her only son returned, some years after, to Boston, to seek a livelihood. The young Garrison readily caught up the doctrine of Abolition, as most congenial to his English antecedents and education, and set to work with baleful energy to urge its propagation, fraught with so many dangers to the country of his adoption. On assuming the editorship of the Baltimore paper, he instantly assailed both Colonization and Emancipation as only obstructions to Abolition, and openly avowed that the Union of the States was equally an obstacle to Abolition. By some it was supposed that this treasonable denunciation of the Union was out of deference to the memory of his Tory grandfather, who had done all he could to prevent it.

It may easily be imagined that the startling proclamation of such ultra views as these, led rapidly to a complete revolution of feeling at the South. The excitement against Garrison spread far and wide. The Manumission Society of North Carolina demanded his imprisonment, and the State of Georgia set a price upon his head. The emancipation societies at the South began to suspend their operations and to break up. The Baltimore journal mentioned, it was necessary to suppress. The people of the South generally, becoming more and more alarmed at the aggressive attitude of the Abolitionists, began to ponder over some means of defence.

In the year 1830, the same Garrison founded a new journal in Boston, called "The Liberator," whence he propounded his extreme views in the most extravagant language. In the following year, the "New England Anti-slavery Society" was formed. This was followed in due course by the "American Anti-slavery Society," under the leadership of Messrs. Garri-

son, Tappan, and Birney. The Sunday-schools of the Eastern States became active coadjutors in the same cause. societies adopted precisely the same tactics as their British prototypes. They circulated tracts and books, full of inflammatory appeals. Highly-colored engravings too, representing the Black undergoing every kind of torture, were distributed for those who could not read. These were meant more especially to excite the Blacks at the South, and were sent through the mails. These proceedings were considered, at the time, so dangerous to the peace of the community and to the integrity of the Union, that popular indignation frequently broke out into riot. In New York, in 1832, the dwelling of Arthur Tappan and the church of Dr. Cox were both demolished by a mob. Many influential citizens sanctioned these violent demonstrations of public feeling, and the well-known Editor of the "Courier and Enquirer," Mr. James Watson Webb, boasted of his share in this vindication of Southern rights.*

The Abolitionists of Boston, meanwhile, continued their operations with all the ardor of their puritanical descent. Garrison was sent to England, to obtain funds, by the Antislavery Societies; and in 1834 he returned home with Mr. George Thompson, a Member of Parliament at that time, and an Abolition lecturer. This led to so violent an outcry, that Thompson, alarmed for his safety, went back to England. A new mode of excitement was then devised by the Abolitionists, who got up a clamor against South Carolina for detaining free Blacks who came into her ports. Massachusetts claimed that free Blacks were her citizens, and that as such they had a right to go to South Carolina; but as she made no complaint against Ohio, Illinois, and other States who also excluded free Blacks, it was evident that she sought

^{*} This gentleman has since changed his ground, and is now a prominent leader of the Anti-slavery party.

a quarrel with South Carolina, for the very purpose of spreading the Abolition infection.

A Mr. Hoar was sent by Massachusetts as an agent to Charleston to make a formal complaint of her alleged grievance, and, as was anticipated, Mr. Hoar was summarily dismissed. Upon this the Abolitionists professed great indignation, and the Legislature was appealed to for a measure of retaliation, which was soon got up under the title of a "Personal Liberty Bill," which was designed, under a transparent plea, to obstruct the restoration of fugitive Blacks.

Up to this time, Abolition had been discussed merely as a moral question, but the agitation had gained such strength among its unsuspecting converts, that it was thought high time by its designing leaders to carry it into the political arena, where they anticipated making it a stepping-stone to power and emolument.

It will be seen in the sequel that these ingenious schemers were doomed to disappointment, and that the *spolia optima* of the agitation they began were destined to be gathered by the hand of the professional politician, leaving but "a barren sceptre in their gripe."

In 1838, the Abolition party was too weak and too ignorant of political strategy to dare to take the field in person; therefore, they began coquetting with the prominent politicians of the day. Mr. Marcy and Mr. Seward were, at that time, the candidates of the two rival parties for Governor of the State of New York, and perhaps the two most influential men of the North. The occasion was thought opportune by Messrs. Smith and Jay, the New York sponsors for the untoward bantling of Abolition, to put these gentlemen to the test. It happened that there existed a statute in New York, called the "Sojournment Law," which allowed a slaveholder to bring his Black servants with him, and remain there nine months, without prejudice to his rights; for it had been de-

eided in the Federal Courts that a slave taken voluntarily into a Free State, could not be recovered. When Mr. Seward was interrogated in relation to this law, he sustained it as "a becoming act of hospitality to Southern visitors." Mr. Marcy made no reply. Mr. Seward, however, changed his views afterwards on this subject, and refused, in 1840, while Governor, to restore a fugitive slave, on the requisition of Virginia.

The evil results of this sectional issue were foreseen by many States; and among others Ohio, in 1840, passed resolutions in her Legislsture to the effect that "Slavery was an institution recognized by the Constitution," and that "the unlawful, unwise, and unconstitutional interference of the fanatical Abolitionists of the North with the institutions of the South, were highly criminal." The violent proceedings of the Northern Abolitionists did not escape the attention of the South, where they created not only alarm, but aroused a deep and natural feeling of indignation. The change of sentiment that had occurred may be seen in an act of the State of Alabama, to the effect that "all free Blacks remaining in the State after August 1, 1840, should be enslaved."

At the very close of 1839, a handful of Abolitionists met in Warsaw, N. Y., and decided formally to transform their doctrine from a moral into a political question; and they set to work at once, on a political organization. Determined to eschew any affiliation with the parties of the day, they selected one of their own band, Mr. Birney, as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. It was now evident to all dispassionate observers, that the motives of the founders of Abolition were not so much the emancipation of the Blacks, as their own clevation to place and power. It is clear enough the North regarded them with just suspicion at that day, for in the Federal election of 1840, Birney received but 7000 votes

The agitation of the Slavery question received a new stimulus at this period, from the discussions awakened by the revolt of Texas. This fine country had onee formed part of Louisiana, but was ceded by France to Spain, and then became a part of Mexico. In 1836, an insurrection, headed by Americans, broke out, and was soon followed by the independence of Texas. Speculations now ran high in the price of her lands, and the project was broached of reannexing her to the United States. The celebrated Daniel Webster, among others, favored this scheme; but he was afterwards induced to change his views and oppose it. Just as in the case of Louisiana, in 1805, the New England States resisted the Annexation of Texas, during the Presidency of Mr. Tyler, on the same pretext of extending slavery, but on the real ground of jealousy of the South. The leading politicians of the day were sorely embarrassed whether to support Annexation or not; and by opposing it, Mr. Clay lost his election in 1844; and for the same reason, Mr. Van Buren failed to obtain his renomination by the Democratic party. The difficulty was terminated by the admission of Texas, March 3, 1845, but on the agreement that four States should be formed out of the territory, besides the one existing, and that the States so formed south of the line 36° 30' should be admitted with or without slavery, as their inhabitants should decide, but that slavery should not exist north of that line.*

A temporary lull followed; but the Slavery question was soon again evoked, to gratify a political grudge. The rejection of Mr. Van Buren as the Democratic candidate in 1844, by Southern influence, in consequence of his opposition to Texas, led him, from motives of irritation, to raise up a new

^{*} The attempt, in 1846, to foist upon the country, to the injury of the South, the infamous "Wilmot Proviso"—a Bill to prevent the right of Southerners to carry their slave property into the Territory acquired from Mexico. The Bill passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate.

party in New York, on the cry of "Free Soil, or no more Slave States." This act was a violation of the agreement made with the South on the admission of Texas, and was frowned upon by the Democratic party; but the issue started by Mr. Van Buren was successful enough to divide the party in the State of New York, and to give the election to the Northern party. This incensed and alarmed the South, who were at last pacified by the Compromise measures of 1850, which, however, were stoutly opposed by Mr. W H. Seward, who had become already the chosen and wily representative of the Anti-slavery sentiments of the North.

I may as well observe here, what I have already stated elsewhere, that the politicians of the North found themselves in the sad predicament of having no political principles to advocate. The settlement of the Tariff question in '46, on the demand of the commercial interests of the North, left them wholly destitute of any policy by which they might hope to ride into power. Under these circumstances, it was natural they should follow with a wistful eye the labors of the Abolitionists, who had certainly succeeded in working up the feelings of the North to a lively pitch of excitement on Southern Slavery. They were not, of course, disposed to borrow the extreme views of these zealots, which were wholly incompatible with the existence of the Union; but they thought they might venture to utilize to their advantage the Anti-slavery sentiments that had been so skilfully aroused. They set about this very adroitly by raising a cry against extending slave territory, which, it was supposed, would please the susceptibilities of the North, and not too much exasperate the South. Thus we find that eminent politician, Mr. Seward, already at work in 1850, sowing the seeds of the new Anti-slavery party of the North, by opposing the healing policy of Mr. Clay, on the ground of its fostering lavery and increasing its area.

One of the prominent measures of the Compromise of 1850, was the new Fugitive Slave Law, which Daniel Webster declared to be far more favorable to the Blacks than that recommended by Washington, in 1787 Yet it was seized upon by the cunning of the Anti-slavery politicians to keep up the subsiding agitation, and several of the Legislatures of the Northern States were induced to pass "Personal Liberty Bills," in imitation of the example set by Massachusetts.

I must not omit to remark that the Abolitionists still kept on the even tenor of their way, and were as active as ever in promulgating their impracticable theory by secretly circulating tracts, books and pictures, harping on slavery and all its fancied horrors. They still kept possession of the political field, and still hoped to make a ladder of their hobby by which to ascend to power. In 1852, they dropped Mr. Birney, and selected for their Presidential candidate Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire. He received 157,000 votes, against the 7000 thrown for Birney, in 1840.

Among other ingenious modes of excitement, a discussion was regularly kept alive at the North as to the citizenship of free Blacks. Several States bestowed the suffrage upon them, as a practical proof of their right to rank as citizens. This controversy was rather inflamed than otherwise, by a decision of the Federal Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, 1853, which settled that no Blacks are citizens of the United States. In 1854, the Slavery question reappeared in Congress, and the action of the North on this occasion was pregnant with serious consequences. Two new territories of the West were pronounced sufficiently occupied to render legislation necessary, and a bill to create a territorial government in Kansas and Nebraska, was reported by Mr. Douglas. His bill contained a clause to repeal the famous of Illinois. Missouri line of 36° 30', running south of the territories in question. This line was the basis of compromise in 1820,

and was again a means of adjusting the dispute that arose on the admission of Tcxas, in 1845. The constitutionality of this line was, however, more than doubtful, for the reason that Congress never had any power conferred on it by the Constitution to legislate on slavery; nor was it at all necessary, since individual States could retain or exclude slavery, according to their pleasure. Besides, the line in question was really a nullity, because slavery was so unprofitable to the north of it that it would never be carried there. It was only to the south of this line that the cotton culture made slavery a profit and a necessity. Hence the South made no objection to its repeal, in 1854; but it is difficult to perceive what motive Mr. Douglas could have had in proposing this repeal, unless it was merely to fan the glowing embers of the Slavery question.

No sooner was this Missouri line revoked, than a prompt and significant movement was made in the New England States. Emigrant Aid Societies were formed, as already mentioned; and settlers for Kansas, one of the territories just organized, were lustily summoned as recruits in the new crusade against slavery, and funds in the way of bounty were liberally distributed. This unusual means to stimulate emigration was designed to secure Kansas as a Free State, by obtaining a majority for the Northern people. attempt, made with demonstrations of vehcment hostility to the South, was sure to provoke anger and resistance. of course, was calculated upon by the Anti-slavery propaganda, and they were not disappointed. The Slave State of Missouri, directly adjoining Kansas, was not disposed to be forestalled, and, as it were, forced out of their legal share to territory in such close proximity; so they did their best to encourage emigration too, but the slaveholders were naturally chary to carry their Blacks with them, as they were sure to be tempted away. As a matter of course, it was impossible for the people of the two opposite sections, in their intemperate state of mind, to live long in peace together. Collisions occurred, and occasional loss of life ensued. The Abolitionists were eagerly waiting for some such news as this, for it was rightly anticipated that a conflict, sooner or later, was inevitable.

When the looked-for intelligence at last arrived, a wild and furious shriek for "bleeding Kansas" vibrated in a thousand echoes through all the valleys of New England. organs of the Abolitionists teemed with the most discordant appeals to the passions of the people, and nothing but imprecations of the most startling description were launched against the "Border Ruffians," as the settlers from Missouri were forthwith christened. Public meetings were called in the Eastern States, and the pulpit soon became a rostrum for clerical agitators. Subscriptions were rapidly set on foot to buy arms and ammunition for the sacred defenders of antislavery in Kansas, whose brows were encircled with the halo of martyrdom. Speculators in "Sharpe's rifles" joined in the well-sustained chorus of the Abolitionists, and a considerable profit was the result. At a public meeting in New Haven, a well-known Abolitionist, Rev. H. Ward Beecher. of Brooklyn, and brother of the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," aided by his presence and language to swell the clamor fast rising in the North. He desired his name to be subscribed for "twenty-five Sharpe's rifles," and announced he would collect the money to pay for them, in his church, the following Sabbath, which was done.

Such ingenious modes as these, and so skilfully handled, could not fail to excite the sympathies and stir the passions of any community. Ever since 1828, the Abolition party had been laboriously engaged in sapping the mind of the North on the subject of Black Slavery; nor must it be forgotten that they appealed to something more than its philan-

needed, and raised the cry of "Freedom to Slaves." To his astonishment, no doubt, the affrighted blacks ran to their masters for protection, and some were shot in seeking to escape. This nefarious attempt was quelled by the arrest of Brown and his confederates, and their subsequent trial and execution.

One thing was proved by the utter failure of this daring outrage, for it showed that the blacks were contented with their homes, and desired not the emancipation of the sword. Another thing, if not quite so clear, at least looked ominous. This madman, Brown, had been known as an efficient instrument in the hands of the anti-slavery party of New England; and it was, therefore, a matter of conjecture at the South how far he was incited to this fearful attempt against their very existence. Had they not some reason to think the act met the approval of the Abolitionists of the North, when 300 bells tolled for the fate of Brown, and when the organs of the party honored his memory, while affecting to disapprove his conduct?

This event sank deep into the mind and heart of the Southern States. They were led to believe, for the first time, that the ultra wing of the Republican party contemplated the confiscation of their property and the destruction of their lives.

Another incident occurred in the summer of 1860, which deepened their conviction that the Northern States had entered into a dark conspiracy to desolate their land with fire and sword. It was discovered that a book, called the "Impending Crisis," was being secretly circulated all over the North as a "campaign document." The purport of this volume was to show, by assertion, as well as by figures, that the free labor of the North was more profitable than the black labor of the South. The tone of the book was violent in the extreme. We will add a few extracts, which will enable the reader to form a correct opinion of the character and object of the work:

[&]quot;Slavery is a great moral, social, civil, and political evil, to be got rid of at the earliest practical period"—(page 168.)

[&]quot;Three-quarters of a century hence, if the South retains slavery, which God forbid! she will be to the North what Poland is to Russia, Cuba to Spain, and Ireland to England"—(p. 163.)

thropy, when they raised the cry of "No more Slave Territory," which simply meant that all that vast extent of country stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, should be given up to Northern emigration. It was natural, certainly, that so palatable a doctrine should be acceptable at the North; but just as natural that it should be unwelcome at the South, whose equal claims were so unceremoniously ignored.

The harvest so industriously tilled by the Abolitionists, was now ripe; and the leaders of the old Whig, or Northern party, experienced, astute, and with an organization extending over the entire North, stepped forward, and brushing from their path the noisy fanatics who had sown the seed, they gathered for their own garners the luxuriant crop of anti-slavery sentiment now sprouting all over the North. They met in convention in Philadelphia, June, 1856, and unfurling the flag of the "Republican Party," made, for the first time, a sectional issue the basis of party action. They selected for their Presidential candidate Mr. John C. Fremont, known in the country as an officer of the army, but without any political antecedents. It was thought judicious not to nominate a politician too closely identified with the anti-slavery movement, lest the possible consequences might alarm the "sober second thought" of the North. coutred, the Republican party went to the polls, November, 1856, and brought off a vote of 1,334,553. They were defeated by the Democratic party, which was now the only link between North and South; but the Republican leaders felt quite sanguine that, with the tactics their experience would suggest, they would carry off the Presidential prize in 1860. It was thus that the moral question as to the sin of slavery, borrowed from England by our Abolitionists, and kept alive by their address till the North was thoroughly infected by it,

was, at last, converted into a political question and made a party issue.

The Republican politicians felt a dread, lest the Northern masses, who had conscientiously imbibed the anti-slavery poison, might force them reluctantly to carry their unconstitutional theories into legislation. It is certain they had their misgivings, but there was no alternative. Without a principle or a measure to brandish against their political opponents, there was nothing but to abandon the hope of office, or to do battle with the dangerous arm they had taken from the hands of the Abolitionists. Ambition outweighed patriotism; and during the four years just elapsed, the country has been distracted with the din of the anti-slavery propaganda. Orators, writers, lecturers, and preachers, have all joined in the melée, and their united efforts were directed to the apotheosis of the negro, and the excommunication of the slaveholder. Every church, public hall, and hustings through the North, has rung with anathemas against the vilified South; and it is not strange, therefore, that people accustomed to this unbroken strain of vituperation, should begin to believe, at last, that slavery was quite as hideous as it was painted.

In October, 1859, an event occurred which amazed the whole country. We allude to the invasion of the State of Virginia, by John Brown and his retinue of men. This man Brown had figured in "bleeding Kansas" as a daring ringleader of the anti-slavery bands that had contended for the mastery there. When these bloody contests subsided, he was reduced to inaction; and he chafed at the loss of the stern excitement congenial to his fierce nature. Whether it was fanaticism or ambition that inspired him, no one can say; but he conceived the horrible project of setting on foot a servile insurrection. Followed by a handful of desperate men, he suddenly entered the State of Virginia, seized the arsenal of the Federal Government, to obtain the arms he

"On our banner is inscribed—No Coöperation with Slaveholders in Politics; no Fellowship with them in Religion; no Affiliation with them in Society. No Recognition of Pro-slavery men, except as Ruffians, Outlaws, and Criminals"—(p. 156.)

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

slavery."—(p. 234.)

"In any event, come what will, transpire what may, the institu-

tion of slavery must be abolished."—(p. 180.)

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

"It is our honest conviction that all the Pro-slavery Slaveholders deserve to be at once reduced to a parallel with the basest criminals that lie fettered within the cells of our public prisons."—(p.158.)

"Shall we pat the bloodhounds of slavery? Shall we fee the curs of slavery? Shall we pay the whelps of slavery? No, never."—

(p. 329.)

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

The volume containing the above quotations, not by any means the most bitter, was endorsed by 68 members of Congress of the Republican party, whose names were given for publication. The South, under manifestations like these, felt they had a right to infer that, if a party making such declarations of hostility were elected to power by the North, they must either consent to the early abolition of Black Slavery, or retain it by seceding from the Union.

When the British Government emancipated the Blacks in her colonies, she acted with the strictest commercial equity; but the book in question repudiates any compensation to the "curs and whelps of slavery." One more extract:

"The black god of slavery, which the South has worshipped for 237 years."—(p. 163.)

Now, the writer is ignorant that the South protested for years, first, against the mother country, and, next, against New England, importing slaves within her borders. However, the object of the book was to inflame the mind of the North against the South, and therefore falsehood was just as good as truth.

In April, 1860, the delegates of the Democratic party met

in convention at Charleston, South Carolina, to make their nomination for the Presidency. The Northern wing of the party proposed Senator Douglas as the most eligible candidate at the North, from his doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty."* The Southern wing objected, as they considered said doctrine only a concession to the Anti-slavery dogma. Mr. Douglas did not withdraw his name, and a rupture of the party ensued. The Northern delegates nominated Mr. Douglas, in Baltimore, June 18; and on the same occasion, the Southern delegates nominated Vice-President Breck-inridge.

This schism doubled the chances of the Republican party, which met in convention to select their candidate at Chicago, Illinois, May, 1860. It was generally supposed that Mr. W H. Seward, the acknowledged leader of the Antislavery party at the North, an able and wily statesman, would be its chosen champion in the electoral lists about to open; but, to the surprise of all, an almost unknown politician of the West, Mr. Abraham Lincoln, was selected as its standard-bearer.

On the 6th of November, 1860, the long agitation on the slavery question, that began in 1803, ended with the election to the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln, the representative of the Republican party, but which contained within its bowels, like the Trojan horse of old, the armed men of the Abolition party. Shortly after this event, Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, declared at a public meeting, that "the election of Mr. Lincoln was only the first step towards forcible emancipation."

ABSTRACT

The whole territory of the States, North and South, was originally slaveholding—English, Spanish, and French. Not from any local law, but from the laws of the mother country.

Slaves were regarded only as property in all the thirteen

^{*} Mr. Douglas proposed giving the people of a Territory the right to retain or exclude slavery, instead of reserving the decision till the Territory was admitted as a State, the practice hitherto.

States that formed the Union; since it would have been a manifest absurdity for the Slaveholders who made the Declaration of Independence, to declare "all men were born free and equal," had they not considered their slaves as property.

In forming the Union, the thirteen Slave States conferred upon the Federal Government the power to tax slave property; to protect it from foreigners, as well on the national territories as at sea, and also from domestic escape; and conferred no other power, either to prohibit or to extend it.

The North clung to the profits of the Slave Trade as long as possible, and attacked the slave system when they were

deprived of those profits.

The territory that was once all slave, has become free;—1st, by the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slaves north of the Ohio; 2d, by eight Northern States abolishing slavery in their borders; 3d, by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, prohibiting slaves north of 36° 30′; 4th, the act admitting Texas reënacting that line. Thus the North has driven slaves out of half the Territories of the United States, showing a constant and large aggression upon the South.

The duty of the Government is undoubtedly to protect the property upon the Territories, until people there settled form

their own laws.

The agitation of the slave question grew originally out of the chagrin of New England, at being deprived of the Slave Trade and its profits. It was prolonged by the mutual irritation that the opposition of Massachusetts to the purchase of Louisiana occasioned.

Emancipation made steady progress in all the States, until Abolition forced the Slaveholders upon the defensive.

Abolition made little progress, until unscrupulous partisans

coquetted with it for party issues.

The question of the power of the Government to exclude slavery from the Territories, has been blended with the moral question as to the "sin of slavery."

The cry of "Free Soil" was raised in 1848, by Mr. Van Buren, to avenge his non-nomination by the South, at Balti-

more.

The compromise measures of 1850, were carried by the influence of Henry Clay.

Violation of these compromises, by the "Personal Liberty Bills" of the Northern States, soon followed.

Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in 1854.

Attempt, by the Abolition party, to make Kansas a Free State by force, which was resisted by the South.

Rise of Republican party, under the lead of Mr. W H.

Scward, and its defeat in 1856.

Violent agitation of the slavery question at the North, followed by the invasion of Virginia by John Brown, in 1859,

and the circulation of the Helper Book, in 1860.

The theory of a "Higher Law" at the North, to justify resistance to the Constitution and laws of Congress, has begotten the Higher Law of Self-preservation at the South, to justify resistance to a dominant party, which embraces the

"sin of slavery" among its tenets.

The Southern States have been for nearly sixty years the object of political persecution by the North, which they have borne with patience and returned with kindness. In 1820, the North entered into a compromise, which has been broken. In 1850 they made new agreements, which have since been violated. In 1860 a legal majority elected a President on the "Platform" that "Slavery must be restricted to its present limits." Outraged in our rights, and threatened in our interests, what course is left the South? To fold their arms and await more injury and endure more obloquy? Would this check the aggressions of the North till both North and South were swallowed up in the vortex of ruin? It is clear that the South have no alternative. Far better they should have abandoned the Confederacy than remain only to engage in bitter feuds that compromise the dignity of the country, and sow the seeds of undying hatred.

In 1789, according to our view, the South entered into a civil compact with the North, on certain conditions and guarantees. These have been broken, and the South returns, in her opinion, to her original sovereignty.* Even

^{*} This principle of sovereignty was repeatedly asserted by New England during the last war, and on January 4, 1815, a report of a committee was made in the Hartford Convention, in favor of immediate secession from the Union, on the plea that the Constitution had been violated by the Embargo Act, and the ordering of the militia

were it otherwise—were it true that the South owed allegiance to the Federal Government—still, she asserts our own Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the present practice of Europe justify all people in repudiating a government which assails their rights and sacrifices their best interests. If the Northern States do not acknowledge these truths, then are they false to their origin, and seek to substitute for a government of opinion the tyranny of force. The South will adhere to its right of secession at all hazards, and at every sacrifice.

A few general considerations, and we conclude our narrative. After tracing the course of events recorded in the foregoing pages, the questions naturally arise—What has been the result? What have the Abolitionists gained? The answers may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. They have put an end to the emancipation which originated among the real philanthropists of the South In their wild and fanatical attempts they have counteracted the very object at which they have aimed. In the language of another, "The worst foes of the black race are those who have intermeddled in their behalf. By nature, the most affectionate and loyal of races beneath the sun, they are also the most helpless; and no calamity can befal them greater than the loss of that protection they enjoy under this patriarchal system. Indeed, the experiment has been tried of precipitating them upon a freedom which they know not how to enjoy; and the dismal results are before the world in statistics that may well excite astonishment."*

into the service of the United States. The report defended the right of secession as follows:

[&]quot;That Acts of Congress, in violation of the Constitution, are absolutety void, is an undeniable position. But in cases of deliberate, dangerous, and palpable infractions of the Constitution, affecting the sovereignty of a State and liberties of the people, it is not only the right, but the duty, of such State to interpose its authority for their protection, in the manner best calculated to secure that end. When emergencies occur, which are either beyond the reach of the judicial tribunals, or too pressing to admit of the delay incident to their forms, States which have no common umpire, must be their own judges and execute their own decisions. The States should so use their power as effectually to protect their own sovereignty and the rights and liberties of their citizens."

^{* &}quot;Compared with European laborers, the Black lives like a

In striking confirmation of the above, we extract from the mortuary records of the last year the following cases of Negro slaves who lived to over a hundred years:

1860-February	7 2.	Female slave, Virginia	105
1860 "	15.	Milly Lamar, Georgia	135
1860-March	25.	Sam, Georgia	140
1860-April	17.	Glascow Kentucky	112

"With the fairest portions of the earth in their possession, and with the advantage of a long discipline as the cultivators of the soil, their constitutional indolence has converted the most beautiful islands of the sea into howling wastes. It is not too much to say, that if the South should, at this moment, surrender every slave, the wisdom of the entire world, united in solemn council, could not solve the question of their disposal. Freedom would be their doom. Every Southern master knows this truth and feels its power."

2. Touch the negro, and you touch cotton—the mainspring that keeps the machinery of the world in motion. In teaching slayes to entertain wild and dangerous notions of liberty, the Abolitionists have thus jeopardized the commerce of the country and the manufacturing interests of the civilized world. They have likewise destroyed confidence. In short, all the kind relations that have ever existed between the North and the South have been interrupted, and a barrier crected, which, socially, commercially, and politically, has separated the heretofore united interests of the two sections.

3. They have held out a Canadian Utopia, where they have taught the slaves in their ignorance to believe they could enjoy a life of ease and luxury, and having cut them off from a race of kind masters, and separated them from comfortable homes, left the deluded beings, incapable of self-support, upon an uncongenial soil, to live in a state of bestiality and misery, and die cursing the Abolitionists as the authors of their wretchedness.

prince. He has his cabin generally neat and clean, and always weather-proof. He has likewise his own garden-patch, over which he is lord paramount. He is well fed, well lodged, well clothed, and never overworked. His holidays are numerous, and enjoyed with infinite gusto. Sleek, happy, and contented, the Black lives to a great age. The Slaveholder finds it to his interest to treat his Negroes liberally, and takes every means to make them healthy and contented."

4. They have led a portion of the people of the North, as well as of the South, to examine the question in all its aspects, and to plant themselves upon the broad principle that that form of government which recognizes the institution of slavery in the United States, is the best, the condition of the two races, white and black being considered, for the development, progress, and happiness of each. In other words, to regard servitude as a blessing to the negro, and, under proper and philanthropic restrictions, necessary to their preservation and the prosperity of the country.

5. Step by step they have built up a party upon an issue which has led to a dissolution of the Union. They have scattered the seeds of Abolitionism until a majority of the voters of the Free States have become animated by a fixed purpose to prevent the further growth of the slave power.

The power of the North has been consolidated, and, for the first time in the history of the country, it is wielded as a sectional weapon against the interests of the South. The Government is now in the hands of men elected by Northern votes, who regard slavery as a curse and a crime, and they will have the means necessary to accomplish their purpose.

The utterances that have heretofore come from the rostrum, or from irresponsible associations of individuals, now come from the throne. "Clad with the sanctities of office, with the anointing oil poured upon the monarch's head, the decree has gone forth that the institution of Southern slavery shall be constrained within assigned limits. Though Nature and Providence should send forth its branches like the banyan tree, to take root in congenial soil, here is a power superior to both, that says it shall wither and die within its own charmed circle."

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, says:

"I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

"I have always hated slavery as much as any Abolitionist. I have

always been an old line Whig. I have always hated it, and I always believed it in a course of ultimate extinction. If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new Territory, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, I would vote that it should."

"Abolitionism and fanaticism is a blood-hound that never bolts its track when it has once lapped blood. The elevation of their candidate is far from being the consummation of their aims. It is only the beginning of that consummation; and if all history be not a lic, there will be coercion enough till the end of the beginning is reached, and the dreadful banquet of slaughter and ruin shall glut the appetite."

And now the end has come. The divided house, which Lincoln boastfully said would not fall, has fallen. The ruins of the Union are at the feet as well of those who loved and cherished it as of those who labored for its destruction. The Constitution is at length a nullity. Fanaticism and Abolition

has its apotheosis in Abe Lincoln.

SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN COMMERCE.

The exports of merchandise from the United States, in 1859, were as follows:

 Merchandise of Southern origin
 \$198,389,351

 " of Northern origin
 78,217,202

Total Merchandise exported.....\$276,606,553

This large amount, nearly \$200,000,000, of Southern produce, may realize abroad, with freights and profits, some \$225,000,000, for which goods are taken in return; and the duty of 25 per cent. on these, amounts to \$56,000,000, which may be regarded as a bounty on Northern manufactures as against those of England, where the Southern products are mostly sold.

That such a system should build up an immense manufacturing interest at the North, was inevitable. The Federal consus of 1850 gave the value of manufactures annually produced, as follows:

	Capital in Manufactures.	Production.
North	\$438,249,677	\$854,526,679
South	* 94,995,674	164,579,937

The North also imports for the South, and the value of the whole charged to the South is enhanced in the ratio of the duty, viz., 25 per cent. The North may be said to take all the Southern products, and pay in goods, at 25 per cent. advance over the English prices.

The influx of emigrants from abroad, with large capital,

aided that development.

The financial operations of the agricultural South, where \$300,000,000 worth of crops are annually moved to market, necessarily centred in New York, where the goods are mostly imported, and Eastern manufactures are distributed. New York has also become the chief point of connection with Europe, and therefore all Southern travellers come there to embark. These various causes draw a large Southern expenditure to the North, which is not in any way reciprocated.

All the operations of Finance, Banking, Insurance, Brokerage, Commissions, Profits on Imports, and on Domestic Manufactures, etc., inure to the North, on the basis of the agriculture of the South. These items have been estimated at an aggregate of \$231,000,000 per annum, drawn for Northern account from Southern industry. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that the North has accumulated wealth much faster than the South. But it is a matter of surprise that the North, under these circumstances, should upbraid the South with her comparative poverty.

The North takes of the South 750,000 bales of cotton, worth \$50,000,000, per annum; which it works up into cotton goods, to send back to the South. That quantity of cotton will make 1,035,000,000 yards of cotton cloth, for which \$100,000,000 is charged; but England will sell the same quantity for \$75,000,000, and if the South makes it herself, it may be done for \$60,000,000. Southern economists can see that, to make this great saving, nothing else is necessary than to keep at home the capital that has been

drained off to the North.

The Southern States, including Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and most of South Carolina, are the finest grain-growing countries in the world; and were not cotton, tobacco, and rice more profitable, those States might export corn, wheat, and other cereals, in large quantities. The slopes of the Alleghanies on both sides are

as fertile, and as well suited for the production of breadstuffs of all kinds, as any lands in the country. They are covered with beautiful farms, the soil and the climate are alike favorable, and it is the height of absurdity to talk of the poverty of the Southern States. To some extent, at present, they cultivate other crops, which they exchange for food, because they can do so with advantage to themselves; but throw them on their own resources, and cut them off from Northern and Western supplies, and they can produce not only enough for themselves, but compete with the North in exportation.

In the interior of the Southern States, almost every description of food abounds, and is far cheaper than in the Northern and Eastern States. It is only a strip of the seaboard that forms the exception to the rule, and there the production of cotton and rice amply compensates for the deficiency of the cereals. It is only because the conveyance by sca of food to the Southern ports from the North is cheaper than the carriage by railroad, from the interior of the Southern States, that wheat, corn, and other grain, are shipped to any extent from the North, in exchange for cotton, tobacco, and rice. But if the policy of non-intercourse should prevail, the demand at the Southern seaboard would soon produce the necessary supply from the interior. The South will wholly withdraw its trade and its exchanges from the North, and transfer them to England, France, and other European countries.

But, after all, it is a very small proportion of the breadstuffs and other food, eonsumed by the Southern seaboard, that comes from the North. For instance, Mobile derives its chief supplies from New Orleans—one of the cheapest markets in the United States. The prices at New Orleans, Savannah, Charleston, and New York, compare thus:

ARTICLE.	New Orleans, Nov. 21.	Savannah, Nov. 23.	Charleston, Nov. 23.	New York, Nov. 28.
Flour Wheat Corn Potatoes	$egin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	\$6 00 @ 7 50 75 @ 85 1 50 —	\$6 00 @ 7 50 65 @ 85 1 50 @ 2 00	\$\frac{\$4 \ 85 \ @ 7 \ 25}{1 \ 10 \ @ 1 \ 43} \\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\
Bacon Butter Cheese Apples	12 @ 14 10 @ 15	13 — 15 @ 28 10 @ 13 1 00 @ 2 25	12½@ 13 15 @ 28 10 @ 13	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$

Here, then, it will be seen that the average cost of these essential articles of food is less at New Orleans than it is at New York; and from New Orleans, which is supplied by the Mississippi, all parts of the cotton Gulf States are accessible either by water or by railroad. The Atlantic cotton States are also connected with the interior Southern States, both by water and railroad communication.

Then, the South produces food of better quality than the North. Southern flour, for instance, commands the highest price in the market of New York. The average daily sales of Southern flour in this market are from 1200 to 1500 barrels; and if we take into account the quantity of flour and other breadstuffs sent here from Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, and other slave States, perhaps the balance against the South, on the score of food, would be exceedingly small.

The South, moreover, excels the North in its water-power, and teems with coal and other minerals. It has cheaper labor, and a better climate, and therefore can successfully compete with the North in manufactures. Owing to the mildness of the weather in winter, its factories can work all the year round; and the South requires less clothing and less fucl for its population, (two main items in the expenditure of the Northern mechanic,) and therefore a higher degree of comfort can be obtained for the same labor at the South than at the North.

The Gulf of Mexico will become the Mediterranean of the New World, surrounded by States more wealthy, more advanced in civilization and in all the arts of government than were those of Greece or Rome; and which occupy a country around its shores more fertile and fruitful than the land of the laurcl and the olive, while a great river more vast in its outstretched tributaries than the Nile, will ceaselessly pour its tide of commerce into the city of its delta.

THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

CONFEDERATE STATES.

The force of habit has constituted the chief obstacle to our political independence—the habit of cherishing for the Union a cordial and immovable attachment, of thinking and speaking of it as a palladium of our political safety and prosperity, and of discountenancing whatever might suggest even a suspicion that it could, in any event, be abandoned. This habit had acquired all the strength of second nature, and never could have been changed except after a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object of sectional domination, and tending inevitably to absolute despotism. Looking to its aggregate results, it is difficult to over-estimate the value of the Union, but looking to its results, in detail, it is readily seen that certain portions of the United States have enjoyed the lion's share of its benefits. It is worse than that—certain portions have grown rieh and powerful by trading upon the capital produced by other parties. The whole truth is still worse-certain portions have for years been little more than colonial dependencies of other portions -so far, at least, as their commercial and financial interests have been concerned. In the progress of this communication, each one of these positions will be fully established.

The growth of the commerce of our country, from 1764, when it was interrupted by the growing difficulties between the colonies and the mother country, to the present time, furnishes the strongest possible view of the prosperity of the Union as a whole. This growth is exhibited by the following figures:

	Imports.	Exports.
[n 1764	\$ 5,502,860	\$ 11.203.800
n 1860		373,189,274

In the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1860, the amount of our surplus products of all kinds, exported to foreign countries, and exchanged for their products, was three hundred and seventy-three millions of dollars. The amount of foreign products so exchanged for was three hundred and sixty-two millions. As the trade between nations consists of an exchange of simple products, it is apparent that the amount of our surplus products for export furnishes the best test of

our national prosperity. But this general exhibit of our wonderful prosperity as a nation furnishes but an inadequate view of the real prosperity of the different portions of the nation. The account must be stated between the two sections in order to have a correct view of the subject. The exports of the Northern and Southern States stand thus:

Exports of Northern products	\$ 97,346,973
" Southern products	
" gold and silver coin	. 26,033,578
" gold and silver bullion	. 30,913,173
-	
Total exports for 1860	.\$373,189,174

Viewing the North and South as two partners embarked in foreign trade, it appears that whilst the North is twice as numerous as the South, yet the South furnishes more than twice the capital of the concern.

These exports are carried abroad and exchanged for goods, wares, and merchandise which constitute our imports. In 1860, they amounted to \$362,166,254. Of this amount the official tables show that there was imported,

Into	Southern	ports	40,585,368
		ports	

Here is a great fact that ought to arrest Southern attention. Although the South produces for exportation, and actually exports from her ports largely over two hundred millions of dollars' worth of produce, yet of the goods for which they are exchanged abroad less than one-fifth of the amount comes back through our own ports; the residue comes back through Northern ports.

But it must be borne in mind, that whilst the South exports from her own ports largely over two hundred millions worth of produce, she does not export this produce in Southern vessels. Six-sevenths of these exports go abroad in Northern vessels, thus furnishing the Northern capital, vested in tonnage, the round profit of twenty millions a year made for freighting Southern produce to foreign markets. Such has been our dependence on the North for the transportation of our surplus products to foreign markets.

One hundred and seventy-eight millions of the goods imported in exchange for Southern products are brought to us through Northern ports, for the purpose of making it the subject of complaint against the North. The fact, however, is important, inasmuch as it shows how dependent we have heretofore been upon the North for most of the necessaries and luxuries for which our products have been exchanged. We have been content to furnish the products, and then to depend upon Northern capital and enterprise for converting it into the goods which we require in exchange. We cannot complain if we have consented to rely on Northern men as our factors and agents, in carrying on our foreign trade, and in furnishing us with goods.

They have amassed immense fortunes in thus transacting our business, and we have been satisfied with our dependent condition.

If they have made twenty millions annually, in the way of freights, on our products to Europe, and twenty millions more freights in bringing back the goods for which they were exchanged, and thirty millions more as profits on the goods thus brought back and sold to our retail merchants, we have submitted to it without murmuring; and do not now bring it up for any other purpose than to show how quietly and patiently we have acquieseed in the course of trade which has enabled them to make annually seventy millions, in acting as our agents and factors. It is too obvious to require comment, that if the capital that worked this machinery of trade had been owned in Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans, these immense profits, instead of building up Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, would have contributed to building up great Southern eities. equally obvious that if we employ our own men and means hereafter, in managing our foreign trade, we shall have Southern cities rivalling those of the North.

It is not to be supposed that all of the surplus products of the South are exported to foreign countries. Unfortunately for accuracy of statement, we have not the official data on which to exhibit that portion of our products which is sent directly to the North for exchange for Northern products. We know that about 800,000 bales of our cotton—worth about forty million dollars—are sent yearly to New England, and we know of many other articles, worth millions upon millions of dollars, that are sent and exchanged for Northern products, but of the aggregate amount we can only form an estimate. A very able and reliable Northern writer, T. P. Kettell, Esq., after investigation, has expressed the opinion that the South sends annually to the North produce to the value of two hundred millions of dollars. Assuming this sum to be reliable, the account will stand thus:

Goods imported through Northern ports in exchange for Southern products	\$218,895,450
Produce sent directly North	200,000,000
Total	\$418,895,450

As we buy at least as much from the North as we sell there, the trade between the two sections is double this, or \$837,790,900, annually. If this immense trade was carried on, on terms mutually beneficial, it would indicate an amazing prosperity, not only in the nation, as a whole, but in all of its parts.

I have shown some of the advantages enjoyed by the North, growing out of the peculiar course of trade between the two sections. It falls in my way now to notice another advantage enjoyed by the North, and, beyond all comparison, the most important and controlling one. My allusion is to the influence of the tariff-laws on the trade and commerce of the two sections. I am not now criticising the policy of protective or prohibitory duties, as recently adopted

by the Congress of the United States, but I am following the lights furnished by the official report for 1860, when the revenue tariff was in operation.

In 1860, the dutiable goods imported amounted to \$279,872,327, and the average tariff was 20 per cent. Of this amount, one hundred and fifteen millions were imported in exchange for Northern products, and one hundred and sixty-four millions in exchange for Southern products—the former yielding twenty-three millions of revenue, and the latter thirty-two millions. It thus appears that the South contributes three-fifths of the revenue from imports, and yet it is an undeniable fact that, in the disbursement of the revenues, at least three-fifths are expended in the North. If such is the unequal operation of a revenue tariff, it would be difficult to estimate the injustice of the protective tariff now in operation in the Northern Government.

But I do not note this inequality in the operation of the tariff policy in order to complain of it; the law gave this advantage to the North, and the South being a law-abiding people, submitted to the injustice without complaint. The fact, however, is useful in showing the independence of the South of the North.

There is another feature in the operation of the tariff policy which deserves special attention. I have shown that the South buys of the North about two hundred millions of goods annually, in addition to the amount received from abroad through Northern ports, in exchange for Southern products exported to foreign countries. The operation of the tariff policy on the prices we have to pay for this additional two hundred millions of Northern goods is exactly the same as upon the like goods imported from abroad. It increases the prices to the consumers of the goods at the rate of twenty per cent., under the revenue tariff of 1857, and of thirty to forty per cent., under the tariff of 1860. Under the revenue tariff, the additional cost to the Southern consumers would be sixty millions annually. including tariff and freights, and with the protective tariff, from eighty to one hundred millions annually. As onerous and unjust as is this annual imposition of sixty millions upon Southern consumption, we cannot complain of it, because it is only the incidental protection derived by the manufacturers of the North from a revenue tariff, but when this amount is swelled to eighty or one hundred millions, under a protective tariff, it becomes a subject for just complaint.

We may now recapitulate the substantial benefits derived by the North from the course of commercial dealings established between the two sections. The following figures exhibit the annual profits made by the North upon Southern products:

Total profits.......\$130,000,000

For opportunity of realizing annually this aggregate profit of one hundred and thirty millions on Southern products, the North is indebted mainly to the Union. These profits result from that peculiar course of commercial trade, between the North and South, which has been stimulated and fostered and protected by the legislation of the Union from the beginning of the Government. As rich as the North is now, she was once very poor. Before she was blessed by the Union with the South, her people made a living by sending small vessels to the West India Islands, laden with fish, beef, butter, pork, poultry, cider, apples, cabbages, onions, etc. These articles sold for money, which they carried to England, who bought their goods, returning by the way of the African coast, catching or buying negroes, and bringing them back for sale to the Southern colonies. They had little or nothing to export, whilst the Southern colonies had a large surplus of exports over their imports.

As long as Great Britain exercised dominion over her colonies, the North could not compete with the mother country for this carrying trade, but so soon as the Union was formed, the restriction was resumed, and laws were passed giving large encouragement to the colonists to embark in that trade. The North was not slow to take ad-

vantage of these laws.

Another field for profitable enterprise was at the same time opened up, through the operations of the tariff laws, which attracted early attention. The North saw that if manufactories could be built up at home, the protection furnished by the tariff law would give them a virtual monopoly of the domestic trade in manufactures. They had the vessels to bring the raw material from the South, where it was produced—they had the water-power to drive the machinery they had accumulated capital in the African slave trade, and now the tariff laws gave them large advantages in competing with foreign manufactures. The North eagerly availed herself of every favorable circumstance, and embarked largely in manufacturing. It was not difficult to procure such protective legislation as the North claimed to be necessary, and the Bank of the United States was more than willing to contribute facilities for raising the capital needed, for enabling the North to do the manufacturing for the whole country. This course of trade became so firmly established before the Bank was overthrown, and the high protective policy was modified, that the North has since had but little difficulty in maintaining its ascendency.

It is not in the power of figures to convey to the mind a correct idea of the advantage which the North has enjoyed over the South, under the influence of the various laws which have stimulated and controlled the employment of capital. Many Southern men saw and protested against the unequal and unjust operation of the system of legislation, which was enriching one section at the expense of the other. They struggled to resist the overwhelming power that was combined against them, but they struggled in vain. All they got

for their labors were the bitter denunciations of the North, as being restless Disunionists. All they could do was to submit to the power they could not control, and glide into the course of trade which had been the fixed habit of the country. It is not surprising that, with such advantages, the North became rich, but it is surprising that the South was able to endure the heavy exactions without becoming absolutely impoverished. Nothing can show more clearly the real capacity of the South to become the richest people in the world, than the facts which we have detailed.

Hitherto the South has done little else than produce capital for the North to trade upon. We have produced annually over four hundred millions of raw materials, which have passed immediately into the hands of Northern capitalists, and constituted the basis of the wealth which they have extracted from them. It has been shown how they have made an annual profit of one hundred and thirty millions in freighting our products, returning them to us in foreign goods, and in the incidental protection derived from the tariff But this does not embrace the millions made in the way of brokcrage, interest, commission, etc., and in the management of our produce. Nor does it embrace the millions which we spend yearly in travel in the North. Mr. Kettell estimates that 50,000 Southerners go North every year, and spend an average of \$1000, making the total annual expenditure for travel of fifty millions of dollars. does it embrace the millions that we spend in sending our sons and daughters North to be educated. Nor does it embrace that incalculable amount derived by the North from the system of banking, exchanges, and credits which has made us as financially dependent on the North as we have been commercially. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy these amounts, and, therefore, I adopt the result of Mr. Kettell's investigations. He comes to the conclusion that the South pays annually to the North, for interest, brokerage, insurance, travel, etc., about one hundred and fifteen millions. If this be added to the amount of one hundred and thirty millions, before estimated as the commercial profits of the North, it yields the sum of two hundred and forty-five millions, derived annually by the North from her union with the South. And then, speaking of the consequences of separation from the South, he says:

"From what has been demiled above, as revealed to us from the returns of the census, it is quite apparent that the North, as distinguished from the South and West, would be alone permanently injured. Its fortune depends upon manufacturing and shipping; but it neither raises its own food nor its own raw material, nor does it furnish freights for its own shipping. The South, on the other hand, raises a supply of food, and supplies the world with raw ma-Lumber, hides, cotton, wool, indigo-all that the manufacturer requires—is within its own circle. The requisite capital to put them into action is rapidly accumulating, and in the long run it would lose-after recovering from the first disasters-nothing by

separation."

Thus wrote a Northern author. He thus forcibly concludes his remarks:

"The North has no future material resources; in minerals, both the other sections surpass it. In metals, it is comparatively destitute; of raw materials, it has none. Its ability to feed itself is questionable. Its commerce is to the whole country what that of Holland was to the world, viz.: living on the trade of other people. Its manufactures occupy the same position, awaiting only the time when the other sections will do their own work. When that moment arrives. Massachusetts, which now occupies the proudest rank in the Union, will fall back upon her own resources, and still claim to be an agricultural State, since her summer crop is granite, and her winter crop is ice. This period the North supinely permits a few unscrupulous politicians, clerical agitators, and reprobate persons to hasten, by the most wanton attacks upon institutions of their best customers. They are forcing the Northern slave States to assume to the South the same position that New England held to the South on the formation of the Union. They are holding out to them the bright prize of becoming the manufacturers, importers and carriers for the South, as the North has been. They offer them this brilliant premium to cut their connection with the North, in order to enjoy those branches of industry in relation to the South which have conferred such wealth and prosperity upon New England and the Middle States. England became rich by the oolonies-repelled them. Her wealth fell on New England; she has now become rich, and in her turn repels the South in favor of the Northern slave States. These latter see the prize falling to them, and may become eager to grasp it before the North shall have awakened to its danger."

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