

speedily in the cotton States by ordinances declaring that those States were no longer in the Union. The dates of these ordinances were: South Carolina, December 20, 1860; Mississippi, January 9, 1861; Florida, January 10; Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 19; Illinois, January 26; Texas, February 1. The delegates from these States met at Montgomery, Ala., early in February, 1861, and organized a general government called the Confederate States of America, with its capital at that place, which three months later was removed to Richmond, Va. Jefferson Davis was made provisional President for one year, and Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President. A year later they were re-elected for a full term of six years. Before the end of May, North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas and Tennessee had joined the Confederacy. Kentucky refused to join it, and for Maryland and Missouri there was a struggle which terminated in their retention in the Union.

Thus the two sections were arrayed against each other, and as history shows plainly that two sovereign governments cannot exist together in a territory that is all included in one set of natural boundaries, the inevitable result was immediate war.

"But what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he be able with 10,000 to meet him that cometh against him with 20,000?" This quotation would naturally come to the lips of the student of history if, knowing that the population of all the slave States in 1860 was but 10,000,000, while that of the free States was 20,000,000, he should suddenly come upon the fact of the great civil war. But those who led the secession movement, and most of their followers, thought there were other circumstances to offset the discrepancy in numbers and wealth.

They believed that in the possession of the cotton that was wanted for British looms, and in their readiness to adopt a free-trade policy, they had a guaranty of help from England, if help should be needed. They believed that Southern soldiers would be more than a match, man for man, for Northern ones. They counted also on the enormous advantage that earthworks and arms of precision give to men who are fighting on the defensive. More than all, perhaps, they counted on active assistance in the heart of the North itself; yet this, like the calculations just mentioned, failed them in the test.

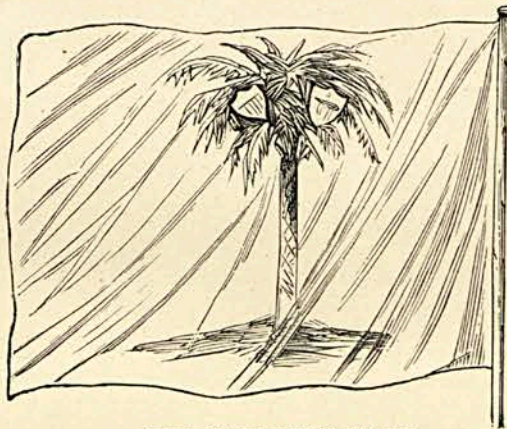
The secessionists relied also, for an advantageous start, upon the timidity of President Buchanan and the influence that might be exerted over him by the Southern members of his Cabinet; and in this at least their expectations were fully met.

One supreme consideration ought to have occurred to the statesmen of the South, if not to her people. With the advance of civilization, the whole tendency of mankind has been, not toward division and segregation, but toward union and centralization, wherever geographical conditions have

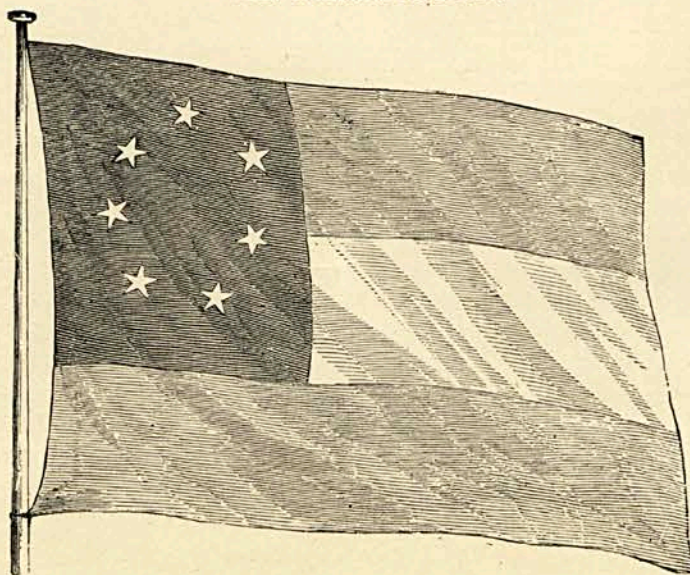


JEFFERSON DAVIS.

indicated it. Where once was the Heptarchy is now the United Kingdom of Great Britain; France and Spain each gravitated into a similar consolidation, and early in the present century Sweden



THE PALMETTO FLAG.



THE FLAG OF THE CONFEDERACY.

Three stripes—the upper and lower red, the central white. Union blue extending to the top of lower stripe, with seven white stars.

and Norway became one kingdom. In 1848 the leagued Swiss Cantons set up a central government, making themselves one republic, and the union between Austria and Hungary was perfected. When our war of secession was breaking out, the principalities of Italy had just become one kingdom, which in naval power is now among the first in the world; and since that time we have seen Germany united, the Canadian provinces organized as a Federal Dominion, the States of Central America form a league, and Japan adopt a centralized government. Our own Constitution was substituted for the old Articles of Confederation because our fathers found it desirable "to form a more perfect union."

The Constitution of the Confederate States of America was a close copy of that of the United States, except that it made the presidential term six years, with ineligibility for a second term, forbade protective tariffs, and was not afraid of the word "slave." It specifically declared that "citizens of each State shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired." It contained no recognition of the right of secession, and in

its opening sentence declared that the intention was to "form a permanent federal government." In the most important respect of all, the rights of States were more abridged than they were by the old Constitution. For any amendment of the United States Constitution, a vote of three-fourths of the States is required, but the Confederate Constitution could be amended if two-thirds of the States concurred. Either of these provisions completely destroys the presumption of State sovereignty, for when sovereigns enter into a compact, it can be changed only by unanimous consent. Mr. Stephens, in a speech at Savannah, March 22, 1861, expounding the new Constitution, said, "The prevailing ideas entertained by him (Thomas Jefferson) and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. . . . Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition."

Commissioners were now sent to Washington, but President Buchanan refused to receive them. Yet all his efforts to stay the progress of secession were paralyzed by the presence of three active secessionists in his Cabinet—John B. Floyd, Howell Cobb and Jacob Thompson. Buchanan was one of those men that are strong enough so long as precedents are not lacking, but pitifully weak in a new emergency. He declared that States had no right to secede, but the Constitution conferred no power to