



The Belo Herald

Newsletter of the Col. A. H. Belo Camp #49

August 2013

This month's meeting features a special presentation:

A History of the Anglo-Celtic People

By

Mike Smith



The Belo Herald is an interactive newsletter. Click on the links to take you directly to additional internet resources.

Col. A. H. Belo Camp #49

- Commander - Kevin Newsom
- Adjutant - Stan Hudson
- 2nd Lt. Cmdr - Mark Brown
- Chaplain - Rev. Jerry Brown
- Editor - Nathan Bedford Forrest



Contact us: <http://belocamp.org>

Belocamp49@hotmail.com

<http://www.facebook.com/BeloCamp49>

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Texas Division: www.texas-scv.org

National: www.scv.org

<http://1800mydixie.com/>

<http://www.youtube.com/user/SCVORG>

Commander in Chief Givens on [Twitter](#) at [CiC@CiCSCV](#)

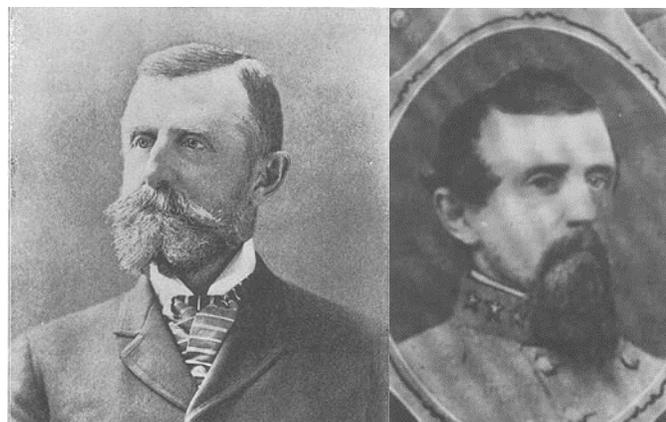
Thursday, August 1st: 7:00 pm

La Madeleine Restaurant

3906 Lemmon Ave near Oak Lawn, Dallas, TX

***we meet in the private meeting room.**

All meetings are open to the public and guests are welcome.



Have you paid your dues??

Come early (6:30pm), eat, fellowship with other members, learn your history!





COMMANDER'S REPORT



Compatriots:

Belo Camp's next meeting is Thursday, August 1, @ 7pm at La Madeleine. As many of us know, a secret to success in life is adaptation. So when Kirt Barnett let us know that he was needed at Sam Davis Youth Camp this August 1, I supported the move wholeheartedly...and then found it necessary to adapt quickly!

Without skipping a beat, Mike Smith stepped up to the plate and agreed to speak. His topic is entitled A History of the Anglo-Celtic People. It's going to be a good one; Mike is a walking encyclopedia on a subject that is near and dear to many of us in the SCV. I encourage y'all to come for supper and fellowship at 6:30....and then get ready for a heck of a meeting at 7pm! As always, the address is 3906 Lemmon Ave, Dallas, 75219. Bring a friend and join us!

Remember that this meeting will be the first featuring our Belo book raffle, so bring a \$1 bill! All proceeds go directly to our camp. And at this meeting each member will receive the newly printed Belo Camp Constitution, signed by myself and Adjutant Hudson. It was a great time on July 4th, I'm looking forward to doing it again in August!

Bless GOD, DEO VINDICE

Kevin Newsom
Commander
Belo Camp 49 Dallas
Texas SCV
214-422-1778
kevin.newsom@belocamp.org





Chaplain's Corner

A Successful Direction



Have you noticed that we have more and more conveniences, but have less time? We are acquiring more and more education, but have less reason. We are building more and more churches, but have less true Christianity. We have more activities, but accomplish less. We have more comfort, but less joy. We have more of the things people want, and seem to think they need, but less happiness. Have you noticed that as a people, we are moving in the wrong direction?

Have you noticed that our government is gaining more and more control over the people, and being less controlled by the people? Have you noticed that people are becoming more and more upset and angry over being told what to believe, instead of being asked what the majority of us believe? We have more taxes, but less money. We have more laws, but less safety. We are being promised more, but getting less. We are told by anyone running for office that they will make things better, but things keep getting worse. Have you noticed that as a country, we are moving in the wrong direction?

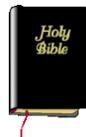
Have you noticed the apathy and self indulgence that exists in this country? Have you noticed that many people are so preoccupied with their on interests they can't see the direction they or this country is going, or the danger that lies ahead? In First Corinthians 6:13, the Apostle Paul wrote, "Meats for the belly, and belly for the meats: but God shall destroy both it and them." As a people and as a country we are traveling on the road to ruin, and picking up speed every day. Have you noticed we are moving further and further from God and closer to destruction, Again, the Apostle Paul warns, "Whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things." (Phil. 3:19)

And what have we noticed about the Sons of Confederate Veterans and our just and worthy Cause? Have you noticed we are a unified group of patriotic Americans faithfully carrying out the Charge with which we have been commissioned? And, have you noticed we have been successful on many fronts in fulfilling our mission? I believe this is not only what we have noticed about our Confederation, but hopefully what those who oppose us have noticed.

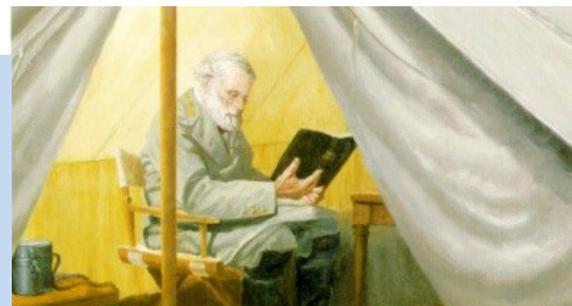
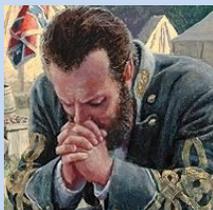
But, to continue to be successful means devoting ourselves, in unity and one accord, to our responsibilities as the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Continuing to be successful means committing ourselves, as a confederation, to our Lord, Jesus Christ, seeking his will, guidance, and strength to enable us to defend the cause for which our brave Confederate forefathers fought, and preserve our proud Southern heritage. Continuing to be successful means being faithful in our service to God, as well as our duty to our brave and noble ancestors. That's a successful direction.



Bro. Len Patterson, Th.D
1941-2013



Blessed is the Nation whose God is the Lord



“IN ALL MY PERPLEXITIES AND DISTRESSES, THE BIBLE HAS NEVER FAILED TO GIVE ME LIGHT AND STRENGTH.”

-GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE



Compatriot Edward Allen presented an interesting and challenging topic for discussion this month on Race and Culture in the South: The SCV Perspective. We had a moderate sized turnout for this 4 of July evening meeting. This was certainly a timely topic in light of the recent matter of Trayvon Martin. Among the conclusions were that the Confederate symbols are a scapegoat for promoting an agenda by groups such as the NAACP, who disregard the role of Black Confederates and that Christianity is the only hope for resolving issues of race.

Belo Camp 49 Upcoming Meetings:

August 1st – Mike Smith: A History of the Anglo-Celtic People

September 5th – Cassie Keys: Defending Heritage through Education

October 3rd - Mark Vogl: Southern Fried Ramblings

November 7th - TBA

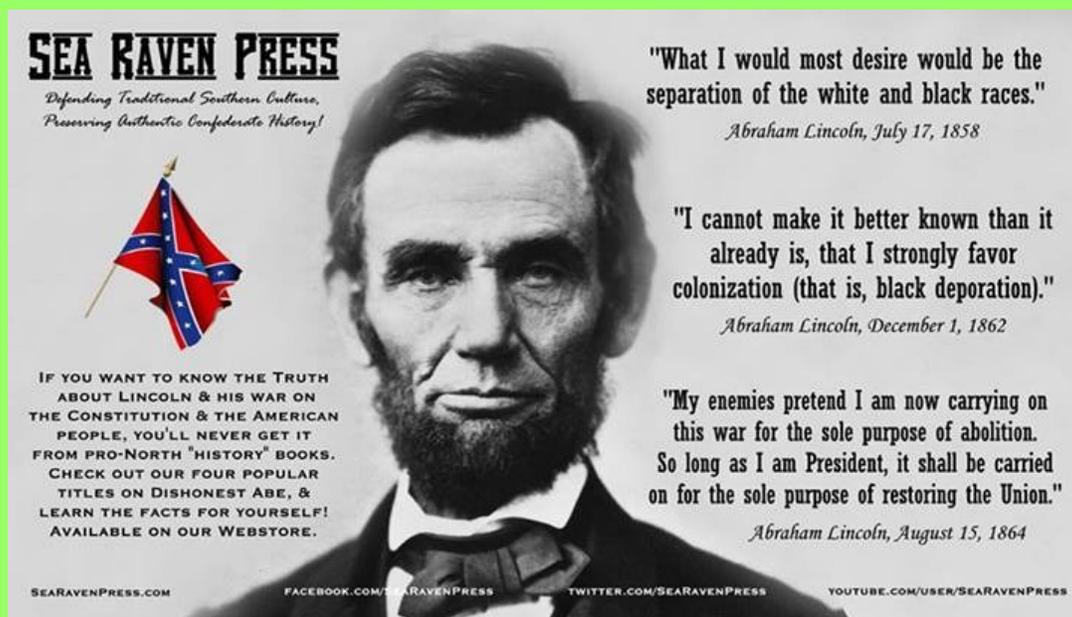
***** Upcoming events *****

July 28-August 3rd SAM DAVIS YOUTH CAMP – Clifton Texas

SEPTEMBER 7 & 8, 2013 DICK DOWLING DAYS SESQUICENTENNIAL

SABINE PASS BATTLEGROUND STATE HISTORIC SITE <http://csa.tripod.com/reenactment.html>

September 28, 2013 SCV National Leadership Workshop at the Sheraton 4 Points Hotel, 8818 Jones Maltsberger Rd (at intersection with Hwy 410), San Antonio, TX) On Friday September 27, a private one hour tour of the Alamo will start at 7:30 pm **SEE INFORMATION IN THIS ISSUE**



SEA RAVEN PRESS
*Defending Traditional Southern Culture,
Preserving Authentic Confederate History!*

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT LINCOLN & HIS WAR ON THE CONSTITUTION & THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, YOU'LL NEVER GET IT FROM PRO-NORTH "HISTORY" BOOKS. CHECK OUT OUR FOUR POPULAR TITLES ON DISHONEST ABE, & LEARN THE FACTS FOR YOURSELF! AVAILABLE ON OUR WEBSTORE.

SEARAVENPRESS.COM FACEBOOK.COM/SEARAVENPRESS TWITTER.COM/SEARAVENPRESS YOUTUBE.COM/USER/SEARAVENPRESS

"What I would most desire would be the separation of the white and black races."
Abraham Lincoln, July 17, 1858

"I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization (that is, black deportation)."
Abraham Lincoln, December 1, 1862

"My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union."
Abraham Lincoln, August 15, 1864

SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS !!!



Southern Legal Resource Center Update

Dear Supporter,



We have made a critical decision on Confederate Free Speech in Government Schools. The 4th Circuit, as we expected, recently turned us down in the Candice Hardwick case. This past January, we endured very hostile questioning by a 3 Judge panel in Richmond, Virginia over Candice's case. This same panel, using sophistry and completely ignoring the facts, upheld the dismissal of Candice's case. Even though the facts (agreed to by the school) showed NO instances of disruption caused by the Confederate flag while Candice was in school - NONE! No fights, no brawls, no bloody noses, no black eyes - in a school that is half black!

No because of "the controversial nature of the flag statewide," and because of disruption 20-30 & 50 years ago, the court believed that was "sufficient" disruption to ban the flag!

Our last recourse is to the **Supreme Court of the United States** - we strongly believe we should finish what we start. Our application for a writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court is due June 22. It will cost about \$10,000 to research, format & file.

In times of universal deceit and corruption, putting the truth under oath and on the record is a revolutionary act. Putting the hypocrisy and chicanery of the school and the court under oath and on view to any member of the interested public is a revolutionary act.

If they choose to hear us in DC - we are ready. If they choose to ignore us - we have a message ready for the American & especially Southern People.

Help us get Candice to the Supreme Court - this case and your children's liberty is too important not to finish. We have been fighting for Candice since 2003 - Help us finish the job.

Whatever happens will be a victory for the Southern People.

Donate NOW!

DEO VINDICE

Download The Latest Issue of "[The Confederate Voice](#)" Newsletter

Kirk D.Lyons
Chief Trial Counsel, SLRC

UPDATE: Help Candice Get to the Supreme Court!

I just signed on the dotted line committing the SLRC (and me) to paying the \$5,000 + that it will cost to apply for a writ of certiorari to the United States Supreme Court. This is the ultimate Confederate - school free speech case, the Confederate Community will never get a better set of facts - NO disruption caused by the Confederate flag at Latta High School for 4 years - in schools that are half black! The Schools and the 4th Circuit are relying on ancient history to prove disruption. Because of the chicanery, hypocrisy and intellectual dishonesty of the 4th Circuit US Court of Appeals in its recent decision (and 5th, 6th & 8th Circuits) the US Supreme Court is where we need to be. This case has been going on since 2003, we need to finish what we commence. We need to put this rotten & dishonest school tyranny on trial. **I don't have the \$5K it is going to take, just in out of pocket expenses, to get the application for a writ filed. The SLRC & I are taking it on faith that we can raise the money before the bills become due.** Will you help us fire a shot across the bow of a corrupt school bureaucracy that is institutionally hostile to all things Confederate? This is a great opportunity to tell the Emperor he is naked. JOIN and support us today!

Send your most generous donation to:

SLRC
P.O.Box 1235
Black Mountain, NC 28711

Please help!

Kirk D. Lyons - Chief Trial Counsel, SLRC

Federal judges side with Lexington again on Confederate flag ban

Three-judge panel agrees with U.S. District Court ruling that Lexington was within its rights to ban all non-government flag displays from city light poles.

By Matt Chittum | 981-3331

Friday, July 5, 2013

The SCV lawsuit can be read at www.rutherford.org/files_images/general/01_12_2012_Complaint_SCV.pdf



The Roanoke Times | File 2011 Supporters of a Sons of Confederate Veterans anti-ordinance rally held at Hopkins Green in Lexington wave flags to protest a Lexington City ordinance that would effectively ban flags, such as the Confederate flag, from flying from public lamp posts.

Lexington’s ban on flying the Confederate flag — and other non-governmental colors — from city-owned light poles does not violate a heritage group’s right of free speech, a federal appeals court ruled Friday in upholding a lower court’s 2012 ruling.

The Sons of Confederate Veterans, Virginia Division, sued the city after its passage of the ordinance in 2011. U.S. District Judge Samuel Wilson dismissed the lawsuit in June 2012, calling the city’s ban “eminently reasonable” because it banned all non-government flag displays, not just the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

The SCV appealed the ruling to a three-judge panel of the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which found that while the light poles were a public forum, it’s within the city’s rights to close that forum, and that’s what the Lexington City Council did with its ordinance.

“Although the First Amendment guarantees free speech in a public forum, it does not guarantee access to property simply because it is owned or controlled by the government,” the court wrote in its opinion, adding later: “It appears that the City experimented with private speakers displaying flags on the City’s standards, and that effort turned out to be troublesome. It was entitled, under the controlling principles, to alter that policy.”

“Obviously we’re pleased,” said Jeremy Carroll, attorney for the city. “Two federal courts have upheld the city’s actions.”

The SCV can appeal the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, but Thomas Strelka, the attorney representing the group, said he hadn’t talked with his client yet.

“Personally, I’d like to see it go forward,” he said.

Brandon Dorsey, commander of Camp 1296 of the Lexington-based Stonewall Brigade of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, said his group will take it’s cue from their attorneys.

“If they still feel the case is strong, and they’re still willing to fight on, I’m sure we’ll be willing to do our part to make that happen,” he said.

Lexington City Council unanimously passed the ordinance after years of allowing not only the SCV to hang flags from the poles, but also the Virginia Military Institute, Washington and Lee University and other groups. The ordinance prohibits flying all but the American, Virginia and Lexington flags from the poles.

The SCV had claimed that Lexington City Council passed the ordinance to censor the particular views of the group, as represented by the flag, and that makes the ordinance unconstitutional.

The court, however, said that argument is without supporting precedent, and cited several Supreme Court cases that found the opposite. “We are governed by laws, not by the intentions of legislators,” reads one.

“The ordinance has the effect of closing a designated public forum – the perpetual availability of which was never guaranteed – to all private speakers,” the court wrote.

“All private groups and individuals remain free to express their flag-bound messages in other ways.”

Dorsey said by that logic, it would be acceptable to close a public school or swimming pool to all people to keep black children out. “We wouldn’t let that stand today against a minority class,” he said.

The SCV also claimed the ordinance violated a “consent decree” that settled a 1993 lawsuit the group brought against the city. That decree barred the city from denying the SCV the right to “wear, carry or display the Confederate flag at any government sponsored or government-controlled place or event which is to any extent given over to private expressive activity.”

The court ruled the ordinance didn’t violate the decree because it eliminated the light poles as a government-controlled place for private expression. The SCV has two weeks to petition the 4th Circuit for a rehearing by the full court, and 90 days to file a petition to be heard by the Supreme Court.

<http://www.roanoke.com/news/2057071-12/federal-judges-side-with-lexington-again-on-confederate.html>

NAACP demands Lee County, FL remove Robert E Lee portrait

July 9, 2013 By Michael Cushman

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is pressuring Lee County, Florida to remove a portrait of Southern General Robert E Lee, for whom the county was named, from the wall of the county commission's office. The anti-White organisation claims that the portrait of the nineteenth century military leader is somehow connected to roads going unrepaired in Black areas of the county today. The group also uses Leftist rhetoric about Lee being 'divisive' and allegedly 'on the wrong side of history' in its demands. Thomas Hines writes in his coverage of the story for [News-Press.com](http://www.news-press.com):

Local NAACP Chapter President James Muwakkil asked the Lee County Commission to remove a painting of late Confederate Army Gen. Robert E. Lee from a wall where it hangs above public meetings.

In a letter to commissioners, Muwakkil stated that Lee fought for slavery; thus, his image stands contrary to contemporary beliefs.

"That painting is a symbol of racism," he said. "It's a symbol of divisiveness, and it doesn't unify Lee County, it divides Lee County."

...Muwakkil said blacks in Lee County continue to experience exclusion, and Lee's painting reinforces the underlying belief system.

Streets and sidewalks in black communities, Muwakkil said, go without their fair share of repair.

Lee County, Muwakkil said, hires few minority contractors for public works projects — even after ex-county manager Karen Hawes promised to bring on more black-owned businesses last year.

Additionally, the Lee County Commission, he said, has marginalized black voters by refusing to move forward with single-member voting districts.

Mr Muwakkil's comments in the story indicate that he not only is interested in eliminating yet another symbol of Southern identity and culture, but he also is looking for more government money to go to Black businesses and he wants the Black population (which is [7.5% of the county](#)) to have more political control. After all, Mr

Muwakkil can point to such resounding success in Black-controlled Southern cities such as [Memphis](#), [Birmingham](#) and [Atlanta](#). Eliminating Southern identity and bringing Third World-style government to Lee County is at the heart of the NAACP's demands. Comments from the News-Press story indicate that the public is not ready to capitulate.

James Muwakkil & the Lee County, FL NAACP push anti-Southern agenda.

<http://southernnationalist.com/blog/2013/07/09/naACP-demands-lee-county-fl-remove-robert-e-lee-portrait/>





Why I carry the Battle Flag...

Just a few months after I began flagging, I was attending a local WBTS event alone, and was carrying my CBF. I was approached by an older gentleman in the local SCV. He introduced himself and said he wanted to talk with me. He began to tell me that he was proud of what I had been doing and that he appreciated my efforts. He then went on to say that he thought that I would be much better off, and have more success if I would stop carrying the Battle Flag, and carry the First National instead. He told me it would be much safer, cause less controversy, and would be less "offensive".

He may have been the first one to give me such a lecture, but he has not been the last. I have been told it was "unlady-like" to walk through the streets of Richmond with my Battle Flag with the SCV at the 2012 Heritage Rally, and scores of folks online, mostly within our own Heritage community have urged me to carry a different flag.

My response was, and always has been, that EVERYTHING I do is about the Confederate soldier. I carry the ANV battle flag because all four of my G-G-Grandfathers who fought, served under that flag. It is the SOLDIER'S FLAG. I love all of the Confederate flags, and often carry different ones for different occasions, but my first love always has been and always will be the battle flag.

Just today, I was advised that we should fly/carry the First National because "no one knows what it is". HUH???? I believe that is exactly the reasoning that has gotten us where we are today. By buying into the guilt by association hogwash, our own folks have shunned the battle flag, leaving the impression that we are all ashamed of it and prefer it stay "in a museum", hidden from public view. Perhaps it is not too surprising, considering the recent actions of the Museum of the Confederacy when they flat out REFUSED to fly a Confederate flag of ANY SORT on the grounds of the new museum at Appomattox

For those who think that the First National is a "safe flag", there is nothing further from the truth. There was NO battle flag involved in the display banned in Lexington, and there are many other examples. Once the battle flag is completely gone from public view (and we are getting close to that point) they will come after every other flag, until all traces of the Confederacy are removed....

We Take Our Stand (by Carolyn Kent, Southern Cross Chapter #2578, UDC)

"The Battle Flag has suffered much abuse and we, the descendants of the Confederate heroes whose honor that Cross verifies, must continually do battle with ignorance and defamation from those who choose to misunderstand our heritage. We, whose ancestors gave us that centuries-old Cross, have a duty to protect it, to restore it to its position of dignity and respect, and that we must do. The Confederates were neither cold nor timid...neither can we be.

It is a privilege to have inherited the Southern Cross, to have such an honorable standard with which to align our hopes and dreams for the future. Just as the Southern Cross has become popular in other countries and is used by them as a beacon of courage, so to, will there surely be a renaissance in our own country...a renewal of things good and noble and pleasant and right. The time will arrive when ALL people are allowed to honor their history, yes, even Southerners. The day will come (and IT WILL) when people learn what we already know. They will realize where the true patriots of freedom thrive, and their eyes will turn Southward. And the Southern Cross, as it has for centuries, will lead us all Deo Vindice."

RAISE YOUR BATTLE FLAGS!

~ Susan Hathaway

Virginia Flaggers



Knighted into the Order of St George!
Susan Frise Hathaway

One of the highlights of my trip to Vicksburg was this ceremony:

SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS

TEXAS DIVISION

TEXAS DIVISION MOUNTED COLOR GUARD

TEXAS ORDER OF SAINT GEORGE

"In recognition of your invaluable service, your dedication to the fulfillment of the duties and responsibilities undertaken while serving the Texas Commander and the Commander-In-Chief, this certificate is given for your contribution to the Confederate History and Heritage."

I am so thankful and humbled to be honored by the fine men of the SCV, Texas Division, and grateful for the opportunity to join with them in our efforts to vindicate the cause for which our gallant ancestors fought and died.

All the honor and glory goes to the men who wore the gray... and the men and women of the Va Flaggers who stand for them!

God bless the men of the Texas Division, Mounted Color Guard, SCV, and God bless the South!

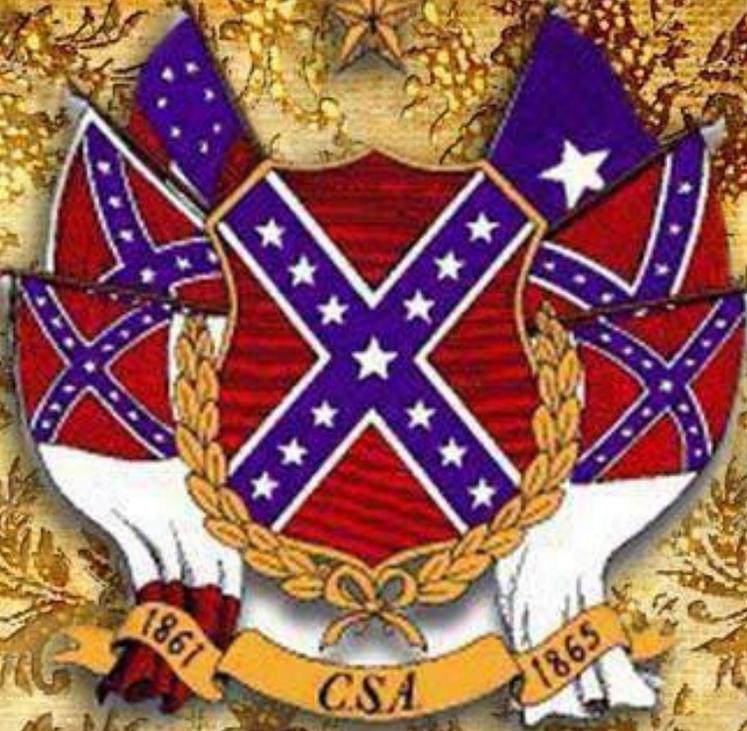




GIBRALTAR OF THE CONFEDERACY
118TH NATIONAL REUNION
SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS
VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI
JULY 18-20, 2013



'Old times there
are not forgotten...'



**"The time for compromise
has now passed, and the South is
determined to maintain her position,
and make all who
oppose her smell Southern
powder and feel Southern steel!"
--Jefferson Davis**

dixieoutfitters.com

'We must never forget, we must put in the dock and hang higher than Haman, those who, in modern times, opened the Pandora's Box of genocide and the extermination of civilians: Sherman, Grant, and Lincoln.

Perhaps, some day, *their* statues, like Lenin's in Russia, will be toppled and melted down; their insignias and battle flags will be desecrated, their war songs tossed into the fire. And then Davis and Lee and Jackson and Forrest, and all the heroes of the South, "Dixie" and the Stars and Bars, will once again be truly honored and remembered. The classic comment on that meretricious TV series *The Civil War* was made by that marvelous and feisty Southern writer Florence King. Asked her views on the series, she replied: "I didn't have time to watch *The Civil War*. I'm too busy getting ready for the next one." In that spirit, I am sure that one day, aided and abetted by Northerners like myself in the glorious "copperhead" tradition, the South shall rise again!"



-Dr Murray Rothbard

SCV National Leadership Workshop

As we move through the challenging years of the Sesquicentennial, leadership training has become even more important to the defense of our Southern heritage. In an effort to insure that our members better understand the challenges of leadership roles and to aid our leaders in acquiring the knowledge to better perform their duties, the SCV has scheduled an Autumn National Leadership Workshop.

This year's event will be held September 28, 2013 at the Sheraton 4 Points Hotel, 8818 Jones Maltzberger Rd (at intersection with Hwy 410), San Antonio, TX. It will be hosted by the Alamo City Guards Camp 1325. A tentative schedule for the day is posted below along with registration and lodging information.

Please note that this event will include relevant presentations and individual workshops for more specialized training for Commanders and Adjutants; however, ALL members are invited to attend!

8:30 – 8:40	Welcome & SCV Protocol	Cmdr. Russ Lane, Camp 1325
8:40 – 8:55	Introductions & Overview	Lt. CIC Charles Kelly Barrow
8:55 – 9:40	Commanders & Command	CIC R. Michael Givens
9:40 – 9:50	<i>BREAK</i>	
9:50 – 10:30	Adjutants & Administration	AIC Stephen Lee Ritchie
10:30 -10:45	<i>BREAK</i>	
10:45 – 11:30	Recruiting & Retention	Lt. CIC Charles Kelly Barrow
11:30 – 12:30	<i>DINNER</i>	
12:30 – 1:15	<i>Vision 2016</i>	Past Chief of HD Tom Hiter, Ph.D
1:15 – 1:25	<i>BREAK</i>	
1:25 – 2:10	Camp Operations & Success	Lt. CIC Charles Kelly Barrow
2:10 – 2:20	<i>BREAK</i>	
2:20 – 3:05	Commander's & Adjutant's Workshops	CIC, Lt. CIC & AIC
3:05	Concluding Remarks & Discussion Benediction	Lt. CIC Charles Kelly Barrow

Registration, which includes dinner, is **only \$20 each** and will be handled through our General Headquarters at Elm Springs. You may mail a reservation with a check or call 1 (800) 380-1896 ext 209 (Cindy) or email accounting@scv.org with credit card information (MC, VISA or AMEX).

Call Hotel at 210-348-9960 Group Rate: SCV (Room price is \$94 which includes breakfast buffet for one). Room reservations need to be booked before Sept 5.

On Friday September 27 a **private one hour tour of the Alamo** will start at 7:30 pm and the cost is \$5.00. If you plan go on the tour, please meet at the historic Main Bar at the Menger Hotel (across street from the Alamo) at 6:30 pm. The cost for parking is \$10.00

After the workshop on Saturday, a visit to the Confederate Cemetery and the burial places of Col. Rip Ford and General Hamilton Bee will begin at 6 pm

Registration Sheet

Name _____ Address _____

_____ Email address _____

Camp number _____ Check enclosed () or

Credit Card (MC, VISA, or AMEX) Number _____ Expires _____

HURT: Gettysburg — Another day for Yankees to wallow in anti-South hate

By Charles Hurt

Tuesday, July 2, 2013



Photo by: Matt Rourke

A visitor to Little Round Top views the Devil's Den during ongoing activities commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1, 2013, in Gettysburg, Pa. Union forces turned away a Confederate advance in the pivotal battle of the Civil War fought July 1-3, 1863, which was also the war's bloodiest conflict with more than 51,000 casualties. (Associated Press)

BOCA GRANDE, FLA. — Since the beginning of time, the spoils have always gone to the victors. And they get to write history, too.

So here, on the 150th anniversary of Gettysburg, Southerners are once again reminded how badly it sucks to lose.

To hear it told today, the Confederacy was nothing more than a hotbed of racist slavers and murderers. The gallant Yankees were nothing short of a pristine band of heroes laying down their lives to set men free. The whole ordeal was about nothing other than putting an end to the abomination that was slavery.

Add in the farcical state of education in the U.S. today — especially the lack of teaching of actual history that actually happened — and you have a perfect storm of pollyannish fantasy that condemns yet another generation to ignorance and gives today's social engineers yet another false parable to advance their goofy and twisted agendas.

The Gettysburg specials on the History Channel are, of course, told exclusively from the Northern perspective. This is neither new nor surprising. To the winners go the spoils.

But the truly barbaric caricature of the Confederate soldiers is appalling. Great focus on the rebel yell cries. Cameras zoom in on jumbled, yellowed teeth for full screen shots while guttural, animalistic shrieks play at full-volume.

One Yankee sympathizer masquerading as a historian explains that people always ask him how things would have been different if they'd had automatic machine guns during the Civil War. Really? They wonder how Gettysburg could have been made even bloodier with even more bloated corpses rotting in the fields?

What kind of savages does this guy hang around with discussing the Civil War? Invading the South wasn't enough? They really wanted to kill every last one of us.

Then comes plagiarist historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, who observed the 150th anniversary at Gettysburg by recalling — what else? — her own bleating for civil rights and women's rights and even gay rights in the 1960s. As if she possesses even a tiny fraction of the selfless honor and bravery that defined every man who died on that battlefield in the 1860s.

The truth is that the vast, vast, vast majority of soldiers fighting for the Confederacy owned no slaves. They were fighting for something else.

It wasn't until two years into the war that President Lincoln, perhaps our wisest and shrewdest president, penned the Emancipation Proclamation. And even then, it only pertained to slaves in the Confederacy, leaving slavery perfectly intact in other parts of the U.S.

But it was a stroke of genius. With a flick of his pen, Lincoln managed to manufacture the moral high ground for his cause, which up to that point had not been to end slavery but to simply preserve the Union. This new moral high ground not only lifted his cause to victory but to this day continues to whitewash Northern motives in that war.

So, why does any of this matter? I mean, the South lost and slavery did end, which is a very good thing. Every second that slavery existed in America was an abomination.

Well, there is another important truism about history. Those who fail to understand it are doomed to repeat it.

• Charles Hurt can be reached at charleshurt@live.com or on Twitter [@charleshurt](https://twitter.com/charleshurt).

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/jul/2/hurt-gettysburg-day-yankees-wallow-anti-south-hate/print/>



Mary Surratt

Remembering Mary Surratt; Marylander and Southerner

Saturday, July 06, 2013

By Calvin E. Johnson, Jr.

Jefferson Davis President of the Confederacy said:

"I love the Union and the Constitution, but I would rather leave the Union with the Constitution than remain in the Union without it."

America had not yet celebrated her 85th birthday when the South seceded from the Union in the year of our Lord 1861. Secession was recognized as a God given right that was also exercised by the 13 American Colonies in their separation from Great Britain in 1776 to form the United States of America.



Some say America and the Constitution died a little with General Lee and the South at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia in April 1865.

The courtesy and respect shown by General Ulysses S. Grant and his men to General Robert E. Lee and his weary men at the surrender and Lincoln's wish for a peaceful re-uniting of the North and South would be short lived. The President's death would be replaced with a bitter hatred by some in the North toward the men and women of the former Confederate States of America.

It has been written that Maryland sided with the Union but the truth is.

The State Legislature of Maryland prepared to vote on secession in 1861 to join the Southern Confederacy but Federal troops were sent to squash their attempt. There is little doubt that many Marylanders resented this attack on their States rights and many were sympathetic to the cause of the South including the Surratt's who owned a boarding house and tavern. The home to the Surratt's would be named Surrattsville and today is Clinton.

Mary Surratt's husband John H. Surratt died of a stroke while in Confederate service in 1862 and her son John, Jr. quit his studies at St. Charles College in July 1861 and became a courier for the Confederate Secret Service, moving messages, cash and contraband back and forth across enemy lines.

In 1864 Mary and her children John, Jr. and Anna moved into a townhouse in Washington, D.C.

The Reconstruction Era of 1865-1870 would forever change America.

July 7, 1865 was a dark day in America. On this day Mary Surratt, a Mother, Wife, Marylander, and Southerner would become the first woman to be executed by the United States Federal Government.

Mary Surratt was held at the Old Capitol Prison's annex and then at the Washington Arsenal. She was brought before a military commission on May 9, 1865, charged with conspiracy to assassinate President Lincoln. Her lawyer was United States Senator Reverdy Johnson.

Mary Surratt's daughter Anna Surratt pleaded for her Mother's life to Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt but he refused to consider clemency. She also attempted several times to see President Andrew Johnson, but was not granted permission to see him.

Mary Surratt continued to assert his innocence and at noon on July 6th was told she would be hanged the next day. She wept controllably. She was joined by two Catholic Priest's (Jacob Walter and B.F. Wiget) and her daughter Anna. Father Jacob would stay with her almost to her death.

On July 7, 1865, at 1:15 P.M., Mary Surratt, Lewis Powell, David Herold and George Atzerodt were escorted through the courtyard and up the steps to the gallows as more than a thousand people looked on. Mary Surratt was wearing a black bombazine dress, black bonnet and black veil and either because of weakness from her illness or fear or both she had to be supported by two soldiers and her priest. She declared she was innocent up to her death.

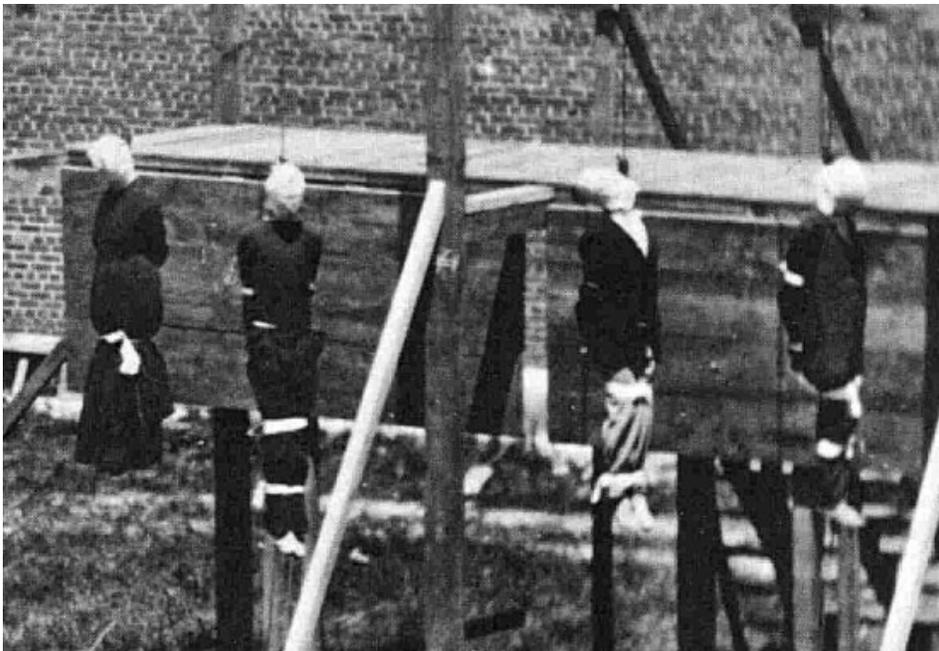
From the scaffold, Powell said, "Mrs. Surratt is innocent. She doesn't deserve to die with the rest of us." Was there a conspiracy against the South and those sympathetic to their cause or were these people guilty of the conspiracy to assassinate President Abraham Lincoln?

Dr. Samuel Mudd an American Physician was convicted and imprisoned for aiding and conspiring with John Wilkes Booth in the assassination of Lincoln. He was pardoned by President Andrew Johnson and released from prison in 1869. His prison record however still stands and his conviction has never been overturned.

To learn more about Mary Surratt read: **Mary Surratt: An American Tragedy** by Elizabeth Trindal.

By Calvin E. Johnson, Jr., Speaker, Writer of short stories, Author of book "When America stood for God, Family and Country" and Chairman of the National and Georgia Division Sons of Confederate Veterans Confederate History and Heritage Month committee. <http://www.facebook.com/ConfederateHeritageMonth>
cjohnson1861@bellsouth.net

http://shnv.blogspot.com/_/2013/07/remembering-mary-surr_att-marylander-and.html





"I do affirm, in the presence of God, that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, his heirs and accessions, and that I will be faithful to bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia as a free and independent state ..."

~ from the Amelia Court House Oath of Allegiance to the Commonwealth and the USA, signed by 124 men on August 23, 1777

Funny how we consider these men Patriots, and yet those who exercised the same right and swore a similar oath in 1861 are now deemed "traitors" by ignorant and self-serving Americans.

God bless America...and God bless those who have the courage to stand in the face of tyranny...whether it be in 1776...1861...or 2013!

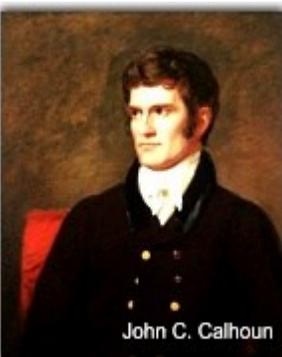
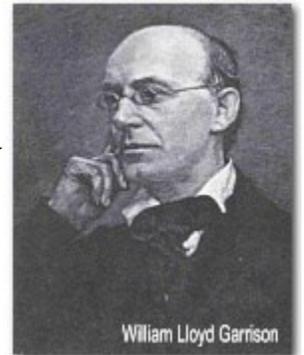
<http://vaflaggers.blogspot.com/2013/07/celebrate-independence-day-by-honoring.html?spref=fb>

The Demonization Of The South

Dr. J. Michael Hill

Demonization as a political and social stratagem knows no temporal or geographical bounds; it is a ploy as old as civilization itself. The objective of the game is to dehumanize an opponent (an individual or a group) in order to gain public support for his marginalization or destruction. Modern America abounds with examples of the demonization process, most of them perpetuated by the Left (which includes Trotskyite neo-conservatives) against the traditional, populist Right. The Oklahoma City bombing, black church burnings, the Atlanta Olympics pipe-bombing, and the ever-present and ubiquitous citizen militia movement have all been used by the government and its lap-dog media to portray anyone to the right of George W. Bush and the Republican National Committee as a clear and present danger to the public weal. But the boogie-man singled out to receive the lion's share of the liberal/neocon opprobrium is the battleflag-waving Southern "cracker" or "redneck," who is uniformly presented by the media, the academy, and popular culture as Old Scratch incarnate. Unfortunately, the demonization of Southerners and their region is not of recent origin.

Though Southerners of both high and low estate contributed mightily to the founding and advancement of the American Republic, they have been subjected to a long-running process of demonization that has turned them into national whipping-boys in the latter half of the twentieth century. The demonization of the South did not begin, as some may think, with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, though it did take on a particularly hostile tone during those decades. Rather, the campaign to portray the South as the sole blot on an otherwise pure and shining "City on a Hill" began in earnest in the 1830s with the rise of the Yankee reformist impulse (i.e. Abolitionist, women's rights, temperance, anti-tobacco, and other like-minded movements) and fears that the so-called "Slave Power" of Southern aristocrats threatened American Democracy. The three decades from the publication of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* in 1831 to the outbreak of The War for Southern Independence in 1861 witnessed a virulent crusade to vilify not only the South's culture and institutions but Southerners themselves.



To properly understand why the Yankee thought it necessary and profitable to demonize the South, we must trace briefly the dichotomy between a rapidly-changing antebellum North and a stable, conservative South. Southern men-of-affairs, especially South Carolina's John C. Calhoun, rightly understood that unchecked consolidation and the campaign against slavery would result in either the destruction of the South or in the dissolution of the Union. The gathering forces against which the South had to contend were indeed foreboding. The sweep of "progress" was already gripping the North (especially New England), urging it toward finance and industrial capitalism and the exploitation of "free" labor. William H. Seward warned the South that unless it voluntarily discarded its old ways--particularly an outmoded adherence to states rights and the "peculiar institution"--it would later yield them amidst a sea of blood. Such threats to the well-being of their region caused thoughtful Southern leaders to consider what sort of checks might be imposed against an increasingly hostile North.

But progressive Northern leaders were in no mood to be checked by a numerical minority in the slaveholding South. Undermining the Southern way of life would be the first step in the triumph of the Yankee worldview,

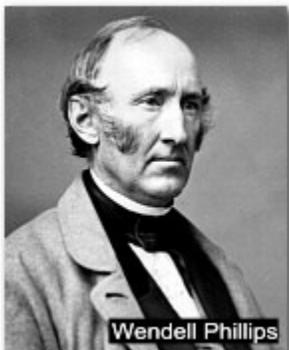
and to accomplish this the South had to be demonized in the eyes of a majority of Northerners before the radicals could hope for its actual physical destruction.

Revolutionary change in the North's economic and political systems had been accompanied by European-style reform movements of every stripe. Indeed, New England and parts of the Midwest now produced a breed of perpetual reformers in whom emotion trumped commonsense and hard experience. Eventually, all the reformist strands were woven together into the rope of Abolitionism, and by the 1830s the anti-slavery movement had become a messianic, apostate religious crusade. Radical Abolitionist propaganda found its way not only into the literature and public oratory of the day, but into juvenile story books, church hymnals, and even almanacs, as well.

The milder form of Abolitionism that existed until the late 1820s in both the North and South called for gradual emancipation under conditions to be determined by those closest to the institution. Few men condemned the actual physical conditions of slavery; instead, they criticized the institution on the grounds of principle. In 1827 New Yorker James Fenimore Cooper told a French audience that "the American slave is better off, so far as mere animal wants are concerned, than the lower orders of the European peasants." Moreover, both sides in the debate were aware of the problems inherent in the manumission of several million Africans who lacked experience with self-government. Many, if not most, early advocates of emancipation favored one or another plan for the separation of the races. The American Colonization Movement, for instance, proposed to transport out of the country those slave freed by their masters. Until the beginning of the 1830s, then, there was little overt hostility between the pro- and anti-slavery factions. But the first issue of Garrison's *Liberator* changed the nature of the slavery debate forever.



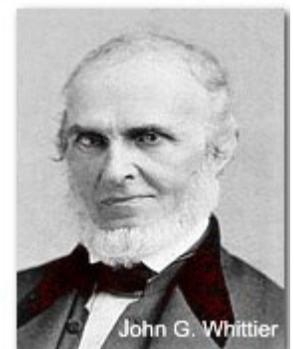
The *Liberator* gave Garrison a platform from which to stoke the fires of sectional hatred against the South, and he wasted no time in doing so. In the first issue of 1 January 1831, he declared: "I do not wish to think or speak or write with moderation. I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard." And so he was. Garrison and a vocal minority of New Englanders agitated unceasingly to distort and fictionalize Southern society and to make hatred of slavery synonymous with hatred of all who inhabited the slaveholding South. Southerners were described as "thieves and adulterers . . . who trample law and order beneath their feet; . . . ruffians who insult, pollute, and lacerate helpless women; and . . . conspirators against the lives and liberties of New England citizens."



Like many New Englanders who wrote about the South during the middle third of the nineteenth-century, Garrison possessed virtually no first-hand knowledge of the region. Along with Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose only visit had been a brief one to a model plantation in Kentucky, and arch-Abolitionist Wendell Phillips, Garrison created a simplistic and false portrait of a South whose social system was much more complex than they were willing to admit. Phillips the orator exceeded Garrison the editor in his ability to tug on the heartstrings of New Englanders over the slavery issue. He contended that the institution was not only evil, but that it represented a direct threat to the political and economic well-being of the North. The South's aristocratic Slave Power, as he called it, stood as an obstacle to the onward march of American

Democracy, and if the North was to avoid contracting this contagious disease, it must remake the South in its own progressive image. Unlike Garrison, who preached a philosophy of non-resistance, Phillips conjured for his audience "scenes of blood through which a rebellious slave population must march to their rights." Long before Lincoln made his "House Divided Against Itself" speech, Wendell Phillips had already convinced many New Englanders that the slave and free sections "cannot live together."

Anti-Southern Abolitionist vitriol also found expression in the writings of some of New England's most popular men-of-letters: John Greenleaf Whittier, James Russell Lowell, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, to name but three. Though none but Emerson had actually traveled to the South, all confidently scorned the region as a benighted cultural backwater where sloth and stagnation prevailed. Just how susceptible to hear-say and rumor these men were



can be gleaned from Whittier's *The Narrative of James Williams*. Williams, a run-away slave, told of being "sold down the river" by his owner in Virginia to a cruel master who foreshadowed Mrs. Stowe's Simon Legree. Whittier scandalized his readers with Williams' tales of his new master's barbarism, which included raping female slaves, whipping pregnant women until they miscarried, and shooting escaped field-hands in the back.

The work was published by Boston's Anti-Slavery Society in 1838 and quickly went through six editions before being withdrawn after it was discovered that Whittier had not bothered to verify the truthfulness of Williams' fantastic tale. Nonetheless, Whittier's book made its mark. Even after learning of its fabrication, many Abolitionists still held that the narrative gave an accurate description of slavery in the Deep South. Howard R. Floan's *The South in Northern Eyes, 1831-1861* (1958) tells us: "In considering the reception of *The Narrative of James Williams*, it is not hard to understand how, after twelve years of conditioning, the American mind was well prepared for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. . . ."

James Russell Lowell, though largely uninterested in the great political questions of the day that loomed over both North and South, was quick to assert that the preeminent struggle was one between the forces of enlightened Northern progressivism and Southern traditionalism. To Lowell, the South was "King Retro," stubbornly clinging to an unnatural and hierarchical worldview that eventually must bring it to ruin. The region's only salvation, he believed, was for it to adopt the prevailing ideologies of mid-nineteenth-century New England, especially egalitarianism. His depiction of the typical Southerner as an idle ruffian and an ignorant hypocrite created in the popular imagination, according to Floan, "a villain who the people of the North would soon be quite willing to meet in battle."

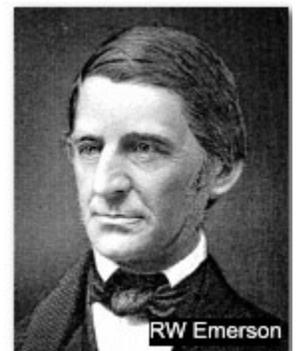


James R. Lowell

Ralph Waldo Emerson, before joining the ranks of the radical Abolitionists in the mid-1840s, had opposed Southern slaveholders on principle but did not sensationalize the alleged cruelty of master to slave as did Whittier and Lowell. Emerson wrote in the late 1820s: "For it is true that many a slave under the warm roof of a humane master, with easy labours and regular subsistence enjoys more happiness than his naked brethren in Africa." He also expressed a grudging admiration for the masculine fighting qualities of Southern men and thus feared they would outmatch Yankees in the contest of politics. "The Southerner," he noted, "always beats us in politics. . . . [He] has personality, has temperament, has manners, persuasion, address, and terror. The cold Yankee . . . has not fire or firmness. . . ." Emerson's view was representative of a growing Northern

resentment of the South's strength in national affairs.

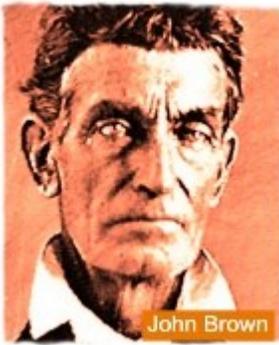
Once Emerson joined the Abolitionists, he radically altered his view of the South. Most of his literary venom he saved for South Carolina, comparing it to contemporary Algiers. "We must go there," he fretted, "in disguise, and with pistols in our pockets, leaving our pocketbooks at home, making our wills before we go." South Carolina's chief rascal was, of course, the Nullifier Calhoun, whose voice, Emerson claimed, spoke for the state.



RW Emerson

The decade of the 1850s further convinced Emerson that, if unchecked, the South's "slaveocracy" would render New England impotent in American politics. Many of his fellow Northerners were lured into sympathizing with the South, he thought, by "the ascendancy of Southern manners." Alarmed at the prospects of Southern political dominance, Emerson discarded whatever objectivity he once may have had and increased the fury of his attacks on the region and its inhabitants. He called upon his fellow Abolitionists to help foster a climate in New England that would produce future Negro leaders in the mold of Toussaint, Douglass, Nat Turner, and Denmark Vasey. Such men, he believed, if unleashed on the villainous South, would bring more positive results than all the white anti-slavery societies then in existence.

But not all Northern men were of the same cut as Garrison, Phillips, Whittier, Lowell, and Emerson. For instance, Oliver Wendell Holmes, though he opposed Southern slavery in principle, refused to demonize the Southern people as "racists" as do the politically correct in our own day. Rather, Holmes believed in the natural superiority of white Southerners over blacks, and that should the South's social system, including slavery, be forcibly dismantled by radical Abolitionists, the egalitarian forces unleashed would eventually work to undermine the superior position of the New England Brahmins in their own region.



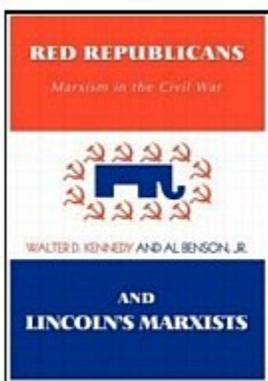
Like Holmes, Nathaniel Hawthorne viewed the emotionally-charged, anti-South rhetoric of the Abolitionists as harmful to the nation's social and political stability. Aware of the unbridgeable cultural gap between the regions, Hawthorne advised a Constitutional approach to the problem of slavery. He was indeed horrified to hear Emerson proclaim shortly after the execution of John Brown that "the death of this blood-stained fanatic has made the Gallows as venerable as the Cross!" Hawthorne joined most Southerners in thinking that Brown had received justice at the hangman's noose.

The literati of New York City also kept their distance from the rabid Abolitionism of New England. Business and marriage alliances between New Yorkers and Southerners served to soften the former's perceptions of the latter. Herman Melville, William Cullen Bryant, and Walt Whitman, though surely no lovers of the South or slavery, all refused to engage in the general demonization of the region and its people. As Floan points out, "one must find in New York a body of opinion which objected to slavery without cursing the slaveholding South." When one looks closely at the demonization of antebellum Dixie, it is clear that New England, and particularly Boston, lay at the root of the movement.

Boston in the mid-nineteenth century was the center of a Unitarian-Universalist revolt against traditional Christianity in which sinful mankind was transformed into a creature of innate goodness and light. If mankind was inherently good, then all social problems were external ones that could be eradicated by one sort of reform or another. Perhaps even the Southern slave-driver could be redeemed if only he could be made over in the image of the sturdy, democratic New Englander and his cousin in the Midwest who knew the proper interpretation of the Declaration of Independence. To these abstract idealists, the South seemed woefully out of step with the idea that "all men are created equal." While New Englanders called down the wrath of God's "terrible swift sword" against the South, western men in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, writes historian A. O. Craven, "had a way of viewing evil as something there ought to be a law against." This combination of sanctimony and the appeal to laws that surely would be enacted by Randolph of Roanoke's "King Numbers," served to unite the disparate elements of the white South and gird them for the impending conflict.



The war waged from 1861 to 1865 was precipitated in no small part by the Abolitionists who had for thirty years fanned the flames of hatred against the South. When the fighting broke out in April, 1861, they all rejoiced, some at finally being rid of the South and others at the opportunity of destroying her. One of their own, Julia Ward Howe, while in Washington during the early days of the war, penned the lyrics to what became the Unitarian-Abolitionist anthem--"The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Her words hailed the advent of a holy war against an evil South and equated the crucifixion of Christ with the present crusade against slavery. The South Carolina Presbyterian divine, Rev. James Henley Thornwell, well understood the nature of the "irrepressible conflict" waged against his homeland. He wrote: "The parties in this conflict are not merely Abolitionists and slaveholders, they are Atheists, Socialists, Communists, Red Republicans, Jacobins on the one side and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is the battleground, Christianity and Atheism the combatants, and the progress of humanity the stake."



Four years of Jacobin-inspired warfare devastated the South. In addition to some 450,000 Confederate soldiers killed and wounded, the region's civilian population suffered horrendously, especially during the final campaigns of the conflict. The last months of the Confederacy were filled with arson, robbery, rape, and murder, crimes perpetrated more often than not with the approval of Union military officers and civilian officials. Much of the destruction was pure vandalism directed against defenseless women and children and represented a deliberate policy to strike terror in the hearts of the Southern people. What General William T. Sherman called the "holiest fight ever fought on God's earth" made little distinction between black and white. A reporter for the *New York Herald*, who witnessed the sack of Columbia, South Carolina, in 1865, noted that "Negro women were for the most part victims of the [Union] soldiers' lust. A number of them were woefully mistreated and ravished."

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In the wake of this carnage, Northern business interests began a systematic and wholesale economic plundering of the South that would continue through Reconstruction. Oppressive taxes were levied on cotton, and in just three years (1865-68) over \$70 million was expropriated from the Southern economy. As late as 1880 the value of Southern agricultural lands was only two-thirds of what it had been in 1860. Gross farm income did not rise above 1859 levels until the early 1880s, though the South's population rose nearly fifty-percent during that period. In the decades following the war, the South became an economic colony at the mercy of Northeastern plutocrats who exacted enormous sums of capital through usurious interest rates, stole lands and resources through tax foreclosures, and rigged local elections at the point of a bayonet. Famine and pestilence stalked the land, and it was common to see homeless widows and orphans begging bread from door to door and once-proud veterans reduced to destitution. Indeed, Wendell Phillips summed up the situation well when he remarked after the war: "This [the North's victory] is the new dispensation. This is the New Testament. 1860 is the blank leaf between the old and the new. . . . We have conquered not the geographical but the ideal South . . . and we have a right to trample it under the heel of our boots. This is the meaning of the war." So it was.

The sort of destruction laid upon Southerners can be sold to the public only if the targets of that destruction are demonized to the point of having their humanity stripped away. Then they become non-persons against whom the vilest depredations can be righteously excused. For decades before the war Southerners were stigmatized as a brutal and backwards people in dire need of punishment and repentance. Thus all that was done to them they deserved. Both public and private organs in the North perpetrated a false image of Southern "savagery:" the murder of Union prisoners on the battlefield; the unique horrors of Andersonville prison; and the complicity of Jefferson Davis in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. By such lies and distortions, the War Department and the Congressional Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War place the mark of infamy upon the South. Northerners who took a less emotional view of the South also had ulterior, mercenary motives: the restoration of the former Confederate states to the Union as markets for Northern goods and capital. They hoped that through contact with the North the region could be morally regenerated and brought to see the benefits of Republican rule.

The South's defeat in 1865, as Thornwell predicted, cleared the way for the triumph of a Jacobin worldview in a consolidated American Empire. Wasted by war and military occupation and swindled by crooked Carpetbag and Scalawag "entrepreneurs," the Southern people could do nothing to halt the centralizers' juggernaut. One would think the demonizers' work done at this point. But after a truce of sorts prevailed for several decades, especially during times of war when the American nation needed the services of Southern manhood, the demonization of all things traditionally Southern resumed apace in the 1950s and 1960s during the Civil Rights Movement.

The on-going assault on the South is reminiscent of the Abolitionist campaign of the mid-nineteenth century in that it seeks to vilify an entire people on the basis of lies and half-truths perpetrated by men with little knowledge of the subject about which they write. I could give countless examples, but I shall limit myself to a rather recent one from popular culture. In the early 1970s, Canadian singer Neil Young wrote and recorded a neo-Abolitionist tune called "Southern Man," in which he whines: "I heard screaming, bullwhips cracking, how long, how long?" Young's musical diatribe was quickly answered by a group of battleflag-waving, good ol' boys known collectively as Lynyrd Skynyrd, whose "Sweet Home Alabama" remains the favorite of many an unreconstructed Southron. Lead singer Ronnie Van Zandt growled a challenge to Young and his ilk: "I heard Mr. Young sing about her, well I heard ol' Neil put her down. I hope Neil Young will remember, Southern man don't need him around anyhow." Van Zandt's lyrics may lack a certain eloquence, but they say simply and directly what demonized Southerners have been thinking for the last 160 years.



<http://dixienet.org/rights/thedemonizationofthesouth.shtml>

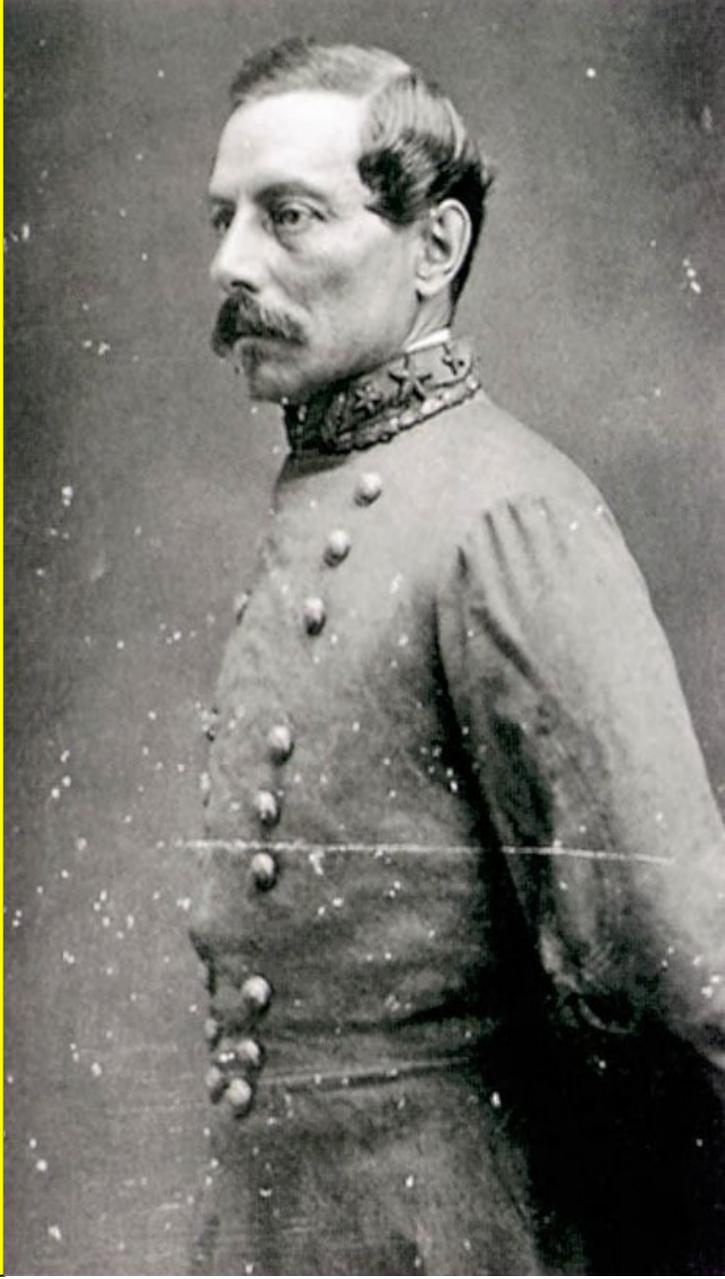
Dr. J. Michael Hill is President of the League of the South.

Revised February 2008



“The fact that one army was fighting for union and the other for disunion is a political expression; the actual fact on the battlefield, in the face of cannon and musket, was that **the Federal troops came as invaders** and the Southern troops stood as defenders of their homes and further than this we need not go.”

-Gen. Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard



THE SECRET SERVICE OF THE CONFEDERACY

by John W. Headley
(Captain, Confederate States Army)



**Unconscious Allies of the Confederacy-
Newspaper correspondents in the field with the Union
Army, whose movements were many times revealed by
newspaper despatches supplying information to the
southerners.**



<http://www.civilwarsignals.org/pages/spy/confedsecret/confedsecret.html>

The Confederate States had no such secret-service organization as was developed and used by the Federal Government during the Civil War, and yet it is probably true that, in the matter of obtaining needed military information, the Confederacy was, on the whole, better served than was the North. Of course, many uses of the Federal secret service were not necessary in the South. The Government at Washington had to face at once the tremendous problem of separating in the non-seceding States loyalty from disloyalty to the idea that the Union formed under the Constitution was a unit and could not be divided. Thousands of citizens in the North not only denied the right of the Federal Government to invade and coerce the South, but also in this belief many stood ready to aid the Confederate cause.

From such conditions as these the Southern States were practically free. They contained nothing that the North needed for the coming conflict, while the latter had much to give. The prevention of assistance to the North was not one of the problems of existence. So, while a certain class of spies and detectives for the Union and the Confederacy operated on both sides of the dividing line, the Confederacy needed none of these in its own territory. Capable devotees of the South readily volunteered for secret service within the Federal military lines or territory, while the United States Government was compelled to organize and employ several classes of spies and detectives all over the North, for the purpose of suppressing bounty-jumpers, fraudulent discharges, trade in contraband goods, and contract frauds, thus maintaining a large force which was prevented from doing any kind of secret service within the Southern lines or territory.

The personality, the adventures, and the exploits of the Confederate scouts and spies are seldom noted in the annals of the war, and yet these unknown patriots were often a controlling factor in the hostilities. Generals depended largely on the information they brought, in planning attack and in accepting or avoiding battle. It is indeed a notable fact that a Confederate army was never surprised in an important engagement of the war.

Apart from the military service in the field, the State Department at Richmond maintained a regular line of Couriers at all periods between the capital and Maryland, and thus kept familiar with every phase of the war situation at Washington and in the North. The operations of these skilful secret agents gave constant employment to the detective force of the Federal Middle Department. One efficient means of securing information was through agents at Washington, Baltimore, New York, and other Northern points, who used the cipher and inserted personals in friendly newspapers, such as the *New York News*, *Express*, and *Day Book*. These journals were hurried through to Richmond. At the opening of the war many well-known people of Baltimore and Washington were as hostile to the federal Government as were the inhabitants of Richmond and New Orleans, and these were of great service to the Southern armies.

Colonel Thomas Jordan, adjutant-general of the Confederate forces under General Beauregard at Manassas, made arrangements with several Southern sympathizers at Washington for the transmission of war information, which in almost every instance proved to be extremely accurate. On July 4, 1861, some Confederate pickets captured a Union soldier who was carrying on his person the returns of McDowell's army. "His statement of the strength and composition of that force," relates Beauregard, in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," "tallied so closely with that which had been acquired through my Washington agencies... that I could not doubt them... I was almost as well advised of the strength of the hostile army in my front as its commander."

Not only that, but Beauregard had timely and accurate knowledge of McDowell's advance to Manassas. A former government clerk was sent to Mrs. Rose O'Neil Greenhow, at Washington, who was one of the trusted friends of the Confederacy and most loyal to its cause. She returned word in cipher immediately, "Order issued for McDowell to march upon Manassas to-night," and the vitally important despatch was in Beauregard's hands between eight and nine o'clock on that same night, July 16, 1861. Every outpost commander was immediately notified to fall back to the positions designated for this contingency, and Johnston in the valley, who had likewise been informed by careful scouting parties that Patterson was making no move upon him, was



Nancy Hart
Confederate Guide and Spy

The women of the mountain districts of Virginia were as ready to do scout and spy work for the Confederate leaders as were the men-folk. Famous among these fearless girls who knew every inch of the regions in which they lived was Nancy Hart. So valuable was her work as a guide, so cleverly and often had she led Jackson's cavalry upon Federal outposts in West Virginia, that the Northern Government offered a large reward for her capture. Lieutenant-Colonel Starr of the Ninth West Virginia finally caught her at Summerville in July 1862. While in a temporary prison, she faced the camera for the first time in her life; displaying more alarm in front of the innocent contrivance than if it had been a body of Federal soldiery. She posed for an itinerant photographer, and her captors placed the hat decorated with a military feather upon her head. Nancy managed to get hold of her guard's musket, shot him dead, and escaped on Colonel Starr's horse to the nearest Confederate detachment. A few days later, July 25th, she led two hundred troops under Major Bailey to Summerville. They reached the town at four in the morning, completely surprising two companies of the Ninth West Virginia. They captured Colonel Starr, Lieutenant Stivers and other officers, and a large number of the men, and then disappeared immediately over the Sutton road. The Federals made no resistance.

[Memorial Stone- Richwood, West Virginia](#)

able to exercise the option permitted by the Richmond authorities in favor of a swift march to Beauregard's assistance.



Old Capital Prison- Washington
(During the early days of the war)

The historic building above, once the temporary Capital of the United States, played a large part in the workings of the Federal secret service; its superintendent, William P. Wood was a special secret agent of the War department. It was used for the incarceration of many Confederate prisoners of war, suspects and political offenders. Mr. Wood frequently subjected his wards to searching examination. Information thus gained was immediately forwarded to the Secretary of War. Mrs. Greenhow, Belle Boyd, Mrs. Morris, M.T. Walworth, Josiah E. Bailey, Pliny Bryan, and other famous Confederate spies spent some time within its walls. The advantage gained by the Confederate secret agents was often nullified through the counter information secured by the Federal scouts. The photograph to the right, shows one of Colonel Sharpe's trusted men, a private of the Third Indiana Cavalry, who would often lead out a party of scouts to get information as to the location and strength of the various parts of the Army of Northern Virginia. These men would go forward until they discovered the line of Confederate pickets, and then use all their trained powers of observation to find out what was behind it. Citizens in the neighborhood were closely questioned, and all the information procurable was turned in to Colonel Sharpe.



Daniel Cole
(Federal Scout)

Thus "opportunedly informed," the Confederate leader prepared for battle without orders or advice from Richmond. The whole of these momentous Confederate activities were carried out through the services of couriers, spies, and scouts. In the opening of the war, at least, the Confederate spy and scout system was far better developed than was the Federal.

As the war went on, each commanding general relied upon his own spies and the scouts of his cavalry leader. Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston was a nephew of Albert Sidney Johnston and served on General Bragg's staff from Stone's River to Chattanooga. All through this important campaign he had charge of the secret-service orders and reports. He has related how he always utilized soldiers of known intelligence, honor, and daring as spies, without extra compensation, and employed the cavalymen of Wheeler, Morgan, and Forrest as scouts. It was the same with Lee and the commanders in the Trans-Mississippi Department.

In "Stonewall" Jackson's 1862 campaign against Banks, Fremont, and Shields in the valley of Virginia, the Federal forces were defeated, within a month, in five battles by an army that aggregated one-fifth their total, through divided numbers. This great achievement must not be attributed entirely to the genius of Jackson and the valor of his army. A part of the glory must be given to the unknown daring spies and faithful scouts of Ashby's cavalry, who were darting, day and night, in all directions. Their unerring information enabled Jackson to strike and invariably escape. On the other hand, the Federal generals had no such means of gathering information, and they seem never to have been protected from surprise or advised of Jackson's movements.

Among the most noted bands of Confederate scouts was one organized by General Cheatham, over which one Henry B. Shaw was put in command. Shaw, who had been a clerk on a steamboat plying between Nashville and New Orleans, had accurate knowledge of middle Tennessee, which in the summer of 1863 was in the hands of the Federal army, owing to Bragg's retreat from Tullahoma. He assumed the disguise of an itinerant doctor while in the Federal lines, and called himself Dr. C. E. Coleman. In the Confederate army he was known as Captain C. E. Coleman, commander of General Bragg's private scouts. The scouts dressed as Confederate soldiers, so that in case of capture they would not be treated as spies. Nevertheless, the information they carried was usually put into cipher.

Shaw was finally captured and sent to Johnson's Island. [\(See Historic Marker\)](#) The command of the famous scouts devolved upon Alexander Gregg, who continued to sign despatches "C. E. Coleman," and the Federal authorities never knew that the original leader of the daring band was in safe-keeping in Sandusky Bay.

On April 7, 1864, President Davis, at Richmond, sent the following telegram to the Honorable Jacob Thompson, in Mississippi, "If your engagements permit you to accept



Belle Boyd *Secret Agent of the Confederacy*

This ardent daughter of Virginia ran many hazards in her zeal to aid the Confederate cause. Back and forth she went from her home at Martinsburg, in the valley, through Federal lines, while Banks, Fremont, and Shields were trying in vain to crush "Stonewall" Jackson and relieve Washington from the bugbear of attack. Early in 1862 she was sent as a prisoner to Baltimore. However, General Dix, for lack of evidence, decided to send her home. This first adventure did not dampen her ardor or stop her activities. Since she was now well known to the Federals, her every movement was watched. In May she started to visit relatives in Richmond, but at Winchester happened to overhear some plans of General Shields. With this knowledge she rushed to General Ashby with information that assisted Jackson in planning his brilliant charge on Front Royal. On May 21st she was arrested at the Federal picket-line. A search showed that she had been entrusted with important letters to the Confederate army. About the 1st of August Miss Boyd was taken to Washington by order of the Secretary of War, incarcerated in the Old Capitol Prison and was afterward sent South.

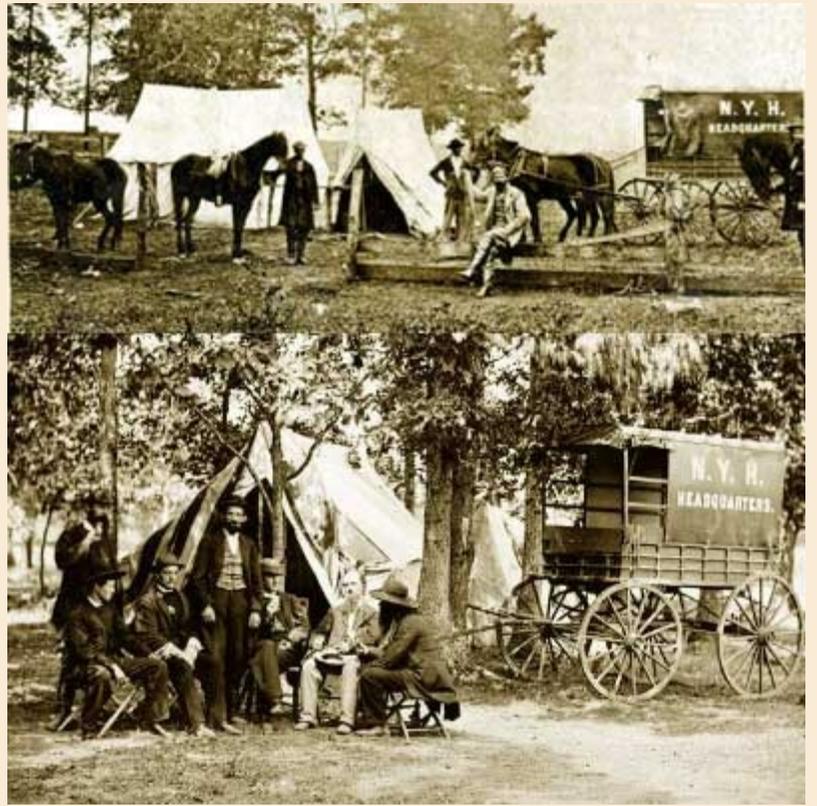
[Belle Boyd- Historical Markers](#)

service abroad for the next six months, please come here immediately." Thompson was a citizen of Oxford, Mississippi, and said to be one of the wealthiest men in the South. He was, besides, a lawyer and a statesman, had served in Congress, and in the cabinet of President Buchanan as Secretary of the Interior.

The reason of the sending for Thompson was that the Confederate Government had decided to inaugurate certain hostile movements in Northern territory. Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama, was selected as Mr. Thompson's fellow commissioner to head the Department of the North. Both were among the foremost public men of the Confederacy. Their mission was one of great secrecy, and if one of their projects could be successfully accomplished there was no doubt, in the opinion of the Southern Government, that the war would be brought to a speedy conclusion. Negotiations looking toward peace were opened with men like Horace Greeley and Judge Black, but correspondence with Greeley was made public, and the matter reached an untimely end.

There existed in the Northern States an essentially military organization known as the Sons of Liberty, whose principle was that the States were sovereign and that there was no authority in the central Government to coerce a seceding State. It is estimated that the total membership of this society was fully three hundred thousand, of whom eighty-five thousand resided in Illinois, fifty thousand in Indiana, and forty thousand in Ohio. The feeling was general among the members that it would be useless to hold the coming presidential election, since Mr. Lincoln held power and would undoubtedly be reelected. Therefore it was planned to resort to force. Plans for a revolution and a new Confederacy were promoted, in all of which the Southern commissioners took a most active interest.

The grand commander of the Sons of Liberty was C. L. Vallandigham, a sympathizer with the south, who in 1863 had been expelled from Federal territory to the Confederacy. He managed, however, to make his way to Canada, and resided at Windsor. The prominence of his attitude against the further prosecution of the war led to his receiving the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in Ohio, and, braving rearrest, he returned home in June, 1864, ostensibly to begin the campaign, but with a far deeper purpose in view.



New York Herald Headquarters *In the Field ~ 1863*

The Confederate secret service worked through the Northern newspapers to an extent little appreciated. Without any disloyalty on the part of the newspapermen, this was necessarily the case. The North swarmed with spies, special correspondents, paid agents, Southern sympathizers by the score, and "copperheads" innumerable. It followed that Richmond often knew pretty much everything worth knowing of the disposition and preparation of the Union forces, and even of their carefully guarded plans.

The Northern newspaper correspondent with the armies incurred practically all the perils that fell upon the soldier himself, and the more enterprising and successful he became, the less he ingratiated himself with the commanding generals, whose plans he predicted and whose conduct he criticized in newspaper leaders. But it was necessary that the people at home, whose money was paying for the armies in the field, should be kept informed how those armies fared, and it is safe to contend that a great debt was due to the American war correspondents. While they were a source of information to the South on occasions, they were also active and indefatigable allies of the Northern Government, in that they persuaded the people at home to submit to the extraordinarily heavy taxation necessary to support the large and costly armies and prosecute the war to the end.

In brief, Vallandigham purposed by a bold, vigorous, and concerted action, engineered by the Sons of Liberty, to detach the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio from the Union, if the Confederate authorities would, at the same time, move sufficient forces into Kentucky and Missouri to hold those lukewarm Federal States. The five commonwealths would thereupon organize the Northwestern Confederacy upon the basis of State sovereignty, and the former Federal Union would now be in three parts, and compelled, perforce, to end the contest with the South. The date for the general uprising was several times postponed, but finally settled for the 16th of August. Confederate officers were sent to various cities to direct the movement. Escaped Confederate prisoners were enlisted in the cause. Thompson furnished funds for perfecting county organizations. Arms were purchased in New York and secreted in Chicago.

Peace meetings were announced in various cities to prepare the public mind for the coming revolution. The first one, held in Peoria, was a decided success, but the interest it aroused had barely subsided when the publication of the Greeley correspondence marked the new Confederacy as doomed to stillbirth. The peace party in the Union was won over to the idea of letting the ballot-box in the coming presidential election decide the question of war or peace. The Sons of Liberty, none too careful as to who were admitted to membership, inadvertently elected a number of Federal spies to their ranks. Prominent members were arrested. The garrison at Camp Douglas, Chicago, was increased to seven thousand. The strength of the allies was deemed insufficient to contend with such a force, and the project was abandoned. The Confederates returned to Canada.

Before the prospects of the Northwestern Confederacy had begun to wane, Captain Charles H. Cole, one of Forrest's cavalymen, confined as a prisoner on Johnson's Island in Sandusky Bay, made his escape, reporting in Canada to Mr. Thompson, plans were made at once for the seizure of the United States gunboat *Michigan*, which was guarding Johnson's Island, and the release of the prisoners. The plot developed rapidly, and the services of Captain John Y. Beall of the Confederate navy were added in carrying out the scheme. The Confederates on the island were ready to overpower their guards as soon as the *Michigan* and her fourteen guns were in Beall's hands. The 19th of December was decided on for the date of the seizure. Cole, who had become very friendly with the *Michigan's* officers, was to go on board and give the signal for Beall and a boat-load of Confederates to approach and surprise the vessel. Beall, who had mustered some twenty Confederates at Windsor, was approaching Sandusky Bay in the steamer *Philo Parsons*, which he had seized, when seventeen of his men mutinied, and he was obliged to turn back. To make the failure complete, Cole fell under suspicion and was arrested even while waiting for Beall to appear.

The latter was arrested at the Suspension Bridge railway station, about the middle of December, while working on a plan to rescue seven captured Confederate generals, as they were being transferred from Johnson's Island to Fort



Vespasian Chancellor
One of "Jeb" Stuart's Keenest Scouts

The scouts were the real eyes and ears of the army, from the very beginning of the war, the Confederate cavalry was much used for scouting purposes, even at the time when Federal commanders were still chiefly dependent upon civilian spies, detectives, and deserters for information as to their opponents' strength and movements. They saw the folly of this, after much disastrous experience, and came to rely like the Confederates on keen-witted cavalymen. The true scout must be an innate lover of adventure, with the sharpest of eyesight and undaunted courage. Such was Vespasian Chancellor, one of the most successful scouts in General J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry command. He was directly attached to the general's headquarters.

Lafayette. He was hanged in New York, February 24, 1865, by order of a military court, for the seizure of the steamer *Philo Parsons*. [John Yeats Beall was captured near Niagara Falls, New York on December 16, 1864 after a failed attempt to derail a train near Buffalo. Tried for piracy and spying, he was convicted and sentenced to hang. Beall was executed at Governor's Island, New York on March 24, 1865.]



Federal Precautions Against Surprise As Photographed by a Secret Service Adversary

The Confederates, kept out of their former stronghold at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, by the Union army of occupation, still obtained knowledge of the state of affairs there through Lytle, the photographer, who sent pictorial evidence of the Federal occupation in secrecy to the Southern leaders. The industrious and accommodating photographer, who was willing to photograph batteries, regiments, camps, headquarters, fortifications, every detail, in fact, of the Union army, did not limit himself to sending this exact knowledge through to the Confederate secret service. With flag and lantern he used to signal from the observation tower on the top of the ruins of the Baton Rouge capitol to Scott's Bluff, whence the messages were relayed to the Confederates at New Orleans. Here above is pictured the wreckage of private houses torn down by Colonel Halbert E. Paine, in order that the Federal batteries might command the approaches to the town and prevent a surprise. In August, 1862, General Butler, fearing an attack on New Orleans, had decided to concentrate all the forces in his department there and ordered Colonel Paine to bring troops from Baton Rouge. The capitol of Louisiana accordingly was evacuated, August 21st.



The First Indiana Heavy Artillery at Baton Rouge



Photographs that Furnished Valuable Secret Service Information to the Confederates

The clearest and most trustworthy evidence of an opponent's strength is of course an actual photograph. Such evidence, in spite of the early stage of the art and the difficulty of "running in" chemical supplies on "orders to trade," was supplied to the Confederate leaders in the Southwest by Andrew D. Lytle, the Baton Rouge photographer- really a member of the Confederate secret service.

Here are photographs of the First Indiana Heavy Artillery (formerly the Twenty-first Indiana Infantry), showing its strength and position on the arsenal grounds at Baton Rouge. As the Twenty-first Indiana, the regiment had been at Baton Rouge during the first Federal occupation, and after the fall of Port Hudson it returned there for garrison duty. Little did its officers suspect that the quiet man photographing the batteries at drill was about to convey the "information" beyond their lines to their opponents.

The active commissioners were also attempting to carry out an economic policy, which had been suggested by Secretary of State Benjamin and developed by a Nashville banker, John Porterfield by name. It was hoped thereby to work great damage to, and bring much distrust upon, the Federal finances. The Southern sympathizers in the North had, in obedience to request, converted much paper money into gold and withdrawn it from circulation. This however, caused the price of gold to rise until it reached 290, which great figure naturally caused a change of policy. When the precious metal had fallen as low as 180, Mr. Porterfield went to Montreal, his temporary residence, to New York and began purchasing and exporting gold, selling it for sterling bills of exchange, and reconverting this into gold, the amount lost in trans-shipment being met out of the funds placed at his disposal by the commissioners. About two million dollars was thus exported, but before any perceptible disaster had been wrought upon the national finances, General Butler, in New York, arrested a former partner of Porterfield, and the latter prudently returned to Montreal.

About the 1st of September, Thompson's force of secret workers in the Southern cause had been joined by Colonel Robert M. Martin, who had been a brigade commander in Morgan's cavalry, and myself [*Captain John W. Headley*], who had served on Martin's staff. We had been detached for this service by the Secretary of War. We expected to take an active part in an attempt by the Sons of Liberty to inaugurate a revolution in New York City, to be made on the day of the presidential election, November 8th. Thompson sent Martin with seven selected Confederate officers, myself included, to report for duty to the leaders. Martin was in charge of the whole thing. The plot was exposed by Northern secret service agents, and General Butler with ten thousand troops arrived, which so disconcerted the Sons of liberty that the attempt was postponed. We remained in the city awaiting events, but the situation being chaotic we had

nothing to do.

When Sherman burned Atlanta, November 15th, Martin proposed to fire New York City. This was agreed to by Thompson, and the project was finally undertaken by Martin and five others, including myself.

On the evening of November 25th, I went to my room in the Astor house, at twenty minutes after seven. I hung the bedclothes over the foot-board, piled chairs, drawers, and other material on the bed, stuffed newspapers into the heap, and poured a bottle of turpentine over the whole mass. I then opened a bottle of "Greek Fire" and quickly spilled it on top. It blazed instantly. I locked the door and went downstairs. Leaving the key at the office, as usual, I passed out. I did likewise at the city Hotel, Everett House, and United States Hotel. At the same time Martin operated at the Hoffman House, Fifth Avenue, St. Denis, and others. Altogether our little band fired nineteen hotels. Captain Kennedy went to Barnum's Museum and broke a bottle on the stairway, creating a panic. Lieutenant Harrington did the same at the Metropolitan Theater, and Lieutenant Ashbrook at Niblo's Garden. I threw several bottles into barges of hay, and caused the only fires, for, strange to say, nothing serious resulted from any of the hotel fires. It was not discovered until the next day, at the Astor House, that my room had been set on fire. Our reliance on "Greek Fire" was the cause of the failure. We found that it could not be depended upon as an agent for incendiary work. Kennedy was hanged in New York, March 25, 1865.

We left New York on the following Saturday over the Hudson River Railroad, spent Sunday at Albany, and arrived in Toronto on Monday afternoon.

Every Confederate plot in the North was fated to fail. The Federal secret service proved to be more than a match for the Sons of Liberty and the Confederates. Captain T. H. Hines, another daring officer of Morgan's command, had undertaken an even more extensive plot in Chicago for November 8th, election night. He had to assist him many escaped prisoners of war, Confederate soldiers, and members of the Sons of Liberty. The plot involved not only the overpowering of the little garrison at Camp Douglas, and the release of over eight thousand military prisoners, but the cutting of telegraph wires, the seizure of banks, the burning of the railroad stations, the appropriation of arms and ammunition within the city, in fact, the preparation for a general uprising in favor of terminating the war.

The federal secret service, however, forestalled the conspirator's plans, and one hundred and six of them were arrested on November 7th. They were subsequently tried by a military court at Cincinnati, and many were sent to penitentiaries for terms ranging from three years to life.



Robert Cobb Kennedy
Confederate Agent- Hanged March 25, 1865
For Setting New York Fires
(picture taken two days before execution)



The Fate of a Confederate Spy Taken Before Petersburg ~ 1864

This photograph gives an excellent idea of a military execution of a Confederate spy within the Federal lines.

The place was in front of Petersburg; the time August, 1864. It is all terribly impressive: the double line of troops around the lonely gallows waiting for the unfortunate victim who is about to suffer an ignominious death. Many devoted sons of the South met their fate by accepting duty in the secret service and performing the work of a spy. The penalty of capture was certain death on the gallows, for the real spy wore civilian clothes and consequently could not claim the protection of the uniform. Many men refused to do most kinds of secret service work, scouting and gathering information, unless they were permitted to wear the insignia of their calling, but sometimes it was absolutely impossible to appear in uniform and then the worst penalty was risked.

Many men, Federals and Southerners too, actuated by the most patriotic and self-denying motives, thus met death not only in shame but also completely severed from all that was dear to them; for in their anonymity had lain the large part of their usefulness. Their names will not be found on any roll of honor. Their place is among the unknown heroes of history.

Such were the last of the Confederate operations from Canada. The considerable force collected there gradually returned to the Confederacy. Martin and I left during the first week of February, 1865. We went from Toronto to Cincinnati and Louisville, where we attempted to kidnap the Vice president elect, Andrew Johnson, on his way to the inauguration. This failing, about ten o'clock on the morning of March 1st we went to a stable where Major Fossee of General Palmer's staff kept three fine horses. Two of these we seized, locked the surprised attendants in the stable and rode away to the south. We were at Lynchburg when Lee surrendered at Appomattox, eighteen miles away.

As we came to Salisbury, North Carolina, we met two gentlemen strolling alone in the outskirts. Martin recognized them as president Davis and Secretary of State Benjamin. We halted, and Mr. Benjamin remembered Martin. He enquired for Colonel Thompson. Continuing south, we fell in at Chester, South Carolina, with Morgan's old brigade under general Basil W. Duke, and marched in president Davis' escort as far as Washington, Georgia, where he left us all behind, and the Confederacy perished from the earth.

"I am Southern Born & Southern Breed."

"I hereby declare my independence
from the tyranny of the Union,
and vow that this
Flag shall



"NEVER FALL AGAIN!"

and that I will Defend Her
against All Adversaries,
both Foreign & Domestic!"

EFFORTS OF THE CONFEDERACY TO EFFECT AN EXCHANGE.

The mission of Vice-President A. H. Stephens, in 1863, resulted in failure, because Vicksburg and Gettysburg made the United States authorities feel that they were in a position to refuse even an audience to the "Rebel" commissioner.

General Lee's overtures to General Grant and to the Federal Government (through the United States Sanitary Commission) were equally futile; and the delegation of Andersonville prisoners, which Mr. Davis paroled to visit the President of the United States and plead for an exchange, were denied, an audience, and were spurned from Washington, to carry back the sad tidings that their Government held out no hope of their release.

We have a letter from the wife of the chairman of that delegation (now dead), in which she says that her husband always said that he was **more contemptuously treated by Secretary Stanton than he ever was at Andersonville.**

We add upon this point the following letter in the Philadelphia Times, which was elicited by the recent discussion :

CLIFTON, PENNSYLVANIA, February 7th, 1876.

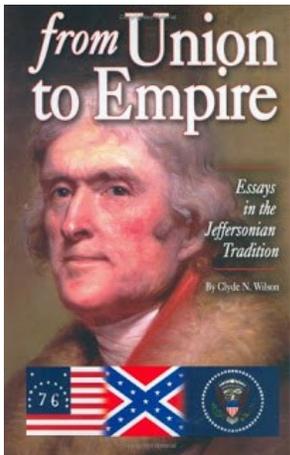
I am certainly **no admirer of Jefferson Davis or the late Confederacy**, but in justice to him and that the truth may be known, I would state that **I was a prisoner of war for twelve months, and was in Andersonville** when the delegation of prisoners spoken of by Jefferson Davis left there to plead our cause with the authorities at Washington; and nobody can tell, unless it be a shipwrecked and famished mariner, who sees a vessel approaching and then passing on without rendering the required aid, what fond hopes were raised, and how hope sickened into despair waiting for the answer that never came. In my opinion, and that of a good many others, **a good part of the responsibility for the horrors of Andersonville rests with General U. S. Grant, who refused to make a fair exchange of prisoners.**

HENRY M. BRENNAN,
Late Private Second **Pennsylvania** Cavalry.



The Jeffersonian Conservative Tradition

by Clyde Wilson



As a movement of thought, the resurgent conservatism of twentieth century America cannot achieve maturity without a properly worked out historical self-image – a documented and convincing picture of what traditions, tendencies, and movements it is heir to. In its earliest stages the conservative resurgence has conceived of itself largely as an extension of the European Burkean and Catholic traditions, because these were the traditions most familiar to the thinkers who first gave systematic expression to anti-Liberalism in this century. While this approach has provided a useful philosophical critique of Liberalism, it has left the history of conservatism on this side of the Atlantic in great ambiguity. Various resolutions of the ambiguity have been essayed, none satisfactory. Some Liberals have drawn the conclusion, not an entirely illogical reading of the ideas of some conservatives, that the American experience has been *in toto* anticonservative, i.e., anti-legitimate and anti-traditional in the Burkean sense, and that, therefore, there is and can be no American conservative tradition.[1] Some conservatives have tacitly accepted this view by evading the question of the historical roots of American conservatism.

Others have turned to a facile catholicity, linking together such diverse and inimical figures as John Adams and John Randolph, Abraham Lincoln and John C. Calhoun, into a rather eclectic chain of tradition.

In general, however, American conservatives, when they have felt the need to establish their lineage, have accepted the rather conventional and threadbare descriptive framework of liberalism-conservatism already existing in American historiography and popular lore. This conventional description postulates a Federalist-Whig-Republican conservative line on the one hand, and a Jeffersonian-Jacksonian-Populist-New Deal liberal line on the other. Conservatives have tended to identify themselves as the heirs of the first and to repudiate the second as the line of twentieth century liberalism.

In thus yielding to the bounds of a hostile dialectic, conservatives have erred. Neither of the chains postulated is a true continuum of any tradition, and the dichotomy they express is a self-serving fabrication of twentieth century social democratic (i.e., Liberal) historians seeking to formulate a false tradition of legitimacy for their own radicalism. Conservatives have damaged their understanding of their own heritage by accepting both the analytical and evaluative framework of Liberals in regard to the history of the United States. If Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., has postulated a Jacksonian Democracy which was a radical, anti-capitalist, and undilutedly democratic ancestor of the New Deal, conservatives have responded, not by achieving their own understanding of Jacksonian democracy, but by turning Schlesinger on his head and disapproving Jackson and approving those who opposed him. Conservatives are thus in a position of accepting (and turning inside out) the historical analyses of a school of thinkers whose economic and metaphysical analyses they would not leave unquestioned for an instant.

Before American conservatism achieves a full understanding of what it is and whence it comes, it must achieve its own painstaking, comprehensive, and subtle reevaluation of the political movements of our history. This paper identifies and delineates one possible tradition of American conservatism—the Jeffersonian tradition, properly understood. This formulation will not be accepted, at least at first glance, by most thinkers identifying themselves as conservatives, but it is hoped that it will at least show some of the flaws in the existing understanding and point to questions that need answers.[2]

What should an American conservatism seek to conserve? Reducing analysis to the simplest possible terms, it should seek to conserve the structure of society and government that is the most organic, legitimate, and just for the American nation, i.e., the federal and constitutional republic bequeathed to us by that unique event, the American Revolution, a “revolution” which was prudential rather than revolutionary, preservative rather than innovating, legalistic rather than speculative; a revolution for life, liberty, and property, made by propertied, principled gentlemen expressing the best of their inherited political wisdom; a war of national independence waged without mass romantic nationalism.

One may, of course, maintain a view of the American Revolution as radical. Such a view comforts two groups—radicals seeking a line of legitimacy for themselves and conservative purists who would reject the American experience altogether. The latter have aptly been described by the *National Review* as indulgers in a Manichean heresy,[3] and indeed they would out-Burke Burke himself. The American who maintains the unique legitimacy of his revolution puts himself in the company of distinguished European conservatives, of whom Friedrich Gentz, the Prussian adviser of Metternich, was perhaps the most persuasive.[4]

What are the essential elements of the conservative American polity, i.e., the federal and constitutional republic, and who have been, historically, the conservators and who the underminers of these elements? Again reducing analysis to the simplest possible terms, we will define three elements:

Republicanism. The basic form of the government is one in which sovereignty rests in the people as a whole but is expressed in the rule of a qualified majority under the restraint of law. He is the conservator of republicanism who sees to it that the democratic and aristocratic elements remain in proper balance, that the polity does not veer too far toward mobocracy or oligarchy.

Constitutionalism. Law protects the people from the rulers and the individual from the people. The rulers may exercise only the powers specifically delegated to them in the written law. He is the conservator of constitutionalism who favors adherence to the law no matter how powerful the plea of expediency by the ambitious tyrant or the impassioned majority.[5] Senator Goldwater grasped the essence of this element when he described an American conservative as one who is “at war equally with autocrats and with ‘democratic’ Jacobins.”[6]

Federalism. Organically, the American republic is decentralized, i.e., the sovereignty of the people is exercised by them in part as citizens of indestructible states rather than as one undivided nationality. He is the conservator of federalism who sees that sovereignty remains so distributed.

This scheme of the American system has been set forth (with danger of gross over-simplification) so that historic movements may be measured as to how much they tended to conserve or to undermine the fundamental elements. Two warnings should be inserted. First, a religious-moral basis, stemming from the Christian tradition but related to no specific denomination, is assumed. The second warning concerns property and its role as a conservative influence. Property, of course, is an element of consideration in a just and legitimate government. Because of this conservatives have sometimes tended to identify with those historical political groups who seemed to be the conservators of property and against those who seemed to represent the unjust acquisitiveness of no-property. But, in fact, prior to the New Deal there were no significant contests in America between property and no-property. The ordinary form of political conflict was between various forms of property.

Conservatives are aware that the Founding Fathers feared the undermining effects of the propertyless mob on the social order. They are less aware that the Fathers also feared the undermining effects of aggressive and excessive wealth. Thus John Adams was concerned repeatedly with the danger to the republic from wealthy and ambitious men (the Roosevelts, Rockefellers, Kennedys, etc.) who he rightly saw would preserve their own inordinate interests by allying themselves with the mob against the great class of middle and upper middle property owners who were the true backbone of the country.[7]

II

We are so used to regarding the work of the Philadelphia Convention as noble, final, and indispensable that we have lost sight of the extent to which it was innovative, speculative, and antitraditional, overlooking that the delegates violated their instructions (which were to amend the Articles of Confederation), that several distinguished members refused to sign the Constitution, and that some states ratified in a spirit of reservation and trial rather than of finality.[8]

The organic or natural form of government that emerged from the Revolution, as expressed in the first constitutions of most of the states, embodied a weak form of separation of powers in which the legislative branch was clearly predominant and the independence of the executive and judiciary only partial. Let us turn the usual categories of reference around and consider for a moment the claim of the Anti-Federalists to be conservatives who wanted to preserve this natural and spontaneous outgrowth of the Revolution in which the powers of government were few and such powers as there were diffused among the states and within the states among the most numerous branch of government, the legislature, which was itself checked by diversity of interests, frequent elections, property qualifications, and bicameralism. Let us view the Federalist proponents of the Constitution as innovators who wanted to change to a complicated system of checks and balances which was to a degree abstractly conceived and based upon detached intellectualizing about separation of powers as a supposed virtue of the British Constitution.

The chief concern of the Federalists within the polity was to check a rash majority by erecting powerful independent offices in the executive and judiciary. Somewhat short-sightedly, they believed that these centers of power would always be instruments of restraint. They failed to foresee the true course of events, i.e., that there was no natural reason why the executive and judiciary would remain conservative, and if ever once captured (as in the New Deal) by the passions of the mob or the spirit of rash innovation, the presidency and federal courts provided impregnable bastions for radical sorties upon the social order. The Federalists can thus be seen as tinkers who sought to secure conservatism by means of abstractly conceived governmental machinery. Their tinkering has been largely responsible for the successes of anticonservative movements and the seemingly irreversible institutionalism of New Deal Liberalism in the federal courts and bureaucracy.

The Anti-Federalists sought to check the abuse of power by keeping all government weak and leaving the predominance of such power as there was in the legislature which was, by its nature as a representative of diverse interests, a cautious and compromising body. The Anti-Federalists, and the Jeffersonians who succeeded in engrafting the principle of weak government onto the Constitution through the Tenth Amendment, were more accurate in analysis and more conservative in proposal. The Federalists' political speculations (as have those of twentieth century liberals to opposite ends) tended to focus too much upon European society and not enough upon particular American conditions. The unrestrained majority which the Federalists feared was not, in America, a desperate,

propertyless mob, but a restricted electorate of middle class property holders. The danger to the constitutional and federal republican polity in America has never come from the majority but rather from ambitious tyrants and alienated intellectual coteries for whom the strong presidency and judiciary are tailor-made fortresses.

Suppose that instead of writing a Constitution which erected a powerful central government with a powerful president and courts, the Philadelphia Convention had followed its instructions and had provided amendments for the Articles of Confederation which had tightened the bonds of union and made a more viable federal structure, allowing a degree of separation of powers within a general parliamentary system, without creating an overweening central power. Would that not have been a proper role for conservatives who are by definition disposed to preserve even while reforming? The Federalists introduced into the American polity, theoretically as a check and a balance, a monarchy (presidency) with power far in excess of the monarchy in the British system which was their ostensible model. They carried the principles of division of powers and restraint of innovation to such an extreme that they undermined the legislature. Can a twentieth century conservative doubt that the government which would have resulted from a reformed Articles would have been more conservative, that it would have been more conducive to the preservation of the constitutional and federal republic against unlimited centralized democracy, and more responsive to the cautious and responsible elements of the polity against the aggressive and fanatical than the present Constitution? The locus of power in such a federal government would be a legislature broadly responsive to the diverse interests of the Union like the present House of Representatives rather than a president and bureaucracy responsive to strategic and untutored blocks of mass opinion or aggressive coteries of ideological fancy.

Indeed, Liberal historians have come to recognize that it was the Federalists who provided them with their powers to reconstruct society by plan and have turned against the Anti-Federalists. In an article which is reminiscent of recent attacks on "radical rightists," an ultra-liberal historian portrays the Anti-Federalists as obstructionists with excessive fears of strong governmental power.[9]

III

The party battles of the 1790's which resulted in the triumph of what is known as Jeffersonian Democracy have been seen largely in the terms which the Federalists intended them to be seen. Conservatives today tend to see the Federalists of the period as champions of conservatism, stability, and diluted democracy, and to see the party of Thomas Jefferson (which was also the party of James Madison, John Randolph, and Nathaniel Macon) as a wild-eyed mob imbued with the dangerous principles of French philosophes. This partisan picture from the times is inaccurate and, incidentally, is quite comforting to twentieth century Liberalism. The Jeffersonian party was led by the American group the most truly aristocratic in the best sense, the Virginian planters. It represented the majority conservative agricultural property interests of the country at large against the aggressive commercial property interests of the Northern cities.[10]

The issues of the French Revolution became entwined in the American party battles of the 1790's, but the cleavage had more to do with partisan name-calling, anglophobia, and the sectionality of seafaring interests in America than with ideology. Very few Jeffersonians approved the French Revolution after it passed its milder phases. To one group of American conservatives who were bred to regard Thomas Jefferson as the paramount hero of states rights and constitutionalism, it is shocking to encounter the virulence with which another group of American conservatives attacks Jefferson as the archdemocrat. It is true that as a thinker Jefferson was free-ranging. But one is hard put to find genuinely radical acts of Jefferson the statesman. He favored some experimentation with the legal forms of society, but almost entirely in subordinate matters. I would be prepared to maintain in a forum where there is adequate space that none of the tinkering Jefferson did was as fundamental or as harmful as that of John Adams in riding his hobbyhorse of checks and balances. Certainly Jefferson was a more truly conservative statesman than that rash innovator, Alexander Hamilton, whom Russell Kirk has rightly described as not qualifying as a conservative.[11]

The disagreement between Federalists and Jeffersonians was a matter of mechanism and interests, not principle. While Jefferson was optimistic about popular rule in America, I believe it would be difficult to prove that he believed in the unlimited perfectibility of man. Jefferson and the Virginian school of political philosophy which he represented were basically English legalists, not French radicals.[12] The essence of his disagreement with Federalism was summed up in Jefferson's question: "If man cannot be trusted with the government of himself, how can he be trusted with the government of others?" The Federalists, who postulated the imperfectibility of man, also postulated a class of the wise and good (themselves) who were fit to rule, presumably because inexplicably exempt from the general corruption human nature is heir to. To this Jefferson replied that rulers were as likely to be corrupted as the ruled, therefore the proper response to the fallen nature of man was a government too weak to afford predominant power to any one group of men.

The Jeffersonian stance was the more conservative because the more truly in keeping with the facts of human nature and the particular conditions of America. Federalism, representing at its worst a single-minded pursuit of one set of property interests at the expense of another, and coupled as it was with a virulent New England chauvinism, was not necessarily an essentially conservative force in its long-range impact. That a rather fanatical and self-seeking group of men called Thomas Jefferson a Jacobin does not prove him one, any more than calling Senator Goldwater a fascist proved him one. The Federalist grasp for centralized power symbolized by the Alien and Sedition laws was not an effort by responsible gentlemen to curb an unlicensed mob. Rather it was a threat to the freedom to criticize of other propertied, principled gentlemen who were quite as able to govern as the beneficiaries of the laws. Freedom to criticize the rulers is, after all, an aristocratic, not a democratic right. Conservatives would do well to add to their Madison, Randolph,

and Calhoun an acquaintance with that great Jeffersonian thinker, John Taylor of Caroline, who brilliantly laid low the pseudo-aristocratic pretensions of the Federalists, the injustice of their economic system, and the radical dangers of their view of the judiciary, as well as accurately predicted the mobocracy that would ensue from the triumph of their principle.[13]

IV

It is not surprising that the conservative understanding of the phenomenon known as Jacksonian Democracy is defective since the historiography of the subject has constituted a great battleground of contradictory claims. Recently, however, historians, working from both Liberal and conservative biases, have reached agreement on a few points which have not yet penetrated popular lore or conservative thinking. The most important of these points is that the party of Andrew Jackson was not the creator of the phenomenon misnamed Jacksonian Democracy. Both the Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson and the party of those who opposed him were mass democratic political movements which resulted from a spontaneous increase in mass political participation and a spontaneous demand for removal of aristocratic legal restraints from state constitutions in the 1820's and 1830's.

Neither party was clearly more aristocratic and conservative or democratic and radical than the other. Jackson himself was a wealthy cotton planter from middle Tennessee who had always sided with the economically more conservative faction in his state. Many conservative aristocrats like James Fenimore Cooper identified with the Democratic Party. The most virulently leveling people of the time, the New England poor whites of western New York and the Midwest who spawned a hundred isms, were Whigs and Anti-Masons, bitterly opposed to Jacksonians as aristocrats. Nor was there a direct line of continuity from Jeffersonians to Jacksonians and from Federalists to Whigs. Many Federalists became Democrats and many Whigs were former Jeffersonians.[14]

The party situation was much as it has usually been in American history until very recently. Neither party was really ideological in the European sense, and the classes and interests which composed them varied from state to state. Conservatives have tacitly accepted Arthur Schlesinger's portrayal of Jacksonianism as anticapitalist, socialist, when in fact all parties and all Americans of the time except a few intellectual radicals were decidedly capitalist in philosophy. Historians, including both conservatives and honest Liberals, have recently been groping toward a more sophisticated understanding of what was at issue in Jackson's famous Bank War.[15] Though the economic issues, as always, are very complex; simply stated, the picture that emerges is not one of socialists against capitalists, but of Democratic laissez-faire capitalists against Whiggish monopoly capitalists. The impetus against the Bank of the United States came from energetic rising businessmen who wanted expansion, which in their opinion was checked by a government-granted monopoly which profited a few men and one region at the expense of the businessmen and the commerce of other regions. Jackson and his chief supporters had an impeccably conservative predilection for hard money. The Whigs represented the capitalism of manufacturers and national bankers. The Democrats represented the capitalism of state bankers, importers, and agriculturalists.

Though the Jacksonian Party in some respects acted to expand the power of the presidency within the federal government, its general over-all tendency was to weaken the power of government at all levels, particularly the power of the federal government to dispense economic favors such as tariffs, subsidies, and internal improvements. This was the primary issue between the Democratic Party, nationally, and its opponents, the Whigs, and their successors, the Republicans. Aristocrats like James Fenimore Cooper saw the Democratic Party as the truly conservative party-that which was preserving the purity and virtue of the pristine republic in which a representative voted for his convictions rather than for bribes for his constituents; the Whigs, who were, to be sure, conservatives if being in favor of government handouts to business is conservative, he regarded as rather vulgar men on the make whose basic principle (also the basic principle of twentieth century Liberal politics) was to bribe part of the electorate by economic largess distributed by the government at the expense of another part of the electorate.[16]

The basic issue was one of Jacksonian laissez-faire or classical liberalism (as evidenced by the Taney Court's erosion of government-granted business privileges under the contract clause) versus a kind of Whiggish progressivism which proposed that the government take an active economic role in promoting the development and prosperity of the country (as evidenced most cogently by John Quincy Adams' first message to Congress which recommended, among other things, federal construction of roads and canals, a national university, and the passage of laws designed allegedly for the promotion of agriculture, commerce, manufacturing, arts, sciences, and literature). Possibly the Whigs were correct in their desire for tariffs, subsidies, and government-built internal improvements to develop the American countryside. Even so, theirs was not in that regard a conservative stance, not a program which placed preserving the constitutional and federal republic at the top of the list of priorities. A government which dispenses favors to the business classes at the expense of the agricultural classes is only the opposite side of the coin to a government which dispenses favors to labor unions and welfare "clients" at the expense of the business classes.

Despite Arthur Schlesinger's skillful pleading, most of the radicals and reformers who flourished in the Jacksonian era were not Democrats. The abolitionists, working men's parties, woman suffragists, utopian socialists, and adherents of other isms were part of what is known as the era of Jacksonian Democracy, but they were mostly not in the Jacksonian party. The radicals were mostly alienated intellectuals who came, as do twentieth century Liberals, out of the self-appointed, privileged aristocracy of the Eastern Establishment, and who regarded the common sense Jacksonian Democrats of the South and West about as the Eastern intellectuals of today regard the common sense conservatives of South and West, as uncouth and contemptible obstacles to the grandiose plans of elite

thinkers. The few real radicals of the Democratic Party, the Locofocos of New York who were never a majority among New York Democrats, ended up in the Republican Party by way of Free-Soilism.

V

There is probably no conservative consensus about the Civil War. I suspect that one will find conservatives dividing over the Civil War along a line which marks off a tacit difference of premises. Those whose conservatism is basically political, who value America because it is a surviving constitutional republic in a revolutionary world, which has fused order and freedom with fair success, will, like Frank Meyer, regret the great body blows delivered by the Republican Party to the constitutional and federal republic in the Civil War and Reconstruction.[17] Those whose conservatism is basically organic and nationalistic, who put a transcendent value upon the unity of the American land and people, will, like Professor Harry Jaffa, see the Republican Party as the conservative savior of the nation.[18]

The question of whether the Confederate South or the Republican North was the carrier of the American conservative tradition can probably be debated fruitlessly and forever. Possibly a thinker of the stature of Richard Weaver could have produced a synthesis, as seems to have been implied in his movement from Southern Agrarian to admirer of Lincoln. I will only comment that conservative scholars like Dr. Jaffa, in their treatment of the Civil War, tend to make themselves, historiographically, comrades in arms of the ilk of Arthur Schlesinger and Bernard DeVoto; and it seems to me that they are in danger of “drawing up an indictment against a whole people,” and of treating the legalistic and tradition-minded rising of the South as if it were the treason of a handful of subversives.

It seems to me impossible to deny that within the North the Democratic Party was the conservative party in the era of Civil War and Reconstruction, if conservatism is defined as a preference for preserving republicanism, federalism, and constitutionalism. Conservatives who are accustomed to thinking of the New Deal Democratic Party tend to read back into history and to assume that the Republican Party has always been the more or less conservative party and the Democratic Party more or less the more radical. The belief, however prevalent, is false. Neither party was anti-capitalist, and we should not allow Liberals the comfort of presuming a respectable anti-capitalist tradition in this country. The Democratic Party (with the aid of some former Whigs) did yeoman service in the Civil War era in hewing to the line of states rights, strict construction of powers, and government noninterference in the economy, i.e., in conserving the constitutional and federal republic, while the Republican Party was embarked upon a program of radicalism in some ways still unprecedented.

There is very little done by liberals in the twentieth century for which one cannot find some ancestor in the acts of the Republican Party in the nineteenth century. Lincoln’s arbitrary exercise of executive power has still not been matched. The great war powers exercised by Wilson and Roosevelt were formally granted them by Congress. Lincoln’s were simply seized. In deliberate indifference to the letter and spirit of the Constitution in pursuit of expediencies and passions of the moment, a Great Society Congress can find ample example in the conduct of the Republican Congressional party from 1860 to 1876. In twisting the meaning of the Constitution to serve special interests and ideologies, the Warren Court can find colleagues in many of the Republican justices of the post-Civil War period. The first example of large scale use of FDRs famous tax, spend, and elect formula is the billions voted by the Republican Party for Union war pensions. The Radicals who formed one wing of the Republican Party are exact psychological and moral ancestors of today’s intolerant Liberals.

From the subsidence of the issues of the Civil War as the major issues of politics, i.e., the end of Reconstruction, until the beginning of the New Deal, the Democratic and Republican parties were divided chiefly by sectional, ethnic, and historical considerations, not by class or ideology.[19] Neither party was anticapitalist. The two well-known leftist movements of the time, Populism and Progressivism, drew from both parties. Both parties contained capitalists, professional men, laborers, and farmers. Capitalists who were engaged in manufacturing or types of agriculture which found a protective tariff useful tended to be Republican. Capitalists who were engaged in finance or international trade (like August Belmont), or in types of agriculture harmed by protective tariffs tended to be Democratic. In regard to the three elements of the polity we have defined as worthy of conservative allegiance, the Democratic Party was probably, on the whole, sounder than the Republican Party on constitutionalism and federalism. The nativist prejudices of Yankee Protestant Republicans have left an impression that the Democratic Party of “rum, Romanism, and rebellion,” was the more demagogic and corrupt, but in fact both parties were demagogic and machine-ridden. They did their demagoguery and corruption with different groups.

The word “populist” is commonly used as an epithet by conservatives and recently also by Liberals, though the exact meaning of the word as used has never been clear. With Populism, as with Jacksonian Democracy, conservatives have tended to accept without question the analysis and evaluation of Liberal historians, merely turning it inside out. Liberal historians, seeking ancestors for New Deal radicalism, have given us our conventional image of Populism. The Liberal distortion has been subtle, and to restore the image to rights requires careful delineation of what Populism was and was not.

On the surface of things, Populists will clearly be seen as nonconservatives. They favored government ownership of railroads; the progressive income tax; direct democracy through recall, referendum, and initiative; and inflation. Considering the context in which these proposals were put forth demonstrates the extremely limited radicalism of the Populists, however. Populism was chiefly a

sectional movement. It was not in essence socialist and anticapitalist in the sense that the New Deal was socialist and anticapitalist (although certain real radicals and socialists clung to its fringes). The Populists, it is now recognized, were not wild-eyed, barefoot radicals, but were in fact the respectable businessmen and gentry of certain regions of the country. Populism was precipitated by a belief (whether true or not is debatable) that the arbitrary intervention of the federal government in the economy in favor of certain interests (manufacturers protected by tariffs, particular capitalists who were granted charters as national bankers) had resulted in an inordinate and artificial accumulation of wealth in a few hands and in the Northeastern section of the country at the expense of the legitimate business interests of certain agricultural regions.

The railroads which the Populist sought to regulate were not the creations of rugged private enterprise. In most cases they had been extensively subsidized by federal, state, and local governments through grants of public lands, cash, and tax and tariff concessions. They had engaged in large scale swindling of investors and had been the source of corruption in the legislative process (surely a matter of concern to conservatives). They levied rate discriminations against businessmen in certain locations not justified by economic costs. In other words, the provocation was great and some solution was necessary.

In their fear that a concentration of great wealth in a few hands tended to undermine the Republic the Populists were more in tune with the Founding Fathers than were the "conservative" business interests of the time. The Founding Fathers thought of the leadership of the best in terms of a gentry which made up perhaps 10 percent of the population and owned perhaps half the property. They did not think in terms of a Rockefeller-Morgan oligarchy which made up 1 of 2 percent of the population and owned 90 percent of the real wealth. One who will take the trouble to read the Populists' literature will find that they were concerned as conservative rural Americans about the dangers to the Republic from the hordes of propertyless urban workers as well as from the international bankers.

The initiative, referendum and recall, and the direct election of senators were certainly anticonservative in the structural sense in that they sought to modify republicanism in the direction of direct democracy. There was, however, already a condition of mass democracy; and the Populists believed, perhaps not unreasonably, that a mass democracy dominated by popular will might be sounder than a mass democracy dominated by political machines. The Founding Fathers had intended the republican statesman to be an independent gentleman of conscience who pursued politics as an honor and duty. He had in fact become, to an unforeseen extent, the dependent hack of a political organization, pursuing politics as a vocation. Direct democracy in the Populist program was radical in method but conservative in instinct in that it aimed nostalgically to restore a more honorable relationship between people and representative.[20] Finally, the Populist advocacy of inflation was a product of a period of deflation in which a national debt contracted in wartime greenbacks was being paid off in very hard gold dollars. The Populists in effect desired a restoration of an earlier fiscal status quo, not revolution.

VII

Populism, although less respectable, was also far less fundamentally radical than the Progressivism which followed it and expressed very different discontents. It has become the fashion among Liberal historians to sneer at the Populists who, after all, preferred to think for themselves (however awkwardly) rather than tamely accept the intellectual and moral conventions of the Eastern establishment which were quite as pervasive and quite as false as today. There is a historical kinship of spirit between those who resisted the Eastern establishment in the 1890's and in the 1960's. A chart could be constructed showing a correlation between the areas of the country which strongly supported William Jennings Bryan and Barry Goldwater.

Populism had none of the social worker mentality which characterized Progressivism. Where Populism was the zany but unsentimental faith of outsiders, Progressivism was the fat and saucy self-righteousness of an urbanized, rootless, antitraditional, hypocritically self-serving coterie of upper and middle class intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals. Progressivism has bequeathed to twentieth century Liberalism its basic style—the posing of emotionally galvanic "problems" to be solved by mass emotional concern leading to governmental action, never mind what action. Like Liberalism, Progressivism assumed that only selfish interests could fail to see the urgency of the "problem" and the wisdom of the "solution," which had caught the Progressive's fancy. As does Liberalism, Progressivism fed upon a murky and artificial "public opinion" which ignored logic, law, tradition, and all genuine analysis in pursuit of its "solutions."

Prior to Progressivism the political opinions of most Americans, however bad or wrong, had made sense in their own context, had borne some relation to either common sense observation or inherited prejudice, (prejudice being to Burke the wisdom of unlettered men). The opinions of the mass of Progressives were superficial plausibilities induced by that little learning that is a dangerous thing, aggravated by a physical remoteness from the sphere of tangible action. With the seizure of a part of the electorate by the Progressivist mentality, for the first time image became more important than reality. Only then could the American voters reject a sincere and decent William Jennings Bryan or an honest and able William Howard Taft for a dangerous buffoon like Theodore Roosevelt or a coldly self-seeking hypocrite like Woodrow Wilson.

Theodore Roosevelt was in a sense the first practitioner of modern Liberalism, a fact overlooked by conservatives who admire him as an exponent of a strong foreign policy (failing to make William Graham Sumner's distinction between jingoism and a proper nationalism). Theodore Roosevelt, the respectable, privileged, Eastern aristocrat and Republican is the fountainhead of the idea that

the federal government, and particularly the president, is responsible for solving all the problems of all the people, regardless of Constitution and justice. He was the first to project an image of a president who takes club in hand and bludgeons a reluctant Congress dominated by vested "interests" into doing the "right thing," an image which he deliberately cultivated for his own aggrandizement. It was TR who gave us the now obtaining rule that a president is elected on his capacity for being a popular celebrity in the mass media rather than his capacity for statesmanship.

VIII

If some forecaster of the 1920's had perceived that a socialist revolution was to come to America in the next decade, he would not automatically have assumed that the Democratic Party would be the vehicle of the revolution. The Republicans, being the predominant party, encompassed greater extremes than did the Democrats and contained probably a greater number of Progressives. Harding and Coolidge were not Progressives but their bourgeois mindlessness and the mass worship they received were as foreign to the American tradition as the New Deal itself.

The Democratic Party, despite the perverting influence of Wilsonism, maintained much of its allegiance to its traditional principles of states rights, strict construction, and laissez-faire, which, as has often been pointed out, were reflected in the 1932 platform. One could make an impressive list of New Dealers who had been Republicans before they came to FDR-including Henry Wallace, Harold Ickes, and Donald Richberg, not to mention such New Deal Republican stalwarts as LaGuardia, LaFollette, and Norris. One could make an equally impressive list of Democratic greats who repudiated the New Deal, including Al Smith, John W. Davis, William G. McAdoo, Lewis Douglas, and Newton D. Baker (some of whom viewed the New Deal as a takeover of the Democratic Party by Republican Progressives), not to mention most of the heretofore predominant Southern wing of the party. There were millions of Democratic voters who continued to be so through the New Deal because of economic interest or because the Republicans offered no attractive opposition, but who never succumbed to Liberal ideology and who fell away in droves when Liberalism began to harden into an elitist establishment. On the other hand, there were millions of nominally Republican voters who were in fact mesmerized by Liberal ideology and began to turn to the Democratic Party in the 1960's.[21]

Through most of American history the conservative force of our society has been the great mass of sensible, productive, and self-respecting lower-middle and middle class citizens with a decent awe for inherited principles. The radical and undermining forces have been the alienated intellectuals and privileged, self-appointed aristocrats cut off from the mainstream of American life, whether Hartford Conventioners, Abolitionists, Progressives, or Liberals, who cared neither for republicanism, constitutionalism, or federalism, but for their own abstract panaceas and their own powers.

Occasionally the radicals have been able to put together enough discontented minorities and befuddled middle class voters who responded to pseudo-intellectualizing rather than common sense, to make an electoral majority, but seldom have the radical and the conservative elements been separated clearly by party. Such a polarization seemed possible for the first time in 1968, when, the Establishment underminers and their allies and dupes, having completely taken over the Democratic Party, were repudiated by a new Jeffersonian coalition of productive citizens who were a majority in forty-four of the fifty states.

Books mentioned in this essay may be found in [The Imaginative Conservative Bookstore](#). Essays by Clyde Wilson may be found [here](#).

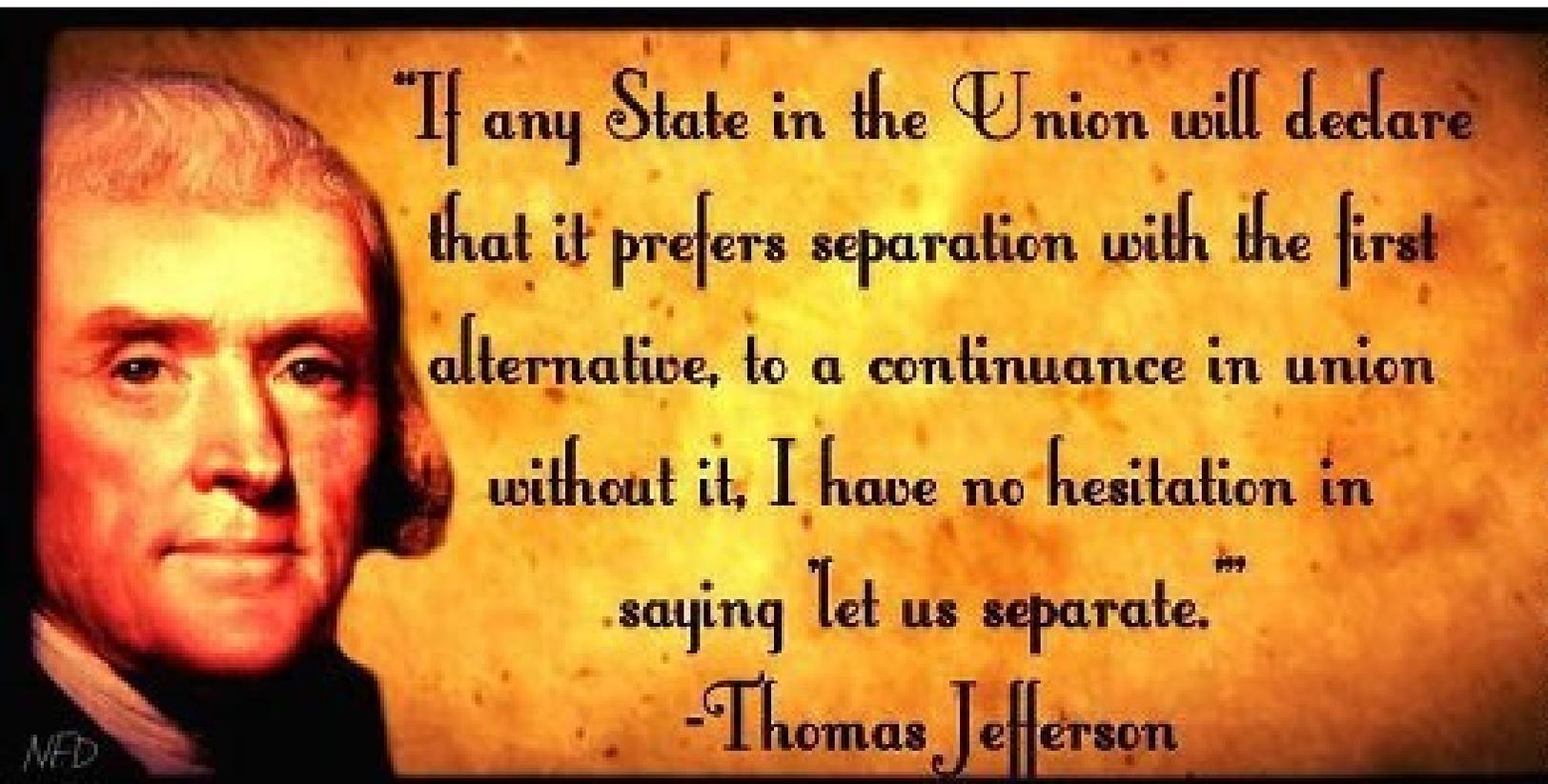
Clyde N. Wilson is distinguished professor emeritus of history at the University of South Carolina, where he was the editor of the multivolume [The Papers of John C. Calhoun](#) and a number of other books including [The Essential Calhoun](#) in Russell Kirk's Library of Conservative Thought. This essay is also found in the superb book [From Union to Empire: Essays in the Jeffersonian Tradition](#).

Notes:

1. This is the thesis of Professor Louis Hartz well-known *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York, 1955).
2. The conservatism whose ancestry I am seeking to determine here is not some pale reflection of Liberalism of the sort cooked up by Rossiter or Viereck. I refer to the movement which, with various reservations and differences of emphasis, coalesced in support of the candidacy of Barry M. Goldwater in 1964.
3. "Is Conservatism Dead?," April 8, 1969.
4. Gentz's 1800 essay contrasting the American and French Revolution is most readily available, in abridgement, in Edmund S. Morgan, ed., *The American Revolution: Two Centuries of Interpretation* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ., 1965), pp. 20-51.
5. There are, of course, commanding emergencies in any polity which will require the temporary and limited relaxation of law.
6. *The Conscience of a Conservative*, (Paper-back edition; New York, 1960). p. 13.
7. The rich, the well born, and the able acquire an influence among the people that will soon be too much for simple honesty and plain sense," wrote Adams, arguing for the separation of the rich into an upper house of the legislature. The Founding Fathers had in mind the classical example of Julius Caesar.

8. Virginia, with other states, proposed numerous amendments and declared that “the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression . . .”
9. Cecelia Kenyon, “Men of Little Faith: the Anti-Federalists on Representative Government,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, XII (1955).
10. Although he would not necessarily agree with me in placement of value or in detail, this is in essence the analysis of Professor Henry Paolucci in his excellent *War, Peace, and the Presidency* (New York, 1968), pp. 88-89.
11. *A Program for Conservatives* (Paperback edition; Chicago, 1962), p. 258.
12. *Ibid*, p. 33.
13. Professor Eugene T. Mudge’s scholarly and thorough *The Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Carolina* (New York, 1939) provides an introduction to Taylor’s difficult works.
14. Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, 1961); Shaw Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism*(Princeton, 1962); and Richard P. McCormick, *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era*(Chapel Hill, 1966), are recent works of Liberal but capable scholars demonstrating the discontinuity of the first and second party systems and the absence of party-ideological cleavage in the era.
15. A most cogent statement of the newer view-point is *Banking and Politics in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, 1957), by Bray Hammond, a conservatively inclined banker. For a very Liberal historian who reached the same conclusion, in contradiction to Schlesinger, see “Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Liberal Capitalism,” in Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (New York, 1948). Another Liberal historian, Richard B. Morris, has entitled an article in refutation of Schlesinger, “Andrew Jackson-Strikebreaker.”
16. Cooper’s philosophy is set forth in his *American Democrat* of 1838. There is an illuminating foreword by H. L. Mencken in the 1931 Alfred A. Knopf edition.
17. Frank S. Meyer, “Lincoln Without Rhetoric,” *National Review* (August 24, 1965); “Again on Lincoln,” *National Review*(January 25, 1966).
18. Harry V. Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided* (Garden City, N.Y., 1959). See also his disagreement with Meyer in *National Review*(September 21, 1965).
19. Kevin Phillips’ excellent new book, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1969) documents this in detail.
20. Russell Kirk, *A Program for Conservatives*, pp. 34-35.
21. I again call on Kevin Phillips’ superb documentation of American political tendencies

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What Americans Used To Know

by Tom DiLorenzo - lewRockwell

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"During the weeks following the [1860] election, [Northern newspaper] editors of all parties assumed that secession as a constitutional right was not in question On the contrary, the southern claim to a right of peaceable withdrawal was countenanced out of reverence for the natural law principle of government by consent of the governed."

~ Howard Cecil Perkins, editor, Northern Editorials on Secession, p. 10

The first several generations of Americans understood that the Declaration of Independence was the ultimate states' rights document. The citizens of the states would delegate certain powers to a central government in their Constitution, and these powers (mostly for national defense and foreign policy purposes) would hopefully be exercised for the benefit of the citizens of the "free and independent" states, as they are called in the Declaration.

The understanding was that if American citizens were in fact to be the masters rather than the servants of government, they themselves would have to police the national government that was created by them for their mutual benefit. If the day ever came that the national government became the sole arbiter of the limits of its own powers, then Americans would live under a tyranny as bad or worse than the one the colonists fought a revolution against. As the above quotation denotes, the ultimate natural law principle behind this thinking was Jefferson's famous dictum in the Declaration of Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that whenever that consent is withdrawn the people of the free and independent states, as sovereigns, have a duty to abolish that government and replace it with a new one if they wish.

This was the fundamental understanding of the meaning of the Declaration of Independence - that it was a Declaration of Secession from the British empire - of the first several generations of Americans. As the 1, 107-page book, Northern Editorials on Secession shows, this view was held just as widely in the Northern states as in the Southern states in 1860-1861. Among the lone dissenters was Abe Lincoln, a corporate lawyer/lobbyist/politician with less than a year of formal education who probably never even read The Federalist Papers.

The following are some illustrations of how various Northern-state newspaper editors thought of the meaning of the Declaration of Independence in 1860-1861:

On November 21, 1860, the Cincinnati Daily Press wrote that:

We believe that the right of any member of this Confederacy [the United States] to dissolve its political relations with the others and assume an independent position is absolute - that, in other words, if South Carolina wants to go out of the Union, she has the right to do so, and no party or power may justly say her nay. This we suppose to be the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence when it affirms that governments are instituted for the protection of men in their lives, liberties, and the pursuit of happiness; and that 'whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government . . .'

On December 17, 1860 the New York Daily Tribune editorialized that "We have repeatedly asked those who dissent from our view of this matter [the legality of peaceful secession] to tell us frankly whether they do or do not assent to Mr. Jefferson's statement in the Declaration of Independence that governments 'derive their just powers from the consent of the governed We do heartily accept this doctrine, believing it intrinsically sound, beneficent, and one that, universally accepted, is calculated to prevent the shedding of seas of human blood." Furthermore, the Tribune wrote, "[I]f it justified the secession from the British Empire of Three Millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see it would not justify the secession of Five Millions of Southrons from the Federal Union in 1861."

The Kenosha, Wisconsin Democrat editorialized on January 11, 1861, that "The founders of our government were constant secessionists. They not only claimed the right for themselves, but conceded it to others. They were not only secessionists in theory, but in practice.. The old confederation between the states [the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union] was especially declared perpetual by the instrument itself. Yet Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and the hosts of heroes and statesman of

that day seceded from it." And, "The Constitution provides no means of coercing a state in the Union; nor any punishment for secession."

Again on February 23, 1861, the New York Daily Tribune reiterated its view that "We must not, in behalf of either of the Union of Freedom, trample down the great truth that 'governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.'"

The Washington, D.C. States and Union newspaper editorialized on March 21, 1861, that "The people are the ruling judges, the States independent sovereigns. Where the people chose to change their political condition, as our own Declaration of Independence first promulgated, they have a right to do so. If the doctrine was good then, it is good now. Call that right by whatever name you please, secession or revolution, it makes no sort of difference."

This last sentence was a response to the Republican Party propaganda machine of the day that invented the theory that the Declaration allows for a "right of revolution" but not a right of "secession." The States and Union recognized immediately that this non-distinction was nothing more than a rhetorical flimflam designed to deceive the public about the meaning of their own Declaration of Independence. It is a piece of lying propaganda that is repeated to this day by apologists for the American welfare/warfare/police state, especially the Lincoln-worshipping neocons at National Review, the Claremont Institute, and other appendages of the Republican Party.

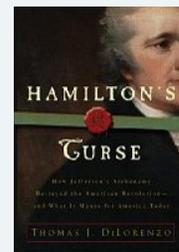
On the eve of the war the Providence, Rhode Island Evening Press warned that "the employment of [military] force" against citizens who no longer consented to being governed by Washington, D.C. , "can have no other result than to make the revolution itself complete and lasting, at the expense of thousands of lives, hundreds of millions of dollars, and amount of wretchedness fearful to contemplate, and the humiliation of the American name."

The Evening Press then reminded its readers that in the American Revolution the colonists rejected "the Divine right of Kings" to do whatever they wanted to their subjects. "Our forefathers disputed this dictum," they wrote, and "rose against it, fought against it, and by successful revolution accomplished their independence of it. In its place they substituted the doctrine that 'to secure human happiness, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed . . ."

On this Fourth of July most Americans will not be celebrating or commemorating these founding, natural law principles. To the extent that they are celebrating anything but a day off work to overeat and overdrink, they will be celebrating the imperial warfare/police state with hundreds of parades featuring marching soldiers in camouflage, flags galore, military vehicles, jet fighter fly-overs, "patriotic"/warmongering musical anthems, etc. The symbol of all of this is King Lincoln himself, who rejected every single principle of the Declaration of Independence. His successors have reinterpreted the document to "justify" endless military interventionism all over the globe in the name of "making all men everywhere equal." To the neocons, this means perpetual wars for "democracy." This of course has nothing whatsoever to do with the real meaning of the Declaration of Independence and is in fact the exact opposite. No people in any country that has been invaded and occupied by the U.S. military have ever consented to being governed as such by Washington, D.C. As such, they can all be thought of as Neo-Confederates.

<http://www.24hgold.com/english/news-gold-silver-what-americans-used-to-know.aspx?article=4431482742G10020&redirect=false&contributor=Tom+DiLorenzo>

Tom DiLorenzo



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Thomas DiLorenzo is professor of economics at Loyola College, Maryland, and a senior fellow at the Ludwig von Mises Institute. He is the author or co-author of ten books, on subjects such as antitrust, group-interest politics, and interventionism generally

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Jesse James & Buried Treasure

Researcher Ron Pastore discussed mysteries concerning Jesse James and buried treasure. James, an outlaw who was said to rob only the wealthy, faked his death (related photo), and lived to age 88, he contended. As a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle (KGC), James and Civil War Confederates were suspected of burying loot (possibly in values up to \$1 trillion) in hidden caves, which Pastore has conducted searches for.



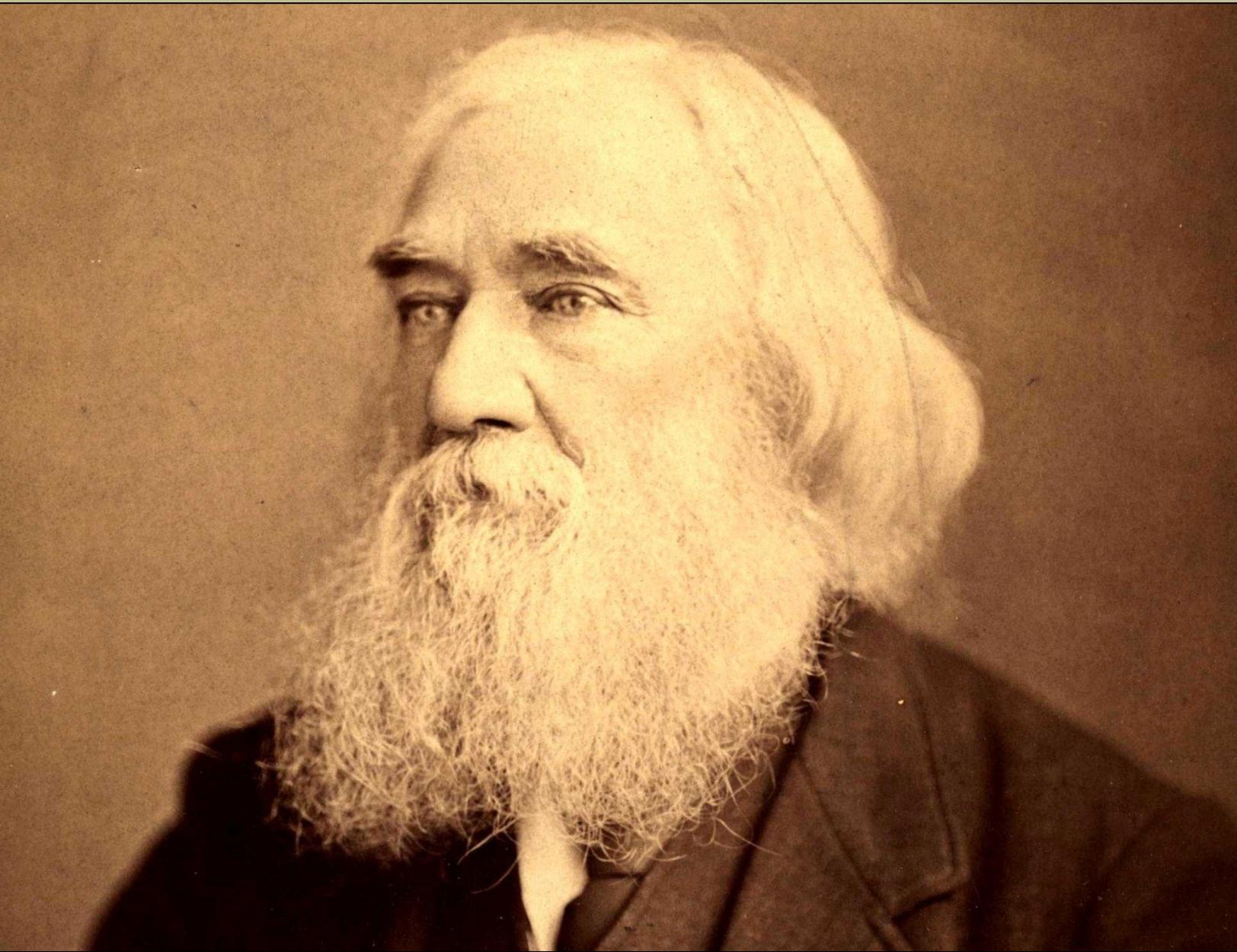
Biography:

Ron Pastore has done extensive research in to Native American cultures and ceremonial sites. He is the Director of the National Geomantic Survey, and leads a team of 10 researchers with expertise in a wide array of specialized technical fields. Ron is also certified in the use and analysis of Ground Penetrating Radar. He has produced three documentaries as he divides his time between research projects and operating Private Merchant Police Services.

Check out this video on YouTube: <http://youtu.be/r2Lx2nUwuUw>

Lysander Spooner

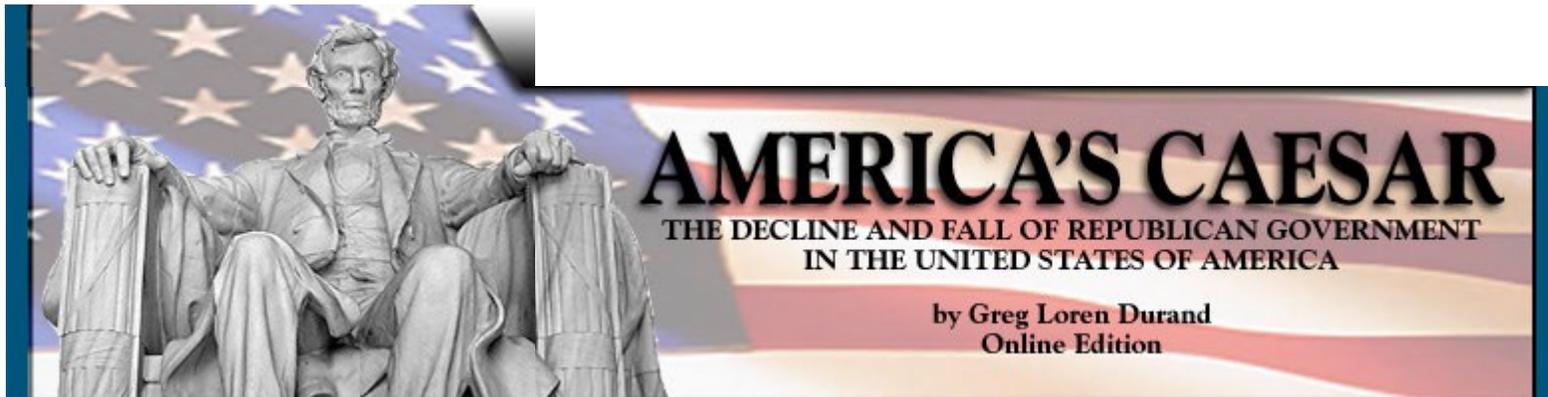
Northern Abolitionist



"The principle, on which the war was waged by the North, was simply this:

That men may rightfully be compelled to submit to, and support, a government that they do not want; and that resistance, on their part, makes them traitors and criminals. No principle, that is possible to be named, can be more self-evidently false than this; or more self-evidently fatal to all political freedom. Yet it triumphed in the field, and is now assumed to be established. If it really be established, the number of slaves, instead of having been diminished by the war, has been greatly increased; for a man, thus subjected to a government that he does not want, is a slave. And there is no difference, in principle --- but only in degree --- between political and chattel slavery. The former, no less than the latter, denies a man's ownership of himself and the products of his labor; and asserts that other men may own him, and dispose of him and his property, for their uses, and at their pleasure."

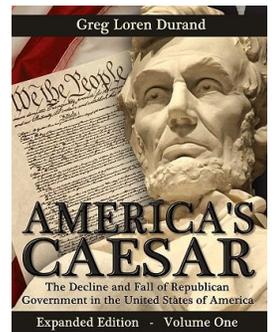
– Lysander Spooner (Nineteenth-Century lawyer, abolitionist, entrepreneur)



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CHAPTER SEVEN: State Sovereignty and the Right of Secession

The Union Viewed as an Experiment

In his excellent treatise on the nature of the Union entitled *Is Davis a Traitor?*, Southern political apologist Albert Taylor Bledsoe wrote, "The final judgment of History in relation to the war of 1861 will, in no small degree, depend on its verdict with respect to the right of secession. If, when this right was practically asserted by the South, it had been conceded by the North, there would not have been even a pretext for the tremendous conflict which followed."⁽¹⁾ Indeed, secession became the great political question of the Nineteenth Century to be decided, not by appealing to law and reason, which method Abraham Lincoln ridiculed as "exceedingly thin and airy,"⁽²⁾ but, in the words of Supreme Court Justice Robert Grier, by "wager of Battle,"⁽³⁾ or, to quote John Andrews, Governor of Massachusetts, by "the logic of bayonets and rifles and pikes...."⁽⁴⁾

From the formation of the original Confederacy under the *Articles of Confederation* of 1777, and continuing on after the ratification of the *Constitution* of 1789, it was a well-understood and universally accepted political doctrine that the Union was a compact, or a "league of friendship" between thirteen independent and sovereign States, from which the parties thereof could constitutionally and peacefully withdraw at will. In the words of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge:

When the *Constitution* was adopted by the votes of States at Philadelphia, and accepted by the votes of States in popular conventions, it is safe to say there was no man in this country, from Washington and Hamilton on the one side to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who regarded our system of Government, when first adopted, as anything but an experiment entered upon by the States, and from which each and every State had the right to peaceably withdraw, a right which was very likely to be exercised.⁽⁵⁾

The truth of Senator Lodge's statement is established by George Washington himself, who, in his Farewell Address, asked, "Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. It is well worth a fair and full experiment." In his correspondence with various dignitaries, Washington constantly referred to the Union of States as "the new confederacy"⁽⁶⁾ and a "confederated Government,"⁽⁷⁾ and he spoke of the *Constitution* as "a compact or treaty"⁽⁸⁾ between "the people of the several states."⁽⁹⁾ In a letter to General Henry Knox, dated 17 June 1788, he wrote, "I can not but hope that the States which may be disposed to make a secession [from the Union] will think often and seriously on the consequence."⁽¹⁰⁾ Eleven days later, writing to General Pinckney, he announced that New Hampshire had "acceded to the new Confederacy," and, referring to North Carolina, he said, "I should be astonished if that State should withdraw from the Union."⁽¹¹⁾

James Madison, who is commonly referred to as "the father of the *Constitution*," and who was in an authoritative position to properly interpret that instrument, envisioned a "confederate republic" composed of "confederate States," and described the proposed constitutional system as "a confederacy founded on republican principles, and composed of republican members."⁽¹²⁾ He was certainly aware of the "republican principles" contained in the *Declaration of Independence* which stated, not only that governments are not republican which do not "deriv[e] their just powers from the consent of the governed," but that, should a government not answer to the purposes for which it was established, "it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Indeed, he practically repeated the words of Thomas Jefferson when he wrote of "the great principle of self-preservation" and of "the transcendent law of nature and of nature's God, which declares that the safety and happiness of society are the objects at which all political institutions aim, and to which all such institutions must be sacrificed."⁽¹³⁾

Madison also said, "Were the plan of the Convention adverse to the public happiness, my voice would be, Reject the plan. Were the Union itself inconsistent with the public happiness, it would be, Abolish the Union."⁽¹⁴⁾ It may be argued that these were Madison's opinions *prior* to ratification of the *Constitution* and therefore cannot be made to apply to the status of the States *after* they had entered the new Union. However, as late as 1830, after the new system had been operational for over forty years, he was still uncertain "whether the Union will answer the ends of its existence or otherwise." He went on:

Should the provisions of the *Constitution* as here reviewed be found not to secure the Government and rights of the States against usurpations and abuses on the part of the United States, the final resort within the purview of the *Constitution* lies in an amendment of the *Constitution* according to a process applicable by the States.

And in the event of a failure of every constitutional resort, and an accumulation of usurpations and abuses, rendering passive obedience and non-resistance a greater evil, than resistance and revolution, there can remain but one resort, the last of all, an appeal from the cancelled obligations of the constitutional compact, to original rights and the law of self-preservation. This is the *ultima ratio* under all Government whether consolidated, confederated, or a compound of both; and it cannot be doubted that a single member of the Union, in the extremity supposed, but in that only, would have a right, as an extra and ultra constitutional right, to make the appeal.⁽¹⁵⁾

This was not the first time that Madison had described the Union in terms of a compact between the States. In a speech delivered before the Virginia Legislature in 1798, he said, "The *Constitution* of the United States was formed by the sanction of the States, given by each in its sovereign capacity.... The States... [are] the parties to the constitutional compact...."⁽¹⁶⁾ Twenty-three years later, his views had not changed: "Our governmental system is established by a compact, not between the Government of the United States and the State Governments, but between the States as sovereign communities, stipulating each with the other a surrender of certain portions of their respective authorities, to be exercised by a common Government, and a reservation for their own exercise, of all the other authorities."⁽¹⁷⁾ In the *Kentucky Resolutions* of November, 1798, Thomas Jefferson described the *Constitution* as "this compact" to which "each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party...."⁽¹⁸⁾ Similarly, Gouverneur Morris, who served on the Committee on Style which delivered the final wording of the *Constitution*, stated that his purpose in attending the Convention of 1787 was "to form a compact for the good of America." He was "ready to do so with all the States" and, in the event that not all States would enter such a compact, he expressed his desire "to join with any States that would." In his mind, "the compact was to be voluntary."⁽¹⁹⁾ Even Alexander Hamilton, who advocated a strong centralized government bordering on a monarchy, had to admit that the Union under the proposed *Constitution* would "still be, in fact and in theory, an association of States, or a confederacy."⁽²⁰⁾ Hamilton was not so dull-witted as to believe secession from a confederacy of States to be impossible, since that is precisely what each of the States would have to do in relation to the *Articles of Confederation* "in order to form a more perfect Union" under the *Constitution*.⁽²¹⁾ In a letter to Timothy Pickering dated 16 September 1803, he wrote that, despite his disappointment with the results of the Convention, the republican form of government set forth in the *Constitution* "should have a fair and full

trial," and then added, "I sincerely hope that it may not hereafter be discovered, that through want of sufficient attention to the last idea, the experiment of republican government, even in this country, has not been as complete, as satisfactory, and as decisive as could be wished." Thus, American "republicanism" was clearly identified in the minds of these framers with sovereign States in voluntary union, or, more accurately, confederation with one another.

It is interesting to note that State sovereignty and the reserved right of secession was taught by the United States Government to cadets at West Point Military Academy during the 1825-1826 term, and perhaps longer, through William Rawle's book, *A View of the Constitution of the United States of America*.⁽²²⁾ In this book, which was also used as a political textbook by several other colleges and academies throughout the country at the time,⁽²³⁾ the author, a Philadelphia lawyer and staunch Federalist, wrote the following:

It depends on the state itself to retain or abolish the principle of representation, because it depends on itself whether it will continue a member of the Union. To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principle of which all our political systems are founded, which is, that the people have in all cases, a right to determine how they will be governed....

The secession of a state from the Union depends on the will of the people of such state. The people alone, as we have already seen, hold the power to alter their constitutions. But in any manner by which a secession is to take place, nothing is more certain than that the act should be deliberate, clear, and unequivocal. To withdraw from the Union is a solemn, serious act. Whenever it may appear expedient to the people of a state, it must be manifested in a direct and unequivocal manner.⁽²⁴⁾

State Sovereignty the Foundation of the Union

It is clear from the available historical facts that the *Constitution* would have never been ratified if it had been understood that, in doing so, the States would surrender their sovereignty, as well as their right of secession should the experiment fail. We need look no further for proof of the reserved right of secession than in the ratification of at least three of the original thirteen States. Following are excerpts from the ratifications of the States of Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island respectively:

We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the general assembly, and now met in convention, having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us to decide thereon, Do, in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the *Constitution* being derived from the people of the United States may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will.... That each State in the Union shall, respectively, retain every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this *Constitution* delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the Departments of the Federal Government.⁽²⁵⁾

We, the delegates of the people of New York... do declare and make known that the powers of government may be reassumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness; that every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by the said *Constitution* clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the department of the government thereof, remains to the people of the several States, or to their respective State governments, to whom they may have granted the same; and that those clauses in the said *Constitution*, which declare that Congress shall not have or exercise certain powers, do not imply that Congress is entitled to any powers not given by the said *Constitution*; but such clauses are to be construed either as exceptions in certain specified powers or as inserted merely for greater caution.⁽²⁶⁾

We, the delegates of the people of Rhode Island and Plantations, duly elected... do declare and make known... that the powers of government may be resumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness; that every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by the said *Constitution* clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the department of the government thereof, remains to the people of the several States, or to their respective State governments, to whom they may have granted the same;... that the United States shall guarantee to each State its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this *Constitution* expressly delegated to the United States.⁽²⁷⁾

The importance of these statements was explained by Jefferson Davis:

These expressions are not mere *obiter dicta*, thrown out incidentally, and entitled only to be regarded as an expression of opinion by their authors. Even if only such, they would carry great weight as the deliberately expressed judgment of enlightened contemporaries, but they are more: they are parts of the very acts or ordinances by which these States ratified the *Constitution* and acceded to the Union, and can not be detached from them. If they are invalid, the ratification itself was invalid, for they are inseparable. By inserting these declarations in their ordinances, Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island, formally, officially, and permanently, declared their interpretation of the *Constitution* as recognizing the right of secession by the resumption of their grants. By accepting the ratifications with this declaration incorporated, the other States as formally accepted the principle which it asserted.⁽²⁸⁾

Joseph Story's Theory of a Consolidated Nation

It was not until the Nineteenth Century was well underway that the theory of a permanently consolidated nation from which withdrawal was unlawful first made an appearance in Joseph Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution*.⁽²⁹⁾ Daniel Webster would rely heavily on Story's work in his debates in Congress, first with South Carolina Senator [Robert Hayne](#) in 1830 and then with John C. Calhoun, also of South Carolina, three years later. The proponents of this novel theory denied that the *Constitution* was either "a compact between State governments" or that it had been "established by the people of the several States," asserting that it had instead been established by "the people of the United States in the aggregate."⁽³⁰⁾ The States had thus never been sovereign political bodies, but instead drew their very life breath from the Union. In other words, the States were the creatures of the Union rather than *vice versa*. Therefore, it was reasoned, for the people of a State to declare their independence from this indivisible Union was to declare the impossible and to commit an act of treason against the nation which had given it the right to exist. In the words of Webster:

This word "accede," not found either in the *Constitution* itself or in the ratification of it by any one of the States, has been chosen for use here, doubtless not without a well-considered purpose. The natural converse of accession is secession; and therefore, when it is stated that the people of the States acceded to the Union, it may be more plausibly argued that they may secede from it. If, in adopting the *Constitution*, nothing was done but acceding to a compact, nothing would seem necessary, in order to break it up, but to secede from the same compact. But the term is wholly out of place. Accession, as a word applied to political associations, implies coming into a league, treaty, or confederacy, by one hitherto a stranger to it; and secession implies departing from such league or confederacy. The people of the United States have used no such form of expression in establishing the present Government....

There is no language in the whole *Constitution* applicable to a confederation of States. In the *Constitution* it is the people who speak, not the States.⁽³¹⁾

A review of the writings of Washington, Madison, and the other framers, including even Hamilton, will show that these men were not at all shy in using the very terms which Webster decried as "wholly out of place" when describing the nature of the federal Union under the *Constitution*. According to the very men directly involved in its creation, the *Constitution* was a compact to which each State, acting upon its own authority, voluntarily acceded. Therefore, secession of a State from the Union, though undesirable, was nevertheless a possibility. What is most remarkable about the opposite theory is that it originated from within the rapidly dwindling ranks of the old Federalist party, which had, less than a generation before, been the chief agitator for the secession of the Northeastern States from the Union. Having been driven from power by the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800, the Federalists were thereafter, during the second war with England, seen agitating once again for the secession of those States and for the establishment of a New England confederacy. Story's own State of Massachusetts was the most vocal in proclaiming the doctrine of State sovereignty and the right of nullification which would later be so ably championed by Calhoun and so vehemently opposed by Story's apprentice, Webster.

As a Supreme Court justice, Story "perpetually insisted on construing the *Constitution* from the standpoint of that small and defeated party in the Federal Convention which wanted to form a government on the model of the English monarchy in everything but the name."⁽³²⁾ This was the party which, while John Adams was President, was responsible for passing the *Alien and Sedition Acts* of 1796, the latter of which prescribed a two thousand dollar fine and two years imprisonment for anyone who "should write or publish, or cause to be published, any libel against the Government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or against the President." C. Chauncey Burr described the effects of this Act: "A great many editors, and other gentlemen, were imprisoned under this act. Even to ridicule the President was pronounced by the corrupt partisan judges a violation of the law. Men were beaten almost to death for neglecting to pull off their hats when the President was passing, and every man who did not instantly prostrate himself before the ensigns of Federal royalty, was denounced as the enemy of his country."⁽³³⁾ Both the *Alien and Sedition Acts* were promptly denounced by Thomas Jefferson in the *Kentucky Resolutions* and by James Madison in the *Virginia Resolutions*, and they were thereafter repealed. We need not review how the Federalists not long afterwards violated the spirit of their own sedition law in the deprecations they heaped upon the Government, and the President in particular, during the War of 1812.

Had Alexander Hamilton, the consummate monarchist at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, still been living when Story's *Commentaries* were initially published in 1830, they would have likely received his hearty endorsement. Unfortunately, due to their otherwise brilliant content, they did not receive the reprobation they deserved for their advancement of the consolidationist heresy of the Federalists, and they soon supplanted the abler work of Story's more honest Federalist colleague, William Rawle, as the textbook most widely consulted by politicians and lawyers on questions of American constitutional law.

It should be noted that in 1830, the records of the debates in the Philadelphia Convention had not yet been published and since the proceedings had been conducted in secret, their contents were entirely unknown to the

public. Furthermore, the generation of men who had participated in the founding of the Republic under the *Constitution* had, with few exceptions, but recently passed from the scene. The appearance of Story's theory on the political stage occurred concurrent with this passing; had a Jefferson or even a Washington still lived to rebut Story's postulations, it is doubtful that his work would have long survived or risen above obscurity.

In 1840, Abel P. Upshur, a lawyer from Virginia who served as Secretary of the Navy in the Tyler Administration, published his brilliant response to Story entitled *The True Nature and Character of Our Federal Government*. Responding to the claim advanced by Story that prior to the severance of political ties with Great Britain, the people of the thirteen colonies "were in a strict sense fellow-subjects, and in a variety of respects, one people," Upshur wrote:

In order to constitute "one people," in a political sense, of the inhabitants of different countries, something more is necessary than that they should owe a common allegiance to a common sovereign.... By the term "people," as here used, we do not mean merely a number of persons. We mean by it a political corporation, the members of which owe a common allegiance to a common sovereignty, and do not owe any allegiance which is *not* common; who are bound by no laws except such as that sovereignty may prescribe; who owe to one another reciprocal obligations; who possess common political interests; who are liable to common political duties; and who can exert no sovereign power except in the name of the whole. Anything short of this, would be an imperfect definition of that political corporation which we call "a people."

Tested by this definition, the people of the American colonies were, in no conceivable sense, "one people." They owed, indeed, allegiance to the British King, as the head of each colonial government, and as forming a part thereof; but this allegiance was exclusive, in each colony, to its own government, and, consequently, to the King as the head thereof and was not a common allegiance of the people of all the colonies, to a common head. These colonial governments were clothed with the sovereign power of making laws, and of enforcing obedience to them, from their own people. The people of one colony owed no allegiance to the government of any other colony, and were not bound by its laws. The colonies had no common legislature, no common treasury, no common military power, no common judicatory. The people of one colony were not liable to pay taxes to any other colony, nor to bear arms in its defence; they had no right to vote in its elections; no influence nor control in its municipal government; no interest in its municipal institutions. There was no prescribed form by which the colonies could act together, for any purpose whatever; they were not known as "one people" in any one function of government. Although they were all, alike, dependencies of the British Crown, yet, even in the action of the parent country, in regard to them, they were recognized as separate and distinct. They were established at different times, and each under an authority from the Crown, which applied to itself alone. They were not even alike in their organization. Some were provincial, some proprietary, and some charter governments. Each derived its form of government from the particular instrument establishing it, or from assumptions of power acquiesced in by the Crown, without any connection with, or relation to, any other. They stood upon the same footing, in every respect, with other British colonies, with nothing to distinguish their relation either to the parent country or to one another [emphasis in original].⁽³⁴⁾

Referring to the *Declaration of Independence*, Judson A. Landon wrote, "The thought in the mind of the framers no doubt was that every colony was free and independent of the king. There was no need to say independent of each other; they had always been so, and the idea of erecting a common, central government out of all, was not yet suggested."⁽³⁵⁾ That this was how the signers of the *Declaration* understood their own political condition is beyond dispute. For example, while separation from Great Britain was still being discussed, James Wilson of Pennsylvania noted, "All the different members of the British empire are distinct states, Independent of each other, but connected together under the same sovereign."⁽³⁶⁾ Samuel Chase of Maryland, another signer of the *Declaration* who later served on the Supreme Court during Washington's administration, likewise attested to the fact that the former "united colonies" were "each of them... a sovereign and independent state, that is, that each of them had a right to govern itself by its own authority and its own laws, without any control from any other power on earth."⁽³⁷⁾ These statements undermine Story's supposition that the *Declaration of Independence* necessarily consolidated the inhabitants of the former colonies into "one people." According to Story, "The colonies did not severally act for themselves, and proclaim their own independence."⁽³⁸⁾ Not only is this assertion proven false by the very words of the *Declaration* itself, which, in its closing paragraph, referred to the colonies as possessing the right "to be Free and Independent States," but also by the *Treaty of Peace*, signed at Paris on 3 September 1783, in which King George III acknowledged, separately and by name, each of the thirteen former colonies "to be free sovereign and independent states," promising to "treat with them as such." Upshur wrote:

The Congress of 1775, by which independence was declared, was appointed... by the colonies in their separate and distinct capacity, each acting for itself, and not conjointly with any other. They were the representatives each of his own colony, and not of any other; each had authority to act in the name of his own colony, and not in that of any other; each colony gave its own vote by its own representatives, and not by those of any other colony. Of course, it was as separate and distinct colonies that they deliberated on the *Declaration of Independence*. When, therefore, they declare, in the adoption of that measure, that they act as "the representatives of the United States of America," and "in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies," they must of course be understood as speaking in the character of which they had all along acted; that is, as the representatives of separate and distinct colonies, and not as the joint representatives of any one people.... It is impossible to suppose, therefore, in common justice to the sagacity of Congress, that they meant anything more by the *Declaration of Independence*, than simply to sever the tie which had theretofore bound them to England, and to assert the rights of the separate and distinct colonies, as separate and independent States; particularly as the language which they use is fairly susceptible of this construction. The

instrument itself is entitled, "The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America;" of *States*, separate and distinct bodies politic, and not of "one people" or nation, composed of all of them together; "united," as independent States may be, by compact or agreement, and not *amalgamated*, as they would be, if they formed *one* nation or body politic [emphasis in original].⁽³⁹⁾

While the colonies were certainly united militarily in their efforts to throw off the yoke of British tyranny, they had no such political union as envisioned by Story. On this point, all constitutional authorities prior to Story were agreed. According to Thomas M. Cooley, "At the opening of their struggle for Independence the American States had no common bond of union except such as exist in a common cause and common danger. They were not yet a nation; they were only a loose confederacy, and no compact or articles of agreement determined the duties of the several members to each other, or to the confederacy as an aggregate of all."⁽⁴⁰⁾ In discussing the origin of American institutions, James Monroe noted two indisputable things: "The first is, that in wresting the power, or what is called the sovereignty, from the crown, it passed directly to the people. The second, that it passed directly to the people of each colony, and not to the people of all the colonies in the aggregate — to thirteen distinct communities, and not to one."⁽⁴¹⁾ There would be no real political union between the fledgling States until they became so associated under the *Articles of Confederation*, and even then, we find in the second article of that document the declaration that each State "retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." Obviously, then, when Jefferson in the *Declaration* spoke of a time when "it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them," he was either speaking abstractly or applying the phrase "one people" to each of the colonies respectively. Read in any other way, the *Declaration* would place Jefferson, the champion of decentralization and of State sovereignty, squarely in the camp of Hamilton, the consolidationist. The absurdity of such an attempt is too transparent for comment.

Story's Theory Refuted By the Framers

Finally, Story brought his faulty premise to an equally faulty conclusion: the "one people" who issue their *Declaration of Independence* in 1776 are the same "people of the United States" who, in 1787 "do ordain and establish this *Constitution* for the United States of America." Thus, the theory of the people "in the aggregate" is presented for our consideration. However, Story fared no better in his exposition of this doctrine than in his exposition of those preceding it, for his thesis is immediately disproved when the original wording of the Preamble is read: "We, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, do ordain, declare and establish the following *Constitution*, for the government of ourselves and our posterity."⁽⁴²⁾ Upshur commented:

On the very next day this preamble was unanimously adopted; and the reader will at once perceive, that it carefully preserves the distinct sovereignty of the States, and discountenances all idea of consolidation. The draft of the *Constitution* thus submitted was discussed, and various alterations and amendments adopted (but without any change in the preamble), until the 8th of September, 1787, when the following resolution was passed: "It was moved and seconded to appoint a committee of five, to revise the style of, and arrange the articles agreed to by, the House; which passed in the affirmative." It is manifest that this committee had no power to change the *meaning* of anything which had been adopted, but were authorized merely to "revise the style," and arrange the matter in proper order. On the 12th of the same month they made their report. The preamble, as they reported it, is in the following words: "We, *the people of the United States*, in order to form a more perfect union...." It does not appear that any attempt was made to change this phraseology in any material point, or to reinstate the original. The presumption is, therefore, that the two were considered as substantially the same, particularly as the committee had no authority to make any change except in the style....

There is, however, another and a perfectly conclusive reason for the change of phraseology, from the States by name, to the more general expression "the United States;" and this, too, without supposing that it was intended thereby to convey a different idea as to the parties of the *Constitution*. The revised draft contained a proviso, that the *Constitution* should go into operation when adopted and ratified by nine States. It was, of course, uncertain whether more than nine would adopt it or not, and if they should not, it would be altogether improper to name them as parties to that instrument [emphasis in original].⁽⁴³⁾

The testimony of the framers themselves substantiate Upshur's observations. In response to Patrick Henry's fear that what was being established by the *Constitution* "must be one great consolidated national government of the people of all the States"⁽⁴⁴⁾ — Story's theory of the people in the aggregate — James Madison said:

Who are parties to it? The people — but not the people as composing one great body; but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties: were it, as the gentleman [Henry] asserts, a consolidated government, the assent of a majority of the people would be sufficient for its establishment, and as a majority have adopted it already, the remaining States would be bound by the act of the majority, even if they unanimously reprobated it: were it such a government as is suggested, it would be now binding on the people

of this State [Virginia], without having had the privilege of deliberating upon it; but, sir, no State is bound by it, as it is, without its own consent. Should all the States adopt it, it will be then a government established by the thirteen States of America, not through the intervention of the Legislatures, but by the people at large. In this particular respect the distinction between the existing and proposed governments is very material. The existing system has been derived from the dependent, derivative authority of the Legislatures of the States, whereas this is derived from the superior power of the people.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Elsewhere, Madison added:

The *Constitution* is to be founded on the assent and ratification of the people of America, given by deputies elected for the special purpose; but this assent and ratification is to be given by the people, not as individuals comprising one entire nation, but as composing the distinct and independent States to which they respectively belong. It is to be the assent and ratification of the several States, derived from the supreme authority in each State – the authority of the people themselves. The act, therefore, establishing the *Constitution* will not be a *national*, but a *federal* act.

That it will be a federal, and not a national act, as these terms are understood by objectors, the act of the people, as forming so many independent States, not as forming one aggregate nation, is obvious from this single consideration, that it is to result neither from the decision of a *majority* of the people of the Union, nor from that of a *majority* of the States. It must result from the *unanimous* assent of the several States that are parties to it, differing no otherwise from their ordinary assent than in its being expressed, not by the legislative authority, but by that of the people themselves. Were the people regarded in this transaction as forming one nation, the will of the majority of the whole people of the United States would bind the minority; in the same manner as the majority in each State must bind the minority; and the will of the majority must be determined either by a comparison of the individual votes, or by considering the will of the majority of the States, as evidences of the will of a majority of the people of the United States. Neither of these has been adopted. Each State, in ratifying the *Constitution*, is considered as a sovereign body, independent of all others, and only to be bound by its voluntary act [emphasis in original].⁽⁴⁶⁾

Likewise, Luther Martin, one of the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, commented:

At the separation from the British Empire, the people of America preferred the establishment of themselves into thirteen separate sovereignties instead of incorporating themselves into one: to these they look up for the security of their lives, liberties and properties: to these they must look up. The federal government they formed, to defend the whole against foreign nations, in case of war, and to defend the lesser States against the ambition of the larger: they are afraid of granting powers unnecessarily, lest they should defeat the original end of the Union; lest the powers should prove dangerous to the sovereignties of the particular States which the Union was meant to support....⁽⁴⁷⁾

William Patterson, another delegate who later became Governor of New Jersey, had this to say of the intent of the Convention:

Can we, on this ground, form a national Government? I fancy not. Our commissions give a complexion to the business; and can we suppose that, when we exceed the bounds of our duty, the people will approve our proceedings?

We are met here as the deputies of thirteen independent, sovereign States, for federal purposes. Can we consolidate their sovereignty and form one nation, and annihilate the sovereignties of our States, who have sent us here for other purposes?⁽⁴⁸⁾

Such statements as these are to be found in abundance throughout the writings, public statements, and private correspondence of the people living at the time of the adoption of the *Constitution*, especially those who were instrumental in the actual framing of the document. Since Story and Webster had access to many of these writings, especially the *Federalist Papers*, one is left to conclude that their groundless theories and postulations were the product of a deliberate and pre-meditated attempt to deceive their followers.

Lincoln Resurrects the Monarchical Theory

It was the hopelessly false monarchical theory of Story and Webster which Abraham Lincoln, contrary to the intent of the framers of the *Constitution*, contrary to the disunionist sentiments of prominent members of the Republican party, and contrary even to the pro-secession views expressed at one time by himself on the floor of Congress,⁽⁴⁹⁾ adopted and proclaimed in his first Inaugural Address of 4 March 1861:

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the *Constitution* the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National *Constitution*, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself....

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the *Constitution*. It was formed, in fact, by the *Articles of Association* in 1774. It was matured and continued by the *Declaration of Independence* in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the *Articles of Confederation* in 1778 [sic]. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the *Constitution* was "to form a more perfect Union." But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the *Constitution*, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

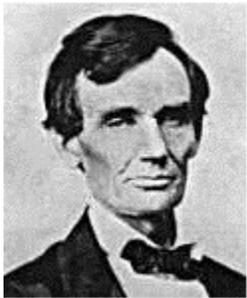
It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the *Constitution* and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the *Constitution* itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. ⁽⁵⁰⁾

Lincoln elaborated on this view in his address to Congress in special session on 4 July 1861:

Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the *Constitution*, no one of them ever having been a State *out* of the Union.... Having never been States, either in substance or in name, *outside* the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of "State rights," asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the "sovereignty" of the States, but the word even is not in the National *Constitution*, nor, as is believed, in any of the State constitutions.... The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this, they can do so only against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than the States, and, in fact, it created them as States [emphasis in original]. ⁽⁵¹⁾

Lincoln, the lawyer, had either not done his homework or had chosen to ignore the clear testimony of the historical record. It was his assertion that no State had "been a State *out* of the Union... either in substance or in name." However, the States of North Carolina and Rhode Island were indeed, both "in substance and in name," out of the Union after the *Constitution* had already been in operation for, in the case of the former, nearly nine months, and in the case of the latter, a full fifteen months. It was hoped that both States would eventually ratify the *Constitution* and thus accede to the Union thereunder, but not a single voice was heard to suggest that either North Carolina or Rhode Island should be treated by the eleven States of the then-existing federal Union as anything less than sovereign political bodies. For example, George Washington, in his capacity as President of the United States, wrote to the Senate on 26 September 1789: "Having yesterday received a letter written in this month by the Governor of Rhode Island, at the request and in behalf of the General Assembly of that State, addressed to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the eleven United States of America in Congress assembled, I take the earliest opportunity of laying a copy of it before you." ⁽⁵²⁾ Portions of the letter mentioned by Washington follow:



State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,
In General Assembly, September Session, 1789.

To the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the eleven United States of America in Congress assembled:

The critical situation in which the people of this State are placed engages us to make these assurances, on their behalf, of their attachment and friendship to their sister States, and of their disposition to cultivate mutual harmony and friendly intercourse. They know themselves to be a handful, comparatively viewed, and, although they now stand as it were alone, they have not separated themselves or departed from the principles of that Confederation, which was formed by the sister States in their struggle for freedom and in the hour of danger....

Our not having acceded to or adopted the new system of government formed and adopted by most of our sister States, we doubt not, has given uneasiness to them. That we have not seen our way clear to it, consistently with our idea of the principles upon which we all embarked together, has also given pain to us. We have not doubted that we might thereby avoid present difficulties, but we have apprehended future mischief....

Can it be thought strange that, with these impressions, they should wait to see the proposed system organized and in operation? — to see what further checks and securities would be agreed to and established by way of amendments, before they could adopt it as a constitution of government for themselves and their posterity?...

We are induced to hope that we shall not be altogether considered as foreigners having no particular affinity or connection with the United States; but that trade and commerce, upon which the prosperity of this State much depends, will be preserved as free and open between this State and the United States, as our different situations at present can possibly admit....

We feel ourselves attached by the strongest ties of friendship, kindred, and interest, to our sister States; and we can not, without the greatest reluctance, look to any other quarter for those advantages of commercial intercourse which we conceive to be more natural and reciprocal between them and us.

I am, at the request and in behalf of the General Assembly, your most obedient, humble servant.

John Collins, Governor ⁽⁵³⁾

In the *Federalist*, Number XLIII, Madison had raised the question, "What relation is to subsist between the nine or more States ratifying the *Constitution*, and the remaining few who do not become parties to it?" The above letter certainly supplied the answer. It could not be clearer to the unbiased reader that it was both unabashedly declared by Governor Collins and accepted without question by the authorities of the eleven United States of America, that, not only did Rhode Island have a lawfully functioning government prior to its entrance into the Union under the *Constitution*, but, as a sovereign State, it was also in all respects foreign to the United States. We have already seen how the people of Rhode Island clung tenaciously to and without equivocation declared their sovereignty in their ratification of the *Constitution* in May of 1790, which, incidentally, was passed by a mere majority of two votes.

Lincoln's claim that the States were never acknowledged in their constitutions as sovereign is also easily disproved. The original constitution of Massachusetts opened with these words: "The people inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of Massachusetts Bay do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body politic, or State, by the name of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts." As we have seen, it was this attribute of sovereignty which was boldly asserted when Massachusetts repeatedly threatened to secede from the Union. The New Hampshire constitution likewise referred to the State as a "free, sovereign, and independent body politic." Of course, it was not necessary for a State to declare itself to be a sovereign power in its own constitution for such a document was but the declared will of the people of such State, in whom the sovereignty resided. It was well understood that, in a republic, as each State was and remained, a constitution may be changed or abolished as the people see fit. Lincoln was apparently under the delusion that the States were created by their constitutions, rather than *vice versa*.

Finally, the absurdity of Lincoln's assertion that the federal *Constitution* nowhere applies the attribute of sovereignty to a State should have been obvious to his audience. The *Constitution* did not need to explicitly refer to the several States as sovereign any more than it was necessary for the constitutions of the States to do so. This was because, in its own words, it was merely a compact entered into "between the States so ratifying the Same."⁽⁵⁴⁾ If the States were sovereign prior to their ratification of the *Constitution*, then they did not somehow lose that sovereignty simply because they failed to so declare themselves in the document of their own creation. We have already discussed how the States had once and for all time declared themselves in the *Declaration of Independence* to be "Free and Independent States," and were acknowledged to be such by King George III when he signed the peace treaty of 1783. In this condition, they asserted "full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do." It was this sovereign right to "contract alliances" that gave birth to the first Union under the *Articles of Confederation* in which document each State expressly reserved "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." This reservation was repeated in the *Constitution*, the Tenth Amendment of which states that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the *Constitution*, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Nowhere in this document did the States surrender any portion of their sovereignty to the new federal Government, nor was it possible for them to have done so since true sovereignty is not an attribute capable of division:

Under the American theory of republican government, conventions of the people, duly elected and accredited as such, are invested with the plenary power inherent in the people of an organized and independent community, assembled in mass. In other words, they represent and exercise what is properly the *sovereignty* of the people. State Legislatures, with restricted powers, do not possess or represent sovereignty. Still less does the Congress of a union or confederacy of States, which is by two degrees removed from the seat of sovereignty. We sometimes read or hear of "delegated sovereignty," "divided sovereignty," with other loose expressions of the same sort; but no such thing as a division or delegation of sovereignty is possible [emphasis in original].⁽⁵⁵⁾

Whatever was done in establishing the *Constitution* of government, must have been done by sovereignty. Of course I speak of voluntary action, *i.e.* free exercise and effectuation of will. So that if any sovereignty was put in the federal pact, sovereignty must, *ex mero motu*, have divided itself. It must have exerted its will, whether it intended to divide itself, or delegate powers. When this will was exerted, the *Constitution* was made and established, and *the said will necessarily existed through the act*. We know, then, that it was not sovereignty, but something else that was put, *by sovereignty*, in the federal pact....

Any thinking man can see that sovereignty's exercise of its right of government is functional, and involves no change of itself, in place, nature, or right, much less does it divide and conquer itself – committing *felo de se* [emphasis in original].⁽⁵⁶⁾

Instead, what the States delegated to their common agent was power to act in certain specifically enumerated instances. Agency never involves an actual transfer of one particle of the principal's sovereignty to the agent; since the latter merely acts in behalf of and in representation of the former, a sovereign agent is an obvious contradiction in terms. In the words of the Supreme Court, "While sovereign powers are delegated to the agencies of government, sovereignty itself remains with the People, by whom and for whom, all government exists and acts."⁽⁵⁷⁾ Hence, we find that the articles establishing each of the three Branches of the Government begin with

the words, "All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States" (Article I), "The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America" (Article II), and "The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish" (Article III).

If one were inclined to use Lincoln's own logic against him, it might be argued that the federal Government cannot be sovereign because the *Constitution* nowhere says that it is so. However, we need not rely upon specious syllogisms to prove our point since the historical record clearly speaks for itself. In the *Federalist*, Number XL, Madison wrote that, under the new system of government, "the States, in all unenumerated cases, are left in the enjoyment of their sovereign and independent jurisdiction," adding that "the great principles of the *Constitution* proposed by the Convention may be considered less as absolutely new, than as the expansion of principles which are found in the *Articles of Confederation*." In Number XLIII, he described the Senate as "a palladium to the residuary sovereignty of the States" — that is, the inherent powers which the States withheld from the general Government. In Number LXXXI of the same series, Alexander Hamilton also stated, without equivocation, that the attribute of sovereignty "is now enjoyed by the government of every State in the Union. Unless, therefore, there is a surrender of this immunity in the plan of the Convention, it will remain with the States...." No such surrender is to be found in *Constitution*, but rather the opposite is clearly declared in the Tenth Amendment.

In addition to Madison and Hamilton, we also have the united testimony of the other members of the 1787 Convention. John Dickinson, who had served as President of Delaware, and later of Pennsylvania, prior to attending the Convention, described the new system as "a confederacy of republics... in which the sovereignty of each state is represented with equal suffrage in one legislative body... and the sovereignties and people... conjointly represented in a president."⁽⁵⁸⁾ Gouverneur Morris, the delegate from Pennsylvania who presided over the Committee on Style which was responsible for the change in the wording of the Preamble, declared some years after the *Constitution* had gone into effect that it was "a compact, not between individuals, but between political societies... each enjoying sovereign power, and, of course, equal rights."⁽⁵⁹⁾ James Wilson, also of Pennsylvania, said that the States under the *Constitution* "confederate[d] anew on better principles" than under the *Articles* and that the resulting government was "a federal body of our own creation." He went on: "Let it be remembered that the business of the federal convention was not local, but general; not limited to the views and establishments of a single state, but co-extensive with the continent, and comprehending the views and establishments of thirteen independent sovereignties."⁽⁶⁰⁾ Tench Coxe, yet another delegate from Pennsylvania, said, "Had the federal convention meant to exclude the idea of union, that is, of several and separate sovereignties joining in a confederacy, they would have said, 'We, the people of America,' for union necessarily involves the idea of competent states, which complete consolidation excludes. But the severalty of the states is frequently recognised in the most distinct manner, in the course of the *Constitution*."⁽⁶¹⁾

Roger Sherman of Connecticut stated that "the government of the United States was instituted by a number of sovereign states for the better security of their rights, and the advancement of their interests."⁽⁶²⁾ Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, at the ratification convention of that State, boldly asserted that "consonant with the second article" of the *Articles of Confederation*, each State in the new Union "retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power... not expressly delegated to the united states."⁽⁶³⁾ These men were saying nothing different than such a noted authority on international law as Emmerich de Vattel, who wrote:

Every nation that governs itself, under what form soever, without any dependence on foreign power, is a sovereign state....

Several sovereign and independent states may unite themselves together by a perpetual confederacy, without each in particular ceasing to be a perfect state. They will form together a federal republic: the deliberations in common will offer no violence to the sovereignty of each member, though they may, in certain aspects, put some restraint on the exercise of it, in virtue of voluntary engagements. A person does not cease to be free and independent, when he is obliged to fulfill the engagements into which he has very willingly entered.⁽⁶⁴⁾

As such, there could be nothing but self-imposed forbearance to keep the people of a State from exercising said sovereignty by withdrawing from the Union which they had entered of their own volition.

Thus, Lincoln's argument against State sovereignty and the right of secession rested upon the fallacious theory of Story and Webster that the American people form one conglomerate political mass, rather than a confederation of distinct political bodies. Furthermore, he interpreted the *Constitution* as if it were the source of political sovereignty, with certain powers being reserved by the same to each State as a king might grant a charter to a body of subjects desiring to form a colony. In light of the massive weight of evidence against such views, it is a wonder that Lincoln was not hooted from his platform by an angry crowd justly feeling their intelligence insulted by such ignorant drivel as was delivered in his first Inaugural Address. It is also no less a wonder that such nonsense was accepted by the Northern people as justification for war against the South. Bernard Janin Sage wrote:

Would to God these perversions and blunders had been as harmless as they are amusing!... These are called "constitutional views!" If "views" at all, they are "views" *afar off* – through the moral mirage of platforms, partisan speeches, and sectional commentaries, which distort every thing, and turn it upside down. Why! if Hamilton, Jay, Washington, Hancock, Franklin, and all those fathers who were so fortunate as to die early, were to re-visit their beloved America, such "views" would astonish them as much as it would to see people standing on their heads, houses inverted, ships "walking the waters," with masts for legs; trees rooted in the sky; rivers running to their sources; or babes giving birth to their parents.

They would find their voluntary union of states to have grown involuntary and indissoluble: states degraded to counties, and returned to a worse than British provincialism; and the *quondam* governmental agency, transmuted to an "absolute supremacy," and swaying the sceptre of an empire! [emphasis in original]⁽⁶⁵⁾

Sovereigns Cannot Rebel Against Their Agent

In his book *The American Union*, which was published in Great Britain just after the start of the war, James Spence asked the following questions:

Assuredly there is no disposition in this country to lean in favour of turmoil; but we cannot realize an act as that of rebellion or treason or piracy, simply because these names are applied to it. We are told that in the United States the people are sovereign. Here is an act committed by many millions of this sovereign people; against whom do they rebel? Can a sovereign, or a large portion of a sovereignty, be a rebel? In the usual meaning of our language rebellion is an act of the subject. Are, then, many millions of the sovereign people of the United States subjects, and to whom? Who is the monarch so supreme that in comparison even the sovereignty of the people may be termed a rebel? Is it the law? But where is the law? Assertions are not laws, nor yet ambitious theories, nor yet conceptions of advantage. Laws are enactments solemn, comprehensive, on known and legible record. Where, then, is the law which the States of the South have broken? And if in America the Government be merely an agent, then, as there exists no law that forbids the secession of a State, against whom or what do they rebel?⁽⁶⁶⁾

These were questions which the demagogues in the North never attempted to answer before marching their troops southward to subjugate sovereign States. Oddly enough, the doctrine of State sovereignty and the right of secession was well understood by leading Republicans until they were all infected with sudden mass amnesia by Lincoln's first Inaugural Address. For example, on 20 March 1850, William Seward, author of "The Irrepressible Conflict," stated, "Every man in this country, every man in Christendom, who knows anything of the philosophy of government, knows that this republic has been thus successful only by reason of the stability, strength, and greatness, of the individual States."⁽⁶⁷⁾

On 9 November 1860, the editors of the New York *Herald* put these words into print: "The current of opinion seems to set strongly in favor of reconstruction, and leaving out the New England States. These latter are thought to be so fanatical it would be impossible there would be any peace under a Government to which they are parties."⁽⁶⁸⁾ Two days later, they continued: "The South has an undeniable right to secede from the Union. In the event of secession, the City of New York, the State of New Jersey, and very likely Connecticut, will separate from New England, where the black man is put on a pinnacle above the white. New York City is for the Union first, and for the gallant and chivalrous South afterwards."⁽⁶⁹⁾ Also on the ninth of November, Horace Greeley, editor of the Republican organ, the New York *Tribune*, expressed much the same sentiments:

If the cotton States consider the value of the Union debatable, we maintain their perfect right to discuss it; nay, we hold with Jefferson, to the inalienable right of communities to alter or abolish forms of government that have become oppressive or injurious: and if the cotton States decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless; and we do not see how one party can have a right to do what another party has a right to prevent. We must ever resist the asserted right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof: to withdraw from the Union is quite another matter. And, whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep her in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets.⁽⁷⁰⁾



On the seventeenth of December, only three days before the secession of South Carolina, he continued, "If it [the *Declaration of Independence*] justified the secession from the British Empire of three millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southrons from the Federal Union in 1861. If we are mistaken on this point, why does not some one attempt to show wherein and why?"⁽⁷¹⁾ Of course, none of Greeley's fellow Republicans dared take up his challenge until after war hysteria had seized the North four months later, because they knew that the historical and constitutional evidence would not have led rational minds to any other conclusion. Wendell Phillips, for example, responded to news of the secession of the Gulf States with these words: "'The covenant with death' is annulled; 'the agreement with hell' is broken to pieces. The chain which has held the slave system since 1787 is parted. Thirty years ago, Southern leaders,

sixteen years ago, Northern Abolitionists, announced their purpose to seek the dissolution of the American Union. Who dreamed that success would come so soon?"⁽⁷²⁾ Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts said, "Nothing can possibly be so horrible, so wicked or so foolish as a war on the South."⁽⁷³⁾ Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, who was even more vocal in declaring "the States in their sovereignty" to be "the judge in the last resort of the violation of the *Constitution* of the United States," asserted "the rights of the States to protect their own citizens" against efforts "to consolidate this government into a miserable despotism."⁽⁷⁴⁾ On 4 December 1856, he had this to say on the floor of the Senate:

If they [the Southern people] do not feel interested in upholding this Union – if it really entrenches on their rights – if it endangers their institutions to such an extent that they cannot feel secure under it – if their interests are violently assailed by the means of this Union, I am not one of those who expect that they will long continue under it. I am not one of those who ask them to continue in such a Union. It would be doing violence to the platform of the party to which I belong. We have adopted the old *Declaration of Independence* as the basis of our political movements, which declares that any people, when their Government ceases to protect their rights, when it is so subverted from the true purposes of government as to oppress them, have the right to recur to fundamental principles, and if need be, to destroy the Government under which they live, and to erect upon its ruins another conducive to their welfare. I hold that they have this right. I will not blame any people for exercising it, whenever they think the contingency has come. I certainly shall be an advocate of that same doctrine whenever I find that the principles of this Government have become so oppressive to the section to which I belong, that a free people ought not longer to endure it.... I hope the Union will continue forever. I believe it may continue forever. I see nothing at present which I think should dissolve it; but if other gentlemen see it, I say again that they have the same interest in maintaining this Union, in my judgment, as we of the North have. If they think they have not, be it so. You cannot forcibly hold men in the Union; for the attempt to do so, it seems to me, would subvert the first principles of the Government under which we live.⁽⁷⁵⁾

On the eighteenth of December, 1860, he again stated, "I do not... so much blame the people of the South; because they believe, and they are led to believe by all the information that comes before them, that we, the dominant party to-day, who have just seized upon the reins of this Government, are their mortal enemies, and stand ready to trample their institutions under foot."⁽⁷⁶⁾ Wade's feigned sympathy was hardly convincing, for it had been the prominent members of the "dominant party" themselves, repeatedly in their own speeches and published works, who had led the Southern people to view them as "mortal enemies." The Senator's hypocrisy was further demonstrated when he made the following statements after the war had commenced:

And, after all this, to talk of a Union! Sir, I have said you have no Union. I say you have no Union to-day worthy of the name. I am here a conservative man, knowing, as I do, that the only salvation to your Union is that you divest it entirely from all the taints of slavery. If we can't have that, then I go for no Union at all; but I go for a – fight!⁽⁷⁷⁾

I would reduce the aristocratic slaveholders to utter poverty. I know they are conceited; I know they are essentially aristocratic. I am fully persuaded that their minds and their feelings are so in antagonism to Republican Democratic doctrines that it is impossible to reconcile them, and we shall never have peace until we have reduced the leaders to utter poverty, and taken thereby their influence away. I am for doing it. It ought to be done.⁽⁷⁸⁾

In light of these facts, we must ask the question, Did the States of the North possess the right "to protect their own citizens" from "the violation of the *Constitution* of the United States" – or worse, from the threatened wholesale murder of helpless women and children – while the States of the South were somehow destitute of this right? Apparently so, for it should be noted that Greeley, Phillips, Sumner, and Wade would, only a few months later, become the most vicious mouthpieces of Republican hatred of the Southern people, calling for, at least in Wade's case, their utter destruction as a just punishment for merely asserting and acting upon the very ideals expressed by the Chicago Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln in 1860:

Resolved, 1. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.⁽⁷⁹⁾

On his way to Washington, D.C. to be inaugurated as President of the United States, Lincoln further elaborated on his party's platform in an address before the Indiana State legislature on 12 February 1861: "What is 'invasion'? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent toward them be 'invasion'? I certainly think it would, and it would be 'coercion' also if South Carolinians were forced to submit."⁽⁸⁰⁾ As we shall see, Lincoln was a criminal by his party's and his own definition of the word.

Endnotes

1. Albert Taylor Bledsoe, *Is Davis a Traitor?* (Richmond, Virginia: The Hermitage Press, Inc., 1907), page 1.
2. Abraham Lincoln, quoted by Paul S. Whitcomb, "Lincoln and Democracy," *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*, July 1927; reprinted in Minor, *Real Lincoln*,

page 255.

3. Justice Robert C. Grier, December 1862, *U.S. Reports*, Volume 67, page 668.
4. John Andrews, excerpt from a speech delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston; quoted by the New York *Herald*, December 1859.
5. Henry Cabot Lodge, *Daniel Webster* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1899), page 176.
6. George Washington, letter to General Pinckney, 28 June 1788; quoted by Sage, *Republic of Republics*, page 248.
7. Washington, letter to Sir Edward Newenham, 20 July 1788; quoted by Sage, *ibid.*, page 251.
8. Washington, letter to David Stuart, 17 October 1787; quoted by Sage, *ibid.*, page 247.
9. Washington, letter to Count Rochambeau, 8 January 1788; quoted by Sage, *ibid.*, page 248.
10. Washington, letter to General Knox, 17 June 1788; quoted by Sage, *ibid.*, pages 249-250.
11. Washington, letter to Pinckney, 28 June 1788; quoted by Sage, *ibid.*, page 250.
12. Madison, *Federalist Papers*, Number XLIII.
13. Madison, *ibid.*
14. Madison, *ibid.*, Number XLV.
15. Madison, letter to Spencer Roane, 29 June 1821; in *The Writings of James Madison* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), Volume IX, page 66.
16. Madison, address to the Virginia Legislature in December, 1798; quoted by McHenry, *Cotton Trade*, page xxxii.
17. Madison, letter to the *North American Review*, 28 August 1830; quoted in Marvin Meyers (editor), *The Mind of the Founder: Sources of the Political Thought of James Madison* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1973), page 529.
18. Thomas Jefferson, *Kentucky Resolutions*, 10 November 1798.
19. Morris, speech delivered on 12 July 1787; quoted by Scott, *Lost Principle*, page 44.
20. Hamilton, *Federalist Papers*, Number IX.
21. George Ticknor Curtis, *History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1855), Volume II, pages 181-182.
22. Edgar S. Dudley, "Was 'Secession' Taught at West Point?", *The Century Magazine* (New York, 1909), Volume LXXVIII, page 635. In his biography of Robert E. Lee, Douglas Southall Freeman mentioned the tradition that Rawle's book was used at West Point beyond 1826 (*R.E. Lee: A Biography* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935], Volume One, page 79). For example, Dabney H. Maury, who graduated in 1846, claimed that the book was used at West Point as late as 1861 ("West Point and Secession," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 6 [July-December, 1878], page 249).
23. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1897), Volume VII, page 442.
24. William Rawle, *A View of the Constitution of United States of America* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Philip H. Nicklin and Company, second edition, 1829), pages 296, 302.
25. Virginia Ordinance of Ratification, 25 June 1788; in Elliott, *Debates in the Several State Conventions*, Volume V, page 3.
26. New York Ordinance of Ratification; in U.S. Government, *Documentary History of the United States Constitution* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 1894), Volume II, page 191.
27. Rhode Island Ordinance of Ratification; in *ibid.*, Volume II, page 311, 316.
28. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Volume I, page 173.
29. Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray and Company, 1833).
30. Daniel Webster, in Benton, *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*, Volume X, page 448. With this assertion, Webster contradicted his earlier, and correct, assertions in an address to the citizens of Boston on 15 December 1819, not only that the States enjoyed "the exclusive possession of sovereignty" within their own boundaries, but that "the only parties to the *Constitution*, contemplated by it originally, were the thirteen confederated States" and that the *Constitution* "rests on compact" (quoted by Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Volume I, page 166).
31. Webster, in Benton, *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*, Volume IX, Part I, pages 556, 566.
32. C. Chauncey Burr, "Introduction," in Abel P. Upshur, *The True Nature and Character of Our Federal Government* (New York: Van Evrie, Horton and Company, [1840] 1868), page i.
33. Burr, in Upshur, *ibid.*, page iii.
34. Upshur, *ibid.*, pages 22-23.
35. Judson A. Landon, *The Constitutional History and Government of the United States* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905), page 59.
36. James Wilson, quoted by T.R. Fehrenbach, *Greatness to Spare* (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1968), page 107.
37. *Ware v. Hylton* (1796), 3 Dallas 224.
38. Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution*, Volume I, page 197.
39. Upshur, *Our Federal Government*, pages 53-55.
40. Thomas M. Cooley, quoted by Ewing, *Northern Rebellion*, page 12.
41. James Monroe, quoted by Ewing, *ibid.*, page 15.
42. Jonathan Elliott (editor), *Journal and Debates of the Federal Convention* (Washington, D.C.: self-published, 1836), Volume I, page 255.
43. Upshur, *Our Federal Government*, pages 70-72.
44. Patrick Henry, in Elliott, *Journal and Debates*, Volume III, page 54.
45. James Madison, in Elliott, *ibid.*, pages 114-115.
46. Madison, *Federalist Papers*, Number XXXIX.
47. Luther Martin, speech delivered on 20 June 1787; in Madison, *Notes of Debate in the Federal Convention*, Volume I, page 205.
48. William Patterson, in Madison, *ibid.*, page 76.
49. Let the reader consider the words of Lincoln himself: Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right — a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people, that can, may revolutionize, and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit (excerpt from a speech delivered in Congress on 12 January 1848; *Congressional Globe*, Volume XIX, page 94).

Technically, Lincoln was referring to the "right of revolution" stated in the *Declaration of Independence* rather than the right of a State under the *Constitution* to secede from the Union. This was just one of the many times he displayed his bent for inconsistencies. If the thirteen colonies had a

right to secede from the British Crown to whom they were *subject*, why did not the thirteen Southern States have the right to peacefully withdraw from their sister States with whom they were *co-equals*? If the political condition of the States in 1861 was more mature than it had been in 1776, then so was their right of secession. If the right of secession existed under the royal charters which gave them existence, then it also existed under a *Constitution* which they, by an act of their sovereign ratification, had brought into existence. The logic is inescapable even though it was later lost on Lincoln when he was President.

50. Lincoln, First Inaugural Address, in *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States From George Washington to George Bush* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989).
51. Lincoln, address to Congress in special session; in Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Volume VII, page 3228.
52. George Washington, letter to Congress, 26 September 1789. This document appears under the title "Rhode Island desires to maintain friendly relations with the United States" in *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, Volume I, page 9.
53. Rhode Island Governor John Collins, letter to The President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the eleven United States of America in Congress assembled; in *ibid.*, page 10.
54. U.S. *Constitution*, Article VII.
55. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Volume I, page 99.
56. Sage, *Republic of Republics*, pages 328, 329. See also Emmerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations: Principles of the Law of Nature Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns* (New York: Samuel Campbell, 1796), Book I, Chapter 1, Section 65; Francis Lieber, *Civil Liberty and Self Government* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J.B. Lippincott and Company, 1859), page 156.
57. *Yick Wo vs. Hopkins and Woo Lee vs. Hopkins* (1886), 118 U.S. 356.
58. John Dickinson, *The Political Writings of John Dickinson, Esquire* (Wilmington, Delaware: Bonsol and Niles, 1801), Volume II, page 107.
59. Gouverneur Morris, quoted by Jared Sparks, *Life of Gouverneur Morris With Selections From His Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers* (Boston: Gary and Bowen, 1832), Volume III, page 193.
60. James Wilson, in Elliott, *Debates in the Several State Conventions*, Volume II, page 443.
61. Tench Coxe, quoted by Sage, *Republic of Republics*, page 47.
62. Roger Sherman, quoted by Sage, *ibid.*, page 48.
63. Samuel Adams, in Elliott, *Debates in the Several State Conventions*, Volume II, page 131.
64. Vattel, *Law of Nations*, Book I, Chapter I, Sections 4, 10.
65. Sage, *Republic of Republics*, pages 238-239.
66. Spence, *American Union*, pages 290-291.
67. William H. Seward, quoted by Spence, *ibid*, page 230.
68. New York *Herald*, 9 November 1860; quoted by Edmonds, *Facts and Falsehoods*, page 180.
69. New York *Herald*, 11 November 1860; quoted by Edmonds, *ibid.*, page 176.
70. New York *Tribune*, 9 November 1860; quoted by Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict* (Hartford, Connecticut: O.D. Chase, 1866), Volume I, page 359.
71. New York *Tribune*, 17 December 1860; quoted by George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan, Fifteenth President of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883), Volume II, page 430.
72. Phillips, speech delivered on 20 January 1861; in Phillips, *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters*, page 343.
73. Charles Sumner, quoted by *North American Review* (October, 1879), page 378.
74. Benjamin F. Wade, quoted by Hunter McGuire and George L. Christian, *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War Between the States* (Richmond, Virginia: L.H. Jenkins, Inc., 1907), page 43.
75. Wade, speech delivered in the Senate on 4 December 1856; *Congressional Globe* (Thirty-Four Congress, Third Session), page 25.
76. Wade, speech delivered in the Senate on 17 December 1860; *ibid.* (Thirty-Sixth Congress, Second Session), page 100.
77. Wade, quoted by Lunt, *Origin of the Late War*, page 388.
78. Wade, speech delivered in the Senate on 25 June 1862; quoted by Carpenter, *Logic of History*, page 91.
79. Thomas Hudson McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms of All Political Parties 1789-1900* (Baltimore, Maryland: Friedenwald Company, 1900), page 68.
80. Lincoln, address to the Indiana State Legislature on 12 February 1861; in *Harper's Weekly*, 23 February 1861, page 119; Greeley, *American Conflict*, Volume I, page 419.

PART TWO:

Abraham Lincoln and the birth of the modern empire

Chapter 7

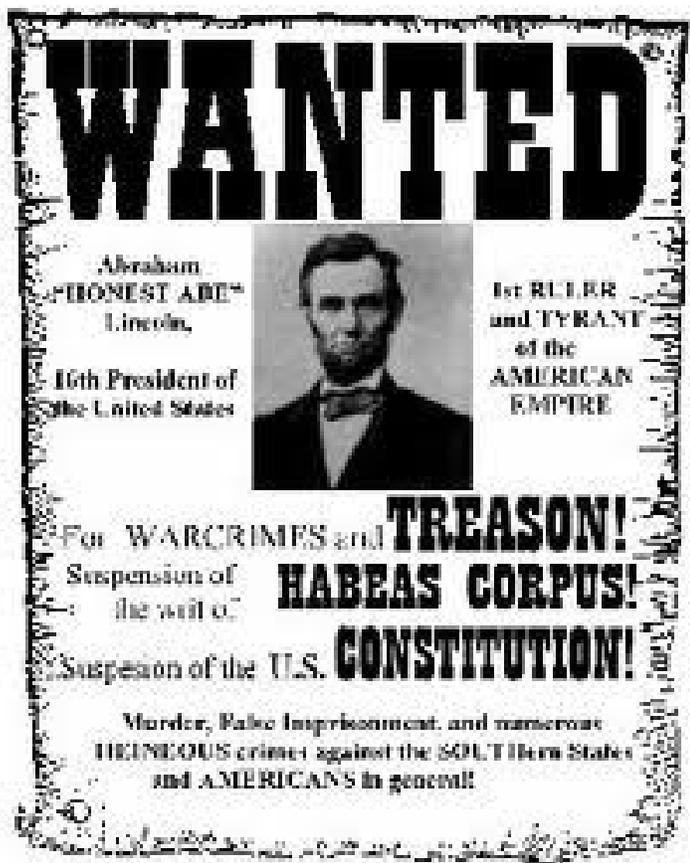
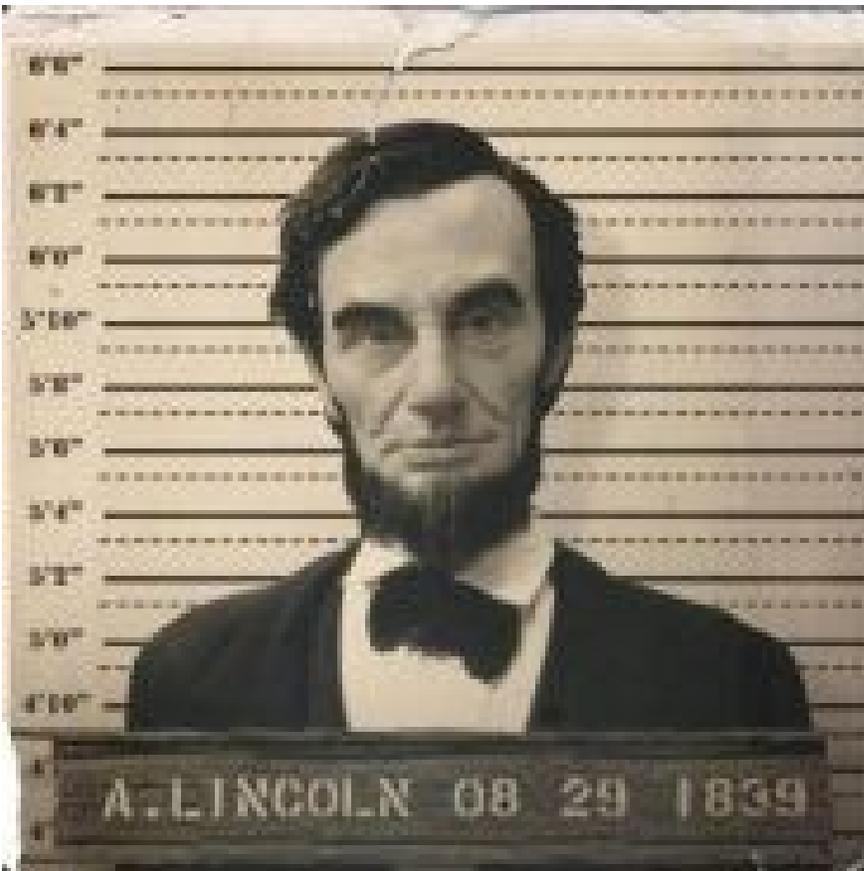
State Sovereignty and the Right of Secession

SUPPORTING DOCUMENT:

John C. Calhoun's Response to Daniel Webster

SUPPLEMENTARY ESSAY:

The Constitutional Right of Secession



WAR CRIMINAL

Honest old Abe, when the war first began,
Denied abolition was part of his plan;
Honest old Abe has since made a decree,
The war must go on till the slaves are all free.
As both can't be honest, will someone tell how,
If honest Abe then, he is honest Abe now?

-Anti-Lincoln rhyme, c. 1863

Blessed is
the nation

whose

God is the
Lord



Gene Expression

Are genes the key to the Yankee Empire?

By Razib Khan |



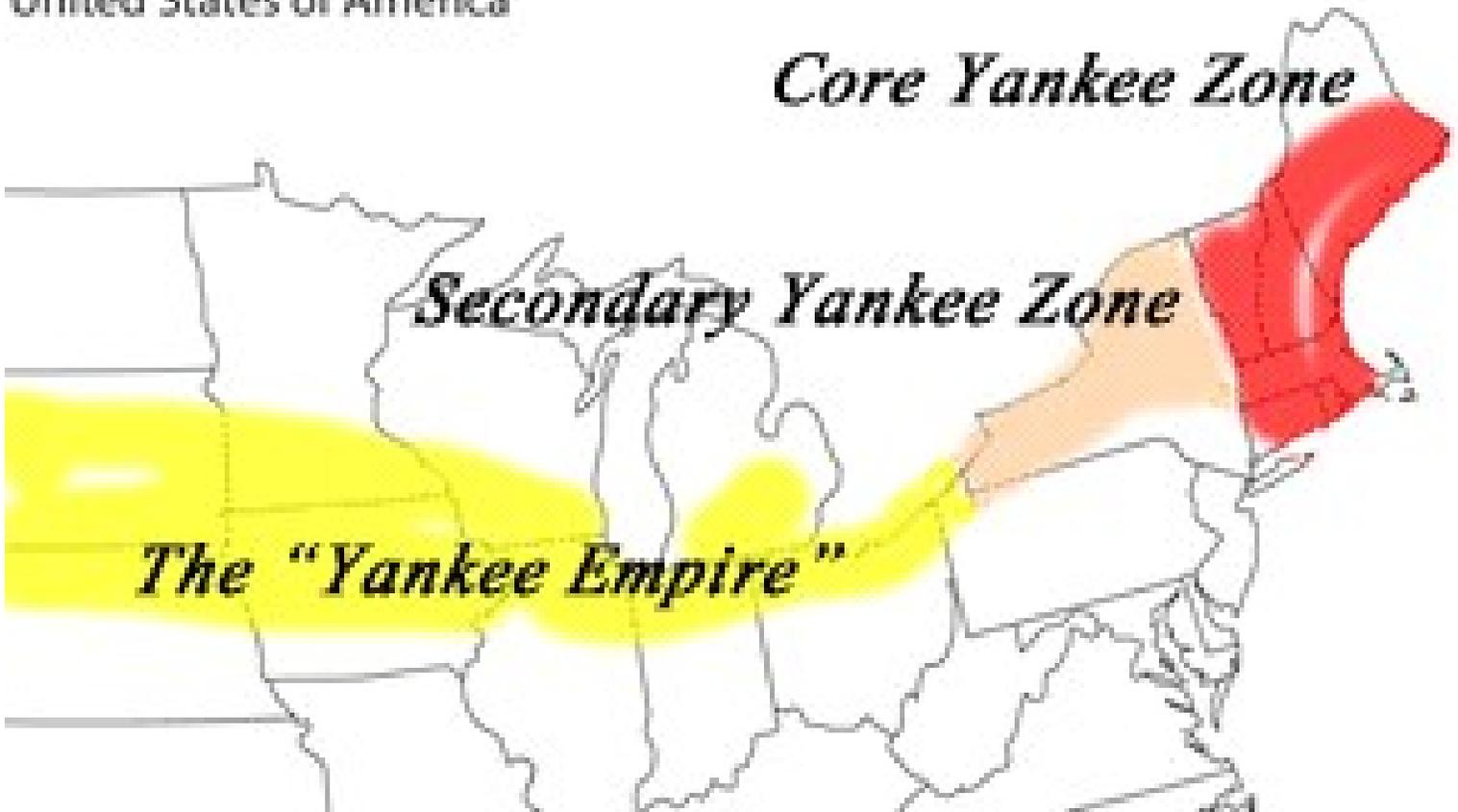
That's the question [a commenter poses](#), albeit with skepticism. First, the background here. New England was a peculiar society for various demographic reasons. In the early 17th century there was a mass migration of Puritan Protestants from England to the colonies which later became New England because of their religious dissent from the manner in which the Stuart kings were changing the nature of the British Protestant church.* Famously, these colonies were themselves not aiming to allow for the flourishing of religious pluralism, with the exception of [Rhode Island](#). New England maintained established state churches longer than other regions of the nation, down into the early decades of the 19th century.

Between [1630 and 1640](#) about ~20,000 English arrived on the northeastern fringe of British settlement in North America. With the rise of co-religionists to power [in the mid-17th century](#) a minority of these emigres engaged in reverse-migration. After the mid-17th century migration by and large ceased. Unlike the Southern colonies these settlements did not have the same opportunities for frontiersmen across a broad and ecological diverse hinterland, and its cultural mores were decidedly more constrained than the cosmopolitan Middle Atlantic. The growth in population in New England from the low tens of thousands to close to 1 million in the late 18th century **was one of endogenous natural increase from the founding stock.**

This high fertility regime persisted down into the middle of the 19th century, as the core New England region hit its Malthusian limit, and flooded over into upstate New York, to the irritation of the older Dutch population in that region. Eventually even New York was not enough, and New England swept out across much of the [Old Northwest](#). The last became the "[Yankee Empire](#)," founded by Yankees, but later demographically supplemented and superseded in its western reaches by immigrants from northwest Europe who shared many of the same biases toward order and moral probity which were the hallmarks of Yankees in the early Republic.

While the Yankees were waxing in numbers, and **arguably cultural influence**, the first decades of the American Republic also saw the waning of New England power and influence in relation to the South in the domain of politics. This led even to the aborted movement to **secede from the union** by the New England states in the first decade of the century. By the time of **Andrew Jackson** an ascendant Democrat configuration which aligned Southern uplanders and lowlanders with elements of the Middle Atlantic resistant to Yankee cultural pretension and demographic expansion would coalesce

United States of America



and dominate American politics down to the Civil War. It is illustrative that one of the prominent Northern figures in this alliance, President **Martin Van Buren**, was of Dutch New York background.

But this is a case where demographics was ultimate destiny. Not only were the Yankees fecund, but immigrants such as the German liberals fleeing the failures of the tumult of **1848** (e.g., **Carl Schurz**) were aligned with their anti-slavery enthusiasms (though they often took umbrage at the anti-alcohol stance of the Puritan moralists of the age, familiarizing the nation with beer in the 1840s). The Southern political ascendancy was simply not tenable in the face of Northern demographic robustness, fueled by both fertility and immigration. Because of overreach on the part of the Southern elite the segments of the Northern coalition which were opposed to the Yankees eventually fractured (Martin Van Buren allowed himself to be candidate for the anti-slavery Free Soil party at one point). Though there remained Northern Democrats down to the Civil War, often drawn from the **"butternuts"** whose ultimate origins were in the Border South, that period saw the shift in national politics from Democrat to Republican dominance (at least up the New Deal). Curiously, the coalition was an inversion of the earlier coalition, with Yankees now being integral constituents in a broader Northern and Midwestern movement, and Southerners being marginalized as the odd-men-out.



I review all this ethno-history because I think that to a great extent it is part of the **"Dark Matter"** of American political and social dynamics. Americans are known as "Yankees" to the rest of the world, and yet the reality is that the Yankee was one specific and very distinctive folkway on

the American scene. But, that folkway has been very influential, often in a cryptic fashion.

Both Barack H. Obama and George W. Bush are not culturally identified as Yankees in a narrow sense. Obama is a self-identified black American who has adopted the Chicago's South Side as his community. The **South Side** is home to black culture which descends from those who arrived at the terminus of their own **Great Migration** from the American South. George W. Bush fancies himself a West Texan and a cowboy. He was governor of Texas, and makes his residence in Dallas, while much of his young adulthood was spent in Midland. But the reality is that both of these men have Yankee antecedents. This is clear in Bush's case. His father is a quintessential Connecticut Yankee. Bush is the product of **Andover Academy**, Yale, and Harvard (by and large thanks to family connections). Barack H. Obama is a different case entirely. His racial identity as a black American is salient, but he grew up in one of the far flung outposts of the Yankee Empire, **Hawaii**. But perhaps more curiously, many of his mother's ancestors were clearly Yankees. Obama has a **great-grandfather** named Ralph Waldo Emerson Dunham.



Within and outside of the United States there is often a stereotype that white Americans are an amorphous whole, a uniform *herrenvolk* who oppressed the black minority. This ideology was actually to some extent at the heart of the dominance of the early Democratic party before the rise of the Republicans fractured the coalition along sectional lines. In many Northern states one saw populist Democrats revoking property rights which were race-blind with universal white male suffrage. But white Americans, and Anglo-Americans of British stock at that, were not one. That was clear by the 1850s at the latest. And they exhibit a substantial amount of cultural variation which remains relevant today.

New England in particular stands out over the long historical scale. **In many ways of the all the colonies of Great Britain it was the most peculiar in its relationship to the metropole.** Unlike Australia or Canada it was not an open frontier, rich with natural resources which could absorb the demographic surplus of Britain. Unlike India it was not a possible source of rents from teeming culturally alien subjects. Unlike the South in the mid-19th century **there was no complementary trade** relationship. In economic terms New England was a potential and incipient rival to Old England. In cultural and social terms it may have aped Old England, but its "low church" Protestant orientation made it a throwback, and out of step with a metropole which was becoming more comfortable with the English **Magisterial Reformation** (which eventually led to the emergence of Anglo-Catholicism in the 19th century). Like modern day Japan, and England of its day, New England had to generate wealth from its human capital, its own ingenuity. This resulted in an inevitable conflict with the mother country, whose niche it was attempting to occupy (albeit, with exceptions, such as the early 19th century, before the rise of robust indigenous industry, and the reliance on trade). Today the American republic has pushed England aside as the center of the **Anglosphere**. And despite the romantic allure of the frontier and the surfeit of natural resources, it is ultimately defined by the spirit of Yankee ingenuity (rivaled by the cowboy, whose violent individualist ethos seems straight out of the Scots-Irish folklore of the South, transposed to the West).

What does this have to do with genetics? Let's go back to the initial colonial period. **As I've noted before: the Yankee colonies of New England engaged in selective immigration policies.** Not only did they draw Puritan dissenters, but they were biased toward nuclear family units of middling background. By "middling," that probably refers at least toward the upper quarter of English society of the period. They were literate, with at least some value-added skills. This is in contrast with the Irish Catholic migration of the 19th century, which emptied out Ireland of its tenant peasants

(attempts to turn these Irish **into yeoman farmers** in the Midwest failed, with fiascoes such as the consumption of their seed corn and cattle over harsh Minnesota winters).

So the question is this: **could “middle class” values be heritable?** Yes, to some extent they are. Almost all behavioral tendencies are heritable to **some extent**. Adoption studies **are clear on that**. But, is one generation of selection sufficient to result in a long term shift? First, let's dismiss the possibility of random genetic drift and therefore a bottleneck. The one generation shift in allele frequencies due to drift is inversely proportional to effective population. If you assume that effective population is ~5,000, then the inverse of that is 0.0002. So you'd expect the allele frequency at any given locus shift by only a tiny fraction. So we have to look to selection.

Let's do some quick “back of the envelop” calculations. We'll use IQ as a proxy for a whole host of numbers because the numbers will at least be concrete, though the underlying logic of a quantitative continuous trait remains the same. First, the assumptions:

- Truncation selection on the trait which lops off the bottom 75 percent of the class distribution
- A correlation between the trait and genetic variation, so that you lop off the bottom 50 percent of the IQ distribution
- A heritability of IQ of 0.50

The top 50 percent of the IQ distribution has a median/mean IQ of ~110. Assuming 0.50 heritability implies half way regression back to the mean. Therefore, this model predicts that one generation of selection would entail a median IQ of 105 in the second generation, about 1/3 of a standard deviation above the norm in England.

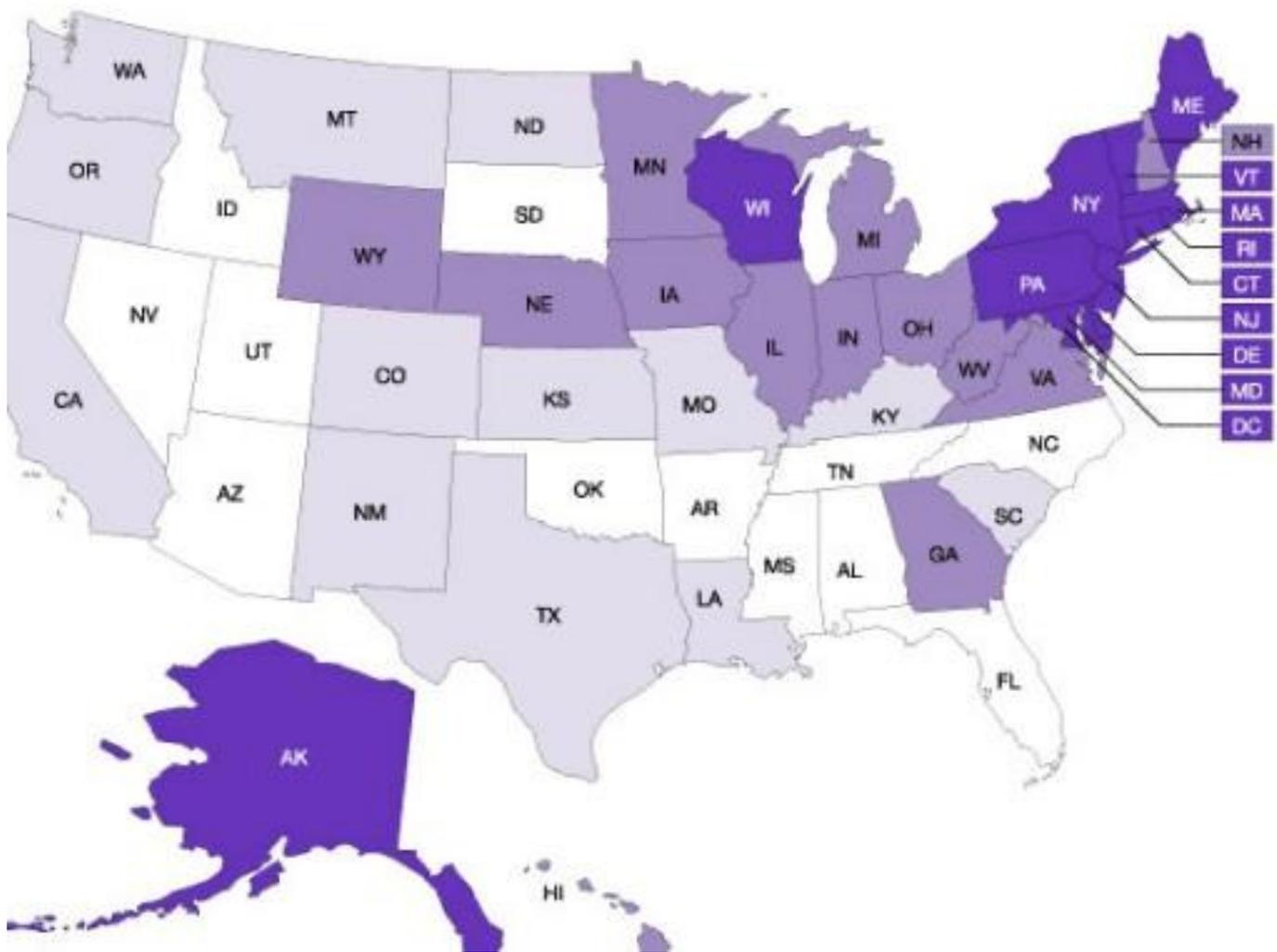
Is this plausible, and could it result in the differences we see across American white ethnic groups? It is possible, but there are reasons to be skeptical. I think my guess of the top 25 percent of the class distribution is defensible from all I've read. But the correlation of this with IQ is probably going to be lower in the pre-modern era than today, where you have meritocratic institutions which channel people of different aptitudes. Second, the heritability of IQ was probably lower back then than now, because of wide environmental variance. Please note, I don't dismiss the genetic explanation out of hand. **Rather, this is a case where there are so many uncertainties that I'm not inclined to say much more than that it is possible, and that we may have an answer in the coming decades with widespread genomic sequencing.**

But there's another option, which is on the face of it is more easy to take in because so many of the parameters are well known and have been thoroughly examined. **And that's cultural selection.** While we have to guess at the IQ distributions of the early Puritans, we know about the distribution of their cultural tendencies. They were almost all Calvinists, disproportionately literate. Because of its flexible nature culture can generate enormous inter-group differences in phenotypic variation. The genetic difference between New England and Virginia may have been small, but the cultural difference was wide (e.g., Yankee thrift vs. Cavalier generosity). Yankees who relocated to the South would assimilate Southern values, and the reverse (there is some suggestion that South Carolinian **John C. Calhoun's** Unitarianism may have been influenced by his time at Yale, though overall it was obviously acceptable to the Deist inclined Southern elite of the period).

Before New England human societies had an expectation that there would be a literate segment, and an illiterate one. By and large the substantial majority would be illiterate. In the Bronze Age world the scribal castes had almost a magic power by virtue of their mastery of the abstruse cuneiform and hieroglyph scripts. The rise of the alphabet (outside of East Asia) made literacy more accessible, but it seems likely that the majority of ancient populations, even in literary capitals such as Athens, were

functionally illiterate. A small minority was sufficient for the production, dissemination, and propagation of literary works. Many ancient books were written with the ultimate understanding that their wider “reading” was going to occur in public forums where crowds gathered to listen to a reader. The printing press changed this with the possibility for at least nominal ownership of books by those with marginal surplus, the middle class. By limiting migration to these elements with the means to buy books, as well as an emphasis on reading the Bible common to scriptural Protestants, you had a society where the majority could be readers in the public forum.

What were the positive cultural feedback loops generated? And what sort of cultural dampeners may have allowed for the new stable cultural equilibrium to persist down the centuries? These are open questions, but they need to be explored. I’ll leave you with a map of public school expenditures in 2003. In the 1840s and 1850s one of the more notable aspects of the opening of the Western frontier with the huge difference between states settled by Yankees, such as Michigan, and those settled by Southerners, such as Arkansas. Both states were settled contemporaneously, but while Michigan had



numerous grammar schools, Arkansas had hardly any....

* British Protestantism has shifted several times from a more “Catholic” to “Radical Protestant” direction. Its peak in officially sanctioned Radical Protestantism was probably during the reign of **Edward VI**, decades before the Stuart kings (the exception being **the republic**)

<http://blogs.discovermagazine.com/gnxp/2011/12/are-genes-the-key-to-the-yankee-empire/#.UdJ8qT6II2I>

Mary Custis Lee Challenges Streetcar Segregation



Mary Custis Lee in 1914, taken 12 years after her arrest. It appears she chose to travel by motor car this time. (Photo source: Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress)

On the evening of June 13, 1902, Mary Custis Lee was arrested on an Alexandria streetcar for sitting in the section reserved for black patrons. As the daughter of Robert E. Lee, the General of the Confederate Army, the incident caused quite a stir within the community.

On her way to visit a friend, and being burdened with many large bags, Miss Lee chose to sit near the rear of the car in order to easily exit upon arriving at her destination. Shortly after she sat down the conductor Thomas Chauncey “explained the Virginia law on the subject, but being ignorant of the existence of the law herself, and also being loth [sic] to move her baggage, she protested.” At that time, Chauncey let her stay seated.

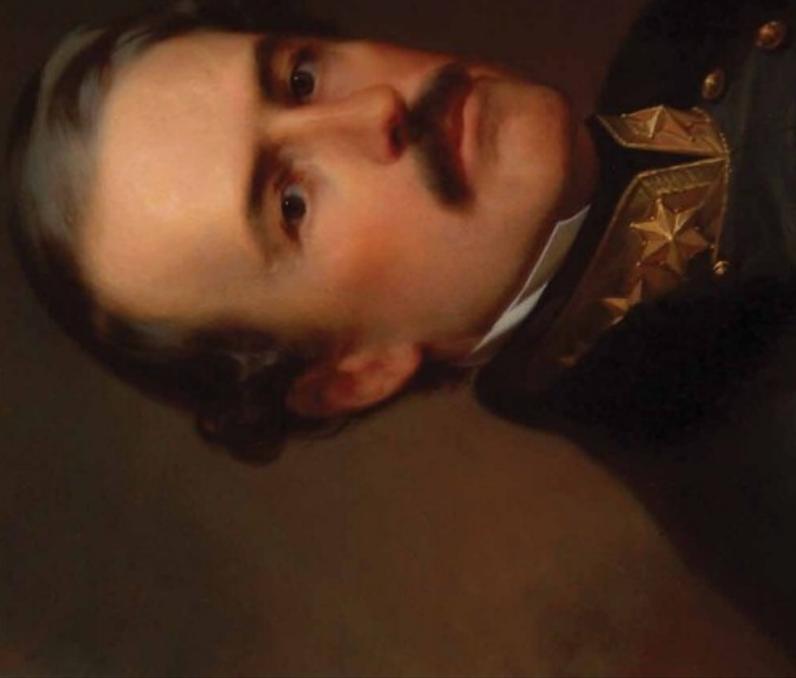
At the next stop, a black man boarded the car. The conductor stated that Miss Lee “was occupying a seat to which he was entitled under the law” and asked her once again to move to the front section, which was reserved for whites. But, even after being threatened with arrest, Miss Lee refused to give up her seat.

Upon exiting the streetcar a few stops later, she was met by two police officers who informed her she was under arrest. Officers Bettis and Sherwood escorted Miss Lee to the station. “In front of the police station, Miss Lee appeared calm, but was evidently concealing her embarrassment with great effort.” As other streetcar passengers and onlookers realized who she was, crowds began to form.

Several “gray-haired men, many of whom had doubtless served under her father” protested against Miss Lee’s holding. Confronted with the dilemma of arresting a woman of Miss Lee’s status, she was released under the condition that she appears for a court hearing the next day.

To The Evening Star, Miss Lee claimed “she knew nothing about the law requiring the separation of white and colored passengers”. While it sounds like a classic excuse, this is at least somewhat plausible. The local government had only recently adopted streetcar segregation laws and it is likely that many were still adjusting to the new regulations, which were not common at the time. In fact, as of 1902, Alexandria and Fairfax were the only localities within Virginia which mandated that blacks and whites sit in separate areas of streetcars. Statewide segregation on rail lines wouldn’t happen until 1906.

The Mind and Method of a Great American Soldier



ROBERT E. LEE AT WAR

By Scott Bowden

Volume Two: Hope Arises From Despair

THE NEXT EXCITING INSTALLMENT IN THE LANDMARK SERIES!

ROBERT E. LEE AT WAR

THE MIND AND METHOD OF A GREAT AMERICAN SOLDIER

BY AWARD-WINNING AUTHOR SCOTT BOWDEN

"The presence of the enemy in front of the capital, the great interests involved, and the existence of all that is dear to us appeal in terms too strong to be unheard, and [General Lee] feels assured that every man has resolved to...Conquer or Die in the approaching contest." —Special Orders, No. 22, June 1, 1862



Richmond, Virginia, late spring, 1862. A powerful enemy is at the gates of a young republic's capital. An inherited force, outnumbered and haphazardly-organized, representing a collection of fiercely independent individuals forming disparate congeries lacking almost everything, save courage, has to be willfully molded into

a real army, lest the capital falls and the war lost. A chief executive whose own history and personality has combined to resist employing in any meaningful way the man to which he must now turn—the same man Abraham Lincoln had first sought more than a year earlier to lead the principal army of the Federal government. So much at stake. So little time in which to prepare. So unimaginable the consequences of failure. So breathtaking the possibilities resulting from victory.

Robert E. Lee at War: Hope Arises From Despair is an indispensable volume for anyone interested in Lee's first summer as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, and encompasses the period from June 1, 1862—the day Lee ascended to army command—through the end of the summer. Lee's Herculean efforts to save Richmond, change the course of the war in the East and create the conditions by which the Confederacy might attain its political imperative takes the reader through Lee's first three campaigns—The Seven Days, Second Manassas and Maryland. Utilizing fresh analytical insights and rigorous contextualization, the memorable story that emerges of Lee's generalship amid countless challenges and difficult odds, has never been fully told. New insights to Lee's military mind, his sought-after goals and his generalship in the broader perspective of warfare as a whole, set against his ongoing efforts to craft and reorganize an army in his image, are both unprecedented and illuminating. What were Lee's original plans in each campaign? How and when were these modified? What driving factors—those outside the army and within—influenced Lee's operational and battlefield plans? The answers to these questions, and many more, help evaluate Lee that ultimately renders a whole new story about the Civil War in the east.

Robert E. Lee at War: Hope Arises From Despair combines stunning imagery, graphics, maps, detailed orders of battle, and more, to assist the reader in following Lee from the gates of Richmond to Maryland's shore, and beyond.

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AUGUST 21st - 1864

CHARGE OF HAGOOD'S South Carolina Brigade

Getting way out in front of the Attack on General Warren's Troops, Gen. Hagood's South Carolinians are Flanked on Three Sides, and in the Retreat Lose a Large Number of Men. The Withdrawal, is Valiant, and When the Federal Officer rides into the Retreat to Seize the Confederate Flag, Hagood rides to the Officer and Demands the Flag be Returned. The Federal Officer Refusing, Johnson Hagood Shoots the Officer out of his Saddle. A disaster for the South Carolina Troops, but they Went Farther than the Other Confederates "Not Engaged". They Tasted the Battle, and Endured the Consequences.

Many Years after the War, the Federal Officer appeals to General Johnson Hagood to write a letter Confirming the Incident to Qualify for Veterans Benefits. The Two Officers Exchange Letters and Correspond , as friends - after the War. The Courage of the South Carolina Troops, that Day - Put to a Verse, Describing these Men of Great Character.



"Scarce seven hundred men they stand
In tattered, rude array,
A remnant of that gallant band,
Who erstwhile held the sea-girt strand
Of Morris' isle, with iron hand
'Gainst Yankees' hated sway.

SECESSIONVILLE their banner claims,
And SUMTER, held 'mid smoke and flames,
And the dark battle on the streams
Of POCOTALIGO:
And WALTHALL'S JUNCTION'S hard-earned fight,
And DREWRY'S BLUFF'S embattled height,
Whence, at the gray dawn of the light,
They rushed upon the foe.

Tattered and torn those banners now,
But not less proud each lofty brow,
Untaught as yet to yield:
With mien unblenched, unfaltering eye,
Forward, where bombshells shrieking fly
Flecking with smoke the azure sky
On Weldon's fated field.

Sweeps from the woods the bold array,
Not theirs to falter in the fray,
No men more sternly trained than they
To meet their deadly doom:
While, from a hundred throats agape,
A hundred sulphurous flames escape,
Round shot, and canister, and grape,
The thundering cannon's boom!

Swift, on their flank, with fearful crash
Shrapnel and ball commingling clash,
And bursting shells, with lurid flash,
Their dazzled sight confound:
Trembles the earth beneath their feet,
Along their front a rattling sheet
Of leaden hail concentric meet,
And numbers strew the ground.

On, o'er the dying and the dead,
O'er mangled limb and gory head,
With martial look, with martial tread,
March Hagood's men to bloody bed,
Honor their sole reward;
Himself doth lead their battle line,
Himself those banners guard.

They win the height, those gallant few,
A fiercer struggle to renew,
Resolved as gallant men to do
Or sink in glory's shroud;
But scarcely gain its stubborn crest,
Ere, from the ensign's murdered breast,
An impious foe has dared to wrest
That banner proud.

Upon him, Hagood, in thy might!
Flash on thy soul th' immortal light
Of those brave deeds that blazon bright
Our Southern Cross.
He dies. Unfurl its folds again,
Let it wave proudly o'er the plain;
The dying shall forget their pain,
Count not their loss.

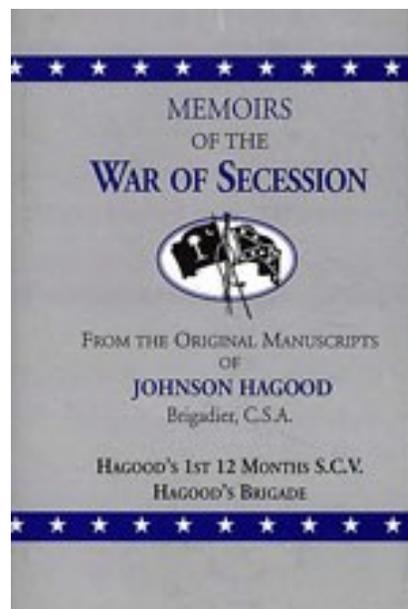
Then, rallying to your chieftain's call,
Ploughed through by cannon-shot and ball
Hemmed in, as by a living wall,
Cleave back your way.
Those bannered deeds their souls inspire,
Borne, amid sheets of forkéd fire,
By the Two Hundred who retire
Of that array.

Ah, Carolina! well the tear
May dew thy cheek; thy clasped hands rear
In passion, o'er their tombless bier,
Thy fallen chivalry!
Malony, mirror of the brave,

And Sellers lie in glorious grave;

No prouder fate than theirs, who gave

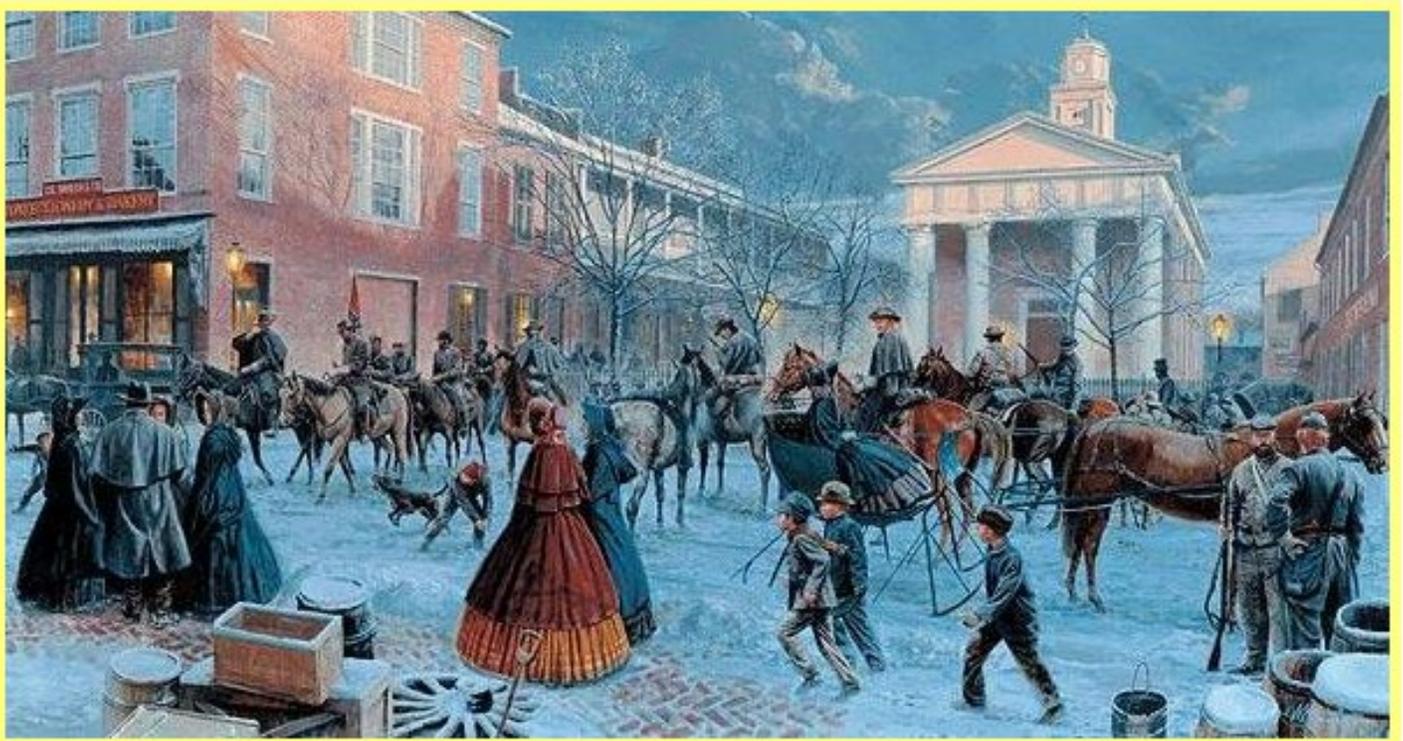
Their lives for Liberty."



Children of the Wind

Lost Children of the Confederacy

My growing up years was spent primarily as a vagabond in a land and culture foreign to myself! Early on I was never told of my Southern ancestry or that my forefathers had died fighting for the security and independence of the Confederacy. Therefore I was not raised or trained to know and understand that I was an heir of the most Christian, honorable and noble civilization ever to exist in 2,000 years of human history. Still something burned deep within me, which caused me to know instinctively that I was out of place, a stranger in a foreign land. My heart was drawn to those things Confederate and Southern, even to the point of searching for the forbidden literature, while visiting the public library. I seemed to know without being told, those soldiers, their ladies and the children of the Confederacy, were my people. Thus I dedicate this short story to their memory; it is titled the 'Children of the Wind – Lost Children of the Confederacy!'



The vile hatred of all things Confederate and Southern as expressed by the aggressive invasion, conquest, occupation and bitter reconstruction of the Confederate States of America by the Yankees fell heaviest on the innocent children. Our nation, cities and homes were burned; our women raped and murdered, the barbarians who came down upon us like a plague of locusts desecrated even our houses of worship. These invaders murdered, robbed and destroyed

indiscriminately. In the process a large number of our Confederate Children having survived their atrocities simply vanished, many were believed kidnapped and transported north by the Yankees to be brain washed into their evil ways. These children would have their true identities taken from them, their rightful heritage lost; as a result they disappeared from history forever. Like the winds that often blow across the land, the ravages of an illegal and unconstitutional aggressive war, the lost children of the Confederacy carried these innocent children away.

Make no mistake 'those people' committed crimes which today would bring charges of crimes against humanity and war crimes, waging an aggressive war of conquest, and mass murder. In effect their war was never legitimate but rather constituted criminal action not unlike that of Joseph Stalin or Adolph Hitler! Those Yankees who participated were acting in opposition to every principle upon which their own nation was founded, in violation of international law as well as their own constitution to which they had foresworn. They were neither heroes nor patriots but criminals of the most repugnant kind! Many today might reply in their defense, they were simply carrying out the orders of their president, but such an excuse did not prove to be justifiable at the Nuremberg trials after the Second World War nor would they do so in any other just court of law. The colonies had exercised their unalienable rights in seceding from Great Britain, so likewise did the Southern States in seceding from the United States. Never the less the greater atrocities were those committed against the Children of the Confederacy!

This explanatory prelude is furnished in order to set the stage in your mind as to the conditions, which existed during and after that horrible war. It is extremely easy after so many generations for the Yankee victors and their apologists, to claim these atrocities never occurred. Since them and their cohorts, the liberals of the public educational system, Hollywood and the mass media wrote the history we study, and in this case history has been revised in order to fit their politically correct liberal rendition of events. Still nothing upon this earth can wash away the stain brought about by the evil, blood thirsty and extreme hatred that permeated the ranks of the Yankee invaders. While it is true the actual terminology such as war crimes and crimes against humanity did not exist at that time. None-the-less this will never cleanse them of the guilt of crimes so hideous that I dare not discuss them here, save to quote the following: *"That the Southern People literally were put to the torture is vaguely understood, but even the historians have shrunk from the unhappy task of showing us the torture chambers."* --- Claude G. Bowers



CONFEDERATE SIGNALMEN IN 1861

The Confederate signal service was first in the field. Beauregard's report acknowledges the aid rendered his army at Bull Run by Captain (*afterwards General*) [E. P. Alexander](#), a former pupil of Major A. J. Myer. McDowell was then without signalmen, and so could not communicate regularly with Washington. While Major Myer was establishing a [Federal signal training-school](#) at Red Hill, such towers were rising along the already beleaguered Confederate coast. This one at Charleston, South Carolina, is swarming with young Confederate volunteers gazing out to sea in anticipation of the advent of the foe. They had not long to wait. During nearly four years the Union fleet locked them in their harbor. For all that time Fort Sumter and its neighbors defied the Union power.

<http://www.civilwarsignals.org/pages/signal/signal.html>

"COPPERHEAD": THE MOVIE

by Tim Manning (Notes) on Saturday, June 29, 2013 at 8:57pm <https://www.facebook.com/tim.manning.7923>

Copperhead the movie opened this week to a "limited distribution" in "select theaters." Just what does that mean? It could mean that the movie is so bad that that only a few will attend, or that the studio decided not to spend much money to promote the movie for whatever reasons, or possibly that the company producing the movie does not want to be strongly associated with the movie. Frankly, I completely fail to understand why a company would produce a movie that it does not expect to do well in theaters or apparently does not want to promote so that it will do well.

There must be something else involved. When Ron Maxwell released *Gods and Generals* he released it to more theaters than this movie and then withdrew *Gods and Generals* while it was still drawing sell-out crowds. They had to withdraw *Gods and Generals* to prove there was so little interest in the South and they were willing to take a financial loss to prove the point. Americans either love or hate the South and those who hate the South have no level of tolerance for the South.

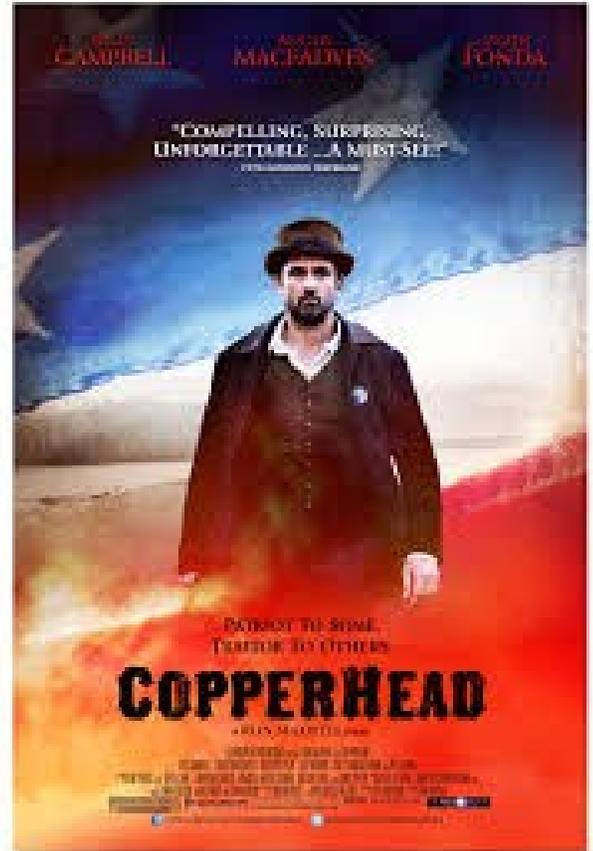
Copperhead is being touted as the third movie of Ron Maxwell's war series "trilogy", but this is not true. The material of the third movie was to be called *The Last Full Measure*. Maxwell already has 10 hours and 31 minutes and 15 seconds of his view of the U.S. War to Prevent Southern Independence. This is the equivalent of five normal length movies.

For my friend Doug Yarbrough who lives in Bastrop, Louisiana disappointingly wrote me that the "Nearest showing is in Baton Rouge 171 miles from where I live." That would require a 342 mile trip to see a movie that had promise of saying something good about the South excluding his new work, *Copperhead*.

I was anxious to see *Copperhead* after having read so much about this noble group of folks who were willing to openly oppose Abraham Lincoln even though they were living the USA. There were such visionary constitutionalist Copperheads during the war such as the Governor Horatio Seymour the exceeding well-spoken Governor of the State of New York, then there was the Mayor of New York City Fernando Wood, Clement Vallandigham of Ohio whom Abraham Lincoln deported from the USA during the war sending him to the foreign nation of Kentucky.

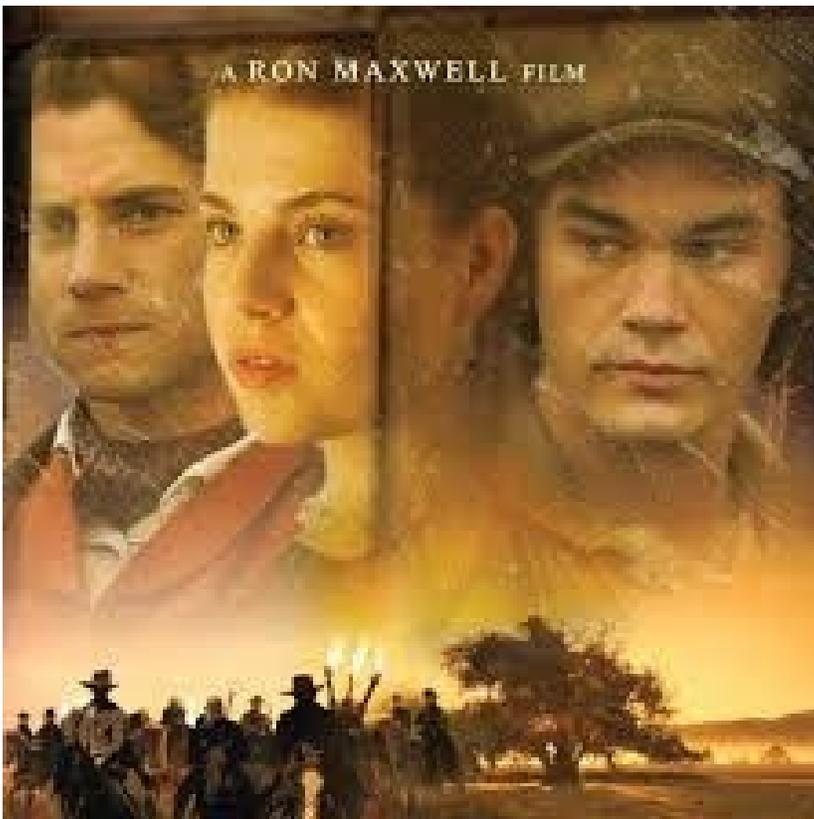
The United States in 1863 invaded and fought the militias of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan using half of all the U.S. military for the rest of the war. This is an inconvenient piece of history for the Court Historians to weaver into the overly glorified version of history that the government wants told.

The story in the movie takes place in Up State New York beginning 1862 where a few people in a small town opposed Lincoln. This was not representative of New York State at all since the State was Democrat and very unified in opposition to Lincoln. Even the moderate Republicans of New York opposed the Lincoln and his Radical Republicans. New Jersey had a Republican governor who was moderate and also hated and opposed Lincoln.



Copperhead was ONLY showing at one theater in all of the Triad area (Greensboro, Winston-Salem and High Point, NC). We arrived at the theater 45 minutes into the movie. The Carousel Theater had started the movie 30 minutes early. This is unlike them and they are a great theater. We were ushered into an "Alternative Viewing Room" with great very comfortable plush chairs in a small room with great sound, but it was not immune to people talking in the lobby. This was the opening evening of Copperhead in Greensboro, North Carolina and there were only three other people there for the showing, and one of them was a re-enactor there to write a movie review for his website. There is literally almost no interest here in this story of a Copperhead.

There were a few good lines in this movie, but overall it failed to show the real resistance of Copperheads and their influences within the State government. Do not expect this movie to give you some great insight into history. My younger son who attended with me and is a real fan of serious history described the movie as little more than a two-hour yawn.



Copperhead received mostly mixed to negative reviews from critics. It holds a 14% "Rotten" rating on "Rotten Tomatoes" and has a weighted average of 31 out of 100 on Metacritic, indicating "generally unfavorable" reviews. Stephanie Merry of The Washington Post gave the film two out of four stars, saying, "The story offers uncommon insights on the endlessly parsed period in history, but its execution sometimes falls short. Both the production quality and the persistent, sentimental soundtrack create a made-for-TV feel" Mark Olsen of the "Los Angeles Times" shared similar criticism, opining, ". . . Copperhead crams far too much of its action into its last 30 minutes after a rambling, drawn-out set up. Painfully lugubrious, any sting Copperhead might contain for its contrarian's view of history is undone by its wayward sense of storytelling." Christine N. Ziemba of "Paste" magazine wrote Copperhead a fairly mixed review, stating "Despite good performances throughout the film, the pacing of Copperhead is slow, with many long takes and establishing shots that seem a bit over-indulgent, as if to remind viewers that they're watching an

'important, yet little-known, historical drama.'" John DeFore of "The Hollywood Reporter" optimistically stated, "Theatrical prospects are meager [...], but history buffs may appreciate its earnest look at an underexplored subject on small screens."

My view is that Ron Maxwell missed a great opportunity to do a major work on Horatio Seymour and Fernando Wood that would have had great historical content and that would have been of great interest at this time due to the political problems we are now suffering. Overall this was rather a dreary uninspired story that should have been something that both northerners and Southerners would have liked to see as a History Channel Special. This is a horrible missed opportunity for Maxwell and Southerners who would like to see the people of the USA learn some of the repressed history of this genocide committed against their States and the northern resistance to the war that resulted in 1863 in Lincoln's invasion and occupation of the seven northern Democrat States. I believe that Maxwell simply missed the point of a much larger story!

<http://www.copperheadthemovie.com/>

DETAILED SYNOPSIS: [HERE](#)

Confederate Generals of Gettysburg: The Leaders of America's Greatest Battle

MAJOR GENERAL HENRY HETH

**CONFEDERATE THIRD CORPS
HETH'S DIVISION
15 guns/7,423 men**

a series.....



In the careers of the officers of the Army of Northern Virginia, there was no hint of Robert E. Lee's personal patronage except in the case of one man--"Harry" Heth. Heth (pronounced to rhyme with "teeth") was easy to like for a man such as Lee--he had Lee's social background, was West Point and Old Army, and of the finest character. Thirty-seven years old, Heth was in addition personally attractive, both socially charming and good looking--of medium height, with lank brown hair and mustache, high cheekbones, strong chin and deep-set eyes. He was strongly opinionated, but one who was able to see his own weaknesses and not take himself too seriously. That Lee had a strong affection for Heth was obvious to everyone--Heth was the only officer Lee ever called by his first name.

Heth, a cousin of Maj. Gen. George Pickett, was born near Richmond of good "Old Dominion" stock. His grandfather had been an officer in the Revolution, and his father an officer in the navy in the War of 1812. Heth was educated in private schools until he accepted an appointment to West Point from President Tyler. There he disappointed, graduating dead last in the class of 1847 (the same class as his boyhood friend, Powell Hill). Heth went on to be a dutiful soldier, spending the next fourteen years in frontier outposts, slowly compiling a creditable record and rising to the rank of captain of infantry. He was married in 1857, with Hill as his groomsman.

Heth resigned his commission when Fort Sumter was bombarded, and was immediately employed by General Robert E. Lee as Acting Quartermaster General for the Virginia army. In those early days of mobilization for war, Heth only served as quartermaster for about a month--until the end of May, 1861--but in that short time he made a lasting impression--Lee thereafter interested himself in Heth's advancement as he did for no other man.

After his quartermaster assignment, Heth was made colonel of the 45th Virginia regiment and assigned to Western Virginia, where he would labor for the next year. He was first put under Brig. Gen. John B. Floyd, serving as Floyd's inspector general in addition to leading his own regiment. In January 1862 he was promoted to brigadier general and assigned to the defense of Lewisburg in Western Virginia, gateway to the Kanawha Road through the Allegheny Mountains. There, in a small action on May 23, 1862, his entire command routed away. The instructive thing about the episode is that, in a war where officers routinely went to great lengths in their reports to disguise poor performances of their units, Heth, with admirable candor, freely admitted the disgraceful panic and flight of his command in his report of the battle.

The embarrassing affair did not affect his reputation. In the summer of 1862--at the same time the Virginia army was seeing its first heavy fighting on the Peninsula--Heth was assigned to Maj. Gen. Kirby Smith's army in East Tennessee. He commanded a division in the Perryville Campaign in the late summer and fall of 1862. (Heth saw no combat in the campaign because General Braxton Bragg fought the Perryville battle before Kirby Smith's force arrived.) In January 1863 Heth was appointed commander of the Department of East Tennessee.

A month later Heth was requested by Lee to join the Army of Northern Virginia. Lee evidently lobbied hard for Heth's assignment to Jackson's corps--Jackson wrote to Lee at one point, "From what you have said respecting General Heth, I have been desirous that he should report for duty." On March 5, 1863 Heth was given command of Field's brigade, which had been languishing under the lackluster command of Col. John Brockenbrough since Field's wounding at Second Bull Run the summer before. Heth stepped in as senior brigadier in his friend, now Maj. Gen. Powell Hill's Light Division, a development that must have rankled the erstwhile senior Brig. General Dorsey Pender--Heth had never fought in a full-scale pitched battle, whereas Pender had fought hard with the Light Division the whole bloody year, with wounds to prove it.

Heth commanded his new brigade for the first time at Chancellorsville in May 1863. There, determined to show dashing qualities in his first action with the Army of Northern Virginia, he attempted an unsupported counterattack of the Federal Regular Division emerging from the Wilderness on the battle's first day. (He was saved from a nasty repulse by a quick-witted captain who volunteered to lead a probe with two regiments, a probe which was greeted by ferocious fire from long lines of Yankees hidden in the woods.) The next evening, Heth inherited temporary command of the division when Hill was wounded. Heth himself was slightly wounded later in the battle, but he retained command to the end of the fight, prompting a commendation for "heroic conduct" from the acting corps commander, Maj. Gen. Jeb Stuart. His performance standing in for Hill had not been brilliant, but he had at least proven himself steady and reliable while fighting on a scale he had never before experienced.

On May 24, Hill was promoted to the leadership of the new Third Corps. After he left Lee's tent on that day, Hill sat down and wrote a letter concerning the leadership of the divisions in his new command. He was especially concerned that his beloved Light Division would be led by the right man. "Of General Heth," he wrote, "I have but to say that I consider him a most excellent officer, and gallant soldier, and had he been with the Division through all its hardships, and acquired the confidence of the men, there is no man I had rather see promoted than he." Having said that, he went on to recommend Pender for the post. Hill then suggested what Lee had in fact already decided to do: have two brigades from the Light Division--Archer's and Heth's (which would once again pass to Brockenbrough)--be united with two other brigades brought up from the Carolinas to form a new division to be commanded by Heth, who would be promoted along with Pender.

Heth had so many old friends and had made new ones so quickly with his captivating manner that there was no complaint when he was made major general after such a brief time with the Army of Northern Virginia. After the march of Lee's army into Pennsylvania in June, the inexperienced Heth led Hill's Third Corps toward Gettysburg to get shoes on July 1. Though Pender and his division were the proper spearhead division of Hill's corps, Heth's brand-new division was camped closest to the objective, and Heth specifically asked for the assignment. He expected no more fighting than it took to brush aside a cavalry outpost. Whatever should happen, he was undoubtedly anxious to justify Lee's hopes for him, and his new major general's insignia.

At Gettysburg

Heth's troops were on the Chambersburg Pike toward Gettysburg by 5 o'clock on the morning of July 1. An artillery battalion was in the lead (a careless choice, showing that Heth expected no serious trouble), followed by Archer's brigade, then Davis, Pettigrew, and Brockenbrough. At 7:30 A.M., cavalry outposts were spotted about three miles east of Gettysburg and the first shots of the battle were fired. The cavalry were slowly pushed back about a mile to Herr Ridge, and when that eminence was secured, Heth deployed Archer on the south side of the Pike and Davis on the north side, both facing east. The artillery were unlimbered on the crest. By that time it was 9:30 A.M.

Heth then gave the battle line the order to advance without bringing up the rest of the division--a costly mistake. By the time his two brigades had worked their way across the shallow valley in their front and ascended McPherson's Ridge, they were surprised to meet the two just-arrived brigades of

the crack First Division, First Corps of the Army of the Potomac. In this initial confrontation, which lasted until about 11:30 A.M., Archer's brigade was routed, losing about 600 men, including many captured--among them Brig. Gen. James J. Archer himself. Davis's brigade fared no better. After a promising beginning, Brig. Gen. Joe Davis was thrown back with similar losses, including large numbers captured in the Railroad Cut. Heth's shoe expedition had turned into a foray, and the foray had stumbled into a disaster. His poor judgment and recklessness had committed Lee to the battle he expressly wished to avoid until his army was concentrated.

There was a noontime lull in the fighting while Heth sent back the news to Hill and reformed his lines on Herr Ridge, bringing up Pettigrew and Brockenbrough and sending his two damaged brigades to the flanks--Archer to the right and Davis to the left. In the meantime Rode's division had come up on Oak Hill and attacked the Union defenders on McPherson's Ridge from the north, and Lee had arrived with Lieut. Gen. A.P. Hill to survey the situation. At 2:30 P.M., watching Rodes's attack and seeing Pender's division available to support Heth's men, Lee saw an opportunity and gave the order for Heth to renew his attack. Heth threw his division forward in a head-on assault in concert with Rodes. Col. John Brockenbrough's Virginians struck the Yankee "Bucktail Brigade" near the Pike, and Pettigrew's regiments met the Iron Brigade and another Union brigade further south. Both sides suffered horribly in the desperate fighting which raged on McPherson's Ridge over the next hour. Great holes were torn in Heth's lines, fighting and dying at distances of only a few paces from the Union muzzles (one of Pettigrew's regiments alone lost 687 men), but Heth neglected to ask for support from Pender's division when it might have spared his own men much suffering.

At this moment, Heth too became a casualty, victim of a bullet which struck him in the head and cracked his skull open. His life was saved because, a couple of days earlier, he had gotten a new felt hat, one of dozens captured in Cashtown. Since the hat was too large, his quartermaster had doubled up a dozen or so sheets of foolscap paper and stuffed them inside the hat, insuring a snug fit. "I am confidently of the belief that my life was saved by this paper in my hat," Heth wrote later. As it was, Heth was knocked unconscious for a full 24 hours. Although he insisted groggily on sitting in on Lee's consultations with his officers the next day, Heth's part in the battle was over. His brigades, meanwhile, had been shattered. Nearly half the men in the division had been cut down in Heth's clumsy head-on rushes.

Heth was not publicly chided for his recklessness, however, perhaps because such lapses were so general in the Army of Northern Virginia over those three July days, perhaps because of his special relationship with Lee. Heth was back in command by July 7, and directed the fight at Falling Waters as Lee's army recrossed the Potomac. He commanded his division until the final surrender, and briefly took command of the entire corps during the final winter while Hill was on sick leave.

For further reading:

Connelly, Thomas. *An Irishman in Dixie*. Columbia, SC, 1988

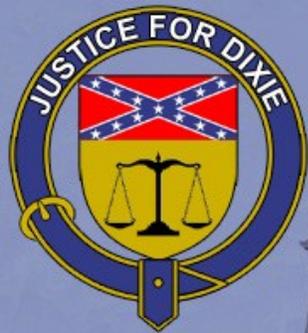
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Morrison, James L., Jr. "The Memoirs of Henry Heth." *Civil War History* 3, Mar 1962

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Excerpted from ["The Generals of Gettysburg: The Leaders of America's Greatest Battle"](#) by Larry Tagg

NEXT MONTH: Brigadier General James Johnston Pettigrew



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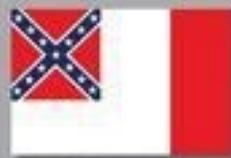
Rattle Flag



1st National Flag



2nd National Flag



3rd National Flag



Bonnie Blue Flag



*They took a stand for us.
Now, we stand for them.*

*May God bless our efforts to
Vindicate the Cause of the
Confederate South.*

Michael Givens
Commander-in-Chief
Sons of Confederate Veterans

NEVER APOLOGIZE



FOR BEING RIGHT!

About our namesake:

belo.herald@yahoo.com

Colonel A.H. Belo was from North Carolina, and participated in Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg. His troops were among the few to reach the stone wall. After the war, he moved to Texas, where he founded both the Galveston Herald and the Dallas Morning News. The Dallas Morning News was established in 1885 by the Galveston News as sort of a North Texas subsidiary. The two papers were linked by 315 miles of telegraph wire and shared a network of correspondents. They were the first two newspapers in the country to print simultaneous editions. The media empire he started now includes radio, publishing, and television. His impact on the early development of Dallas can hardly be overstated.

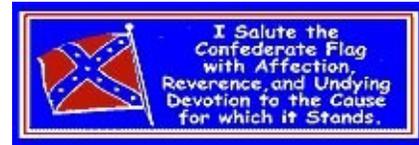
The Belo Herald is our unapologetic tribute to his efforts as we seek to bring the truth to our fellow Southrons and others in an age of political correctness and unrepentant yankee lies about our people, our culture, our heritage and our history.

Sic Semper Tyrannis!!!

Do you have an ancestor that was a Confederate Veteran?
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Will you commit to the vindication of the cause for which they fought?
If you answered "Yes" to these questions, then you should "Join Us"

Membership in the Sons of Confederate Veterans is open to all male descendants of any veteran who served honorably in the Confederate armed forces regardless of the applicant's or his ancestor's race, religion, or political views.

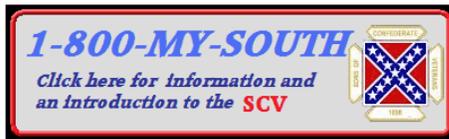
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*Membership in the **Sons of Confederate Veterans** is open to all male descendants of any veteran who served honorably in the Confederate States armed forces and government.*



*Membership can be obtained through either lineal or collateral family lines and kinship to a veteran must be **documented genealogically**. The minimum age for full membership is 12, but there is no minimum for Cadet Membership.*

<http://www.scv.org/genealogy.php>

CHARGE TO THE SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS

"To you, Sons of Confederate Veterans, we will commit the vindication of the cause for which we fought. To your strength will be given the defense of the Confederate soldier's good name, the guardianship of his history, the emulation of his virtues, the perpetuation of those principles which he loved and which you love also, and those ideals which made him glorious and which you also cherish." Remember it is your duty to see that the true history of the South is presented to future generations".

Lt. General Stephen Dill Lee,
Commander General

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