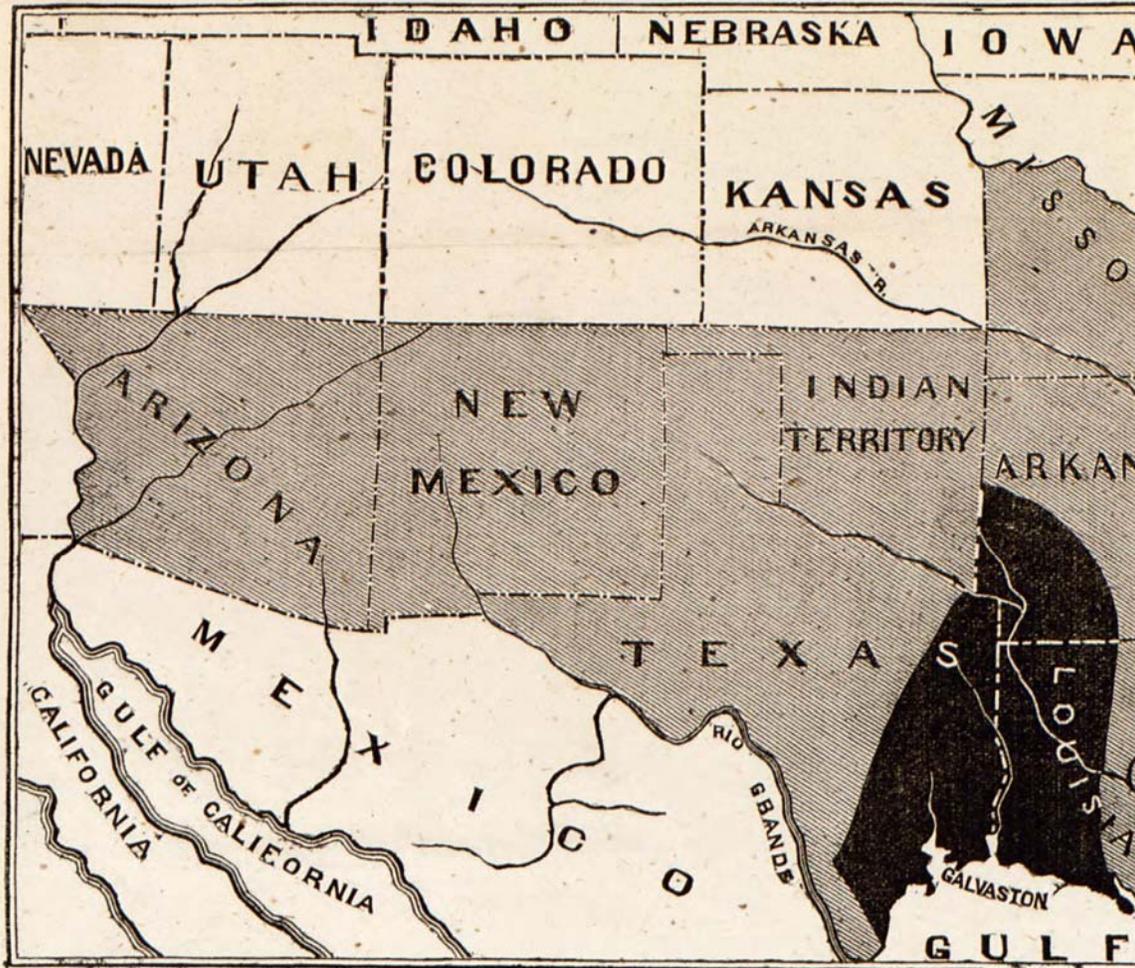


# HOW THE WAR AND HOW NEAR

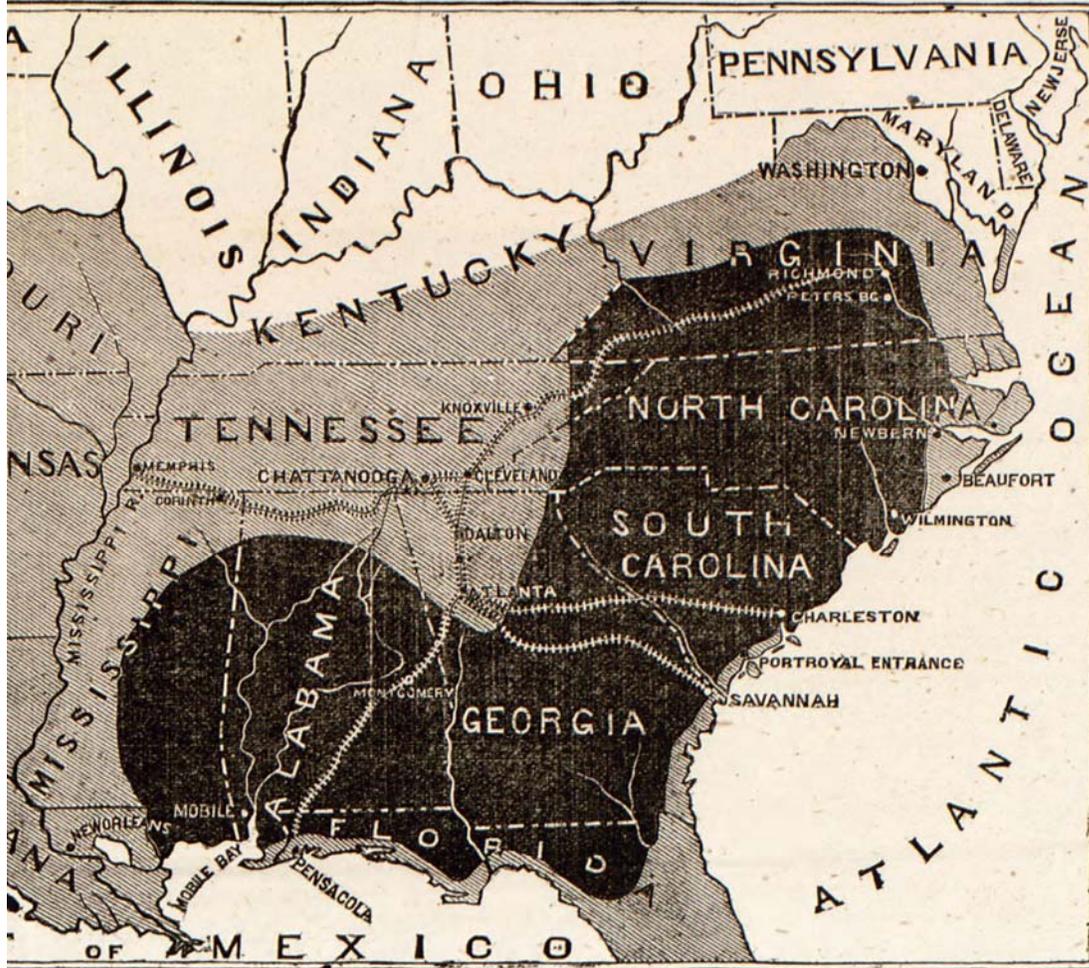


## Who Commenced the War ?

One "lie well stuck to" is that told by the Peace Democracy, that the administration of Mr. LINCOLN is responsible for the war in which the country is involved. We have this asserted in the Copperhead Presses and by Copperhead Speakers. The following, published in the *Confederate States Register*, for 1860 and 1861, under the head of "REMARKABLE EVENTS," shows conclusively upon whom rests the responsibility of plunging the country into a civil war:

- Dec. 27, 1860.—Capture of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney by South Carolina troops. Capt. Coste surrenders the revenue cutter Alken.
- Jan. 3, 1861.—Capture of Fort Pulaski by the Savannah troops.
- Jan. 3.—The arsenal of Mount Vernon, Alabama, with 20,000 stand of arms, seized by the Alabama troops.
- Jan. 4.—Fort Morgan, in Mobile Bay, taken by the Alabama troops.
- Jan. 9.—The steamship Star of the West fired into and driven off by the South Carolina batteries on Morris Island. Failure of an attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter.
- Jan. 10.—Forts Jackson, St. Phillip and Pike, near New Orleans, captured by the Louisiana troops.
- Jan. 14.—Capture of Pensacola Navy Yard, and Forts Barrancas and McRae. Major Chase shortly afterwards takes command, and the siege of Fort Pickens commences.
- Jan. 18.—Surrender of Baton Rouge Arsenal to Louisiana troops.
- Jan. 31.—New Orleans Mint and Custom House taken.
- Feb. 2.—Seizure of Little Rock arsenal by Arkansas troops.
- Feb. 4.—Surrender of the revenue cutter Cass to the Alabama authorities.
- Feb. 8.—Provisional Constitution adopted.
- Feb. 9.—Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander Stephens, of Georgia, elected President and Vice-President.
- Feb. 16.—Gen. Twiggs transfers public property in Texas to the State authorities. Col. Walte, U. S. A., surrenders San Antonio to Col. Ben. McCulloch and his Texan rangers.
- March 2.—The revenue cutter Dodge seized by the Texan authorities.

# R COMMENCED, R IT IS ENDED.



On the 14th day of April, 1861, President LINCOLN issued his Proclamation, declaring the existence of the rebellion, and calling upon the loyal States to furnish men and material to defend the Government and restore the Union. In two days after, the Government was in the power of the rebels—isolated from the North, and confined to the limits of the City of Washington. The arms and munitions of war of the Nation were in the possession of the rebels; the Navy—what had not been destroyed—had been purposely sent to the most remote seas. A vast number of the men who had been educated in the science of war at the expense of the Nation had deserted their country, perjured themselves, and gone over to the South. That very day the present Commander of the rebel armies (ROBERT E. LEE), and the most daring of their naval commanders (Commodore BUCHANAN) were in the employ and the confidence of President LINCOLN—familiar with every thought of the Administration, and charged with the duty of preparing on land and sea to resist the power of the rebellion. We had an Army and Navy to create; we had to educate the peaceful North to the practice of war; to turn the reaping-hook and the ploughshare back into the sword and the cannon; we had most of all to learn who were in sympathy with rebellion, and to weed out from the Government itself those who gave the enemy secret aid and comfort. We had to abandon the field, the shop and the office, and take on the unknown and repulsive trappings of war. The rebels (like burglars) had been thoroughly prepared. They had their designs matured, their materials concentrated, their officers educated, their men drilled, their collaborators and spies known and located. They had the initiative. The patient, loving and forbearing Government could only wait and hope, and endure to the last extremity before it dared even to assert its rights or defend itself. The rebels had a network of railroads and telegraphs, constructed and equipped by Northern capital and Northern labor. They were large debtors to the North for goods that were stored in their warehouses. The capital invested in their works of improvement and the debts due to Northern manufacturers and merchants they confiscated to the use of the rebellion. For many succeeding

March 2.—The revenue cutter Dodge seized by the Texan authorities.

All these acts were committed previous to the inauguration of Mr. LINCOLN, and most of them while the people of the Free States were endeavoring, through a Peace Congress, then in session at Washington, to avert the evils of war, by yielding up many of their well established rights. On the 12th day of April Fort Sumter was bombarded by the rebels; on the 13th it surrendered, and on the 14th it was evacuated by the troops of the U. S. Until this time, Commissioners from the Confederate States were in Washington, at the National Hotel, making arrangements for prosecuting a war against our Government—purchasing arms, ammunition, clothing, machinery, and all things essential to the success of the rebellion. Until that day treason was as free to speak in the Capital of the Nation as in Charleston, or Montgomery, or Richmond. Until that time many of the present leaders of the rebel armies, and officers now in the rebel Navy, held commissions in the Army and Navy of the United States. Until that time, by no act or word, had Mr. LINCOLN (he had then been President *only 42 days*) manifested a purpose to prosecute a war against the South. If anything more were needed to show that the people of the North are entirely guiltless of the ruin which has marked the last three and a half years—if anything were wanting to show the utter falsity of the assertions of the Chicago Convention, its Speakers and its Presses, it is found in the declaration of Hon. A. H. STEPHENS (Vice-President of the Confederate States), who, on the 31st day of January, 1861—32 days before Mr. LINCOLN was inaugurated—thus solemnly foretold the “desolation desolate” which rebellion would bring upon the South, and thus clearly and justly declared where the blame would rest:

This step (the secession of Georgia) once taken, can never be recalled; and all the *doleful and withering consequences* that must follow (as you will see) *will rest on the Convention for all coming time.* When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war which this act of yours will inevitably invite and call forth; when our green fields of waving harvests shall be trodden down by the murderous soldiery and fiery car of war sweeping over our land—our temples of justice laid in ashes, all the horrors and desolations of war upon us—who but this CONVENTION WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR IT? and who but him, who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure (as I honestly think and believe), shall be held to strict account for this suicidal act, by the present generation, and probably cursed and execrated by posterity for all coming time, for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate?

“Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments, what reasons you can give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us. What reason can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in the case; and to what cause or one overt act can you name or point on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? what interest of the South has been invaded? what justice has been denied? and what claim, founded in justice and right, has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the Government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I CHALLENGE THE ANSWER!

### Have we made any Progress in Crushing the Rebellion?

Another of the falsehoods persistently reiterated by the Copperhead Democracy, is the assertion that the Administration (or the people of the North) cannot succeed in restoring the Union and maintaining the integrity of the Government. The second resolution of the Chicago Convention declares that “FOUR YEARS OF FAILURE to restore the Union by the experiment of war, \* \* \* DEMAND THAT IMMEDIATE EFFORTS BE MADE FOR A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.”

REV. C. CHAUNCY BURR, of New York, one of the most prominent of the speakers in favor of McCLELLAN at the Chicago Convention, asks this question, and himself gives the answer: “After three years of war, who are conquered, you or the South? *I say you are conquered. You cannot conquer the South.*”

JAMES S. ROLLINS, of Missouri, also talking to the delegates of the Chicago Convention, said: “*I love our Southern friends; they are a noble, a brave and a chivalrous people, and cannot be subdued.*”

ISAIAH RYNDERS, the U. S. Marshal for the Southern District of New York during the administration of Mr. BUCHANAN, also talking to the Chicago delegates, said: “I have never said one word against the brave, the noble, the generous, the chivalrous people of the South, and I trust in God I never shall. Nearly half a million of those noble men had fallen in bloody graves, BUT THEY REMAINED UNCONQUERED.”

We might multiply these extracts, so as to fill a dozen such pages as this. But the declaration that the war is a failure is so broadly and clearly made in the Chicago Platform as to render any further extracts unnecessary.

The purpose of this assumption of failure is manifest. It is the corollary of the first falsehood, that the administration of Mr. LINCOLN brought the war upon the country. The sequence of both falsehoods is the declaration of the Chicago Platform that “*four years of failure demand a cessation of hostilities.*”

We have shown, by the foregoing extracts from the *Confederate States Register*, and the declarations of Vice-President STEPHENS, how entirely false are the assertions of the Democratic party, that “the Administration is guilty of the war.”

The map at the head of this page shows at a glance how false is the second assertion, that “the experiment of war” is a failure. When the news of the attack, surrender and evacuation of Fort Sumter first reached the President, the territory in possession of the rebels embraced all that exhibited by the dark black and shaded lines—or all the slave States, except the little State of Delaware. According to the tables of the last census, the States and Territories then in the possession of the rebels contained the following area and population:

States and Territories.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population.
Maryland.....	11,124	687,049
Virginia.....	651,352	1,596,318
North Carolina.....	45,000	992,622
South Carolina.....	80,213	703,705
Georgia.....	58,000	1,057,286
Florida.....	59,268	140,125
Alabama.....	50,722	964,201
Mississippi.....	47,156	791,805
Louisiana.....	41,255	708,002
Texas.....	237,594	604,215
Arkansas.....	52,193	435,450
Tennessee.....	45,600	1,009,801
Kentucky.....	37,089	1,155,654
Missouri.....	67,380	1,884,012
New Mexico.....	220,000	93,516
Totals.....	1,653,852	12,121,294

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were stored in their warehouses. The capital invested in their works of improvement and the tools and Northern manufacturers and merchants they confiscated to the uses of the rebellion. For years, according to Vice-President Stephens, they had enjoyed "two-thirds of the patronage of the Government"—a government that had been extravagant in expenditures at their dictation and for their benefit. We were forced into the contest for the supremacy of the Union, with a government bankrupt in resources by years of Democratic misrule and extravagance, whose reliance was upon a Commerce and Manufacturers, and Producers drained by Southern debtors, who repudiated their debts and defied their creditors.

The Chicago Platform says: "Four years of failure demand a cessation of hostilities." Let us see how much has been gained. For the present we waive the moral victories, and take for comparison the actual area and population of the States and Territories that were in the possession of the rebellion on the 4th day of April, 1861, the first day that Mr. LINCOLN, by word or deed, attempted to maintain the integrity of the Union. To-day (October 1, 1864), the area and population of the States and Territories now held by the rebels may be thus estimated:

States and Territories.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population.
Virginia.....	16,852	896,818
North Carolina.....	35,000	842,622
South Carolina.....	22,213	553,708
Georgia.....	43,000	807,286
Florida.....	44,268	100,125
Alabama.....	88,722	764,201
Mississippi.....	7,156	91,805
Louisiana.....	11,255	208,002
Texas.....	97,504	454,215
Arkansas.....	27,193	235,450
<b>Totals.....</b>	<b>842,668</b>	<b>4,458,232</b>

**RECAPITULATION.**

States and Territories.	Square Miles.	Population.
Originally held in 15 States and Territories.....	1,658,852	12,121,294
Now held in 10 States, in part.....	842,668	4,458,232

**Area Conquered . . 1,311,184 Sq. Miles.      Population recovered . . 7,638,062.**

When the rebels commenced the war they held every fort and port of entry from Fortress Monroe to the mouth of the Rio Grande. Now they hold but *four* forts and *one* port of entry, and the four forts and the one port of entry are besieged and blockaded by our army and our navy.

When the rebels commenced the war, they had undisputed possession of more than two-thirds of our sea coast, and a large tonnage of commerce. Now, they have not one merchant vessel to raise their flag; and they have no port that any vessel dare attempt to enter by daylight. They have not a single vessel of war that would venture to meet a vessel of our Navy.

When the rebels commenced the war they had in their possession 7,984 miles of railroad—all well equipped and in thorough running order. Now they have only 1,435 miles, and what they have would not be deemed fit for commercial and passenger traffic in any Free State.

When the rebels commenced the war, they held the navigation of the Mississippi from Columbus, Ky., to its mouth. Now they do not hold one foot of either shore.

There is not a State or Territory of the old Union over a large portion of which the Government does not hold possession. Its vessels of war are before every port—its armies are constantly advancing—the beams of the rising sun welcome the old flag, where yesterday flaunted the bastard emblem of rebellion. No Government on earth dare recognize the rebellion as a success; no capitalist will lend it a farthing; no dealer will trust it for a keg of gunpowder or a barrel of meat. It is bankrupt in credit, exhausted of material; it has "robbed the cradle and the grave," and has an existence to-day only as a reckless adventurer, "waiting for something to turn up," viz., the election of McCLELLAN, and the accession to power of those who will again bind the giant North in chains, and sell their birthright of freedom for pieces of silver.

Besides having conquered so much of the rebellion as is shown by the map, the people of the North have steadily increased in wealth, power and population. We have now a Navy more powerful for offence and defence than that of any nation in the world; we have increased our manufactures, railroads, canals, telegraphs and internal commerce. Individual indebtedness is almost unknown. We are daily and hourly reclaiming the forest and the prairie; we produce much more now than we did when the war commenced; our lands, our houses, our stocks of all kinds have enhanced in value, and never was labor so abundantly rewarded.

With a few exceptions, the ravages of war have been confined to the territory of those who commenced it. *To-day not a rebel foot-step profanes the soil of the Loyal States, except that of a prisoner of war.*

These are the material victories we have gained. But in the wake of these have followed moral and social triumphs such as war rarely brings, of which we may be more proud than of all our other conquests. We have taught the rebels, who had for years reviled us as a community of cowards and speculators, to regard and respect us as a nation of brave, patriotic men, and true and devoted women. We have, by due process of law, abolished slavery in Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Arkansas, and in a large portion of Virginia. Our armies have struck the chains from hundreds of thousands of men and women in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida and Texas, and should the war stop now, as stop it soon must, from the steady onward march of GRANT, and SHERMAN, and SHERIDAN, and CANBY, and FARRAGUT, no human power could reconstruct the blighting fabric of human slavery.

We have shown unmistakably who commenced the war. It must be apparent to all that the Government has thus far a decided and preponderating advantage. The end cannot be doubtful. They who violated the Divine Law have incurred the penalty, and will inevitably meet the allotted punishment. They who took the sword are perishing by the sword.

ve Committee, Astor House, New York.

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