

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 1)

fidence, shall be liable, if an officer, to dismissal from service, and in case of a member, to suffer expulsion from the body.

XXIX. All motions to print extra copies of any bill, report, or other document, shall be referred to the committee on printing.

XXX. All propositions affecting our foreign relations, or looking to the public defence, shall be submitted to the Congress while in secret session.

XXXI. All cases that may arise in the proceedings of this Congress, not provided for in the foregoing rules, shall be governed by the general principles of parliamentary law as laid down in Jefferson's Manual.

SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE 21ST MARCH, 1861, IN SAVANNAH, KNOWN AS “THE CORNER STONE SPEECH,” REPORTED IN THE SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN.

At half past seven o'clock on Thursday evening, the largest audience ever assembled at the Athenæum was in the house, waiting most impatiently for the appearance of the orator of the evening, Hon. A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States of America. The committee, with invited guests, were seated on the stage, when, at the appointed hour, the Hon. C. C. Jones, Mayor, and the speaker, entered, and were greeted by the immense assemblage with deafening rounds of applause.

The Mayor then, in a few pertinent remarks, introduced Mr. Stephens, stating that at the request of a number of the members of the convention, and citizens of Savannah and the State, now here, he had consented to address them upon the present state of public affairs.

Mr. STEPHENS rose and spoke as follows:

Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen of the Committee, and Fellow-Citizens:—For this reception you will please accept my most profound and sincere thanks. The compliment is doubtless intended as much, or more, perhaps, in honor of the occasion, and my public position, in connection with the great events now crowding upon us, than to me personally and individually. It is however none the less appreciated by me on that account. We are in the midst of one of the greatest epochs in our history. The last ninety days will mark one of the most memorable eras in the history of modern civilization.

[There was a general call from the outside of the building for the speaker to go out, that there were more outside than in.]

The Mayor rose and requested silence at the doors, that Mr. Stephens' health would not permit him to speak in the open air.

Mr. STEPHENS said he would leave it to the audience whether he

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 2)

should proceed indoors or out. There was a general cry indoors, as the ladies, a large number of whom were present, could not hear outside.

Mr. STEPHENS said that the accommodation of the ladies would determine the question, and he would proceed where he was.

[At this point the uproar and clamor outside was greater still for the speaker to go out on the steps. This was quieted by Col. Lawton, Col. Freeman, Judge Jackson, and Mr. J. W. Owens going out and stating the facts of the case to the dense mass of men, women, and children who were outside, and entertaining them in brief speeches—Mr. Stephens all this while quietly sitting down until the furor subsided.]

Mr. STEPHENS rose and said: When perfect quiet is restored, I shall proceed. I cannot speak so long as there is any noise or confusion. I shall take my time—I feel quite prepared to spend the night with you if necessary. [Loud applause.] I very much regret that every one who desires cannot hear what I have to say. Not that I have any display to make, or any thing very entertaining to present, but such views as I have to give, I wish *all*, not only in this city, but in this State, and throughout our Confederate Republic, could hear, who have a desire to hear them.

I was remarking, that we are passing through one of the greatest revolutions in the annals of the world. Seven States have within the last three months thrown off an old government and formed a new. This revolution has been signally marked, up to this time, by the fact of its having been accomplished without the loss of a single drop of blood. [Applause.]

This new constitution, or form of government, constitutes the subject to which your attention will be partly invited. In reference to it, I make this first general remark. It amply secures all our ancient rights, franchises, and liberties. All the great principles of Magna Charta are retained in it. No citizen is deprived of life, liberty, or property, but by the judgment of his peers under the laws of the land. The great principle of religious liberty, which was the honor and pride of the old constitution, is still maintained and secured. All the essentials of the old constitution, which have endeared it to the hearts of the American people, have been preserved and perpetuated. [Applause.] Some changes have been made. Of these I shall speak presently. Some of these I should have preferred not to have seen made; but these, perhaps, meet the cordial approbation of a majority of this audience, if not an overwhelming majority of the people of the Confederacy. Of them, therefore, I will not speak. But other important changes do meet my cordial approbation. They form great improvements upon the old constitution. So, taking the whole new constitution, I have no hesitancy in giving it as my judgment that it is decidedly better than the old. [Applause.]

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 3)

Allow me briefly to allude to some of these improvements. The question of building up class interests, or fostering one branch of industry to the prejudice of another under the exercise of the revenue power, which gave us so much trouble under the old constitution, is put at rest forever under the new. We allow the imposition of no duty with a view of giving advantage to one class of persons, in any trade or business, over those of another. All, under our system, stand upon the same broad principles of perfect equality. Honest labor and enterprise are left free and unrestricted in whatever pursuit they may be engaged. This subject came well nigh causing a rupture of the old Union, under the lead of the gallant Palmetto State, which lies on our border, in 1833. This old thorn of the tariff, which was the cause of so much irritation in the old body politic, is removed forever from the new. [Applause.]

Again, the subject of internal improvements, under the power of Congress to regulate commerce, is put at rest under our system. The power claimed by construction under the old constitution, was at least a doubtful one—it rested solely upon construction. We of the South, generally apart from considerations of constitutional principles, opposed its exercise upon grounds of its inexpediency and injustice. Notwithstanding this opposition, millions of money, from the common treasury had been drawn for such purposes. Our opposition sprang from no hostility to commerce, or all necessary aids for facilitating it. With us it was simply a question, upon *whom* the burden should fall. In Georgia, for instance, we have done as much for the cause of internal improvements as any other portion of the country according to population and means. We have stretched out lines of railroads from the seaboard to the mountains; dug down the hills, and filled up the valleys at a cost of not less than twenty-five millions of dollars. All this was done to open an outlet for our products of the interior, and those to the west of us, to reach the marts of the world. No State was in greater need of such facilities than Georgia, but we did not ask that these works should be made by appropriations out of the common treasury. The cost of the grading, the superstructure, and equipments of our roads, was borne by those who entered on the enterprise. Nay, more—not only the cost of the iron, no small item in the aggregate cost, was borne in the same way—but we were compelled to pay into the common treasury several millions of dollars for the privilege of importing the iron, after the price was paid for it abroad. What justice was there in taking this money, which our people paid into the common treasury on the importation of our iron, and applying it to the improvement of rivers and harbors elsewhere?

The true principle is to subject the commerce of every locality, to whatever burdens may be necessary to facilitate it. If Charleston harbor needs improvement, let the commerce of Charleston bear the burden. If the mouth of the Savannah river has

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 4)

to be cleared out, let the sea-going navigation which is benefitted by it, bear the burden. So with the mouths of the Alabama and Mississippi river. Just as the products of the interior, our cotton, wheat, corn, and other articles, have to bear the necessary rates of freight over our railroads to reach the seas. This is again the broad principle of perfect equality and justice. [Applause.] And it is especially set forth and established in our new constitution.

Another feature to which I will allude, is that the new constitution provides that cabinet ministers and heads of departments may have the privilege of seats upon the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives—may have the right to participate in the debates and discussions upon the various subjects of administration. I should have preferred that this provision should have gone further, and required the President to select his constitutional advisers from the Senate and House of Representatives. That would have conformed entirely to the practice in the British Parliament, which, in my judgment, is one of the wisest provisions in the British constitution. It is the only feature that saves that government. It is that which gives it stability in its facility to change its administration. Ours, as it is, is a great approximation to the right principle.

Under the old constitution, a secretary of the treasury for instance, had no opportunity, save by his annual reports, of presenting any scheme or plan of finance or other matter. He had no opportunity of explaining, expounding, enforcing, or defending his views of policy; his only resort was through the medium of an organ. In the British parliament, the premier brings in his budget and stands before the nation responsible for its every item. If it is indefensible, he falls before the attacks upon it, as he ought to. This will now be the case to a limited extent under our system. In the new constitution, provision has been made by which our heads of departments can speak for themselves and the administration, in behalf of its entire policy, without resorting to the indirect and highly objectionable medium of a newspaper. It is to be greatly hoped that under our system we shall never have what is known as a government organ. [Rapturous applause.]

[A noise again arose from the clamor of the crowd outside, who wished to hear Mr. Stephens, and for some moments interrupted him. The mayor rose and called on the police to preserve order. Quiet being restored, Mr. S. proceeded.]

Another change in the constitution relates to the length of the tenure of the presidential office. In the new constitution it is six years instead of four, and the President rendered ineligible for a re-election. This is certainly a decidedly conservative change. It will remove from the incumbent all temptation to use his office or exert the powers confided to him for any objects of personal ambition. The only incentive to that higher ambi-

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 5)

tion which should move and actuate one holding such high trusts in his hands, will be the good of the people, the advancement, prosperity, happiness, safety, honor, and true glory of the confederacy. [Applause.]

But not to be tedious in enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow me to allude to one other—though last, not least. The new constitution has put at rest, *forever*, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution—African slavery as it exists amongst us—the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the “rock upon which the old Union would split.” He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock *stood* and *stands*, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in *principle*, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was that, somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the constitution, was the prevailing idea at that time. The constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly urged against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell when the “storm came and the wind blew.”

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. [Applause.]

This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well, that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North, who still cling to these errors, with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics. All fanaticism springs from an aberration of the mind—from a defect in reasoning. It is a species of insanity. One of the most striking characteristics of insanity, in

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 6)

many instances, is forming correct conclusions from fancied or erroneous premises; so with the anti-slavery fanatics; their conclusions are right if their premises were. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. If their premises were correct, their conclusions would be logical and just—but their premise being wrong, their whole argument fails. I recollect once of having heard a gentleman from one of the northern States, of great power and ability, announce in the House of Representatives, with imposing effect, that we of the South would be compelled, ultimately, to yield upon this subject of slavery, that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics, as it was in physics or mechanics. That the principle would ultimately prevail. That we, in maintaining slavery as it exists with us, were warring against a principle, a principle founded in nature, the principle of the equality of men. The reply I made to him was, that upon his own grounds, we should, ultimately, succeed, and that he and his associates, in this crusade against our institutions, would ultimately fail. The truth announced, that it was as impossible to war successfully against a principle in politics as it was in physics and mechanics, I admitted; but told him that it was he, and those acting with him, who were warring against a principle. They were attempting to make things equal which the Creator had made unequal.

In the conflict thus far, success has been on our side, complete throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate States. It is upon this, as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.

As I have stated, the truth of this principle may be slow in development, as all truths are and ever have been, in the various branches of science. It was so with the principles announced by Galileo—it was so with Adam Smith and his principles of political economy. It was so with Harvey, and his theory of the circulation of the blood. It is stated that not a single one of the medical profession, living at the time of the announcement of the truths made by him, admitted them. Now, they are universally acknowledged. May we not, therefore, look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests? It is the first government ever instituted upon the principles in strict conformity to nature, and the ordination of Providence, in furnishing the materials of human society. Many governments have been founded upon the principle of the subordination and serfdom of certain classes of the same race; such were and are in violation of the laws of nature. Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. With us, all of the white race, however high or low, rich or poor, are equal in the eye of the law. Not so with the negro. Subordina

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 7)

tion is his place. He, by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite; then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know, that it is best, not only for the superior, but for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of his ordinances, or to question them. For his own purposes, he has made one race to differ from another, as he has made “one star to differ from another star in glory.”

The great objects of humanity are best attained when there is conformity to his laws and decrees, in the formation of governments as well as in all things else. Our confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these laws. This stone which was rejected by the first builders “is become the chief of the corner”—the real “corner-stone”—in our new edifice. [Applause.]

I have been asked, what of the future? It has been apprehended by some that we would have arrayed against us the civilized world. I care not who or how many they may be against us, when we stand upon the eternal principles of truth, *if we are true to ourselves and the principles for which we contend*, we are obliged to, and must triumph. [Immense applause.]

Thousands of people who begin to understand these truths are not yet completely out of the shell; they do not see them in their length and breadth. We hear much of the civilization and christianization of the barbarous tribes of Africa. In my judgment, those ends will never be attained, but by first teaching them the lesson taught to Adam, that “in the sweat of his brow he should eat his bread,” [applause,] and teaching them to work, and feed, and clothe themselves.

But to pass on: Some have propounded the inquiry whether it is practicable for us to go on with the confederacy without further accessions? Have we the means and ability to maintain nationality among the powers of the earth? On this point I would barely say, that as anxiously as we all have been, and are, for the border States, with institutions similar to ours, to join us, still we are abundantly able to maintain our position, even if they should ultimately make up their minds not to cast their destiny with us. That they ultimately will join us—be compelled to do it—is my confident belief; but we can get on very well without them, even if they should not.

We have all the essential elements of a high national career. The idea has been given out at the North, and even in the border States, that we are too small and too weak to maintain a separate nationality. This is a great mistake. In extent of territory we embrace five hundred and sixty-four thousand square miles and

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 8)

upward. This is upward of two hundred thousand square miles more than was included within the limits of the original thirteen States. It is an area of country more than double the territory of France or the Austrian empire. France, in round numbers, has but two hundred and twelve thousand square miles. Austria, in round numbers, has two hundred and forty-eight thousand square miles. Ours is greater than both combined. It is greater than all France, Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain, including England, Ireland, and Scotland, together. In population we have upward of five millions, according to the census of 1860; this includes white and black. The entire population, including white and black, of the original thirteen States, was less than four millions in 1790, and still less in '76, when the independence of our fathers was achieved. If they, with a less population, dared maintain their independence against the greatest power on earth, shall we have any apprehension of maintaining ours now?

In point of material wealth and resources, we are greatly in advance of them. The taxable property of the Confederate States cannot be less than thirty-two hundred millions of dollars! This, I think I venture but little in saying, may be considered as five times more than the colonies possessed at the time they achieved their independence. Georgia, alone, possessed last year, according to the report of our comptroller-general, six hundred and seventy-two millions of taxable property. The debts of the seven confederate States sum up in the aggregate less than eighteen millions, while the existing debts of the other of the late United States sum up in the aggregate the enormous amount of one hundred and seventy-four millions of dollars. This is without taking into the account the heavy city debts, corporation debts, and railroad debts, which press, and will continue to press, as a heavy incubus upon the resources of those States. These debts, added to others, make a sum total not much under five hundred millions of dollars. With such an area of territory as we have—with such an amount of population—with a climate and soil unsurpassed by any on the face of the earth—with such resources already at our command—with productions which control the commerce of the world—who can entertain any apprehensions as to our ability to succeed, whether others join us or not?

It is true, I believe I state but the common sentiment, when I declare my earnest desire that the border States should join us. The differences of opinion that existed among us anterior to secession, related more to the policy in securing that result by co-operation than from any difference upon the ultimate security we all looked to in common.

These differences of opinion were more in reference to policy than principle, and as Mr. Jefferson said in his inaugural, in 1801, after the heated contest preceding his election, there might be differences of opinion without differences on principle, and

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 9)

that all, to some extent, had been federalists and all republicans ; so it may now be said of us, that whatever differences of opinion as to the best policy in having a co-operation with our border sister slave States, if the worst came to the worst, that as we were all co-operationists, we are now all for independence, whether they come or not. [Continued applause.]

In this connection I take this occasion to state, that I was not without grave and serious apprehensions, that if the worst came to the worst, and cutting loose from the old government should be the only remedy for our safety and security, it would be attended with much more serious ills than it has been as yet. Thus far we have seen none of those incidents which usually attend revolutions. No such material as such convulsions usually throw up has been seen. Wisdom, prudence, and patriotism, have marked every step of our progress thus far. This augurs well for the future, and it is a matter of sincere gratification to me, that I am enabled to make the declaration. Of the men I met in the Congress at Montgomery, I may be pardoned for saying this, an abler, wiser, a more conservative, deliberate, determined, resolute, and patriotic body of men, I never met in my life. [Great applause.] Their works speak for them ; the provisional government speaks for them ; the constitution of the permanent government will be a lasting monument of their worth, merit, and statesmanship. [Applause.]

But to return to the question of the future. What is to be the result of this revolution ?

Will every thing, commenced so well, continue as it has begun ? In reply to this anxious inquiry, I can only say it all depends upon ourselves. A young man starting out in life on his majority, with health, talent, and ability, under a favoring Providence, may be said to be the architect of his own fortunes. His destinies are in his own hands. He may make for himself a name, of honor or dishonor, according to his own acts. If he plants himself upon truth, integrity, honor and uprightness, with industry, patience and energy, he cannot fail of success. So it is with us.

We are a young republic, just entering upon the arena of nations ; we will be the architects of our own fortunes. Our destiny, under Providence, is in our own hands. With wisdom, prudence, and statesmanship on the part of our public men, and intelligence, virtue and patriotism on the part of the people, success, to the full measures of our most sanguine hopes, may be looked for. But if unwise counsels prevail—if we become divided—if schisms arise—if dissensions spring up—if factions are engendered—if party spirit, nourished by unholy personal ambition shall rear its hydra head, I have no good to prophesy for you. Without intelligence, virtue, integrity, and patriotism on the part of the people, no republic or representative government can be durable or stable.

We have intelligence, and virtue, and patriotism. All that is

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 10)

required is to cultivate and perpetuate these. Intelligence will not do without virtue. France was a nation of philosophers. These philosophers become Jacobins. They lacked that virtue, that devotion to moral principle, and that patriotism which is essential to good government. Organized upon principles of perfect justice and right—seeking amity and friendship with all other powers—I see no obstacle in the way of our upward and onward progress. Our growth, by accessions from other States, will depend greatly upon whether we present to the world, as I trust we shall, a better government than that to which neighboring States belong. If we do this, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas cannot hesitate long; neither can Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. They will necessarily gravitate to us by an imperious law. We made ample provision in our constitution for the admission of other States; it is more guarded, and wisely so, I think, than the old constitution on the same subject, but not too guarded to receive them as fast as it may be proper. Looking to the distant future, and, perhaps, not very far distant either, it is not beyond the range of possibility, and even probability, that all the great States of the north-west will gravitate this way, as well as Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, etc. Should they do so, our doors are wide enough to receive them, but not until they are ready to assimilate with us in principle.

The process of disintegration in the old Union may be expected to go on with almost absolute certainty if we pursue the right course. We are now the nucleus of a growing power which, if we are true to ourselves, our destiny, and high mission, will become the controlling power on this continent. To what extent accessions will go on in the process of time, or where it will end, the future will determine. So far as it concerns States of the old Union, this process will be upon no such principles of *reconstruction* as now spoken of, but upon *reorganization* and new assimilation. [Loud applause.] Such are some of the glimpses of the future as I catch them.

But at first we must necessarily meet with the inconveniences and difficulties and embarrassments incident to all changes of government. These will be felt in our postal affairs and changes in the channel of trade. These inconveniences, it is to be hoped, will be but temporary, and must be borne with patience and forbearance.

As to whether we shall have war with our late confederates, or whether all matters of differences between us shall be amicably settled, I can only say that the prospect for a peaceful adjustment is better, so far as I am informed, than it has been.

The prospect of war is, at least, not so threatening as it has been. The idea of coercion, shadowed forth in President Lincoln's inaugural, seems not to be followed up thus far so vigorously as was expected. Fort Sumter, it is believed, will soon be

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 11)

evacuated. What course will be pursued toward Fort Pickens, and the other forts on the gulf, is not so well understood. It is to be greatly desired that all of them should be surrendered. Our object is *peace*, not only with the North, but with the world. All matters relating to the public property, public liabilities of the Union when we were members of it, we are ready and willing to adjust and settle upon the principles of right, equity, and good faith. War can be of no more benefit to the North than to us. Whether the intention of evacuating Fort Sumter is to be received as an evidence of a desire for a peaceful solution of our difficulties with the United States, or the result of necessity, I will not undertake to say. I would fain hope the former. Rumors are afloat, however, that it is the result of necessity. All I can say to you, therefore, on that point is, keep your armor bright and your powder dry. [Enthusiastic cheering.]

The surest way to secure peace, is to show your ability to maintain your rights. The principles and position of the present administration of the United States—the republican party—present some puzzling questions. While it is a fixed principle with them never to allow the increase of a foot of slave territory, they seem to be equally determined not to part with an inch “of the accursed soil.” Notwithstanding their clamor against the institution, they seemed to be equally opposed to getting more, or letting go what they have got. They were ready to fight on the accession of Texas, and are equally ready to fight now on her secession. Why is this? How can this strange paradox be accounted for? There seems to be but one rational solution—and that is, notwithstanding their professions of humanity, they are disinclined to give up the benefits they derive from slave labor. Their philanthropy yields to their interest. The idea of enforcing the laws, has but one object, and that is a collection of the taxes, raised by slave labor to swell the fund, necessary to meet their heavy appropriations. The spoils is what they are after—though they come from the labor of the slave. [Continued applause.]

Mr. Stephens reviewed at some length, the extravagance and profligacy of appropriations by the Congress of the United States for several years past, and in this connection took occasion to allude to another one of the great improvements in our new constitution, which is a clause prohibiting Congress from appropriating any money from the treasury, except by a two-third vote, unless it be for some object which the executive may say is necessary to carry on the government.

When it is thus asked for, and estimated for, he continued, the majority may appropriate. This was a new feature.

Our fathers had guarded the assessment of taxes by insisting that representation and taxation should go together. This was

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 12)

inherited from the mother country, England. It was one of the principles upon which the revolution had been fought. Our fathers also provided in the old constitution, that all appropriation bills should originate in the representative branch of Congress, but our new constitution went a step further, and guarded not only the pockets of the people, but also the public money, after it was taken from their pockets.

He alluded to the difficulties and embarrassments which seemed to surround the question of a peaceful solution of the controversy with the old government. How can it be done? is perplexing many minds. The President seems to think that he cannot recognize our independence, nor can he, with and by the advice of the Senate, do so. The constitution makes no such provision. A general convention of all the States has been suggested by some.

Without proposing to solve the difficulty, he barely made the following suggestion:

“That as the admission of States by Congress under the constitution was an act of legislation, and in the nature of a contract or compact between the States admitted and the others admitting, why should not this contract or compact be regarded as of like character with all other civil contracts—liable to be rescinded by mutual agreement of both parties? The seceding States have rescinded it on their part, they have resumed their sovereignty. Why cannot the whole question be settled, if the north desire peace, simply by the Congress, in both branches, with the concurrence of the President, giving their consent to the separation, and a recognition of our independence?” This he merely offered as a suggestion, as one of the ways in which it might be done with much less violence by constructions to the constitution than many other acts of that government. [Applause.] The difficulty has to be solved in some way or other—this may be regarded as a fixed fact.

Several other points were alluded to by Mr. Stephens, particularly as to the policy of the new government toward foreign nations, and our commercial relations with them. Free trade, as far as practicable, would be the policy of this government. No higher duties would be imposed on foreign importations than would be necessary to support the government upon the strictest economy.

In olden times the olive branch was considered the emblem of peace; we will send to the nations of the earth another and far more potential emblem of the same, the cotton plant. The present duties were levied with a view of meeting the present necessities and exigencies, in preparation for war, if need be; but if we have peace, and he hoped we might, and trade should resume its proper course, a duty of ten per cent. upon foreign importations it was thought might be sufficient to meet the expenditures of the

“Cornerstone Speech” by Alexander Stephens in Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861 (Pg. 13)

SPEECH BEFORE THE VIRGINIA SECESSION CONVENTION. 729

government. If some articles should be left on the free list, as they now are, such as breadstuffs, etc., then, of course, duties upon others would have to be higher—but in no event to an extent to embarrass trade and commerce. He concluded in an earnest appeal for union and harmony, on part of all the people in support of the common cause, in which we were all enlisted, and upon the issues of which such great consequences depend.

If, said he, we are true to ourselves, true to our cause, true to our destiny, true to our high mission, in presenting to the world the highest type of civilization ever exhibited by man—there will be found in our lexicon no such word as fail.

Mr. Stephens took his seat, amid a burst of enthusiasm and applause, such as the Athenæum has never had displayed within its walls, within “the recollection of the oldest inhabitant.”

[REPORTER'S NOTE.—Your reporter begs to state that the above is not a perfect report, but only such a sketch of the address of Mr. Stephens as embraces, in his judgment, the most important points presented by the orator.—G.]

SPEECH BEFORE THE VIRGINIA SECESSION CONVENTION.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23D, 1861.

The President having again resumed the chair, said :

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION :—I have the honor to introduce the Hon. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, Vice-President of the Confederate States, who comes charged with a special mission from the Confederate States to the government of Virginia.

SPEECH OF THE HON. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION :—I appear before you on this occasion upon your own invitation, representing the government of the Confederate States. My mission was at your instance, in compliance with a resolution inviting that government to send a commissioner here. The powers by which I am accredited were, I presume, communicated to you by your executive yesterday ; and I have simply in this interview, in accordance with your request, to state to you very freely, candidly, and frankly, what are the wishes and objects of our government in sending me here. I will premise by stating with equal candor and frankness that the communication from this convention to our government inviting this conference, was received with a great deal of gratification. I presume that no event since the separation of the more southern States from the late Union, has occurred to give such unbounded pleasure to the whole

Petitions from Iowa Recorded in the U.S. Senate Journal, between 1850 and 1864 (May 21, 1850)

1850, May 21.] JOURNAL OF THE SENATE.

345

TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1850.

Mr. Bright presented four petitions of citizens of Indiana, praying the establishment of a mail route from Otterredage to Scipio, in that State; which were referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Mr. Bright presented the memorial of Seth M. Leavenworth, praying compensation for damages sustained in consequence of an alleged violation, on the part of the Postmaster General, of his contract for carrying the mail; which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Mr. Seward presented a memorial of the Life-saving Benevolent Association of New York, praying that an appropriation may be made to enable them to complete their apparatus for rescuing the crews and passengers of wrecked and stranded vessels; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. Dickinson presented the memorial of Edward Lynch, praying that an improvement invented by him, called a condenser and evaporator, may be attached to the boilers of the United States steamer Jefferson; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. Corwin presented a memorial of the mayor and common council of Cincinnati, Ohio, praying the erection of a marine hospital at that place; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. Felch presented a petition of citizens of Minnesota Territory, praying a grant of land for the purpose of constructing a magnetic telegraph in that territory; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

On motion by Mr. Seward,

Ordered, That the petition of citizens of Maine, praying that a government vessel may be employed to convey delegates from the United States to the Peace Convention at Frankfort, in Germany, be referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. Upham presented two petitions of citizens of Vermont, praying that no State may hereafter be admitted into the Union whose constitution does not prohibit slavery within its limits.

Ordered, That they lie on the table.

Mr. Hale presented two petitions of citizens of New Hampshire, two petitions of citizens of Massachusetts, two petitions of citizens of Ohio, a petition of citizens of New Jersey, a petition of citizens of Maine, a petition of citizens of Connecticut, and a petition of citizens of Pennsylvania, praying that no State may hereafter be admitted into the Union whose constitution does not prohibit slavery within its limits.

Ordered, That the said petitions lie on the table.

Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, presented a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying that no State may hereafter be admitted into the Union whose constitution does not prohibit slavery within its limits; a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying that slavery may be prohibited by law in the territories of the United States; a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying that slavery and the slave trade may be abolished in the District of Columbia, or the seat of government removed therefrom; and a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying that the right of trial by jury may be allowed by law to fugitive slaves.

Ordered, That the said petitions lie on the table.

The Vice President laid before the Senate a report of the Secretary of War, made in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, accompanied

Petitions from Iowa Recorded in the U.S. Senate Journal, between 1850 and 1864 (June 8, 1850)

384

JOURNAL OF THE SENATE. [1850, June 8.

SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1850.

Mr. Sebastian submitted documents in relation to the claim of Isaac Graves, a soldier in the last war with Great Britain, to a pension; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. Clay presented a petition of William Holmes, Henry C. White, and others, citizens of the United States, praying the adoption of measures for encouraging the emigration of the African race from the United States.

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

Mr. Chase presented a petition of C. W. Klotz, D. B. Wyandt, and other citizens of the United States, praying that the public domain may be granted in limited quantities to actual settlers not possessed of other lands; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. Chase presented two memorials of citizens of Ohio, praying that slavery may be abolished in the District of Columbia, and prohibited by law in the territories of the United States, that no more slaveholding States be admitted into the Union, that the right of trial by jury may be allowed by law to fugitive slaves, and the domestic slave trade abolished; a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying that slavery may be prohibited by law in the territories of the United States; a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying that slavery may be abolished in the District of Columbia, or the seat of government removed therefrom; and a petition of citizens of Ohio, praying that the right of trial by jury may be allowed by law to fugitive slaves.

Ordered, That the said memorials and petitions lie on the table.

The Vice President laid before the Senate a report of the Secretary of the Interior, made in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, exhibiting the expenses of the administration of justice in the District of Columbia for a period of ten years; which was read.

On motion by Mr. Walker, that it be printed,

Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 148) to make further appropriations for public buildings in the Territories of Minnesota and Oregon, reported it without amendment.

The Senate proceeded to consider the said bill, as in Committee of the Whole; and, no amendment being made, it was reported to the Senate.

Ordered, That it pass to a third reading.

The said bill was read a third time.

Resolved, That this bill pass.

Ordered, That the Secretary notify the House of Representatives thereof.

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution submitted by Mr. Benton, the 4th instant, in relation to the amounts collected for duties in the ports of California within the period therein specified; and the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Benton submitted a document relating to certain claims of the State of California; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution submitted by Mr. Cass, the 5th instant, directing the Secretary of War to furnish the Senate with a copy of Lieutenant Simpson's report of a military reconnoissance; which was modified, amended, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved. That the Secretary of the Department of War furnish the

Petitions from Iowa Recorded in the U.S. Senate Journal, between 1850 and 1864 (March 7, 1854)

Mr. Sumner presented a petition of citizens of Pennsylvania, remonstrating against any infringement of the Missouri compromise.

Mr. Sumner presented a petition of the legal voters of Marlborough, Massachusetts, praying Congress to preserve inviolate the Missouri compromise.

Ordered, That the said petitions lie on the table.

Mr. Weller presented the memorial of Douglass Ottinger, a captain in the revenue service, praying compensation for his invention for saving life and property from shipwrecked vessels; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. Seward presented a memorial of citizens of Orleans county, New York, praying the construction of a ship canal around the falls of Niagara; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. Seward presented the petition of H. N. Holt and his family, and resolutions passed at a meeting of the people of Sing-Sing, New York, held the 27th February, 1854, opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise.

Ordered, That they lie on the table.

Mr. Seward presented a petition of citizens of Conewango, New York, praying the repeal of all laws sanctioning slavery; and a petition of citizens of Tonawanda, New York, praying that the bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska may not be passed in any shape that will impair the Missouri compromise.

Ordered, That they lie on the table.

Mr. Jones, of Iowa, presented a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying the establishment of a mail route from Marengo to Toledo, and on the north side of the Iowa river, from Marengo to Marietta; which was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Mr. Jones, of Iowa, presented a memorial of citizens of Iowa, praying that a grant of land may be made to aid in the construction of the Iowa Central airline railroad; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. Slidell presented the memorial of Sarah D. Brigham, praying permission to locate land within the Bastrop grant; which was referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, presented the proceedings of a meeting of the Freemans Association, held at Ossian, Iowa, opposed to the extension of slavery into Nebraska; and a petition of citizens of Iowa, remonstrating against the passage of any bill, which will permit slavery in Nebraska, or otherwise infringe the Missouri compromise.

Ordered, That they lie on the table.

Mr. Fish presented the petition of Jane Becannon, widow of Phillip Becannon, a revolutionary soldier, praying a pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. Fish presented a petition of the chancellor and faculty of the University of New York, praying a grant of a township of land to each chartered college or university in the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. Fish presented documents relative to the claim of Ornan Randall to pay and bounty land for services in the last war with Great Britain; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Petitions from Iowa Recorded in the U.S. Senate Journal, between 1850 and 1864 (Jan. 17, 1862)

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Morris, chief clerk :

Mr. President: The House of Representatives has passed the following bills; in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate.

H. R. 109. An act to prohibit the "coolie trade" by American citizens in American vessels.

H. R. 113. An act concerning the closing of the office of surveyor general at St. Louis, and for other purposes.

H. R. 217. An act to provide for furnishing prisoners of the United States army in the revolted States with clothing and other necessary supplies.

H. R. 219. An act amending the provisions of the second section of the act of January 20, 1857, enforcing the attendance of witnesses before committees of either house of Congress.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives having signed an enrolled resolution, (H. R. 25.) I am directed to bring it to the Senate for the signature of its President.

Mr. Browning reported, from the committee, that they had examined and found duly enrolled the resolution (H. R. 25) for the sale of the ruins of the Washington Infirmary.

Mr. Grimes presented a petition of citizens of Kossuth, Iowa, praying the abolition of slavery throughout the country, and that all the inhabitants of the United States, bond and free, may be called upon to aid in the support of the government.

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

Mr. Trumbull presented three petitions of citizens of Monroe county, Illinois, praying the total abolition of slavery throughout the country, and for compensation to loyal masters or owners.

Ordered, That they lie on the table.

Mr. Trumbull presented the memorial of C. S. Sanford, a citizen of New York, praying protection for those who, in good faith, have dealt with Messrs. Cummings and Tucker, agents of the War Department, now disowned and unrecognized by the Secretary of War; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

On motion by Mr. Fessenden,

Ordered, That the petition of Frederick E. Sickles, on the files of the Senate, be referred to the Committee on Patents and the Patent Office.

Mr. Harlan presented a memorial of citizens of the District of Columbia, praying a repeal or suspension of the act of December 27, 1854, prohibiting the circulation of small notes as a currency in the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. Harlan presented a petition of citizens of Florence, Nebraska, praying the location of a national armory at Rock Island, Illinois.

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

Mr. Harlan presented a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying the location of a national armory at Rock Island, Illinois.

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

Petitions from Iowa Recorded in the U.S. Senate Journal, between 1850 and 1864 (Jan. 17, 1862)

JAN. 17, 1862.] JOURNAL OF THE SENATE.

119

Mr. Rice presented a memorial of chaplains in the army, praying that, in any reduction in the pay of the army which Congress may make, the pay of chaplains may not be reduced below that of captains of infantry; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Harlan presented a petitions of citizens of Linn county, Iowa, praying the abolition of slavery, and that all the inhabitants of the United States, bond and free, may be called upon to aid in the support of the government. ✓

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

Mr. Anthony presented the memorial of Dominick Lynch, a lieutenant in the United States navy, praying that the President be authorized to restore him to his original position on the active service list of the navy; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. Harlan presented a petition of citizens of Davenport, Iowa, praying the total abolition of slavery throughout the country. ✓

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

Mr. Wilmot presented a petition of citizens of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, praying that homœopathic physicians may be appointed as surgeons in the army and navy; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

Mr. Sherman presented a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Cincinnati, praying the location of a national armory at Cincinnati, Ohio; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

On motion by Mr. Foot,

Ordered, That Aaron H. Palmer have leave to withdraw his petition and papers.

Mr. Browning presented the petition of Samuel Noah, of Mount Pulaski, Logan county, Iowa, praying a pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. Browning presented a petition of citizens of Hancock county, Illinois, praying the location of a national armory and arsenal at the foot of the lower rapids in the Mississippi river, in Hancock county, Illinois; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

Mr. Collamer, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 161) abolishing the franking privilege, reported it with an amendment.

On motion by Mr. Collamer,

Ordered, That the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 140) abolishing the franking privilege.

Mr. Collamer, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 193) in relation to the letters of sailors and marines in the service of the United States, reported it without amendment.

The Senate proceeded to consider the said bill, as in Committee of the Whole, and no amendment being made, it was reported to the Senate.

Petitions from Iowa Recorded in the U.S. Senate Journal, between 1850 and 1864 (Feb. 20, 1862)

224

JOURNAL OF THE SENATE. [FEB. 20, 1862.]

Ordered, That it pass to a third reading.

The said bill was read the third time, by unanimous consent.

Resolved, That it pass.

Ordered, That the Secretary notify the House of Representatives thereof.

Mr. Clark presented the petition of John R. Joy, praying an increase of pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. Harlan presented the petition of Captain B. McMahon, praying compensation for services as instructor and riding master to the first Missouri cavalry, by appointment of General John C. Frémont; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

Mr. Harlan presented two petitions of citizens of Iowa, praying the total abolition of slavery throughout the country.

Ordered, That they lie on the table.

Mr. Sumner presented a petition of citizens of Pennsylvania, and a petition of citizens of Massachusetts, praying the total abolition of slavery throughout the country.

Ordered, That they lie on the table.

Mr. Browning reported from the committee that they had examined and found duly enrolled the bill (H. R. 286) making an appropriation to illuminate the public buildings.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Etheridge, its Clerk:

Mr. President: The House of Representatives has passed the resolution of the Senate (S. 37) for the collection of war statistics.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives having signed an enrolled bill, (H. R. 286,) I am directed to bring it to the Senate for the signature of its President.

Mr. Carlile presented a petition of citizens of Washington, in the District of Columbia, praying Congress, for the sake of the soldiers and citizens, to prevent the construction of wooden buildings for hospitals in the centre of the city, and that the location of such buildings may be selected with regard to the health of the city; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

Mr. Wilkinson submitted the following resolution; which was considered, by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Indian Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation to defray the expenses of holding a council and making a treaty with the Chippewa Indians in northern Minnesota, with a view to the purchase of a part of their lands in that State, and that said committee report by bill or otherwise.

Mr. Wilkinson submitted the following resolution; which was considered, by unanimous consent, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed:

Whereas Lazarus W. Powell, a senator from the State of Kentucky, after eleven States had published their ordinances of secession, by which to sever themselves from the government of the United

Petitions from Iowa Recorded in the U.S. Senate Journal, between 1850 and 1864 (Dec. 18, 1863)

California, praying a reduction of the tax on the production of wine to three per cent. ad valorem; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

On motion by Mr. Conness that the memorial be printed,

Ordered, That the motion be referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. Howe presented a petition of citizens of Wisconsin, praying an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, incorporating therein a provision prohibiting slavery in all the States and Territories; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Grimes presented a petition of citizens of Clayton county, Iowa, praying the adoption of measures for the immediate abolition of slavery in the so-called border States; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Harding asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to bring in a bill (S. 23) granting lands to the State of Oregon to aid in the construction of a military road from Eugene City to the southern or eastern boundary of said State; which was read the first and second times, by unanimous consent, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. Harding asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to bring in a bill (S. 24) granting lands to the State of Oregon to aid in the construction of a military road from the Dalles of Columbia river to a point at or near the mouth of Owyee river; which was read the first and second times, by unanimous consent, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. Harding asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to bring in a bill (S. 25) to authorize the President to negotiate a treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and other Indian tribes in southeastern Oregon; which was read the first and second times, by unanimous consent, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. Wilson, from the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, to whom was recommitted the bill (S. 7) to increase the bounty for volunteers and the pay of the army, reported it with amendments.

Mr. Wilson, from the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, to whom was referred the bill (S. 18) to amend an act entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1863, reported it with amendments.

Mr. McDougall was, on his motion, excused from further service as a member of the Committee on Private Land Claims.

On motion by Mr. Doolittle,

Ordered, That when the Senate adjourn, it be to Monday next.

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution submitted by Mr. Sumner, the 17th instant, proposing an additional rule of the Senate requiring senators, before entering upon the duties of their office, to take and subscribe the oath prescribed by the act of July 2, 1862; and

An amendment being proposed by Mr. Saulsbury,

On motion by Mr. Saulsbury that the resolution and the proposed amendment be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary,

After debate,

On motion by Mr. McDougall that the resolution lie on the table,

It was determined in the negative.

On motion by Mr. Doolittle that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business,

It was determined in the negative.

On the question to agree to the motion of Mr. Saulsbury,

It was determined in the negative, { Yeas..... 15
Nays..... 26

Petitions from Iowa Recorded in the U.S. Senate Journal, between 1850 and 1864 (Feb. 23, 1864)

FEB. 23, 1864.]

JOURNAL OF THE SENATE.

177

Mr. Foot thereupon took the chair.

Ordered, That the Secretary wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that, in the absence of the Vice-President, the Senate has chosen the Honorable Solomon Foot President of the Senate pro tempore, and that he make a similar communication to the House of Representatives.

The President pro tempore laid before the Senate a report of the Secretary of War, communicating, in obedience to law, a statement of expenditures from the appropriations for contingencies of that department, its offices and bureaus during the fiscal years ending June 30, 1862, and June 30, 1863; which was read.

Ordered, That it lie on the table, and be printed.

Mr. Grimes presented a petition of citizens of Iowa, praying the abolition of slavery, and an amendment of the Constitution of the United States prohibiting its existence forever hereafter in any portion of the country; which was referred to the Select Committee on Slavery and Freedmen.

Mr. Sumner presented the petition of Job B. Stockton, praying that at the close of the present war the regular standing army of the United States may consist of two hundred thousand colored troops, to be officered by white men; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

Mr. Sumner presented a petition of volunteers who enlisted for the term of nine months in the United States service, praying a bounty of twenty-five dollars; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

Mr. Sumner presented a petition of citizens of New York, praying that all the soldiers of our army may be placed on the same footing in respect to bounty, pay, and pension, without regard to difference of color; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

Mr. Sumner presented a petition of women of Ohio, praying the adoption of measures to ameliorate the condition of persons who have been freed from slavery during the present war; which was referred to the Select Committee on Slavery and Freedmen.

Mr. Sumner presented a petition of Josiah Quincy and other citizens of Massachusetts, praying an amendment of the Constitution of the United States prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude within all the States and Territories, except as a punishment for crime.

Ordered, That it lie on the table.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. McPherson, its Clerk:

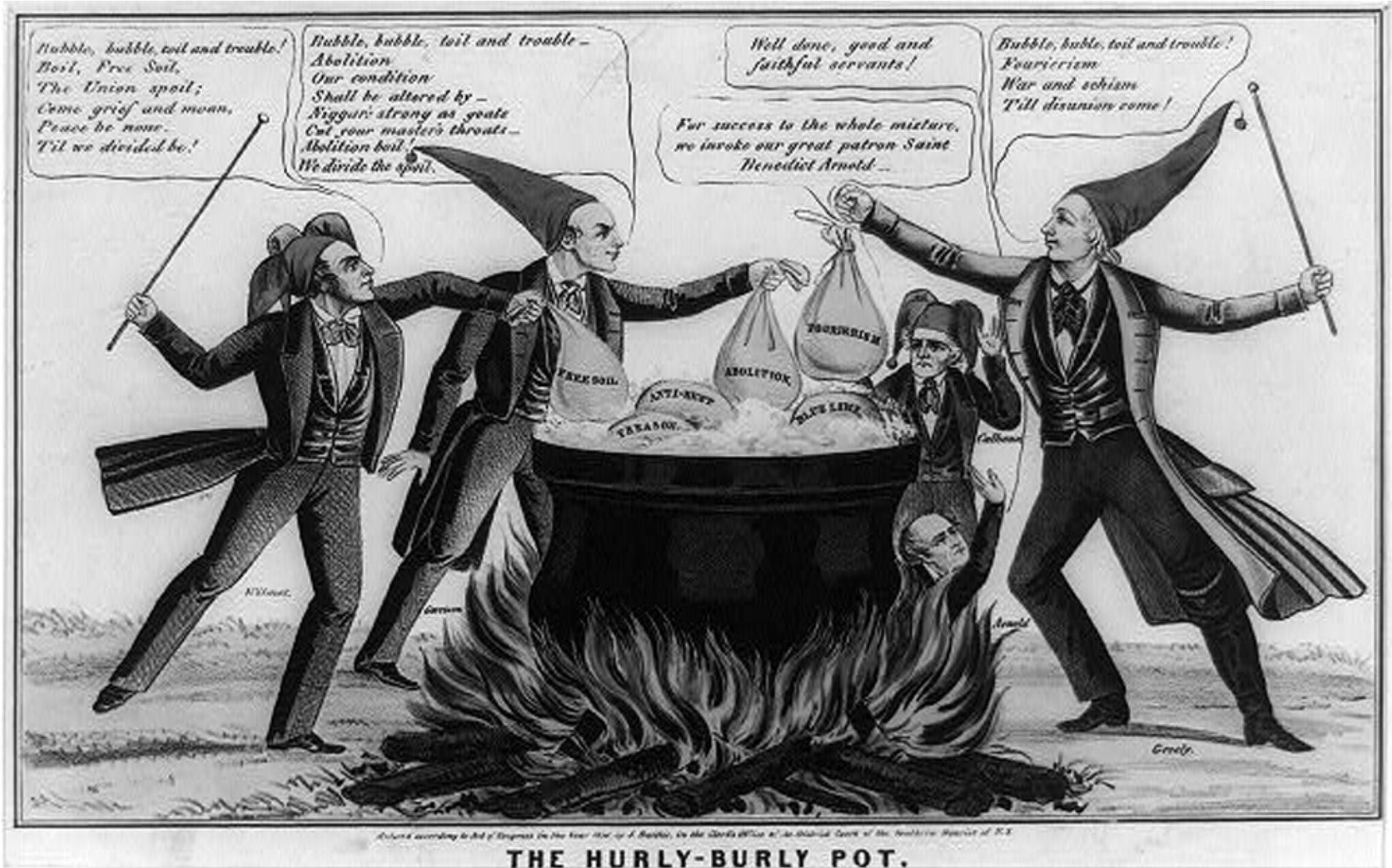
Mr. President: The House of Representatives has agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two houses on the bill of the Senate (S. 36) to amend an act entitled "An act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1863.

Mr. Ramsey presented the memorial of Carlisle Doble, praying compensation for services rendered and expenses incurred in carrying the mail on route No. 14006, between Taylor's Falls, Minnesota, and Superior, Wisconsin; which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

Mr. Wilson presented a petition of soldiers who enlisted prior to the 3d of May, 1861, and served the term of two years, and of soldiers who enlisted in old regiments for the unexpired term thereof and served accordingly, and of soldiers who enlisted for two and three years, but have been discharged on account of disabilities incurred in the service, praying a bounty of one hundred dollars; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia.

Mr. Morgan presented a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the

“The Hurly-Burly Pot” Cartoon, 1850



“The Hercules of the Union, Slaying the Great Dragon of Secession” Cartoon, 1861



“The Hercules of the Union, Slaying the Great Dragon of Secession,” Currier & Ives, New York, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

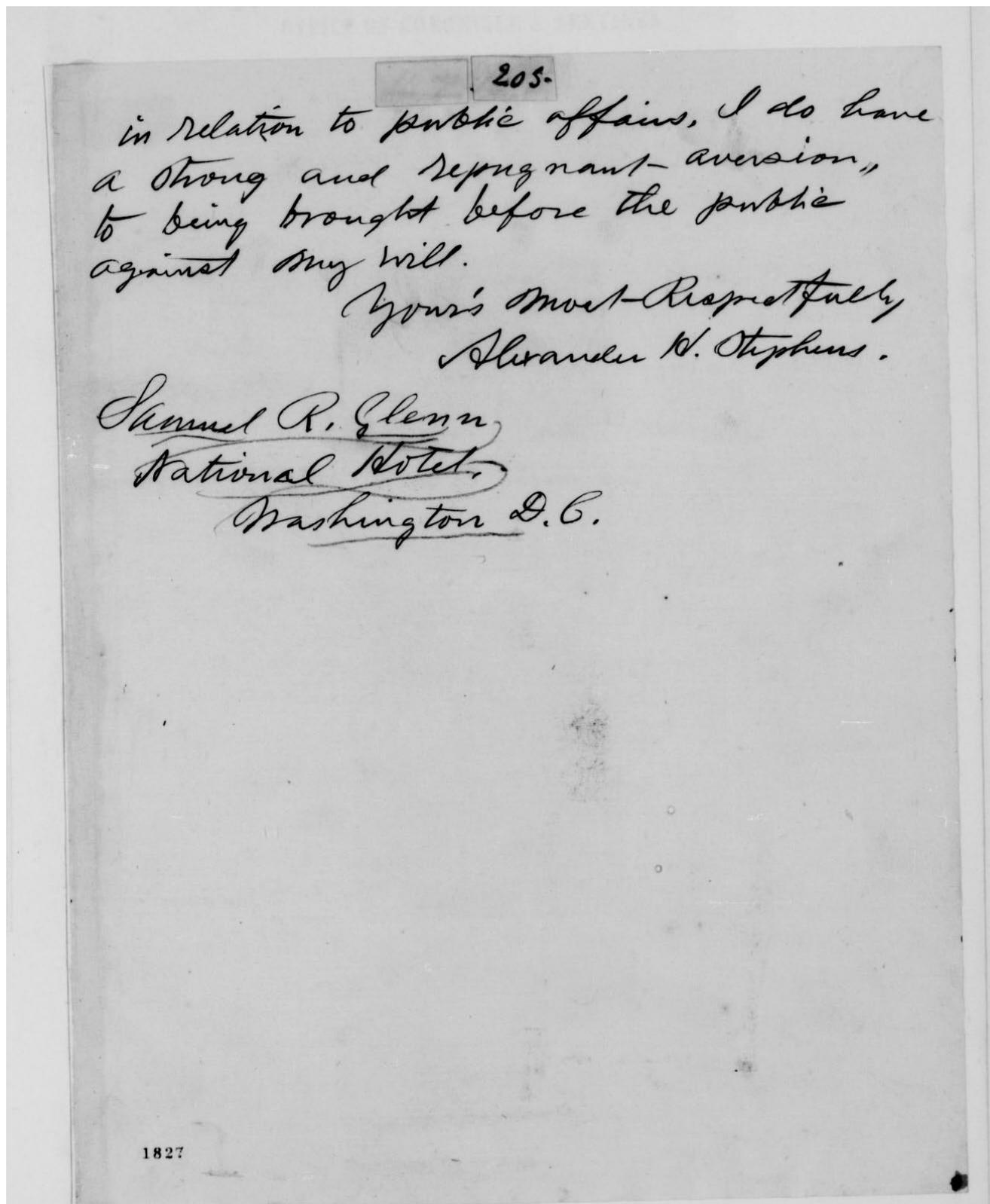
Alexander Hamilton Stephens' Papers, January 10 to February 14, 1861 (Pg.1)

204

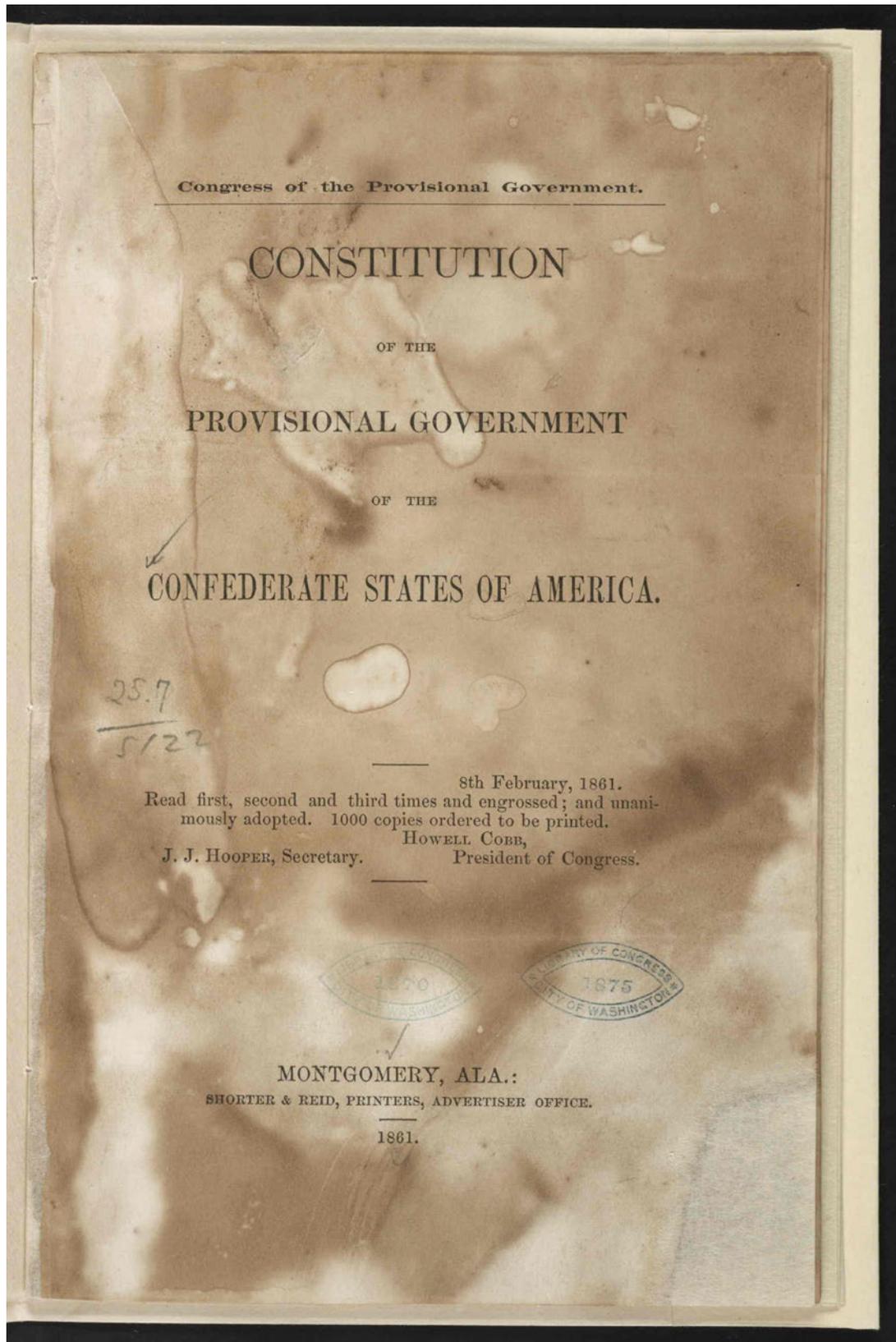
The enclosed slip you will see, is the
opinion I made in our state Convention,
— it is badly printed but you can understand
it. We are now in the midst of a
revolution. That may be acted upon as a
fixed, immovable fact. It is bootless to
argue the causes that produced it, or
whether it be a good or a bad thing in
itself. The former will be the task of
the historian. The latter is a problem
that the future alone can solve. The wise
man, the patriot and statesman in either
action — will take the fact as it exists,
and do the best he can under circumstances
as he finds them, for the good, the peace,
wellfare and happiness of his own
country. I have neither room or time to
say more, and what I have ^{of course} said, is
intended ~~of course~~ only for your self. The
great objection to private letters of this character
being brought before the public, arises from the
haste with which they are generally sketched.
This is particularly the case with myself.
While I have no special confidences to
enjoin, in any thing I write to any body,

1826

Alexander Hamilton Stephens' Papers, January 10 to February 14, 1861 (Pg.2)

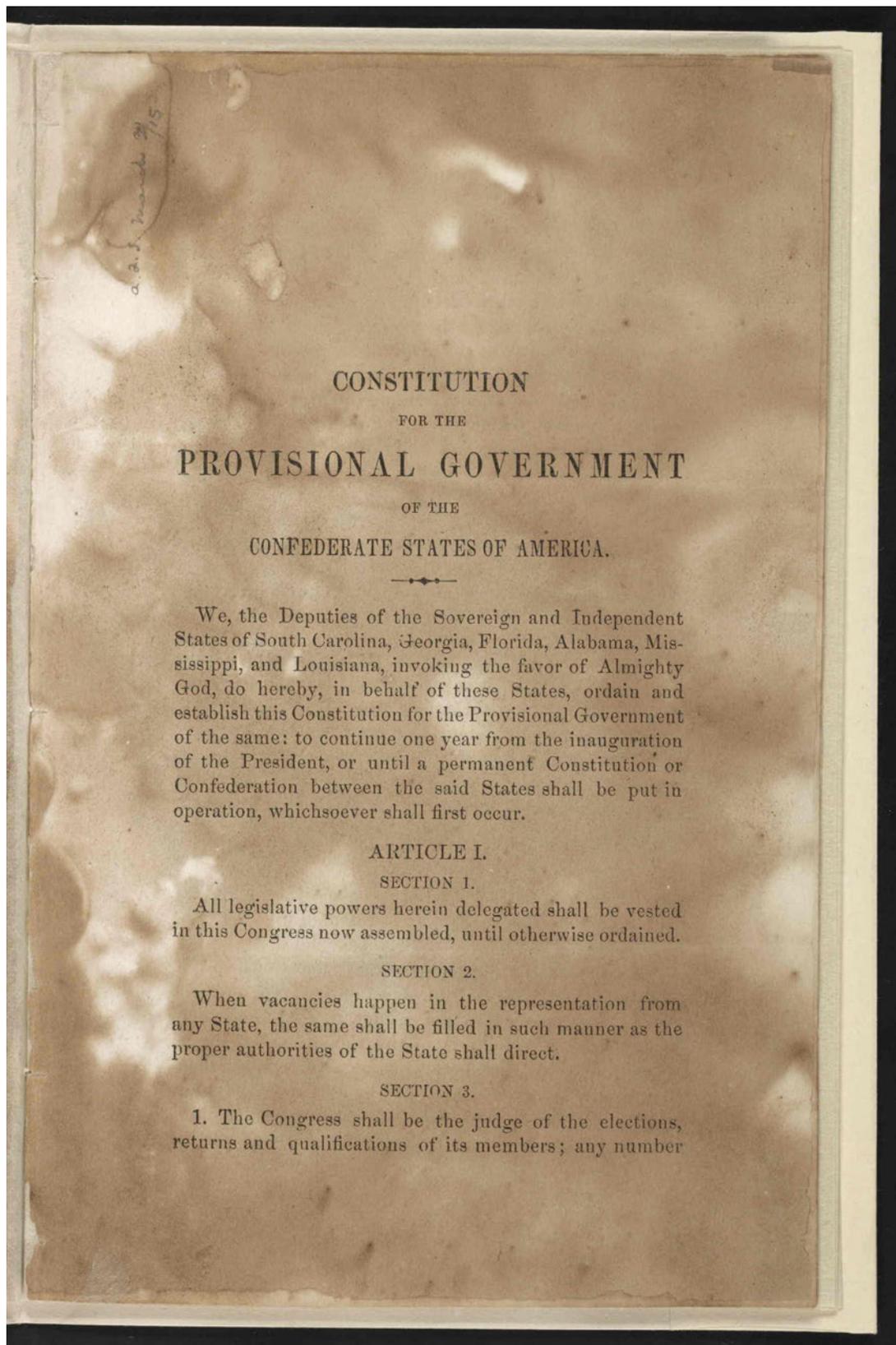


Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 1)



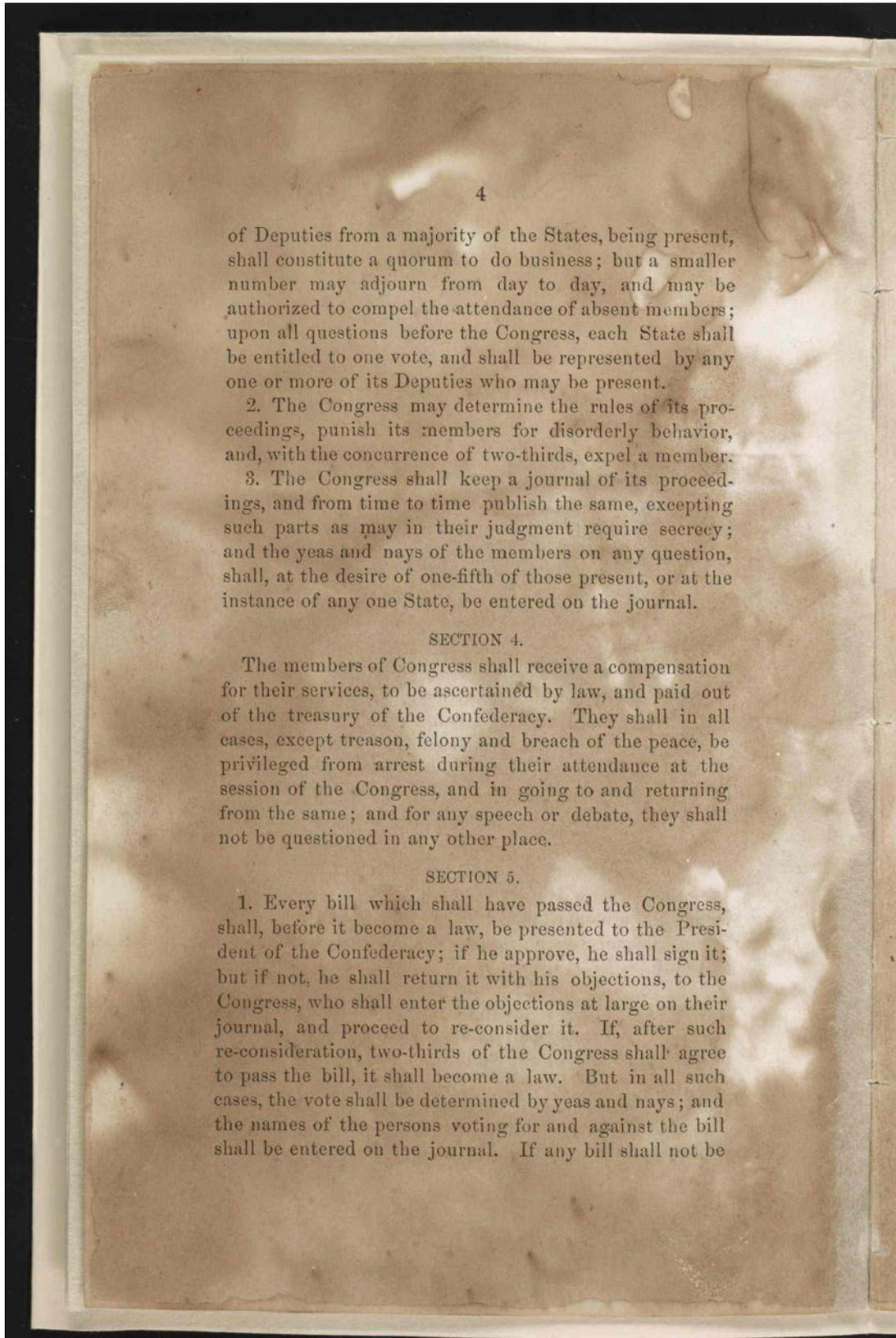
"Constitution of the Confederate States of America," Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 2)



“Constitution of the Confederate States of America,” Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 3)



4

of Deputies from a majority of the States, being present, shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members; upon all questions before the Congress, each State shall be entitled to one vote, and shall be represented by any one or more of its Deputies who may be present.

2. The Congress may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

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

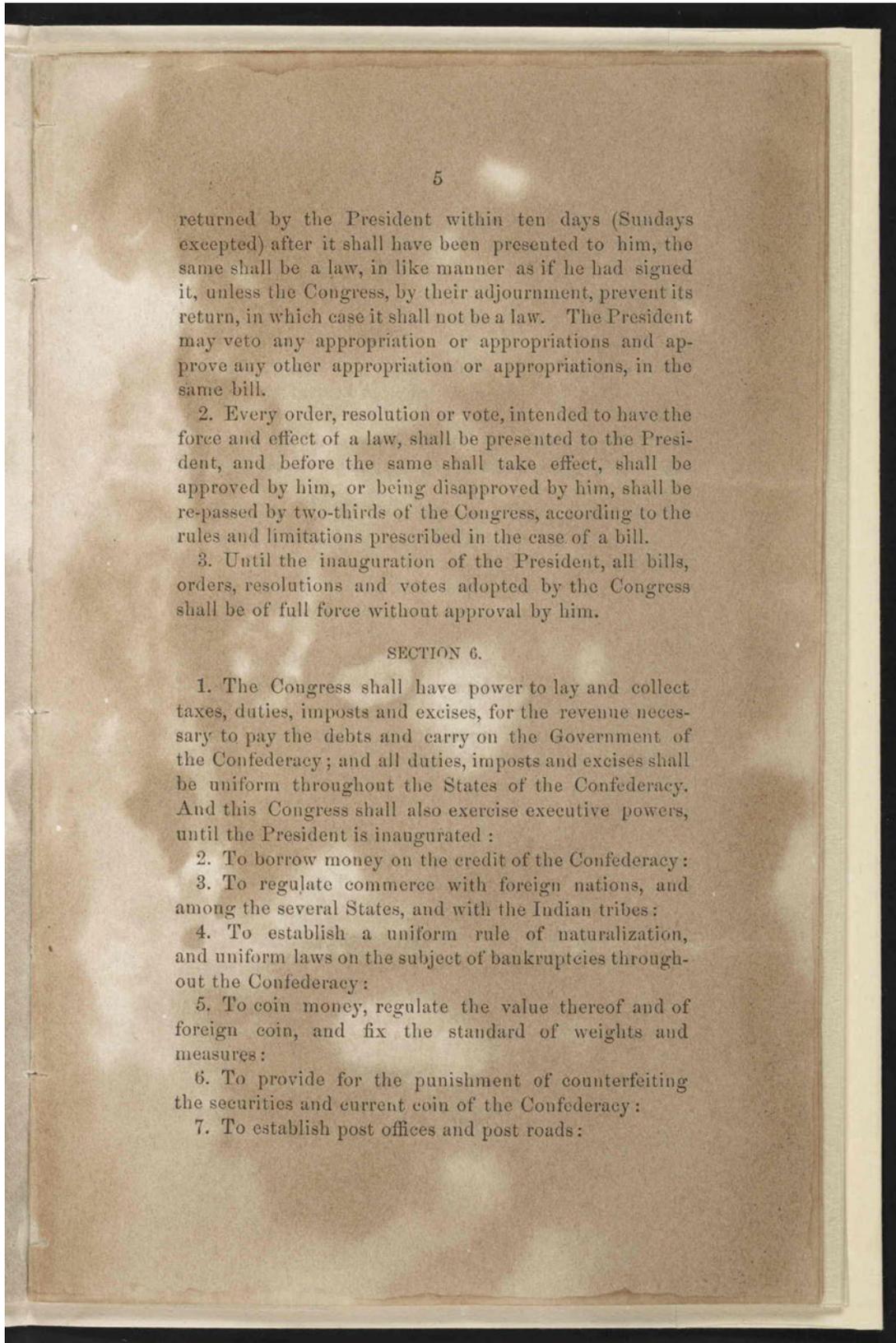
SECTION 4.

The members of Congress shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the Confederacy. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of the Congress, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

SECTION 5.

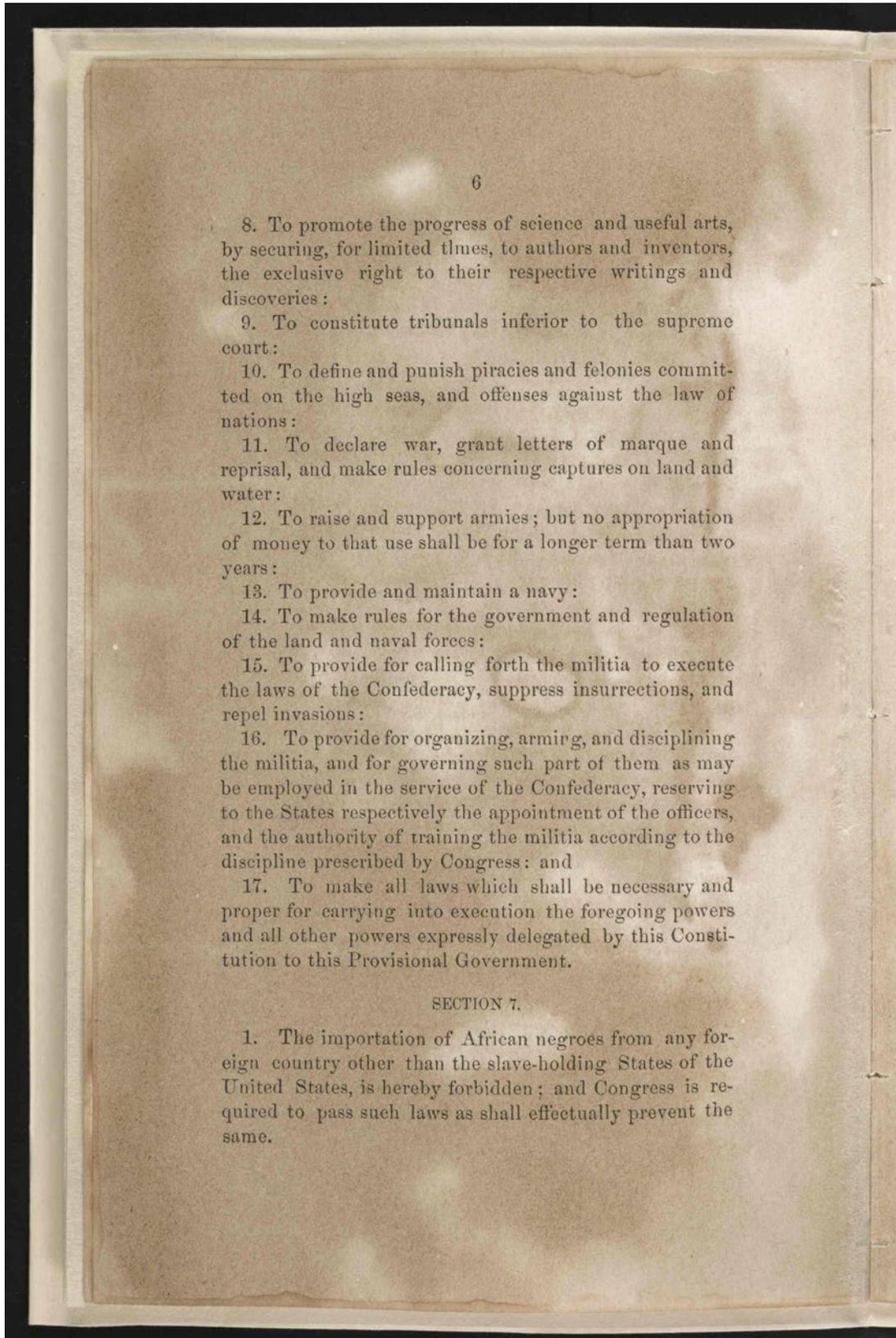
1. Every bill which shall have passed the Congress, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the Confederacy; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections, to the Congress, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-consider it. If, after such re-consideration, two-thirds of the Congress shall agree to pass the bill, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal. If any bill shall not be

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 4)



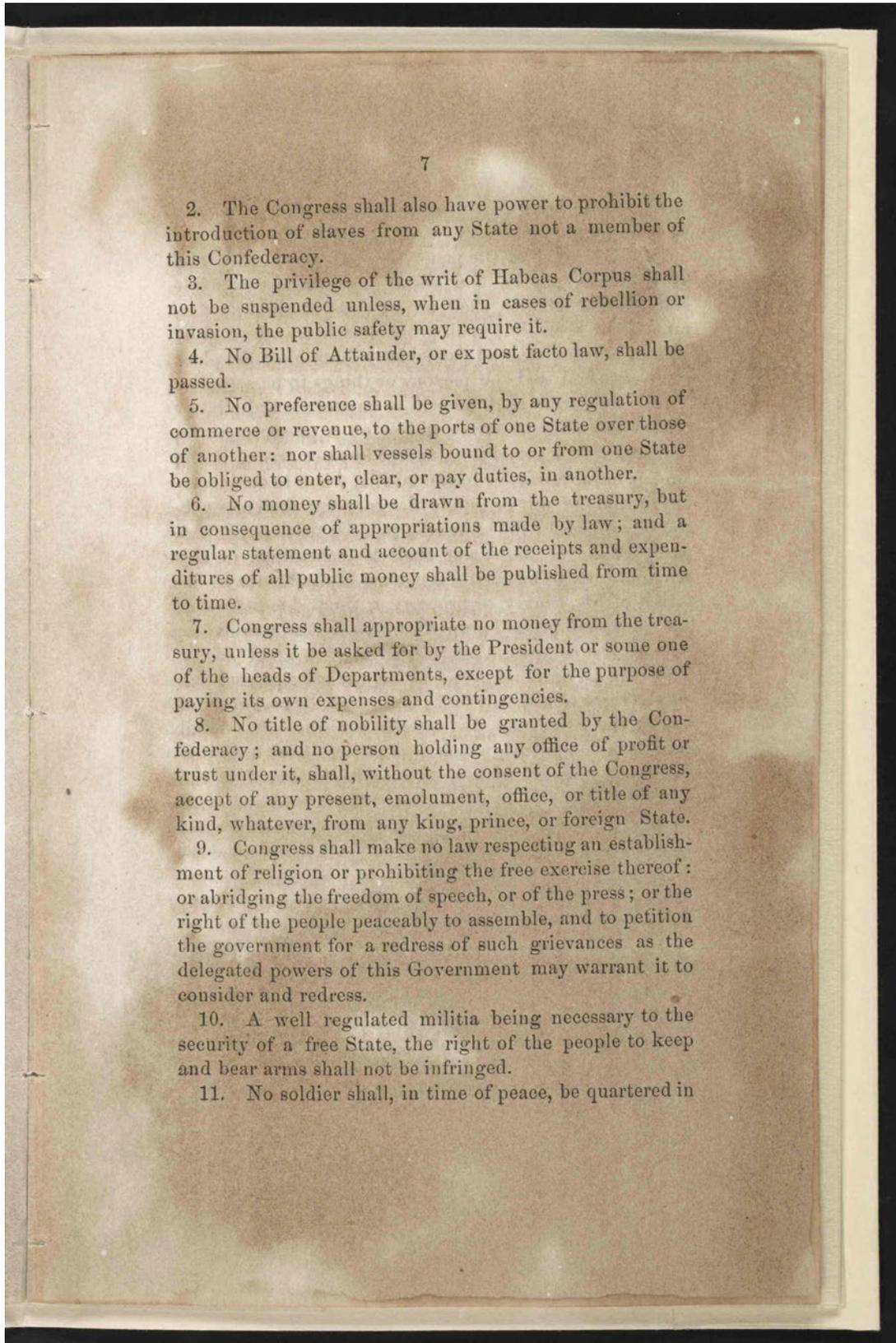
“Constitution of the Confederate States of America,” Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 5)



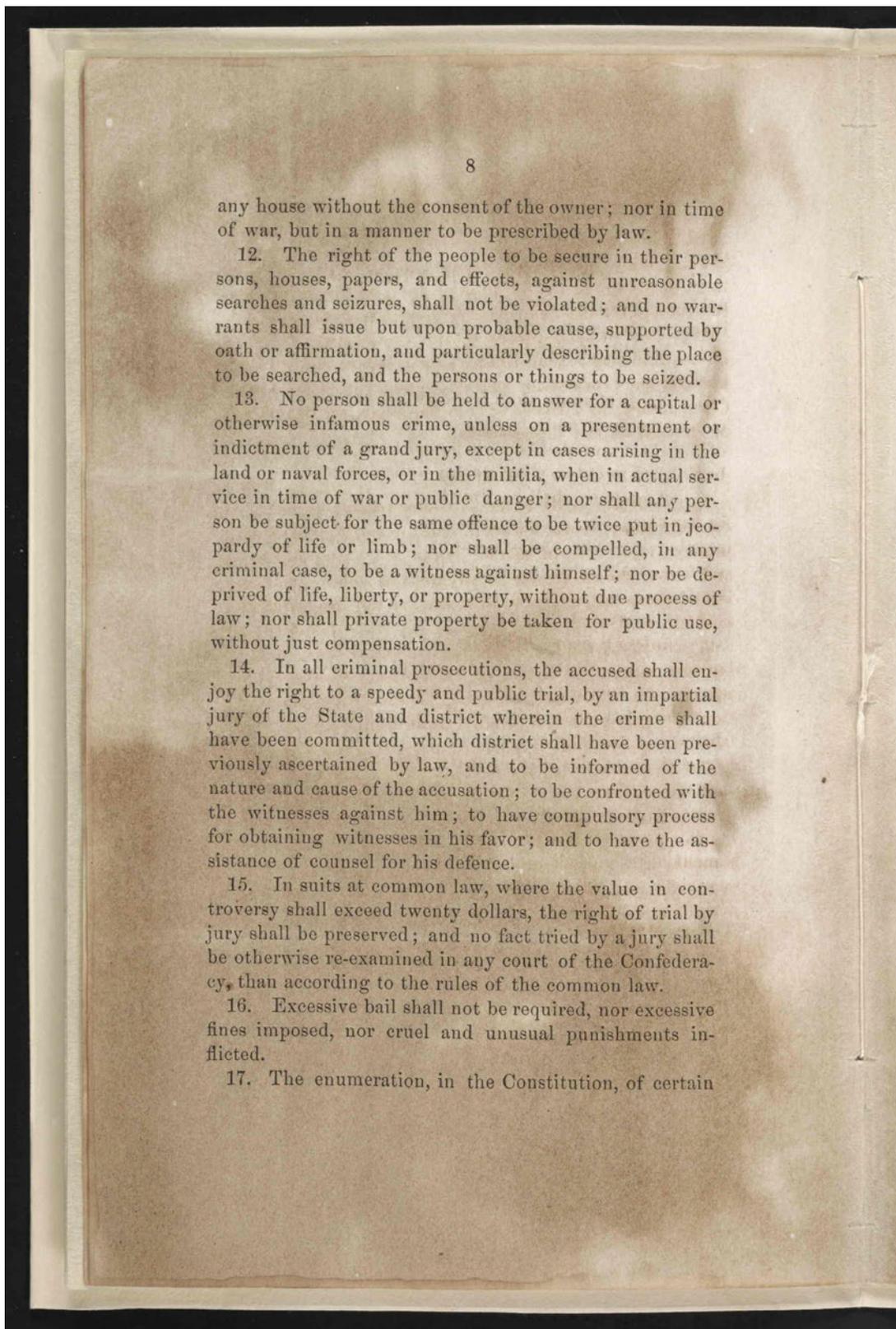
“Constitution of the Confederate States of America,” Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 6)



“Constitution of the Confederate States of America,” Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 7)



8

any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

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

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

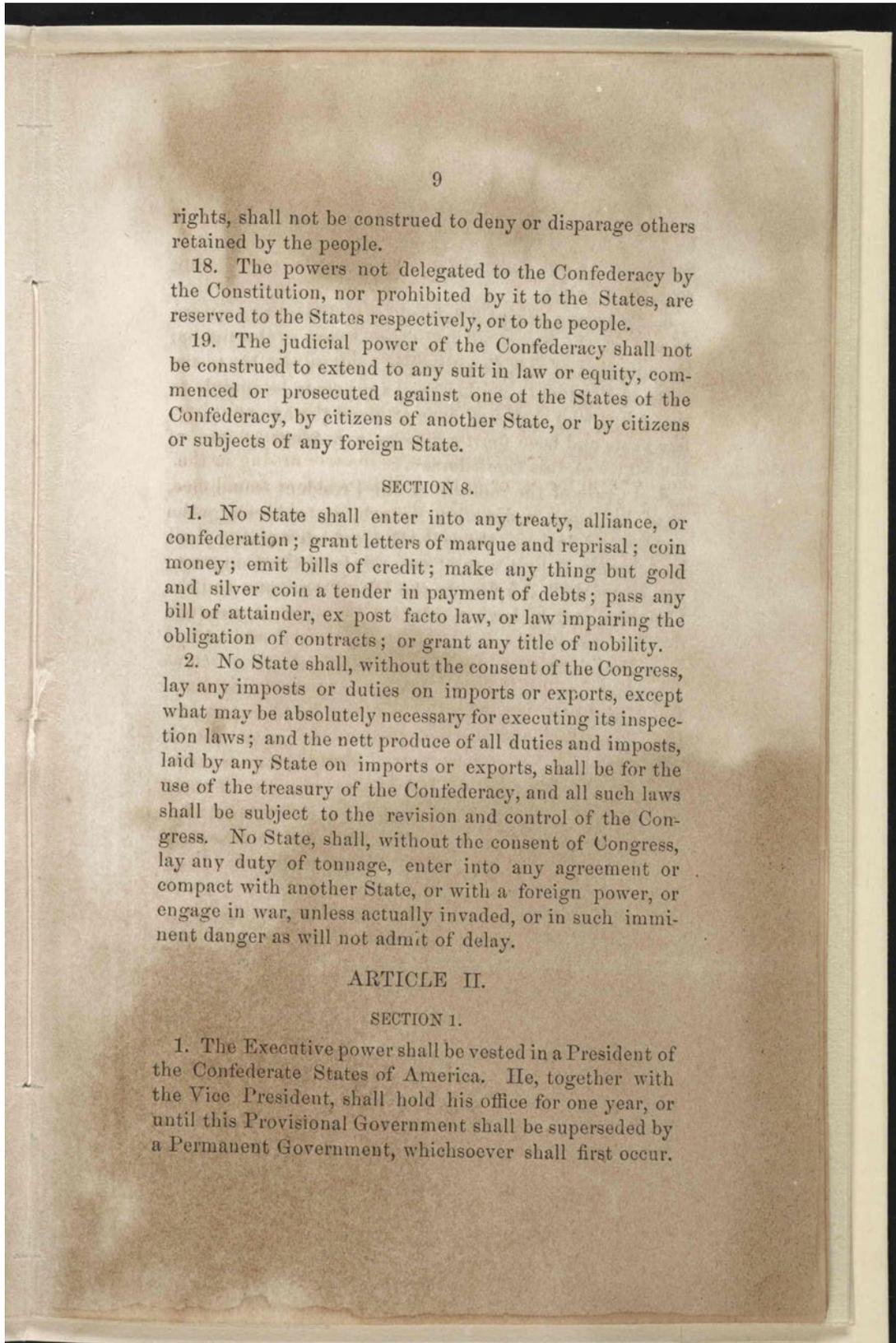
14. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the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

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

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

17. The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 8)



“Constitution of the Confederate States of America,” Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 9)

10

2. The President and Vice President shall be elected by ballot by the States represented in this Congress, each State casting one vote, and a majority of the whole being requisite to elect.

3. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of one of the States of this Confederacy at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident of one of the States of this Confederacy.

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

5. The President shall at stated times receive for his services, during the period of the Provisional Government, a compensation at the rate of twenty-five thousand dollars per annum; and he shall not receive during that period any other emolument from this Confederacy, or any of the States thereof.

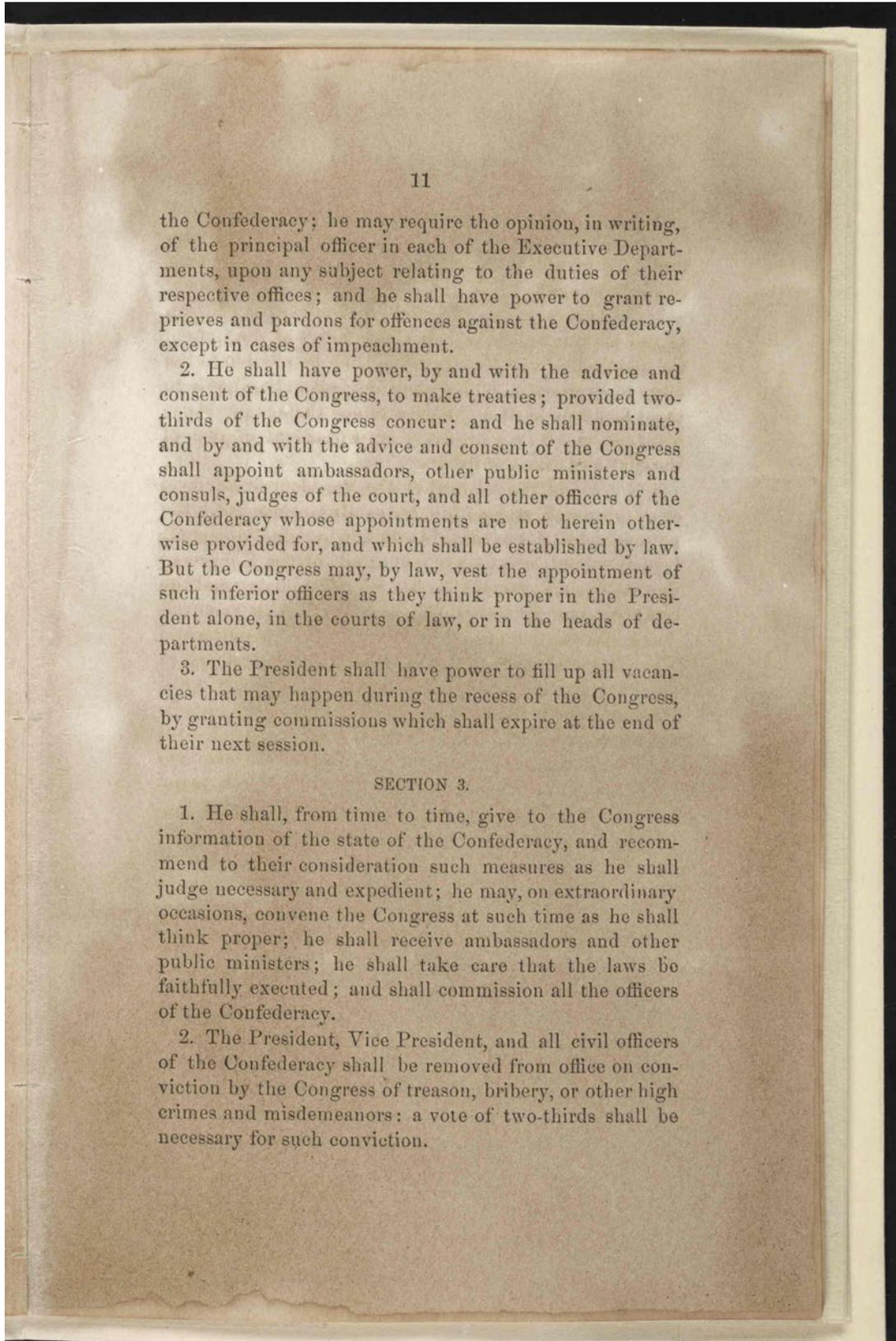
6. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

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

SECTION 2.

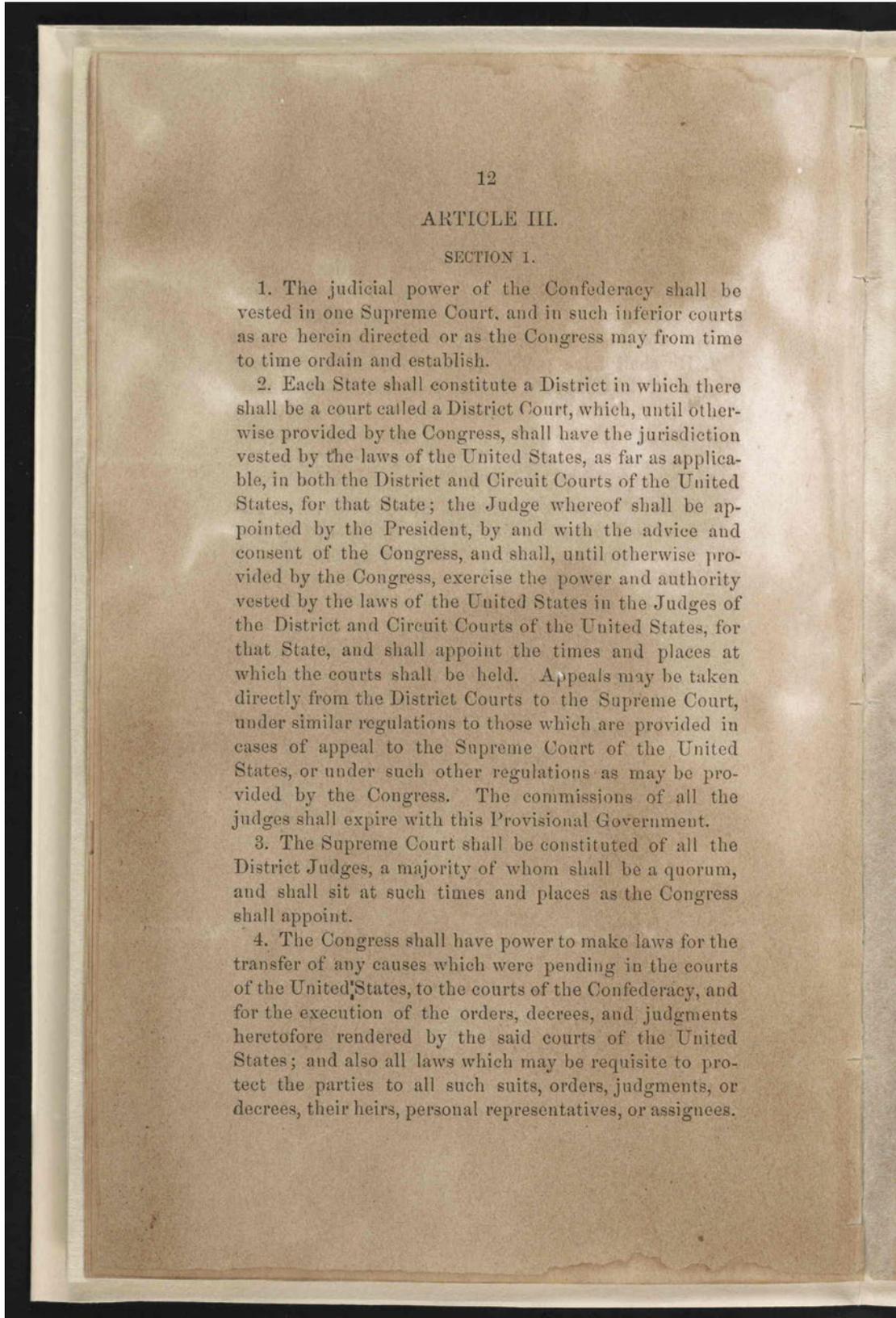
1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the Confederacy, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 10)



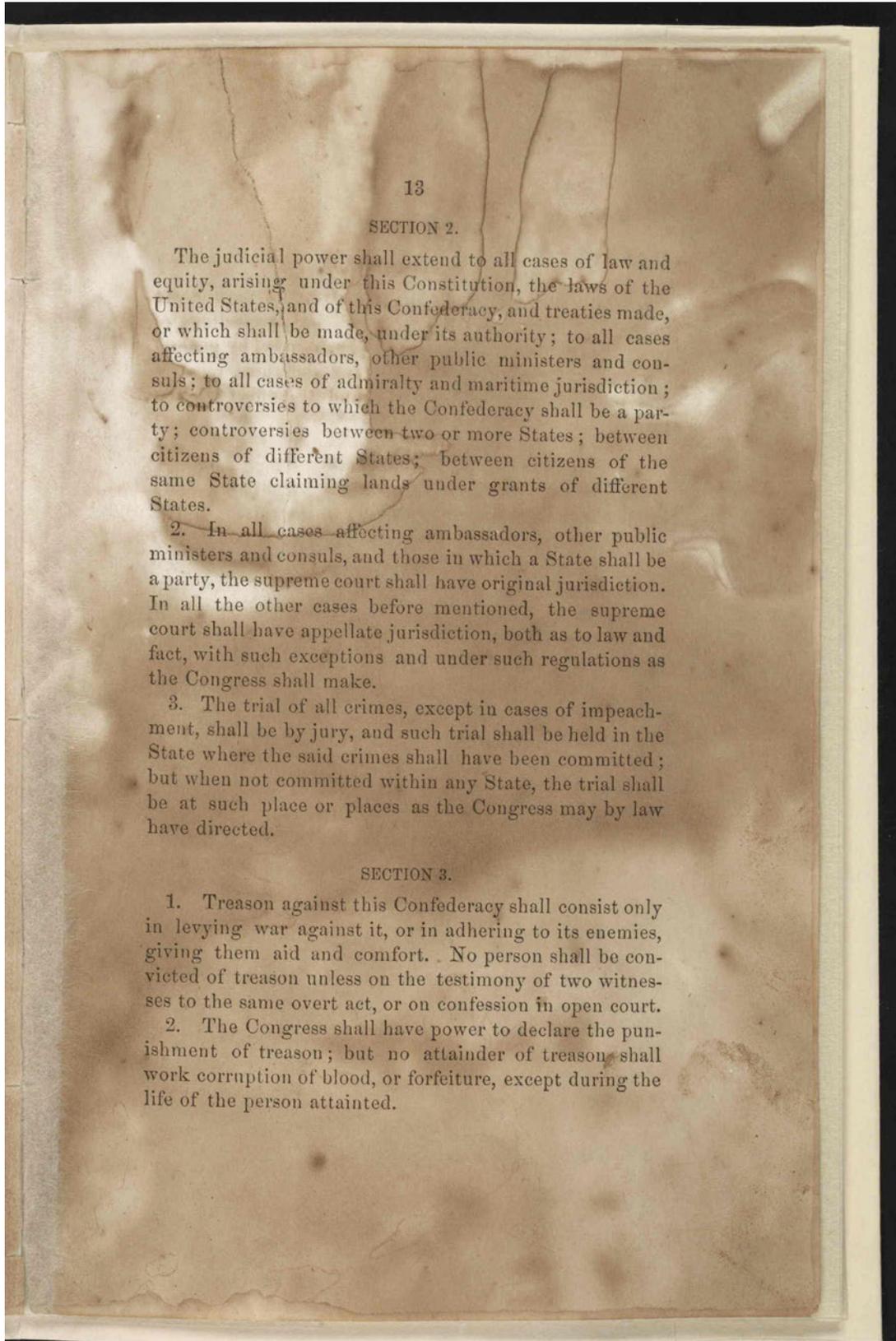
“Constitution of the Confederate States of America,” Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 11)



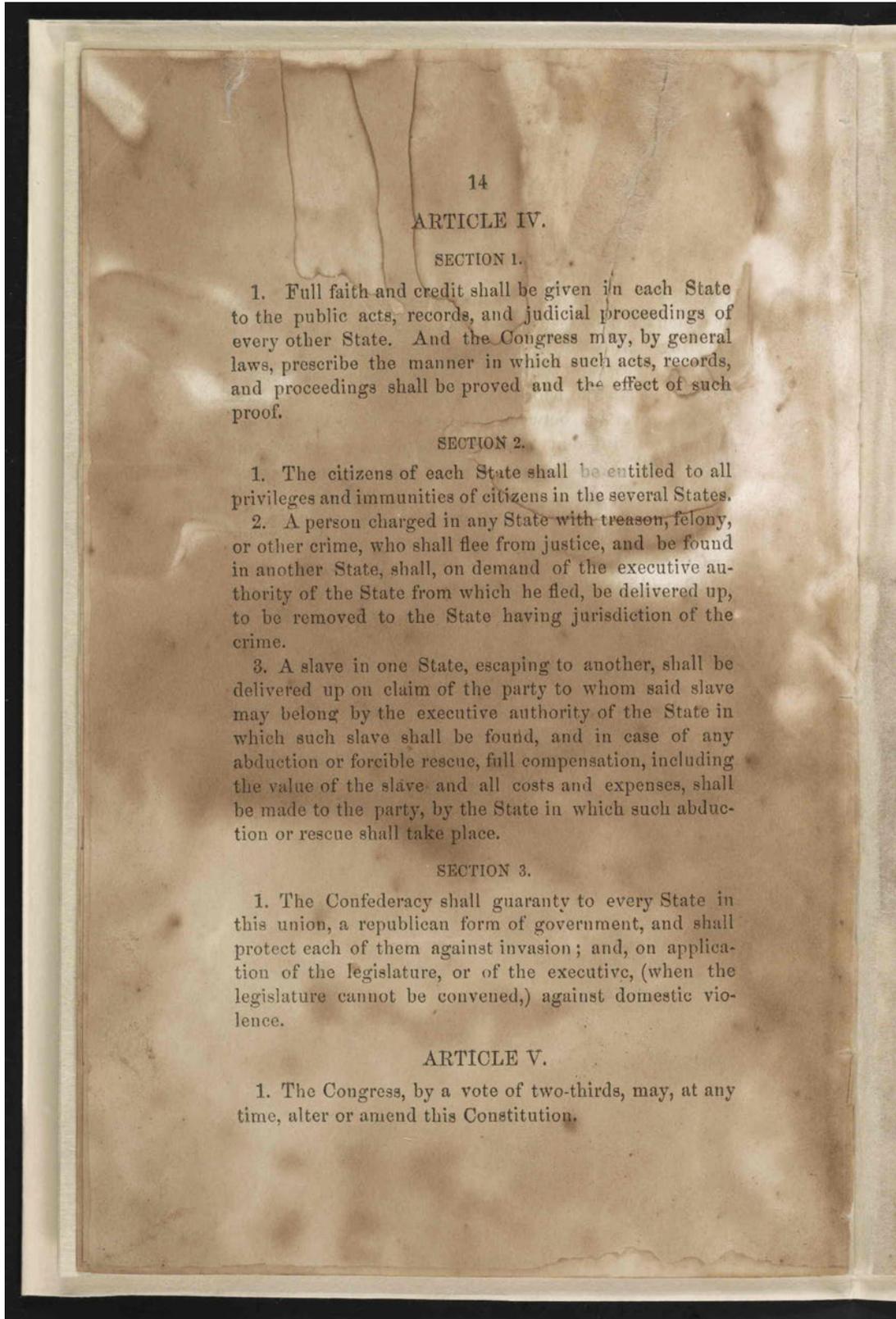
“Constitution of the Confederate States of America,” Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 12)

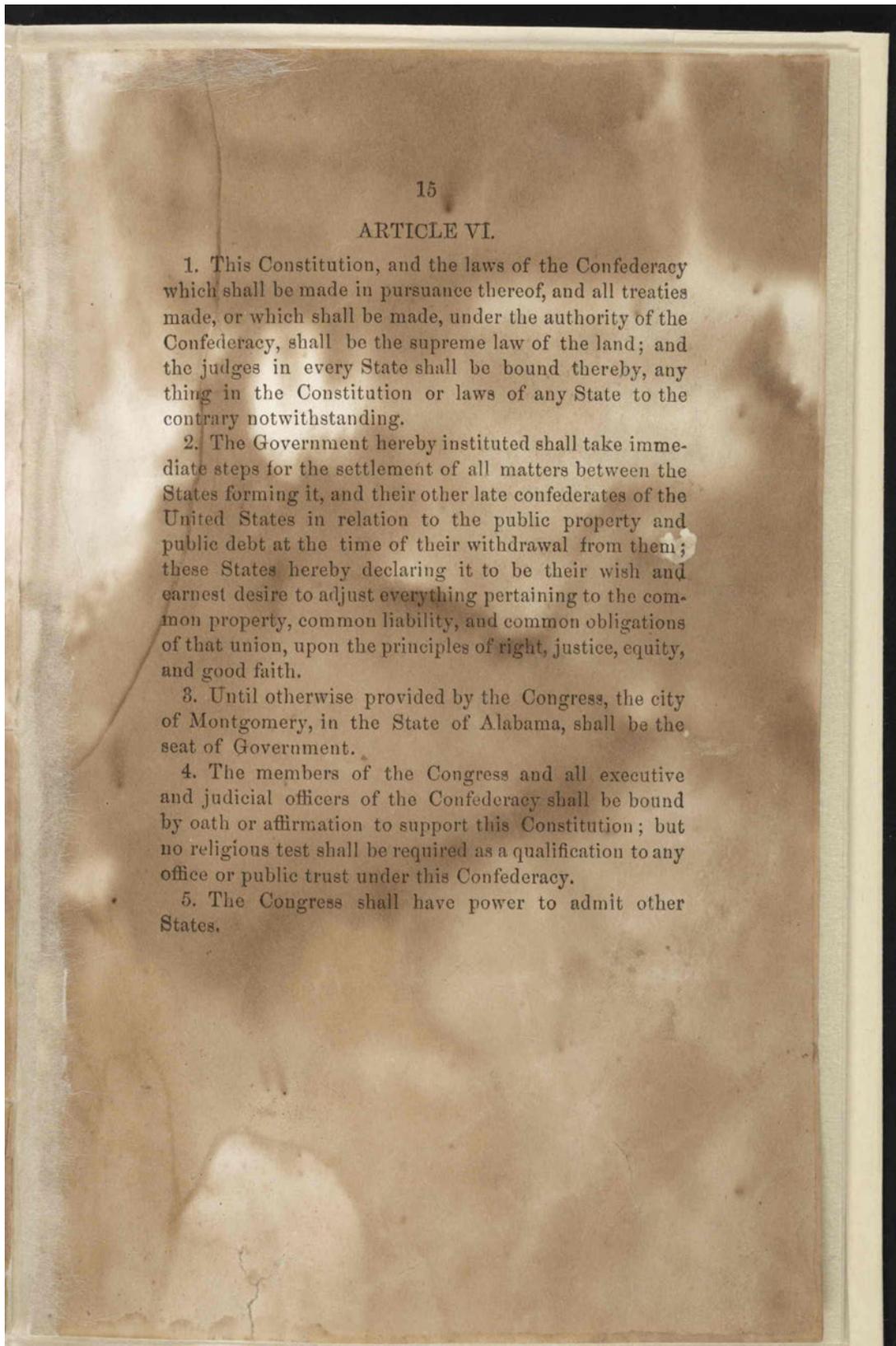


“Constitution of the Confederate States of America,” Shorter & Reid, Montgomery, Alabama, 1861.
[Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)

Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 13)



Constitution of the Confederate States of America, 1861 (Pg. 14)



15

ARTICLE VI.

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

2. The Government hereby instituted shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it, and their other late confederates of the United States in relation to the public property and public debt at the time of their withdrawal from them; these States hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust everything pertaining to the common property, common liability, and common obligations of that union, upon the principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith.

3. Until otherwise provided by the Congress, the city of Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, shall be the seat of Government.

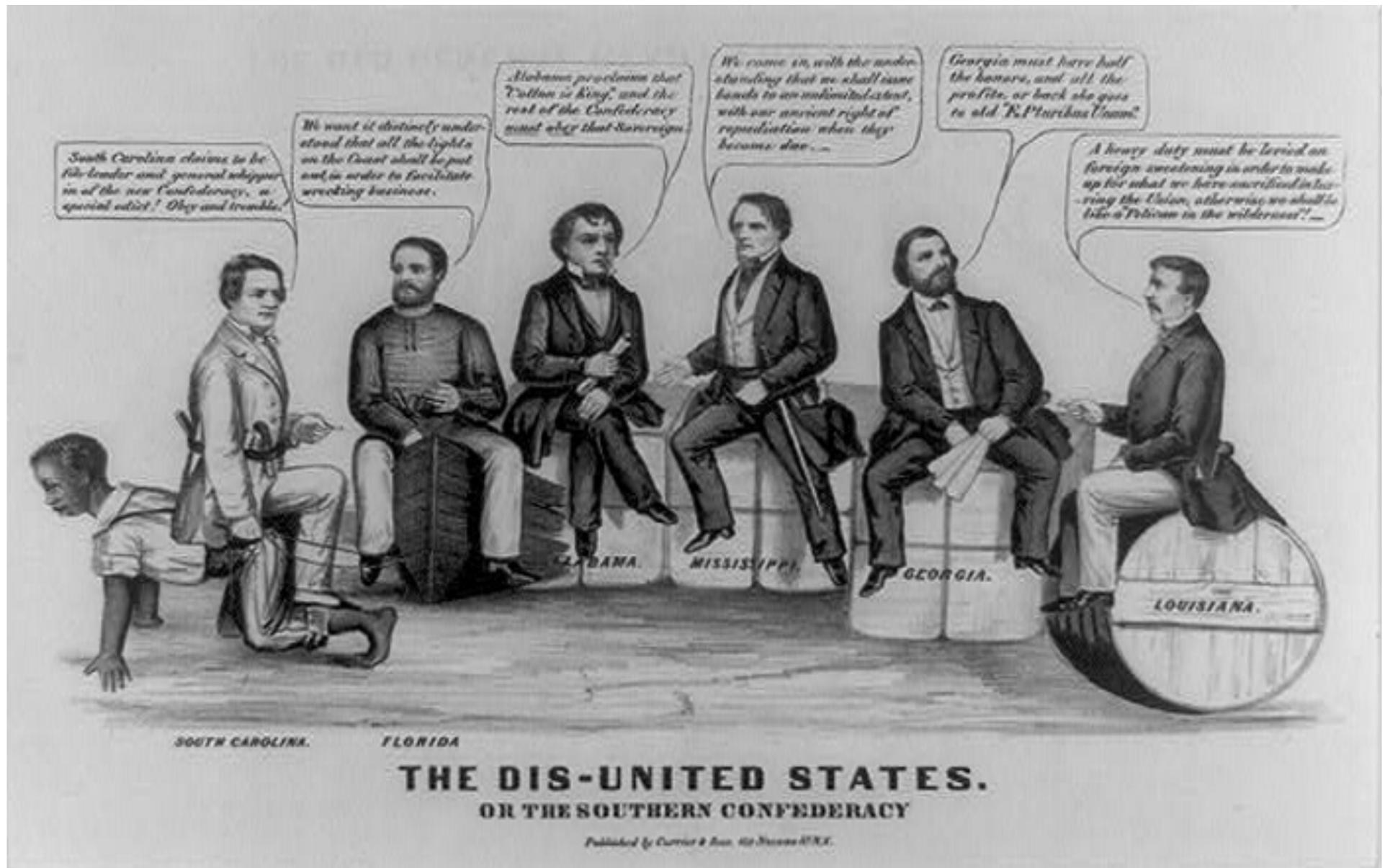
4. The members of the Congress and all executive and judicial officers of the Confederacy shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this Confederacy.

5. The Congress shall have power to admit other States.

"The Great Exhibition of 1860" Political Cartoon, 1860



“The Dis-United States. Or the Southern Confederacy” Cartoon, 1861



“The Dis-United States Or the Southern Confederacy,” Currier & Ives, New York, 1861. [Courtesy of Library of Congress](#)