authority of the State, and these were held until trans­ferred to the new Confederate States organization. In the first two months of 1861 the authority of the United States was paralysed in seven States, and in at least seven more its future authority seemed of very doubtful duration.

1. Only a few forts, of all the magnificent structures with which the nation had dotted the Southern coast, remained to it—the forts near Key West, Fortress Monroe at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, Fort Pickens at Pen­sacola, and Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour. Both the last-named were beleaguered by hostile batteries, but the administration of President Buchanan, intent on main­taining the peace until the new administration should come in, instructed their commanding officers to refrain from any acts tending to open conflict. The Federal officers, therefore, were obliged to look idly on while every preparation was made for their destruction, and even while a vessel bearing supplies for Fort Sumter was driven back by the batteries between it and the sea.
2. The divergence between the two sections of the country had thus passed into disunion, and was soon to pass into open hostility. The legal recognition of the custom of slavery, acting upon and reacted upon by every step in their economic development and every difference in their natural characteristics, surroundings, and institu­tions, had carried North and South further and faster apart, until the elements of a distinct nationality had appeared in the latter. Slavery had had somewhat the same effect on the South that democracy had had on the colonies. In the latter case the aristocracy of the mother country had made a very feeble struggle to maintain the unity of its empire. It remained to be seen, in the Amer­ican case, whether democracy would do better.

**X. THE CIVIL WAR : 1861-65.**

1. Secession had taken away many of the men who had for years managed the Federal Government, and who understood its workings. Lincoln’s party was in power for the first time ; his officers were new to the routine of Fed­eral administration ; and the circumstances with which they were called upon to deal were such as to daunt any spirit. The Government had become so nearly bankrupt in the closing days of Buchanan’s administration that it had only escaped by paying double interest, and that by the special favour of the New York banks, which obtained in return the appointment of Dix as secretary of the treasury. The army had been almost broken up by captures of men and material and by resignations of competent and trusted officers. The navy had come to such a pass that, in February 1861, a house committee reported that only two vessels, one of twenty, the other of two guns, were avail­able for the defence of the entire Atlantic coast. And, to complicate all difficulties, a horde of clamorous office- seekers crowded Washington.
2. Before many weeks of Lincoln’s administration had passed, the starting of an expedition to provision Fort Sumter brought on an attack by the batteries around the fort, and, after a bombardment of 36 hours, the fort sur­rendered (April 14, 1861). It is not necessary to rehearse the familiar story of the outburst of feeling which followed this event and the proclamation of President Lincoln call­ing for volunteers, the mustering of men, the eagerness of States, cities, and villages to hurry volunteers forward and to supply money to their own Government in its need. The 75,000 volunteers called for were supplied three or four times over, and those who were refused felt the refusal as a personal deprivation.
3. There had been some belief in the South that the North-West would take no part in the impending conflict, and that its people could be persuaded to keep up friendly relations with the new nationality until the final treaty of peace should establish all the fragments of the late Union upon an international basis. In the spring months of 1861 Douglas, who had long been denounced as the tool of the Southern slave-holders, was spending the closing days of life in expressing the determination of the North- West that it would never submit to have “a line of custom-houses ” between it and the ocean. The batteries which Confederate authority was erecting on the banks of the Mississippi were fuel to the flame. Far-off California, which had been considered neutral by all parties, pro­nounced as unequivocally for the national authority.
4. The shock of arms put an end to opposition in the South as well. The peculiar isolation of life in the South precluded the more ignorant voter from any comparisons of the power of his State with any other ; to him it was almost inconceivable that his State should own or have a superior. The better educated men, of wider experience, had been trained to think State sovereignty the founda­tion of civil liberty, and, when their State spoke, they felt bound to “ follow their State.” The president of the Confederate States issued his call for men, and it was also more than met. On both sides of the line armed men were hurrying to a meeting.
5. Lincoln’s call for troops met with an angry recep­tion wherever the doctrine of State sovereignty had a foot­hold. The governors of the border States (§ 257) gene­rally returned it with a refusal to furnish any troops. Two States, North Carolina and Arkansas, seceded and joined the Confederate States. In two others, Virginia and Tennessee, the State politicians formed “ military leagues ” with the Confederacy, allowing Confederate troops to take possession of the States, and then submitted the question of secession to “ popular vote.” The secession of these States was thus accomplished, and Richmond became the Confederate capital. The same process was attempted in Missouri, but failed, and the State remained loyal. The politician class in Maryland and Kentucky took the extra­ordinary course of attempting to maintain neutrality ; but the growing power of the Federal Government soon enabled the people of the two States to resume control of their governments and give consistent support to the Union. Kentucky, however, had troops in the Confederate armies ; and one of her citizens, the late vice-president, John C. Breckinridge, left his place in the senate and became an officer in the Confederate service. Delaware cast her lot from the first with the Union.
6. The first blood of the war was shed in the streets of Baltimore, when a mob attempted to stop Massachusetts troops on their way to Washington (April 19). For a time there was difficulty in getting troops through Mary­land because of the active hostility of a part of its people, but this was overcome, and the national capital was made secure. The Confederate lines had been pushed up to Manassas Junction, about 30 miles from Washington. When Congress, called into special session by the president for July 4, came together, the outline of the Confederate States had been fixed. Their line of defence held the left bank of the Potomac from Fortress Monroe nearly to Washington ; thence, at a distance of some 30 miles from the river, to Harper’s Ferry ; thence through the mountains of western Virginia and the southern part of Kentucky, crossing the Mississippi a little below Cairo ; thence through southern Missouri to the eastern border of Kansas ; and thence south-west through the Indian Terri­tory and along the northern boundary of Texas to the Rio Grande. The length of the line, including also the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, has been estimated at 11,000 miles. The territory within it comprised about 800,000