

Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume 2
Number 1 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 2,*
Issue 1

Article 7

1909

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Recommended Citation

Yulee, C. Wickliffe (1909) "Senator Yulee: A Biographical Sketch by C. Wickliffe Yulee," *Florida Historical Quarterly*: Vol. 2: No. 1, Article 7.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol2/iss1/7>

SENATOR YULEE.

A Biographical Sketch by C. Wickliffe Yulee.

The adage that: no man is a hero to his valet, may be coupled with one that: every man is a hero to his child; which fact the writer promises to bear ever in mind, endeavoring to anticipate the modifications of those candid friends whose friendship is never so demonstrative as when clipping one's wings. But it is a matter of some regret that a person who feels compelled thus to issue a self-denying ordinance, should have been selected to write, for the Florida Historical Society, the biography of Senator Yulee; since any historical narrative must have a strong element of hero-worship in order to make a substantial picture for the general reader.

David Levy Yulee was born in the year 1810 on the island of St. Thomas, W. I., which being at that time a British possession, made him by birth a British subject, and his earliest recollection of life was, when at the age of five, upon the transfer of the island to Denmark, he saw the English flag hauled down. Evidently the portentous significance with which this was regarded by the inhabitants, created such an atmosphere of awe as to impress the event upon his childish memory, where it stood, in isolated importance, the only thing he could recall within that period which ended with his ninth year.

His grandfather had been, although racially Portuguese, a high official in the Emperor of Morocco's court, and as such had been given the rank of prince. Upon the death of the Emperor, whose side he had espoused against the intriguing heir, he was obliged to fly at a moment's notice to England, taking with him his wife, an English Jewess, and their infant son. The last named, upon maturity, was obliged to go into trade, and his mother, who had exaggerated ideas as to the importance of the princely title, insisted upon his dropping the name of Yulee temporarily, and the adoption of Levy, that of her own father. This name he retained to the day of his death, although, long before, he had acquired an independent fortune in the lumber business in St. Thomas. He approved, however, of the resumption of that of



Hon. DAVID LEVY YULEE

Yulee by his son-the subject of this sketch - and for convenience it will be the one used throughout.

There are two other incidents of Senator Yulee's childhood which must be recorded, because of the mark they left; the one upon his physical, the other upon his psychological being.

Having been given an apple by some one - if a woman, the fall of Adam might be traced, **pari passu** - he climbed upon one of the stone gate-pillars of his father's residence in order to enjoy himself, with tranquillity, in "splendid isolation." A passing practical joker threatening to seize the fruit, he started back, fell, and as a result, bore for the remainder of his life, upon the center of his forehead, a deep blue scar, which, curiously enough, formed the letter Y with perfect distinctness.

The second occurrence took place when, at the age of nine, in order to attend school at Norfolk, Virginia, he had sailed from St. Thomas, never to return. The ship lay becalmed, and the lad was watching with great interest the sailors enjoying a sea bath. Suddenly one of these, approaching from behind, seized him, and dived deep into the bottomless water. Anyone who has ever been in a position to realize with Clarence

****What pain it was to drown!
What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!
What sights of ugly death within mine eyes!"

can well imagine the terrifying impression, made by such an unwonted experience upon a child, whose misgivings had been already excited by seeing all vestige of land sink mysteriously below the horizon. While, in after life, he frequently went upon coasting steamers between Southern ports, his aversion to being out of sight of land was so great as, not only to prevent all travel abroad for pleasure, but also to induce his refusal, when offered the choice of representing this country at any one of three most attractive European courts.

The school in which young Yulee now found himself, was one kept by an English clergyman, a friend of his father's, nearly all the other scholars belonging to the old Virginia families, whose places lined the banks of the river James. The friendships he formed here lasted, without exception, all his life, and were, Southern fashion, inherited by the succeeding generation, as the writer was glad to find, when he entered the University of Vir-

ginia. Fortunate, too, was the School in its master, who, while holding the affections of his pupils, bent his chief energies toward forming their characters. The present master of Harrow has well said: "However we may fail in teaching our pupils the classics or mathematics, we hope that we do teach them to 'play the game.'" Truly, is not a fine scorn for success, by unfair methods, worth all the hexameters and integral calculus in the world?

Some six years later, his stay at this school, and that of his elder brother at Harvard College, was suddenly terminated by a letter from their father, announcing that he would no longer contribute to their support, except as he would to any other of God's creatures. He had worked himself into this condition of religious socialism by long pondering upon the failure of all religions to supply some simple rule of action - to be used by the learned or unlearned - instead of a series of varying dogmas.

Educated at an English university, his father a Mahometan, and his mother a Jewess, his mind, as was indicated by marginal notes on books, seemed ever reaching out for some foundation upon which alike could stand the most humane, the most extensive, and the oldest of existing religions. The precept by which he finally enunciated this universal religion was: "All our actions must be for the love of God only;" which, while theoretically most sound, led practically to a few spasmodic ultra examples, but far oftener, resulted in sophistic self-reasoning, through which he did whatever he wished.

Thus cast adrift, the lad, probably by the advice of friends, went to a plantation of his father's in Florida, where the overseer felt no hesitation in sheltering and feeding him; while his clothing was supplied out of the abundance provided for the slaves. His scholastic education thus abruptly terminated, he found himself equipped with good elementary knowledge, a little Latin, no Greek, and some French of that sturdy British kind which pronounced "un garcon," "ong garcong." But he had, partly inherited, partly acquired, a great love of reading, and, as the only form of sport for which he cared was fishing, of which there was little near-by, most of his time was given to books.

As he grew to manhood he frequently visited St. Augustine, where to the many charming old Spanish families there were added, as residents, those of the mil-

tary and legal United States officers, as well as a large number from the Northern states, attracted by the quaintness of the ancient city and its salubrious climate.

Here he soon had a large circle of warm friends, who gave him that sympathy and, in some cases, guidance which he should have received from his father. It was with one of these that he studied law,* and in this profession he succeeded from the first, and would probably, had he adhered to it, have attained quite as high rank as he did in political life, for which he soon abandoned it.

His entry into the latter arena was, without blare of trumpets, simply as the clerk to the Territorial Legislature, a hotly contested post, to which he was chosen, not so much because of special fitness as because his numerous friends thought he needed it. Thus, at the outset, was struck what may be deemed the keynote of his character and career, the capacity of binding to himself those to whom he gave his friendship by the strongest cords of mutual affection.

While he never spared himself in their cause, they were in turn devoted, and the friends of his friends were his. As a corollary, his enemies, though few in number,* were correspondingly bitter, but, almost without exception, undesirable in any different relation.

The next phase in this career, was when, in 1841 he ran as the Democratic candidate for the office of Territorial Delegate. In this successful canvass he had to cover a vast extent, and address himself to a constituency which varied from the cultured society of St. Augustine and Tallahassee, to gatherings of cow-boys and woodsmen, so primitive that once, at a barbecue, he won the entire vote of a solid Whig precinct by a lucky bull's-eye shot.

Unknown himself, a Delegate from a newly-formed, remote and sparsely settled Territory, he appeared in the House of Representatives at a time when it contained, perhaps, more brilliant debaters than ever before in its history; and he might have remained long without being able to command attention, but for a malignant attack by some personal enemies.

These individuals petitioned the House to declare him ineligible, on the ground that his father, having remained a British citizen, he himself remained one, although residing for twenty years in Florida.

*Governor, and also U. S. Judge Robert R. Ried.

The Committee on Elections which consisted of six Whigs to three Republicans (Democrats) were inclined to report adversely upon him, and, from his constitutional want of punctuality, he had not been in his place when the day for discussing his eligibility was fixed, and was not fully prepared. But in moving a postponement of the case, he showed: that by the treaty with Spain all inhabitants of Florida, at the time of transfer, were entitled to United States citizenship, that his father had claimed to be a citizen, and the claim had been allowed, both by the Attorney-General of the United States and by the United States District Court; and while admitting that Congress had the legal right to repudiate the action of the Executive and Judicial departments, he asked if they had a moral right to do so.

Deprecating the bringing of political feeling into such matters he said, if the Whigs who had a majority on the floor as well as in Committee, sought a victim, he stood ready; for, "I am a Republican."

That speech settled the matter, not only of his right to a seat, but, also, to be heard, and although in the various debates, in which he presently shared, he was opposed by such men as Adams, Fillmore, Giddings, Everett, Roosevelt, Cushing, etc., they showed plainly that this new comer seemed to them worth answering.

For a beginner, he showed also remarkable knowledge of parliamentary law ; indeed, the only occasions when he showed ignorance of it were when he wished to make some remarks which were out of order ; and it was generally too late when his opponents awoke to the fact.

His first speech upon any topic of general importance was upon the expediency of annulling the extradition clause of the "Ashburton" treaty with England, on account of the latter's refusal to return some escaping slaves, who had been indicted for theft and murder by a Grand Jury of Florida. He showed, by incontestable precedents, that the British government, led by abolitionists, were in this action flagrantly violating their own laws.

Thus at once Mr. Yulee identified himself with the great question of slavery, around which the destinies of the United States were to whirl, with augmenting violence, for twenty-five years more; and then fling upon the Southern States a burden of political and social danger, which will harass them far into distant years.

It should be admitted, that to the present generation, ignorant of peculiar circumstances, the preservation of slavery by the Southern States must seem as barbarous a survival, in the nineteenth century, as the infliction, by England, of the death penalty for forgery of a marriage license; or as the drowning of witches, in the eighteenth, by Massachusetts; or as the present absolute control of parents over children, and captain over seamen, may seem to pious socialists of the future.

The explanation is that after the importation of slaves in large quantities, (enforced by England) it could never be discussed as a purely moral question; but only as merged with that of the opposing economic interests of the North and the South. That it was not, in itself, palpably wrong may be inferred from the fact that it was expressly provided for in Leviticus (25) and Exodus (21) ; was never forbidden by Christ, and specifically approved of by St. Paul; while it existed under British sanction until 1833.

Moreover, the Puritans, one of the most moral peoples known to history, practised it, regulated it legislatively, and their legislature never gave the slaves their freedom, but it was gradually obtained by legal decisions, based on the Bill of Rights; a process delayed by the ignorance of the beneficiaries, as may be inferred from the following advertisement appearing in the Continental Journal, March 1781, "Boston: To be sold ** a negro wench 17 years old, ** has no notion of Freedom, ** not known to have any failing, but being with child, which is the only cause of her being sold."

They placed them apart in their schools, churches and cemeteries; and did the same with all blacks as late as 1835 without protest except by a few individuals.*

Slave ships were fitted out by the Massachusetts government, and also by private citizens along the whole New England coast; while in the Federal Convention of 1787, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut voted to extend the time limit for the untaxed importation of slaves - Rhode Island and New York not voting.

These facts do not prove slavery to be right, but that the South's principles differed chronologically only, not basically, from those of the North; and the Southerner, beside believing *the negroes' immunity to malaria made

*See Harriet Martineau.

their labor essential, had them already in too great quantity, to consider them from a purely ethical standpoint. Moreover, he honestly thought, with Miss Martineau, a hostile critic, that : "the patience of slave owners probably surpasses the whole Christian world;" and that the deprivation of civic rights was no greater cause for unhappiness to blacks than it was to white women and children.

The Quakers of Pennsylvania, being opposed to any use of force, had, from the first, opposed slavery, but made no active propaganda until Lundy started at Baltimore a paper; in which he was later (1829) joined by Garrison, who had previously edited one devoted to temperance. The latter who, with the zeal of novelty, favored the overthrow of slavery, "if not by peaceful means, then by blood," soon parted with the more gentle Quaker and, alone, started upon what long seemed an heroically hopeless crusade. Refused every hall or church, he was finally indebted to a body of infidels, for an opportunity of speaking in Boston, where later (1835) he was dragged through the streets, by a "mob of gentlemen of property and standing." Recruits came to him slowly and his cause might long have languished, had not its principles been needed to give cohesion to a far mightier impulse.

The germ of the abolition movement may be found in a law of Connecticut passed in 1774. This state which had most stringent laws governing slaves, and did not free them until 1844, in the year first named passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves because it was thought "injurious to the poor" and "inconvenient." We shall see how the industrial war, which started here, took the battle cry of a few zealous philanthropists, and wrote the history of a continent.

The hardy and industrious men who, to better their fortunes, had left their eastern homes, traveled the difficult passes of the Alleghanies, and settled in that part of Virginia's huge gift to the Union, now known as Ohio, viewed with jealousy the possible competition of slave labor, which was rapidly occupying the country south of the Ohio. So in 1784 they fought the first battle for free labor by asking Congress to forbid slavery in all United States Territory, although the great bulk of it had been given by Southern States. This law was defeated, but in 1787 another battle was fought and slav-

ery was driven from all that vast region lying north of the Ohio River, or latitude 38 degrees 27 minutes.

The next conflict, occurring in 1820, was over new territory - the Louisiana purchase - and when peace was concluded, free labor had advanced one hundred and fifty miles, driving the slaves south of parallel of latitude 36 deg. 30 min.; which if prolonged to the Pacific, gave to the victorious white more than two-thirds of all new territory. Against this surrender, thirty-seven Southern members of Congress protested to the last.

The new treaty did not endure so long as the old, and those few Southerners who thought partial concessions would stop the army of northern expansion, saw their error in 1850. At first the objection of the Northerners had been to the slave rather than slavery, but, in excluding the former, they were obliged to denounce the latter and eventually felt they were waging a holy war. They had seen Texas given over to slave labor, protected by an imaginary line of latitude, and, now that the rich mines of New Mexico and southern California were the prize, they leaped the feeble barrier and, by the Wilmot Proviso, demanded, amid sounding blasts from the legislatures of fifteen Northern States, that all territory, then or in the future, should be surrendered to free labor. Penned in by a foe vastly superior in numbers and resources, with its back to the ocean, the South in desperation reached its hand toward a weapon, forged by a Northern state in the Federal Convention-Secession. The arms intended to protect the South.

Whence this feeling of desperation? The answer can be found in a letter from Mr. Yulee (now a Senator*) to Mr. Calhoun, July 1849: "We must have security and fireside peace." He saw that, if the slave states were not allowed to expand, it meant not only complete political paralysis, but what was far worse, their africanization. The greater fertility of the negroes, and the reluctance of white immigrants to compete with slaves, made this inevitable; and the non-slave states would gradually repeal all national laws protecting the South from incendiary instigation, and eventually must, in common consistency, change the constitution, give the slaves their freedom and electoral dominion over the whites.

*He took his seat in the Senate Dec. 1, 1845.

So he entered the contest ardently and, to the Wilmot Proviso, answered by a resolution in the Senate 14 February, 1848, that the territories belonged equally to confirmed some ten years later by the Supreme Court, the citizens of all the states and that therefore any citizen might take into them his slave property; a doctrine confirmed some ten years later by the Supreme Court, in the famous Dred Scott decision. And he fought, to the last, against the capture, by free labor, of Southern California, thereby dismantling the Missouri Compromise of the arms intended to protect the South.

In the same letter to Mr. Calhoun, after suggesting, among various plans of action, one for a convention of all of the states, Mr. Yulee said that if an amendment to the Constitution providing the South against aggression, were not adopted he thought it "the best policy to take steps at once for a separation." If Secession was ever wise, that was the time; when passions were not so generally inflamed, and the relative strength not so disproportionate as in 1860; besides there were in the Southern States three-fourths of the veterans of the Mexican war, as a sedative upon a coercive spirit.

If his political convictions were sectional, Senator Yulee's personal feelings were not; for no Southerners mingled more generally in Washington society than his wife and himself. He had married in 1846 a daughter of ex-Governor Wickliffe of Kentucky, a member of Tyler's Cabinet. She was called "The Wickliffe Madonna," according to Mrs. Clay's memoirs, on account of her goodness and beauty. In corroboration of the latter point, the writer may be pardoned for mentioning that a New York gentleman told him he was once listening to an important speech in the Senate, when, suddenly, a rapidly wafted whisper turned the eyes, and attention, of the dense throng toward a beautiful woman, who had just entered the Cabinet Gallery. Upon inquiry he was informed that she was the wife of Senator Yulee.

Shortly after their marriage they had, travelled through some of the Northern states, being everywhere received most cordially. They visited Governor Winthrop in his beautiful home near Boston, where they were entertained with that warm courtesy, which does so much to make the whole world kin. In Washington,

*It was just before his marriage that he resumed the name Of Yulee.

therefore, they never encountered or cherished those feelings of sectional hostility which so often estranged others.

During the next ten years, a large part of Senator Yulee's time was given to that valuable work which is called routine, because there is nothing spectacular about it.

As Chairman of the Naval Committee, which he became the year after his entry into the Senate; he labored ceaselessly, being opposed in almost every projected improvement.

Although Florida furnished the live oak for wooden ships, he urged, with final success, the building of iron ones, as being more durable, both in and out of commission; and also favored the building of some by private contract. It was instanced that a particular wooden ship, within three years after completion, had received \$75,000 more in repairs than its whole original cost.

The annual attempts to abolish flogging in the navy he strongly resisted, on the ground that the only substitute was imprisonment, which weakened the ship's efficiency and threw more work on the more worthy men. On this account, the seamen themselves had almost unanimously petitioned to have it retained. The opposition was generally led by Hale of New Hampshire and other abolitionists, who thus showed that they did not limit their humanitarian sympathies to the negro.

But it was a somewhat morbid declaration of Hale's, that he would be willing to wipe out the whole glorious record of our navy, if he could at the same time expunge that of its flogging. Such a feeling could not be shared by any man from the South, of which Harriet Martineau wrote: "What can be expected of little boys brought up to consider physical courage the highest attribute of manhood?" So it came as a surprise to Southerners when later these Yankees, driven by the lash of duty, stormed the heights of Lookout Mountain.

Obstructed in the same quarter, he succeeded in passing a bill, which had been delayed more than forty years: that providing bounty for Decatur and his seventy-nine men who, under the guns of shore batteries, sword in hand, boarded and destroyed a frigate manned by a thousand Tripolitans.

To his explanation and assurance was due, also, the bill authorizing the Grinnell expedition in search of Sir John Franklin.

Later, as head of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, he conducted its measures with rare patience and judgment, being always equipped with a thorough knowledge of the subject. Bending all his energies toward securing a weekly mail to Europe, he was the first to propose, in furtherance, payment by sea postage alone, instead of subsidy; and subsequently he urged cheap ocean postage, in the interest of foreign immigrants. When it was a question of improving the postal service, he often voted alone with the Northern Senators.

Whatever he undertook he gave himself up to with, as Floyd-Buchanan's Secretary of War-wrote of him: "an energy and zeal which commanded usual success," and, as to his thoroughness, Webster once complained that "the Senator from Florida had not read the Act with his usual diligence and acuteness." Upon another occasion a Senator seeing a high pile of books and papers upon his desk said: "I move, Mr. President, that we save time by giving the Senator from Florida whatever he wants - we know he is going to get it."

Whether it was, to save a thoughtless midshipman from being shot, in time of peace, for technical mutiny, or to restore a wrongfully discharged paymaster, he worked night and day investigating, arguing and pleading until the wrong was righted. As a result, hundreds of people, personally unknown to him, held him in grateful affection; which may account for the following incident - otherwise an impenetrable mystery.

Traveling upon one of the lake steamers, which touched at Toronto, he saw it moving off, as he approached the wharf, after wandering through the town. Excitedly he commenced to run, waving his hat, and calling loudly amid the derisive shouts and laughter of the assembled crowd, which sank into dumb and foolish amazement, as the boat, making a graceful curve, returned, picked him up, and resumed its way. Seeking the Captain, as soon as possible, Senator Yulee thanked him, to which he replied: "There are only two men in the world I would turn my boat back for - one is the President of the United States, and **you** are the other." Just as he was about to explain, one of the crew gave him some message, and he left, promising to resume later; but in the evening he was taken ill and died during the night.

Although unyielding upon the slavery question and that of States Rights, Senator Yulee, upon other matters was, by no means a bitter partisan. Upon one occasion, when a correspondent named Ritchie had made a libelous attack upon the motives of certain Whig Senators, he moved his exclusion from the Senate galleries. In this he was supported by Senator Calhoun, whereupon Senator Turney accused the Senator from Florida, in common with a few other Senators, of joining with the great South Carolinian in an apparently disinterested legislative course, in order to further his Presidential aspirations. This brought a hot rejoinder from the one, and an historic speech from the other; while a few authoritative words from Webster the magnificent, sealed the fate of the factious opposition.

To this natural disposition to look at the other side of the shield, were added, as the great crisis of 1860 approached, other reasons for an increasing belief that secession might not, after all, be necessary. Not only did his numerous warm friends at the North assure him, constantly, that a violent abolition programme would never be permitted, but he had also formed sanguine hopes for an economic development of the South, and especially of his own idolized State, which, by inducing white immigration, would prevent that "Africanization" which was the great danger.

While Florida was still mostly a vast wilderness, he had drawn up an "Internal Improvement Act" which, utilizing United States grants of land, as a basis of credit, built an extensive system of railroads through trackless forests, where the locomotives' clarion was the first summons to the beasts of the field, for a surrender of their territory, to those forces of civilization which are now in occupation.

One portion of this system crossed the peninsula from the Gulf of Mexico to the-Atlantic,* and it was thought that the commerce between New York and the Mississippi Valley would seek this route to avoid the danger and delay of a voyage around the capes of Florida. The fast steamers supported by this trade would carry fruits and vegetables from Florida and Georgia, and their growth would draw immigrants from the white market-gardeners of the North. In the autumn of 1860, after

*The Florida Railroad, incorporated Jan., 1853.

years of repeated failure, and the pledging of his own small private fortune, the road was just completed, special steamers had been built, contracts for the mail between New York and New Orleans granted, and at the Atlantic terminus, where five years before had been the abandoned indigo plantation of the Countess of Egmont, was a thriving commercial town. A few months passed; the town was deserted, Northern mail was smuggled through military lines, and the steamers, intended to carry the first fruits of the South, in friendly exchange for the harmlessly adulterated biscuit of the North, were landing hostile troops.

Another reason for hope with Senator Yulee was his confidence that the West would not join with the East in aggressive abolition legislation. Because of this, and also of personal friendship he warmly espoused the political leadership of Stephen A. Douglass, and had at the convention of '56 effected an agreement with the leaders of certain delegations, which would have nominated him, but there was an accidental delay in making this known, and Douglass' telegram of withdrawal greeted them as they entered the hall.

Again, when the Charleston Convention of 1860 met, he was in favor of Douglass, was averse to the withdrawal of Southern delegations, and advised in a published letter, that Florida should send no delegation to Richmond, but stand ready to indorse the action of the Baltimore convention - which was the adjourned Charleston one. This brought him disfavor from his political friends. But when Douglass repudiated the right of secession, Senator Yulee was "surprised and grieved" and could no longer support him.

Two incidents will well illustrate Senator Yulee's frame of mind at this period.

His elder brother having become an officer of the crack "Washington Rifles" remarked to him, that the South might soon need troops; which called forth an angry rebuke from the younger, who said it was "nonsense" and that the other "ought to know better."

Then again, after the election of Lincoln, the writer, whose childish curiosity had been excited by the announcement of two Floridian callers: "Captain Byrd and Major Partridge" heard, with the indignation natural to the officer of a boys' company, his own father counselling "moderation" and "patience" to men whose

very names already suggested congenital timidity. This too, when, a few days before, his mother had a caller (Lord Lyons) who drank tea, instead of Madeira or whiskey!

When Governor Wickliffe, ex-President Tyler and other friends came on in advance of the Peace Congress, Senator Yulee was often in earnest conference with them at the old National Hotel and elsewhere.

But the time had come when the words of any man or set of men on either side were as futile as those addressed by Canute to the rising ocean, and blown back in his face by the gathering winds of heaven.

*The people of the upper class at the North still remained tolerant, even friendly toward Southerners, but those of the middle—the backbone of any community—had become convinced that the hand of the Lord must be raised against the sinful race, and were quite ready to be that hand.

While the Puritan was no longer so austere as in the days of Hudibras, and did not “blaspheme, custard through the nose,” making it, on the contrary, when moulded into pies, a staple of diet, yet he never could feel sympathetic toward the easy going Southerner, whom he regarded as “gluttonous and a wine-bibber,” given over to a love of horses, women and a mediaeval code of honor.

So when he saw the injustice and atrocity, so often exhibited in the recapture of slaves, forgetting that it was mostly from the cruel masters that slaves were apt to flee, and not knowing that the negro-trader, so much in evidence, was despised at the South, he set down all Southerners as heedlessly inhuman; which was as unjust as if, because of the cruelty of some parent to a child, which he could see in any newspaper, he should conclude that all parents, except himself, were cruel.

And the leaders of the abolition movement did not conceal these opinions or their intention to punish; for they were men of such clear vision, that, had they been present when Christ suggested the casting of stones upon the sinful woman, they would speedily have raised over her a lithic pile, which should at the same time be a warning to the depraved, and a monument to their own rectitude. The South being “a mechante badger,” “defended itself when attacked” and its language was, probably, much more violent.

All this, however, was but the tumult of the surface, and had little to do with the deep, silent flood of World-Justice, which was, inevitably, to submerge the South, regardless of what local devastation it wrought, or who first built upon the shifting sand.

Slavery was unjust-wrong-for the good of the world and the country, at large, it was destined to perish, although the South might suffer grievously. But far better that it should do so in a gallant fight of five million against eighteen million whites, bringing to the front on both sides those willing to risk their lives for the right, than, in a decade, or more, of rancor, incendiary incitement and remodeling of the Constitution for partisan purposes.

According to ordinary human lights the South could not well have acted differently at this crisis, except that some moral advantage would, perhaps, have been gained by refraining from the attack on Fort Sumter.

Those who said: "Wait in the Union for some overt act against your rights," were counseling the questionable strategy of Artemus Ward when he "firmly planted his nose between the teeth of his adversary."

"But" they say, "Lincoln was a good man"-so was Garrison, so, even, was John Brown; referring to whose raid, Beecher said: "That John Baptist work, before the last (Lincoln) election, prepared the way and tie are going forward"-the pages of history are blotted everywhere with the stern cruelty of good men, in their efforts to crush the sin out of those they believe to be sinners.

Great as was Lincoln's personality and intellect, he was not chosen leader on that account, but because he was the incarnation of the soul of his party and had, first enunciated its fundamental creed-that a thing cannot be wrong on one side of a surveyor's line and right on the other when he said: "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Moreover, with his strong sense of justice he saw; equally, that, when the slaves were freemen, they could not remain deprived of votes, and he therefore announced the corollary of the greater principle: "I embrace with pleasure this opportunity of declaring my disapprobation of that clause of the Constitution which denies to a portion of the colored people the right of suffrage."^{*}

^{*}Speech reported in Illinois State Journal (a leading Republican organ) Sept 164 1856.

Such was the goal upon which his far-seeing gaze was fixed; and-it must be remembered that, though a man of gentle ways, Lincoln, in his psychological and political progress took many cautious, but not one backward step.

Thus the Southern people, if they remained in the Union, had the prospect, either of having themselves placed, by constitutional methods, in subjection to their former slaves, or that other alternative, so wisely expressed by Lincoln in his Cooper Institute Lecture: "How much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it, (The Republican Party) out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box, into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?" So they overwhelmingly decided to exercise what they believed to be a constitutional right, and withdraw from a distracted Union, in which the first battle of interstate warfare had already been fought at Harper's Ferry.

Senator Yulee when he found that the victorious Republicans would admit of no fresh guarantees for the future, fully approved of the secession, for which Florida had assembled a convention ; especially as he thought the only hope for a peaceful issue, "as the North is consolidating upon a plan of force," lay "in forming a Southern Confederacy and army" in order "to bring them (the Northerners) to a sense of the gravity of the crisis.." In furtherance of this he advised the taking immediate possession of all Florida forts and arsenals. This *was* being done all over the seceding states and had a two-fold reason. An incidental one was that it was feared insurrectionary slaves might get hold of the arms and ammunition ; as is shown by the reports of Federal officers in the United States Official Record. The main reason, of course, was that they did not wish to leave such formidable footholds for possible invaders. This danger had been foreseen by Elbridge Gerry (of Massachusetts) in the Constitutional Convention of '87, who objected to the clause, giving the General Government exclusive jurisdiction over places purchased by it for the erection of forts, etc. ; "that the strongholds proposed would be a means of awing the state into an undue obedience to the General Government,?" so on motion of Mr. King (Mass.) : by the consent of the Legislature of the state was added.*

*Madison Papers. Elliot.

South Carolina had already sent commissioners to Washington saying she would resume, by the law of eminent domain, possession of such property, and repay the government its expenditures thereon, (although the South through the tariff, had paid more than its share of the purchasing money). This was refused by Holt, Acting Secretary of War, on the ground that absolute jurisdiction once given could not be revoked. As if Austria, which purchased the site of its Embassy at Washington, and now exercises Absolute Jurisdiction over it, could still do so if diplomatic relations were severed. With some reason; too, the Southern States, who had notice of the hostile utterances and preparations in certain Northern States, might claim to use their forts, under that clause of the Constitution which forbids a State "to engage in War unless actually invaded or in such immediate danger as will not admit of delay." (The emphasis is the writer's). This matter was to assume a portentous significance as to Senator Yulee, at the close of hostilities.

The simultaneous action of those states which meant to secede was advised by a meeting of their Senators, which, although private, was not secret, being discussed generally in and out of the lobbies of Congress. Of this meeting Senator Yulee wrote to a correspondent that "it is thought by remaining here until 4th March we can keep the hands of Mr. Buchanan tied" as to force bills, etc. (They would also put the Republican Senators on the horns of a dilemma as to the right of a State to secede.) But he neither approved of such action nor conformed to it, for after the Telegraph announced Florida's secession (10 January, '61), he took no part in the Senate's proceedings, formally withdrawing from that body, as soon as he received official notification from the convention. (21st January.)

"Although in his haste" he had angrily written that he should "give the enemy a shot before retiring," when the time actually came, his speech was only one of deep sorrow that his state must withdraw, being "not willing to disturb the peace of her associates by an inflamed and protracted struggle within the Union." "The people of Florida," said he, "will ever preserve a grateful memory of past connection with this Government and a just pride in the continued development of American society. They will also remember that, although, to their regret, a

majority of the people of the State, in the Northern portion of the Union, have seen their duty lie in a path fatal to Southern Society, they have had the sympathies of a large array of noble spirits, in those states, whose sense of justice and whose brave efforts to uphold the right have not been less appreciated because unsuccessful. Acknowledging, Mr. President, with grateful emotions my obligations for the many courtesies I have enjoyed in my intercourse with the gentlemen of this body, and with most cordial good wishes for their personal welfare, I retire from their midst, in willing loyalty to the mandate of my state, with full approval of her act."

Of this scene Mrs. Clay, an eye witness, writes in her Memoirs: "As one by one Senators Yulee, Mallory, Clay, and Jefferson Davis rose, the emotion of their brother senators and of us in, the galleries increased, women grew hysterical and waved their handkerchiefs ** men wept and embraced each other mournfully, *** scarcely a member of that Senatorial body but was pale with the terrible significance of the hour."

(To be continued.)